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CYCLOPÆDIA  
OF  
BIBLICAL LITERATURE

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# ADDITIONAL ERRATA.

## VOLUME I.

PREF. p. viii. line 27. *Append* to the word 'signature' the following footnote:—'This applies only to the preceding editions; in this third edition Dr. Kitto's initials have been affixed to his articles.'

PAGE	COL.	LINE	PAGE	COL.	LINE
11	1	33. <i>For</i> Tabbon, <i>read</i> Tibbon.	418	2	22 from bot. <i>For</i> 24th, <i>read</i> 27th.
71	1	33. <i>For</i> INVESTITURE, <i>read</i> KINGS, PRIESTS, PROPHETS.	448	2	12 from bot. <i>For</i> EKDAH, <i>read</i> EKDACH.
81	1	30. <i>Delete</i> [ETERNITY].	463	2	3 from bot. <i>For</i> Hophat, <i>read</i> Hophal.
152	2	19 from bot. <i>For</i> Nemala <i>read</i> Nemalah.	480	2	10 from bot. <i>Append</i> initials W. L. A.
231	1	14. <i>For</i> ORDER, <i>read</i> SYSTEM.	496	2	3 from bot. <i>For</i> Chinsemeth, <i>read</i> Tinsmeth.
289	2	Last line. <i>For</i> drowned, <i>read</i> dipped, and transfer this instance to line 15 from bot.	534	1	26 from bot. <i>For</i> BESHIA, <i>read</i> BA'SHA.
309	1	16 from bot. <i>For</i> ADDITIONS TO, <i>read</i> EPISTLE OF.	625	1	40. <i>For</i> ETHAN, <i>read</i> EZRAHITE.
330	2	13 from bot. <i>For</i> PARATZ, <i>read</i> PAR.	654	2	10. <i>For</i> JACHMUR, <i>read</i> YACHMUR.
369	1	15. <i>For</i> CHEMAN, <i>read</i> CHEMAR.	654	2	11. <i>For</i> POLLUTION, <i>read</i> UNCLEANNES.
373	1	24 from bot. <i>For</i> GOEL, <i>read</i> KINSMAN.	666	2	1 from bot. <i>For</i> Zyr. <i>read</i> Syr.
405	2	6 from bot. <i>For</i> 4th May 1630, <i>read</i> 13th Aug. 1599.	668	1	1. <i>For</i> Dez, <i>read</i> Des.
407	1	25 from bot. <i>For</i> KARPES, <i>read</i> KARPAS.	682	2	36. <i>For</i> EXILE, <i>read</i> CAPTIVITIES.
			722	1	31. <i>For</i> Εἰπάχ, <i>read</i> Σιπάχ.
			722	1	35. <i>For</i> בְּחֵמֶשׁ בְּחֵמֶשׁ, <i>read</i> בְּחֵמֶשׁ בְּחֵמֶשׁ.
			781	1	13. <i>For</i> NOPECH, <i>read</i> NOPHECH.
			811	2	27. <i>For</i> Diocletian, <i>read</i> Domitian.

## VOLUME II.

PAGE	COL.	LINE	PAGE	COL.	LINE
9	1	24. <i>For</i> MEALS, <i>read</i> BANQUETS.	181	2	33. <i>For</i> MEHUNIMS, <i>read</i> MAONITES.
26	2	8. <i>For</i> PISHTEH, <i>read</i> PISHTAH.	239	2.	The art. HAVILAH should follow HÄVERNICK.
27	1	16. <i>For</i> PLANTS, <i>read</i> PALESTINE.	244	2	11 from bot. <i>For</i> OROR, <i>read</i> AR'AR.
27	1	20 from bot. <i>For</i> leaving, <i>read</i> referring for.	306	2	16. <i>Delete</i> HART.
27	1	19 from bot. <i>For</i> to be treated of under MEALS, <i>read</i> to the art. BANQUETS.	334	1	40. <i>For</i> BITUMEN, <i>read</i> CHEMAR.
61	2	22 from bot. <i>For</i> Philo, <i>read</i> Thilo.	355	2	14 from bot. <i>For</i> PARCHI, <i>read</i> PARCHON.
137	1	14. <i>Insert</i> HUGO a S. <i>before</i> CARO.	359	2	27 from bot. <i>Delete</i> 'Aðaveip.
141	1	25. <i>For</i> JAAL, <i>read</i> YAEI.	449	2	24 from bot. <i>For</i> JABNECH, <i>read</i> JABNEEL.
153	2	30. <i>For</i> ETZ-GORHER, <i>read</i> ETZ-GOPHER.	596	1	13. <i>For</i> [PRECIOUS STONES], <i>read</i> [STONES, PRECIOUS].
162	1	15 from bot. <i>Delete</i> [MARCION].	599	2	4, 5. <i>For</i> JOTOPATA, <i>read</i> JOTAPATA.
164	1	7 from bot. <i>For</i> QIYAYON, PAQUOTH, <i>read</i> KIKAYON, PAKUOTH.	696	2	9. <i>For</i> RETHEN, <i>read</i> ROTHEN.
168	1	18 from bot. <i>For</i> DESHA, <i>read</i> DESHÈ.	767	1	17 from bot. <i>Append</i> initials F. W. F.
			785	1	18 and 37 from bot. <i>For</i> Aricler, <i>read</i> Arigler.

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## ERRATA

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## VOLUME III.

PAGE	COL.	LINE
60	1	1. <i>For 6th, read 5th.</i>
218	2	11. <i>For SLIME, read CHEMAR.</i>
218	2	23 from bot. <i>For PLASTER, read</i> <i>HOUSE.</i>
277	2	18 from bot. <i>For Deut. xxx. read</i> <i>Deut. xxxiii.</i>
352	1	12 from bot. <i>For Triceca, read</i> <i>Tricca.</i>
358	2	10 from bot. <i>For ὑπερέτης, read</i> <i>ὑπηρέτης.</i>
368	1	21 from bot. <i>For πενθερίδες, read</i> <i>πενθερίδης.</i>
376	1	15 from bot. <i>For KIPPOZ, read</i> <i>QIPPOZ.</i>
419	2	10 from bot. <i>For פֶּרֶשׁ, read פֶּרֶשׁ.</i>
420	1	18 from bot. <i>For motion, read</i> <i>motion.</i>
433	1	12 from bot. <i>Append initials J. K.</i>
433	2	10. <i>For half way on which, whereon,</i> <i>read half way up the hill on</i> <i>which.</i>
446	2	15 from bot. <i>Append initials W. L. A.</i>

PAGE	COL.	LINE
453	1	10 from bot. <i>For stand, read stands.</i>
518	2	1. <i>For physiology, read psychology.</i>
518	2	2. <i>Delete BIBLICAL THEOLOGY.</i>
537	2	24. <i>Append initials E. D.</i>
537	2	12 from bot. <i>For Neh. read Nah.</i>
611	1	28 from bot. <i>Omit Davidson [whose</i> <i>name should appear among</i> <i>those who argue against Mac-</i> <i>cabæan psalms].</i>
724	2	10 from bot. <i>For SABAENS, read</i> <i>SABÆANS.</i>
738	2	25. <i>For in, read is.</i>
741	1	17. <i>For 19, read 29.</i>
831	2	20. <i>Append initials E. D.</i>
970	2	23. <i>For Tawos, read Tawus.</i>
1072	1	10 from bot. <i>For PAKUOTH, read</i> <i>PAKKUOTH.</i>
1100	2	19. <i>For fol. read vol.</i>
1114	1	6. <i>For גִּלְמִלֵּם, read גִּלְמִלֵּם.</i>
1135	1	19 from bot. <i>For גִּלְמִלֵּם, read</i> <i>גִּלְמִלֵּם.</i>



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# CYCLOPÆDIA

## OF

### BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

#### MAACAH

#### MAACAH

MAACAH, and MAACHAH (מַעְכָּה; *Maachá*; in 2 Sam. x. 6 the Vat. Cod. reads *Ἀμαλήκ*, but the Alex. *Maachá*; *Maacha*). 1. A small but very ancient kingdom of Canaan (Deut. iii. 14; 1 Chron. xix. 7). The Gentile noun is *Maachathi*, or *Maachathite* (מַעְכָּתִי; *Maachati*, *Maachati*). The exact position of Maachah is not defined in Scripture, but there are numerous incidental notices which indicate with sufficient exactness the locality. In Deut. iii. 14 it is said, 'Jair took all the country of Argob unto the coasts of the Geshuri and Maachathi.' Argob is unquestionably identical with the modern province of Lejah [ARGOB], and consequently Maachah must have been situated on the borders of that province. From Josh. xii. 5, it appears that the Maachathites lived, not in Bashan, but just adjoining it; and in ch. xiii. 11 they are mentioned in close connection with Hermon:—'And Gilead, and the border of the Geshurites and Maachathites, and all Mount Hermon, and all Bashan unto Salcah.' The Israelites were not able to expel the Maachathites; and Joshua states that 'they dwell among the Israelites unto this day' (xiii. 13). From this it seems highly probable that their territory was one of great natural strength—rocky or mountainous. The Maachathites were, at a later period, closely allied with Damascus; and the principality was then called *Aram-Maachah* (אַרָם-מַעְכָּה; *Syria Maacha*); and from this it may be inferred that it bordered on Aram, and was reckoned a part of it; and thus it must have been on the north of the Trans-Jordanic territories (1 Chron. xix. 6, 7). Again, in 2 Sam. xx. 14, 15, a district called Beth-Maachah is mentioned as within or on the border of Palestine, and Abel, one of its towns, was besieged; and it appears from 2 Kings xv. 29, that this Abel of Beth-Maachah lay between Ijon and Kedes, near Dan (cf. 2 Chron. xvi. 4), and consequently at the western base of Hermon [ABEL-BETH-MAACHAH]. All these incidental notices point to one district, and one alone, as the ancient Maachah. It lay on the northern border of Palestine, and extended from the fountains of the Jordan north-east to the plain of Damascus, and east to the defiles of Argob, or Trachonitis, where the Geshurites appear to have had their home [GESHURITES]. The little kingdom embraced the southern and eastern declivities of Hermon, and a portion of the rocky plateau of

Iturea (Porter's *Damascus*, i. 319; cf. *Journal of Sac. Lit.* for July 1854, p. 310). Bochart makes Maachah a town, and identifies it with the *Epicaros* of Ptolemy, situated near the Dead Sea (*Opera*, i. 79). Reland proves that this view is untenable (*Pal.*, p. 112), and he points out the real position of the province (p. 519). Some recent writers would locate Maachah in the stony desert of *el-Kra* (properly *el-Harra*) away to the east of Bashan (Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, s. v.); but this seems clearly at variance with the above notices, and there is no other evidence in its favour.\*

The Maachathites, like their neighbours the Geshurites, were a warlike people. They successfully resisted all attempts of the Israelites to expel them (Josh. xiii. 11-13); and they joined the Ammonites in an attempt to resist the growing power of King David (2 Sam. x. 6; 1 Chron. xix. 7). Notwithstanding this, the Israelites appear to have had some friendly intercourse with the tribe, for Eliphelet, one of David's mighty men, was a Maachathite (2 Sam. xxiii. 34); and 'Jaazaniah, the son of a Maachathite,' was a captain in the army of Israel at the time of the captivity (2 Kings xxv. 23). After this the name appears no more in history.

2. The name of several individuals mentioned in Bible history. *Maachah* (מַעְכָּה), a son of Nahor, Abraham's brother (Gen. xxii. 24). May not this man have been the founder of the kingdom, and the progenitor of the Maachathites?

*Maacah* (מַעְכָּה; Alex. *Maachá*), Absalom's mother, and the daughter of Talmi, king of Geshur (2 Sam. iii. 3; 1 Chron. iii. 2). Probably this name may indicate that the Geshurites and Maachathites were of the same stock.

*Maachah* (מַעְכָּה), the mother of Abijam, said in 1 Kings xv. 2 to be the daughter of Abishalom (or Absalom; cf. 2 Chron. xi. 21); but in 2 Chron. xiii. 2, the mother of Abijam is called 'Michaiah' (מִיכָיָה; *Maachá*; *Michaia*), the daughter of Uriel of Gibeah. The solution of the difficulty probably is, that the woman had two names, and that Absalom was her grandfather. The Tar-

\* It is expressly said, in Josh. xiii. 13, that 'the Maachathites dwell among the Israelites until this day,' which would not be true had they inhabited the Harra, but which is true with regard to the region at Hermon.



gumists give a different but much less probable solution.

*Maachah* (Μωχαδ; Alex. Μωχαδ), the wife of Machir the Manassite (1 Chron. vii. 15). Others of this name are mentioned in 1 Kings ii. 39; 1 Chron. ii. 48; viii. 29; xxvii. 16.—J. L. P.

MAALEH AKRABBIM. [AKRABBIM.]

MAARATH (מערת), perhaps = מער, 'a bare place'; Μαγαρώς; Alex. Μαρώς; *Mareth*, a town in the mountains of Judah, included in a group of six, situated north of Hebron (Josh. xv. 59). It is not mentioned after the time of Joshua, and its site has not been discovered.—J. L. P.

MAASEIAH. Twenty-one persons of this name are mentioned in Scripture, but none of them of any note. The Hebrew original appears in three forms—1. מַעֲשִׂיָה, Ezra. x. 18; (Sept. *Maasia*; Alex. *Maasia*); x. 21 (Μασηλ; Alex. *Maaselas*); x. 22; x. 30 (Alex. *Maasia*); Neh. iii. 23 (*Maasias*); viii. 4 (*Maasia*); viii. 7 (omitted in Sept.); x. 25 (*Maasia*; Alex. *Maasias*); xi. 5 (*Maasia*; Alex. *Maasia*); in 1 Chron. xi. 5 he is called Asaiah); xi. 7 (*Maasias*); xii. 41, 42 (Vat. MS. om., Alex. *Maasias*); Jer. xxix. 21; xxix. 25 (*Maasias*).

2. מַעֲשִׂיָהוּ, 1 Chron. xv. 18, 20 (*Maasia*; Alex. *Maasia*); 2 Chron. xxiii. 1 (Alex. *Maasia*); xxvi. 11 (*Maasias*; Alex. *Maasias*); 2 Chron. xxviii. 7 (*Maasias*; Alex. *Maasia*; he is called the 'king's son,' which simply indicates that he was of the blood-royal, or perhaps describes him as occupying the place of viceroy or prime minister; he was certainly not a son of the reigning king Ahaz); 2 Chron. xxxiv. 8 (*Maasid*); Jer. xxxv. 4 (*Maasias*; Alex. *Maasias*).

3. מַאֲסִיָּה, Jer. li. 59 (*Maasias*; Alex. *Maasias*).—W. L. A.

MACCABEES, THE (οἱ Μακκαβαῖοι). The illustrious and heroic family who bore this appellation were descended, according to Josephus (*Antiq.* xii. 6. 1), from one Asamonæus, a citizen of Jerusalem, and a priest of the order of Joarib or Jehoiarib, as the name appears at 1 Chron. xxiv. 7, where it stands first in the twenty-four orders of priests. From this man they were also known by the name of Asmonæans, which is hardly less common than that of Maccabees. The origin of either designation, however, is a matter of extreme uncertainty. The name of Maccabee, according to some, was derived from the banner of the tribe of Dan, which contained the three last letters of the names of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Others imagine that it was made up of the first letters of some words in the 11th ver. of the 15th ch. of Exodus, 'Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the gods; \* words, therefore, which were conspicuous in the first triumphant war-song of the youthful nation, when they celebrated their deliverance under Moses from the hosts of Pharaoh. Others suppose it to have been a personal appellation of Judas, from the word †

\* מִי־כִמְכָה בְּאֵלֶם יְהוָה. In this case the Greek would shew χ and not κ, as we see in Micah, Malachi, etc. The Peshito supports the κ.

† The words occurring in the Bible are מַקְבֵּית and מַקְבֵּת. There is no מַקְבֵּה as given by Gesenius.

Makkab, meaning a *hammer*, and given to him as a corresponding designation was bestowed on Charles Martel, the hero of the Franks. If Judas, however, was not the first of his family who bore this name, as has been said, this derivation of it would seem to be questionable. With regard to the other name of Asmonæan, it is not more certain what was its original form or meaning. The Hellenistic orthography is ἀσμοναῖος. In Ps. lxxviii. 32 we meet with a word חֲשִׁמֹנִים, to the supposed singular of which, חֲשִׁמֹן, the name in question is commonly referred. In this case it might have been given to the priest of the course of Joarib to signify that he was a wealthy or a powerful person. In Josh. xv. 27 we find a town in the tribe of Judah called חֲשִׁמֹן, from

which this name might equally be derived. Herzfeld's proposed derivation from חֲסֵם, 'to temper steel,' is fanciful and groundless. The word in the first instance appears more like a family than a personal name. The later Hebrew form is חֲשִׁמֹנָאִי.

The first of this family who attained distinction was the aged priest Mattathias, who dwelt at Modin, a city west of Jerusalem and near the sea, but of which the site has not yet been identified by modern ingenuity and research. He was the son of John, the son of Simon, the son of Asamonæus, as Josephus tells us, and was himself the father of five sons—John, otherwise called Caddis; Simon, called Thassi; Judas, called Maccabæus; Eleazar, called Avaran; and Jonathan, surnamed Apphus. Ewald remarks that Simon and John were favourite names in this family. After the expulsion of Antiochus Epiphanes from Egypt by the Romans, that monarch proceeded to vent his rage and indignation on the Jews, B. C. 168. He massacred vast numbers of them in Jerusalem on the Sabbath, took the women captives, and built a fortress on Mount Zion, which he used as a central position for harassing the people around. He ordered one Athenæus to instruct the inhabitants of Judæa and Samaria in the rites of the Grecian religion, with a view to abolishing all vestiges of the Jewish worship. Having succeeded in bringing the Samaritans to renounce their religion, he further went to Jerusalem, where he prohibited the observance of all Jewish ceremonies, obliged the people to eat swine's flesh and profane the Sabbath, and forbade circumcision. The Temple was dedicated to Olympian Jove, and his altar erected upon the altar of burnt-offering, which the first book of Maccabees, apparently quoting Daniel, calls the setting up of the abomination of desolation. When, therefore, Apelles, the king's officer, came to Modin to put in force the royal edict against the national religion, he made splendid offers to Mattathias if he would comply. The old man, however, not only refused, but publicly declared his determination to live and die in the religion of his fathers; and when a certain Jew came forward openly to sacrifice in obedience to the edict, he slew him upon the altar. He slew, moreover, the king's commissioner, and destroyed the altar. Then offering himself as a rallying point for all who were zealous for the law, he fled to the mountains. Many others, with their wives and children, followed his example and fled. They were pursued, however, by the officers of Antiochus, and, refusing

even to defend themselves on the Sabbath day, were slain to the number of 1000. On this occasion the greatness of Mattathias displayed itself in the wise counsel he gave his companions and countrymen, which passed subsequently into the ordinary custom, that they should not forbear to fight upon the Sabbath day when it was in order to defend themselves. While in this position, he was joined by the more austere of the two parties which had sprung up among the Jews after the return from the captivity—viz., the Assideans, *i.e.*, the Hhasidim, or pious [CHASIDIM]; the Puritans, who subsequently became the Pharisees. They not only observed the written law, but superadded the constitutions and traditions of the elders, and other rigorous observances. The other party were called the Tsaddikim, or righteous, who contented themselves with that only which was written in the Mosaic law. Thus strengthened, Mattathias and his comrades carried on a sort of guerilla warfare, and exerted themselves as far as possible to maintain and enforce the observance of the national religion. Feeling, however, that his advancing age rendered him unfit for a life so arduous, while it warned him of his approaching end, he gathered his sons together like the patriarchs of old, exhorted them to valour in a speech of great piety and faithfulness, and having recommended Simon to the office of counsellor or father, and Judas to that of captain and leader, died in the year 166, and was buried in the sepulchre of his fathers at Modin. The allusion that is made in this speech to the history of Daniel, leads Ewald to remark that Mattathias died when the book of Daniel could scarcely have been long written or spread abroad—an assertion, as it seems to us, entirely without foundation, and one that the context appears not to warrant, but rather to refute.

After training and disciplining his troops by many trials and adventures, Judas was bold enough to meet the king's general, Apollonius, who had gathered a large army at Samaria, of which place he was governor, in the open field. He totally defeated his army and slew him. He then divided the spoils, and took the sword of Apollonius for a trophy, which he used all his life afterwards in battle. Exasperated at the defeat of Apollonius, Seron, who was general of the army of Coele-Syria, got together a force, partly composed of Jews, and came against Judas as far as Bethhoron, where he pitched his camp. This place, which had been rendered memorable many centuries before as the site of Joshua's great victory over the allied forces of the Canaanites, was destined now to witness a victory scarcely less glorious, wrought by a small band of Jews, spent and hungry, against the disciplined troops of Syria. Seron was completely overthrown, and his army scattered. Antiochus, though greatly enraged at this dishonour to his arms, was nevertheless compelled, by the condition of his treasury, to undertake an expedition to Armenia and Persia, with a view to recruiting his exhausted finances. He therefore left Lysias, one of his highest lieutenants, to take charge of his kingdom, from the river Euphrates to the confines of Egypt; and having entrusted his son, Antiochus, to his care, and enjoined Lysias to conquer Judæa and destroy the nation of the Jews, he went into Persia. The success of Judas called for immediate attention. The governor of Jerusalem was urgent in his entreaties for assistance. Lysias, therefore,

sent an army of 20,000 men, under the command of Nicanor and Gorgias, into Judæa. It was followed by another of the same number, with an addition of 7000 horse, under Ptolemy Macron, the son of Dorymenes, as commander-in-chief. The united forces encamped in the plains of Emmaus. To oppose this formidable host, Judas could only muster 6000 men at Mizpeh. Here, as Samuel had done a thousand years before at a like period of national calamity, he fasted and prayed, and in compliance with the Mosaic injunction, advised those who were newly married, or had built houses, and the like, to return to their homes. This reduced his number to one-half. The heroic spirit of Judas, however, rose against every difficulty, and he marched towards Emmaus. Having heard that Gorgias had been despatched with a force of 6000 men to surprise him in the passes by night, he instantly resolved to attack the enemies' camp. He rushed upon them unexpectedly, and completely routed them; so that when Gorgias returned baffled and weary, he was dismayed at finding his camp in flames. In the brief struggle which ensued, the Jews were victorious, and took much spoil. The year following, Lysias gathered together an army of 60,000 chosen men, with 5000 horse, went up in person to the hill country of Judæa, and pitched his camp at a place called Bethsura, the Bethzur of the O. T. Here Judas met him with 10,000 men, attacked his vanguard, and slew 5000 of them, whereupon Lysias retreated with the remainder of his army to Antioch. After this series of triumphs Judas proceeded to Jerusalem. There he found the sanctuary desolate, shrubs growing in the courts of it, and the chambers of the priests thrown down; so he set to work at once to purify the holy places, and restore the worship of God. In commemoration of this cleansing of the Temple, the Jews afterwards kept for eight days annually a festival which was called Lights, and was known as the Feast of Dedication (John x. 22\*). Judas, having strongly fortified the citadel of Mount Zion, and placed a garrison at Bethsura, made an expedition into Idumea. The Syrians meanwhile, frustrated in their efforts against Judæa, turned their attention to Galilee and the provinces beyond Jordan. A large army from Tyre and Ptolemais attacked the north, and Timotheus laid waste Gilead, whereupon Judas determined to divide his army into three. He himself, with Jonathan, led 8000 men across the Jordan into Gilead; his brother, Simon, he sent with 3000 into Galilee; and the rest he left behind, under the command of Joseph, the son of Zacharias, and Azarias, for the protection of Judæa, with strict injunctions to act only on the defensive. These orders, however, they imprudently violated by an attack upon the seaport Jamnia, where they met with a signal repulse. But the Maccabees in Gilead and Galilee were triumphant as usual, and added to their renown.

Antiochus Epiphanes meanwhile had died in his Persian expedition, B.C. 164, and Lysias immediately proclaimed his son Antiochus Eupator king; the true heir, Demetrius,† the son of Seleucus, being a hostage at Rome. One of the first acts of Lysias

\* This festival began on the 25th of the month Cisleu (Dec.-Jan.), and fell in the middle of 'winter.'—*Prideaux*, ii. 213. [FESTIVALS.]

† He was the son of the deceased king's elder brother.



was directed against the Jews. He assembled an enormous army of 100,000 men and 32 elephants, and proceeded to invest Bethsura. The city defended itself gallantly. Judas marched from Jerusalem to relieve it, and slew about 5000 of the Syrians. It was upon this occasion that his brother Eleazar sacrificed himself by rushing under an elephant which he supposed carried the young king, and stabbing it in the belly, so that it fell upon him. The Jews, however, were compelled to retreat to Jerusalem, whereupon Bethsura surrendered, and the royal army advanced to besiege the capital. Here the siege was resisted with vigour, but the defenders of the city suffered from straitness of provisions, because of its being the Sabbatical year. They would therefore have had to surrender, but Lysias was recalled to Antioch by reports of an insurrection under Philip, who at the death of Antiochus had been appointed guardian of the young king. He was consequently glad to make proposals of peace, which were as readily accepted by the Jews. He had no sooner, however, effected an entrance into the city, than he violated his engagements by destroying the fortifications, and immediately set out with all haste for the north. There Demetrius Soter, the lawful heir to the Syrian throne, encountered him, and after a struggle Antiochus and Lysias were slain, leaving Demetrius in undisputed possession of the kingdom.

Menelaus, the high-priest at this time, had purchased his elevation to that rank by selling the sacred vessels of the temple. Hoping to serve his own ends, he joined himself to the army of Lysias, but was slain by command of Antiochus. Onias, the son of the high-priest whom Menelaus had supplanted, fled into Egypt, and Alcimus or Jacimus, not of the high-priestly family, was raised to the dignity of high-priest. By taking this man under his protection, Demetrius hoped to weaken the power of the Jews. He despatched Bacchides with Alcimus to Jerusalem, with orders to slay the Maccabees and their followers. Jerusalem yielded to one who came with the authority of the high-priest, but Alcimus murdered sixty of the elders as soon as he got them into his power. Bacchides also committed sundry atrocities in other parts. No sooner, however, had he left Judæa than Maccabæus again rose against Alcimus, and drove him to Antioch, where he endeavoured as far as possible to injure Judas with the king. Upon this Demetrius sent Nicanor with a large army to reinstate Alcimus, and when he came to Jerusalem, which was still held by the Syrians, he endeavoured to get Judas into his power by stratagem, but the plot being discovered, he was compelled to meet him in the field. They joined battle at Capharsalama, and Nicanor lost about 5000 men; the rest fled to the stronghold of Zion. Here he revenged himself with great cruelty, and threatened yet further barbarities unless Judas was delivered up. As the people refused to betray their champion, Nicanor was again compelled to fight. He pitched his camp ominously enough in Beththoron; his troops were completely routed, and he himself slain. The next act of Judas was to make an alliance with the Romans, who entered into it eagerly; but no sooner was it contracted than the king made one more determined effort for the subjugation of Palestine, sending Alcimus and Bacchides, with all the flower of his army, to a place called Berea or Bethzetho, apparently near Jerusalem. The terror excited

by this host was such, that Judas found himself deserted by all but 800 followers, who would fain have dissuaded him from encountering the enemy. His reply was worthy of him, 'If our time be come, let us die manfully for our brethren, and let us not stain our honour.' He fought with such valour that the right wing, commanded by Bacchides, was repulsed and driven to a hill called Azotus or Aza, but the left wing doubled upon the pursuers from behind, so that they were shut in as it were between two armies. The battle lasted from morning till night. Judas was killed, and his followers, overborne by numbers, were dispersed. His brothers Jonathan and Simon received his body by a treaty from the enemy, and buried it in the sepulchre of his fathers at Modin, B.C. 161. Thus fell the greatest of the Maccabees, a hero worthy of being ranked with the noblest of his country, and conspicuous among all, in any age or clime, who have drawn the sword of liberty in defence of their dearest and most sacred rights.

The friends of Judas, after his death, chose Jonathan for their leader. He was glad to seek safety from Bacchides among the pools and marshes of the Jordan, whither he was pursued by him. At the same time, also, his brother John was killed by a neighbouring Arab tribe. Jonathan took occasion to revenge his brother's death upon a marriage-party, for which he lay in wait, and then repulsed an attack of Bacchides and slew a thousand of his men. At this point Alcimus died, and Bacchides, after fortifying the strong towns of Judæa, returned to Antioch; but upon Jonathan again emerging from his hiding-place, Bacchides came back with a formidable army, and was for some time exposed to the desultory attacks of Jonathan, till weary of this mode of fighting, or for other reasons, he thought fit to conclude a peace with him, and returned to his master. The Maccabee was thus left in possession of Judæa, and had not long afterwards an opportunity offered him of consolidating his position; for there sprung up one Alexander Balas, who was believed to be a son of Antiochus Epiphanes, and laid claim to the throne of Syria. Demetrius and Alexander mutually competed for the alliance of Jonathan, but Alexander was successful, having offered him the high-priesthood, and sent him a purple robe and a golden crown—the insignia of royalty—and promised him exemption from tribute as well as other advantages. Jonathan thereupon assumed the high-priesthood, and became the friend of Alexander, who forthwith met Demetrius in the field, slew him, usurped his crown, and allied himself (B.C. 150) in marriage with Cleopatra, the daughter of Ptolemy Philometor, king of Egypt. Jonathan was invited to the wedding, and was made much of at court. In return, he attacked and defeated Apollonius, the general of Demetrius Nicator, who aspired to his father's throne, besieged Joppa, captured Azotus, and destroyed the temple of Dagon. The prosperity, however, of Alexander was of short duration, for Ptolemy, being jealous of his power, marched with a large army against him, and after putting him to flight, seized his crown, and gave his wife to Demetrius. On the other hand, the overthrow of Alexander was speedily followed by the death of Ptolemy, and Demetrius was left in possession of the throne of Syria. Jonathan, meanwhile, besieged Jerusalem, and leaving it invested repaired to Antioch. Demetrius not only



welcomed but entered into a treaty with him, upon terms that greatly augmented the power of the Maccabee. After this Demetrius disbanded the greater part of his army and lessened their pay, which being a course contrary to that pursued by former kings of Syria, who kept up large standing armies in time of peace, created great dissatisfaction, so that upon the occasion of Jonathan writing to him to withdraw his soldiers from the strongholds of Judæa, he not only complied but was glad to ask for the assistance of 3000 men, who were forthwith sent to Antioch. Here they rendered him signal service in rescuing him from an insurrection of his own citizens that his behaviour to them had aroused. His friendship for Jonathan, however, was soon at an end, and, contrary to his promises, he threatened to make war upon him unless he paid the tribute which previous kings had exacted. This menace might have been carried out had not a formidable antagonist at home arisen in the person of Trypho, who had formerly been an officer of Alexander Balas, and had espoused the cause of his young son Antiochus Theos. This man attacked Demetrius, defeated him in battle, captured his city, drove him into exile, and placed his crown on the head of Antiochus, B.C. 144. One of the first acts of the new king was to ingratiate himself with Jonathan; he therefore confirmed him in the high-priesthood, and appointed him governor over Judæa and its provinces, besides showing him other marks of favour. His brother Simon he appointed to be general over the king's forces from what was called the Ladder of Tyre—viz., a mountain lying on the sea-coast between Tyre and Ptolemais, even to the borders of Egypt. Jonathan in return rendered good service to Antiochus, and twice defeated the armies of Demetrius. He then proceeded to establish his own power by renewing the treaty with Rome, entering into one also with Lacedæmon, and strengthening the fortifications in Judæa. He was destined, however, to fall by treachery, for Trypho, having persuaded him to dismiss a large army he had assembled to support Antiochus, decoyed him into the city of Ptolemais, and then took him prisoner. The Jews immediately raised Simon to the command, and paid a large sum to ransom Jonathan. Trypho, however, took the money, but instead of releasing Jonathan put him to death, and then, thinking that the main hindrance to his own ambitious designs was removed, caused Antiochus to be treated in the same manner. Thus fell the third of the illustrious Maccabæan race, who distinguished himself nobly in the defence of his country, B.C. 143.

When Simon heard of his brother's death he fetched his bones from Bascama, where he had been buried, and had them interred at Modin. Here he erected to his memory a famous monument of a great height, built of white marble, elaborately wrought, near which he placed seven pyramids, for his father and mother and their five sons, the whole being surrounded with a stately portico. For many years afterwards this monument served the purpose of a beacon for sailors, and it was standing in the time of Eusebius. The policy of Simon led him to espouse the cause of Demetrius against Trypho. He was consequently confirmed in his position of sovereign high-priest. He then turned his attention to establishing the internal peace and security of his kingdom. He fortified Bethsura, Jamnia, Joppa, and Gaza, and

garrisoned them with Jewish soldiers. The Lacedæmonians sent him a flattering embassy, desiring to renew their treaty; to Rome also he sent a shield of gold of immense value, and ratified his league with that nation. He moreover took the citadel of Jerusalem by siege, and besides pulling it down, even levelled the hill on which it was built, with immense labour, that so the temple might not be exposed to attacks from it. Under the wise government of this member of the Asmonæan family Judæa seems to have attained the greatest height of prosperity and freedom she had known for centuries, or even knew afterwards. The writer of the first book of the Maccabees evidently rejoices to remember and record it. 'The ancient men,' he says, 'sat all in the streets communing together of good things, and the young men put on glorious and warlike apparel. He made peace in the land, and Israel rejoiced with great joy. For every man sat under his vine and his fig-tree, and there was none to fray them' (xiv. 9, 11, 12). This time of quiet repose Simon employed in administering justice and restoring the operation of the law. He also beautified the sanctuary, and refurnished it with sacred vessels. In the meantime Demetrius had been taken prisoner in an expedition against the Parthians, whereupon his brother Antiochus Sidetes\* immediately endeavoured to overthrow the usurper Trypho. Availing himself of a defection in his troops, he besieged him in Dora, a town upon the sea-coast a little south of Mount Carmel. Simon sent him 2000 chosen men, with arms and money, but Antiochus was not satisfied with this assistance while he remembered the independence of Palestine. He therefore refused to receive them, and moreover despatched Athenobius to demand the restoration of Joppa, Gaza, and the fortress of Jerusalem, or else the payment of a thousand talents of silver; but when the legate saw the magnificence of the high-priest's palace at Jerusalem he was astonished, and as Simon deliberately refused to comply with the terms of the king's message, and offered by way of compensation only a hundred talents for the places in dispute, Athenobius was obliged to return disappointed and enraged. Trypho meanwhile escaped from Dora by ship to Orthosia, a maritime town in Phœnicia, and Antiochus, having deputed Cendebæus to invade Judæa, pursued him in person. The king's armies proceeded to Jamnia, and having seized Cedron and fortified it, Cendebæus made use of that place as a centre from which to annoy the surrounding country. Simon at this time was too old to engage actively in the defence of his native land, and therefore appointed his two eldest sons, Judas and John Hyrcanus, to succeed him in the command of the forces. They forthwith set themselves at the head of 20,000 men, and marched from Modin to meet the king's general: they utterly discomfited and scattered his host, drove him to Cedron, and thence to Azotus, which they set on fire, and afterwards returned in triumph to Jerusalem. But destruction threatened their house from nearer home; for Ptolemy, the son of Abubus, who had married a daughter of Simon, and was governor in the district of Jericho, with plenty of money at his command, aspired to reduce the country under his dominion, and took occasion, upon a visit that

\* *i.e.*, the hunter; a Greek appellation formed on a Semitic root.

Simon paid to that neighbourhood, to invite him and two of his sons with their followers to a banquet, and then slew them. John alone, whose forces were at Gaza, now survived to carry on the line of the Maccabees, and sustain their glory, B.C. 135. He likewise had been included in the treacherous designs of Ptolemy, but found means to elude them. With the death of Simon the narrative of the first book of the Maccabees concludes.

We trace now the fortunes of the next member of the family, John Hyrcanus. Having been unanimously proclaimed high-priest and ruler at Jerusalem, his first step was to march against Jericho, and avenge the death of his father and brothers. Ptolemy held there in his power the mother of Hyrcanus and her surviving sons, and shutting himself up in a fortress near to Jericho—which Josephus calls Dagon, and Ewald, Dök—he exposed them upon the wall, scourged and tormented them, and threatened to throw them down headlong, unless Hyrcanus would desist from the siege. This had the effect of paralyzing the efforts of Hyrcanus, and in spite of his heroic mother's entreaties to prosecute it with vigour, and disregard her sufferings, caused him to protract it till the approach of the Sabbatical year obliged him to raise the siege. Ptolemy, after killing the mother and brethren of Hyrcanus, fled to Philadelphia,\* which is the last we hear of him. It is not easy to see why Milman calls this reason of the Sabbatical year, which is the one assigned by Josephus, 'improbable.' Ewald assigns the approach of that year as a reason for the flight of Ptolemy to Zeno, the tyrant of Philadelphia, because it had already raised the price of provisions, so that it became impossible for him to remain. Antiochus meanwhile, alarmed at the energy displayed by John, invaded Judæa, burning up and desolating the country on his march, and at last besieging him in Jerusalem. He compassed the city with seven encampments and a double ditch, and Hyrcanus was reduced to the last extremities. On the recurrence, however, of the Feast of Tabernacles, Antiochus granted a truce for a week, and supplied the besieged with sacrifices for the occasion, and ended with conceding a peace, on condition that the Jews surrendered their arms, paid tribute for Joppa and other towns, and gave him 500 talents of silver and hostages. On this occasion Josephus says that Hyrcanus opened the sepulchre of David, and took out of it 3000 talents, which he used for his present needs and the payment of foreign mercenaries. This story is utterly discredited by Prideaux, passed over in silence by Milman, but apparently believed by Ewald. Some time afterwards, having made a league with Antiochus, he marched with him on an expedition to Parthia, to deliver Demetrius Nicator, the king's captive brother. This expedition proved fatal to Antiochus, who was killed in battle. Demetrius, however, made his escape, and succeeded him on the throne of Syria, whereupon Hyrcanus availed himself of the opportunity to shake off the Syrian yoke, and establish the independence of Judæa, which was maintained till the time of the subjugation by the Romans. He took two towns beyond the Jordan, Samega and Medaba, as well as the city of Sichem, and destroyed the hated Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim, which for 200 years had been an object of abhorrence to the Jews. He

then turned his arms towards Idumea, where he captured the towns of Dora (Ewald spells it Adora) and Marissa, and forced the rite of circumcision on the Idumeans, who ever afterwards retained it. He proceeded further to strengthen himself by renewing a treaty, offensive and defensive, with the Romans. Demetrius, meanwhile, had little enjoyment of his kingdom. He was unacceptable to the army, who besought Ptolemy Physcon to send them a sovereign of the family of Seleucus, and he accordingly chose for them Alexander Zebina, a pretended son of Alexander Balas. Demetrius was beaten in the fight which ensued between them, and subsequently slain; whereupon Alexander took the kingdom and made a league with Hyrcanus. He found a rival, however, in the person of Antiochus Grypus, the son of Demetrius, who defeated and slew him. The struggle which now took place between the brothers Grypus and Cyzicenus, rivals for the throne, only tended to consolidate the power of Hyrcanus, who quietly enjoyed his independence and amassed great wealth. He likewise made an expedition to Samaria, and reduced the place to great distress by siege. His sons, Antigonus and Aristobulus, were appointed to conduct it, and when Antiochus Cyzicenus came to the relief of the Samaritans, he was defeated and put to flight by Aristobulus. Cyzicenus, however, returned with a reinforcement of 6000 Egyptians, and ravaged the country, thinking to compel Hyrcanus to raise the siege. The attempt was unsuccessful, and he retired, leaving the prosecution of the Jewish war to two of his officers. They likewise failed, and, after a year, Samaria fell into the hands of Hyrcanus, who entirely demolished it, and having dug trenches on the site, flooded it with water. After this Hyrcanus, who himself belonged to the sect of the Pharisees, was exposed to some indignity from one of their party during a banquet, which exasperated him so far that he openly renounced them, and joined himself to the opposite faction of the Sadducees. This occurrence, however, does not seem to have prevented him from passing the remainder of his days happily. He built the palace or castle of Baris on a rock within the fortifications of the temple. Here the princes of his line held their court. It was identical with what Herod afterwards called Antonia. There is some confusion as to the length of his reign. It probably lasted about thirty years. He left five sons. With him terminates the upper house of the Asmonæans or Maccabees, B. C. 107.

Aristobulus succeeded his father as high-priest and supreme governor. He was the first also, after the Captivity, who openly assumed the title of king. He threw his mother, who claimed the throne, into prison, and starved her to death. Three of his brothers, also, he held in bonds. Antigonus, the other one, by whose help he subdued Iturea or Auranitis, a district at the foot of the Anti-libanus, was killed by treachery; and, after a year of misery and crime, Aristobulus died. His wife, Salome or Alexandra, immediately released his brethren, and Alexander Jannæus was made king. One of his brothers, who showed signs of ambition, he slew, the other one he left alone. His first military act was the siege of Ptolemais, which was in the hands of the Syrians. The inhabitants sought help from Ptolemy Lathyrus, who governed Cyprus, but fearing the army of 30,000 men he brought with him, declined to open

\* Formerly 'Rabbath of the children of Ammon.'



their gates to him, whereupon he attacked Gaza and Dora. Alexander pretended to treat with him for the surrender of these places, and at the same time sent to Cleopatra, the widow of Physcon, for a large army to drive him from Palestine. He detected the duplicity of this conduct, and took ample vengeance on Alexander by ravaging the country. He also defeated him with the loss of 30,000 men. Judæa was saved by a large army from Cleopatra, commanded by Chelcias and Ananias, two Jews of Alexandria. They pursued Ptolemy into Cœle-Syria, and besieged Ptolemais, which was reduced. Alexander next invaded the country beyond Jordan. Here also he was defeated, but not thereby discouraged from attacking Gaza, which, after some fruitless attempts, he captured and totally destroyed. His worst enemies, however, were the Pharisees, who had great influence with the people, and a sedition arose during the Feast of Tabernacles, in which the troops slew 6000 of the mob. He again invaded the Trans-Jordanic country, and was again defeated. The Jews rose in rebellion, and for some years the land suffered the horrors of civil war. The rebels applied for aid to Demetrius Eucærus, brother of Ptolemy Lathyrus, and king of Damascus, who completely routed Alexander. A sudden change of fortune, however, put him at the head of 60,000 men, and he marched in triumph to Jerusalem, where he took signal vengeance on his subjects. The rest of his life was peaceful. After a reign of twenty-seven years he died, B. C. 79, solemnly charging his wife, Alexandra, to espouse the Pharisaic party, if she wished to retain her kingdom. His eldest son, Hyrcanus II., became high-priest. Aristobulus, the younger son, espoused the opposite party to his mother. In order to employ his active mind, the queen sent him northwards to check the operations of Ptolemy, king of Chalcis. He got possession of Damascus, and won the affections of the army. After a reign of nine years his mother died, B. C. 70, and Aristobulus forthwith marched towards Jerusalem. Hyrcanus and the Pharisees seized his wife and children as hostages, and met his army at Jericho, but were discomfited, and Aristobulus entered Jerusalem and besieged his brother in the tower of Baris. At length they agreed that Hyrcanus should retire to a private station, and that Aristobulus should be king. This was a fatal blow to the Pharisees. But there was a worse enemy waiting for the conqueror. This was none other than Antipater the Idumean, who had been made general of all Idumea by Alexander Jannæus. He was wealthy, active, and seditious, and possessed, moreover, of great influence with the deposed Hyrcanus. Suspicious of the power, successes, and designs of Aristobulus, he persuaded his brother Hyrcanus to fly to Petra, to Aretas king of Arabia, and with his help an army of 50,000 men was marched against Aristobulus. The Jews were defeated, and the usurper fled to Jerusalem, where he was closely besieged by Aretas, Antipater, and Hyrcanus. Here, however, deliverance was at length brought by Scaurus, the general of Pompey, who, having come to Damascus, and finding that the city had been taken by Metellus and Lollius, himself proceeded hastily into Judæa. His assistance was eagerly sought by both parties. Aristobulus offered him 400 talents, and Hyrcanus the same; but as the former was in possession of the treasure, Scaurus thought that his

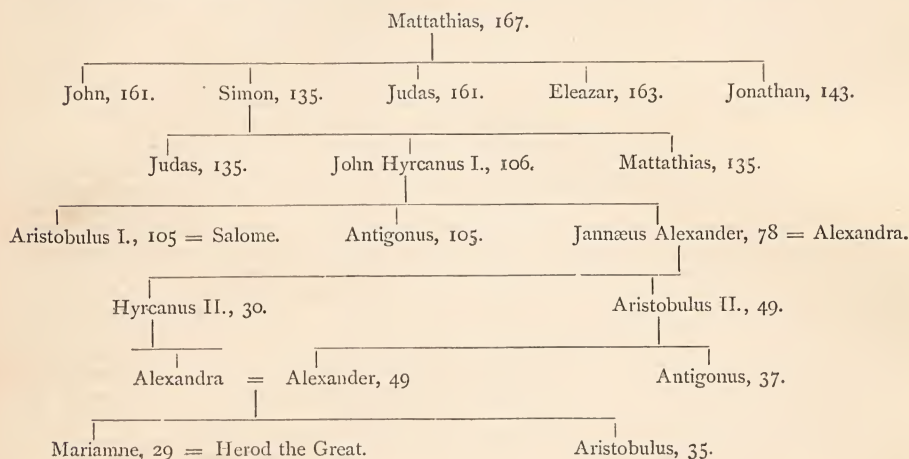
promises were the most likely to be fulfilled, and consequently made an agreement with Aristobulus, raised the siege, and ordered Aretas to depart. He then returned to Damascus; whereupon Aristobulus gathered an army, defeated Aretas and Hyrcanus, and slew 6000 of the enemy, together with Phalion, the brother of Antipater. Shortly after Pompey himself came to Damascus, when both the brothers eagerly solicited his protection. Antipater represented the cause of Hyrcanus. Pompey, however, who was intent on the subjugation of Petra, dismissed the messengers of both, and on his return from Arabia marched directly into Judæa. Aristobulus fled to Jerusalem, but finding the city too distracted to make good its defence, offered to surrender. Gabinus was sent forward to take possession; meanwhile the soldiery had resolved to resist, and when he came he was surprised to find that the gates were shut, and the walls manned. Pompey, enraged at this apparent treachery, threw Aristobulus into chains, and advanced to Jerusalem. The fortress of the Temple was impregnable except on the north, and notwithstanding his engines, Pompey was unable to reduce it for three months, neither could he have done so then, had it not been for the Jewish scruples about observing the Sabbath. The Romans soon found that they could prosecute their operations on that day without disturbance; and after a time the battering-rams knocked down one of the towers, and the soldiers effected an entrance (Midsummer B. C. 63), on the anniversary of the capture of the city by Nebuchadnezzar. Great was the astonishment of Pompey at finding the Holy of Holies empty, without an image or a statue. The wealth he found in the building he magnanimously left untouched; Hyrcanus he reinstated in the high-priesthood; the country he laid under tribute; the walls he demolished; Aristobulus and his family he carried captives to Rome. Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, on the journey made his escape, and, raising a considerable force, garrisoned Machærus, Hyrcania, and the stronghold of Alexandrion. Gabinus, however, subdued him, but had no sooner done so than Aristobulus likewise escaped from Rome, and entrenched himself in Alexandrion. He was taken prisoner, and sent in chains to Rome. At the entreaty of his wife, who had always espoused the Roman cause, Antigonus his son was released, but he remained a prisoner. Alexander, with 80,000 men, once more tried his strength with the Romans on the field of battle, but was put to flight. He was subsequently executed by Metellus Scipio at Antioch, B. C. 49. Thus Hyrcanus retained the sovereignty, but Antipater enjoyed the real power; he contrived to ingratiate himself with Cæsar, who made him a Roman citizen and procurator of all Judæa. He began to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, and made his eldest son, Phasael, governor of that city; and his younger son, Herod, governor of Galilee. The latter soon began to distinguish himself against the banditti that infested the hills. He carefully contrived also to make friends with the Roman governor of Syria, as a step to his own aggrandisement. His riches enabled him to do this by means of enormous bribes. He found, however, a troublesome enemy in Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, who allied himself with the Parthians, and for a time held Jerusalem and kept Herod in check.



At Masada, also, a city on the west coast of the Dead Sea, Antigonus was nearly successful, until Herod at last compelled him to raise the siege. He afterwards suffered a defeat by Herod, and was finally vanquished by the Roman general Sosius, who in derision called him by the female name Antigona, and sent him in chains to Antony, by whom, at the request of Herod, he was put to death, B.C. 37. Thus fell the last of the Maccabees, who seemed to inherit something of their ancient spirit. Hyrcanus, who before this had been incapacitated for the priesthood by having his ears cut off, was subsequently, B.B. 30, in his

eightieth year, put to death by Herod. The latter, meanwhile, by Augustus and Antony, was made king of Judæa, and consolidated his throne by his marriage with Mariamne, a woman of incomparable beauty, the daughter of Alexander, son of Aristobulus, by Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus II., and therefore grand-daughter to both brothers. In her the race of the Asmonæans came to an end, and by her marriage passed into the Idumæan line of the Herodians.

The following scheme will best illustrate the Maccabæan history. The dates given are those of the death in each case in years B.C.



For a table of contemporary Syrian kings, see vol. i. 162; and for further information, see *The books of the Maccabees*; Joseph. *Antiq.*, from book xii. 6. to book xiv.; Milman, *Hist. of Jews*, vol. ii.; Prideaux, *Connection*, vol. ii., Oxford 1838; Ewald, *Geschichte des V. Israel*, vol. iii. pt. 2; and Herzfeld, *Geschichte d. Volk. Isr.*—S. L.

MACCABEES, THE FIRST BOOK OF, one of the five apocryphal productions which have come down to us under this common title.

1. *Title and position of the Book.*—In the editions of the Sept. which we follow, this book is called *the first of Maccabees* (Μακκαβαίων α'), because in the MSS. it is placed at the head of those apocryphal books which record the exploits and merits of the Maccabæan family in their struggles for the restoration of their ancestral religion and the liberation of their Jewish compatriots from the Seleucidian tyranny. According to Origen, however (comp. Euseb., *Hist. Ecclesiast.*, vi. 25), the original Hebrew title of this book was Σαββηθ Σαββαὲ ἐλ. Great difficulty has been experienced in the endeavour to obtain the exact Hebrew equivalent to these words. They have been resolved—1. Into

בני אל (or שרי), *שרבת שרי בני אל*, *History of the princes of the sons of God*, i. e., of Israel (Michaelis, *Orient. Biblioth.*, xii. 115, and most modern commentators).

2. Into שרביט שר בני אל, *the sceptre of the prince of the sons of God*, i. e., of Simon, who is called prince in 1 Maccab. xiii. 41; xiv. 47 (Bochart, Buddens, and Ewald, *Geschichte d. V. Israel*, iv. 528). But this makes chapters xiii.-xvi. the prin-

cipal part of the book, and the rest a mere introduction. 3. Into שר בית שר בני אל *Princeps templi* (i. e., pontifex maximus), *Princeps filiorum Dei* (i. e., dux populi Judaici), based upon the words Σίμωνος ἀρχιερέως μεγάλου καὶ στρατηγικοῦ καὶ ἡγουμένου Ἰουδαίων, 1 Maccab. xiii. 42; and ἐπὶ Σίμωνος ἀρχιερέως ἐν Σαμαρέλ, *ibid.* xiv. 27 (Wernsdorf, *Commentat. de fide libb. Maccab.*, p. 173);

and 4. Into שרביט סרביני אל, *sceptrum rebellium Dei*, i. e., of the Syrian kings, who were regarded as rebelling against God because they persecuted the Jews (Junius, Huetius, etc.), or as Herzfeld, who espouses this solution of the words, explains it, *the chastising rod of the apostates*, which he submits is an appropriate appellation of the Maccabæans (*Geschichte d. V. Israel*, i. p. 265). We incline to the first explanation, because it escapes the censure which the second incurs, and is less artificial than the third and fourth. It must, however, be remarked, that this title does not occur in the Hebrew literature, and that both the ancient and modern Jews call the book ספר החשמונאים, *the book of the Hashmoneans*; ראשון לחשמונאים, *I. Hashmoneans*; כונולת בית חשמונאי, *the scroll of the family of the Hashmoneans*, or simply חשמונאי, *the scroll of the Hashmoneans*, after the title *Hashmoneans*, or *Ashmoneans*, by which the Maccabæan family are denominated [MACCABEES, THE]. Though the book occupies the first position, it ought, according to the historic order, to be the fourth of Maccabees, inasmuch as its narrative commences at a later period than the other three books. Tradition, however,

in determining the priority of position, was evidently guided by the age and the intrinsic value of these books, since 1 Maccab. is obviously the oldest, and surpasses the other three books in importance. Cotton, in his translation of the Maccabees, has departed from this traditional and commonly accepted arrangement, and placed the *first* book as second in order.

2. *Contents and Division of the Book.*—This book contains a lucid and chronological history of the tyrannical proceedings of Antiochus Epiphanes, commencing with the year 175 B.C., and of the series of patriotic struggles against this tyranny, first organised by Mattathias, 168 B.C., down to settled sovereignty and death of Simon, 135 B.C., thus embracing a period of forty years. The whole is divisible into *four parts*, according to the four periods during which the four successive high-priests and princes, Mattathias, Judas Maccabeus, Jonathan, and Simon, ruled over the people and led their armies against the heathen oppressors.

i. The *first part*, of which Mattathias is the hero, comprises chap. i.-ii. 70, and embraces a period from the commencement of Antiochus Epiphanes's reign to the death of Mattathias, 175-167 B.C.

ii. The *second part*, of which Judas Maccabeus is the hero, comprises chap. iii. 1-ix. 22; and describes the exploits and fame of this defender of the faith, 167-160 B.C.

iii. The *third part*, of which Jonathan the high-priest, surnamed Apphus (Ἀπφούς=אֶפְסוּס, *the simulator, the sly one*), is the hero, comprises ch. ix. 23-xii. 53, and records the events which transpired during the period of his government, 160-143 B.C.

iv. The *fourth part*, of which Simon surnamed Thassi (Θασσί=תָּרְסִי, *the flourishing*) is the hero, comprises ch. xiii. 1-xvi. 24, and records the events which occurred during his period of government, 143-135 B.C.

3. *Historical and Religious Character of the Book.*

—There is no book among all the Apocrypha which is distinguished by greater marks of trustworthiness than 1 Maccab. Simplicity, credibility, and candour, alike characterise its description of friends and foes, victories and defeats, hopes and fears. When the theme so animates the writer that he gives expression to his feelings in lyric effusions (*e.g.*, i. 25-28; 37-40; ii. 7-13; 49-68; iii. 3-9; 18-22; iv. 8-11; 30-33, 38; vi. 10-13; vii. 37, 38, 41, 42), no poetic exaggerations and hyperboles deprive the description of its substantially historic character. When recording the victories of his heroes, struggling for their liberties and their religion, he wrests no laws of nature from their regular course to aid the handful of Jewish champions against the fearful odds of their heathen oppressors; and, when speaking of the arch-enemy, Antiochus Epiphanes (i. 10, etc.), he indulges in no unjust and passionate vituperations against him. Even the few historical and geographical inaccuracies in the description of foreign nations and countries, such as the foundation of the Greek empire in the East (1 Maccab. i. 5-9), the power and constitution of Rome (viii. 1-16), 'the great city Elymais in the country of Persia' (vi. 1), etc., so far from impairing the general truthfulness of the narrative when it confines itself to home and the immediate past, only show how faithfully the writer has depicted the general notions of the time, and for this reason are of intrinsic value and instructive. That the writer used written sources,

and important official documents, in his history, is evident from viii. 2, etc.; x. 18, etc.; 25-45; xi. 30-37; xii. 5-23; xiii. 36-40; xiv. 25, etc.; xv. 2-9; xvi. 23, 24; some of these passages being expressly described as *copies* (ἀντίγραφα).

Though its strictly historical character precludes any description of the religious and the theological notions of the day, so that no mention is made in it of a coming Messiah, or a future state, even in the dying speech of Mattathias, wherein he exhorts his sons to sacrifice their lives for the law of God and the covenant of their fathers, and recounts the faith and rewards of Abraham, Joseph, Phinehas, Joshua, Caleb, David, Elijah, Hananiah, Azariah, Mishael, and Daniel (ii. 49-60);\* yet the whole book is permeated with the true spirit of religion and piety. God is throughout acknowledged as overruling all the machinations of the enemy, and prayer is offered up to him for success after all the preparations are made for battle, and before the faithful host encounter their deadly enemies (iii. 18, 19, 44, 48, 53, 60; iv. 10, etc., 24, 25, 30, etc.; v. 34, 54; vii. 36-38, 41, 42; ix. 45, *al.*); and even the tyrant Antiochus Epiphanes is made to acknowledge in his dying hour that he is punished for profaning the Temple and destroying the inhabitants of Judea (vi. 8-13).

4. *Author, Date, and Original Language of the Book.*—All that can be said with certainty about the author of this book is that he was a Palestinian Jew. This is indicated by the whole spirit which pervades the book, by the lively sympathies which the writer manifests for the heroes whom he describes, and by his intimate acquaintance with the localities of Palestine. Not so certain, however, is its date. Prideaux, Michaelis, Hengstenberg, Bertheau, Welte, Scholtz, Keil, and others, though discarding the notion of Lapide, Huet, etc., that John Hyrcanus was the author, are yet of opinion that the concluding words, τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ἰωάννου καὶ τῶν πόλεμων αὐτοῦ . . . ἰδοὺ ταῦτα γέγραπται ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ ἡμερῶν ἀρχιερωσύνης αὐτοῦ, ἀφ' οὗ ἐγενήθη ἀρχιερεὺς μετὰ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ (xvi. 24), plainly show that the book was written during the government of this high-priest, perhaps about 120-106 B.C.; inasmuch as this passage only gives the *terminus a quo* of the high-priesthood of John, without the *terminus ad quem*, thus indicating that John was still living and that his pontificate was not as yet terminated. After the close of the priesthood, or after the death of John, this remark would be superfluous; because no reader could take the words, 'diary of his priesthood,' in any other sense than that they denote a chronicle of the whole duration of it from beginning to the end. Nor can the words εἰς τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης, in xiii. 30, be adduced as implying a later date; for it was something remarkable that, in those days of war and devastation, the sepulchre which Simon made for his family in Modin remained between twenty and thirty years unhurt. Eichhorn, Bertholdt, De Wette, Ewald, Grimm, and others, however, maintain that the book was written after the death of

\* This absence of even the remotest allusion to a future state in the hour of death, or to a resurrection of the dead, it must be confessed, rather favours the conclusion of the ingenious, but daring critic, Dr. Geiger, rabbi at Breslau, that the author of this book was a Sadducee (comp. *Urschrift und Uebersetzung der Bibel*, p. 216, ff.)



John Hyrcanus, oscillating between 105 and 64 B.C. That this book was originally written in Hebrew is not only attested by Origen, who gives the Hebrew title of it (*vide supra*, sec. 1), and by St. Jerome, who saw it (*Maccabæorum primum librum Hebraicum reperi*—*Prol. Gal. ad Libr. Reg.*), but is evident from the many Hebraisms which are literal translations of the Hebrew (comp. καὶ ἡτοιμάσθη ἡ βασιλεῖα=ותכן מלכות, i. 16, with Sept. 1 Sam.

xx. 31; 1 Kings ii. 12: εἰς διάβολον πονηρόν=לשטן רע, i. 36; ἐν τῷ ἐλέω αὐτοῦ=בחסדו, ii. 57, with Jer. ii. 2; ἀπολλυμένοις=אבדים, iii. 9; ἀπὸ γένους τῆς βασιλείας=מזע הכלוכה, iii. 32, with Jer. xli. 1), as well as from the difficulties in the Greek text, which disappear on the supposition of mistakes made by the translator (comp. καὶ ἐσεΐσθη

ἡ γῆ ἐπὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας αὐτήν=ותרעש הארץ על יושביה, i. 28; ἐγένετο δὲ ναὺς αὐτῆς ὡς ἀνήρ ἄδοξος=ביתה כבית איש נבוה, i. e., ביתה כאיש נבוה, ii. 8; see also ii. 34; iii. 3; iv. 19, 24, etc.) The Hebrew of this book, however, like that of the later canonical writings of the O. T., had a considerable admixture of Aramaic expressions (comp. i. 5; iv. 19; viii. 5; xi. 28; and Grimm's *Comment.* on these passages).

As to the Hebrew *Megillath Antiochus* (מגלת אנטיוכוס) still existing, which was first published in the editions of the Pentateuch of 1491 and 1505 along with the other *Megilloth*; is given in the Spanish and Italian Ritual for the Festivals (מזוורים) of 1555-56, etc.; is inserted, with a Latin translation, in Bartolucci's *Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica*, vol. i. p. 383; is printed separately, without the translation, Berlin 1766; and which has recently been republished by Jellinek in his *Beth Ha-Midrash*, i. 142-146—this simply gives a few of the incidents of the Maccabean wars, and makes John the high-priest, who it says slew Nicanor in the Temple, play the most conspicuous part. It tells us that Antiochus began persecuting the Jews in the 23d year of his reign and 213th after the building of the second Temple; and that the descendants of the Maccabees, who crushed the armies of this tyrant, ruled over Israel 206 years, thus following the chronology of the Talmud (comp. *Avoda Zara* 9, a; *Seder Olam Sutta*; De Rossi, *Meor Enajim*, c. xxvi; Zunz, *Gottesdienst. Vorträge*, p. 134). That the Aramaic (Chaldee), which was for the first time published by Filipowski, together with the Hebrew and an English version (London 1851), is the original, and that the Hebrew is a translation, may be seen from a most cursory comparison of the two texts. The Hebrew version slavishly imitates the phrases of the Aramaic original instead of giving the Hebrew idioms. Thus, for instance, the Chaldee בעת שעתה שעה is rendered in the Hebrew version by באותה שעה, instead of בעת ההיא; איש אל אחיו אלה, instead of אלה לאלה, אלן לאלן

איש אל רעהו, etc. It is perfectly astonishing that this document—which was evidently got up about the 7th century of the Christian era, to be recited on the Feast of Dedication in commemoration of the Maccabean victories over the enemies of Israel—should be regarded by Hengstenberg (*Genuineness of Daniel*, Eng. transl., p. 237) as the identical 'Chaldee copy of the first book of Maccabees to which Origen and Jerome refer.' Hengstenberg, moreover, most blunderingly calls

the Hebrew version published by Bartolucci the Chaldee.

5. *Canonicity and Importance of the Book.*—This book never formed a part of the Jewish canon, and is excluded from the canon of sacred books in the catalogues of Melito, Origen, the Council of Laodicea, St. Cyril, St. Hilary, St. Athanasius, St. Jerome, etc. In the Chronicle of Eusebius it is put into the same category as the writings of Josephus and Africanus, so as to distinguish it from the inspired writings, with the remark, 'What we have hitherto related concerning the annals of the Hebrews, is taken out of the Holy Scriptures; what follows is taken out of the books of the Maccabees, Josephus, and Africanus.' Still the book is cited with high respect, and as conducive to the edification of the church at a very early period (August., *De Civit. Dei*, lib. xviii., c. 36). The councils at Hippo and Carthage (A. D. 393 and 397) first formally received it into the canon, and in modern times the Council of Trent has settled for the Catholic Church all disputes about its canonical authority, by putting it into the catalogue of inspired Scripture.

But though the Protestant Church rejects the decisions of these councils, and abides by the ancient Jewish Canon, yet both the leaders of the Reformation and modern expositors rightly attach great importance to this book. The great value of it will be duly appreciated when it is remembered that it is one of the very few surviving records of the most important, but very obscure, period of the Jewish history, between the close of the O. T. and the beginning of the N. T. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that the far-seeing Luther remarks, in his introduction to the translation of this book—'This is another of those books not included in the Hebrew Scriptures, although in its discourses and description it almost equals the other sacred books of Scripture, and would not have been unworthy to be reckoned among them, because it is a very necessary and useful book for the understanding of the prophet Daniel in the eleventh chapter' (*Vorrede auf das erste Buch Maccabæorum*, German Bible, ed. 1536). It is rather surprising that the Anglican Church has not prescribed any lessons to be read from this book. A reference to 1 Maccab. iv. 59, however, is to be found in the margin of the A. V., John x. 22.

6. *Versions and Literature.*—The Greek version given in the editions of the Sept., which must have been made very shortly after the publication of the original Hebrew, since Josephus had already used it (comp. *Antiq.* xii., xiii.), is easy, simple, and unaffected in style, and there can be little doubt that the translator was conversant with the Sept., and frequently used its phraseology and renderings (comp. i. 54; ii. 63; vii. 9, 23; xiv. 9, etc.) From it was made the old Latin version current before Jerome, which is now incorporated in the Romish Vulgate, and an earlier text of which, following more literally the Greek, and comprising ch. i.-xiv. 1, was published by Sabatier from a very ancient MS. in the Library of St. Germain at Paris (*St. Germain MS.* 15). Angelo Mai has also published a fragment of another Latin translation, comprising ch. ii. 49-64, which differs very materially from both texts (*Specilegium Romanorum*, vol. ix. p. 60, *seq.*) The old Syriac version given in the Paris and London Polyglotts, and by De Lagarde, *Libri Veteris Testamenti Apocryphi*



*Syriace*, London 1861, is, like the Latin, made literally from the Greek. Of commentaries and exegetical helps, are to be mentioned the works of Drusus and Grotius, reprinted in the *Critici Sacri*; Calmet, *Commentaire Literal*, etc., vol. viii., Paris 1724; Michaelis, *Deutsche Uebersetzung des 1 Maccab. B.'s mit Amerkk.*, Göttingen und Leipzig 1778; Eichhorn, *Einleitung in die apokryphischen Schriften d. A. T.*, Leipzig 1795, pp. 218-248; Hengstenberg, *Genuineness of Daniel*, Eng. transl., Edinburgh 1847, pp. 235-239, 267-270; Cotton, *The Five Books of Maccabees*, Oxford 1832; Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. iv., p. 526, ff.; the masterly work of Grimm, *Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apokryphen*, Leipzig 1853; Geiger, *Urschrift und Uebersetzung der Bibel*, Breslau 1857, pp. 206-219.—C. D. G.

MACCABEES, THE SECOND BOOK OF, according to the order of the Sept., which is followed both by the ancient versions and modern expositors of the Apocrypha.

1. *Position of the Book.*—This book ought, according to the historic order, to be the first of the Maccabees, because its narrative begins with an event which occurred in the reign of Seleucus Philopator, about 180 B.C., *i. e.*, four years earlier than the preceding book. Its being placed second in order is evidently owing to the fact that it is both of a later date and of less intrinsic worth than the one nominated the first of the Maccabees. Cotton, in his translation of the Maccabees, has put this book as third of Maccabees.

2. *Design, Contents, and Division of the Book.*—The design of this book is to admonish and encourage the Jews to keep the religion of their fathers, and especially to inculcate into the minds of the Israelites resident in Egypt a reverence for the Temple in Jerusalem, urging them to take part in the celebration of the festivals instituted to commemorate the dedication of the Temple as the sacred and legitimate place for divine worship (x. 6), and the defeat of Nicanor (xv. 36). To effect this design the writer gives a condensed history of the Maccabean struggles for their religion and sanctuary, beginning with the attempts of Heliodorus to plunder the Temple, *circa* 180 B.C., and terminating with the victory of Judas Maccabæus over Nicanor, B.C. 161. The whole narrative, therefore, which is partly (iii. 1-iv. 6) anterior to 1 Maccab., partly (iv. 7-vii. 42) supplementary to the brief summary in 1 Maccab. i. 10-64, and partly (vii. 1-xv.) parallel with 1 Maccab. iii. 1-vii. 48, embraces a period of about nineteen years, and is divided into three sections, each of which is made to terminate with the great event commemorated by the festival which the writer is so anxious that his Egyptian brethren should celebrate.

i. The first section (i. 1-ii. 32) comprises two epistles addressed by the Jews in Palestine to their brethren in Egypt, inviting them to take part in the celebration of the Feast of Dedication (i. 1-ii. 18), and an account given by the writer of this book of the sources from which he derived his information, and of the trouble he had in compiling it (ii. 19-32).

ii. The second section (iii. 1-x. 9) gives important information about the origin of the persecutions (iii. 1-vii. 42), which is simply hinted at in 1 Maccab., and then describes and supplements (in viii. 1-ix. 29) the events recorded in 1 Maccab.,

concluding with the dedication of the Temple (x. 1-9), which is the great object of the book, *circa* 180-165 B.C.

iii. The third section (x. 10-xv. 37) records the various victories of the Jews, terminating in the crowning success of Judas Maccabæus and the death of Nicanor, which led to the institution of the feast commemorating the victory over him, 164-161 B.C.

This is followed by an epilogue (xv. 38-40) which is wanting in Coverdale's Bible, in Matthew's, 1537; in Cranmer's, 1539; and in the various reprints of these editions; and which the Geneva Bible, 1560, followed by the Bishops', 1568, was the first to insert. This omission on the part of Coverdale greatly perplexed Dr. Cotton. Now, on referring to the Zurich Bible, which Coverdale translated, it will be seen that this epilogue is not to be found in it, and hence the omission of it by Coverdale. We have thus another proof of the slavish dependence of Coverdale on the Zurich version [COVERDALE].

3. *Author, Date, and Original Language of this Book.*—The compiler of this book distinctly declares that the original author of it, or of the 'five books' from which he condensed the narrative before us, was 'Jason of Cyrene' (ii. 23). Herzfeld thinks that this Jason is the same as Jason the son of Eleazar, whom Judas Maccabæus sent with Eupolemus as envoy to Rome after the defeat of Nicanor to conclude a treaty with the Romans (1 Maccab. viii. 17; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 10. 6); because it is only a Hellenistic Jew who, being master of the Greek language, would be qualified for such a mission to a foreign court. This hypothesis, moreover, explains the otherwise anomalous circumstance that this book, which records the Maccabæan struggles, goes no further in its history than the victory over Nicanor, inasmuch as up to this point Jason was an eye-witness to the exploits of Judas, and was sent to Rome after this most important event; and is confirmed by the accurate knowledge which the writer displays of the events (iv. 21, ff.; viii. 1, ff.; ix. 29, ff.; x. 12, 13; xiv. 1; Herzfeld, *Geschichte d. Volkes Israel*, i. 445, ff.) Accordingly, the original work must have been written about 160 B.C., immediately after the victory over Nicanor, and prior to the defeat and death of Judas (1 Maccab. ix. 16-18), which brought new calamities upon the holy city, and again transferred the power to the heathenish-inclined Jews under the pontificate of Alcimus (1 Maccab. ix. 23-29). The errors in the order of the events and of history must be ascribed to the epitomator, whose great object was not to narrate history faithfully, but to make the facts harmonise with his design. As a Cyrene Jew, Jason most naturally composed his work in Greek; and Jerome's testimony, '*Secundus [Machabæorum liber] græcus est, quod ex ipsa quoque phrasi probari potest*' (Prol. Gal.), is fully borne out by the style of the epitome. The author of it not only uses idiomatic Greek phrases, as *σωφροσύνη* καὶ *εὐταξία*, iv. 37; *κατάρχεσθαι* χειρῶν ἀδίκων, iv. 40; *ἐντυγχάνειν* τῇ βίβλῳ, vi. 12; xv. 39; *καλὸν* καὶ *ἀγαθόν*, xv. 12, etc.; but unusual and unique expressions, as *τὰ πρωτοκλίσια*, iv. 21; *δυσπέτῃμα*, v. 20; *προσαναλέγεσθαι*, viii. 19; *ὀπλολογεῖν* τινά, viii. 27, 31; *πολεμοτροφεῖν*, x. 14, xiv. 6; *διδασταλῆς*, xiii. 25; *προσπυροῦν*, xiv. 11; etc. The epitomator or compiler of the present book was a Hellenistic Jew,

residing in Palestine, and must have lived a considerable period after the events transpired. The date of the compilation is put within the limits 124-50 B.C. The two epistles with which the book begins do not proceed from Jason, and are of a much later date, though the first purports to have been written 124 B.C., or 188 of the Seleucidæ; and the second, by mentioning a recent deliverance from great perils, evidently implies that it was written after the news of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, *i.e.*, 148 of the Seleucidæ. The original language of these letters seems to be Hebrew. Indeed, Geiger shows that the difficult passage, ἀφ' οὗ ἀπέστη Ἰάσων καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ἁγίας γῆς καὶ τῆς βασιλείας (i. 7), which is ambiguous, and, as commonly understood, represents Jason and his companions as apostatising from the land and the kingdom, is, when retranslated into Hebrew, מעת כר יאסון ואשר אתו מאדמת הקדש

והמלוכה, shown to mean, *from the time that Jason and those who sided with him from the*

*holy land and the kingdom, apostatised*; המלוכה

either stands for הורע המלוכה, *royal descent* (comp. 2 Kings xxv. 25; Jer. xli. 1; Ezek. xvii. 13; Dan. i. 3), or refers back to אדמת in the sense

of עיר המלוכה (2 Sam. xii. 26), *i.e.*, those who call themselves after the sacred ground of the royal residence. The same is the case with i. 9, 18, where the *Feast of Dedication* is most extraordinarily called the *Feast of Tabernacles*, which can only be explained when the passages are retranslated into Hebrew. Now, the Hebrew for ἵνα ἄγῃτε τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς σκηνοπηγίας τοῦ Χασελεύ

μηνός (i. 9) is לָמַעַן תַּחֲנוּ יָמֵי חַג חֹדֶשׁ כְּסֻלִּי; and for ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄγῃτε τῆς σκηνοπηγίας (καὶ) τοῦ

πυρός (i. 18), is לָמַעַן תַּחֲנוּ נֶגַם אֲתָם אֶת חַג הָאֵשׁ. When it is borne in mind that the expression חַג, which is the general term for *feast* in earlier Hebrew (Exod. x. 9; xii. 14; Lev. xxiii. 39), was afterwards used for the Feast of Tabernacles (1 Kings viii. 2; 2 Chron. v. 3; Joseph. *Antiq.* viii. 4. 1), it will at once be seen that the translator of these epistles, instead of rendering the word in question simply by *feast*, attached to it the later sense of the specific festival, which he was evidently led to do by the fact that both these festivals are of eight days' duration, and that the Feast of Tabernacles is mentioned in x. 6. So also διαβολῆαι τὴν καρδίαν ὑμῶν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ αὐτοῦ (i. 4) is a translation of יַתַּח לִבְכֶּם בַּתּוֹרָה.

4. *Historical and Religious Character of the Book.*—As the avowed design of the book is religio-didactic and parenetic, the aim of the writer was not to recount a series of dry facts in chronological order, but rather to select such events from the period on which he treats, and arrange, embellish, and comment upon them in such a manner as shall most strikingly set forth to his Egyptian brethren the marvellous interposition of God to preserve the only legitimate and theocratic sanctuary in Jerusalem. Hence the desire to point out the signal punishment of the wicked according to the principle *in eo genere quisque punitur, in quo peccavit* (v. 9, 10; ix. 5, 6; xiii. 8; xv. 32, 33); the moral reflections (v. 17-20; vi. 12-16; ix. 8-10; xii. 43-45); the coloured descriptions (iii. 14-23; v. 11-20); the exaggerated account of the martyrdom of the

seven brothers and their mother, which king Antiochus, for the sake of effect, is made to witness in Jerusalem (vi. 18-vii. 42); the enormous numbers of the enemy slain by a handful of Jews (viii. 24, 30; x. 23, 31; xi. 11; xii. 16, 19, 23, 26, 28; xv. 27); the numerous and strange miracles (iii. 25-27; v. 2, 3; x. 29-31; xi. 8-10; xv. 12; etc.); the historical and chronological inaccuracies, *e.g.*, making Antiochus witness the death of the Jewish martyrs (vii. 3); the death of Antiochus (ix.); representing the sacrifices to have been renewed after *two* years' interruption (2 Maccab. x. 3 with 1 Maccab. iv. 52, 54; i. 54, 59); the description of the different battles which the Jews fought between the purification of the Temple and the death of Antiochus (2 Maccab. viii. 30; x. 15-38; xii. 2-43, with 1 Maccab. v.); the campaign of Lysias (2 Maccab. xi. 1-12 with 1 Maccab. iv. 26-32); etc. etc. But apart from these embellishments, traditional stories, inversions of events, etc., which, in accordance with ancient usage, the author adopted in order to carry out his design, and in spite of the fact that the two letters with which the book begins are now generally given up as spurious, the best critics accept the groundwork of the facts as true. Grimm, whose elaborate, thorough, and impartial comment on this book is unparalleled, has shown that there is no ground to question the historical import of the most important section (iv.-vi. 10), which is not only most consistent in itself, but fits most appropriately the space of 1 Maccab. i. 10-64; or the truthfulness of chap. iii., when stripped of the miraculous. He says that its truthfulness, within the specified limits, is supported by the fact that—1. Notwithstanding the many differences, it agrees in not a few portions with 1 Maccab., though both these books are perfectly independent of each other; and 2. In four events which it records anterior to 1 Maccab., it agrees with Josephus, who is entirely independent of it—viz., the account of the Temple at Gerizim (vi. 2 with Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 5. 5); the execution of Menelaus at Béræa (xiii. 3-8 with Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 9. 7); the landing of Demetrius at Tripolis (xiv. 1); and of the priestly intrigues (iv.) which were the cause of the protracted series of struggles between the Jews and the Syrian monarchs.

The religious character of the book is one of its most important and interesting features. God is throughout recognised as ordaining even the most minute affairs of his people; the calamities which befel them are looked upon by the Jews as a temporary visitation for their sins (iv. 16, 17; v. 17-20; vi. 12-17; vii. 32, 33; xii. 40); and the sufferings which come upon the righteous in this common visitation are regarded as atoning for the sins of the rest of the people, and staying the anger of God (vii. 38). The book, moreover, shows that the interposition of angels for the salvation of the people (x. 29, etc.; xii. 2, etc.), and supernatural manifestations (iii. 25; v. 2, etc.; xiii. 2, etc.), which play a very important part in the N. T., were of no common occurrence. What is, however, most striking, is, that not only did the Jews then believe in the surviving of the soul after the death of the body, in the resurrection of the dead, and in their reunion with those near and dear to them (vii. 6, 9, 11, 14, 23, 29, 36), but that God does not irrevocably seal the eternal doom of man immediately after his departure, and that the decision of our Heavenly Father may be influenced by



the prayers and sacrifices of the surviving friends of the departed (xii. 43-45). This passage also shows that the offering of sacrifices for the dead must have been common in those days, inasmuch as it is spoken of in very commendable terms. The striking distinction between the religious sentiments of this book and those of the former, goes far to justify Geiger's conclusion, that 'the two books of Maccabees are party productions; the author of the first was a Sadducee, and a friend of the Maccabean dynasty, whilst the author or epitomator of the second was a Pharisee, who looked upon the Maccabees with suspicion' (*Urschrift*, p. 206). Still, the second book, like the first, contains no hopes about the coming of a Messiah.

5. *Canonicity of the Book.*—Though portions of this book are incorporated in the Jewish writings, and form a part of the Ritual, viz., the martyrdom of the seven brothers and their mother (ch. vi. 1-42), which is not only mentioned in the Talmud (*Gittin*, 57, b), the Midrash of the ten commandments (ed. Jellinek, *Beth Ha-Midrash*, i. p. 70, etc.); Midrash Jalkut (*On Deut.*, section תנ"ך, 301, b), etc.; but is interwoven in the service for the Feast of Dedication (comp. *The Fazer*, חנוכה, אורח חיים); the martyrdom of Eleazar (ch. vi. 18-31) also embodied in the same service, and described by Josippon, who also speaks of the wonderful appearance of the horsemen, and other circumstances narrated in 2 Maccab. (comp. *Josippon*, lib. ii. c. ii-iv., ed. Breithaupt, p. 172, ff.)—yet the book was never part of the Jewish canon. Hence, even if it could be shown more unquestionably that the apparent parallels between 2 Maccab. and diverse passages in the N. T. (comp. 2 Maccab. i. 4 with Acts xvi. 14; 2 Maccab. v. 19 with Mark ii. 27; 2 Maccab. vi. 19, vii. 2, etc., with Heb. xi. 35; 2 Maccab. vii. 14 with John v. 29; 2 Maccab. vii. 22, etc., xiv. 46, with Acts xvii. 24-26; 2 Maccab. vii. 36 with Rev. vi. 9; 2 Maccab. viii. 2 with Luke xxi. 24, Rev. xi. 2; 2 Maccab. x. 7 with Rev. vii. 9; 2 Maccab. xv. 3-5 with Ephes. vi. 9) are actual quotations, it would only prove that the apostles, like the rest of their Jewish brethren, alluded to the incidents recorded in this book without regarding the book itself as canonical. The only references, however, to be found in the A. V. are from Heb. xi. 35, 36, to 2 Maccab. vi. 18, 19; vii. 7, etc.; and vii. 1-7; but even these are disputed, and it is much more likely that the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews refers to the sufferings of the Essenes (comp. Ginsburg, *The Essenes*, etc., Longman 1864, p. 36). In harmony with the decisions of the Jewish church, this book is excluded from the canon of sacred books in the catalogues of Melito, Origen, the Council of Laodicea, St. Cyril, St. Hilary, etc. (comp. Du Pin, *History of the Canon*, London 1699, vol. i. p. 12). Jerome emphatically declares:—'*Maccabæorum libros legit quidem ecclesia, sed eos inter canonicas scripturas non recipit*' (*Pref. in Prov.*); and Augustine, though stating that this book, like 1 Maccab., was regarded by the Christians as not useless, yet expressly states that the Jews did not receive it into the canon (*Contra ep. Gaudent.* i. 31), and draws a distinction between it and the canonical Scriptures (*De Civ. Dei*, xviii. 36). The Council of Trent, however, has settled (April 8, 1546) the canonicity of it for the Roman Church. The Protestant Church generally agrees with Luther, who remarks, 'We tolerate it because of the beautiful

history of the Maccabean seven martyrs and their mother, and other pieces. It is evident, however, that the writer was no great master, but produced a patchwork of various books; he has likewise a perplexing knot in ch. xiv. in Razis, who committed suicide, which was also troublesome to Augustine and other Fathers. For such example is of no use, and is not to be commended, though it may be tolerated and charitably explained. It also describes the death of Antiochus in ch. i. differently from 1 Maccab. To sum it all up: Just as 1 Maccab. deserves to be adopted in the number of sacred Scriptures, so 2 Maccab. deserves to be thrown out, though there is something good in it' (*Vorrede auf das Zweite Buch Maccabæorum*, German Bible, ed. 1536).

6. *Versions and Literature.*—There are two ancient versions of this book, a Latin and a Syriac. The Latin, which was current before Jerome, and does not always follow closely the Greek, is now incorporated in the Romish Vulgate, whilst the Syriac, which is still less literal, is given both in vol. iv. of the London Polyglott and by De Lagarde, *Libri Veteris Testamenti Apocryphi Syriaci*, London 1861. Of commentaries and exegetical helps, are to be mentioned—Whitaker, *A Disputation on Holy Scripture*, Parker Society, Cambridge 1849, p. 93-102; Whiston, *A Collection of Authentic Records*, London 1727, vol. i. p. 200-232; Hasse, *Das ant. Buch d. Makk. neu über. m. Anmerk.*, Jena 1786; Eichhorn, *Einleitung in die apok. Schriften d. Alten Test.*, Leipzig 1795, p. 249-278; Bertheau, *De Secundo Maccabæor. libro*, Göttingen 1829; Cotton, *The Five Books of Maccabees*, Oxford 1832, p. 148-217; Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. iv. p. 530, ff.; Schlünkes, *Epistolæ que Secundo Maccab. libro*, cap. i.-ii. 9, *legitur explicatio, commentat. crit.*, Colon. 1854; Herzfeld, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Nordhausen 1854, vol. i. p. 443-456; Patritius, *De Consensu utriusque libri Maccab.*, Rom. 1856; Geiger, *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel*, Breslau 1857, p. 219-230; and above all, the valuable work of Grimm, *Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zu d. Apokryphen d. Alten Testaments*, part iv., Leipzig 1857.—C. D. G.

MACCABEES, THE THIRD BOOK OF, not given in the Romish Vulgate, the Apocrypha of the A. V., nor in Protestant versions generally, but still read in the Greek Church.

1. *Title and Position of the Book.*—This book is improperly called the third of Maccabees, since it does not at all record the exploits of the Maccabean heroes, but narrates events of an earlier date. It, however, derives its name from the fact that this appellation, which originally belonged to Judas, was afterwards used in the sense of *martyrs*, and was extended to the Alexandrian Jews who suffered for their faith's sake either immediately before or after the Maccabean period. In the *Synopsis of the Pseudo-Athanasius*, it is apparently also called *Ptolemaïca*, from the name of the royal hero (comp. Μακκαβαϊκά βιβλία δ' Πτολεμαϊκά, p. 432, ed. Migne, for which Credner, Grimm, etc., suggest that the true reading is, Μακκαβαϊκά καὶ Πτολεμαϊκά, and that this book is to be understood by Πτολεμ.—Grimm, *Comment.*, p. 220). Properly speaking, this book ought to precede the former two productions, and occupy the *first* position, since it is prior in time to both the first

and second Maccabees. But tradition has assigned to it a third position, because it came into circulation later than the others, and was regarded as being of third-rate importance. Cotton, in his edition of the *Five Books of Maccabees*, has placed it as 1 Maccab.

2. *Design and Contents of the Book.*—The design of this book is to comfort the Alexandrian Jews in their sufferings for their faith in the God of Abraham, and to encourage them to steadfastness and perseverance by recounting to them the experience of the past, which most unquestionably shows that the theocracy cannot perish; that though tyrants might vent their rage on the chosen people, the Lord will not suffer the enemy to triumph over them, but will appear for their deliverance, avenge himself on their persecutors, as well as put to confusion those of the Israelites who have apostatised from their ancestral religion. To illustrate this, the writer narrates the following incident from the dealings of Providence with his covenant people:—Ptolemy IV. Philopator, on returning from his victory over Antiochus the Great (217 B.C.), was waited upon by envoys from Jerusalem to congratulate him on his success, which made him visit the holy city and offer sacrifices in the Temple, when he was seized with a desire to penetrate into the Holy of Holies (i. 1-11), and as the entreaties of the people failed to make the king relinquish his outrageous desire, the high-priest Simon prayed to the King of kings, who immediately chastised this insolent heathen, by throwing him down paralysed on the ground (ii. 1-23). Enraged at this, he wreaked his vengeance, on his arrival in Egypt, on the Alexandrian Jews, ordering that they should be deprived of their citizenship and be branded with an ivy leaf, unless they agreed to be initiated into the orgies of Bacchus (24-30). A few complied, but the bulk of the chosen people refused to apostatise from their ancestral religion (31, 32). These were ordered to be chained, with their wives and children, sent from all parts of the country to Alexandria, and confined in the Hippodrome outside the city (iii. iv. 20), to be trampled to death by 500 drunken elephants (v. 1-5). Thus devoted to destruction for their faith, the Jews prayed for help to the God of their fathers, who visited the king with deep forgetfulness, and thereby momentarily averted the impending calamity, which, however, was only postponed to the following daybreak (6-50). Then Eleazar, an aged priest, earnestly prayed for his people (vi. 1-15); and just as he finished praying, the royal train and the elephants arrived at the Hippodrome, when suddenly two angels appeared in terrible form, visible to all but the Jews, making the affrighted elephants go backwards and crush the soldiers (16-21). This changed the king's anger into pity, and with tears in his eyes he at once 'set free the sons of the Almighty, heavenly, living God,' and made a great feast for them (22-30). To commemorate this marvellous interposition of their heavenly Father, the Jews instituted an annual festival, to be celebrated 'through all the dwellings of their pilgrimage for after generations' (31-41). The faithful Jews had not only their mourning turned into joy, and the royal protection for the future, but were permitted by the king to inflict condign punishment on those of their brethren who had forsaken the religion of their fathers in order to escape the temporary sufferings;

'thus the most high God worked wonders throughout for their deliverance' (vii. 1-23).

3. *Historical Character of the Book.*—Though the parenthetic design of the book made the writer so modify and embellish the facts which he records as to render them most subservient to his object, yet the assertion of Dr. Davidson, that 'the narrative appears to be nothing but an absurd Jewish fable' (*Introduction to the O. T.*, iii. p. 454), is far too sweeping. That the ground-work of it is true, as Prideaux rightly remarks (*The O. and N. T. connected*, part ii. book ii., anno 216), is attested by collateral history. 1. The account it gives of Ptolemy's expedition to Coele-Syria, and his victory over Antiochus at Raphia (i. 1-7) is corroborated both by Polybius (v. 40; 58-71; 79-87) and Justin (xxx. 1). 2. The character which it ascribes to Ptolemy—that he was cruel, vicious, and given to the orgies and mysteries of Bacchus—is literally confirmed both by Plutarch, who in his essay *How to distinguish Flatterers from Friends*, says, 'such praise was the ruin of Egypt, because it called the effeminacy of Ptolemy, his wild extravagances, loud prayers, his marking with an ivy leaf (*εἰς τὸν ἰσχυρὸν*), and his drums, piety' (cap. xii., comp. also *In Cleomene*, cap. xxxiii. and xxxvi.), and by the author of the Greek *Etymologicon*, who tells us that Philopator was called *Gallus*, because he was marked with the leaf of an ivy, like the priests called Galli; for in all the Bacchanalian solemnities they were crowned with ivy (Γάλλος ὁ φιλοπάτωρ Πτολεμαῖος διὰ τὸ φύλλα κισσοῦ καταστῆσαι ὡς οἱ Γάλλοι, etc.) 3. Josephus's deviating account (*Cont. Ap. Suppl.*, ii. 5) of the events here recorded, which shows that he has derived his information from an independent source, proves that something of the sort did actually take place. 4. The statement in vi. 36, that they instituted an annual festival to commemorate the day of their deliverance, to be celebrated in all future time, the fact that this festival was actually kept in the days of Josephus (comp. *ibid.* ii. 5), and the consecration of a pillar and synagogue at Ptolemais (vii. 20), are utterly unaccountable on the supposition that this deliverance was never wrought. The doubts which De Wette (*Einleitung*, sec. 305), Ewald (*Geschichte d. V. L.*, iv. 535, ff.), Grimm (*Comment.* p. 217), and Davidson (*Introd.*, iii. 455), raise against the historic ground-work of this narrative, are chiefly based upon the fact that Dan. xi. 11, etc., does not allude to it. Those critics therefore submit that the book typically portrays Caligula, who commanded that his own statue should be placed in the temple, in a current tradition respecting the murderous commands of Ptolemy VII. Physcon against the Jews, which it transferred by mistake to Ptolemy Philopator.

4. *Author, Original Language, Integrity, and Date of the Book.*—It is generally admitted that the author of this book was an Alexandrian Jew, and that he wrote in Greek. This, indeed, is evident from its ornate, pompous, and fluent style, as well as from the copious command of expression which the writer possessed. Though this book resembles 2 Maccab. in the use of certain expressions (e.g., ἀγέρωχος, 3 Maccab. i. 25; ii. 3, with 2 Maccab. ix. 7) in the employment of purely Greek proper names to impart a Greek garb to Jewish things and ideas (3 Maccab. v. 20, 42; vii. 5, with 2 Maccab. iv. 47), etc., yet is the style of the two books so different, that it is impossible to claim for them the same author. The author of this book sur-



passes 2 Maccab. in offensively seeking after artificial, and hence very frequently obscure, phrases (e.g., i. 9, 14, 17, 19; ii. 31; iii. 2; iv. 5, 11; v. 17; vii. 5), in poetic expression and ornamental turns (i. 8; ii. 19, 31; iii. 15; iv. 8; v. 26, 31, 47; vi. 4, 8, 20), in bombastic sentences to designate very simple ideas (e.g., ὁρόμουν συνίστασθαι = τρέχειν, i. 19; ἐν πρεσβείῳ τὴν ἡλικίαν λελογχώς, vi. 1), in using rare words or such as occur nowhere else (e.g., i. 20; ii. 29; iv. 20; v. 25; vi. 4, 20), or using ordinary words in strange senses (e.g., i. 3, 5; iii. 14; iv. 5; vii. 8; comp. Grimm, *Comment.*, p. 214). There is also an abruptness about the book (e.g., its beginning with ὁ δὲ Φιλόπατορ, it refers, in τῶν προσαποδεχμένων, ii. 25, to some passage not contained in the present narrative), which has led to the supposition that it is either a mere fragment of a larger work (Ewald, Davidson, etc.), or that the beginning only has been lost (Grimm, Keil, etc.). Against this, however, Graetz rightly urges, that it most thoroughly and in a most complete manner carries through its design. All the attempts to determine the age of the book are based upon pure conjecture, and entirely depend upon the view entertained about its contents, as may be seen from the two extremes between which its date has been placed. Thus Allin (*Judgment of the Jewish Church*, p. 67) will have it that 'it was written by a Jew of Egypt, under Ptolemy Philopator, i.e., about 200 B. C. ;' while Grimm places it about 39 or 40 A. D.

5. *Canonicity of the Book.*—Like the other Apocrypha, this book was never part of the Jewish canon. In the Apostolic canons, however, which are assigned to the 3d century, it is considered as *sacred writing* (*Can.* 85); Theodoret, too (died circa A.D. 457), quotes it as such (*in Dan.* xi. 7). Still it was never accepted in the Western Churches, formed no part of the Roman Vulgate, and was therefore not received into the canon of the Catholic Church, nor inserted as a rubric in the Apocrypha contained in the translations of the Bible made by the Reformers.

6. *Versions and Literature.*—The Greek is contained in the Alexandrian and Vatican MSS., and is given in Valpy's ed. of the Sept. The oldest version of it is the Syriac, which is very free, and full of mistakes; it is given in the London Polyglott, and has lately been published by De Lagarde, *Libri Veteris Testamenti Apocryphi*, London 1861. The first Latin version of it is given in the *Complutensian Polyglott*; another Latin version, by F. Nobilius, is given in the *London Polyglott*; the first German translation, as far as we can trace it, is given in the *Zurich Bible printed by Froschover*, 1531; another, by Joach. Ciremberger, appeared in *Wittenberg* 1554; De Wette in the first edition of his translation of the Bible, made conjointly with Augusti (1809-14), also gave a version of this book, which is now excluded from his Bible; and another German version is given in Gutmann's translation of the Apocrypha, Altona 1841. The first English version was put forth by Walter Lynne in 1550, which was appended, with some few alterations, to the Bible printed by John Daye, 1551; and reprinted separately in 1563; a new and better version, with some notes, was published by Whiston, *Authentic Records*, London 1727, vol. i., p. 162-208; a third version, made by Crutwell, is the *Bible with Bp. Wilson's notes*, Bath 1785; and a fourth version, with brief but useful notes, was

made by Cotton, *The Five Books of Maccabees*, Oxford 1832. Of exegetical helps are to be mentioned, Eichhorn, *Einleitung in d. apokr. Schriften d. A. T.*, Leipzig 1795, p. 278-289; Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. iv., p. 535, ff.; Herzfeld, *Geschichte d. Volkes Israel*, vol. i., p. 457, etc.; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. iii., 2d ed., Leipzig 1863, p. 444, etc.; Gaab, *Handbuch zum philologischen Verstehen der apokryphischen Schriften d. A. T.*, vol. ii., Tübingen 1818, p. 614, ff.; and especially Grimm, *Kurzfassstes exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apokryphen d. A. T.*, Leipzig 1857, p. 213, ff.—C. D. G.

MACCABEES, THE FOURTH BOOK OF, though not given in the Roman Vulgate, and therefore not inserted in the Apocrypha contained in the Bibles translated by the Reformers, yet exists in Greek in two leading texts. One, which, on account of its more extensive circulation, may be called the *received* or *common* text, is contained in the early edition of the Sept. printed at Strasburg 1526, Basel 1545 and 1550, Frankfurt 1597, Basel 1582, and in the editions of Josephus's work, and is given in its purest form in Bekker's edition of Josephus, six volumes, Leipzig 1855-56. The other is the Alexandrian or that of the Codex Alexandrinus, and is the more ancient and preferable one; it is contained in the editions of the Sept. by Grabe and Bretinger, and is adopted with some few alterations after the common text in Apel's edition of the Apocrypha, Leipzig 1837.

1. *Title of the Book.*—This book is called 4 *Maccab.* (Μακκαβαίων δ' ἡ τετάρτη τῶν Μακκαβαϊκῶν βιβλος) in the various MSS. in the Codex Alexandrinus, by Philostorgius and Syncellus (p. 529, 4, and 530, 17, ed. Dind.); in Cod. Paris. A, it is denominated 4 *Maccab.*, a *Treatise on Reason* (Μακκαβαίων τέταρτος περὶ σώφρονος λογισμοῦ), by Eusebius (*Hist. Ecclesiast.*, iii. 10, b) and Jerome (*Catal. Script. Ecclesiast.*) it is called, *On the Supremacy of Reason* (περὶ αὐτοκράτορος λογισμοῦ), and in the editions of Josephus's works, *Josephus's Treatise on the Maccabees* (Φλαβ. Ἰωσήφου εἰς Μακκαβαίους λόγος).

2. *Design, Division, and Contents of the Book.*—The design of this book is to encourage the Jews, who—being surrounded by a philosophical heathenism, and taunted by its moral and devout followers with the trivial nature and apparent absurdity of some of the Mosaic precepts—were in danger of being led astray from their faith, to abide faithfully by the Mosaic law, and to stimulate them to observe in every way their ancestral religion, by convincing them of the reasonableness of their divine law, and its unparalleled power to control the human passions (comp. xviii. 1, 2). To carry out this design the book is divided into *two parts*, opening with an introduction, as follows—

*The introduction*, comprising ch. i. 1-12, contains the resumé of the whole book, and the grand problem for discussion—viz., whether the rational will, permeated and regulated by true piety, has perfect mastery over the passions (ὅτι αὐτοδέσποτος [αὐτοκράτωρ] ἐστὶ τῶν παθῶν εὐσεβὴς λογισμός).

i. *The first part*, comprising ch. i. 13-iii. 19, contains a *philosophical* disquisition on this problem, giving a definition of reason, or the rational will, and of the wisdom which is to be gained by studying the Mosaic law, and which shows itself in the four cardinal virtues—discernment, justice, pru-

dence, and fortitude; describes the different passions, and shows that reason, pervaded by piety, has the mastery over them all, except forgetfulness and ignorance.

ii. The *second part*, comprising ch. iii. 20-xviii. 20, demonstrates the proposition, that sanctified reason has the mastery over the passions, by giving a summary of the Maccabean martyrdoms (iii. 20-iv. 26) narrated in 2 Maccab. iii., iv. 7-17, v. 1-vi. 11; describes the martyrdom of Eleazar (v. 1-vii. 19) and the seven brothers (viii. 1-xii. 16), with moral reflections on it (xiii. 1-xiv. 10), as well as the noble conduct and death of their mother (xiv. 11-xvii. 6), and then deduces the lessons to be learned from the character and conduct of these martyrs (xvii. 7-xviii. 2), showing that the Israelites alone are invincible in their struggles for virtue (*οἱ μόνοι παῖδες Ἐβραίων ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς εἰσιν ἀνίκητοι*). Ch. xviii. 21-23 is evidently a later addition.

3. *Author, Date, and Original Language of the Book.*—In harmony with the general tradition, Eusebius (*H. E.*, iii. 10), Jerome (*Catal. Script. Eccles.*, s. v. Josephus, ad *Pal.* ii.), Photius (ap. Philostorg., *H. E.*, i.), Suidas (s. v. Ἰώσηπος), many MSS., and the early editions of the Septuagint (Strasburg 1526; Basel 1545; Frankfurt 1595), as well as the editions of Josephus' works, ascribe the authorship of this book to the celebrated Jewish historian *Flavius Josephus*. But this is utterly at variance with the style and structure of the book itself, and has most probably arisen from a confusion of names, as the work may have been written by some one of the name of Josephus, or from the fact that it was regarded as supplementing this historian, and hence was appended to them. Not only is the language quite different from that of Josephus's writings; but—1. In 4 Maccab. all the proper names in the Bible, except Ἰεροσόλυμα and Ἐλεάζαρος, are retained in their Hebrew form, and treated as indeclinable (e. g., Ἀβραάμ, Ἰσαάκ, Νῶε), whereas Josephus gives them a Greek termination.

2. Fourth of Maccab. derives its historical matter from 2 Maccab., as we have seen in the preceding section, or perhaps from the original work of Jason, whilst Josephus manifests utter ignorance about the existence of this work. 3. The historical blunders contained in this book (iv. 15, 26; v. 1; xvii. 22, 23, etc.) are such as Josephus would never have committed: and, 4. The form and tone of the book unquestionably show that the writer was an Alexandrian Jew, who resided in Egypt or somewhere far away from the Holy Land—comp. iv. 5, 20, etc., where the writer speaks of 'our fatherland,' i. e., the Holy Land far away. From this and other passages in which the Temple is spoken of as still existing, and from the fact that xiv. 9 speaks of the Egyptian Jews as having enjoyed external peace and security at the time when this book was written, Grimm dates it before the fall of Jerusalem and the persecutions of the Egyptian Jews by Caligula, i. e., 39 or 40 B. C. That the Greek is the original language of the book requires no proof. The style is very pompous, flowing, vigorous, and truly Greek. The author's eloquence, however, is not the spontaneous outburst of a heart inspired by the grandeur of the divine theme (*εὐσέβεια*) upon which he discourses, but is produced artificially by resorting to exclamations and apostrophes (v. 33, etc.; vii. 6, 9, 10, 15; viii. 15, 16; xi. 14, etc.), dialogues and monologues (viii. 16-19; xvi. 5-10), far-fetched figures and comparisons (vii. 1, etc.;

xiii. 6; xvii. 3, 5, 7), and he abounds in ἀπαξ λεγόμενα (i. 27, 29; ii. 9; iv. 18; vi. 6, 17; vii. 11; viii. 15; xi. 4; xiii. 24; xiv. 15, 18; xv. 26; xvi. 5).

4. *Canonicity and Importance of the Book.*—Among the Jews this book is hardly known, and though some of the Fathers were acquainted with it, and Gregory of Nazianzum, Augustine, Jerome, etc., quoted with respect its description of the Maccabean martyrs, yet it was never regarded as canonical or sacred. Still the book is of great importance, inasmuch as it illustrates the history, doctrines, and moral philosophy of the Jewish people prior to the advent of Christ. It shows that the Jews believed that human reason, in its natural state, has no power to subdue the passions of the heart, and that it is only able to do it when sanctified by the religion of the Bible (v. 21, 23; vi. 17; x. 18); that the souls of all men continue to live after the death of the body; that all will rise, both righteous and wicked, to receive their judgment for the deeds done in the body (v. 35; ix. 8; xii. 13, 14; xvi. 22; xvii. 17, 18); that this is taught in the Pentateuch (xvii. 18 with Deut. xxxiii. 3); and that the death of the righteous is a vicarious atonement (vi. 29). Allusion seems also to be made in the N. T. to some passages of this book: comp. vii. 18 with Luke xx. 37; Matt. xxii. 32; Mark xii. 26; Rom. vi. 10; xiv. 8; Gal. xi. 19; 4 Maccab. xii. 11 with Acts xvii. 26; 4 Maccab. xiii. 14 with Luke xvi. 22, 23; 4 Maccab. xvi. 22 with Luke xx. 37.

5. *Versions and Exegetical Helps.*—The book was translated into Syriac, the MS. of which is in the Ambrosian Library of Milan; into Latin, but loosely, by Erasmus; and again, greatly improved, by Combefis, *Bibliotheca Græcorum patrum auctorium novissimum*, Pars i., Paris 1672. This version is in the edition of Josephus by Havercamp, Oberthür, and Dindorf. Both a Latin and French version are given by Calmet, *Commentaire literal in Scripturam V. et N. T.*, iii. p. 702, ff.; a very loose English version was first published by L'Estrange in his *Translation of Josephus*, London 1702; and an improved translation is given by Cotton, *The Five Books of Maccabees*, Oxford 1832. Of exegetical helps are to be mentioned—Reutlinger, *Thèse d'exégèse sur le iv. livre des Maccabées*, Strasburg 1826; Gfrörer, *Philo u. d. Alex.-Theosophie*, ii. 175, ff.; Dähne, *Jud.-Alex. Relig.-Philos.*, ii. 190, ff.; Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, iv. 554, ff.; the very elaborate and masterly commentary of Grimm, *Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handb. z. d. Apok. d. A. T.*, part iv., Leipzig 1857, p. 285, ff.; Keil, *Einleitung in d. A. T.*, 1859, p. 69 b, ff.—C. D. G.

MACCABEES, THE FIFTH BOOK OF, an important chronicle of Jewish affairs, which was for the first time printed in Arabic in the Paris Polyglott (1645), and was thence copied into the London Polyglott (1657).

1. *Title of the Book.*—The name, the *fifth* book of Maccabees, has been given to this production by Cotton, who placed it as *fifth* in his order of the books of Maccabees. According to the remark at the end of ch. xvi., the first part of this book, i. e., ch. i. 1-xvi. 26, is entitled, *The second book of Maccabees according to the translation of the Hebrews*, whilst the second part, i. e., ch. xvii. 1-lx. 96, is simply called *The second book of Maccabees*. The fact that this second part gives the his-



tory of John Hyrcanus (xx.) has led Calmet (*Dictionary of the Bible*, s. v. Maccabees) and others to suppose that it is the same as the so-called *fourth book of Maccabees*, a unique MS. of which, written in Greek, Sixtus Senensis saw in MS. in the Library of Sanctes Pagninus, at Lyons, and which was afterwards destroyed by fire, so that the fifth of Maccabees is sometimes also called the *fourth*.\*

2. *Contents of the Book*.—This book contains the history of the Jews from Heliodorus's attempt to plunder the treasury at Jerusalem till the time when Herod revelled in the noblest blood of the Jews, and completed the tragedy of the Maccabean princes, by slaughtering his own wife Mariamne, her mother Alexandra, and his own two sons Alexander and Aristobulus, *i. e.*, 184-86 B.C., thus embracing a period of 178 years. The following is the parallelism between the narrative recorded in this book, and the accounts contained in 1 and 2 of Maccab. and the works of Josephus:—

- 5 Maccab., ch. i.—2 Maccab. iii.  
 „ ii.—Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 2.  
 „ iii.—1 Maccab. i.; 2 Maccab. v.; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 6, 7.  
 „ iv.—2 Maccab. vi. 18-31; 4 Maccab. v. and vi.  
 „ v.—2 Maccab. vii.; 4 Maccab. viii.-x. 12; xv. 13-23.  
 „ vi.—1 Maccab. ii.; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii.; 8 *Bell. Jud.* i. 1.  
 „ vii.—1 Maccab. ii. 49-iv.; 2 Maccab. viii.; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 8-11.  
 „ viii.—1 Maccab. vi.; 2 Maccab. ix.; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 13.  
 „ ix.—1 Maccab. iv. 36, etc.; 2 Maccab. x.; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 11.  
 „ x.—1 Maccab. v.; 2 Maccab. x.; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 12.  
 „ xi.—2 Maccab. xi., xii.  
 „ xii.—  
 „ xiii.—1 Maccab. viii. 24, etc.; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 17.  
 „ xiv.—2 Maccab. xii. 32-37.  
 „ xv.—1 Maccab. vi.; 2 Maccab. xiii.; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 14.  
 „ xvi.—1 Maccab. vii. 3; 2 Maccab. xiv., xv.; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 7.  
 „ xvii.—1 Maccab. ix. 1-22; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 18, 19.  
 „ xviii.—1 Maccab. ix. 28-72; Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 1-10.  
 „ xix.—1 Maccab. xiii.-xvi.; Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 11-14.  
 „ xx.—Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 15.  
 „ xxi.— „ xiii. 16, 17.  
 „ xxii.— „ xiii. 17.  
 „ xxiii.— „ xiii. 18.  
 „ xxiv.— „ xiii. 8, 20.  
 „ xxv.— „ xiii. 9; xvii. 3; xviii. 2; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 7.  
 „ xxvi.—Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 18; *Bell. Jud.* i. 3.  
 „ xxvii.—Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 19; *Bell. Jud.* i. 3.

- 5 Mac. ch. xxviii.—Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 20, 21; *Bell. Jud.* i. 3.  
 „ xxix.—Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 21, 22; *Bell. Jud.* i. 3.  
 „ xxx.—Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 23.  
 „ xxxi.—Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 24; *Bell. Jud.* i. 4.  
 „ xxxii.—Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 24; *Bell. Jud.* i. 4.  
 „ xxxiii.—Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 24; *Bell. Jud.* i. 4.  
 „ xxxiv.—Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 1; *Bell. Jud.* i. 5.  
 „ xxxv.—Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 2, 3; *Bell. Jud.* i. 5.  
 „ xxxvi.—Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 4-8; *Bell. Jud.* i. 5.  
 „ xxxvii.—Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 8; *Bell. Jud.* i. 5.  
 „ xxxviii.—Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 9, 10; *Bell. Jud.* i. 6.  
 „ xxxix.—Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 10; *Bell. Jud.* i. 6.  
 „ xl.—Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 11; *Bell. Jud.* i. 6, 7.  
 „ xli.—Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 12.  
 „ xlii.—Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 14, 15; *Bell. Jud.* i. 7.  
 „ xliii.—Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 15; *Bell. Jud.* i. 8.  
 „ xliv.—Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 16, 17.  
 „ xlv.—Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 17, 18; *Bell. Jud.* i. 9.  
 „ xlvi.—Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 19; *Bell. Jud.* i. 9.  
 „ xlvii.—Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 19, 20; *Bell. Jud.* i. 9.  
 „ xlviii.—Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 22, 23; *Bell. Jud.* i. 10.  
 „ xlix.—Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 24, 25; *Bell. Jud.* i. 11.  
 „ l.—Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 26, 27; *Bell. Jud.* i. 11, 12.  
 „ li.—Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 27; *Bell. Jud.* i. 12.  
 „ lii.—Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 27; *Bell. Jud.* i. 13.  
 „ liii.—Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 1; *Bell. Jud.* i. 13.  
 „ liv.—Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 1, 2, 9.  
 „ lv.—Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 2, 3.  
 „ lvi.—Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 6-8; *Bell. Jud.* i. 14.  
 „ lvii.—Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 9, 10; *Bell. Jud.* i. 15.  
 „ lviii.—Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 11; *Bell. Jud.* i. 17.  
 „ lix.—Joseph. *Antiq.* xvi. 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 16, 17; *Bell. Jud.* i. 17.

### 3. *Historical and Religious Character of the Book.*

—It will be seen from the preceding analysis, that the first part of this production (i.-xix.), which embraces the Maccabean period, is to a great extent parallel with 1 and 2 Maccab., whilst the second part, which records the post-Maccabean history down to the birth of Christ (xx.-lix.), is parallel with Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 15-xvi. 17; *Jewish Wars*, i. 3-17. The historical worth of 5 Maccab. is therefore easily ascertained by com-

\* The description of the MS. given by Sixtus Senensis (*Biblia Sancta*, lib. i. sec. 3) has been printed in English by Whiston (*Authentic Records*, i. 206, etc.), and Cotton, *The Five Books of Maccabees*, Introd., p. xxxviii., etc.

paring its narrative with that of 1 and 2 Maccab., and with the corresponding portions of Josephus. Now, by a careful comparison of 5 Maccab. with these documents, it will be seen that, notwithstanding its several historical and chronological blunders (comp. 5 Maccab. x. 16, 17, with 2 Maccab. x. 29; 5 Maccab. ix. with 1 Maccab. vii. 7; 5 Maccab. viii. 1-8, with 1 Maccab. ix. 73, xii. 48; Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 11; 5 Maccab. xx. 17, with Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 15; 5 Maccab. xxi. 17, with Joseph. *Antiq.* vii. 12), especially when recording foreign history (comp. 5 Maccab. xii.), it is a trustworthy and valuable narrative. There can be no question that some of its blunders are owing to mistakes committed by transcribers (*e.g.*, the name *Felix*, which stands five times for three different persons, 5 Maccab. iii. 14, vii. 8, 34, with 1 Maccab. iii. 10; 2 Maccab. v. 22; viii. 33; the name *Gorgias*, 5 Maccab. x., is a mistake for *Timotheus*, as is evident from 2 Maccab. x.; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 11; so also *two* for *nine*, 5 Maccab. xix. 8), and that, as a whole, it is far more simple and natural, and far less blundering and miraculous, and therefore more credible than 2 Maccab. As to its religious character, the book shows most distinctly that the Jews of those days firmly believed in the survival of the soul after the death of the body, in a general resurrection of the dead, and in a future judgment (v. 12, 13, 17, 22, 43, 48-51; lix. 14, etc.)

4. *Author, Date, and Original Language of the Book.*—This book is a compilation, made in Hebrew, by a Jew who lived after the destruction of Jerusalem, from ancient Hebrew memoirs or chronicles, which were written shortly after the events transpired. This is evident from the whole complexion of the document, even in the translation—for the original has not as yet come to light—as may be seen from the few features here offered for consideration:—1. When speaking of the dead (xv. 11, 15; xii. 1; xxi. 17) the compiler uses the well-known euphemisms, *God be merciful to him* = *עָלוּ יְרֵחַם אֱלֹהִים*; *to whom be peace* =

*עָלוּ יְהוֹשֻׁעַ*, which came into vogue among the Jews in the Talmudic period (comp. *Tosifia Chulin* 100, a; Zunz, *Zur Geschichte*, p. 338), and are used among the Jews to the present day—thus showing that the compiler was a Jew, and lived after the destruction of the Temple. 2. He calls the Hebrew Scriptures (iii. 3, 9) *the twenty-four books* = *עֶשְׂרִים וָאַרְבָּע*, a name which is thoroughly Jewish, and came into use long after the close of the Hebrew canon; leaves *Tora* (תּוֹרָה), the Hebrew name for the Pentateuch, untranslated (xxi. 9), in accordance with the Jewish custom; speaks of the deity as *the great and good God* = *אֱלֹהֵי הַטוֹב וְהַגָּדוֹל* (i. 8, 13, 15; v. 27; vii. 21, 22; viii. 5, 11; ix. 4; x. 15; xi. 8; xii. 1; xv. 4; xvi. 24; xxviii. 4; xxxv. 9; xlviii. 14; lvii. 35; lix. 58); names Jerusalem *the city of the holy house* (xx. 17; xxi. 1; xxiii. 5; xxviii. 23, 34, 37; xxx. 8; xxxv. 4, 33; xxxvi. 6, 38, 39; xxxvii. 3, 5; xxxviii. 5; lii. 7, 24; lix. 68); *city of the holy house of God* (xxxix. 10); or simply *holy city* (xvi. 11, 17; xx. 18; xxi. 26; xxxiv. 7; xxxv. 32; xxxvi. 9, 19, 25; xxxviii. 3; xli. 15; xliii. 12; xlix. 5; l. 16; liv. 13, 26; lv. 27; lvii. 22; lix. 2); *holy house* (xx. 7, 17; xxiii. 3; xxxvi. 35; l. 8; lii. 19; liii. 6; lvi. 17, 44; lix. 35, 68); *house of God* (vii. 21; ix. 7; xi.

7; xv. 14; xvi. 16, 17; xxi. 11; xxvii. 4; xxxiv. 10; li. 5; lii. 31; liv. 13; lv. 20); the Temple he calls *the house of the sanctuary* = *בֵּית הַמִּקְדָּשׁ* (viii. 11), in accordance with the later Hebrew idiom. 3. This later date of the compilation of the book is corroborated by the fact that the compiler refers to the destruction of Jerusalem (xxi. 30), and to the period of the second Temple, as something past (xxii. 9). 4. He speaks of the original author of the book as a distinct person (xxv. 5; lv. 25), and explains the original writer's allusions (lvi. 45). 5. The original writer of the work must have lived before the destruction of Jerusalem, for he terminates his narrative six years before this catastrophe, and does not know of any of the calamities which befel his brethren after the conquest of Palestine by Titus. He must therefore have written about five years before the Christian era. His name is unknown; all that we can gather from this book is, that he is also the author of other historical works which are now lost, as he himself refers to them (lix. 96), and, judging from his terse and experienced style, it is not at all improbable that he was the public chronicler. The book is entirely devoid of the *Magadic* legends which form a very striking characteristic of the Jewish productions of a later age. Dr. Graetz (*Geschichte der Juden*, v. 281) identifies it with an Arabic chronicle written about A.D. 900, entitled TORICH AL MAKKABAIN, JUS-SUFF IBN G'ORG'ON, *History of the Maccabees*, or *Joseph b. Gorion*, a part of which he says is printed in the London Polyglott under the title of *Arabic Book of Maccabees*, and the whole of which, extending to the time of Titus, is in two Bodleian MSS. (Uri, Nos. 782, 829). He moreover tells us, that it is this work which the well-known Hebrew chronicler called *Josippon* [JOSIPPON B. GORION] translated into Hebrew, and supplemented, and this he has promised to prove at some future time. We must confess, that after a careful comparison of 5 Maccabees with the Hebrew Josippon, we are unable to trace the identity, and we are all the more astonished at Dr. Davidson's confident assertion, that 'it is another form or recension of our book [*i.e.*, 5 Maccab.] which exists in the work of Joseph ben Gorion or Josippon, a legendary Jewish history' (*Introduction to the O. T.*, iii. p. 466). However, we must wait for the promised treatise upon this subject from Dr. Graetz.

5. *Versions and Literature.*—Though this book is in our estimation as important as 2 Maccab., yet there has hardly anything been done to elucidate its narrative. In the absence of the original Hebrew, the Arabic versions of it, printed in the Paris and London Polyglotts, is the text upon which we must rely. The editors of this version have not even given any account of the MS. from which it has been taken. A Latin translation of it by Gabriel Sionita is given in both Polyglotts; a French translation is given in the appendix to De Sacy's Bible; another French translation, by M. Baubrun, is given in vol. iii. of Le Maitre's Bible; and Calmet translated chapters xx.-xxvi., containing the history of John Hyrcanus, which he thought Sixtus Senensis had taken for the legitimate 4 Maccab. The only English version of it, as far as we know, is that by Cotton, *The Five Books of Maccabees*, Oxford 1832.—C. D. G.

MACEDONIA (Μακεδονία), a name originally confined to the country lying northward of Thes-



saly, eastward of the Cardavian mountains (a prolongation of Mount Pindus), and westward of the river Axios; but afterwards extended over the whole country lying to the north of Greece Proper, and stretching from the Ægean Sea to the Adriatic. When conquered by the Romans (B.C. 168) it was at first divided into four districts (Liv. xlv. 29), of two, if not three of which, coins are still extant



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(Akerman, *Numismatic Illust. of the N. T.*, p. 43); but at a later period the whole of Macedonia, with Thessaly, was formed into one province under a proprætor, with the title of proconsul (Smith, *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geography*). It thus divided, with Illyricum and Achaia, the entire country between Tænarus (Cape Matapan) on the south, and the valley of the Danube on the north. This is the Macedonia of the N. T.

Macedonia became familiarly known in the East through the conquests of Alexander. The rapid progress of his victories, and the formation of the Macedonian empire in the East on the ruins of the Medo-Persian monarchy, are prophetically set forth by Daniel under the symbol of a four-headed and four-winged leopard or panther (vii. 6); under the symbol of a he-goat that 'came from the west on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground' (viii. 5, 21); and the strength of the empire is symbolised by the 'thighs of brass' in the image which was seen by Nebuchadnezzar (ii. 32, 39; comp. Hävernicks, *in locc.*) It has been thought by some that the representation in viii. 5 receives confirmation from the existence of Macedonian coins, on which that country is represented by a he-goat; but it is not certain that such is the fact, and if it were, it would add nothing to the appropriateness of the prophet's symbol.

In the Apocryphal books there are frequent allusions to Macedonia. In the Apocr. Esther (vi. 10-14), Haman, who is described as not of Persian blood, is made a Macedonian, and is represented as plotting to transfer the kingdom from Ahasuerus (Xerxes) to the Macedonians; a representation which is evidently due to the traditional hatred of the Jews to Haman, and belongs to a later age than that of Esther. The first book of Maccabees opens with a reference to 'Alexander

the son of Philip the Macedonian, who came out of the land of the Chetitim' (i. 1), which, though properly the designation of the island of Cyprus, seems to have been used vaguely by the Hebrews for the whole eastern coast of Europe, just as the Turks call all to the west of them Franks [CHITTIM]. Of Alexander it is said there, that 'he reigned the first over Greece' (comp. vi. 2); a statement which is not strictly correct, for in the only sense in which he could be said to reign over Greece, viz., as the generalissimo of her armies against the Persians, and by his superior might, he only succeeded to what his father Philip had possessed; but as the father was, especially in the East, completely overshadowed by the son, this error is easily accounted for. So also we find Daniel describing Alexander as 'king of Javan' (viii. 21), and his kingdom as that of Javan (xi. 2). In 1 Maccab. viii. 5 Perseus is described as 'king of the Citims,' in a reference to his defeat by the Romans; and the term 'Macedonian' is used subsequently to designate the soldiers of the Seleucid princes (2 Maccab. viii. 20). In the Arabic summary of Jewish history at this period inserted in the 4th vol. of the London Polyglott, and sometimes called the 5th book of Maccabees, the term Macedonians (المقدونيّين) is applied to the Egyptian as well as the Syrian successors of Alexander, and even their country is called Macedonia (see chaps. i. ii. iii. etc.)

St. Paul, whilst at Troas, was summoned to preach the gospel in Macedonia by a vision, in which a man of Macedonia appeared to him, and said, 'Come over and help us.' Immediately obeying what he recognised as a divine call, the apostle crossed over by Samothrace to Neapolis; thence he proceeded to Philippi, where he founded a church; and from that city he advanced by way of Amphipolis and Apollonia to Thessalonica, the capital of the province, where also he founded a church. Driven thence by the fury of the Jews, he went to Berea, where he found his countrymen of a better spirit, and more disposed candidly to examine his doctrine (Acts xvi. 9-xvii. 12). St. Paul visited Macedonia a second time in his hasty passage from Ephesus to Troas (Acts xx. 1), and again on his return to Asia (ver. 6); but of these visits no details are given by the historian. Whether he visited it a fourth time, as he desired to do (Phil. ii. 24), is matter of uncertainty [TIMOTHY, EPISTLES TO]. Repeated allusions to Macedonia, or its inhabitants, occur in his writings (Rom. xv. 26; 2 Cor. i. 16; ix. 2; Phil. iv. 15; 1 Thess. i. 7, 8; 1 Tim. i. 3). The excellent Roman roads by which this part of Europe was intersected in the days of the apostles greatly facilitated the operations of those who sought to diffuse Christian truth among the people (comp. Acts xix. 21; 1 Thes. i. 8; 2 Cor. i. 16; Rom. xv. 19).—W. L. A.

MACHIR (מכיר, *sold*; LXX., Μαχίρ), the eldest and apparently the only son of Manasseh by an Aramitish or Syrian concubine. His wife was Maacah, of the family of Benjamin, 'the sister of Huppim and Shuppim,' and it is specially recorded that his children were 'brought up' (the Targum says 'circumcised') in the house of their aged great-grandfather, Joseph (Gen. l. 23; 1 Chron. vii. 14, 15). It may be remarked in passing, that in the Pesch. Syr. Maacah is named as

the mother of Machir. The only son of Machir whose name is recorded is Gilead (Num. xxvi. 29; Josh. xvii. 1; 1 Chron. ii. 21, 23; vii. 14). But when we remember the early date at which the district bore this name (Gen. xxxi. 21, 23; Deut. iii. 12-16), and the loose manner in which we find the word 'father' used in the O. T. (cf. 1 Chron. ii. 51; iv. 14; ix. 35), we can hardly venture to interpret the name Gilead of a person, or deduce more from it than that the mountain-range known under this designation was occupied by Machir's descendants. From 1 Chron. ii. 21 we learn that Hezron, a chief of Judah, the natural or adoptive ancestor of Caleb, took as the wife of his old age, 'when he was threescore years old,' a daughter of Machir, who appears from the LXX. reading of ver. 24 (though the whole genealogy is sadly dislocated) to have been named Abiah. Zelophehad, whose death without male offspring led to the promulgation of the law of succession of heiresses, was one of Machir's descendants (Num. xxvii. 1; Josh. xvii. 3).

The family of Machir come forward prominently in the history of the conquest of the Trans-Jordanic portion of the Promised Land. In the joint expedition of Israel and Ammon, their warlike prowess expelled the Amorite inhabitants from the rugged and difficult range of Gilead, and their bravery was rewarded by Moses by the assignment to them of a large portion of the district, 'half Gilead' (Josh. xiii. 31), with its rich mountain-pastures, and the towns of Ashtaroth and Edrei, the capitals of Og's kingdom (Num. xxxii. 39, 40; Deut. iii. 15; Josh. xiii. 31; xvii. 1). The warlike renown of the family of Machir is given as the reason for this grant (Josh. xvii. 1), and we can see the sound policy of assigning a frontier land of so much importance to the safety of the whole country, exposed at the same time to the first brunt of the Syrian and Assyrian invasions, and to the never-ceasing predatory inroads of the wild desert tribes, to a clan whose prowess and skill in battle had been fully proved in the subjugation of so difficult a tract (Stanley, *S. and P.*, p. 327).

Machir being the eldest, and probably the only son of Manassah, his name appears to stand for that of the whole tribe in Josh. xiii. 31, cf. 29 and xvii. 1. This is perhaps the case in Judg. v. 14, where the name of Machir appears among other western tribes as having sent 'representatives bearing some high title (A. V. 'governors'), which distinguished them from the surrounding chiefs' (Stanley, *Jewish Church*, p. 319), to the aid of Barak.

2. A wealthy Trans-Jordanic sheikh, the son of Ammiel (called by Josephus, vii. 9. 8, 'the chief of the land of Gilead'), residing at Lo Debar, among the mountains of Gilead, not far from Mahanaim. The district in which he lived was 'emphatically the refuge of exiles' (Gen. xxxii. 2-10; 2 Sam. ii. 8; Stanley, *S. and P.*, p. 328), and Machir's connection with the O. T. history is as affording shelter and hospitality to royal fugitives—first to Saul's grandson Mephibosheth, and then to David himself during Absalom's rebellion. The house of Machir is where we first hear of the unhappy Mephibosheth after the hasty flight which followed on the fatal rout of Gilboa, and it was from this safe and happy refuge, in which he probably expected to end his days in the midst of the family which he was beginning to form (2 Sam. ix. 12), that David summoned him to share his fortunes at

Jerusalem (2 Sam. iv. 4; ix. 1-13). Twenty years later his royal patron is himself a fugitive, and we again hear of Machir uniting with the neighbouring sheikhs, Shobi and Barzillai, in welcoming their dethroned monarch, and lavishing on him and his weary and famished soldiers the abundant produce of their rich lands and pastures, and providing them with the furniture necessary for their hasty encampment (2 Sam. xvii. 27).—E. V.

MACHPELAH (מַכְפֶּלֶה; τὸ διπλοῦν; *duplex*), the celebrated burial-place of the patriarchs at Hebron. It is interesting to note the several ways in which the word Machpelah is used in Genesis—the only book of Scripture in which it occurs. In two passages (Gen. xxiii. 9; xxv. 9), the historian mentions 'the cave of the Machpelah' (מְעֵרָה הַמַּכְפֶּלֶה; τὸ σπήλαιον τὸ διπλοῦν), which the Septuagint and Vulgate translate 'the double cave.' In another passage (xxiii. 17) he describes the 'field of Ephron' as 'in Machpelah,' from which it seems that Machpelah was the name of a district. In another (ver. 19), he says Abraham buried Sarah 'in the cave of the field of the Machpelah' (cf. l. 13); and in another (xlix. 30), he states that Jacob when dying charged his sons: 'Bury me with my fathers in the cave that is in the field of Ephron the Hittite; in the cave that is in the field of the Machpelah.' It would seem that, originally, Machpelah was the name of the 'cave,' which was probably so called from being 'double'

(from כפל, 'to double'; but Gesenius renders it 'portio, pars,' in which sense the name would apply more properly to the district—*Thesaurus*, p. 704); and gradually the name was extended to the 'field' (שדה, 'cultivated field') around the cave, and then to the district.\* Abraham bought 'the field, and the cave which was therein, and all the trees that were in the field, that were in all the borders round about,' being unwilling to bury his dead in the tomb of heathen strangers; and being anxious to secure, not only the tomb itself, but the land round it, as his own property, in order to prevent dispute afterwards, and to preserve his family sepulchre free from all pollution or intrusion. In a mountainous country like Palestine, the caves which abound in the limestone strata form the most natural and secure places of sepulture. Mamre was one of Abraham's favourite camping-grounds. This particular cave had doubtless often attracted his attention. The situation of the field is described as 'before Mamre' (לפני מִמְרָה, πρόσωπον Μαμβρη; *respiens* Mamre); that is, 'in the face of Mamre'—in front of the town, and visible from it.

It is a remarkable fact, that none of the sacred writers refer to this celebrated tomb after the burial of Jacob, though it was unquestionably held

\* Kalisch, however, says—'It is generally acknowledged that the translations 'double cave,' as most of the ancient versions and commentators render, are erroneous. The grammatical construction of the words shows that Machpelah is a proper noun, and that this is the locality in which the cave was situated. This is confirmed by all subsequent passages, especially by ver. 19' (Gen. xxiii. 7-9). Neither the grammar nor the passages referred to settle the question.



in reverence by the Jews in all ages. Josephus, in his short notice of the burial of Sarah, says that 'both Abraham and his descendants built themselves sepulchres at' Hebron (*Antiq.*, i. 14); and in another passage he states that the monuments of the patriarchs 'are to this very time shown in Hebron, the structure of which is of beautiful marble, wrought after the most elegant manner' (*Bell. Jud.*, iv. 9. 7). Jerome mentions the *mausoleum* of Abraham at Hebron as standing in his day (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Arboch*); and in the *Jerusalem Itinerary*, a work of the 4th century, it is described as a quadrangular structure built of stones of wonderful beauty (*Itin. Hieros.*, ed. Wessel. p. 599). It is also mentioned by Antoninus Martyr, in the beginning of the 7th century (*Itin.*, 30); by Arculf towards its close (*Early Travels in Pal.*, Bohm, p. 7); by Willibald in the 8th (*Id.*, p. 20); by Saewulf in the 12th (*Id.*, p. 45); and by numerous others (see Ritter, *Pal. und Syr.*, iii. 237, *seq.*) From these notices, it appears to be certain that the venerable building which still stands is the same which Josephus describes.

Hebron lies in a narrow valley which runs from north to south between low ridges of rocky hills. The modern town is built partly in the bottom of the vale and partly along the lower slope of the eastern ridge. On the hill-side, above the latter section of the town, rise the massive walls of the Haram, forming the one distinguishing feature of Hebron, conspicuous from all points. The building is rectangular, about 200 feet long by 115 wide, and 50 high. The walls are constructed of massive stones varying from 12 to 20 feet in length, and from 4 to 5 in depth. Dr. Wilson mentions one stone 38 feet long and 3 feet 4 inches in depth; but the writer did not see it (*Lands of the Bible*, i. 366). The edges of the stones are grooved to the depth of about two inches, so that the whole wall has the appearance of being formed of raised panels, like the temple-wall at Jerusalem. The exterior is further ornamented with pilasters, supporting without capitals a plain moulded cornice. The building is thus unique; there is nothing like it in Syria. The style of its architecture, independent even of the historical notices above given, proves it to be of Jewish origin; and it cannot be much, if at all, later than the days of Solomon. The interior of this massive and most interesting building was described about fifty years ago by a Spaniard, who conformed to Islamism and assumed the name of Ali Bey (*Travels*, i. 232). A new interest has been attached to the place by the visit of the Prince of Wales in 1862, who appears to have been the first Christian, since the time of the Crusades, permitted openly to enter its sacred precincts. An account of the visit, and a description of the interior, has been written by the graphic pen of Dean Stanley, who accompanied His Royal Highness (*Sermons in the East*, pp. 141, *seq.*; cf. *Lectures on the Jewish Church*, 484). The entrance is gained by a long flight of steps outside the wall. Within is an elevated platform, partly artificial and partly composed of a crown of natural rock. At the south end is a mosque, originally a Byzantine church, having in front a double portico supported on square pillars. 'I now proceed to describe the Tombs of the Patriarchs, premising always that these tombs . . . do not profess to be the actual places of sepulture, but are merely monu-

ments or cenotaphs in honour of the dead who lie beneath. Each is enclosed within a separate chapel or shrine, closed with gates or railings similar to those which surround or enclose the private chapels or royal tombs in Westminster Abbey. The two first of these shrines are contained in the inner portico. In the recess on the right is the shrine of Abraham, in the recess on the left that of Sarah, each guarded by silver gates. The chamber (of Abraham) is cased in marble. The so-called tomb consists of a coffin-like structure about six feet high, built up of plastered stone or marble, and hung with three carpets, green embroidered with gold. Within the area of the mosque were shown the tombs of Isaac and Rebekah. They are placed under separate chapels. . . . The shrines of Jacob and Leah were shown in recesses corresponding to those of Abraham and Sarah, but in a separate cloister, opposite the entrance of the mosque' (*Sermons in the East*, 154-55).

This is all that is now visible within the walls of the Haram—all, at least, to which access has as yet been obtained. These shrines and cenotaphs and mosques are comparatively uninteresting; it is the cave below which forms the real object of attraction. Dean Stanley states that 'one indication alone of the cavern beneath was visible. In the interior of the mosque, at the corner of the shrine of Abraham, was a small circular hole, about eight inches across, of which one foot above the pavement was built of strong masonry, but of which the lower part, as far as we could see and feel, was of the living rock. This cavity appeared to open into a dark space beneath, and that space (which the guardians of the mosque believe to extend under the whole platform) can hardly be anything else than the ancient cavern of Machpelah' (*Id.*, p. 159). The guardians of the mosque affirmed most positively to the Prince of Wales and his suite that this was the only opening into the sacred cave. It is well known, however, to all who are acquainted with the character of Mohammedan santons, that when they have a purpose to serve they will not hesitate to tell any number of falsehoods. The writer of this article was assured when at Hebron, and subsequently by a Mollah of rank who had visited the tombs of the patriarchs, that there is an entrance to the cave, which consists of two compartments, and that the guardian can on special occasions enter the outer one. With this agree the statements of M. Pierotti (Stanley, *Id.*, p. 162); of Benjamin of Tudela, who gives a description of the caves (*Itin.*, by Asher, p. 76, *seq.*; *Handbook for S. and P.*, p. 69); and of others (Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, i. 364, *seq.*) We cannot doubt but that the cave of Machpelah, in which the patriarchs were buried, is beneath this venerable building, and that it has been guarded with religious jealousy from the earliest ages. Consequently, it is quite possible that some remains of the patriarchs may still lie there. Jacob was embalmed in Egypt, and his body deposited in this place. It may still be there perfect as an Egyptian mummy (Gen. i. 2-13). The Moslem traditions and the cenotaphs within the Haram agree exactly with the Biblical narrative, and form an interesting commentary on Jacob's dying command—'And he charged them . . . bury me with my fathers . . . in the cave which is in the field of Machpelah, which is before Mamre. . . . There they buried Abraham and Sarah his

wife; there they buried Isaac and Rebekah his wife; and there I buried Leah' (Gen. xlix. 29-31). There also they buried Jacob. And now, within the enclosure are the six cenotaphs only; while the belief is universal among the Mohammedans that the real tombs are in the cave below. Projecting from the west side of the Haram is a little building containing the tomb of Joseph—a Moslem tradition states that his body was first buried at Shechem, but was subsequently transferred to this place (Stanley, *Jewish Church*, 498). The Jews cling around this building still, as they do around the ruins of their ancient temple—taking pleasure in its stones, and loving its very dust. Beside the principal entrance is a little hole in the wall, at which they are permitted at certain times to pray.

The fullest historical notices of Machpelah will be found in Ritter, *Pal. und Syr.*, iii., and Robinson, *B. R.*, ii. The best description of the interior is that of Stanley, *Jewish Church* and *Sermons in the East* (the two are identical), in which he gives the singular narrative of Rabbi Benjamin, and a letter of M. Pierotti, which appeared in the *Times* immediately after the Prince of Wales' visit. A plan of the mosque is attached to Stanley's narrative. The description given by Ali Bey is substantially the same as that of Dean Stanley. See *Travels*, vol. ii.—J. L. P.

MACKNIGHT, JAMES, D.D., was born 17th Sept. 1721, at Irvine, in Ayrshire, where his father was parish minister. At the age of 14 he entered the University of Glasgow, and, having completed the usual course of study there, he went to Leyden, for the purpose of extending his theological acquirements. On his return to Scotland he was licensed to preach, and, after filling some subordinate offices, he became minister of the parish of Maybole in 1753. In 1769 he was translated to that of Jedburgh; and in 1772 he became one of the ministers of Edinburgh. He died 13th Jan. 1800. Whilst at Maybole he published his *Harmony of the Four Gospels, with a Paraphrase and Notes*, 2 vols. 4to, Lond. 1756, of which a second edition appeared in 1763, and many have since followed. In 1763 appeared also his work on *The Truth of the Gospel History*, 4to, Lond.—a work in which he seeks, by various lines of argument, to vindicate the claims of the gospel narrative. These works were well received, and brought the author the distinction of the honorary degree of D.D. from the University of Edinburgh. But his principal work is his *New Literal Translation from the Original Greek of all the Apostolical Epistles, with a Commentary and Notes*, etc., 4 vols. 4to, Lond. 1795; 6 vols. 8vo, 1806. This, which was the result of thirty years' labour, soon obtained and long kept a high reputation. Of late years it has perhaps sunk into unmerited neglect; for there is much in it well deserving the attention of the Biblical student. Its greatest defects are traceable to two causes—the author's imperfect knowledge of the original languages of the Bible, and his want of fixed hermeneutical principles. In tracing out, however, the connection of a passage, especially of an argumentative kind, he often shows great ability.—W. L. A.

MACLEAN, ARCHIBALD, was born 1st May 1733, O. S., at East Kilbride, in Lanarkshire, and died 12th December 1812, at Edinburgh, where he had long been the respected pastor of a Baptist church. His writings are chiefly practical and

controversial; but he is entitled to mention here on account of his *Paraphrase and Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, Edin., 2 vols. 12mo, 1811-1817; Lond. 2 vols. 8vo, 1819; Aberdeen, 2 vols. 12mo, 1847. This work is highly praised by Orme in his *Bibliotheca Biblica*, and with justice. As a careful, judicious, and luminous exposition, it has few superiors in the class to which it belongs.—W. L. A.

MADAI (מַדַּי; *Madol*; *Madai*), the third son of Japhet (Gen. x. 2). There cannot be a doubt that the names recorded in the tenth chapter of Genesis are not merely names of persons, but also heads of tribes and nations. The chapter was intended to show how the world was peopled by the family of Noah, and whence the various nations which are afterwards mentioned in sacred history originated. Madai bequeathed his name to one of the greatest nations of antiquity—the MEDES, as well as to the kingdom which his descendants established—MEDIA. It would have tended greatly to simplify our Biblical geography if the translators of our A. V. had followed a uniform rule in the rendering of proper names. The very same Hebrew word מַדַּי is represented by no less than four different words in the English Bible: *Madai*, which is the proper rendering (Gen. x. 2; 1 Chron. i. 5, only); *Medes* (2 Kings xvii. 6); *Mede* (Dan. xi. 1); *Media* (Esther i. 3). We have no reason to conclude that, because the mind of the historian was directed to nations rather than to individuals in this chapter, *Madai* is not, therefore, to be regarded as a person. Madai was the name both of the son of Japhet, and of the nation that sprung from him. See article MEDIA.—J. L. P.

MADIAN (מִדְיָן; *Madian*), properly *Madian*, the name given by the martyr Stephen to the country to which Moses fled from Egypt (Acts vii. 29), and which is called in the O. T. MIDIAN.—J. L. P.

MADMAN, MADNESS. Two Hebrew words are rendered by 'madness' in the A. V., viz.—מְדַמָּן, and מְדַמָּן. The words rendered 'mad,' or 'madman,' are מְדַמָּן, and מְדַמָּן. A brief examination of these words will show us the Jewish conception of the nature of madness.

1. מְדַמָּן (LXX. παραπληξία, Deut. xxviii. 28; παραφρηνήσις, Zech. xii. 4) is from an Arabic root, meaning 'to be strong,' or 'bold,' and is probably in some way connected with מְדַמָּן, 'to wander,' or 'stumble.' This word, and the participle מְדַמָּן, 'mad,' are always used of madness connected with intellectual confusion and excitement (*Wahnsinn*), and manifested by wild and rapid actions. In 2 Kings ix. 20 it is applied to the 'furious' driving of Jehu—'he driveth in madness' (*marg.* A. V.) It is from a curious and interesting trace of the Dervish-like separation, unusual dress, and intense utterance of the ancient Hebrew prophets, that we find this word applied to them, not without a shade of contempt, by the false prophets or men of the world by whom they were surrounded. Thus, in 2 Kings ix. 11, the captains say of the young prophet missioned by Elisha to anoint Jehu, 'Wherefore came this mad fellow' (LXX. ἐπιδληπ-



ros) to thee?' and still more instructively in Jer. xlix. 26, we find the words מְשֻׁנֵּן וּמְתַנְּבֵן, 'every man that is mad and maketh himself a prophet' (cf. Hos. ix. 7), just as we find 'Vaticinari et insanire' united in Cicero (*Pro Sexto*. 10). That the prophets generally assumed the unkempt aspect and rough garment, which made them, from Elijah to St. John the Baptist, a living testimony against luxury and worldliness, seems probable from Is. xx. 2, Zech. xiii. 4; and that, in addition to this, there was a certain fury and passion in their looks and gestures during the rapture of prophetic delivery, is clear from the fact that מְתַנְּבֵן is used alike of divine inspiration (1 Sam. x. 6, 10, 13), of the raving of impostors (1 Kings xviii. 29), and of the frantic outburst of a maniac (1 Sam. xviii. 10). To the ancients generally, 'madness' appeared as the direct result of some external spiritual influence, and this was more especially the case with the Jews, who had no conception corresponding to the word 'Law,' as used in science, but attributed every result to the immediate intervention of God. A poet has profoundly said that

'Great wit to madness nearly is allied,  
And thin partitions do their bounds divide;'

and the intense realisation of spiritual truths, or the unutterable fullness of noble emotions, may not unfrequently produce effects which, to the idle and sin-degraded observer, appear no better than the vagaries of insanity (Acts xxvi. 24; John x. 20; 2 Cor. ii. 14; iv. 10). In the East, too, where men abandoned themselves with more uncontrolled freedom to inward impulse and outward influences, the manner of a prophet—the nakedness, the dishevelled hair and foaming lip, and the agitation which often required music for its tranquilization (1 Sam. xix. 24; 2 Kings iii. 15; cf. *Æn.* vi. 45; Luc. *Phars.* v. 161)—recalled in some measure the actions of a maniac. It is, however, a fact of deep significance, and one which well illustrates that 'divine instinct' which guided the disciples (*ἰδιῶται καὶ ἀγράμματοι*, though they were, Acts iv. 13) in the use of words, that we find in the N. T. no sanction of this confusion of thought which resulted among the ancient Hebrews from confusion of language, and among the ancient Greeks from limitation of knowledge. The apostles do not adopt the word *μαντεύσθαι* (derived from *μαννῶμαι*, Plat. *Phædr.*, p. 244), because it sanctioned the erroneous conception which even Cicero pointed out only to condemn (*Ut alia nos melius quam Græci, sic huic præstantissimæ rei nomen nostri a divis; Græci, ut Plato interpretatur, a furore duxerunt—De Div.* i. 1). Knowing and teaching that 'the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets' (1 Cor. xiv. 32), they reject *μάντις* altogether for *προφήτης*, and only use *μαντεύσθαι* once (Acts xvi. 16) of the girl who imagined herself to be possessed by the spirit of Python (Trench, *Synonyms of the N. T.*, i. 6).

2. The word הִלָּל (LXX. *παράφορα, περιφέρεια*) occurs only in the book of Ecclesiastes, where it is found seven times (Eccl. i. 17; ii. 12; vii. 25, etc.), and once in the plural (x. 13). It is probably derived from הָלַל, 'to shine,' which by the common analogy of the senses becomes 'to sound' (Germ. Hallen), and so passes through

various stages of metaphor ('glory,' 'boastfulness,' etc.) into the sense of 'being mad' or 'foolish.' The verb is used in this meaning in 1 Sam. xxi. 14; Jer. xxv. 16; 1. 38; li. 7; and it seems from these passages to involve the notion of 'folly' and 'stupid excess' (*Narrheit*), not unaccompanied with meaningless sounds and actions (cf. Nahum ii. 5; Ps. cii. 9; 1 Sam. xxi. 13).

3. These are the only words used for 'madness,' but we also find מְתַלְתֵּל in Prov. xxvi. 18 (LXX.

*ῥώμενοι* Ald. *πειρώμενοι*) for a raving maniac, 'who casteth firebrands, arrows, and death' (*Töbsucht*). This passage, together with the derivation of the word from a most expressive onomatopœia for the pantings of a rabid dog (לָהָה, *siti rabiosus est*), will sufficiently illustrate the character of this frenzy (Greek *λύσσα*), which seems to have been the one which afflicted the envy-maddened heart of king Saul.

4. Idiocy is nowhere mentioned in the Bible; but we find the words סְכֵלֹת, 'folly' (Ecc. *passim*); תַּמְהוֹן, 'amazement' (LXX. *ἐκστασις*, Zech. xii. 4; נְבִלָה, 'wicked foolishness,' 1 Sam. xxv. 25; and other terms which call for no remark.

The only three instances of madness in the O. T. are those of Saul, Nebuchadnezzar, and perhaps David. The fury of the first was caused by 'an evil spirit from the Lord,' apparently the demoniacal prominence of a despairing jealousy in his mind. For the hypochondriacal illusion of Nebuchadnezzar no precise term is used, nor do the Jews seem to have been familiar with that form of madness\* known as Zoothropia, which appears both in ancient and modern times most frequently to have taken the form of Lycanthropy. His bestial degradation was a fit punishment for his suprahuman arrogance. These two varieties of madness resulted, then, as madness so often does, from forms of sin. David's madness, on the other hand, if real (which the Hebrew may perhaps† admit, 1 Sam. xxi. 13; cf. Jer. xxv. 16, etc.), was the cause of too long and violent a strain on his powers of bodily and mental endurance (Zeller, *Bibl. Realwörterb.*, ii. 96).

In the N. T. we find the words *ἀνοια* (amentia), a deprivation of reason, often caused by passion (Luke vi. 11; Acts v. 17; xiii. 45); *μανία* (furor) (Acts xxvi. 24; 1 Cor. xiv. 23, etc.); *παράφροσύνη* (*vesania, perversion of reason*), 2 Pet. ii. 16. For *δαίμονιζόμενοι* and *σεληνιαζόμενοι*, see DEMONIACS, LUNATICS. We are not here called upon to enter into the discussion of demoniacal possession, but a comparison of all the passages will show that, at any rate, the line of demarcation drawn between madness and possession was very faint, and that the brute strength, violence, avoidance of mankind,

\* The special form of this illusion was (as in the case of the daughter of Prætus) Boanthropia, Dan. iv.

† I pass over as of no authority the superscription of Ps. xxiv. The LXX. seem to have taken David's disease for epilepsy. The Rabbinical word for epilepsy is נִפְּל, or נִכְפָּה; and for madness שִׁשְׁיָה. See the Rabbinical quotations in Winer, *Bibl. Realw.*, s. v. *Besessene*.

howling, terror, and self-inflicted injuries of the *δαμονιζόμενοι*, are with us regarded as the signs of epilepsy and natural madness.—F. W. F.

MADMANNAH (מַדְמָנָה; 'a dunghill,' from

דָּמָן = Arab. دمن; Μαχαριμ; Alex. Βεδεβηνά;

but in Chron. Μαδμηνά; *Medemena*; *Madmena*), one of a group of cities described as belonging to Judah, and lying 'toward the coast of Edom southwards' (Josh. xv. 21, 31). The group has twenty-nine cities altogether, and among them are Kedesh and Beer-sheba, so that they probably extended along the whole southern border of the tribe. It would appear from 1 Chron. ii. 49, that the city of Madmannah was captured and occupied by the descendants of Shaaph, a son of Caleb. The name is not again mentioned in Scripture, and it must not be confounded with the Madmenah of Is. x. 31.

From the arrangement of the names in Joshua it appears that Madmannah lay to the west of Beer-sheba. Eusebius and Jerome identify it with a little town near Gaza called *Menois* (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Mademana*). On the direct route from Gaza to Sinai a place called *Minyāy* is mentioned, a few miles south of Gaza; this is probably the site of the *Menois* of Eusebius and the Madmannah of the Bible (Robinson, *B. R.*, i. 602). On comparing the list of cities allotted to Simeon out of the tribe of Judah, given in Josh. xix. 2-7, with the list of cities in Judah (xv. 28-32), it would seem that Madmannah and Beth-Markaboth were identical, as is suggested by Keil (on Josh. xix. 5, and xv. 31), the latter name being an appellative arising from its being used as a 'station for chariots' [see BETH-MARKABOTH]. Van de Velde has attempted to identify a ruin called el-Mirkib (about ten miles from the south-west corner of the Dead Sea towards Beer-sheba), with Beth-Markaboth; but the position does not agree with the indications of Scripture (see, however, Van de Velde, *Travels*, ii. 130, and Map).—J. L. P.

MADMEN (מַדְמֵן. In the LXX. the words מַדְמֵן תַּרְמֵי are rendered παῖσιν παύσεται, as if from the same root, דָּמָן; this is an error which the Vulgate follows, *silens contiesces*), a town of Moab involved in the curse with Heshbon and Horonaim (Jer. xlviii. 2). Its site is unknown.—J. L. P.

MADMENAH (מַדְמְנָה; same root as preceding; Μαδβηνά; *Medemena*), a place mentioned only in Is. x. 31, where the prophet is describing the approach of an Assyrian army to Jerusalem. It was probably a small village, and appears to have been situated in Benjamin, between Anathoth and Nob. The writer has repeatedly examined that region; but though he succeeded in identifying the site of Nob, he could see no ruins, and hear of no name that would suggest identity with Madmenah. Eusebius and Jerome confound it with Madmannah in the south of Judah (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Medemana*).—J. L. P.

MADON (מָדוֹן; Μαδών; Alex. Μαδών; *Madon*), one of the ancient royal cities of Canaan which joined the league of Jabin, king of Hazor, to oppose the Israelites under Joshua (Josh. xi. 1). The army was routed at the Waters of Merom, and subsequently destroyed amid the mountain

defiles. Madon is also included in the list of cities captured by Joshua (xii. 19). We have no notice of it afterwards; and we have no indication of its situation, except that the way in which it is mentioned in both passages might suggest that it was near Hazor. Schwartz (p. 90) believes it to be identical with Kefr *Menda*, a large village with ancient ruins in the plain of Battauf, about seven miles north of Nazareth (Robinson, *B. R.*, iii. 109, 111). For this there is no evidence except some little similarity in the names. Robinson's suggestion that Kefr Menda represents the *Asochis* of Josephus appears more probable (Joseph. *Vita*, 45, 68; see also Van de Velde, *Memoir*, 332). Eusebius and Jerome knew nothing of Madon (*Onomast.*, s. v.), nor has the learning of Reland been able to throw light upon it (*Pal.*, p. 1068).—J. L. P.

MAGBISH (מַגְבִּישׁ; 'assembling'; Μαγεβίς; *Megbis*). In giving the numbers of those who returned to Palestine from the captivity, Ezra arranges them (apparently) under their native towns, and among them we find recorded, 'The children of Magbish, an hundred fifty and six' (ii. 30). It has been questioned whether the name is that of a man or a place. The latter seems most probable, since, in the preceding verses, the names are unquestionably those of towns—Bethel, Ai, Nebo, etc. Magbish appears to have been in Benjamin, and apparently somewhere along the western brow of the mountain. The name does not elsewhere occur in history.—J. L. P.

MAGDALA (Μαγδαλά=Heb. מְגַלָּה, 'a tower,' *Magda*). This word occurs in only one place in the Gospels, Matt. xv. 39, and though the *T. R.* has it in that passage, yet the best MSS. (Sin., Vat., D.) read *Magadan* (Μαγαδάν), which, Alford observes, 'appears to have been the original reading, but the better known name Magdala was substituted for it.' It is not unusual, however, for Syrian villages to have two names, and for the same name to have different forms. The parallel passage in Mark viii. 10, has *Dalmanutha* (Δαλμανούθα); though here also some MSS. read *Magdala*, and some *Magada* (Alford, *ad loc.*)

A close examination of the gospel narrative, and a comparison of the parallel passages in Matthew and Mark (Matt. xv. 39; xvi. 1-13, with Mark viii. 10-27), prove that Magdala or Magadan must have been situated on the western shore of the sea of Galilee, and Dalmanutha was probably a village near it; for the whole shores of the lake were then lined with towns and villages. Eusebius and Jerome locate this place, which they call *Magadan*, on the east of the sea of Galilee, and they say there was in their day a district of *Magadena* around Gerasa (καὶ ἔστι νῦν ἡ Μαγαδιανὴ περὶ τὴν Γερσάν; *Onomast.*, s. v. *Magadan*). They also state that Mark (viii. 10) reads Μαγαδάν, though Jerome's version has *Dalmanutha*. The old Latin version has *Magada*. In some editions of Josephus a *Magdala* is mentioned on the east side of the lake (*Vita*, 24), but the best MSS. read *Gamala* (Robinson, *B. R.*, ii. 397; *Joseph.* by Hudson, *ad loc.*). Lightfoot places Magdala beyond Jordan, but his reasons are not satisfactory (*Opera*, ii. 413). The Rabbins, in the Jerusalem Talmud, mention Magdala, and represent it as near Tiberias and Ham-math; and consequently, according to their view,



it must have stood on the west side of the lake, as indicated by the evangelists (*Id.*, p. 226).

There can scarcely be a doubt that the small village of *Mejdel* (מגדל, and Greek Μαγδαλά), which stands on the shore three miles north of Tiberias, is the Magdala of the N. T. It now contains about twenty miserable huts, standing amid low shapeless mounds, which apparently cover the remains of the ancient houses. But the situation is beautiful:—On the south a hill rises abruptly in dark frowning cliffs; on the east the lake extends away to the rugged sides of Bashan's great plateau. On the north is the rich plain of Gennesaret—the garden of Palestine. It is probable that the place where our Lord landed was at the foot of the cliffs, a short distance south of Magdala, between it and Dalmanutha, which lay a mile distant towards Tiberias [DALMANUTHA]. Robinson supposes Magdala to be the Migdal-el of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 38; Robinson, ii. 397). The identification, however, seems doubtful.

It is generally supposed that Magdala was the native town of one of the most devoted followers of our Lord, who was hence called Mary *Magdalene*—Mary of Magdala. If this be so, and the fact can scarcely be doubted, then the name of this little village has been incorporated into all the languages of Christendom (Stanley, *S. and P.* 375).—J. L. P.

MAGHREBI, AARON B. JOSEPH, called *the elder* (הרשון), *the saint of God* (קדוש), and *the teacher* (הורב), and generally quoted by the name אהרן הראשון, *Aaron Ha-Rishon*, a distinguished Karait grammarian and commentator who flourished 1270-1300. He was born in the Crimea, became a famous traveller, studied medicine for a maintenance, and ultimately settled down in Constantinople. He wrote—(1.) A Hebrew grammar,

called *The Perfection of Beauty* (כלי יופי), which, though very concise, treats in a masterly manner on the peculiarities of the grammatical forms, and especially on the syntax, and was published at Constantinople 1581. (2.) A commentary on the Pentateuch, entitled *Selection, and the Best of the Selection* (מבחר וטוב מבחר), or *the Book of Selection* (ספר המבחר), or *the Selection of the Upright* (מבחר ישרים), which is highly valued by the Karaites. Excerpts of it were published by J. L. Frey, entitled *Excerpta ex libro* המבחר, *cum versione Latina et c. notis*, Basel 1705; and the whole work, with the super-commentary called *Silver Turret* (טירת כסף), by Joseph Salomon Jerushalmi, rabbi of the Karaites in the Crimea, appeared in Eupatoria 1835. (3.) A commentary on the Early Prophets (פירוש על נביאים ראשונים), i. e., Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings. Excerpts of this work, extending over Joshua and Judges, have been published by Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, iv. 1096-1113. He also wrote—(4.) A commentary on Job; (5.) A commentary on the Psalms; and (6.) A commentary on Isaiah, which have not as yet come to light. Mordecai b. Nissan, the celebrated Karaite writer, describes Maghrebi's expositions as 'concise in style, but rich in matter, abounding in excellent explanations, replete with natural science and recondite lore, and full of traditional wisdom. Comp. *Notitia Karaeorum*, ed. Wolf, p. 141; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, ii. 24;

Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, col. 721; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. vii., Leipzig 1863, p. 323.—C. D. G.

MAGI. This name has come to us through the Greeks as the proper designation of the priestly class among the Persians (Herod., i. 132, 140; Xenoph., *Cyrop.* viii. 1. 23; Plato, *Alcib.* i. p. 122; Diog. Laert., *Proem.* 1, 2; Cicero, *De Divin.* i. 41; Apul., *Apol.* p. 32, ed. Casaubon, p. 290, ed. Elmenhorst; Porphyr., *De Abst.* i. iv.; Hesych. in verb. *Μάγος*). It does not appear, however, that Magism was originally a Persian institution; and it may be doubted if in its original form it ever existed among the Persians at all.

The earliest mention extant of the Magi is in the prophecies of Jeremiah (xxxix. 3, 13), where mention is made of Rāb-mag, a term which, though regarded in the A. V. as a proper name, is a compound of רב and כנז, and signifies *chief Magus*, after the analogy of such terms as רב־ספרים (*chief scribe*), רב־שקה (*chief butler*), etc. The Rab-mag of Jeremiah is the same as the *Rab-Sigrin-al-col-Chakimin* (רב סגנין על כל חקמין) of Daniel (ii. 48); the τῶν ἱερέων ἐπισμύδατος οὓς βαβυλωνιοὶ καλοῦσι Χαλδαίους of Diodorus Sic. (ii. 24); and the ἀρχιμάγος of the later Greek writers (Sozomen, *Hist. Eccles.* i. 13). This indicates the existence among the Chaldeans of the Magian institute in a regular form, and as a recognised element in the state, at a period not later than 600 years B.C. In Jer. i. 35, it is evidently the same class that is referred to under the designation of the 'wise men of Babylon.' In the time of Daniel we find the institute in full force in Babylon (Dan. ii. 2, 12, 18, 24; iv. 3, 15; v. 7, 8). From him we learn that it comprised five classes—the *Chartummim*, expounders of sacred writings, and interpreters of signs (i. 20; ii. 2; v. 4); the *Ashaphim*, conjurors (ii. 10; v. 7, 11; comp. xlvii. 9, 12); the *Meashphim*, exorcists, soothsayers, magicians, diviners (ii. 2; comp. Is. xlvii. 9, 13; Jer. xxvii. 9); the *Gozrim*, casters of nativities, astrologists (ii. 27; v. 7, 11); and the *Chasdim*, Chaldeans in the narrower sense (ii. 5, 10; iv. 4; v. 7, etc.; comp. Hengstenberg, *Beiträge*, i. p. 343, ff.; Hävernicks, *Comment. üb. Daniel*, p. 52; Gesen., *Thes.*, in vocc.) So much was Magism a Chaldaean institution, that the term *Chaldaean* came to be applied as a synonym for the class (Diod. Sic. ii. 29, ff.; Strabo, xvi. p. 762; Diog. Laert., *Proem.* 1; Cic. *de Divinat.* i. 1; Curtius, *Hist.* iii. 3. 6; Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.*, ii. 7. 3; Aul. Gell., xv. 20. 2; Apul., *Asin.*, ii. p. 228, etc.)

Whether Magism was indigenous in Chaldaea, and was thence carried to the adjacent countries, or was derived by the Chaldeans from Assyria, it is impossible now to determine with any certainty. In favour of its Assyrian origin it has been urged that the word מן is found as the name of the Assyrian Fire-priest (Movers, i. 64, 240), and that the priests of the Assyrian Artemis at Ephesus were called Meg-Abyzi (Strabo, xiv. p. 641). But on this nothing can be built, as we find the syllable Meg or Mag occurring in names and titles belonging to other peoples, as *Mag-Elser* (fire-priest), the father of Artemis among the Phœnicians; *Teker-Mag*, Teker the Magus (on a Cilician coin), etc. When it is considered that the Chaldaean was the older nation, and that the Assyrians derived many

of their religious beliefs and institutions from the Chaldeans (Rawlinson, *Five Great Monarchies*, i. p. 308; ii. 228), the probability is that they derived the institution of the Magi also. That the institution was originally Shemitic, is further confirmed by the Phœnician tradition preserved by Sanchuniathon (ap. Euseb., *Præp. Evang.*, i. 10), that Magos was a descendant of the Titans, and, with his brother Amyos, made men acquainted with villages and flocks. It must be confessed, however, that the word **𐎠𐎵** has more obvious affinities in the Indo-Germanic than in the Shemitic tongues (comp. Sansc. *mah*, Zend *magh*, Pehl. *mog*, Pers. *mugh*, Gr. *μέγας*, etc.); but this can hardly be allowed to weigh much against the historical evidence of the existence of the Magi in Shemitic nations anterior to their existence among those of the Aryan stock.

That Magism was not, as commonly stated, a Persian institution, is shown from several considerations—1. The word does not appear to have existed in the Zend language; at any rate, it does not occur in the Zend Avesta; 2. The religious system of the ancient Persians was a system of Dualism, as the most ancient documents concur with the monumental evidence to prove (see Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, i. p. 426), but with this Magism had no affinity; 3. In the Zend Avesta, the *Yātus*, the practiser of magical arts, is vehemently denounced, and men are enjoined to pray and present offerings against his arts, as an invention of the Dews; 4. Xenophon informs us (*Cyrop.*, viii. 1. 23) that the Magi were first established in Persia by Cyrus (comp. also Ammian. Marc. xxiii. 6; Porphyry, *de abst.*, iv. 16, etc.); a statement which can be understood only, as Heeren suggests (*I.* i. p. 451, ff.), as intimating that the Magian institute, which existed long before this among the Medes, was introduced by Cyrus among the Persians also; 5. Herodotus (i. 101) states that the Magi formed one of the tribes of the Medes; and he also attributes the placing of the pseudo-Smerdis on the Persian throne to the Magi, who were moved thereto by a desire to substitute the Median for the Persian rule (iii. 61, ff.; comp. Ctesias, *Persica*, c. 10-15; Justin, *Hist.*, i. 9; and the Behistun inscription as translated by Sir H. Rawlinson; see Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, i. p. 427); 6. Herodotus mentions that, after this attempt of the Magi had been frustrated, it became a usage among the Persians to observe a festival in celebration of the overthrow of the Magi, to which they gave the name of Magophonia (*μαγοφονία*), and during which it was not safe for any Magus to leave the house (iii. 79; Agathias, ii. 25), a usage which could have had its origin only at a time when Magism was foreign to Persian beliefs and institutions; and 7. We find no allusion to the Magi in connection with any of the Medo-Persian kings mentioned in Scripture, a circumstance which, though not of itself of much importance, falls in with the supposition that Magism was not at that time a predominant Persian institution. The probability is, that this system had its source in Chaldaea, was from that propagated to Assyria, Media, and the adjoining countries, and was brought from Media into Persia, where it came at first into collision both with the national prejudices and with the ancient religious faith of the people. With this accord the traditions which impute to Zoroaster, after he came to be regarded

as the apostle of Magism, sometimes a Parthian and sometimes a Bactrian origin.

Zoroaster, as the Greeks named the famous teacher and lawgiver, whom the Persians called Zerdusht, flourished in the reign of a king Gushasp, who has, on apparently sufficient grounds, been identified with the Darius Hystaspes of the classical writers (Malcolm, *Hist. of Persia*, i. p. 234).\* Zoroaster is commonly spoken of as the great reformer of the Magian system after it had suffered corruption; but it would be more correct to say, that on the primitive Dualistic worship of the Persians he superinduced some notions borrowed from the element-worship, with which Magism at a later period coalesced. His doctrines, as far as they can be gathered from the extant fragments of the Zend Avesta, especially the Vendidad Sâdê, and from the Ulemai Islam (a treatise on the Parsee doctrine by an Arabic writer, supposed to belong to the 6th or 7th century of our era), relate principally to theology and ethics, with occasional references to questions of a cosmological and physiological character. His theology is fundamentally Dualistic. The problem of the world in relation to God he answers by reference to the antithesis of light and darkness, good and evil; all things according to him consist in the mingling of antitheses. His primary principle is the *Zerwâne Akerene*, the Endless Time (with which may be compared the *τὸ ἀπειρον* of Anaximander; see Arist. *Physic.* i. 4, 5; iii. 4-7). Everything save time has been made. Time is the Creator—itsself infinite, absolute, eternal. From the mingling of fire and water sprang Ormuzd, the luminous, the pure, the fragrant, devoted to good and capable of all good. Gazing into the abyss, he beheld afar off Ahriman, black, unclean, unsavoury, the evil-doer. He was startled at the sight, and thought within himself, I must put this enemy out of the way; and set himself to use the fit means for this end. All that Ormuzd accomplished was by the help of Time; the Eternal Time produced the god Ormuzd; and after the lapse of 1200 years the heavens and paradise were made, and the twelve signs which mark the heavens were fixed there. Each sign was formed in 1000 years. After the first three were formed, Ahriman arose to make war on Ormuzd, but failing of success he returned to his gloomy abode, and remained there for other 3000 years, during which the work of creation advanced, and three other signs were made. During this period the earth and the sea were also formed, man was created, and plants and animals produced. Again Ahriman assailed heaven with all his might, but failing in this, he attacked the world. He afflicted Kajumert, the first man, with a thousand plagues till he was destroyed; but was himself taken and driven into hell through the same open-

\* The Pers. *Gushtasp* (گشتاسب) is compounded of two words, of which the former, *gusht*, is the part. pass. of a verb, which signifies to *utter a cry*, and the latter, *asp*, means *horse*; so that *Gushtasp* means a horse that has neighed, or one whose horse has neighed. In this meaning of the word we have probably the source of the story related by Herodotus, as to the circumstances connected with the elevation of Darius Hystaspes to the throne (*Hist.* iii. 84, 87).



ing by which he had come into the world. In man there is much of Ormuzd and much of Ahriman; in his body are fire, water, earth, and air; he has also soul, understanding, judgment, a *ferver* ('principe des sensations,' Anquetil), and five senses. By the soul are moved all the members we possess, and without the soul we are nothing. All these he has from Ormuzd. From Ahriman he has desire, need, envy, hatred, impurity, falsehood, and wrath. When a man dies, the four elements of which his body is composed mingle with the four primitive elements; his soul, understanding, and judgment, unite with the *ferver*, and all become one. In this state man goes to judgment, and according as his good works or his bad works have preponderated during life, he is rewarded with immortality in paradise, or punished by being cast into hell. During life he is in constant conflict with the Dews or Diws, a class of beings possessing a body formed of the four elements—beings essentially evil, and who tempt men to sin; but at the resurrection they shall be annihilated, and all men at last shall be received into paradise. Even Ahriman himself shall be accepted and blessed; for the Dews are gradually abstracting from him the evil and darkness that are in him, so that at last he shall be left pure and bright (see Hyde, *Hist. Rel. Vet. Pers.*, Oxon. 1700; Anquetil du Perron, *Sent Avesta*, 3 vols. 4to, Par. 1771; Vullers, *Fragmente üb. die Rel. des Zoroaster*, Bonn 1831).

Falling originally into violent conflict with the doctrine of Zoroaster, the Magian system came gradually to be incorporated with these doctrines, and Zoroaster himself came to be revered as, if not the author, the great reformer of the Magian order. From the first Magism seems to have had two sides, one scientific and one popular—the former directed to the pursuit of natural inquiry and moral speculation, the latter to the practice of the arts of the soothsayer and thaumaturgist (comp. Herod. i. 103, 120; vii. 19). It had thus a side on which it could find affinity with the theosophy and ethics of Zoroaster; and to this it owed its chief strength and fame. The Magi became erelong a powerful body in Persia. Zoroaster had claimed for the teachers of theology a place in the first rank along with kings and judges; and when the Magi became identified with the teachers of theology, they assumed the place which had been allowed to them. They were divided into three classes—*Herbeds* or learners, *Mobeds* or teachers, and *Destur-Mobeds* or perfect teachers, a division which is referred to Zoroaster.\* They were the councillors of the sovereign, the administrators of justice, the viceroys of the king in his absence on any expedition, and to them was entrusted the education of the heir-apparent to the throne. It was, indeed, incompetent for any one to occupy the throne who had not been trained in the discipline and science

of the Magi (Cicero, *De Divin.*, i. 41; Plato, *Alcib. I.*, p. 122; Philo Jud., *De spec. legibus*, p. 792, ed. Hoeschel; Dio Chrysostomus in *Berysten*; Agathias, *Hist.* ii., sub init.)

But whilst Magism presented a side which linked it to speculative thought, its other side tended ever to degrade it to the level of vulgar superstition and interested trickery. Philo, who in one of his writings (*Quod omnis probus liber*, p. 876) speaks of the Magi as investigating the works of nature from a desire of knowing truth, and as devoting leisure to the study of the divine perfections, and to the initiating of others therein, in another place (*De special. legg.*, p. 792), after exalting them as the companions and councillors of kings, goes on to say, that from the corruption of their art proceeds that *κακοτεχνη* which begging priests and conjurors practise to the delusion and injury of the more susceptible and ignorant portion of society. It was under this more debased form that Magism chiefly presented itself to the Jews and to the Greeks and Romans. Hence, in the Rabbinical writers, the Magus appears almost invariably as a person whose arts are to be denounced and avoided, and whom to follow is to incur the most serious risk (Otho, *Lex. Rabbin. Philol.*, p. 402); whilst, by the classical writers, with the exception of those who could appreciate the speculative side of their pursuits, the Magi are invariably spoken of as deceivers, mischievous and abominable (Sophoc. *Oed. Tyr.*, 387; Hesych. *sub voce*; Tacit. *Ann.*, ii. 27; xii. 22; 59; Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, xxv. 9; xxvi. 4; xxx. 1, 2, etc.)

These considerations will prepare us to find the term Magus used, sometimes with an honourable and at other times with a discreditable reference. In the LXX. we find it used for the Heb. אִשְׁתָּה, *conjuror, magician*, and also for הַרְטָם, *an interpreter of sacred things*. In the N. T. we have it also in both references; in the latter in the case of Barjesus and Elymas (Acts xiii. 6, 8), to whom may be added Simon, who is described as 'using sorcery (μαγεύων), and as putting the people beside themselves by his magical arts (ταῖς μαγείαις ἐγεστανέναι αὐτοῦς, Acts viii. 9, 11) [See under these names]; in the former in the case of 'the wise men' from the east, who came guided by a celestial luminary [STAR IN THE EAST], to pay their homage to the infant Saviour (Matt. ii. 1, ff.). That these Magi were men occupied in the observation of the heavenly bodies may be inferred from their being attracted and guided by the star; that they came from a considerable distance is probable from the length of time they appear to have spent on their journey (comp. ver. 16); and that they were sincere searchers after truth, and men on whose minds divine revelation had, through some channel, shed some of its rays, seems clear from the fact of their having engaged in such a journey at all. Beyond this, however, little can be said with any certainty regarding them. Whence they came, what was their precise object in coming, and at what time their visit was made, are questions which have been variously answered. From the usage of the term ἀνατολή or ἀνατολά, as a local term, nothing can be concluded, for we find it, both in the LXX. and the N. T., used not only with reference to different countries (comp. Num. xxiii. 7; Gen. x. 30; Job i. 3); but, in the most general way, for the portion of the world lying to the east of Judaea (Matt. viii. 11; xxiv. 27). The fact that

\* In the contents of the 21 Nosh or parts of the Zend Avesta, given by Vullers from the Revajet of Kame Behre, and that of Neriman Hushenk, the three orders are given as *Hirbeds*, *Reds*, and *Desturs*; and of these the Hirbed is said to have had care of the sacred fire; the Red to have been the head of the *Chakim* or Wisemen, a magnate of the priesthood; and the Destur the president of the teachers of religion in each province (*Fragmente üb. die Rel. des Zoroaster*, p. 25).

the terms Magi and Chaldæi are sometimes used as synonymous has led some to fix on Babylonia as the country whence these Gentile worshippers came; others, observing that the gifts they presented consisted of Arabian products, have concluded that they came from Arabia; others suppose them to have been Persians; others Bactrians; and there have even been found some to contend for their having been Brahmins from India, a supposition in favour of which some very plausible arguments may be adduced. As nothing certain, however, can be advanced, the subject is best left in that indefiniteness in which the evangelist has stated it. As to the *object* which induced these Magi to undertake this journey, some have supposed that they were Jews living in the east, who were waiting for the hope of Israel, and came to Jerusalem to offer their homage to Jesus as the Messiah; but this view has not found many followers. From their inquiring for the newly-born king of the Jews, and from the whole tenor of the narrative, as well as from the fitness of the case, most interpreters regard them as Gentiles, who appeared on this occasion as representatives of the Gentile world, to hail with fitting worship the advent of Him in whom all nations of the earth are to be blessed. The expectation of the Jews, that from their nation should go forth a world-king, was sufficiently known throughout the East to account for searchers after truth like these Magi setting out on such a quest as that which brought them to Jerusalem [JESUS CHRIST]. With respect to the *time* when their visit was paid, we must place it either immediately after the birth of Jesus, or on the occasion of one of the annual visits which Joseph and Mary were wont to make to Jerusalem after their return to Nazareth (Luke ii. 41). The narrative of Matthew, taken by itself, leads to the former conclusion; but when we compare it with that of Luke, a difficulty arises, from his statement that after the presentation in the temple, Mary and Joseph returned to Galilee, to their own city Nazareth (ii. 39). As the presentation took place when Jesus was but a few days old, and as immediately after the visit of the Magi his mother and her husband fled with Him into Egypt, it is certain that either the visit of the Magi could not have been paid at this time, or Joseph and Mary could not have returned immediately after this to Nazareth, as Luke says they did. The only satisfactory outlet from this entanglement is to suppose that the visit of the Magi was paid on the occasion of the first or second visit of Mary and Joseph to Jerusalem after their return to Nazareth. This falls in also with the statement that Herod caused all the children of two years old and under to be destroyed, which would have been a piece of needless cruelty if his object had been to secure the death of an infant only a few days old.

In the legends of the church these Magi are represented as kings, and as three in number; the former representation being founded on an arbitrary application of Ps. lxxii. 10 and Is. xlix. 7, the latter on the number of the gifts they presented. Other equally unauthorised and vain additions grew up around the narrative of Matthew during the middle ages, of which the reader will find an account in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, s. v. (Stanley, *Hist. of Philosophy*; Creuzer, *Symbolik u. Mythologie der Alten Völker*; Müller in Herzog's *Encyc.*, viii. 675, ff.)—W. L. A.

MAGIC. [DIVINATION; TERAPHIM.]

MAGICIAN. This word appears in the A. V. as the representative of the Hebrew word מַכְשִׁיף (Dan. ii. 10), used generally in the pl. מַכְשִׁיפִים (Gen. xli. 8, 24; Sept. ἐξήγηται; Exod. vii. 11; Sept. σοφισται; viii. 3, 14, 15 [A. V. 7, 18, 19]; Sept. ἐπαιδοι; Dan. i. 20; ii. 2, 27 [Ch. מַכְשִׁיפִין]; iv. 4 [A. V. 7; Ch. def. מַכְשִׁיפִי]; v. 11; Sept. ἐπαιδοι.

As observed in the article CHARTUMMIN, it is unfortunate that our translators adopted this rendering for it. The term *magician* corresponds rather to the *Ashaph* or the *Mecashaph* of the O. T., or the μάγος of the LXX. and the N. T., in some of its references [MAGI].—W. L. A.

MAGOG (מָגוֹג; Sept. Μαγώγ), the second son of Japheth (Gen. x. 2; 1 Chron. i. 5), from whom the name was extended to the people descended from him. In the list Magog stands between Gomer and Madai, the Cimmerians or Cimbri [GOMER], and the Medes [MADAI]; and we are thereby directed to look for the people thus designated towards the quarter in which these peoples had their sites. Now, to the north of them were the nations bearing the general name of Scythians, and with them Magog has been from an early period identified (comp. Joseph. *Antiq.* i. 6. 1; Hieron. in Ezek. xxxviii. 2; Assemani, *Biblioth. Orient.* iii. 2, pp. 16, 17, 20). Jewish tradition, as preserved by Josephus and Jerome, extended the name to all the nomad tribes beyond the Caucasus and the Palus Mæotis, and from the Caspian Sea to India, thus including the Tartar and Mongolian tribes, as well as those more properly belonging to the Scythians. In the same general and vague way the name is used by the Syrian and Arabic geographers, as cited by Assemani (*l. c.*); D'Herbelot (*Bibl. Orient.*, s. v. *Jagiouge*); Hasse (*Entdeckungen im feld der ältest. Erd. und Menschengesch.*, pt. i. p. 18; Rosenmüller, *Bibl. Geogr.*, i. 123). Michaelis (*Suppl. ad Lexx. Hebr.*, 1471); Rosenmüller (*Scholia, in Gen.* x. 2); and Gesenius (*Thes.*, s. v.), adopt the view that the Scythians generally are intended. Bochart (*Phaleg*, iii. 19) suggests that the name *Gog* appears in Γωγαρνή, the name of a district near to that through which the Araxes flows (Strabo, p. 528); and this falls in with the supposition that the Magogites were Scythians, for the traditions of the latter represent their nation as coming originally from the vicinity of the Araxes (Diod. Sic., ii. 43). Since Bochart's time the general consent of scholars has been in favour of regarding the eastern Scythians as the Magog of Genesis; but Kiepert 'associates the name with *Macija*, or *Maka*, and applies it to Scythian nomad tribes which forced themselves in between the Arian or Arianized Medes, Kurds, and Armenians' (Keil and Delitzsch, *Bibl. Comment. on the O. T.* [Clark], i. p. 163); while Bunsen places Magog in Armenia; though in the map accompanying his *Bibelwerk* it is placed to the north of the Euxine. Knobel also places Magog here, and connects the Scythian tribes thus named with those which spread into Europe, and were allied to the Sarmatians, who gave their name ultimately to the whole north-east of Europe, and are the ancestors of the Slavic nations now existing. He also finds in the word מָגוֹג, which he translates



great mountain, an allusion to the Caucasus; but this translation rests on a very dubious etymology. Later Jewish tradition also identifies Magog with the Sarmatian tribes (Fürst, *Heb.-Chald. W.B.*, s.v.)

The name Magog does not again occur in Scripture till it appears in Ezek. xxxviii. 2, ff., where the prophet is commanded to 'set his face against Gog of the land of Magog [or against Gog, the land of Magog], prince of Rosh [or chief prince of] Meshech and Tubal.' Scholars are divided as to whether רוש, *rosh*, in this passage, is to be taken as a common noun in the sense of *head* or *chief*, or as the proper name of a people. The Targ., Aq., Syr., and Vulg., adopt the former, and are followed by Ewald (*in loc.*) and Hengstenberg (on Rev. xx. 8); the LXX., Sym., Theodot., take the latter, followed by the majority of modern scholars. As concerns our present purpose, it is of little moment which of these be preferred; but the latter seems on the whole to have most in its favour. There is also a difference of opinion as to whether Gog is to be viewed as the name of the king of the land of Magog, or as a name bestowed by the prophet on the land of the Magogites; the construction favours the latter view (see Hävernick, *in loc.*), but as it is hardly possible on this view to discover to what משיח refers, the former is generally adopted. On

either supposition, Gog is to be regarded as a word formed by the prophet from Magog, possibly, as Ewald suggests (*In Apocal.*, p. 304), because the later Hebrews took the מ as מנוח as the *mem locale*, and, understanding by the word the *place of Gog*, thought of Gog as the chief or ruler of the place. The specification of the sub-tribes Rosh, Meshech, and Tubal, is in harmony with the opinion that Magog is the Caucasian and European Scythians; for, as is generally conceded, Rosh is the branch of the Scythians known to the Arabs under the name روس, *Rûs* (Fraehn, *Ibn Fozzlan's Bericht über die Russen d. älterer zeit*, p. 28, ff.),

and to the Greeks as οἱ Ῥῶς, and described by Tzetzes as ῥῆως Σκυθικόν who were also called Ταῦροι, from whom the modern Russ have taken their name (Von Hammer, *Origines Russes*; Gesen., *Thes.*, s. v.); and Meshech and Tubal are the Moschi and Tibereni who occupied territories near the Caucasus in the neighbourhood of the Araxes. That the description by Ezekiel is to be taken symbolically and not literally, has been clearly shown by Hävernick (*Comment.*, p. 596, ff.) and Fairbairn (*Exposition*, p. 375, ff.); but the descriptions and allusions of the prophet all go to identify the nations included under the command of Gog with the Scythians.

As in Ezekiel Gog and Magog are represented as prince and people, and in their combination the symbol of the heathen nations as opposed to Israel, so in the Apocalypse (xx. 8) we find the two names appearing as the designations of separate peoples, the combination of which represents the entire anti-Christian force of the world. This is in accordance with later Jewish notions, and with an apparently widespread tradition which represented Gog and Magog as synonymous with the aggregate powers of evil as opposed to the kingdom of God. We find traces of this in the Targums (see that of Jerusalem on Num. xi. 27, and that of Pseudo-Jonathan on Lev. xxvi. 44, and Num. xi. 27), and in the Talmud (*Sanhed.* xciv. 1; *Edaioth.* ii. 10; *Avoda Zarah.*

1; Wetstein, *in loc.*) We find it also in the traditions of the Syrians (Knös, *Chrestomath. Syr.*, p. 66, ff.) and of the Arabians (*Kuran*, xviii. 93-97; D'Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orient.*, s. v. *Jagiouge*). The idea arose probably from the phrase being in the first instance vaguely used of the barbarous, little known, and much feared tribes which hung around the outskirts of Semitic civilization in the ancient world. Similarly the Arabs used چین, *Chin wa Machin*, to designate the vast distant and little known empire of China.

As to the derivation of the word *Magog*, nothing can be said with certainty. Knobel connects *Gog* with the Pers. *Koh*, *mountain*, and regards the *Ma* as the Sansc. *Maha*, *great*, thus making *Magog* = *the great mountain*, and supposing an allusion to the Caucasus. Fürst agrees in connecting *Gog* with *Koh*, but he thinks the *Ma* is the Copt. *ma*, *place* (comp. Sansc. *mahi*, *earth*). Others compare *Gog* with خاقان *Chakan*, a name given by the northern Asiatics to the sovereign, and still retained by the Turks as one of the titles of the Sultan. What throws doubt on all these etymologies is, that they proceed on the assumption that *Gog* is the original word from which *Magog* is formed, whereas the reverse is obviously the fact; for *Magog*, the name of the son of Japheth, the Jews taking the *Mem* as the *Mem loci* derived *Gog*. Bochart suggests a derivation from מוג, the Hithpael of which is used in the sense of *melling* or *wasting*; but he does this merely to get an argument in support of his notion that *Magog* is the Greek Prometheus, of whom the tradition was, that, chained to a rock on Caucasus, his liver was consumed by an eagle; a notion which, though embraced by Stillingfleet (*Origines Sacr.*, bk. iii. c. 5), and by Gale (*Court of the Gentiles*, pt. I. bk. ii. c. 6), must be regarded as a mere learned fancy. There is more probability in the suggestion that *Magog* stands related etymologically to *Agag*, *Ogyges*, etc., and that we have in it the syllable *ag* or *ak*, which plays so important a part in the languages of the Japhetic peoples, and which conveys the general concept of *activity*, *energy*, *greatness*, or *majesty*; comp. ἄγας, ἄγαμαι, ἄγη, ἄγω, ἄγνός, μακρός, *macer*; Sansc. *moh*, *to grow*, μέγας, *magnus*, *macht*, mögen, μογέω, μόγυς; Sansc. *magh*, *to move productively*, *machen*, μηχανάω, μοχθέω; Sansc. *ag*, *to move*, Lat. *aqua*, etc.—W. L. A.

MAGOR-MISSABIB (מגור מפּיב), *terror on every side*, the name given to Pashhur, the son of Immer, at whose command Jeremiah was put in the stocks (Jer. xx. 1-3). As פּשְׁחור signifies *freedom* or *prosperity*, it is probable that the prophet intended an allusion to this by the contrasted meaning of the name he applied to him, as predictive of that calamity which was to befall him, and was to make him a terror to himself and all about him. The LXX. omit מסיב, and render מגור by μέτροικος, tracing it apparently to γούρ, *perigrinari*. The phrase is a favourite one with Jeremiah, who uses it besides in vi. 25; xx. 10; xli. 5; xlix. 29; Lam. ii. 22. Elsewhere it is found only in Ps. xxxi. 14.—W. L. A.

MAHALALEEL (מַחֲלֵאֵל), *Praise of God*; Sept. Μαλεαίηλ). 1. Son of Cainan, fourth in descent

from Adam through Seth (Gen. v. 12, etc.) Those who adopt the notion that the list in ch. iv. of the Cainites is only a different form of the same traditional genealogy given of the Sethites in ch. v. regard Mahalaleel in the latter as corresponding to Mahajael in the former. But these two names have different meanings; nor is there a single name in the Hebrew which is the same in both lists, except Enoch and Lamech. The notion itself of an identity in the lists is utterly gratuitous, for even if several of the names in both lists were the same, this would no more prove the two lists to be variations of the same, than the recurrence of the same Christian names in the genealogical roll of two allied families would prove the two rolls to be only different records of one line of descent. Equally gratuitous is the hypothesis of those who take these names as designating epochs, as well as that of Ewald and Fürst, that these are names of deities of the primitive mythology. It is easy to frame hypotheses, but where such rest on *nothing*, it is idle to spend time in refuting them. The Hebrew text, the Samaritan, and the LXX. agree in representing Mahalaleel as reaching the age of 895 years. 2. One of the descendants of Judah through Pharez, and ancestor of Athaiah (Neh. xi. 4).—W. L. A.

#### MAHALATH (מַחֲלַתִּי). 1. (Μαχλῆθ; *Maheleth*),

one of the wives of Esau, the daughter of Ishmael, and the sister of Nebaioth (Gen. xxviii. 9). As is the case also with the other wives of Esau, her name is differently given both in the Edomite genealogy (Gen. xxxvi. 3, 4, 13), and in Josephus (*Antiq.* i. 18. 8; ii. 1. 2). In these passages she is called Bashemath, a name also given (Gen. xxvi. 34) to one of Esau's Canaanite wives. Hengstenberg (*Gemin. of Pent.*, ii. 226) supposes that all the wives of Esau took new names on their marriage, and that Bashemath was the name thus assumed by the daughter of Ishmael, but the fact just mentioned greatly lessens the probability of this explanation. The Samaritan Pentateuch preserves the name Mahalath in all the passages referred to.

2. (Μοῦλᾱθ; Alex. Μολᾱθ; *Mahalath*). The daughter (according to the Keri) of Jerimoth, the son of David, and one of the eighteen wives of Rehoboam (2 Chron. xi. 18). According to the A. V., another wife of Rehoboam is mentioned in the latter part of the verse. It is, however, not certain that this is the meaning of the text, and the context (especially vers. 19, 20; comp. Joseph. *Antiq.* viii. 10. 1) strongly favours the opinion that one wife only is spoken of in ver. 18, and that Abihail is the name of the mother of Mahalath, and not of a second wife of Rehoboam. This is supported by the reading of the MS. 176 (Kennicott) בַּת אֲבִיהַי, and by what appears to have been the text used by the LXX. (Bertheau, *Comm. on Chron.*, l. c.)—S. N.

MAHALATH. The title of Psalms liii. and lxxxviii. [PSALMS.]

MAHANAIM (מַחֲנֵי־דָן; according to Gesenius pl. מַחֲנֵי, 'camp'; but more probably dual, 'double camp,' Παρεμβολαι; in Josh. xiii. 26, 30, Μαδν; and xxi. 38, Καπλν; Alex. Μαβαῖν, etc.; *Mahanaim, id est Castra*; and *Manaim*), a town east of the Jordan and on the north bank of the Jabboc. The origin of the name is given in Gen.

xxxii. 2; after the interview between Laban and Jacob at Galeed, 'Jacob went on his way, and the angels of God met him. And when he saw them, he said, This is God's host (מַחֲנֵה, *Mahaneh*), and he called the name of that place *Mahanaim*'—perhaps because of the double camp or host—that of the angels and his own. It does not appear that there was any town on the spot at that period, though doubtless the heavenly vision would thenceforth render the place holy, and cause men to settle around it. On the approach of the Israelites to Palestine, Mahanaim is again mentioned in the description of the territory of Gad (Josh. xiii. 26); it stood on the border between that tribe and Manasseh (cf. ver. 30), but was allotted to the Levites out of Gad (xxi. 38). It seems to have become one of the most important cities east of the Jordan, for when the power of Saul's house was destroyed in western Palestine, Abner took Ishbosheth to Mahanaim, and made him king over Gilead, etc. (2 Sam. ii. 8). It is a singular fact that it was to this very place David fled on the rebellion of Absalom (2 Sam. xvii. 24, 27); and he was received with a hospitality which has always characterised nomad and semi-nomad tribes in the East (xix. 32). In Mahanaim David remained during the battle, which resulted in the overthrow and death of Absalom; and there he heard the tidings which affected so deeply his paternal heart. This city subsequently became one of the stations of Solomon's twelve purveyors (1 Kings iv. 14). The name does not again appear in sacred history.

Josephus states that Mahanaim was a strong and beautiful city (*Antiq.* vii. 9. 8). It was apparently unknown to Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Manaim*). Its exact position is nowhere described. It lay between Galeed and the river Jabboc, and apparently not far distant from the latter (Gen. xxxii. 2, 9, 22). The country between it and the Jordan was called Bithron (2 Sam. ii. 29); but we can form no correct idea from Scripture how far the city was from the Jordan. The site of Mahanaim has not yet been identified. There is a small village called *Mahneh*, whose name suggests identity, but it is more than twenty miles north of the Jabboc, and this distance would scarcely seem to accord with the indications given in Genesis of Jacob's journey from Galeed to the Jabboc. The topographical notices, however, are here obscure, and no positive argument either for or against can be based upon them. It would seem strange that a holy place, and a strongly fortified city, such as Mahanaim, should have abruptly disappeared from history, and have left no trace behind except a poor village. May it not be, therefore, that the ruins of *Gerasa* occupy the site of Mahanaim? The situation would suit the Scripture narrative. The ancient history of *Gerasa* is unknown. It is first mentioned by Josephus, but at that time and afterwards it was the capital of *Peræa*—thus occupying the place previously held by Mahanaim (see, however, Raumer, *Pal.* 244; Ritter, *Pal. und Syr.*, ii. 1039-40). The ruins of *Gerasa* are the most extensive and splendid east of the Jordan (*GERASA; Handbook for S. and P.*, ii. 311, seq.)—J. L. P.

MAHANEH-DAN (מַחֲנֵה־דָן, 'camp of Dan,' Παρεμβολὴ Δάν; *Castra Dan*), the name given to the place where the Danites assembled and en-



camped before setting out on their expedition against Laish. It is described as *in*, that is, within the territory of Kirjath-jearim, and situated 'behind' (אַחֲרָיָהּ) the town. Now Kirjath-jearim stands on the north-eastern slope of a hill, and probably the situation of the camp was above the city on the top of the hill (Judg. xviii. 12). The position is a most commanding one; and being a short march from the principal cities of the Danites, on the line of route which they were to take, it formed an excellent gathering-place. It was apparently on this same hill that the house of Abinadab stood, to which the ark was brought from Bethshemesh—'And the men of Kirjath-jearim came, and fetched up the ark, and brought it into the house of Abinadab, *in the hill*' (or 'in Gibeah,' בִּנְבִיעָה; 1 Sam. vii. 1; cf. 2 Sam. vi. 2, 3). There may have been some ancient sanctuary there, to which even the Israelites attached a certain amount of sacredness.

In Judg. xiii. 25 we read of a 'camp of Dan,' or *Mahanch-Dan* (the Hebrew being the same as in xviii. 12, as are also the LXX. and the Vulgate), where the Spirit of the Lord began at first to move Samson. This can scarcely be the same, however, as the Mahanch of Kirjath-jearim, because the former was situated between Zorah and Eshtaol. Zorah is about eight miles south-west of Kirjath-jearim; and Eshtaol, which is probably identical with Yeshua [ESHTAOL], lay only two miles from Zorah, towards Kirjath-jearim. But whether Eshtaol be identical with Yeshua or not, we cannot suppose it to have been situated north-east of Kirjath-jearim, and thus far within the proper territory of Judah; and, consequently, the 'Camp of Dan,' which lay between Zorah and Eshtaol, could not have been identical with the Mahaneh-Dan situated at Kirjath-jearim. The former appears to have been the stated and permanent 'gathering-place' of the tribe in their wars with the Philistines, while the latter was chosen as the point of departure for the great northern expedition. Besides, we can scarcely suppose that the burial-place of Manoa, which was evidently at the 'Camp of Dan, between Zorah and Eshtaol,' could have been beside Kirjath-jearim (Judg. xvi. 31; see *Handbook*, i. 282; Robinson, *B. R.*, ii. 12; iii. 153).—J. L. P.

MAHER-SHALAL-HASH-BAZ (מָהֵר שָׁלַל חָשׁ בָּז; Sept. Τοῦ ὀξέως προνομήν ποιῆσαι σκῶ-λων), words prognostic of the sudden attack of the Assyrian army ('he hasteth to the spoil'), which the prophet Isaiah was first commanded to write in large characters upon a tablet, and afterwards to give as a symbolical name to a son that was to be born to him (Is. viii. 1, 3). It is, as Dr. Henderson remarks, the longest of any of the Scripture names, but has its parallels in this respect in other languages, especially in our own during the time of the Commonwealth.—J. K.

MAHILON (מַחִילֹן; Μααλών; *Mahalon*) is mentioned in Ruth iv. 10 as the husband of Ruth. His name occurs in three other places, with that of his brother Chilion (Ruth i. 2, 5, and iv. 9). From the first of these passages, which formally treats of his family, it would seem that he was the *elder* son of Elimelech and Naomi. These parents were persons of wealth and distinction (Targ.

Jon. on Ruth calls the father מָהֵר רַבָּא, *vir magnus*, and his sons, רַבִּינִין, *magnates*), as would appear from their close relation to Boaz, the head of the tribe of Judah (comp. Ruth ii. 1). Driven by famine from Bethlehem, their home, the family migrated to the neighbouring country of Moab; here the two sons married native wives. The Targum and some of the Rabbinical writers mention this as a sin, as if contrary to Deut. xxiii. 3. This law however, according to the Talmud, applies to the *males* only of the prohibited nations; and accordingly other writers, such as Aben Ezra, suppose that the two daughters of Moab became proselytes, and so saved their husbands from a violation of the law (Cahen, *in loc.*) Rashi, not content with supposing Mahlon and Chilion to have been men of rank and influence (proof of which he finds in their designation, 'Ephrathites,'\* Ruth i. 2), makes their wives to have been princesses. Mahlon is supposed to have received Ruth from the hands of no less a person than Eglon, king of Moab, her father. This rests on no historical foundation, but is rather against the general view which we derive from the book of Ruth. According to this view Mahlon and his brother, after ten years of wedded life in Moab, died childless, his father having died apparently soon after his removal to Moab; and the family thus bereft of its male members seems to have been greatly reduced (see i. 21). By the subsequent marriage of the virtuous Ruth with the wealthy Boaz, the fortunes of Mahlon's family were abundantly retrieved. Boaz, on taking the young widow to be his wife, avowed it as one of his objects 'to raise up the name of the dead [Mahlon] upon his inheritance, that the name of the dead be not cut off from among his brethren, and from the gate of his place' (Ruth iv. 10). [KINSMAN.]—P. H.

MAHOL (מָחֹל; Sept. Μάλ; Alex. Μαούλ), the father of Heman, Chalcol, and Darda, famous for their wisdom, in which only Solomon excelled them (1 Kings v. 11 [iv. 31 A. V.]). In 1 Chron. ii. 6, persons of the same name are called the sons of Zerah; but there seems some confusion here, arising probably from the epithet הַמֵּאֲרִי attached to Ethan, in 1 Kings v. 11, being confounded with מָחֹל, the son of Judah. It is probable that the persons with whom Solomon is compared by the historian lived near his own time. It has been conjectured that for הַמֵּאֲרִי should be read הַמֵּאֲרִי, *the native*, and that the epithet is applied to Ethan to distinguish him from the sons of the stranger Mahol (Thenius, *in loc.*)—W. L. A.

MAI, ANGELO, Cardinal, and one of the most famous scholars of the Romish Church in the present age, was born at Shilpario, in the province of Bergamo, 7th March 1782. He entered the order of Jesuits in 1799; and in 1804 he became classi-

\* That is, as he renders the word, 'noble' (εὐγενής). The word, which seems to refer to the ancient name of Bethlehem, may convey the honourable idea of an indigenous origin and high family descent. Aben Ezra connects this name of Bethlehem with Caleb's wife Ephrata. In like manner, and perhaps for a like reason, Jesse of Bethlehem is called 'the Ephrathite' in 1 Sam. xvii. 12 (comp. the Ἐφεραΐται τὸ παλαιὸν Ὀλβιοί, said of the Athenians of noble birth, in Euripides, *Medea*, 824).

cal teacher in the Jesuit College at Naples. Sharing in the expulsion of the Jesuits from Naples by Joseph Bonaparte, he found refuge in the Collegium Romanum at Rome; and having received priests' orders, he turned his attention to palaeographic studies, and especially to the deciphering of palimpsests. In 1813 he became custos of the Ambrosian library at Milan; and from this time began to issue those publications which have made his name famous. These consist of editions of ancient MSS. discovered and deciphered by him, and which form invaluable additions to the stores of ancient literature previously possessed by scholars. To his perseverance and skill the learned world is indebted for the treatise of Cicero *De Republica* (with lacunæ), an oration of Isocrates, some writings of Philo Judæus, some fragments of the Gothic version of Paul's Epistles, also of the Roman Antiquities of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and many other remains of antiquity. The greater part of his discoveries have been published in a collected form in the following works:—*Scriptorum Vett. Nova Collectio*, 10 vols., Rom. 1825-38; *Classici auctores a Vaticanis Codd. ed.*, 10 vols., Rom. 1828-38; *Spicilegium Roman.*, 8 vols., Rom. 1839-41; *Nova Patrum Biblioth.*, 7 vols., Rom. 1844-54. In recognition of his valuable labours, Mai was made librarian of the Vatican in 1819; and after obtaining several ecclesiastical dignities, he was, in 1838, made Cardinal by Pope Gregory XVI. He continued his learned labours to the last, and in the midst of them was carried off by an inflammatory attack, 9th Feb. 1854. Some of his latest labours were spent on the preparation for the press of the famous Codex Vaticanus of the O. and N. T.—W. L. A.

MAIMONIDES, MOSES, also called by the Jews *Rambam*, from the initial letters רמב"ם = *R. Moses b. Maimun*, and by the Arabians *Abu Amram Musa b. Maimun Obeid Allah*, was born at Cordova, March 30th, 1135. This great luminary, the Glory of Israel, the second Moses, the Reformer of Judaism, as he is called, was first initiated, when a youth, in the Hebrew Scriptures, the Talmud, Jewish literature, mathematics, and astronomy, by his father who was a thorough scholar. He had scarcely passed his thirteenth year when his native place, Cordova, was taken by the Almohades (May or June 1148), and the fanatic caliph issued a decree that, on pain of exile, the Jews and the Christians must alike embrace Islamism, which compelled his parents to emigrate with the greater part of the Jewish community, and travel about, as he himself tells us, 'by land and by sea,' without finding a resting-place for the sole of his foot. At the age of twenty-three (1158), he showed his extraordinary powers of comprehension and elucidation in a treatise on the Jewish calendar, based on astronomical principles (*חשבון העבור*), which he composed for a friend; and in the same year, whilst wandering about from place to place, he also began his stupendous *Commentary on the Mishna*. So great was then already his knowledge of the Talmud, that he could dispense with books when engaged on this gigantic work. Twelve months after (1159-60), he went with his parents to Fez, where they were compelled, at the peril of their lives, outwardly to embrace Islamism. For this he was attacked by a co-religionist, and replied to it in a treatise entitled *A Letter on Religious Perse-*

*cution* (אגרת השמר), or, *A treatise on Glorifying God* (מאמר קידוש השם)—i.e., by suffering martyrdom—which is a most ingenious plea for those who have not the courage to submit to death for their religion, and who, having outwardly renounced their faith, continue secretly to practice their religion. This maiden production of Maimonides, which he composed about 1160-64, and in which he propounds his idea of Judaism, was published by Geiger, *Moses ben Maimon*, part i., Breslau 1850.

Maimonides was now secretly engaged in encouraging and preserving those of his brethren in Judaism who, like himself, had outwardly professed Mohammedanism. But this endangered his life, and he was compelled to flee from Fez (April 18, 1165). He took refuge on board a vessel, which, after a most dangerous voyage, reached St. Jean d'Acre, May 16, 1165. From thence he made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and then to Egypt, where he lost his father (1166), and finally settled at Fostat, the port of Cairo, delivering lectures on philosophy. In all his wanderings, however, he devoted every spare moment to the *Commentary on the Mishna*, which he began at twenty-three, and which he now finished (1168), after ten years' labour. This remarkable work, which was written in Arabic, and entitled *The Book of Light* (Arab.

כתבא אלסרא, Heb. ספר המאור), is designed to simplify the study of the exposition of the Law or Pentateuch, handed down by tradition, which was rendered exceedingly difficult by the super-commentaries and discussions which had accumulated thereon since the close of the Mishna to the days of Maimonides. It is preceded by a general elaborate introduction, in which he discourses on the true nature of prophecy, shows its relationship to the law given on Sinai, treats on the figurative language occurring in the Pentateuch and the Prophets, etc., etc. In the special introduction to the *Tract Sanhedrin* he, for the first time, defined and formally laid down the Jewish creed, which consists of the following thirteen articles:—1. There is one God, who is a perfect being, the Creator and preserver of all things; 2. He is an indivisible unity; 3. He is incorporeal and immutable; 4. He is eternal, and no being existed before Him; 5. He alone is to be worshipped; 6. He endowed chosen men with the gift of prophecy; 7. Moses was incomparably the greatest of all prophets; 8. The whole Law—i.e., the Pentateuch—was given by God to Moses; 9. This law is complete and unalterable; 10. God is omniscient, and takes cognizance of all the thoughts and deeds of man; 11. He will judge both the righteous and the wicked; 12. Messiah is to come, and he may appear any day; and, 13. There is to be a general resurrection of the dead. This introduction of a definite creed may be considered as one of the most important events in the Jewish history since the destruction of Jerusalem.

This creed (שלוש עשרה עקרין) forms to the present day a part of the Synagogue Ritual, and is rehearsed daily by every Jew. If any Israelite disbelieves one of these articles, he is regarded as a heretic (*אפיקורס*), does not belong any more to the Jewish community, and has no portion in

the world to come (חלק לעולם הבא). Comp. Maimonides, *Introduction to sect. x., Tract Sanhedrin*, or to *Perek Chalek*.



In consequence of this work, Maimonides gradually became the great oracle in all matters of religion; he was appealed to (in 1175) by the Jews from different parts of the world for his opinion on difficulties connected with the law, and was nominated Rabbi of Raheia in 1177. Though constantly beset by crowds who came to consult him on all questions, philosophical, medical, and religious, yet, by intruding on the night for his profounder studies, he was able, after ten years' labour (1170-80) to complete his second stupendous work (Nov. 7, 1180), called *Deuteronomy, Second Law* (משנה תורה), or *Jad Hachezaka* = *The Mighty Hand* (יד החזקה), in allusion to Deut. xxxiv. 12, and because the work consists of fourteen books (י"ד=14), which created a new epoch in Judaism. The fourteen books, subdivided into eighty-two

Tractates (הלכות), of which the work consists form a cyclopaedia comprising every department of Biblical and Judaistic literature. When it is added, that Maimonides has given in every article a lucid abstract of the ancient traditional expositions of those who were regarded as the oracles in their respective departments, the immense importance of this remarkable production to the Biblical student can hardly be overrated. It is written in very clear and easy Hebrew, as Maimonides was anxious that it should be intelligible to all readers. Within a few years of its appearance the work was copied and circulated most extensively in Arabia, Palestine, Africa, Southern France, and Italy, and through the world wherever Jews resided. It soon became the text-book of the Jewish religion, and was regarded as a new Bible or Talmud. So great and world-wide was his fame, not only as the reformer of Judaism, but as a physician, that Richard Cœur de Lion invited him to become court physician in England, which he declined, and the Vizier Alfadhel appointed him chief (*Reis*, נגיד) of all the congregations in Egypt (circa 1187). His numerous and onerous duties, as the spiritual head of Judaism, and the constant demand for his great medical skill, were, however, alike unable to overcome the powers of his intellect, which he had consecrated to the elucidation of the Bible and the traditional law, and to the harmonizing of revelation with philosophy. Thus, in the midst of all his engagements, Maimonides determined to reclaim his disciple Ibn Akinin [IBN AKNIN] from the prevailing scepticism about a future world, the destiny of man, sin, retribution, revelation, etc. etc.; and, desirous to counteract this baneful infidelity, completed, about 1190, his third great work. This religio-philosophical work, consisting of three parts in 204 sections, which he wrote

in Arabic, entitled *אלהאירין*, in Hebrew *דלאלה אלהאירין*, *More Nebuchim* = *the Guide of the Perplexed*, in allusion to Exod. xiv. 3, created a new epoch in the philosophy of the middle ages. Not only did Mohammedans write commentaries upon it, but the Christian schoolmen learned from it how to harmonize the conflicts between religion and philosophy. The great aim of Maimonides—to harmonize in his writings the written with oral law—obliged him to reject many things in the rabbinic writings which many of his Talmudic brethren held inviolably sacred. This involved him in extensive and painful controversies during the rest of his life, and he had the mortification of seeing the Jewish nation, whom he laboured so hard to

unite by the creed he, for the first time, introduced into the synagogue, divided into two parties; the one fighting with anathemas against him, regarding him as a heretic, and consigning his works to the flames, and the other defending him as the angel, the messenger of a new covenant. In the midst of the conflict 'the Great Luminary' of the Jewish nation was extinguished, Dec. 13, 1204. The Jews and the Mohammedans of Fostat had public mourning for three days, the Jews of Jerusalem proclaimed a day of extraordinary humiliation, reading publicly the threatenings of the law (Deut. xxviii.) and the history of the capture of the ark by the Philistines (1 Sam. iv. etc.); for they regarded Maimonides as the ark containing the law. His remains were conveyed to Tiberias; and the reverence which the Jewish nation still cherish for his memory is expressed by the well-known saying,

כמושה ועד משה לא קם כמותה, 'From Moses, the lawgiver, to Moses (Maimonides), no one hath arisen like Moses,' in allusion to Deut. xxxiv. 10.

*Editions and Translations of his Works.*—Of those great works which bear on Biblical litera-

ture, the first, *i.e.*, כתאב אלסראן, was translated into Hebrew from the original Arabic by a number of contemporary literati, and is now printed with the text of the Mishna (ed. Naples 1492, Venice 1546, Sabionetta 1559, Mantua 1561-62, etc.), and the Talmud (ed. Soncino 1484, Vienna 1520-30, 1540-50, Basel 1578-80, Cracow 1603-1606, Lublin 1617-28, Amsterdam 1644-47, etc.) Dean Milman is mistaken in saying that this 'great work on the Mishna, the Porta Moses, was translated by Pococke' (*History of the Jews*, 3d ed., London 1863, vol. iii. p. 150), as this celebrated Orientalist only translated portions of it, chiefly consisting of the introductions to the different Tractates (*Theological Works*, vol. i., ed. Twells, London 1740). The Arabic original of these portions is given for the first time with this translation. Surenhusius has given an abridged version of the whole commentary in his edition of the Mishna, Amsterdam 1678. There are also extant Spanish versions of the whole, and German translations of various parts of this work.

2. *The Mishna Torah* or *Jad Hachezaka*.—The first edition of the text appeared in Italy, in the printing-office of Solomon b. Jehuda and Obadja b. Moses, about 1480, two vols. fol.; then in Soncino 1490; the text, with different commentaries, Constantinople 1509; Venice 1524, 1550-51, 1574-75; with an alphabetical index and many plates, 4 vols. folio, Amsterdam 1702. It is to this edition that the references in this CYCLOPÆDIA are made. Translations of portions of this work in Latin have been published, and also one or two in English.

3. *The More Nebuchim*, or *The Guide of the Perplexed*, was, till lately, read in the Hebrew translation of Ibn Tibbon, first published about 1480; then in Venice 1551; Sabionetta 1553; Berlin 1791-96; Sulzbach 1828, etc. It was translated into Latin by Justinian, bishop of Nebio, *R. Mossei Aegyptii Dux sive Director dubitantium*, Paris 1520; then again by Buxtorf jun., *Doctor Perplexorum*, Basel 1629. The first part was translated into German by Fürstenthal, Krotoschin 1839; the second by M. E. Stein, Vienna 1864; and the third by Scheyer, Frankfort-on-the-Maine 1838. Part iii. 26-49 has been translated into English by Dr. Townley, *The Reasons of the Law of Moses*,

London 1827. The original Arabic of the first and second parts has for the first time been published, with a French translation and elaborate notes, by Munk, Paris 1856-61. We trust that this celebrated and industrious Orientalist will soon publish the third and last part. Comp. Geiger, *Moses ben Maimon*, Breslau 1850; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, ii. 290-316; Steinschneider, *Catalogus Lib. Heb. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, col. 1861-1942; Jost, *Geschichte des Judenthums*, Leipzig 1858, vol. ii. p. 428, ff.; Frankel, *Hodegetica in Mischnam*, Leipzig 1859, p. 320, ff.; Joel, *Die Religions-philosophie des Moses ben Maimon*, in *Jahresbericht der jüdisch-theologischen Seminars*, Breslau 1859; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. iii., Leipzig 1861, p. 310, ff.—C. D. G.

MAISTRE DE SACY. [Sacy.]

MAKAZ (מָקַז, 'end'; Makés; Alex. Μαχμας; *Maces*), a place mentioned only in 1 Kings iv. 9, in describing the district allotted to the second of Solomon's purveyors. It is joined with Shaalbim and Bethshemesh, and was thus probably situated in the territory of Dan, on the western slopes of the mountains of Judah. It appears to have been unknown to Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Maces*), and its site has not been identified.—J. L. P.

MAKHELOTH (מִקְהֵלוֹת, 'assemblies,' as in Ps. lxxviii. 27; Μακηλόθ; *Maceloth*), one of the stations of the Israelites in the wilderness, mentioned only in the summary of their journeyings given in Num. xxxiii. (25, 26). The site is unknown.—J. L. P.

MAKKEDAH (מִקְדָּה; perhaps 'place of shepherds,' from root נָקַד; Gesen., *Thesaurus*, s. v.; Μακηδά, but in Josh. xv. 41 Μακηδάν; Alex. Μακηδᾶ; *Macada*), an ancient royal city of Canaan (Josh. xii. 16), captured by Joshua immediately after the defeat of the allied kings at Gibeon (x. 28). It obtains its only celebrity from its connection with that great battle. We read that the defeated Canaanites fled down the Pass of Bethhoron, and were hotly pursued by the Israelites 'to Azekah and Makkedah' (x. 10). At the latter town was a cave in which the fugitive monarchs hid themselves (16, 17). Stones were rolled on the mouth of the cave, and the pursuit followed up until they that remained 'entered into fenced cities' (20). Then Joshua returned to Makkedah, opened the cave, slew the kings, 'and hanged them on five trees' (26).

The situation of Makkedah is not precisely described in the Bible, yet we have some indication of the region in which it stood. After the slaughter of the kings at Makkedah, Joshua marched on Libnah, and then on Lachish (x. 29). The site of the latter is known. It is on the southern border of the plain of Philistia [LACHISH]; and Libnah appears to have been situated a short distance north of it [LIBNAH]. Joshua's line of march was south or south-west; and, therefore, we may infer that Makkedah lay north, or north-east, of Libnah. With this agrees the order of the towns in Josh. xii. 15, 16—Libnah, Adullam, Makkedah; and in ch. xv. Makkedah is enumerated among the towns allotted to Judah in the *Shephelah* (33, 41); that is, the plain of Philistia lying near the western base of the hills. All the kings who joined the

king of Jerusalem against Gibeon were from the south—Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish, and Eglon. When their armies were driven down the Pass of Bethhoron, they would naturally endeavour to escape to their own cities (x. 19) along the base of the mountains, where their flight would be unimpeded. All these indications point to one locality; and with them partly agrees the statement of Eusebius and Jerome, who place Makkedah eight miles from Eleutheropolis towards the east (πρὸς ἀνατολὰς; *Onomast.*, s. v. *Maceda*). When the writer explored the Shephelah in the spring of 1857, he found at the foot of the mountains, about eight miles north-east of Eleutheropolis, a small village called *el-Klediah*, not far from Jarmuth, one of the confederate cities; in the hill-side near it are numerous large caves. This may probably mark the site, as it bears some resemblance to the name of Makkedah (*Handbk.* 251). Van de Velde would locate it at *Sumeil*, two and a half hours north-west of Eleutheropolis (*Memoir*, 332). The only objection against *el-Klediah* is its distance from Bethhoron—about twenty miles. The kings were captured and killed on the evening of the day of battle; Makkedah also was taken that same day (ver. 28). All this, however, is possible, unless we deny the miracle, for 'the sun stood still in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down about a whole day' (ver. 13).—J. L. P.

MAKTESH (מִכְתֵּשׁ, 'a mortar'; κατακεκομμένη; *Pila*; Vet. Lat. *Concissa*), a quarter or suburb of Jerusalem, specially denounced by Zephaniah (i. 11). It would seem from the use of the article (הַמִּכְתֵּשׁ), and from the fact that, as a name, the word is nowhere else found, that *Maktesh* is an appellative rather than a proper name, intended to describe one of the deep valleys of Jerusalem, which in shape resembled a 'mortar.' The ancient versions so regard it (Aq., εἰς τὸν ὄλμον; Theod., ἐν τῷ βάθει). The Targum supposes reference to be made to the valley of Kidron. Others think it means the Tyropæon, a deep valley in the centre of the city, where the shops and principal places of business were situated (Henderson, *ad loc.*; Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* v. 4. 2). The context would seem to favour the idea that some place of merchandise was specially referred to:—'Howl, ye inhabitants of Maktesh, for all the merchant people are cut down; all they that bear silver are cut off.'—J. L. P.

MALACHI (מַלְאכִי abbr. from מַלְאכִי, messenger of God; cf. אורי, from אורייח; אבי, from אביריח, etc.; LXX., Μαλαχίας in the heading; but in i. 1 מַלְאכִי, ἄγγελος αὐτοῦ, scil. Κυρίου; where cod. Barber. Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, and Γρ have Μαλαχίου (= מַלְאכִי); Vulg. *Malachias*; Targum. מַלְאכִי דִּיתְקַרִי שְׁמִי, Malachi who is called Ezra the Scribe; ספרא עזרא ספרא, Syr. مَلَاكِي; Arab. مَلَاكِيَا), the author of

the last of the canonical books of the O. T. (in the Hebrew canon as the last of the *תרי עשר*, placed before Psalms), who is therefore also denominated by Jewish authorities סוף הנביאים, 'end of the prophets'; חותם הנביאים, 'seal of the prophets'; אחרון שבהם, 'the last among them,' and the like. Absolutely nothing is known about this pro-



phet's personal history. Neither his birthplace nor his kindred, neither the time of his life nor that of his death, are to be found in any authentic record. Speculation and legend have therefore early been busy in supplying these desiderata. Malachi is thus, according to Rab (*Meg.* 15, a), Mordecai himself, and the former name has been bestowed upon him on account of his being second to the king (מלך), as stated in Esther x. 3; which

etymological suggestion is contradicted (*ib.*) by a tradition recorded in a Boraitha, where, in an enumeration of the seven prophets who prophesied in the second year of Darius, Mordecai and Malachi are counted separately. Another opinion brought forward in the same place by Jehoshuah b. Korchah, viz., that Malachi was none else but Ezra—an opinion supported by R. Nachman b. Jizchak on account of both Malachi and Ezra inveighing against the practice of marrying heathen women—is equally rejected by the majority of the Talmudical

authorities who hold (*ib.*), 'מלאכי שטן':—whoever this prophet was, he was not identical with anybody else of a different name, but he was an individuality of his own, and his name is Malachi. The presumed identity with Ezra is further contradicted by a dictum in *Sabb.* (62, a), which makes Malachi return at once with Zerubbabel. Of the manifold strange theories subsequently started on the basis of the prophet's name, which was construed, in the absence of any other information, into an appellative: we may mention that of Origen, who holds

an angel (מלאך) to be the real author of the book; that recorded in Pseudepiphanius, that the name ('Μαλαχία') was bestowed upon Malachi because of his excessive angelic beauty and goodness—a notion also found in the Scholiast on Ephræm Syrus's *Commentary to Malachi*; further, that he received this epithet on account of his angelic power of delivery (Isidore of Seville); or because he communicated Revelations (Theodoret); or because an angel came down and explained his discourses to the people, etc. etc. All these explanations deserve no more serious attention than the apocryphal statements of the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, of Pseudepiphanius, and other legendary records, of his being born in Zopha or Sopha, in Zebulun; or (according to Theodoret), in Sophæra in the tribe of Levi, and that he died there at an early age; or that he was identical with Joshua ben Josedeck, as Clement of Alexandria holds. The notion, however, that Malachi was only a kind of pseudonym, standing in reality for Ezra, or somebody else, has, although disposed of already by the Talmud, and by the subsequent Jewish authorities (see Aben Ezra, *Comment. on Mal.* i. 1; Kimchi, *ad loc.*, Abrahavanel, *Introd. to Mal.*), has yet found its supporters from Jerome to Hengstenberg. Their reasons for this assumption are chiefly these:—Nothing is said in Malachi about himself, nor does any other ancient source contain aught about him; which, considering his being the latest prophet, is very strange. Further, they say, his name is significative of his mission. Ezra, moreover, might have been designated a prophet, although we never find this name applied to him. Again, no mention of Malachi is ever made in Ezra; and Sirach, in naming the twelve prophets (c. 49), does not mention Ezra, while Josephus names Ezra, but not Malachi; and finally, they hold, the circumstances

recorded in Malachi strangely tally with those of Ezra's times. The answers to most of these arguments are obvious, and have been repeatedly given; others are somewhat more difficult to refute; but none is so strong as to really cast any serious doubt upon Malachi's existence as an individuality of his own.\* And this is indeed held to be an undeniable historical fact, by the vast majority of investigators.

The question of Malachi's exact date is indeed one more difficult to answer, and one about which anything but unanimity may be said to prevail. That he lived after Haggai and Zechariah is clear from the Temple being rebuilt in his time, the temple-service restored, and the very remembrance of the exile having well-nigh faded away. That, again, he is a contemporary of Nehemiah, a mere glance at Neh. xiii. is sufficient to convince us, where, quite apart from the similarity of the contents with Malachi (the neglect of the sacrifices, the profanation of the Sabbath, the corruption of the priests, the intermarriage with heathen women, etc.), the passages agree often almost to the letter. The real question at issue is, whether Malachi prophesied during Nehemiah's first or second administration, or shortly before or afterwards, or even during the interval between the two administrations only. Our space does not allow us to enter into the special arguments brought forward by the different investigators in support of their respective views. Suffice it to record, that the majority of Biblical critics (Jahn, Rosenmüller, Keil, Hengstenberg, Bertholdt) agree with Vitringa's opinion, that Malachi delivered his discourses shortly before or immediately after Nehemiah's second return to Jerusalem, that is, after the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes Longimanus (420 B.C.) Others, however, conclude, from the somewhat altered circumstances of the commonwealth, as they appear in both writers (*f. i.*, that in Nehemiah's time Jerusalem was but half rebuilt; that Malachi complains only of a great drought; that in Nehemiah's time the exile must have been in vivid recollection; that mention is made of a פתור—who, however, need by no means have been a Jewish governor, as is commonly supposed), that Malachi lived subsequently to Nehemiah (Ewald, Herbert, etc.) Herzfeld, Davidson, and a few others, place him before Nehemiah (460-450 B.C.), to whom, by tradition (cf. Maccab. ii. 13), is assigned the collection of all the prophetic books, and consequently also that of Malachi; and who, if they had been contemporaries, could not have failed to come in contact with him, and to mention him, at least, among the many names in Neh. viii. 4-7; ix. 4, 5. It is difficult to decide between these opinions, which, on the whole, differ but in a comparatively small number of years. The Talmudical tradition quoted above (*Meg.* 15, a), viz., that he prophesied in the second year of Darius Hystaspes (repeated by late chronological handbooks, such as *Seder Olam Rabba*, etc.), has as little historical foundation as Scaliger's, Capellus's, and others' surmise,

\* A comparison of style and diction in Ezra and Malachi should, we think, prove sufficient to convince any scholar that they are written by very different hands, quite apart from such very striking peculiarities as their respective use of אלהים (cf. *Reinke*, p. 49, *seqq.*)

that he lived as late as the time of Alexander; and deserves no refutation.

The book itself has been variously divided into three, five, six, eight, or more sections. In the Hebrew canon we find three chapters, the third including also the fourth of the LXX., Vulg., Peshito, Arab., and the A. V. Following Ewald and Hävernicks in assuming three chief divisions only, we find how in the first (i. 2-ii. 9), the prophet calls to the people's mind the kindness the Lord has shown towards Jacob while he hated Esau, and yet those to whom he has been a father have not been as children to him, and—worst of all—they whom he appointed as their special guardians and teachers, the priests, have been foremost in offending him by polluting his altar and vilely exchanging the very sacrifices offered. They, the chosen tribe of Levi, with whom was the Lord's covenant of life and peace, whose lips should keep knowledge, who, in fact, are 'the messengers of the Lord of Hosts,' have departed out of the way, and have caused the many to stumble: therefore also they have become contemptible and base before all the people. In the second message (ii. 10-16) he inveighs against the evil of 'profaning the covenant' by the marriages between the people and 'the daughters of a strange god,' coupled with a hypocritical repentance and the treachery against the legal spouses of their youth. But if hitherto Jehovah has been spoken of as the God and Father of his people, he is in the concluding prophecy (ii. 17-iv. 6) introduced as the God of judgment, who, wearied by the iniquities committed before his sight, the atrocities and the false swearings, and the oppression of the widow and the fatherless and the stranger, the robberies of tithes and offerings, the unbelief in his words, will send his messenger ('מלאכי') right speedily, who shall refine, and purify, and purge, and the righteous shall be separated from the wicked, and while to the former shall rise the sun of righteousness, the latter shall be trodden under foot as dust. And with the final admonition—the prophetic seal upon the Mosaic covenant:—'Remember ye the law of Moses my servant;' and the promise to send 'Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord, who shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers,' the book concludes.

We cannot agree with those critics who consider Malachi's style and diction 'pedantic, scholastic, forced, barren,' and the like. It certainly lacks the grandeur and power of the best prophets, but is nevertheless of a very high order; in one or two places even rising to the very highest level of prophetic inspiration and form of expression. In general the language is concise, clear, and polished, and the manner of introducing a new line of argument or a new range of thought is most striking. And here the peculiarity is to be noticed, that there is no longer the ancient dramatic manner displayed, but a kind of dialogue has taken its place, which is carried on between God and the people or the priests, whose half-mocking questions are enlarged upon and finally answered with scorn by the mouth of the messenger. He seems fully aware of being the last of the sacred bards (iii. 1 and 22), and the epoch of transition from the glowing energetic fullness of the inspired seer, who speaks to the people as the highest power suddenly and irresistibly moves him, to the carefully studied

and methodically constructed written discourse, becomes strangely apparent in him. We find both the ancient prophetic improvised original exhortation, with its repetitions and apparent incongruities, and the artificially composed address, with its borrowed ideas well arranged and its euphonious words well selected. This circumstance has probably also given rise to the notion that we have only in his book a summary of his orations; a work containing, as it were, the substance only of his addresses; written out by himself from his recollections—an opinion which we do not share. Of peculiarities of phraseology we may notice the occurrence of passages like *ונשא אתכם אלוי* (ii. 3), *כסת חמום* (ii. 16), etc.

The authenticity and integrity of the book, as we now possess it, have never been called in question. The N. T., Philo, Josephus, Melito, Jerome, and other ancient authorities, mention it, and quote from it as in accordance with our present copies. Nor is there anything either in its language or the circumstances of its time, the manners and customs touched upon, or its topographical and geographical allusions, that could give rise to the slightest critical suspicion. Its text is one of the purest and best preserved, and no glosses to it are to be found in the Codd., such as had to be added to correct the corruptions of other books. The differences in the various Ancient Versions arise only from differences of individual interpretation, and from the differences of the vowels assumed or found by the translators in their copies. The few Variants which occur in the different texts are so unimportant that they do not call for any special remark. The literature on this book is unusually extensive. We shall confine ourselves to mentioning the writings of Chytræus, Bohlius, Vitringa, Stock, Scclater, Ursinus, Grynæus, Salomon v. Tyl, Wessel, Hebenstreit, Venema, Bahrdt, Faber, Fischer, Ewald, Hitzig, Henderson, etc. The most complete and exhaustive modern work is L. Reinke's *Der Prophet Malachi, Einleitung, Grundtext und Uebersetzung, nebst philol.-krit. und hist. Commentar*, Giessen 1856, 8vo.—E. D.

**MALCHAM (מלכאם).** 1. A name of the Ammonite idol, commonly called Molech. The name Molech, מלך, is from the same root as מלך, 'king,' and evidently of the same signification, having in all occurrences but one (1 Kings xi. 1) the article, 'ham-molech,' המלך. Its pronunciation being sufficiently supported by the ancient versions, it is probably a dialectic variation. Malcham and Milcom, מלכאם, are two varieties, if we may depend upon the points, of a derivative with 'ם formative' used as a proper name. According to the present punctuation, Malcham is identical with 'their king,' מלכאם, with the suffixed pronoun of the third person plural masculine; hence a difficulty when the context is not positive.

The passages in which Malcham seems to be a proper name are the following: Jer. xlix. 1, 3; Amos v. 26; Zeph. i. 5; 2 Sam. xii. 30. In Is. viii. 21, the meaning is doubtful. It is difficult to conjecture the reason for the use of more forms than one of the name of Molech. Perhaps one is



the Israelite, and another the Ammonite form. Some escape this difficulty by considering Malcham to be an appellative with the sense 'their king,' but this does not explain the variety Milcom.

2. A Benjamite, apparently of the descendants of Ehud, and son of Shaharaim, probably born in the land of Moab, but the passage is difficult, though a connection with Moab is clear. Among his brethren, Jobab has a name also given to an Edomite, as well as to a Canaanite king; and, still more remarkably, Mesha has a name also that of a Moabite king. The occurrence together of Malcham and Mesha in connection with Moab is confirmatory of the correctness of the former name, at least as far as its consonants are concerned, as applied to the Ammonite idol, for in such a passage it would not have been changed by intention, or by a mistake of the transcriber.—R. S. P.

MALCHIAH, or MALCHIJAH (מַלְכִּיָּהוּ), in one instance מַלְכִּיָּהוּ; Sept. *Μελχία*, *Μελχίας*; Alex. *Μελχίας*), a name of frequent occurrence in the O. T., not fewer than thirteen persons of this name being mentioned. The only one who furnishes occasion for any remark is the one mentioned Jer. xxxviii. 6, into whose dungeon Jeremiah was cast. He is described as 'the son of Hammelech,' that is, as it is elsewhere rendered, 'the king's son' (1 Kings xxii. 26; 2 Chron. xxviii. 7). This title occurs besides Jer. xxxvi. 26. It probably indicated that the party of whom it is used was of royal descent. Whether it implied any official position at court is doubtful, though all the parties to whom it is applied seem to have held some such position.—W. L. A.

MALCHISHUAH (מַלְכִּישׁוּאָה), LXX. *Μελχισουά*, Jos. *Μελχισός*), a son of Saul. In the A. V. he is called Malchishuah in 1 Sam. xiv. 49, xxxi. 2; but Malchishuah in 1 Chron. viii. 33, ix. 39, x. 2; although the Hebrew word is the same in both books, with the exception of its being written as two words in the latter passages. The only fact mentioned about Malchishuah is that he was slain by the Philistines, with his father and his brothers, in the disastrous defeat of Mount Gilboa. It is impossible to determine whether he was Saul's second or third son, since in 1 Sam. xiv. 49, xxxi. 2, he is mentioned *after* Jonathan and Abinadab; but in 1 Chron. he is always mentioned *second*, except in x. 2. In the fact that the name of Saul's eldest son was Jehoviah in form (*Jehovah hath given*), whereas no such peculiarity is found in the names of the other sons, some writers (e.g., Mr. F. Newman) have seen a trace of Saul's gradual apostasy. Josephus only mentions Malchishuah once, *after* his brothers (Jos. *Antiq.* vi. 14. 7).—F. W. F.

MALCHUS (Μαλχος), the servant of the high-priest whose ear Peter cut off at the arrest of our Lord. All the Evangelists record the act (Matt. xxvi., Mark xvi., Luke xxii., John xviii.), but only St. John gives the names Peter and Malchus. Some think Peter's name was omitted by the synoptists lest the publication of it in his lifetime should expose him to the revenge of the unbelieving Jews; but as the gospels were not *published*, this seems improbable. St. John was an acquaintance of the high-priest's, and probably a frequenter of his house; hence he knew the name of his servant. Doubtless Peter, when he began to smite with the sword,

aimed a more deadly blow, which Malchus sought to avoid by moving his head aside, and thus escaped with the loss of his right ear. It has been questioned whether the use by the four Evangelists of a diminutive (ὠτίον by Matt. and Luke, ὠτρίον by Mark and John), instead of οὖς—which Luke alone has, and but once—does not imply that only part of the ear—the lappet—was cut off; but it is a sufficient answer that late Greek was partial to diminutives, and often employed them in the sense of their primitive. It is probable that the ear was not *completely* severed from its place, for our Lord is not said to have picked it up and replaced it, but simply to have touched it (*ἀψάμενος τοῦ ὠτρίου*). St. Luke alone records the healing. Jesus, who as we find from St. Matthew had been already laid hands on, first rebuking Peter, and forbidding further smiting, then turned to his captors and asked them to release his arm, *Ἐὰν ἐως τούτου*. This done, he touched the ear of Malchus and healed him. How wonderful is the sight of captive and restrained omnipotence! How strange is the sound of a petition to be let loose from him whose arm is strength, whom legions of angels were ready to deliver! What importance is given to the outward sign and form of spiritual help and blessing, by the fact that Jesus, even in such a case, asked permission to go through the form, as though the healing waited for it, and somehow were dependent on it! —J. G. C.

MALDONATUS, JOANNES, was born at Casas de la Reina, in Estremadura, in 1534, studied at Salamanca, and was distinguished in his youth for his knowledge of Greek and philosophy. He took the vows and habit of the Society of Jesus at Rome in 1562. He was sent by the Jesuit authorities to Paris as a teacher of Catholic theology during the excitement of the French Reformation and Catholic reaction, between 1562 and 1572. His exegetical lectures were attended by Protestants in Paris and elsewhere, and the renown of his teaching reminds the reader of the history of Abelard. His brilliant course was chequered by malicious charges of heresy on the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, and also of 'deathbed robbery' in favour of the Society of Jesus. He retired after this to the solitude of the Convent of Bourges, and prepared the various exegetical and other works by which he is known to posterity. None of his works were published during his life, and some still remain in the Ambrosian Library of Milan. The most valuable productions of Maldonatus are —I. *Commentarii in Quatuor Evangelistas*. Though condemned by some, and procuring for its author the title of 'virulentissimus et maledicentissimus,' this work has received from Catholic and Protestant writers a just meed of praise (see Bayle, Richard Simon, Schlichtingius, M. Poole, and Jackson). In this work, Maldonatus collates the opinions of the Fathers with great ability, and does not hesitate to differ even from Augustine when sound exegesis demands it. He shows acquaintance with the Vatican MS. of the N. T., and with the LXX. version of the O. T., and with the original Hebrew. The best edition was published 1595. II. *Commentarii in precipuos Sacre Scripture libros V. T.*, including Jeremiah, Baruch, Ezekiel, and Daniel, and an exposition of Psalm cix. III. A folio volume, containing *Scholia* on the Psalms, Proverbs, Canticles, and Ecclesiastes,

and various theological treatises. IV. *Liber de demonibus, Disputationes de fide*, a translation of this was also published in French in 1617. V. *Summula casuum conscientie*, a work of doubtful value, morality, and authenticity. VI. A commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, and other works, are preserved in MSS. in Milan.

While engaged in preparing these works, Maldonatus was summoned to Rome by Pope Gregory XIII. to assist in the publication of an edition of the LXX. He died shortly afterwards, in 1583, in the fiftieth year of his age. He was one of the greatest ornaments of the Society of Jesus, and a learned man in the age of great scholars and reviving thought (see R. Simon, *Hist. Crit. des Principaux Commentateurs du Nouveau Test.*, 1693, pp. 618-33; Bayle, Zeller, Hoffman, and Morery; Aubertus Miræus, *Scriptores Sacculi*, xvi. in Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica*).

There was another writer of the same name, a Spanish Jesuit, who, according to Aubertus Miræus, was a priest of Burgos, and is stated by Zeller to have ordered the lessons of the Roman Breviary. In 1549 he published a treatise *De senectute Christiana*, and an elegant abridgment of the lives of the saints.—II. R. R.

MALLOS, a city of Cilicia, the inhabitants of which (Μαλλωται) revolted from Antiochus Epiphanes because he had given them to his concubine Antiochis (2 Maccab. iv. 30). Mallos lay at the mouth of the Pyramus, about twenty miles from Tarsus.—†

#### MALLOWS. [MALLUACH.]

MALLUACH (מַלּוּאָךְ) occurs only once in Scripture, namely, in the passage where Job complains that he is subjected to the contumely of the meanest people, those 'who cut up mallows (malluach) by the bushes—for their meat' (Job xxx. 4). The proper meaning of the word *malluach* has been a subject of considerable discussion among authors, in consequence, apparently, of its resemblance to the Greek μαλάχη (*malakhē*), signifying 'mallow,' and also to *maluch*, which is said to be the Syriac name of a species of *Orache*, or *Atriplex*. It is difficult, if not impossible, to say which is the more correct interpretation, as both appear to have some foundation in truth, and seem equally adapted to the sense of the above-quoted passage. The *malakhē* of the Greeks is distinguished by Dioscorides into two kinds; of which he states that the cultivated is more fit for food than the wild kind. Arab authors apply the description of Dioscorides to *khoob-bazei*, a name which in India we found applied both to species of *Melva rotundifolia* and of *M. sylvestris*, which extend from Europe to the north of India, and which are still used as food in the latter country, as they formerly were in Europe, and probably in Syria. Dr. Shaw, in his *Travels*, on the contrary, observes that '*Mellou-keah*, or

*mulookiah*, מלוחיה, as in the Arabic, is the same with the *melochia* or *corchorus*, being a podded species of mallows, whose pods are rough, of a glutinous substance, and used in most of their dishes. *Mellou-keah* appears to be little different in name from מלוח (Job xxx. 4), which we render 'mallows;' though some other plant, of a more saltish taste, and less nourishing quality, may be

rather intended.' The plant alluded to is *Corchorus olitorius*, which has been adopted and figured in her *Scripture Herbal* by Lady Calcott, who observes that this plant, called Jews' Mallow, appears to be certainly that mentioned by the patriarch. Avicenna calls it *olus Judaicum*; and Rauwolf saw the Jews about Aleppo use the leaves as potherbs; 'and this same mallow continues to be eaten in Egypt and Arabia, as well as Palestine.' But there are so many plants of a mild mucilaginous nature which are used as articles of diet in the East, that it is hardly possible to select one in preference to another, unless we find a similarity in the name. Thus species of *Amaranthus*, of *Chenopodium*, of *Portulacca*, as well as the above *Corchorus*, and the mallow, are all used as food, and might be adduced as suitable to the above passage, since most of them are found growing wild in many parts of the countries of the East.

Bochart, however, contends (*Hieroz.*, part i., t. iii., c. 16) that the word *malluach* denotes a saltish plant called ἄλμος by the Greeks, and which with good reason is supposed to be the *Atriplex Halimus* of botanists, or tall shrubby *Orache*. The Septuagint, indeed, first gave ἄλμα as the interpretation of *malluach*. Celsius adopts it, and many others consider it as the most correct. By Ibn Buetar, *malookh* is given as the synonym of *al kutuf al buhur*, i. e., the sea-side *Kutuf* or *Orache*, which is usually considered to be the *Atriplex maritima*, now *A. Halimus*. Bochart quotes Galen as describing the tops of this as being used for food when young. Dioscorides also says that its leaves are employed for the same purpose. What the Arab writers state as to the tops of the plants being eaten, corresponds to the description of Job, who states that those to whom he refers *cropped upon the shrub*—which by some is supposed to indicate that the *malluach* grew near hedges. These, however do not exist in the desert. There is no doubt that species of *Orache* were used as articles of diet in ancient times, and probably still are so in the countries where they are indigenous; but there are many other plants, similar in nature, that is, soft and succulent, and usually very saline, such as the *Salsolas*, *Salicornias*, etc., which, like the species of *Atriplex*, belong to the same natural family of *Chenopodeæ*, and which from their saline nature have received their respective names. Many of these are well known for yielding soda by incineration. In conformity with this, Mr. Good thinks that 'the real plant is a species of *Salsola*, or 'salt-wort,' and that the term ἄλμα, employed in the Greek versions, gives additional countenance to this conjecture.' Some of these are shrubby, but most of them are herbaceous, and extremely common in all the dry, desert, and saline soils which extend from the south of Europe to the north of India. Most of them are saline and bitter, but some are milder in taste and mucilaginous, and are therefore employed as articles of diet, as spinach is in Europe. *Salsola indica*, for instance, which is common on the coasts of the peninsula of India, Dr. Roxburgh states, saved the lives of many thousands of the poor natives of India during the famine of 1791-93; for while the plant lasted, most of the poorer classes who lived near the sea had little else to eat; and indeed its green leaves ordinarily form an essential article of the food of those natives who inhabit the maritime districts.—J. F. R.



MAMMON (Μαμωνάς, a Chaldee word מַמּוֹנָא) [from מַמְנוֹן = *that in which men trust*, Syr. مَمْنُون, *momunū*] signifying 'wealth' or 'riches,' and bearing that sense in Luke xvi. 9, 11; but also used by our Saviour (Matt. vi. 24; Luke xvi. 13) as a personification of the god of riches: 'Ye cannot serve God and mammon.' There is no reason for believing that this was the name of a Syrian deity as Schleusner asserts.

MAMRE (מַמְרֵי, perhaps 'fruitfulness;' from מַרְרָה = Arab. ممره; Μαμβρη; *Mambre*). This name, which only occurs in Genesis, is first applied to a place,—And Abram . . . came and dwelt in the oak-grove (בְּאֵלֶּיךָ); παρὰ τὴν ὄρυν; but in the Vulgate *juxta convallē*; and, A. V., 'in the plain;' Gen. xiii. 18) of Mamre, which is at Hebron.' Henceforth Mamre became one of Abraham's favourite places of residence (xiv. 13). The grove was his sanctuary, for there he built an altar; and it subsequently became his *Bethel*—his 'house of God;' for it was there he entertained God in his tent (xviii. 1, *seq.*), and there he received from him the first distinct promise of a son. Mamre is stated to have been at Hebron; for we read that 'Jacob came unto Isaac his father, to *Mamre*, to *Kiriath-Arbah*, which is *Hebron*, where Abraham and Isaac sojourned' (xxxv. 27). The relative positions of Machpelah and Mamre are also described with great exactness. Five times Moses states that Machpelah lay 'before Mamre' (עַל-פְּנֵי; ἀπέναντι; *quæ respiciēbat*); which may mean either that it was to the east of Mamre, or that it lay facing it. The latter seems to be the true meaning. Machpelah is situated on the shelving bank of a little valley; and probably the oak-grove of Mamre stood on the other side of the valley, facing the cave; while the town of Hebron lay a little farther up to the north-west (cf. xxiii. 17, 19; xxv. 9; xlix. 30; i. 13). The identity of Machpelah with the *Haram* being established [MACHELAH], there can be little difficulty in fixing the position of Mamre; it must have been within sight of, or 'facing,' Machpelah; and so near the town of Hebron that it could be described as *at it*.

Mamre is also mentioned twice as the name of a man. In Gen. xiv. 13 we read that Abraham dwelt 'in the oak-grove of Mamre the Amorite;' and in ver. 24 we find that Aner, Eshcol, and *Mamre*, were among those who joined Abraham in the pursuit of the Eastern kings. Perhaps Mamre may have been the name of a powerful house or family of Amorites, who inherited the oak-grove; or perhaps this friend of Abraham gave the place his own name. But however this may be, the name appears to have been originally that of a man, and was afterwards applied as a proper name to his possessions.

A very early tradition locates the oak-grove of Mamre, where Abraham encamped, at some distance from Hebron and Machpelah. Josephus says that the tree of Abraham was pointed out in his day at the distance of six stadia from the city (*Bell. Jud.* iv. 9. 7). Eusebius and Jerome mention the oak as still existing, and state that it was regarded with veneration by Christians and heathen. Jerome says a church was built on the spot (*Onomast.*, s. v.

*Arboch, Drys*); but he does not describe its position relative to the city. The *Jerusalem Itinerary* places it *two miles* from Hebron (p. 599); and Sozomen (*H. E.*, ii. 4) says it lay on the north towards Jerusalem. Subsequently the place and the tradition are frequently referred to (see Robinson, *B. R.*, i. 216; ii. 89; Reland, *Pal.*, 711, *seq.*) It is evident that all these notices refer to the very remarkable ruin two miles north of Hebron, now called *Ramet el-Khulil*, where there are the foundations of a very large and massive structure and of an ancient village. The Jews of Hebron call it 'the house of Abraham,' and regard it as the site of Mamre (*Handbook*, i. p. 72; Stanley, *S. and P.*, 141). The position, however, does not accord with the notices in Genesis, and cannot therefore be the true site of Mamre. The sacred grove and the place of the patriarch's tent were doubtless on the face of the hill facing the great Haram, which covers the cave of Machpelah (HEBRON; Stanley, *Sermons in the East*, 166, *seq.*; Ritter, *Pal. and Syr.*, iii. 222, *seq.*) The tradition which identified Mamre with Ramet el-Khulil may have originated in the existence of a grove of venerable oaks on that spot; just as now the great oak a mile or more west of the town is called 'Abraham's Oak' (*Handbk.*, i. 70).—J. L. P.

MAN. Four Hebrew words are thus translated in the English Version (אָדָם, אִישׁ, אִנּוּשׁ, אִנּוּר). They are used with as much precision as the terms of like import in Greek and Roman writers. Nor is the subject merely critical; it will be found connected with accurate interpretation.

אָדָם is 1. the proper name of the first man, though Gesenius thinks that when so applied it has the force rather of an appellative, and that, accordingly, in a translation, it would be better to render it *the man*. It seems, however, to be used by St. Luke as a proper name in the genealogy (iii. 38); by St. Paul (Rom. v. 14; 1 Tim. ii. 13, 14); and by Jude (14). St. Paul's use of it in 1 Cor. xv. 45 is remarkably clear: ὁ πρῶτος ἀνθρώπος Ἀδάμ, 'the first man, Adam.' It is so employed throughout the Apocrypha, without exception (2 Esdras iii. 5, 10, 21, 26; iv. 30; vi. 54; vii. 11, 46, 48; Tobit viii. 6; Ecclus. xxxiii. 10; xl. 1; xlix. 16); and by Josephus (*ut infra*). Gesenius argues that, as applied to the first man, it has the article almost without exception. It is doubtless often thus used as an appellative, but the exceptions are decisive: Gen.

iii. 17, אָדָם, 'to Adam he said,' and see Sept., Deut. xxxii. 8, בְּנֵי אָדָם, 'the descendants of Adam;' 'if I covered my transgressions as Adam' (Job xxxi. 33); 'and unto Adam he said,' etc. (Job xxviii. 28), which, when examined by the context, seems to refer to a primeval revelation not recorded in Genesis (see also Hos. vi. 7, Heb. or margin). Gesenius further argues that the woman, אִשָּׁה, has an appropriate name, חַוָּה, but that the man has none. But the name Eve was given to her by Adam, and, as it would seem, under a change of circumstances; and though the *divine* origin of the word Adam, as a proper name of the first man, is not recorded in the history of the creation, as is that of the day, night, heaven, earth, seas, etc. (Gen. i. 5, 8, 10), yet its *divine* origin as an appellative is recorded (comp. Heb., Gen. i. 26; v. 1); from which state it soon became a proper name. 2. It is the generic name of the

human race as originally created, and afterwards, like the English word man, person, whether man or woman, equivalent to the Latin *homo*, and Gr. *ἄνθρωπος* (Gen. i. 26, 27; v. 2; viii. 21; Deut. viii. 3; Matt. v. 13, 16; 1 Cor. vii. 26), and even without regard to age (John xvi. 21). It is applied to women only, וְנַפְשׁ אִשָּׁה מִן הַנָּשִׁים, 'the human persons of women' (Num. xxxi. 25), Sept. *ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων ἀπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν*. Thus *ἡ ἀνθρωπος* means a woman (Herod. i. 60), and especially among the orators (comp. 1 Maccab. ii. 38). 3. It denotes man in opposition to woman (Gen. iii. 12; Matt. xix. 10), though more properly, the husband in opposition to the wife (comp. 1 Cor. vii. 1). 4. It is used, though very rarely, for those who maintain the dignity of human nature, a *man*, as we say, meaning one that deserves the name, like the Latin *vir*, and Greek *ἀνὴρ*: 'One man in a thousand have I found, but a woman,' etc. (Eccles. vii. 28). Perhaps the word here glances at the original uprightness of man. 5. It is frequently used to denote the more degenerate and wicked portion of mankind: an instance of which occurs very early (Gen. vi. 2; Ps. xi. 4; xii. 1, 2, 8; xiv. 2, etc.), and observe the use of the word 'man' in Luke v. 20; Matt. x. 17. It is applied to the Gentiles (Matt. xvii. 22; comp. Mark x. 33, and Mark ix. 31; Luke xviii. 32; see Mounteney, *ad Demosth. Phil.* i. 221). 6. The word is used to denote other men, in opposition to those already named, as 'both upon Israel and other men' (Jer. xxxii. 20), *i.e.*, the Egyptians. 'Like other men' (Ps. lxxiii. 5), *i.e.*, common men, in opposition to better men (Ps. lxxxii. 7); men of inferior rank, as opposed to אֲנָשִׁים, men of higher rank (see Heb., Is. ii. 9; v. 15; Ps. xlix. 3; lxii. 10; Prov. viii. 4). The phrase 'son of man,' in the O. T., denotes man as frail and unworthy (Num. xxiii. 19; Job xxv. 6; Ezek. ii. 1, 3); as applied to the prophet, so often, it has the force of 'O mortal!'

אֲנָשִׁים is a man in the distinguished sense, like the Latin *vir* and Greek *ἀνὴρ*. It is used in all the several senses of the Latin *vir*, and denotes a man as distinguished from a woman (1 Sam. xvii. 33; Matt. xiv. 21); as a husband (Gen. iii. 16; Hos. ii. 16); and in reference to excellent mental qualities. A beautiful instance of the latter class occurs in Jer. v. 1: 'Run ye to and fro through the streets of Jerusalem, and see now, and know, and seek in the broad places thereof, if ye can find a man (אֲנָשִׁים), if there be any that executeth judgment, that seeketh the truth; and I will pardon it.' This reminds the reader of the philosopher who went through the streets of Athens with a lighted lamp in his hand, and being asked what he sought, said, 'I am seeking to find a man' (see Herodot. ii. 120; Hom. *Il.*, v. 529). It is also used to designate the superior classes (Prov. viii. 4; Ps. cxli. 4, etc.), a courtier (Jer. xxxviii. 9), the male of animals (Gen. vii. 2). Sometimes it means men in general (Exod. xvi. 29; Mark vi. 44).

אָנוּשִׁים, mortals, *βροτὰ*, as transient, perishable, liable to sickness, etc.: 'Let no man [margin, 'mortal man'] prevail against thee' (2 Chron. xiv. 11). 'Write with the pen of the common man' בְּחֶרֶט אָנוּשִׁים (Is. viii. 1), *i.e.*, in a common, legible character (Job xv. 14; Ps. viii. 4; ix. 19, 20; Is. li. 7; Ps. ciii. 15). It is applied to women (Josh. viii. 25).

גִּבּוֹר, *vir*, man, in regard to strength, etc. All etymologists concur in deriving the English word

'man' from the superior powers and faculties with which man is endowed above all earthly creatures; so the Latin *vir*, from *vis*, *vires*; and such is the idea conveyed by the present Hebrew word. It is applied to man as distinguished from woman: 'A man shall not put on a woman's garment' (Deut. xxii. 5), like *ἄνθρωπος* in Matt. viii. 9; John i. 6; to men as distinguished from children (Exod. xii. 37); to a male child, in opposition to a female (Job iii. 3; Sept. *ἀρσεν*). It is much used in poetry: 'Happy is the man' (Ps. xxxiv. 8; xl. 4; lii. 9; xciv. 12). Sometimes it denotes the species at large (Job iv. 17; xiv. 10, 14). For a complete exemplification of these words, see the lexicons of Gesenius and Schleusner, etc.

[To these may be added מְתוּשָׁלַם, the pl. of a word not in use מֶלֶךְ. This, however, is used only in the sense of *people, persons, a number of men* (Job xi. 3, 11; Is. iii. 25; Gen. xxxiv. 30; Ps. xxvi. 4, etc.), and is never employed as a designation of man as man. The singular survives in such proper names as *Methusael*, man of God, etc.]

Some peculiar uses of the word in the N. T. remain to be noticed. 'The Son of Man,' applied to our Lord only by himself and St. Stephen (Acts vii. 56), is the Messiah in human form. Schleusner thinks that the word in this expression always means woman, and denotes that he was the promised Messiah, born of a virgin, who had taken upon him our nature to fulfil the great decree of God, that mankind should be saved by one in their own form. 'Ο παλαιός, 'the old man,' and ο καινός, 'the new man'—the former denoting unsanctified disposition of heart, the latter the new disposition created and cherished by the gospel; δ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος, 'the inner man'; δ κρυπτός τῆς καρδίας ἄνθρωπος, 'the hidden man of the heart,' as opposed to the ὁ ἔξω ἄνθρωπος, 'the external visible man.' 'A man of God,' first applied to Moses (Deut. xxxiii. 1), and always afterwards to a person acting under a divine commission (1 Kings xiii. 1; 1 Tim. vi. 11; *et alibi*). ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀμαρτίας, that impious man, the ὁ ἄνομος, 'the lawless one' (2 Thes. ii. 3), Sept. for אָנוּשִׁים (Is. lv. 7); angels are styled men (Acts i. 10).—J. F. D.

MAN, or MANNA (מָן; Sept. *μαννά*). The name given to the miraculous food upon which the Israelites were fed for forty years, during their wanderings in the desert. This is first mentioned in Exod. xvi. It is there described as being first produced after the eighth encampment in the desert of Sin, as white like hoar-frost (or of the colour of *bellium*, Num. xi. 7), round, and of the bigness of coriander seed (*gad*). It fell with the dew every morning, and when the dew was exhaled by the heat of the sun, the manna appeared alone, lying upon the ground or the rocks round the encampment of the Israelites. 'When the children of Israel saw it, they said one to another, *What is it?* for they knew not what it was' (Exod. xvi. 15). In the Authorised, and some other versions, this passage is inaccurately translated—which indeed is apparent from the two parts of the sentence contradicting each other. In the Septuagint the substance is almost always called *manna* instead of *man*. Josephus (*Antiq.* iii. 1. 6), as quoted by Dr. Harris, says: 'The Hebrews call this food *manna*, for the particle *man* in our language is the asking of a question, *What is this?* (*man-hu*). Moses answered this question by telling them,



'This is the bread which the Lord hath given you to eat.' We are further informed that the manna fell every day, except on the Sabbath. Every sixth day, that is on Friday, there fell a double quantity of it. Every man was directed to gather an omer (about three English quarts) for each member of his family; and the whole seems afterwards to have been measured out at the rate of an omer to each person: 'He who gathered much had nothing over, and he who gathered little had no lack.' That which remained ungathered dissolved in the heat of the sun, and was lost. The quantity collected was intended for the food of the current day only; for if any were kept till next morning, it corrupted and bred worms. Yet it was directed that a double quantity should be gathered on the sixth day for consumption on the Sabbath. And it was found that the manna kept for the Sabbath remained sweet and wholesome, notwithstanding that it corrupted at other times, if kept for more than one day. In the same manner as they would have treated grain, they reduced it to meal, kneaded it into dough, and baked it into cakes, and the taste of it was like that of wafers made with honey, or of fresh oil. In Exod. xvi. 32, where the description of the manna is repeated, an omer of it is directed to be preserved as a memorial to future generations, 'that they may see the bread wherewith I have fed you in the wilderness;' and in Josh. v. 12 we learn that after the Israelites had encamped at Gilgal, and 'did eat of the old corn of the land, the manna ceased on the morrow after, neither had the children of Israel manna any more.'



345. [1. *Tamarix gallica*. 2. *Alhagi maurorum*.]

This miracle is referred to in Deut. viii. 3; Neh. ix. 20; Ps. lxxviii. 24; John vi. 31, 49, 58; Heb. ix. 4. Though the manna of Scripture was so evidently miraculous, both in the mode and in the quantities in which it was produced, and though its properties were so different from anything with which we are acquainted, yet, because its taste is in Exodus said to be like that of wafers made with honey, many writers have thought that they recognised the manna of Scripture in a sweetish exudation which is found on several plants in Arabia and Persia. The name *man*, or *manna*, is applied to this substance by the Arab writers, and was probably so applied even before their time. Of this

one kind is known to the Arabs by the name of *guzunjbéen*, being the produce of a plant called *guz*, and which is ascertained to be a species of tamarisk. The same species seems also to be called *toorfa*, and is common along different parts of the coast of Arabia. It is also found in the neighbourhood of Mount Sinai. Burckhardt, while in the valley Wady el-Sheik, to the north of Mount Serbal, says: 'In many parts it was thickly overgrown with the tamarisk or *toorfa*. . . . It is from the *tarfa* that the manna is obtained. . . . In the month of June it drops from the thorns of the tamarisk upon the fallen twigs, leaves, and thorns, which always cover the ground beneath the tree in the natural state. The Arabs use it as they do honey, to pour over their unleavened bread, or to dip their bread into; its taste is agreeable, somewhat aromatic, and as sweet as honey. If eaten in any quantity it is said to be highly purgative.' He further adds, 'that the tamarisk is one of the most common trees in Nubia and throughout the whole of Arabia; on the Euphrates, on the Astaboras, in all the valleys of the Hedjaz and Bedja it grows in great quantities, yet nowhere but in the region of Mount Sinai did he hear of its producing manna. Ehrenberg has examined and described this species of tamarisk, which he calls *T. mannifera*, but which is considered to be only a variety of *T. gallica*. The manna he considers to be produced by the puncture of an insect which he calls *Coccus manniparus*. Others have been of the same opinion (comp. Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, vol. ii. p. 51).

Another kind of manna, which has been supposed to be that of Scripture, is yielded by a thorny plant very common from the north of India to Syria, and which by the Arabs is called Al-haj; whence botanists have constructed the name Alhagi. The two species have been called *Alhagi maurorum* and *A. desertorum*. Both species are also by the Arabs called *ooshter-khar*, or 'camel's-thorn;' and in Mesopotamia *agool*, according to some authorities, while by others this is thought to be the name of another plant. The *Alhagi maurorum* is remarkable for the exudation of a sweetish juice, which concretes into small granular masses, and which is usually distinguished by the name of Persian manna. The late Professor Don was so confident that this was the same substance as the manna of Scripture, that he proposed calling the plant itself *Manna hebraica*. Besides these, there are several other kinds of manna. Burckhardt, during his journey through el-Ghor, in the valley of the Jordan, heard of the Beiruk honey. This is described as a substance obtained from the leaves and branches of a tree called *Gharb* or *Garrah*, of the size of an olive-tree, and with leaves like those of the poplar. When fresh this greyish-coloured exudation is sweet in taste, but in a few days it becomes sour. The Arabs eat it like honey. One kind, called *Sheer-khisht*, is said to be produced in the country of the Uzbees. A Caubul merchant informed the author of this article that it was produced by a tree called *Gundeleh*, which grows in Candahar, and is about twelve feet high, with jointed stems. A fifth kind is produced on *Calotropis procera*, or the plant called *Ashur*. The sweet exudation is by Arab authors ranked with sugars, and called *Shukur-al-ashur*. It is described under this name by Avicenna, and in the Latin translation it is called *Zuccarum-al-husar*. A sixth

kind, called *Bed-khisht*, is described in Persian works on *Materia Medica* as being produced on a species of willow in Persian Khorassan. Another kind would appear to be produced on a species of oak, for Niebuhr says, 'At Merdin, in Mesopotamia, it appears like a kind of pollen, on the leaves of the tree called *Ballot* and *Afs* (or, according to the Aleppo pronunciation, *As*), which I take to be of the oak family. All are agreed, that between Merdin and Diarbekir manna is obtained, and principally from those trees which yield gall-nuts.' Besides these, there is a sweetish exudation found on the larch, which is called *Manna brigantia*, as there is also one kind found on the cedar of Lebanon. Indeed, a sweetish secretion is found on the leaves of many other plants, produced sometimes by the plant itself, at others by the punctures of insects. It has been supposed, also, that these sweetish exudations being evaporated during the heat of the day in still weather, may afterwards become deposited, with the dew, on the ground and on the leaves of plants; and thus explain some of the phenomena which have been observed by travellers and others. But none of these mannas explain, nor can it be expected that they should explain, the miracle of Scripture, by which abundance is stated to have been produced for millions, where hundreds cannot now be subsisted.—J. F. R.

#### MAN OF SIN. [ANTICHRIST.]

MANAEN (*Μαναήν*, the same as *Menahem*, מְנַחֵם (comforter), the name borne by one of the kings of Israel (2 Kings xv. 14); Vulg. *Manahan*;

Pes. Syr. מְנַחֵם, *Manael*—*quid est deus?*) one of the five prophets and teachers who were in the Church of Antioch when the Holy Spirit enjoined the separation of Paul and Barnabas to their special work (Acts xiii. 1, 2). The name was a common one among the Jews, but occurs nowhere else in the N. T. Manaen is distinguished by being designated σύντροφος,\* of 'Herod the tetrarch.' This word may mean either nursed along with; Vulg., *Collocatus*; Alford, 'foster-brother,' or companion; in the latter case Manaen might have been chosen by Herod the Great, *more Romano*, as a clever boy, to be the associate of his son Antipas, who afterwards became tetrarch of Galilee; and in harmony with this the Pes. Syr. renders the word *filius educatorum*; or as the Latin vers. in Schaaf has it, *educatus cum Herode*. It is not unlikely that both meanings of the word are to be united, and that Manaen was both suckled at the same breast as Herod, and also the companion of his early boyhood.

Special mention is made by ancient writers of a person bearing the name of Manaen, with whom our Manaen is supposed to have been connected. Thus Lightfoot says: '*Fuchasin*, fol. 19, mentioneth one Menahem who was once vice-president of the Sanhedrim under Hillel, but departed to the service of Herod the Great, with fourscore other eminent men with him. It may be that this [in Acts xiii.] was his son, and was called Manaen or Menahem after

the father; and as the father was a great favourite of Herod the Great, the father, so this was brought up at court with Herod the tetrarch, the son.'—(*Harm. of N. T.*, Acts xiii.)

Josephus also speaks of a Menahem, an Essene, who had intimate relations with Herod the Great. This man, sustaining a high reputation among his sect, once saw Herod when he was a boy going to school, and saluted him as King of the Jews. But Herod, thinking that he was under some mistake, reminded him that he was speaking to a private person, when Manaen laughed, and, clapping him on the back, said that, notwithstanding, he would be king, and would reign happily. Although Herod paid no attention to this prediction at the time, yet when he was raised to the dignity of the kingly office, he sent for Manaen, and asked him how long he would reign? Ten years? Yes, twenty, nay thirty, Manaen replied, without exactly fixing the length. Herod, satisfied with these replies, gave Manaen his hand and dismissed him, and from that time continued to honour all the Essenes (*Antiq.* xv. 10. 5). 'Nothing is more likely than that this Manaen was the father of the companion of Herod's children,' says Howson; and we know that the young princes, Antipas and Archelaus, sons of Malthace, were brought up with 'a private person' at Rome (*Antiq.* xvii. 1. 3). There is, of course, no evidence that our Manaen was a son or relation of the above, yet it is *probable* enough, that the 'private person' just mentioned was the Manaen of Josephus, and that the Manaen of the Acts was his son.

Lightfoot is not fairly represented by a writer in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, when it is said that he 'surmises that the Manaen of Josephus may be the one mentioned in the Acts.' Lightfoot says, 'I do not think that this Manaen was the same person, nor do I say that he was his son,' but he suspects that 'there was something of kindred betwixt them.' Then, having quoted a passage from the Talmud respecting Manaen's having deserted the Sanhedrim, and entered the service of Herod, with 'fourscore pair of disciples, all clad in silk,' he adds, 'I dare not say that this Menahem was the same with our Menahem, unless he were an hundred years of age, or thereabout; and yet when I observe the familiarity that was between that Menahem and Herod the father, and how ours was brought up with Herod the son, it cannot but give me some apprehension that either he might be the person himself, or rather his son (if at least the Essenes had children), or, in a word, *some very near relation*.' Lightfoot then subjoins: 'Be it one or other, it is worth inquiry whether this our Manaen might not lay the foundation of his evangelical religion in the court of Herod the tetrarch, when John the Baptist preached there.'

The writer more than suspects that Manaen the Essene was a different person from Manaen the vice-president of the Sanhedrim, although, in deference to high authority, he has spoken of them as one and the same.—I. J.

MANAHATH (מְנַחֵת; Μαχαθῆ; Alex. Μαχαθῆ; *Manahath*). In giving the genealogy of the tribe of Benjamin, the author of 1 Chron. (viii. 6) says:—'These are the sons of Ehud; these are the chiefs (רָאשֵׁי אֲבוֹת) ἀρχοντες πατριῶν) of the inhabitants of Geba; and they removed them to *Manahath*.' The sense seems to

\* *Nourished*, or *nursed together*, Xen. *Mem.* 2, 3, 4; N. T., *one brought up*, or *educated with another*, a *comrade*, Acts xiii. 1. So 2 Maccab. ix. 29.—(*Robinson*.)



be, that the persons named were for some reason transferred from the town of Geba to Manahath; but where Manahath was situated we have no knowledge. The probability is, that it was near Geba [GEB], for it was not usual for the Jews to migrate far from their ancestral property; and the passing of a family from one tribe, and its settlement within the bounds of another, was of very rare occurrence—at least in the early ages of Jewish history. We are thus prevented from identifying Manahath in any way with the MANAHETHITES of Judah (1 Chron. ii. 54); or, as the Targum would seem to do, with the region colonised by Manahath, a descendant of Seir the Horite (Gen. xxxvi. 23).

2. מַנַּחֶתַי; *Manahath* a grandson of Seir the Horite who occupied the mountains of Edom before the time of Esau (Gen. xxxvi. 23; 1 Chron. i. 40).—J. L. P.

MANAHETHITES, הַמְּנַחֲתִי, הַמְּנַחֲתִי; Ἀμμανίθ, and Μαλαθί; Alex. in the latter, *Manath*). The Manahethites are mentioned in the A. V. in two obscure passages (1 Chron. ii. 52, 54), when giving the descendants of Caleb of the tribe of Judah. The historian mentions the names of the chief men, and the cities they occupied; and he says (ver. 52), 'Shobal, the father (or coloniser) of Kirjath-jearim, had two sons; *Ilareth, half of the Menuhoth*' (הַרְאֵה הַצִּי הַמְּנַחֲתִי), which the LXX. renders, 'Araa, and Aisi, and Ammanith;' and the Vulgate '*qui videbat dimidium requietionum*.' The Targum thus interprets the verse—'And Shobel had sons, disciples and priests, to whom belonged the half of the oblations.' Various other interpretations are given (*Crit. Sac.*, ad loc.) The 54th verse is equally obscure—'The sons of Salma; Bethlehem . . . and half of the Manahethites' (הַמְּנַחֲתִי), different in form and in pointing from the former); rendered by the LXX. ἡμισυ τῆς Μαλαθί, 'half of the Malathi;' and by the Vulgate, '*dimidium requietionis*.' The Targum explains it, that the sons of Salma 'divided the remainder of the sacrifices with the sons of the prophets who were in Zorah.' It appears, however, that Manahath was a place, as half of it is mentioned in one passage, and half in the other, in connection with other places; but its site is unknown, and its name does not occur again.—J. L. P.

MANASSEH, TRIBE AND POSSESSIONS OF מְנַשֶּׁה, 'one who forgets;' *Manasses*), the first-born son of Joseph (Gen. xli. 51). When Joseph was appointed viceroy of Egypt, Pharaoh 'gave him to wife Asenath, the daughter of Potipherah, priest of On' (ver. 45). She bare him two children before the years of famine, and the first he named '*Manasseh*;' for God hath *made me forget* (נָשִׁיתִי) all my toil.' Jacob, on his deathbed, adopted both; but gave the first place and the birthright blessing to Ephraim (xlvi. 1, 5, 13, 14, 19); guided by the inspiring Spirit of God, who foresaw and fore-ordained the great eminence to which the tribe of Ephraim should rise. We read that the grandchildren of Manasseh were brought up by Joseph (l. 23). Nothing is known of his personal history; and we cannot tell whether his character and habits initiated those warlike ten-

dencies for which the tribe was afterwards distinguished; or whether, as seems more probable, his son MACHIR trained the tribe in the art of war (Josh. xvii. 1). The passage in 1 Chron. vii. 14, *seq.*, in which the genealogy of the tribe is given, is very obscure. His wife's name is not mentioned, nor is it certain that he had one. Machir, the son of an Aramite concubine, was probably his only son, and sole founder of his house. Ashriel and Zelophehad appear to have been grandchildren of Machir (cf. Num. xxvi. 29-33), princes in the tribe, and therefore brought forward prominently in Chronicles.

On leaving Egypt the tribe of Manasseh was the smallest of the twelve, numbering only 32,200 adult males (Num. i. 35), being 8300 less than Ephraim (ver. 33). But it increased amazingly during the wilderness journey, not only far exceeding Ephraim, but attaining the sixth place among the tribes in point of numbers. When the census was taken on the east bank of the Jordan, before Moses' death, the tribe was found to contain 52,700 adult males (Num. xxvi. 34). Perhaps this great increase may in some measure be accounted for by the fact that the Manassites were hardy shepherds, inured in Egypt to a wandering life, and therefore at home in the desert, suffering little from fatigue or privation; while Ephraim, accustomed to the settled life of Egypt's great cities, or to the quiet pursuits of husbandry, suffered severely in the desert, but rapidly increased in numbers and power again when established in Palestine.

The division of the tribe of Manasseh is one of the most singular facts connected with the history of the Israelites. It seems to be entirely at variance with their national feelings and laws. It probably sprung from a difference in habit and occupation. One section was devoted to the pursuits of husbandry; they sought a quiet, peaceful region, with rich soil and genial clime; and they found these in the fertile vales and plains of central Palestine. Another, and apparently much larger section of the tribe, was pastoral in its tendencies. Like the children of Reuben and Gad it had a very great multitude of cattle, and seeing the rich pastures of the country east of the Jordan, the Manassites desired with those tribes to have their allotted inheritance there (cf. Num. xxxii. 1-5, 33). This section of the Manassites was also warlike—trained to arms and inured to fatigue. Northern Gilead and Bashan were then ruled by the giant Og, the last of the Rephaim (Deut. iii. 11) who led the hosts of the Amorites (Num. xxxii. 39), and whose cities were numerous, and 'fenced with high walls, gates, and bars' (Deut. iii. 4, 5). The descendants of Machir, son of Manasseh, saw the verdant hills of Gilead, and the noble plateau of Bashan, and they resolved they should be theirs. Confident in their strength and skill, and in the favour and blessing of God, they invaded the country, drove out the Amorites, captured the strongholds of Argob, and occupied the whole kingdom of Og (Num. xxxii. 39-42; Deut. iii. 13-15). These historic details illustrate the statement of Joshua (xvii. 1)—'There was also a lot for the tribe of Manasseh . . . for Machir, the first-born of Manasseh, the father of Gilead, *because he was a man of war, therefore he had Gilead and Bashan*.'

The territory of Manasseh east of the Jordan is described with considerable minuteness. At the time of the Exodus, the whole country east of the

Jordan was ruled by two monarchs—Sihon king of Heshbon, and Og king of Bashan (Num. xxxii. 21-35; Deut. ii. 30-37; iii.). The kingdom of Og embraced all Bashan, and that part of Gilead that lay north of the river Jabbok, with the exception of a small tract along the east bank of the Jordan, including the plain up to the sea of Chinneroth, which was held by Sihon. Og's kingdom was given to Manasseh, while Sihon's was divided between Reuben and Gad (cf. Josh. xii. 2-5; xiii. 27; Deut. iii. 12-17). The southern border of Manasseh is thus determined:—It ran along the Jabbok from east to west till it reached the base of the mountains, where it turned northward, leaving 'Jordan and his border, even unto the edge of the Sea of Chinneroth,' to Gad. This southern section of Manasseh's territory, lying between the rivers Hieromax and Jabbok, is called in Scripture '*half Gilead*' (Josh. xiii. 31; cf. Deut. iii. 12, 13; Josh. xii. 5); and it included a number of small towns which were captured by Jair, a Manassite, and called by him HAVOTH-JAIR (Num. xxxii. 40, 41; cf. Judg. x. 4; 1 Kings iv. 13).

In addition to 'half Gilead,' the whole of the ancient kingdom of Bashan fell to the lot of Manasseh. It had the Sea of Galilee and the upper Jordan for its western border; Hermon and Iturea, or the country of the Jeturites, for its northern (as is evident from 1 Chron. v. 18-25, and Josh. xii. 4, 5); while on the east its border was the desert of Arabia (see this subject fully discussed in *Journal of Sacred Literature* for July 1854; also Porter's *Damascus*, vol. ii.) In Bashan was the rocky territory of ARGOB, containing 'threescore great cities,' which were also captured by Jair, and named *Bashan-havoth-jair* (Deut. iii. 14; Josh. xiii. 30). The conquest of these cities was the greatest feat of arms performed by the Israelites, and it proves conclusively that Jair and Machir were 'men of war.' The cities still exist, and the remains of their colossal ramparts and massive gates of stone are visible. Independent of their fortifications, one would suppose their situation would render them impregnable in a rude age. They are all built in a region of wild rocks, which to this day is called 'the retreat' (*el-Lejah*), and from which all the skill and implements of modern war have been unable to drive a few determined men. The 'threescore great cities' which Jair took were situated in the rocky plain of Argob. On the south-west lay the mountain-range of Bashan, steep and rugged, intersected by deep ravines, and covered with noble oak forests. Here also, on mountain side and summit, and away in the recesses of the glens, were many strong cities. The warriors of Manasseh did not fear to attack even these. Nobah, one of Manasseh's mighty men, went and took *Kenath*, the capital of the mountains, with the towns subject to it, and called it Nobah after his own name (Num. xxxii. 42). The conquests of the Manassites were pressed on with great vigour. The warlike tribes of the Geshurites and Maachathites were driven back from the rich plateaus to the heights of Hermon, and the recesses of Argob, where they were permitted to remain (Josh. xiii. 13). The Hagarites were also driven back, notwithstanding their numbers and their skill with the sword and bow; and immense booty in camels, sheep, cattle, and slaves was taken from them (1 Chron. v. 18-23). The Ma-

nassites were for a long period the guardians of the eastern frontier of Israel, keeping in check the border tribes; and when, in consequence of national sin, the whole land groaned under the iron yoke of the Midianites and the Amorites, two warriors of Manasseh—Gideon and Jephthah—drove back with terrible slaughter the cruel tyrants, and freed Israel (Judg. vi. and xi.) Located on the north-eastern border, the Manassites suffered severely from the growing power and ambition of the monarchs of Damascus; and they were among the first who were subdued and led captive by the Assyrians. With the Reubenites and Gadites they were taken away to Hala, Habor, and the river Gozan (1 Chron. v. 26).

The country occupied by the Manassites east of the Jordan was the richest in all Palestine. It is to this day the granary of a great part of Syria. It is chiefly table-land, averaging 2500 feet in elevation; on the west descending in steep, rugged declivities to the banks of the Jordan and shores of the Sea of Galilee, and having on the east the isolated mountain-chain of Bashan, which separates it from the plains of Arabia. Its whole surface is dotted with ruined or deserted towns and villages, among which are Bozrah, Salcah, Kenath, Edrei, Gerasa, and Gadara (for the physical and historical geography of this region see articles GILEAD, BASHAN, GOLAN, HAURAN, TRACHONITIS; also Porter's *Damascus*, vol. ii.; Burckhardt's *Travels in Syria*; Ritter's *Pal. und Syr.*)

The territory of Manasseh west of the Jordan was small, and is not very accurately defined in the Bible. It lay on the north side of Ephraim, and included the northern section of the hills of Samaria. The border between Ephraim and Manasseh could not have been far to the north of the city of Samaria, as Michmethah, one of its landmarks, is said to lie before Shechem (Josh. xvii. 7). Farther west, the tribes were separated by the river KANAH (ver. 9). Manasseh's lot extended across the whole country, from the Mediterranean to the Jordan, as is stated by Josephus (*Antiq.* v. i. 22), and as may be inferred from Josh. xvii. 9, 11. It thus included portions of the fertile plain of Sharon, of the region of Dor at the southern base of Carmel, and of the Valley of Jezreel. Manasseh and Ephraim appear to have been almost joined together as one tribe; and they complained to Joshua that though they were 'a great people' only 'one portion' had been allotted to them (xvii. 14). It was true that the great cities of Beth-shean, Taanach, Megiddo, and Dor, with their rich environs, had been assigned to them out of Issachar, yet they pleaded that these cities were strong, their inhabitants warlike, and that they had chariots of iron; but Joshua tells them that it was for this very reason the cities were assigned to them, and that the extension of their territory depended on their own valour:—'Joshua spake unto the house of Joseph, to Ephraim and to Manasseh, saying, Thou art a great people, and hast great power; thou shalt not have one lot only; but the mountain shall be thine . . . and the outgoings of it shall be thine: for thou shalt drive out the Canaanites' (ver. 17, 18). When the Israelites were fully established in Palestine, these towns were made tributary, and the land attached to them was probably taken possession of, though the old inhabitants were never completely expelled (Judg. i. 27). Dor became



one of the cities of Phœnicia [DOR], and Bethshean was an independent fortress in the time of David (1 Sam. xxxi. 10). The home of the western Manassites was in the rich valleys of Mount Ephraim, and along the wooded heights of Carmel (Josh. xvii. 15).

This section of the tribe of Manasseh almost disappears from history immediately after its settlement. Subsequent notices of it are brief and unimportant (1 Chron. xxvii. 20, 21; 2 Chron. xv. 9; xxx. 11). This may be accounted for by its close connection with Ephraim, which soon became the dominant tribe in the northern division of Palestine. Ephraim and Manasseh are usually grouped together (2 Chron. xxxi. 1; xxxiv. 6, 9); and seem to have been regarded in later times as forming one people (Reland, *Pal.*, p. 156, 200 seq.; Bochart, *Opp.*, ii. 306, 531).—J. L. P.

MANASSEH (מַנַּשֶּׁה; Sept. *Μανασση*), fourteenth king of Judah, son and successor of Hezekiah, who began to reign in B.C. 699, at the early age of twelve years, and reigned fifty-five years. It appears that the secret enemies of the vigorous reforms of Hezekiah re-appeared, and managed to gain much influence at court during the youth of Manasseh; and he was prevailed upon to re-establish all the idolatries and abominations which it had taken his excellent father so much pains to subvert. This bent having been unhappily given to the mind of one old enough to listen to evil counsels, but too young to see their danger, the king followed it with all the reckless ardour of youth, and without any of the prudent reservations which older sovereigns, more discreet in evincing the same inclinations, had maintained. Idolatry in its worst forms, and all the abominations connected with its observances, were practised without stint and without shame, not only in the face of the temple, but in its very courts, where altars to the heavenly bodies were set up, and rites of idolatrous worship performed. Under this altered state of things, the Judahites, with the sanction of the king's example, rushed into all the more odious observances of Syrian idolatry with all the ardour which usually attends the outbreak of a restrained propensity, till they became far 'worse than the heathen, whom the Lord destroyed before the children of Israel.' In vain did the prophets raise their voice against these iniquities, and threaten Manasseh and his kingdom with awful tokens of Divine indignation. Instead of profiting by these warnings, the king vented his rage against those by whom they were uttered, and in this and other ways filled Jerusalem with innocent blood beyond any king who reigned before him (2 Kings xxi. 1-16; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 1-10).

At length the wrath of God burst over the guilty king and nation. At this time there was constant war between Assyria and Egypt, and it would seem that Manasseh adhered to the policy of his father in making common cause with the latter power. This, or some other cause not stated by the sacred historian, brought into Judæa an Assyrian army, under the generals of Esar-haddon, which carried all before it. The miserable king attempted flight, but was discovered in a thorn-brake in which he had hidden himself, was laden with chains, and sent away as a captive to Babylon, which was then subject to the Assyrians, where he was cast into prison (B. C. 677). Here, at last,

Manasseh had ample opportunity and leisure for cool reflection; and the hard lessons of adversity were not lost upon him. He saw and deplored the evils of his reign, he became as a new man, he humbly besought pardon from God, and implored that he might be enabled to evince the sincerity of his contrition by being restored to a position for undoing all that it had been the business of his life to effect. His prayer was heard. His captivity is supposed to have lasted a year, and he was then restored to his kingdom under certain obligations of tribute and allegiance to the king of Assyria, which, although not expressed in the account of this transaction, are alluded to in the history of his successors (2 Chron. xxxiii. 11-13).

On his return to Jerusalem, Manasseh exerted himself to the utmost in correcting the errors of his early reign, and in establishing the worship of Jehovah in its former purity and splendour. The good conduct of his latter reign was rewarded with such prosperity as enabled him to do much for the improvement and strengthening of his capital and kingdom. He thoroughly repaired the old walls of Jerusalem, and added a new wall on the side towards Gihon; he surrounded and fortified by a separate wall the hill or ridge, on the east of Zion,

which bore the name of (עֶפְלָי) Ophel; and he strengthened, garrisoned, and provisioned 'the fenced cities of Judah' (2 Chron. xxxiii. 13-17). He died in peace (B. C. 664), at the age of sixty-eight, after having reigned longer than any other king of Judah, and was buried in a sepulchre which he had prepared for himself in his own garden (xxxiii. 20).—J. K.

[Three other persons of this name are mentioned in the O. T., Judg. xviii. 30 [GERSHOM]; Ezra x. 30; 33].

MANASSEH BEN ISRAEL, as he is commonly called, but more properly MANASSE BEN JOSEPH BEN ISRAEL, for Israel was his grandfather and Joseph his father. This remarkable linguist, who successively published his voluminous works in Hebrew, Latin, Portuguese, English, etc., was born in Lisbon 1604. Deprived of their health and wealth by the tortures and machinations of the Inquisition under Philip III. of Spain, his parents fled, with their youthful son Manasse and many of their suffering coreligionists, to hospitable Holland, which was then the asylum for the persecuted of all countries. Manasse was at once sent as pupil to the celebrated Talmudist, mathematician, physician, and Hebrew poet, Isaac Uzziel, the rabbi of Amsterdam, where he made such extraordinary progress that, after the death of his teacher (1620), he succeeded to the rabbinate before he was eighteen years of age (1622). To supplement his official stipend, which was insufficient for the support of his family, he established, when twenty-two years old (1626), the celebrated Amsterdam Hebrew printing-office, and two years after (1628) printed his own maiden production. When scarcely twenty-eight he published, in Spanish, the first volume of his celebrated *Conciliator*, or *Harmony of the Pentateuch* (1632), in which he quotes upwards of 210 Hebrew works, and 54 Greek, Latin, Spanish, and Portuguese authors, both sacred and profane, and which was the basis of his great fame. Henceforth he was not only the oracle of the Jewish community, but Christian scholars wrote to him from far



and wide, requesting explanations of difficulties which they encountered in the Hebrew Scriptures and Jewish history. The celebrated Vossius, Dionysius, Hugo Grotius, Huet, Episcopus, Sobierie, Frankenberg, Thomas Fuller, Nathaniel Homesius, etc., were among his correspondents. He solicited their influence in behalf of his suffering brethren, and was thereby enabled to petition the Long Parliament (1650) to readmit the Jews into England, whence they had been expelled ever since 1290. Shortly after he dedicated *The Hope of Israel* to the English Parliament, which was gratefully acknowledged in a letter written by Lord Middlesex, addressed *To my dear brother M. B. I., the Hebrew philosopher*. Encouraged thereby, Manasse came over to England in 1655, presented 'A Humble Address' in behalf of his coreligionists to Cromwell; published in London, 1656, his *Vindication of Jews*, in answer to those Christians who opposed the readmission of the Jews into this island; and though the desire of his heart was not accomplished, inasmuch as Cromwell, with all his power, could not carry through the cause of God's ancient people, yet some good was done, as some few Jews were allowed to settle in England, for shortly after (1657) a piece of land was obtained in Stepney for a Jewish burying-place. Cromwell, moreover, granted 'to Manasse ben Israel a pension of £100 per annum, payable quarterly, and commencing 20th February 1656' (comp. Carlyle, ii. 163). Manasse, however, did not enjoy long this generous gift, for he died in Middleburg in 1657, on his way back to Amsterdam. The following are his works bearing on Biblical literature: (1.) *פני רבה*, in Hebrew, being an index to all the passages of the Hebrew Scriptures in the *Midrash Rabbah* on the Pentateuch and the Five Megilloth, Amsterdam 1628. (2.) *Conciliator, Sive De convenientia locorum S. Scripturae, quae pugnare inter se videntur*, etc., in Spanish, four volumes, Amsterdam 1632-1651. The first volume was translated into Latin by Vossius, Amst. 1633, and the whole has been translated in English by Lindo, London 1842. (3.) *De Creatione Problemata*, in Spanish, Amst. 1635. (4.) *De Resurrectione Mortuorum, Libri tres*, Amst. 1636, in Spanish. (5.) *צִוּר הַחַיִּים, De Terminis Vitae*, in Latin, Amst. 1639, translated into English by Thomas Pococke, London 1699. (6.) *נִשְׁמוֹת חַיִּים*, four books on the immortality of the soul, written in Hebrew, Amst. 1651, new ed., Leipzig 1862. These are valuable contributions to Biblical literature, inasmuch as Manasse gives in them all the passages from the Hebrew Scriptures, which, according to the explanations of the ancient rabbins, teach the immortality of the soul and the resurrection. (7.) *אֵבֶן יִקְרָה, Piedra Gloriosa o de la Estatua de Nebuchadnesar*, Amst. 1655, an exposition of Daniel's dream, written in Spanish, which the immortal Rembrandt did not think it below his dignity to adorn with four engravings. He also carried through his own press several beautiful and correctly printed editions of the Hebrew Scriptures, and wrote a Hebrew Grammar, entitled *שֵׁפַת בְּרוּרָה, Grammatica Hebraea, dividida en quatuor libros*, which has not as yet been published. Comp. Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, ii. 354-358; Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodliciana*, col. 1645-1652; and especially the valuable biography by Kayserling, *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte der Juden*, vol. ii., Leipzig 1861, p. 85, ff.—C. D. G.

MANASSES, THE PRAYER OF, though wanting in the early printed editions of the Sept., must have been included in the ancient Codd. of the Sept., as is evident from the fact that there exists an Ante-Hieronymian Latin version of it. It is found in the Codex Alexandrinus, and the Greek text was first published in Robert Stephen's edition of the *Biblia Latina*, Paris 1540, and in the edition of the same printed in 1546. It was also printed in the *Apostolical Constitutions* in 1563; it was then published by Dauderstadt in 1628; inserted in the fourth volume of the London Polyglott, with the various readings of the Codex Alexandrinus; in the *Apostolical Fathers* of Cotelerius in 1672; in the *Libri apocr. V. T.*, Francof. ad M. 1694. Halle 1749; in the editions of the Apocrypha by Reineccius, 1730, Michaelis 1741; and after the text of the Cod. Alexandrinus in the editions of the Sept. by Grabe and Breitinger.

1. *Title and Position*.—This apocryphal production is called the *prayer of Manasses* (*προσευχὴ Μανασσῆ*), or *hymn of prayer* (*προσευχὴ τῆς ψυχῆς*), because it purports to be the supplications which this monarch offered to God when captive in Babylon, mentioned in 2 Chron. xxxiii. 12, 13. Its position varies in the MSS., printed editions of the text, and in the versions. It is more generally appended to the Psalter with the collection of hymns and prayers, as in the Codex Alexandrinus, the Zurich MS. of the Psalms mentioned by Fritzsche, and in the Ethiopic Psalter, published by Ludolf (Frankfort-on-the-Maine 1701); in the three Latin MS. used by Sabatier it is placed at the end of 2 Chron. (Sabat. *Bibl. Lat.*, iii. 1038); in the editions of the Vulgate formed after the Trident. Canon of the Bible it is usually put at the end of the N. T., succeeded by the third and fourth books of Esdras. Luther placed it as the last of the Apocrypha at the end of the O. T., whilst Matthew's Bible, which first inserted it among the Apocrypha, and which is followed by the Bishop's Bible and the A. V., puts it before the Maccabees.

2. *Contents, Author, Date, Original Language, etc.*—It opens with an appeal to the God of the faithful patriarchs and their righteous seed, describes his greatness as Creator of all things, before whose power every one trembles, and whose wrath no sinner can endure, and speaks of his proffered pardon to the penitent (1-8). Whereupon the repentant king confesses his sins, humbles himself on account of them, prays for pardon, and promises to lead a life of gratitude and praise (9-15). There is nothing in this prayer to militate against its being the penitential dirge of the penitent Manasseh; on the contrary, the simplicity and appropriateness of its style, the earnest and touching manner in which it is expressed, go far to show that if it is not literally 'his prayer unto his God' rendered into Greek, it forms the basis of the Greek. This is, moreover, corroborated by the fact that the prayer was still extant when the Chronicles were compiled, that the chronicler saw it 'in the book of the Kings of Israel' (2 Chron. xxxiii. 18), and that later writers, as well as tradition, constantly refer to it (comp. *Sanhedrin*, 101, b; 103, a; *Jerusalem Sanhedrin* xvii.; *Midrash Rabbah* on Lev., Parsha xxx., p. 150; on Deut., Parsha ii., or ch. iv. 25, p. 216, ed. Sulzbach; *Chaldee Paraphrase* of 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11, etc.; *Cont. Apost.* ii. 22). When the present Greek



form of it, or rather *excerpt* from it, first came into vogue, it is impossible to say. All that we know is, that it existed before Jerome revised the old Latin version, that reference is made to it in a fragment of Julius Africanus (circa 221 A.D.), that it is given at length in the *Apostolical Constitutions* (ii. 22), a work attributed to Clemens Romanus, but generally believed to be of the 3d or 4th century, and that the whole complexion of it shows it to be an ante-Christian production compiled most probably in the 1st century B.C.

3. *Canonicity*.—This prayer was considered by the ancients as genuine, and used as such for ecclesiastical purposes. It is quoted as such by the author of the *Sermons on the Pharisee and Publican*; in the sixth volume of Chrysostom's works; by Anthony the monk (ii. 94); Theodore Studita (*Serm. Cataphet.* 93); Theophanes Caramæus (*Homil.* ii. and lvi.); by Freulfus, George Syncellus, and George the sinner, in their *Chronicles*; Suidas (*Lex.*, s. v. *Μανασσης*); and by Anastasius Sinaita (*in Psalm vi.*); and is still placed by the modern Greeks in their Psalter along with the other hymns (Leo Allatius, *De lib. Ecclesiast. Græcorum*, p. 62). It was, however, never recognised in the Roman Church as canonical, and has, therefore, been omitted in the ancient editions of the Sept. For this reason it is also omitted from the Zurich Version, and Coverdale's Bible, which follows it, as well as from the Geneva Version; but is retained among the Apocrypha in Luther's translation, Matthew's Bible, and in the Bishop's Bible, and thence passed over into the A.V.

4. *Versions and Exegetical Helps*.—Greek and Latin metrical versions of this prayer have been reprinted by Fabricius in his edition of the *books of Sirach, Wisdom, Judith, and Tobit*, Leipzig 1691. A Hebrew version of it is mentioned by Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebræa*, i. 778; a very beautiful Hebrew version with valuable notes is printed in the *Hebrew Annual*, entitled *Bikure Ha-Itim*, vol. v., p. 12, ff., Vienna 1824; important literary notices are given by Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraphus V. T.*, vol. i., p. 1100, ff.; *Bibliotheca Græca*, vol. iii., ed. Harles, p. 732, ff.; Müller, *Erklärung des Gebet Manasse*, Salzweil 1733; and especially Fritzsche, *Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch z. d. Apocryphen d. A. T.*, vol. i., p. 157, ff., Leipzig 1851.—C. D. G.

MANDRAKE. [DUDAIM.]

MANEH. [WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.]

MANETHO, of Sebennytus, was distinguished for priestly learning at the court of the first Ptolemy; so Plutarch relates (*de Is. et Os.*, c. 28), who cites a religious work of his in Greek, which is quoted also under various names by Ælian, Diogenes Lærtius, Porphyry, and other late writers (Fruin, *Manethonis Sebennytæ Reliquia*, p. 133, ff.; Parthey, *Plutarch über Isis u. Osiris*, p. 180, ff.) Josephus (*c. Apion.* i. 14-16, 26, 27) gives two long extracts, with a list of seventeen reigns, from the *Ἀγνῶτιστα*, 'a work composed in Greek by Manetho the Sebennyte from materials which he professes to have rendered from the sacred records;' of which history all else that is extant is a catalogue of Egyptian dynasties, preserved in two widely different recensions by Georgius Syncellus, 800 A.D.; the one from the lost *Chronographia* of Julius Africanus, 220 A.D.; the other from the *Chronicon* of Eusebius, 325

A.D. (of which we have now the Armenian version); both texts are given by Fruin, and by Bunsen in the appendix to *Egypt's Place*, vol. i. The statement that 'Manetho the Sebennyte of Heliopolis, high-priest and scribe of the sacred adyta, composed this work from the sacred records by command of Ptolemy Philadelphus,' rests only on the dedication (ap. Syncell.) prefixed to the *Solhis*, an undoubted forgery of Christian times. All that can be inferred from it, is, that the forger had grounds, good or bad, for placing Manetho in the time of the second Ptolemy. In fact, the incident with which Plutarch, *u. s.*, connects his name (the bringing in of Serapis), is related by other writers (*without mention of Manetho*), and is assigned by Tacitus also (*Hist.*, iv. 183, ff.) to the time of the first Ptolemy; but by Clem. Alex. (*Protrept.*, iv. 48), and Cyrill. Al. (*c. Julian.*, p. 13), to Ptolemy Philadelphus, with the date Ol. 124 = 284-1 B.C. If he did live, and was a man of note, under the early Ptolemies, certain it is that this 'most distinguished writer, the sage and scholar of Egypt' (as Bunsen calls him, *Æg. St.*, i. 88), was speedily and long forgotten; for more than three centuries after the time at which he is said to have flourished not a trace of him or his writings is anywhere discoverable. Nothing of the kind occurs in the remains of the Alexandrine scholars, the early Greek Jews, the Polyhistor's collections, the chronological writings of Castor.\* Diodorus Sic. and Strabo visited and wrote about Egypt, yet neither of them names or alludes to Manetho; and the former gives (i. 44, ff., from the priests, he says) an account of the kingly succession altogether different from his. If, as Fruin suggests (p. lxiii.), it was through measures taken by Domitian to repair the losses sustained by the public libraries (Sueton., *Dom.* 20), that Manetho's works were brought to Rome from the Alexandrine library, where they had long slumbered unregarded, still it is strange that the *Ægyptiaca* should have caught the attention of Josephus alone (among extant writers), and that neither those who, as Plutarch, do mention the other work, nor others who have occasion to speak of the ancient times of Egypt, as Tacitus and the elder Pliny (esp. *H. N.*, xxxvi. 8-13), ever name this history, or show any acquaintance with its list of kings. Lepsius (*Chron. der Äg.*, i. 583, ff.) better meets the difficulty by supposing that the original work, never widely known, was so early lost that even in the 1st century all that survived of it was a bare abstract of its names and numbers, and (distinct from this) the two passages relating to the 'Hyksos' and the 'lepers,' with the accompanying list of seventeen reigns, which some Jewish reader had extracted on account of their Biblical interest, and beyond which Josephus knew nothing of Manetho. Whatever be the explanation, the fact is, that it is

\* That the *Catalogue of Thirty-eight Theban Kings* (ap. Syncell.) is the work of *Eratosthenes* there is nothing to show; at any rate, it contains no reference to Manetho. If it was from Manetho that *Dicaarchus*, cir. 290 A.D. (ap. Schol. in *Apollon. Rhod.*), got his two Egyptian names and dates, it was in quite another form of the work; to the Scholiast, Manetho is an unknown name. The Egyptian list in the *Excerpta latino-barbara* of Scaliger, bearing the name of *Castor*, is a mere abstract from Africanus.

only through Jewish and Christian writers that we ever hear of Manetho as an historian. Of these, Theophilus Ant. (*ad Autolyc.*, iii. 20, *cir.* 181 A.D.) does but copy Josephus. Clemens Alex. nowhere names Manetho. A history of 'the Acts of the Kings of Egypt, in three books'—not, however, by Manetho, but by 'Ptolemy the Mendesian'—is, indeed, quoted by him (*Strom.* i. 26, 101), but at second-hand from Tatian; who again (*ad Gentes*, p. 129), as perhaps Justin Martyr before him (*ad Gr.*, 8), quotes Ptolemy, not directly, but from Apion. In short, it is plain, on comparing these passages and Euseb. (*Pr. Ev.*, x. 11, 12), that Apion is the sole source of all that is known of this Ptolemy of Mendes; and Apion, as far as we know, makes no mention of Manetho. In what relation the work of Ptolemy may have stood to Manetho's, as there is no evidence to show, it is idle to speculate; and, indeed, the question with which we are concerned would remain very much where it is, even were it proved that 'Manetho' is a borrowed name, and the *Aegyptiaca* a product of Roman times. For the important point is, not who wrote the book, and when? but what is its value? It may not be genuine, nor so old as it pretends to be, and yet may contain good materials, honestly rendered from earlier writings or original records, probably as available in the time of Domitian as they were under the Ptolemies; and, in fact, existing monuments do furnish so considerable a number of names unquestionably identical with names in the list, that to reject this altogether, and deny it all historical value, would betoken either egregious ignorance, or a reckless scepticism that can shut its eyes to manifest facts.

But the attestation which the list obtains from contemporary monuments cannot be held to warrant the assumption that it is to be depended upon where these fail. For the monuments which attest, also correct its statements. Monuments prove some reigns, and even dynasties, contemporaneous, which in the list are successive; but we have no means of ascertaining what was truly consecutive and what parallel, where monuments are wanting. Their dates are always in years of the current reign, not of an era. From Cambyes upward to Psammetichus and his immediate predecessor Taracus = Tirhaka, the chronology is now settled [CHRONOLOGY, Sec. 14]. Thence up to Petubastes (dyn. xxiii.) the materials are too scanty to yield any determination. For dyn. xxii., headed by Sesonchis = Shishak, the records are copious: dates on apis-stelæ, of which Mariette reports seven in this dynasty, prove that it lasted much more than the 120 years of Africanus. But even these reigns cannot be formed into a canon, and the epoch of Sesonchis can only be approximately given from the Biblical synchronism, 'In 5 Rehoboam Shishak invaded Judæa'—in what year of his reign\* the

monument which records the conquest does not say; besides, the epoch of Rehoboam is no longer a fixed point, or nearly so, for all chronologists.\* In dyns. xx., xxi., is another gap, at present not to be bridged over. The seven named Tanites of xxi. (Afr. 130, Eus. 121 years) seem to have been military priest-kings; and that they were partly contemporaneous with xx. and xxii. may appear from the absence of apis-stelæ, of which xx. has nine, xxii. seven. Dyn. xx., for which the list gives no names, consisted of some ten or more kings, all bearing the name Rameses, beginning with R. III., and five of them his sons, probably joint-kings. The apis-inscriptions furnish no connected dates, nor can any inference be drawn from their number, since Mariette reports no less than five in the first reign. For dyn. xix. (Sethos), xviii. (Amosis), the materials, written and monumental, are most copious; yet even here the means of an exact determination are wanting: indeed, if further proof were needed that the Manethonic Lists are not to be implicitly trusted, it is furnished by the monumental evidence here of contemporary reigns which in the lists are successive. It is certain, and will at last be owned by all competent inquirers, that in the part of the succession for which the evidence is clearest and most ample, it is impossible to assign the year at which any king, from Amosis to Tirhaka, began to reign. No ingenuity of calculation and conjecture can make amends for the capital defects—the want of an era, the inadequacy of the materials. The brilliant light shed on this point or that, does but make the surrounding darkness more palpable. Analysis of the lists may enable the inquirer, at most, to divine the intentions of their authors; which is but a small step gained towards the truth of facts.

But it has been supposed that certain fixed points may be got by means of astronomical conjunctures assigned to certain dates of the vague year on the monuments:—(i.) Thus, A fragmentary inscription of Takelut II., 6th king of dyn. xxii., purports that 'on the 25th Mesori of the 15th year of his father' (Sesonk II. according to Lepsius, *Age of XXII. Dyn.*, but Osorkon II. according to Brugsch, Dr. Hincks, and v. Gumpach), 'the heavens were invisible, the moon struggling . . .'. Hence Mr. Cooper (*Athenæum*, 11 May '61) gathers, that on the day named, in the given year of Sesonk II., there was a lunar eclipse, which he considers must be that of 16th March 851 B.C. Dr. Hincks, who at first also made the eclipse lunar, and its date 4th April 945 B.C., now contends that it was solar, and the only possible date 1st April 927 B.C. (*Journal of*

labour of his tribesmen; if he presently conceived the purpose of insurrection, encouraged by Ahijah; if his purpose became known to Solomon almost as soon as formed; if, in short, his flight into Egypt was not later than 26 Solomon; lastly, if Shishak became king in that year; then 5 Rehoboam (=45 Solomon) will be 20 Shishak. This is a specimen of much that passes for 'Chronology'—where the Bible is concerned.

\* Some light is thrown on the dynastic connection of dyn. xxii. and xxiii. by a stele recently discovered by Mariette in Ethiopia, which proves the fact of numerous contemporary reigns throughout Egypt at that time: Brugsch's *Zeitschrift*, July '63; De Rougé, *Inscr. du roi Pianchi Meri Amun*, '64. But it helps the chronology little or nothing.

\* The inscription is dated 21 Shishak, but does not indicate the order or time of the several conquests recorded. The attempt has been made to prove from Biblical data that the invasion was in the 20th year. Thus: It was while Solomon was building Millo (2 Kings xi. 27), that Jeroboam fled to 'Shishak, king of Egypt' (*ib.* 40). This work began not earlier than 24 Solomon (vi. 37-vii. 1). If it began in that or the next year; if Jeroboam was immediately appointed overseer of the forced



*Sacred Lit.*, Jan. '63, p. 333-376; comp. *Id.*, Jan. '64, p. 459, ff.) In making it solar, he follows M. v. Gumpach (*Hist. Antiq. of the People of Egypt*, '63, p. 29), who finds its date 11th March 841 B.C. Unfortunately the 25th Mesori of that year was 10th March. This is the only monumental notice supposed to refer to an eclipse: it not worth much at the best; the record, even if its meaning were certain, is not contemporary.

(ii.) In several inscriptions certain dates are given to the 'manifestation of Sothis,' assumed to mean the heliacal rising of Sirius, which, for 2000 years before our era, for the latitude of Heliopolis, fell on 20th July. (Biot, indeed, *Recherches de quelques dates absolues*, etc., 1853, contends that the calculation must be made for the place at which the inscription is dated—each day of difference, of course, making a difference of four years in the date B.C.) The dates of these 'manifestations' are—(1) '1 Tybi of 11 Takelut II.' (Brugsch): the quaternion of years in which 1 Tybi would coincide with 20th July is 845-42 B.C. (2) '15 Thoth in a year, not named, of Rameses VI., at Thebes' (Biot, *u.s.*; De Rougé, *Mémoire sur quelques phénomènes célestes*, etc., in *Revue Archéol.* ix. 686). The date implied is 20th July 1265-62 (Biot, 14th July 1241-38). (3) '1 Thoth in some year of Rameses III. at Thebes' (Biot and De Rougé, *u.s.*, from a festival-calendar). The date implied is of course 1325-22 (Biot, 14th July 1301-1298). (4) '28 Epiphi in some year of Thothmes III.' (Biot, etc., from a festival-calendar at Elephantine).<sup>\*</sup> This implies 1477-74 B.C. (Biot, 12 July 1445-42 B.C.) (5) '12 Mesori in 33 Thothmes III.' (Mr. S. Poole in *Trans. R. S. Lit.*, v. 340). This implies 1421-18 B.C. These dates would make the interval from Rameses III. to Takelut II. 480 years, greatly in excess even of Manetho's numbers, and more so of Lepsius's arrangement, in which, from the 1st of Rameses III. to the 11th of Takelut II. are little more than 400 years. Again, the interval of only 152 years, implied in (3) and (4), is unquestionably too little: from the last year of Thothmes III. to the first of Rameses III., Lepsius reckons 296, Bunsen 225 years. Lastly, in (4) (5) the dates imply an interval of 56 years, which is plainly absurd. The fact must be, that these inscriptions are not rightly understood. We need to be informed what the Egyptians meant by the 'manifestation of Sothis'; what method they followed in assigning it to a particular day; especially when, as in Biot's three instances, the date occurs in a calendar, and is marked as a 'festival,' we ask, were these calendars calculated only for four years? when a new one was set up, were the astronomical notices duly corrected, or were they merely copied from the preceding calendar?

(iii.) 'At Semneh in 2 Thothmes III., one of the 3 feasts of the Commencement of the Seasons is noted on 21 Pharmuthi.' Biot, *u.s.*, supposes

the vernal equinox to be meant, and assigns this to 6th April in the quaternion 1445-42 (as above), in which 6th April was 21 Pharmuthi. But the vernal equinox is *not* the commencement of one of the three seasons of the Egyptian year; these start either from the rising of Sirius, 20th July, or, more probably, from the summer solstice: as this, in the 14th century, usually fell on 6th July, the two other tetramenies or seasons would commence *cir.* 5th Nov. and 6th March. Now, 6th March did coincide with 21 Pharmuthi in 1321-18 B.C., at which time it also occupied precisely the place which Mr. Stuart Poole assigns to 'the Great Rukh' (Leps., 'the greater Heat'), just one zodiacal month before the little Rukh or vernal equinox (*Iloka Egypt.*, p. 15, ff.)

(iv.) 'On 1 Athyr of 11 Amenophis III., the king ordered an immense basin to be dug, and on the 16th s. m., celebrated a great panegyry of the waters.' (Dr. Hincks, *On the Age of Dyn. XVIII.*, *Trans. R. Irish Acad.*, vol. xxi. pt. 1; comp. Mr. S. Poole, *Trans. R. S. Lit.*, v. 340.) If the waters were let in when the Nile had reached its highest point—which, as it is from 90 to 100 days after the summer solstice, in the 14th century would be at 4-14 Oct.—the month-date indicates one of the years from 1369-1326 B.C. But if (which is certainly more likely) the time chosen was some weeks earlier, the year indicated would be after 1300 B.C. So this and the preceding indication may agree, and so far there is some evidence for the supposition that the sothiac epochal year 1322 B.C. lies in the reign of Thothmes III. (See Dr. Hincks, *u.s.*, and in *Dublin Univ. Magazine*, 1846, p. 187.)

(v.) An astronomical representation on the ceiling of the Rameseum (the work of Rameses II.) has been supposed to yield the year 1322 as its date (Bishop Tomlinson, *Trans. R. S. Lit.*, 1839; Sir G. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, etc., 2 ser., p. 377); while Mr. Cullimore, from the same, gets 1138 B.C. The truth is, these astronomical configurations, in the present state of our knowledge, are an unsolved riddle. Lepsius's inferences (*Chron. der Aeg.*) from the same representations in the reigns of Rameses IV. and VI. are little more than guesses, too vague and precarious to satisfy any man who knows what evidence means.

It appears, then, that the supposed astronomical notes of time hitherto discovered lend but little aid, and bring nothing like certainty into the inquiry. We cannot accept the lists as they stand. How are they to be rectified? Until we have the means of rectifying them, every attempt to put forth a definite scheme of Egyptian chronology is simply futile. The appeal to authority avails nothing here. Lepsius, Bunsen, Brugsch, and many more, all claim to have settled the matter. Their very discrepancies—on the scale of which half a century is a mere trifle—sufficiently prove that to them, as to us, the evidence is defective. The profoundest scholarship, the keenest insight, cannot get more out of it than is in it: 'that which is crooked cannot be made straight, and that which is wanting cannot be numbered.' Yet, from the easy confidence with which people assign dates—their own, or taken on trust—to the Pharos after Amosis, and even of much earlier times, it might be thought that from Manetho and the monuments together a connected chronology has been elicited as certain as that of

<sup>\*</sup> The antiquity of this calendar is called in question by De Rougé, *Athén. Français*, '55, and by Dr. Brugsch, who says the style indicates the 19th dyn. Mariette assigns it to Thothmes III., *Journal Asiatique*, tom. xii., Aug., Sept. '58. Lepsius, who in '54 doubted (*Monatsbericht* of Berlin R. Acad.), now contends for its antiquity (*Königsbuch der Aeg.*, p. 164), having contrived to make it fit his chronology by assuming an error in the numeral of the month.

the Roman emperors. In particular, there appears to be a growing belief—even finding its way into popular Bible histories and commentaries—that *the Pharaoh of the Exodus* can be identified in Manetho, and so the time of that event determined.

Early Christian writers usually assumed, with Josephus, that the *Hyksos* or 'shepherd-kings' whose story he gives from Manetho (*c. Apion*, i. 14-16), were the Israelites, and their expulsion by Amosis or Tethmosis—one or both, for the accounts are confused\*—the Egyptian version of the story of the Exode. This view, once favoured by the present writer, by him long since abandoned, has still its advocates (quite recently Mr. Nash, *The Pharaoh of the Exodus*, '63), but not among those who have been long conversant with the subject. Indeed, there is a monument of Thothmes III., which, if it has been truly interpreted, is conclusive for a much earlier date of the Exode than this reign, or perhaps any of the dynasty. A long inscription of his 23d year gives a list of the confederates defeated by him at Megiddo, in which De Rougé reads the names *Jacob* and *Joseph*, and Mr. Stuart Poole thinks he finds names of some of the tribes, *Reuben*, *Simeon*, *Issachar*, *Gad* (Report of R. S. Lit., in *Athenaeum*, Mar. 21, '63).

But the story of the Jews put forth by 'Manetho' himself (Joseph. *c. Apion*, i. 26, 27), with the confession, however, that he obtained it not from ancient records, but from popular tradition (*ἀπὸ τῶν μυθολογούμενων*), represents them as a race of lepers, who, oppressed by the reigning king, called to their aid the Hyksos from Palestine (where these, on their expulsion some centuries earlier by Tethmosis, had settled and built Jerusalem), and with these allies overran all Egypt for thirteen years, at the end of which Amenophis, who had taken refuge in Ethiopia, returning thence with his son Sethos, drove out the invaders. These, headed by Osarsiph (= Moses), a priest of Heliopolis, retired into Palestine, and there became the nation of the Jews. Josephus protests against this story as a mere figment, prompted by Egyptian malignity,† and labours to prove it inconsistent with Manetho's own list: unsuccessfully enough, for in fact Amenophis (Ammenephtes, Afr.) does appear there just where the story places him, *i.e.*, next to Sethos and Rameses II., with a reign of nineteen years and six months. The monuments give the name Menephtha, and his son and successor Seti = Sethos II., just as in the story. The names are not fictitious,‡

whatever may be the value of the story as regards the Israelites. This Menephtha, then, son and successor of Rameses the Great, is the Pharaoh of the Exode, according to Lepsius and Bunsen, and of late accepted as such by many writers, learned and unlearned. Those to whom the name of Manetho is not voucher enough, will demand independent evidence. And in fact it is alleged that the monuments of the time of Menephtha attest a period of depression: no great works of that king are known to exist; of his reign of twenty years the highest date hitherto found is the fourth; and two rival kings, Amen-messu (the Ammenemeses of the lists) and Si-phtha, are reigning at the same time with him, *i.e.*, holding precarious sovereignty in Thebes during the time of alien occupation and the flight of Menephtha (Bunsen, *Aeg. Stelle*, iv. 208, ff.)—That these two kings reigned in the time of Menephtha, and not with or after Sethos II., is assumed without proof; that the reign of Rameses II. was followed by a period of decadence proves nothing as to its cause; and the entire silence of the monuments as to an event so memorable as the final expulsion of the hated 'Shepherds' (*Shas-u*), who so often figure in the monumental recitals of earlier kings (*e.g.*, of Sethos I., who calls them *shas-u p'kanana-kar*, 'shepherds of the land of Canaan'), tells as strongly against the story as any merely negative evidence can do for it.—More important is the argument derived from the mention (Exod. i. 11) of the 'treasure-cities Pithom and Raameses,' built for the persecuting Pharaoh by the forced labour of the Hebrews; the Pharaoh (says Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, i. 294, ff.) was Rameses [II., son of Sethos I], who gave one of the cities his own name. (Comp. Ewald, *Gesch.* ii. 66, note.) Lepsius, *Art. Aegypten*, in Herzog's *Encyclop.*, calls this 'the weightiest confirmation,' and in *Chronol. der Aeg.*, i. 337-357, enlarges upon this argument. Raameses, he says, was at the eastern, as Pithom (*Πάρουμος*) was certainly at the western end of the great canal known to be the work of Rameses II., and the site of the city bearing his name is further identified with him by the granite group disinterred at Abu Keisheib, in which the deified king sits enthroned between the gods Ra and Tum.\*—Certainly a king Rameses

of the 18th dynasty, father of Rameses the Great. When, with his son Rameses, he had conquered the *Shasu*, he took the name Sethos, from the god *Set*, *Soutech*, specially worshipped by them. So begins a new era; but the lepers were not driven out till later.—Ewald, *Gesch.* ii. 66, who holds the story to be a genuine tradition of the Hebrew Exode, also makes its Amenophis the last king of dyn. xviii. Knobel, *kgf. exeg. Hdb.* Exod. p. 116, refers the tradition not to the Hebrews but to the Philistines.

\* Sir Gardiner Wilkinson, in Rawlinson's *Herodot.*, ii. p. 312, finds a connection of Rameses II. with Pithom, which he derives from *Thmei*, 'truth,' in the fact that the goddess forms part of the prenomens of him and his father. Sir G. W., *ibid.*, p. 288, is inclined to place the Exode after Rameses II. rather than in the time of Thothmes III. as formerly. The discussion of Lepsius's determination of the site of Raameses does not belong to this place, but to that Article. It may, however, be noted here, that if Raameses be the Abaris, Auaris of the Shepherd-story, the question is settled

\* Usually reconciled by saying that Amosis was the first who made war against the Hyksos, and drove them into Auaris, whence Thothmes III. finally expelled them. Lepsius assigns Amosis and his successors to the 17th dynasty, 93 years, down to 12 Thothmes III., and begins the 18th at the thirteenth year of this king = first of his sole reign (*Königsbuch der Aeg.*) But De Rougé has shown that the expulsion of the Hyksos must have been completed by Amosis, by the taking of Tanis = Auaris, in his sixth year—*Journal Asiatique*, August '58, p. 267.

† Böckh, *Manetho*, p. 686, thinks it was not even inserted by Manetho himself, but by a later hand, in spite to the Jews.

‡ Scheuchzer, *über die Zeit des zweiten Einfalls der Hyksos in Aegypten*, in *Zeitschr. der d. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xiv. 640, contends that the Amenophis who retreated before the Hyksos was the last king



appears first in the 19th dynasty, but the place may have taken its name, if from a man at all, from some earlier person.\*

That the Exode cannot be placed *before* the 19th dynasty, Bunsen (*u. s.*, p. 234) holds to be conclusively shown by the fact that on the monuments which record the conquests of Rameses the Great in Palestine, no mention occurs of the Israelites among the *Kheti* (Hittites) and other conquered nations; while, on the other hand, there is no hint in the book of Judges of an Egyptian invasion and servitude. On similar negative grounds he urges that the settlement in Palestine must have been subsequent to the conquests made in that country by Rameses III., first king of the 20th dynasty. To which it may be replied—(1.) that we have no clear information as to the route of the invaders; if it was either along the coast or to the east of Jordan, the tribes, perhaps, were not directly affected by it. (2.) The expeditions so pompously described on the monuments (as in the Statistical Table of Karnak, Thothmes III., and similar recitals of the conquests of Rameses II. and III.; see Mr. Birch in *Trans. of R. S. Lit.*, ii. 317, ff.; and vii. 50, ff.) certainly did not result in the permanent subjugation of the countries invaded. This is sufficiently shown by the fact that the conquests repeat themselves under different kings, and even in the same reign. Year by year the king with his army sets out on a gigantic *razzia*, to return with spoil of cattle, slaves, and produce of the countries overrun. (3.) If the lands of the tribes were thus overrun, it may have been during one of the periods of servitude, in which case they suffered only as the vassals of their Canaanite, Moabite, or other oppressors. That this may possibly have been the case is sufficient to deprive of all its force the argument fetched from the silence of the monuments, and of the book of Judges.

There remains to be noticed one piece of documentary evidence which has quite recently been brought to light. Dr. Brugsch, *Zeitschrift*, Sept. '63, reports that 'one set of the Leyden hieratic papyri, now publishing by Dr. Leemans, consists of letters and official reports. In several of these, examined by M. Chabas, repeated mention is made of certain foreigners, called *Apuriju*, i. e., Hebrews, compelled by Ramses II. to drag stones for the building of the city Ramses.' In his *Mélanges Egyptol.*, '62, 4th dissertation, M. Chabas calls them *Aperiu*. It is certainly striking, as Mr. Birch remarks (in *Revue Archéol.*, April '62, p. 291), that 'in the three documents which speak of these foreigners, they appear engaged on works of the same kind as those to which the Hebrews were subjected by the Egyptians: it is also important that the papyri were found at Memphis. But the more inviting the proposed identification, the more cautious one needs to be.' As the sounds R

and L are not discriminated in Egyptian writing, it may be that the name is *Apeliu*; and as B P have distinct characters, one does not see why the b of עֲפֵרִים should be rendered by p. (The case of *Epep* = עֲפֵרִים is different; see below.) It seems

also that the same name occurs as late as the time of Rameses IV., where it can hardly mean the Hebrews. Besides, the monument of Thothmes III. above mentioned leads to quite a different conclusion. Where the evidence is so conflicting, the inquirer who seeks only truth, not the confirmation of a foregone conclusion, has no choice but to reserve his judgment.

The time of this Menephtha, so unhesitatingly proclaimed to be the Pharaoh of the Exode, is placed beyond all controversy—so Bunsen and Lepsius maintain—by an invaluable piece of evidence furnished by Theon, the Alexandrine mathematician of the 4th century. In a passage of his unpublished commentary on the *Almagest*, first given to the world by Larcher (*Herodot.*, ii. 553), and since by Biot (*Sur la période Sothiaque*, p. 18, 129, ff.), it is stated that the Sothiac Cycle of Astronomy which, as it ended in A. D. 139, commenced in 1322 B. C. (20th July), was known in his time as 'the era of Menophres,' ἐτὴ ἀπὸ Μενόφρων. There is no king of this name: read *Μενόφθρων*—so we have Menephtha of the 19th dynasty, the king of the leper-story, the Exodus Pharaoh. Lepsius, making the reign begin in 1328 B. C., places the Exode at 1314 B. C. = 15 Menephtha, in accordance with the alleged thirteen years' retirement into Ethiopia and the return in the fourteenth or fifteenth year.—Certainly the precise name *Menophres* does not appear in the lists; but in later times that name may have been used for the purpose of distinguishing some particular king from others of the same name; and there is reason to think this was actually the case. (1.) The king Tethmosis or Thothmes III. repeatedly appears on monuments with the addition to his royal legend, *Mai-Ré*, 'Beloved of Ré,' with the article *Mai-ph-Ré*, and with the preposition *Mai-n'-ph-Ré*, which last is precisely Theon's *Μενόφρων*. (2.) The acknowledged confusion of names in that part of the 18th dynasty, where this king occurs—*Misaphris*, *Misphres*, *Memphres* (Armen.), then *Misphragmuthosis* (the ΑΔΙΣΦΡ. of Josephus is evidently an error of copying for ΜΙΣΦΡ. : in the list *ibid.*, the 5th and 6th names are *Μήφρων*, *Μεφραμούθωσις*)—is perhaps best explained by supposing that the king was entered in the lists by his distinctive as well as his family name. (3.) In Pliny's notice of the obelisks (*H. N.*, xxxvi. 64), that known to be of Thothmes III. is said to belong to *Mesphres*, which, says Bunsen (iv. 130), 'would be the popular distinctive name given to this Thothmes.' Just so! And in the statement of Theon, the king is presented by 'his popular distinctive name,' *Menophres*. (4.) 'There was (says Dr. Hincks, *Trans. R. Irish Acad.*, vol. xxi., pt. 1) a tradition, if it do not deserve another name, current among the Egyptians in the time of Antoninus, to the effect that the Sothiac Cycle, then ending (139 A. D.), commenced in the reign of Thothmes III. The existence of such a tradition is evidenced by a number of scarabæi, evidently of Roman workmanship, referring to the Sothiac Cycle, and in which the royal legend of this monarch appears.' These are sufficient grounds

by Mariette's recent discoveries, by which Auaris is clearly identified with *Tanis*, the Zoan of Scripture—*Revue Archéol.*, February and March '61.

\* Names of kings beginning with the elements *Ra-hem-s* are frequent in the Turin Royal Canon. The name *Ra-hem-s-men-teti* stands in the first row of the Karnak Series. 'A son of Amosis bore the name Rameses, which name, from its meaning (son of Ré, the god of Heliopolis), would almost necessarily be not an uncommon one.'—Mr. S. Poole in Smith's *Dict. of Bible*, i. p. 328.



for believing that the Menophres of Theon is no other than Thothmes III., and that his reign was supposed (rightly or wrongly) to include the year 1322 B. C. It may be also that when Herodotus was told that *Moeris* lived about 900 years before the time of his visit to Egypt—a date not very wide of 1322 B. C.—Thothmes was named to him by his popular distinctive appellation, *Mai-Ré*, only confused with *Mares*=Amenemha III., the Pharaoh of the Labyrinth and its Lake. (Other explanations of the name Menophres may be seen in Böckh, *Manetho*, p. 691, ff.; Biot, *Récherches*, interprets it as the name of Memphis, *Men-nofru*, importing that the normal date, 20th July, for the heliacal rising of Sirius and epoch of the cycle, is true only for the latitude of Memphis.) What has been said is sufficient to show that there is no necessity for altering a letter of the name; consequently that the time of Menephtha is not defined by the authority of Theon.\*

In support of his date, 1314 B. C., for the Exode, Lepsius (*Chronol.* 359, ff.) has an argument fetched from the modern Jewish chronology (Hillel's *Mundane Era*), in which, he says, that is the precise year assigned to that event. Hillel, he is confident, was led to it by Manetho's Egyptian tradition, which gave him the name of the Pharaoh, which being obtained would easily give him the time. Bunsen, though finally settling on the year 1320 B. C., had previously declared with Lepsius for 1314 B. C., 'decided by the circumstance that a tradition not compatible with the usual chronological systems of the Jews, but which cannot be accidental, places the Exode at that year. This fact seems, from Lepsius's account of the *Seder Olam Rabba*, to admit of no doubt' (iv. 336). It admits of more than doubt—of absolute refutation. Hillel's whole procedure, from first to last, was simply Biblical. Daniel's prophecy of the 70 weeks gave him B. C. 422 for 11 Zedekiah [*CHRONOLOGY*, sec. 17]; thence up to 6 Hezekiah, he found the sum=133 years; for the kings of Israel the actual numbers were 243, of which he made 240 years; then 37 years of Solomon, 480 years of 1 Kings vi. 1, added to these, made the total 890 years, whence the date for the Exode was B. C. 422 plus 890=1312; for that this, not 1314, was Hillel's year of the Exode is demonstrable (Review of *Lepsius on Bible Chronology* by the present writer, in *Arnold's Theolog. Critic*, vol. i., p. 52-59, 1851).†

It is alleged that an indication confirmatory of the low date assigned by these writers is furnished by the month-date of the Exodus passover, 14 Abib, a name which occurs only in connection with that history, Exod. xii. 2; xiii. 4; xxiii. 15; xxxiv. 18; Deut. xvi. 1. For there is no reason to doubt that this is the hebraized form of the Egyptian

*Epep*, Coptic *Epiphi*, of which the Arabic rendering is also *Abib*.\* 'At the time assigned, the vague month Epep would pretty nearly coincide with the Hebrew Abib'—Lepsius, *Chron.*, p. 141. Hardly so: for in the year named, 1 Epiphi would fall on 14th May; and it is scarcely conceivable that the passover month (whose full moon is that next to the vernal equinox, which in that century fell *cir.* 5th April) should begin so late as the middle of May. Not till a hundred years later would the vague month Epiphi and the Hebrew passover month coincide. The argument proves too much, unless we are prepared to lower the Exode to *cir.* 1200 B. C. (To some it may imply that the narrative of the Exode was written about that time—Mr. Sharpe, *History of Egypt*, i. 63—but one can hardly suppose the Hebrews to have retained the vague Egyptian months as well as their names so long after their settlement in Palestine.) If in any year from 1300 B. C. upwards, the full moon next the vernal equinox fell in the month Epiphi, it would follow that the Coptic month-names (which, it is well understood, never occur on the monuments) belonged then to a different form of the year. The present writer surmises that such was the state of the case; but the question is not for this place.

For the first seventeen dynasties, numbering in Afr. more than 4000 years, a bare statement of their contents and of the monumental evidence would greatly exceed the limits of this article. Perhaps the time is not far distant when the attempt to educe a connected chronology from Manetho (whether for or against the Mosaic numbers) will be abandoned by all sensible men. Full and unprejudiced inquiry can have but one result: *for times anterior to 700 B. C. Egypt has no fixed chronology.* De Rougé has in two words set the whole matter in its true light: *les textes de Manéthon sont profondément altérés, et la série des dates monumentales est très incomplète.* The incompleteness of the record is palpable: the alteration of the texts is the result of their having passed through numerous hands, and been re-fashioned according to various intentions, by which the whole inquiry has been complicated to a degree which baffles all attempts to determine what was their original form. These intentions were mainly *cyclical*. A very brief statement of facts, not resting on critical conjecture and questionable combinations, as in the elaborate treatise of Böckh, but lying on the surface, will place the character and relations of the several texts in a clear light. Menes stands—1. In Africanus (according to Syncellus's running summation of the numbers in Bk. 1) just *three complete sothic cycles*, 3 × 1460 Julian years, before 1322 B. C.; 2. In Eusebius, according to the epigraphal sum of Book 1, *three cycles* before the epoch of Sethosis, dyn. xix.; 3. In Eusebius, according to the actual sum of Book 1, *three cycles* before the year 978-77 B. C., meant as the goal of the Diospolitan monarchy or epoch of Shishak; 4. In Syncellus's period of 3555 years (accepted by

\* De Rougé emphatically rejects Lepsius's notion of Menophres (*Revue Archéol.*, ix. 664; *Journal Asiatique*, Aug. 1858, p. 268). He thinks the year 1322 lies in the reign of Rameses III.

† Yet, though the process by which Hillel got his date is so transparent, it is spoken of as 'an important tradition' by those who take ready-made conclusions at second-hand, without inquiry into their grounds. So Duncker, *Gesch. des Alterthums*, i. p. 196, note; Dr. Williams in *Essays and Reviews*, p. 58.

\* The Egyptian month takes its name from the goddess *Apap*: the change of p to b is intended to make the word pure Hebrew, denoting the time of year, הָאֵבִיב הַלֵּשׁ = the month when the barley is in the ear (*abib*), Exod. ix. 31.



Lepsius and Bunsen as the true Manethoric measure from Menes to Neetanebus), *two cycles* before the same goal; 5. In the Old Chronicle, according to its *sothiac* form, *one cycle* before the same goal; 6. In the Sothis, *one cycle* before 1322 B. C.; but here it is contrived that *Osiropis*, or the commencement of Diospolitan monarchy, stands *one cycle* before *Susakeim* = Shishak. The inquirer may easily verify these facts for himself. In the series of papers, 'Cycles of Egyptian Chronology,' published in Arnold's *Theol. Critic*, 1851-52, he will find them fully stated with many other like facts, which prove that these chronographies, one and all, are intensely cyclical. But if Manetho, as we have him, is cyclical, then, Lepsius himself confesses (*K. B.*, p. 6, 7), 'the historical character of his work falls to the ground; for the very fact of Menes heading a sothiac cycle could only be the result of after-contrivance;' and Bunsen (*Aeg. St.*, iv. 13) sees that in place of 'the genuine historical work of Manetho, the venerable priest and conscientious inquirer,' we get 'a made-up thing, systematically carved to shape, and therefore really fabulous.' Whether or not the original 'Manetho,' whatever its authorship and date, was contrived upon a cyclical plan, we have but the lists as they come to us finally from the hands of Annianus and Panodorus through Syncellus. Only, it may be observed, that the cardinal dates given by *Dicaarchus*, which we have from an independent source, imply that the cyclical treatment of Egyptian chronology is at least as old as the alleged time of Manetho (*Cycles*, etc., *u. s.*, sec. 4, 16, 34, 36).—H. B.

**MANGER** (φάτνη; *phatne*). The word *phatne* occurs four times in the N. T., and only in St. Luke's Gospel. In the account of the nativity, where it is repeated thrice, it is in the A. V. translated 'manger,' but in the fourth passage it is translated 'stall.'

The question to be discussed is, what is St. Luke's meaning in employing the word as he does. In order to ascertain this, it will be best to read his narrative, having first dismissed any previous impressions, and inquiring only what meaning the word commonly carried at the time when he wrote. The derivation of *phatne* is by no means certain. It is however said to come from φάγω, or else from πατέσθαι (πάσασθαι), words meaning 'to eat,' though we consider πατέω (πατητόν), signifying to trample, etymologically just as likely. In classical Greek it means certainly 'a manger,' as in Herodotus, ix. 70, and possibly 'a stall,' as in Pindar, *Ol.* xiii. 131. We cannot go so far as Dr. Wordsworth, who says on St. Luke ii. 7, that by the LXX. *phatne* is not used for 'manger' but for 'stall' only, because in such passages as Job xxxix. 9, and Hab. iii. 17, and Is. i. 3, there is nothing to decide the point; but Prov. xiv. 4 seems decisive that *phatne* does mean a stall or stalled place. The A. V. indeed there translates, 'where no oxen are the (phatnæ) crib is clean,' but it must be evident that the manger is not likely to be less clean through the presence of oxen: that which is defiled is the stall. Thus ἐκφαρνίσματα means dung removed from the stall. It may perhaps be doubted whether the word crib, which appears here in the earlier versions as well as in the A. V., did not itself mean a stall or 'fold for cattle'—a meaning assigned to it by Halliwell. Moreover, the Hebrew

word for φάτναι here means, according to Gesenius, 'stable.' On the whole, we take up St. Luke with the notion that *phatne* has the meaning both of a manger and a stalled-place where cattle stand and eat, and that it is an open question whether the one meaning or the other was most present to the mind of the evangelist. Now, we find him saying (ii. 7), that Mary 'swathed the child, and laid him in the phatne, because there was not room for them in the inn.' (Not the received, but the more probable reading here is ἐν φάτνῃ, omitting the article, which is so far important, inasmuch as any phatne, and not necessarily that belonging to the inn, may then be designated.) Again, as a direction to the shepherds (ii. 12), 'Ye shall find a babe swathed lying in a phatne.' Again (ii. 16), 'They found Mary and Joseph, and the babe lying in the phatne.' The reader will bear in mind that in this account, if *phatne* mean manger, there has been no direct mention of any *stable* at all, and we are then told that the mother placed her babe in the manger (or a manger) because there was no room for them in the inn. But, as Wordsworth says, 'It was not necessary that he should be laid in the manger, because there was no room in the inn: the word manger and the word inn are not in any way contrasts. We could well understand, on the other hand, how a stall, or stalled place for cattle, should be resorted to, the inn being full. We think, however, that if the inn was full, the stable of the inn would be full also, and that both criticism and common sense lead to the conclusion that the *phatne* was not attached to the inn.'

Again, the direction to the shepherds seems rather to refer to a stall-place than to a manger; and where are we to suppose the parturition itself to have taken place? As, in the following passage from Bishop Andrewes, we constantly find the mention of the stable assumed: 'When ye come to Bethlehem, never search in any house or chamber, in a stable there shall you find a 'babe swaddled and laid in a manger.'

In the fourth passage of St. Luke (xiii. 15), where the meaning might be considered more doubtful, this word is in the A. V. translated stall.

Having considered St. Luke's account of the nativity, we conclude from itself, that he speaks nothing of a manger, but only of a stalled-place for cattle. This view is not contradicted by the earlier Christian notices of the scene of this great event. Thus, Justin Martyr says that Joseph, 'not finding in that village a place to rest at, rested in a certain cave near it, and there Mary brought forth the Christ, and laid him in a phatne,' *i. e.*, as we conceive, in one of the stalls with which the cave was furnished, it being well known that such excavations are commonly used for housing cattle in the East. The testimony of Justin belongs to the middle of the 2d century, and the date of the Protevangel of James is probably not much later. Now, in this apocryphal gospel, the parturition is described as taking place a little before the arrival at Bethlehem, in a cave, without any mention of a *phatne*, in which, however, Mary hides the babe afterwards, at the time of the slaughter of the Innocents. In what Tischendorf calls the *Pseudo-Matthæi Evangelium*, there is the same distinction between the cave and the *phatne* observed. But Origen says distinctly, that 'the cave is shown, and in it the *phatne* in which he was



swathed.' Now, in a manger, this operation of swathing could not have been performed at all. But how then are we to account for the diffusion through Christendom of the belief that 'the heaven-born child,' as Milton has it, 'in the rude manger lay?' No doubt, it is a very easy step from a stall to a manger, if indeed in the East there was any distinction betwixt the two, and probably the fitness of a manger, such as was in ordinary use in the West, suggested to western Christians that the word *præsepe*, which in Latin amply represents the ambiguity of the Greek *phatne*, must stand for manger. Thus, in our own tongue, the words 'crib' and 'cratch' are as much equivalents for a child's sleeping-place as is the word 'cradle.'

We come now to the fact of the visit of Helena, A.D. 325, and the building by her, over a grotto at Bethlehem, of the Basilica or Church of the Nativity, the nave of which, according to Stanley, yet remains. In the year 642 the wooden cradle or manger, referred to below, was deposited at Rome. Bishop Arculf, whose visit is assigned, doubtfully, to the beginning of the 8th century, appears to have been shown 'a sort of natural half cave, the outer part of which is said to have been the place of our Lord's birth; the inside is called our Lord's manger.' And, in the 9th century, Bernard the Wise speaks of the manger of our Lord on the west side of the crypt. Then, in the 12th, Sæwulf sees, near the place of the nativity, 'the manger where the ox and ass stood, when the child was placed before them in it.' In the 14th century Maundeville saw the place where our Lord was born, 'which is full well made of marble, and full richly painted with gold, silver, azure, and other colours. And three paces from it is the crib of the ox and the ass. And beside that is the place where the star fell.' Hasselquist, in the year 1751, 'descended some steps under ground to come into the *cave* where these two places are shown, viz., on the left hand the place where the infant was born, and on the right where he was laid in the manger.' The American, Stephens, describes this manger: 'On the right, descending two steps, is a chamber paved and lined with marble, having at one end a block polished and hollowed out; and this is the manger in which our Saviour was laid.' If, however, Stephens supposed that no other claims could be set up, he was mistaken, as will be seen in the following extract from Dr. Stanley. From the nave of the church 'we descend to that subterranean vault over which and for which the whole structure was erected. There, at the entrance of a long winding passage, excavated out of the limestone rock, of which the hill of Bethlehem is composed, the pilgrim finds himself in an irregular chapel, dimly lighted with silver lamps, and containing two small recesses nearly opposite each other. In the northernmost of these is a marble slab, which marks the supposed spot of the nativity. . . . In the southern recess, three steps deeper in the chapel, is the alleged stall in which, according to the Latin tradition, was discovered the wooden manger or 'præsepe' now deposited in the magnificent Basilica of S. Maria Maggiore at Rome, and there displayed, under the auspices of the pope, every Christmas-day.' Dr. Stanley's own opinion, as to this grotto being the true scene of the Nativity, appears to have been pretty evenly balanced; the natural features he thought unfavourable to the

identity, but the early reverence of the spot favourable to it. [CARAVANSERAI; BETHLEHEM.]

W. L. M.

MANLIUS, T., the name of one of the ambassadors who is said to have written a letter to the Jews, confirming whatever concession Lysias had granted them. Four letters were written to the Jews, of which the last is from 'Quintus Memmius and Titus Manlius (LXX., Κόιντος Μέμμιος, Τίτος Μάνλιος; Alex. Μάνιος; Vulg. *Quintus Memmius et Titus Manilius*), ambassadors (πρεσβύτεροι) of the Romans' (2 Maccab. xi. 34). There is not much doubt that the letter is a fabrication, as history is entirely ignorant of these names. Polybius (*Reliq.* xxxi. 9. 6), indeed, mentions C. Sulpitius and *Manius* Sergius, who were sent to Antiochus IV. Epiphanes about B.C. 163, and also (*Reliq.* xxxi. 12. 9) Cn. Octavius, Spurius Lucretius, and L. Aurelius, who were sent into Syria in B.C. 162 in consequence of the contention for the guardianship of the young king Antiochus V. Eupator, but entirely ignores Q. Memmius or T. Manlius. We may therefore conclude that legates of these names were never in Syria. The true name of T. Manlius may be *T. Manius*, and as there is not sufficient time for an embassy to have been sent to Syria between the two recorded by Polybius, the writer may have been thinking of the former.

The letter is dated in the 148th year of the Seleucidan era (= B.C. 165), and in this year there was a consul of the name of *T. Manlius* Torquatus, who appears to have been sent on an embassy to Egypt about B.C. 164, to mediate between the two Ptolemies, Philometor and Euergetes (Livy, xliii. 11; Polyb. *Reliq.* xxxii. 1, 2).

The employment of this Seleucidan era as a date, the absence of the name of the city, and especially the fact that the first intercourse of the Jews and Romans did not take place till two years later, when Judas heard of the fame of the Romans (1 Maccab. viii. 1, seq.), all prove that the document is far from authentic.

The three other letters do not merit serious attention (2 Maccab. xi. 16-33; cf. Wernsdorff, *De fid. Libr. Maccab.* sec. lxi.; Grimm, *Exeg. Handbuch*, ad loc.)—F. W. M.

MANNA. [MAN.]

MANOAH, father of Samson. [SAMSON.]

MANSLAYER. [KINSMAN.]

MANTLE. This, in the A. V., is the term used to render *four* Hebrew words, viz.—

1. מַנְתֵּי, a feminine noun, from מָנִית, 'ample,' and therefore probably meaning a large over-garment like the Roman *pallium*. The LXX. render it by *μηλωτή* (a sheep's skin), 1 Kings xix. 13, etc.; *δερβίς*, Zech. xiii. 4; and *δωρά*, Gen. xxv. 25. From the passages in which it is mentioned we can conjecture its nature. It is used most frequently (1 Kings xix.; 2 Kings ii. 8, 13, etc.) of Elijah's 'mantle,' which was in all probability a mere sheepskin, such as is frequently worn by dervishes and poor people in the East, and which seems, after Elijah's time, to have been in vogue among the prophets (Zech. xiii. 4). St. John's dress was of a similar rough description, and we see from Heb. xi. 37 (*ἐν μηλωταῖς, ἐν αἰγίοις δέρμασιν*) that such garments were regarded as a mark of poverty



and persecution. The word *addereth* twice occurs with the epithet עֵצֶר, or 'hairy,' Gen. xxv. 25; Zech. xiii. 4. On the other hand, it is sometimes undoubtedly applied to royal and splendid robes, and is even used to mean 'magnificence' in Ezek. xvii. 8 ('vine of magnificence') and Zech. xi. 3. It is the expression for the 'goodly Babylonish garment' stolen by Achan, and the 'robe' worn by the king of Nineveh (Josh. vii. 21; Jonah iii. 6). The connection between two meanings apparently so opposite is doubtless to be found in the etymology of the word (from אָמַץ, 'ample'), or in the notion of a dress richly lined or trimmed with costly furs.

2. כִּמְצִיָּה, which in the A. V. is variously rendered, 'mantle,' 'robe,' 'cloak,' and in the LXX., ἐπεσώτης, διπλοῖς, ὑποδότης, ποδῆρης, χιτῶν. Josephus calls it μεσῆρ. It is a general term derived from כָּעַל, 'to cover,' and is most frequently applied to 'the robe of the ephod' (Exod. xxviii. 4, and *passim*; Lev. viii. 7), which is described as a splendid under-tunic of blue, wrought on the hem with pomegranates of blue, purple, and scarlet, with golden bells between them. It came below the knees, being longer than the ephod, and shorter than the *citoneth*. It was a garment of unseamed cotton, open at the top so as to be drawn over the head, and having holes for the insertion of the arms (Joseph. *Antiq.* iii. 7. 4; Jahn, *Arch. Bibl.*, sec. 122, E. T.; Brautius, *de Vest. Sac.*, p. 436; Schröder, *de Vest. Mul.*, p. 237, etc.). It was worn, however, not only by priests, like Samuel (1 Sam. ii. 19; xv. 27; xxviii. 14), but by kings and princes (*Saul*, 1 Sam. xxiv. 4; *David*, 1 Chron. xv. 27), and rich men (*Ezra*, ix. 3-5; *Job* and his friends, i. 20; ii. 12), and even by king's daughters (2 Sam. xiii. 18), although in the latter case it seems to have had sleeves (see Gesen., *Thes.*, p. 811). Properly speaking, the *meil* was worn under the *simlah*, or outer garment, but that it was often itself used as an outer garment seems probable from some of the passages above quoted.

The two other words rendered 'mantle' in the A. V. are both of them ἀπᾶς λεγόμενα, viz.—

3. שִׁמְרִיָּה (Judg. iv. 14), the garment (*marg.* 'rug,' or 'blanket') used by Jael to fling over the weary Sisera as a coverlid (LXX. ἐπιβάλαιον, but δερβίς appears to have been the reading of Origen and Augustine). The word is derived from שָׁמַר, *imponere*, and is evidently a general term. Hesychius defines ἐπιβάλαιον by πῶμα ἢ ῥάκος, and Suidas by τὸ τῷ προτέρῳ ἐπιβαλλόμενον. The word used in the Targum is שִׁמְרִיָּה, which is only the Greek καυνάκη, and the Latin *gaunacum*; and this word is explained by Varro to be 'majus sagum et amphimallon' (*De Ling. Lat.*, iv. 35), i.e., a larger cloak woolly on both sides. Hesychius differs from Varro in this, for he says καυνάκη στρώματα ἢ ἐπιβάλαια ἑτερομαλλῆ, i.e., woolly on one side; the Scholiast on Aristophanes, adds that it was a Persian, and Pollux that it was a Babylonian robe (Rosenmüller, *Schol.*, ad loc.). There is therefore no reason to understand it of a curtain of the tent, as Faber does. Since the Orientals constantly used upper garments for bedding, the rendering 'mantle,' though inaccurate, is not misleading (cf. Ruth iii. 9; Ezek. xvi. 8, etc.).

4. מַעֲטָפֹת. This word only occurs in Is. iii.

22. It was some article of female dress, and is derived from עָטַף, 'text.' Schröder, the chief authority on this subject, says it means a large exterior tunic with sleeves, worn next to the pallium (*De Vest. Mul.*, xv. 247-277). In this same verse, and in Ruth iii. 15, occurs the word מַעֲטָפֹת, A. V. 'wimples,' which appears to have been a sort of square covering like a plaid (Michaelis, *Supplem.*, 1021; Rosenmüller, *Schol.*; Is. iii. 22). We cannot find the shadow of an authority for Jahn's very explicit statement, that both these words mean the same article, מַעֲטָפֹת being the fashion for the winter, and מַעֲטָפֹת for the summer; though his assertion that 'it covered the whole body from head to foot' may be very true (Jahn, *Arch. Bibl.*, sec. 127, E. T.).

For other terms, such as שִׁמְלָה (Gen. ix. 23, etc.), χλαμύς (Matt. xxvii. 28), στολή (Mark xii. 38), etc., see DRESS. The φελόνης (A. V., cloke) to which St. Paul makes such an interesting allusion in 2 Tim. iv. 13 seems to have been the Latin

*panula* (cf. פִּלִּינ), a sort of travelling-cloak for wet weather. A great deal has been written about it, and at least one monograph, Stosch, *Dissert. de Pallio Pauli*, Lugd. 1709. Even in Chrysostom's time some took it to be τὸ γλωσσοκομον ἔνθα τὰ βιβλία ἔκειτο (a sort of travelling-bag), and Jerome, Theophylact, Grotius, etc., shared in this opinion (Schleusner, *Lex. N. T.*, s. v. φαλόνης).—F. W. F.

MANTON, THOMAS, D.D., an eminent puritan divine, born A.D. 1620, at Lawrence-Lydiard, in Somersetshire. He was entered at Wadham College, Oxford, at the early age of fifteen, and before the completion of his twentieth year was ordained by Joseph Hall, then Bishop of Exeter. After labouring a short time at Colyton, in Devonshire, he removed to London, and in 1643 was presented to the living of Stoke-Newington. In 1650 he was presented to the rectory of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, by the Earl (afterwards Duke) of Bedford, and here he remained until ejected by the Act of Uniformity. He was created B.D. at Oxford 20th April 1654, and D.D. 19th November 1660 (Wood, *Athen. Oxon.*, f. 107, 137). As a preacher he was most highly esteemed by his contemporaries, and as a practical expositor of Scripture was probably surpassed by none. He took a leading part in the religious movements of his times, and was distinguished for his moderation and soundness of judgment. Like Baxter, he clung to the last to the hope that a scheme of comprehension might be carried; and he yielded so far as to receive Episcopal institution from Sheldon. The passing of the Act of Uniformity forced him into the ranks of the Nonconformists, and with many others he suffered imprisonment for conscience' sake. He died 18th October 1677, and was buried in the chancel of the church at Stoke-Newington. His Scriptural expositions, which all partake more or less of the character of expository discourses, are the following:—

1. *A Practical Commentary, or an Exposition, with Notes, on the Epistle of James*, Lond. 1651, 4to. 2. *A Practical Commentary on Jude*, Lond. 1652, 4to. 3. *A Practical Exposition of the 119th Psalm*, Lond. 1681, fol. 4. *A Practical Expositi-*

*tion of the Lord's Prayer*, Lond. 1684, 8vo. 5. *A Practical Exposition of the 53d chapter of Isaiah*, Lond. 1703.—S. N.

MANUSCRIPTS, BIBLICAL. These are either Hebrew or Greek; we shall treat of them separately. 1. Jewish MSS. are divided into (a.) *Synagogue rolls or sacred copies*; and (b.) *Private or common copies*.

(a.) The synagogue rolls contain the Pentateuch, the appointed sections of the prophets, or the book of Esther, which last is used only at the Feast of Purim. The three are never put together, but are written on separate rolls. They are in the Chaldee or square Hebrew character, without vowels and accents, accompanied with the *puncta extraordinaria*, and having the unusual forms of certain consonants. The parchment is prepared in a particular manner by the hands of Jews only; and made from the hides of *clean* animals, which, when duly wrought, are joined together by thongs made out of the same material. They are then divided into columns, the breadth of which must not exceed half their length. These columns, whose number is prescribed, must be of equal length and breadth among themselves, and contain a certain number of lines, each line having no more than three words. The Talmud contains strict rules concerning the material, the colour, the ink, letters, divisions, writing-instrument, etc., which are closely followed, especially in the Pentateuch. These rules are extracted from the Talmud, and translated in Adler's *Judeorum Codices Sacri rite scribendi leges ad recte astimandos Codices Manuscriptos antiquos perveteres. Ex libello Talmudico in Latinum conversas et adnotationibus necessariis explicatas, eruditius examinandas tradit*, etc., Hamburg 1779, 8vo. The minuteness of such regulations renders it a most irksome task for the *sopher* or scribe to write out a synagogue roll. The revision of the *Torah*, as the synagogue roll is often called, must be undertaken within thirty days after its transcription, else it is unfit for use. Three mistakes on one side or skin are allowable; but should there be *four*, or should there happen to be an error in the *open* and *close* sections of the law; in the position of the songs in Exod. v. and Deut. xxxii., which are the only portions of the Pentateuch written in poetical lines, then the whole copy is worthless. The great beauty of penmanship exhibited in these synagogue copies has been always admired. They are taken from authentic exemplars, without the slightest deviation or correction. Seldom do they fall into the hands of Christians; since, as soon as they cease to be employed in the synagogue, they are either buried or carefully laid aside, lest they should be profaned by coming into the possession of Gentiles.

(b.) Private MSS. are written partly in the square or Chaldee character, partly in the Rabbinical. They are held in far less esteem than the synagogue rolls, and are wont to be denominated *profane* (*pesulim*). Their form is entirely arbitrary. They are in folio, quarto, octavo, and duodecimo. Of those written in the square character, the greater number are on parchment, some on paper. The ink of the letters is always black, but the vowel points are usually written with ink of a different colour from that of the consonants. Initial words and letters are frequently decorated with gold and silver colours. The prose parts are arranged in

columns; the poetic in parallel members. Some copies are without columns. The columns are not always occupied with the Hebrew text alone; for a version is frequently added, which is either written in the text after the manner of verses, or in a column by itself, or in the margin in a smaller character. The number of lines is not prescribed by the Talmud. The upper and lower margin are filled with the Great Masora, and sometimes with a Rabbinical commentary; as also with prayers, psalms, and the like. The external margin is for corrections, scholia, variations, notices of the *haphtharoth* (sections from the prophets), *parshioth* (sections from the law), the commentaries of the Rabbins, etc. etc. The inner margin, or that between the columns, is occupied with the little Masora. The single books of the O. T. are separated from one another by spaces, except the books of Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, which are written continuously. The sections of the law and prophets are generally marked. In the MSS. of different countries the books are differently arranged. These copies generally pass through various hands before they are finished. The consonants proceed from the *sopher* or scribe. When the same person writes both consonants and vowels, as is frequently the case—he never makes them at the same time—the former are finished before he begins to append the latter. The *K'ris* in the margin uniformly proceed from the vowel-writer. It is probable that these copies were in no instance made by Christians.

Although the square character be employed in all the MSS. of which we have spoken, yet it has varieties. The Jews themselves distinguish in the synagogue rolls—1. the *Tam* letter, with sharp corners and perpendicular coronulæ, used among the German and Polish Jews; 2. the *Vilshé* letter, more modern than the *Tam*, and rounder, with coronulæ, particularly found in the sacred copies of the Spanish and Oriental Jews.

The age of Hebrew MSS. is not easily determined. It is true that they often contain subscriptions giving an account of the time when they were written, and the name of the scribe, or also of the possessor. But these accounts are often ambiguous, occasionally incorrect. Where they are altogether wanting, it is still more difficult to discover the age. In the latter case, the character of the writing, the colour of the ink, the quality and complexion of the parchment, the absence of the Masora, of the vowel-points, of the unusual letters, etc., have been chiefly rested upon. Still, however, such particulars are uncertain marks of age.

The oldest Hebrew MS. known to Kennicott or De Rossi was 634 of De Rossi, a mere fragment containing small portions of Leviticus and Numbers. According to its former possessor, it belongs to the 8th century. So much uncertainty attaches to the internal marks adopted by these two Hebraists, that the ages to which they assign several Hebrew MSS. are gratuitous. Since Pinner examined a number of MSS. belonging to the Bible Society of Odessa, older ones are now known. The most ancient is that which he marks No. 1, a Pentateuch roll on leather. The subscription states that the MS. was corrected in the year 580; and therefore it must have been written earlier. Hence the roll must be above 1280 years. Pinner expresses no doubt of the correctness of the subscription, which, if genuine, proves it to be the oldest known MS.



It was brought from Derbend in Daghestan, and is now at St. Petersburg. Nos. 5 and 11 of Pinner are assigned to the 9th century; No. 13 seems as old; and No. 3 belongs to the 10th century. We suspect, however, the accuracy of some of the dates.

In the Imperial public library at St. Petersburg, there is a collection of Hebrew MSS. made by Mr. Firkowicz, containing several very ancient ones. The oldest date is in a roll found in a Karaite synagogue in the Crimea, viz., A.D. 489. But that date is very suspicious. Several fragments of rolls give, as the dates of purchase or dedication, A.D. 639, 764, 781, 789, 798, 805, 815, 843, 848. Are these dates genuine? We shall know more of the MSS., and their age, when Neubauer shall have finished his collation.

A few of the oldest Hebrew MSS. may be briefly described here.

No. 1, Pinner. This is a Pentateuch roll on leather, containing the five Mosaic books complete. It has no vowels, accents, or Masorah. The roll consists of forty-five pieces. As to the form of the letters, it differs considerably from the present one. This is particularly observable in the case of **במלוגא**. The variations in the text from the Masoretic recension are few and inconsiderable. The MS., according to the subscription, was corrected in the year 580, consequently the roll must have been written upwards of 1280 years. If the subscription be genuine, it is the oldest MS. known, except that one in the Firkowicz collection, dated 489.

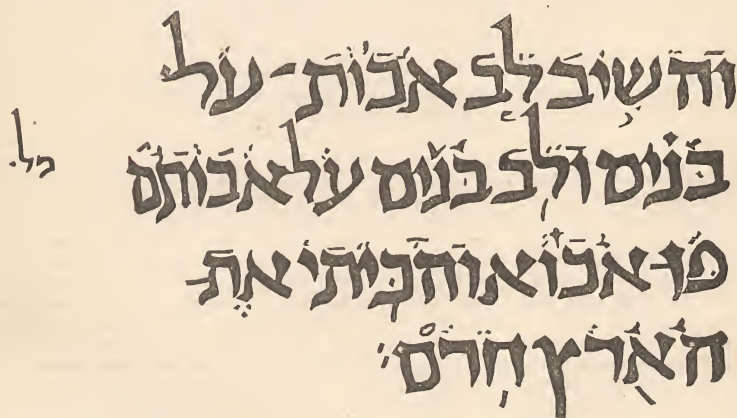
No. 634, De Rossi, quarto. This is but the

fragment of a MS., containing Lev. xxi. 19–Num. i. 50. It is on parchment, without the vowel-points, Masorah, or K'ris. It has also no interval between the parshioth or sections. But there are sometimes points between the words. It belongs, in De Rossi's opinion, to the 8th century, and is corroded by age. The character of the letters is intermediate, approaching the German. Now at Parma.

No. 5, Pinner. This is a roll of the Pentateuch, but incomplete. The writing begins with Num. xiii. 19. The form of the letters is very different from the present one. It is carelessly written; words and letters being frequently omitted. The subscription states that it was written A.D. 843.

No. 11, Pinner. This is a fragment of a synagogue roll beginning with Deut. xxxi. 1. The date is 881.

No. 503, De Rossi, in quarto. This is a MS. of the Pentateuch, made up of different pieces. It begins with Gen. xlii. 15, and ends with Deut. xv. 12. There is a chasm in it from Lev. xxi. 19 to Num. i. 50, because De Rossi separated this portion, thinking it to be older than the rest, and characterised it as an independent fragment by the No. 634. The vowel-points are attached, but not throughout, evidently by the same hand as that which wrote the consonants. There are no traces of the Masorah or K'ris. Sometimes its readings have a remarkable agreement with those of the Samaritan text and ancient versions. De Rossi places the various pieces of which it is made up, in the 9th and 10th centuries.



346. Odessa MS. (Mal. iv. 6).

No. 3, Pinner, small folio. This MS. contains the greater and lesser prophets, on 225 leaves. Every page is written in two columns, between which, as well as below, and in the outer margin, stands the Masorah. Every column contains twenty-one lines. After each verse are two points, to which, without any interval, a new verse succeeds. The vowels and accents, as well as the greater and lesser Masorah, are wholly different from the Masoretic. The former are placed above the consonants. The first page has a twofold pointing, viz., above and below, but this does not occur again except occasionally in verses or words. From Zech. xiv. 6 to Mal. i. 13 there is no punctuation, and the first three verses of Malachi alone have been pointed

much later in the manner now usual. The whole codex is very correctly written. The form of the consonants differs considerably from the present text. The various readings of this MS., according to Pinner's collation, are numerous and important. The date is 916. Two others in the same collection, Nos. 15 and 16, have the same vowel and accent system, i.e., the Babylonian or Eastern, which originated in the 6th century, and from which in the 7th that of the Westerns, or the school of Tiberias, was developed. Pinsker has written ably on the subject (*Einführung in das Babylonisch-Hebräische Punktationssystem*, u. s. w., Wien 1863), reviewed by Fürst in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 18 Band, p. 314, c<sup>t</sup> seq.

No. 13, Pinner, in folio. This is an incomplete MS., consisting of 115 leaves, on good parchment, containing 2 Samuel from vi. 10 to the end, and the books of Kings. Each page has three columns, between which, as also at the sides of the text, stands the Masorah. The vowels and accents are different from those now in use. The text has many and important readings; and the Masorah deserves to be examined. Two points stand after each verse; and 2d succeeds 1st Kings without a vacant space between. An inscription states that the MS. was purchased 938. It is obviously an important codex.

Codex 590, Kennicott, fol. This MS. contains the Prophets and Hagiographa on parchment. The text has the vowel-points, but apparently from a later hand. The margin does not exhibit the Masorah, but variations are noted here and there. Some books have the final Masorah. The separate books have no titles, and they are arranged in the oldest order, Jeremiah and Ezekiel coming before Isaiah, and Ruth before the Psalms. According to the subscription it was written A.D. 1019, or 1018 by another reckoning. The MS. is in the Imperial library of Vienna.

— Pinner, small folio. A MS. containing the Pentateuch, Prophets, and Hagiographa, on good parchment. Every page has three columns, except in Psalms, Job, and Proverbs, where there are but two. The text is furnished with vowels and accents, two points standing after each verse. The letters and accents are like those in No. 3 of Pinner. The great and little Masorah are in the margins. Being a Karaite MS. it has not been written with great accuracy. Words and verses are sometimes repeated. It is highly ornamented with gold and silver colours. The codex states that it was written in Egypt in the year 1010.

The most important and oldest Hebrew MSS. collated by Kennicott, Bruns, De Rossi, Pinner, and others, are described in Davidson's *Biblical Criticism*, vol. i. p. 346, *et seq.*; and his *Text of the Old Testament considered*, etc. etc., p. 98 *et seq.* See also the *third* section of Tychsen's *Tentamen de variis Codicum Hebraicorum Vet. Test. MSS. generibus*, etc., Rostock 1772, 8vo, in which the learned writer examines the marks of antiquity assumed by Simon, Jablonski, Wolf, Houbigant, Kennicott, and Lillienthal, and shows that the *Masorah alone* is a certain index for determining the age and goodness of Hebrew MSS.; the same writer's *Bewrtheilung der Jahrzahlen in den Hebräisch-Biblischen Handschriften*, Rostock 1786, 8vo, in which the mode of determining the age of MSS. adopted by Kennicott, Bruns, and De Rossi, is rejected; and Schnurrer's *Dissertatio Inauguralis de Codicum Hebraicorum Vet. Test. aetate difficulter determinanda*, Tübingen 1772, 4to, reprinted in his *Dissertationes Philologico-Criticae*, Gotha and Amsterdam 1790, 8vo.

Private MSS. written in the *Rabbinical character* are much more recent than the preceding; none of them being older than 500 years. They are on cotton or linen paper, in a *cursive* character, without vowel-points or the Masorah, and with many abbreviations.

The MSS. found among the Chinese Jews are partly synagogue rolls, partly private copies, whose text does not differ from the Masoretic. The Pentateuch of the Malabar Jews brought from India to England by the late Dr. Buchanan, and described

by Mr. Yeates, resembles on the whole the usual synagogue rolls of the Jews, except that it is written on red skins. Its text is the Masoretic, with a few unimportant deviations.

Eight exemplars are celebrated among the Jews for their correctness and value. They are now lost, but extracts from them are still preserved. From Jewish writings, and from the margin of some MSS., where a reference is made to them, we learn that they were highly prized for their singular accuracy. They formed the basis of subsequent copies. They are—1. The codex of Hillel; 2. The Babylonian codex; 3. The codex of Israel; 4. An Egyptian codex; 5. Codex Sinai; 6. The Pentateuch of Jericho; 7. Codex Sanbuki; 8. The book Taggin. For a more copious account of Hebrew MSS. we refer to Eichhorn's *Einleitung* (Introduction), vol. ii.; Kennicott's *Dissertatio generalis*; Walton's *Prolegomena to the Polyglott*, separately edited by Dathe and Wrangham; Tychsen's *Tentamen*; De Rossi's *Varia Lectiones Vet. Test.*, etc.; and his *Scholia critica in V. T. libros*, etc.; De Wette, *Lehrbuch der Historisch-Kritischen Einleitung*; Davidson's *Treatise on Biblical Criticism*; and his *Introduction to the Old Testament*, in Horne.

II. We have now to refer to the MSS. of the Greek Testament. Those that have descended to our time are either on vellum or paper. The oldest material was the Egyptian papyrus; but even so early as the 4th century, the N. T. was written on the skins of animals. This writing material continued in use till the 11th century, when paper began to be employed. Till the 10th century, MSS. were usually written in *capital* or *uncial* letters; then the cursive character came into use. The most ancient copies have no divisions of words, being written in a continued series of lines. Accents, spirits, and iota postscripted or subscribed, are also wanting.

The whole of the N. T. is contained in very few MSS. Transcribers generally divided it into three parts; the first, containing the four Gospels; the second, the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles; the third, the Apocalypse of St. John. The greatest number of MSS. are those which have the four Gospels, because they were most frequently read in the churches. Those containing the Acts and Epistles are also numerous. Such as have the book of Revelation alone are extremely few, because it was seldom read in public.

Greek codices are not often complete in all their parts. They have many chasms. Again, some contain merely detached portions of the N. T., or sections appointed to be read on certain days in the churches. Such codices are called *ἀναγνώσεις* or *ἀναγνώσματα* in Greek; in Latin *lectionaria*. Those containing lessons from the Gospels are called *evangelistaria*; such as were taken from the *Acts* *πραξιαποστολοι*; those from the epistles, *epistolaria* or *ἀποστολοι*.

Several MSS. are accompanied with a Latin translation *interlined*, or in a *parallel column*. Such have been called *bilingues*, or *Græco-Latini*.

We shall now advert to the uncial MS. of the Greek Testament, and to those usually quoted in the examination of the controverted passage 1 John v. 7. The former are marked with the letters of alphabet A, B, C, etc.

A. *Codex Alexandrinus*, presented by Cyril Lucar, patriarch of Alexandria, and afterwards of



Constantinople, to Charles I., now in the British Museum. It is on thin vellum, and contains the whole Bible; the Septuagint version of the O. T., bound in three folios; and the N. T. in one. It has various chasms. A fac-simile of the N. T. portion was published by Dr. Woide, in a folio volume, London 1786. Mr. Baber of the British

Museum executed the O. T. in the same manner, in four folio volumes, London 1816-28; the fourth volume containing the *prolegomena and notes*. The N. T. portion was reprinted in 1860 under the editorship of Mr. Cowper. This MS. was written at Alexandria, and belongs to the 5th century.

Γ ΚΕΤΙΕΤΤΑΝΘΥΝΘΗCΑΝΟΙΘΛΙΒΟΝ  
ΤΕCΜΕ  
ΠΟΛΛΟΙΕΤΤΑΝΕCΤΗCΑΝΕΤΤΕΜΕ.  
ΠΟΛΛΟΙΛΕΓΟΥCΙΝΤΗΨΥΧΗΜΟΥ.  
ΟΥΚΕCΤΙΝCΩΤΗΡΙΑΔΥΤΩ  
ΕΝΤΩΘΩΔΥΤΟΥ ΔΙΑΨΑΛΜΑ

ΟΤΙΤΟΤΠΝΑΕCΠ  
ΗΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ ΟΤΙΤΡΕΙCΕΙCΙΝΟΙΜΑΡ  
ΤΥΡΟΥΝΤΕCΤΟΠΝΑΚΑΙΤΟΥΔΩΡ  
ΚΑΙΤΟΑΙΜΑ ΚΑΙΟΙΤΡΕΙCΕΙCΓΟ  
ΕΝΕΙCΙΝ

347. Cod. Alexand. (Ps. iii. 2, 3; 1 John v. 7).

B. *Codex Vaticanus*, 1209, in the Vatican, containing the O. and N. T. It is defective in several places: in the greater part of Genesis and part of the Psalms; in Heb. ix. 14 to the end; the Apocalypse; and pastoral Epistles. Some of these chasms have been supplied by a more recent hand. The text was at first without breathings or accents, which were subsequently added. Each page has three columns, except in some places of the O. T. It belongs to the middle of the 4th century, having neither the Ammonian sections, the Eusebian

papers in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, by Tischendorf, accompanied with a partial collation of the MS. made by Thomas Bentley. In 1857 Angelo Mai's Greek Bible was published from the MS., 5 vols. 4to. Reprints of the N. T. were edited by Vercellone (1859), Kuenen and Cobet (1859), and at London (1859), of which the first is the best. The editions of the Greek Testament, by Ed. von Muralt (1846 and 1848), Philipp Buttmann (1860 and 1862), are founded wholly or chiefly on the text of the same MS. But we have not yet a perfectly accurate transcript of all its readings. Tischendorf's *Novum Testamentum ex cod. Sinaitico notata lectione Vaticana itemque Elzevir.*, gives the best collation of the readings of the Vatican which we yet possess.

B. *Codex Vaticanus*, 2066, *olim Basilianus* 105, in the Vatican Library, a MS. of the Apocalypse which it contains entire. It belongs to the 8th century. From Tischendorf's readings, published in his *Monumenta Sacra inedita*, p. 407, etc., and Mai's text in his edition of the Greek Bible, an accurate knowledge of its contents may be obtained (see Tischendorf's *prolegomena* to the 7th edition, pp. xcii., xciii.)

N. *Codex Sinaiticus*, a MS. of the O. and N. T. brought from the convent of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai by Tischendorf. It consists of 345 leaves and a half, 199 in the O. T. and 147 in the N. T. Besides the N. T., it has Barnabas and Hermas at the end. The O. T. part has considerable chasms, but the N. T. is complete. There are four columns in each page. The character of the letters, the inscriptions and subscriptions to different books, the absence of the Ammonian sections and Eusebian canons, the nature of the readings, and other peculiarities, agree in a remarkable manner with B, or the Vatican. Tischendorf supposes that it is somewhat older than B, belonging

ΜΙCΘΟCΟΥΛΟΓΙΖΕΤΑΙ  
ΚΑΤΑΧΑΡΙΝΑΛΛΑΚΑΤΑ  
ΟΦΕΙΛΗΜΑΤΩΔΕΜΗ

ΚΑΛΥΜΜΑΕΠΙΤΗΝΚΑΡ  
ΔΙΑΝΑΥΤΩΝΚΕΙΤΑΙΗΝΙ  
ΚΑΔΑΝΕΠΙCΤΡΕΨΗΠΡΟC  
ΚΝΠΕΡΙΕΡΕΙΤΑΙΤΟΚΑ

348. Cod. Vatican. (Rom. iv. 4; 2 Cor. iii. 15, 16).

canons, nor the Euthalian sections. Three collations of the N. T. part have been made: one by Bartolucci; another for Bentley, by an Italian called Mico; and a third by Birch. As the collation of Mico did not give the readings, which were a *prima manu* in corrected passages, but merely the later corrections, Bentley got the Abbé Rulotta to re-examine the MS. in these places. The notes of this re-examination were discovered among Bentley's

to the 4th century. Probably it is of the 6th century, though made from a text older than that of B. The copyist, writing perhaps from dictation, has made many blunders. The value of this acquisition to the critical apparatus of the Bible can hardly be over-estimated. In Tischendorf's *Notitia editionis codicis Biblicorum Sinaitici*, etc., 1860, small folio, the indefatigable critic has given nine pages entire from the N. T., eight from the O. T., and one from the epistle of Barnabas and the Shepherd of Hermas (p. 22, *et seqq.*) He has also furnished upwards of six hundred readings from all the books of the N. T. (p. 14, *et seqq.*) A fac-simile is appended. Tischendorf has likewise printed a brief *Notitia codicis* to accompany the seventh edition of his Greek Testament, of the same size. It may be remarked, that the *Codex Sinaiticus* agrees with B in omitting the last twelve verses of Mark's Gospel; that it has *ὡς ἐφανερώθη*, not *θεός*; that it omits the passage respecting the woman taken in adultery (John vii. 53-viii. 11); agrees with B in omitting *ἐν ἐφῄσω* in Eph. i. 1 (*a primâ manu*); wants the doxology in Matt. vi. 13, as do B D Z; agrees with B in reading *τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ* (Acts xx. 28); with B C D\*\* in having *οὐδενος λογοῦ ποιῶμαι τὴν ψυχὴν τιμᾶν ἑμαυτῶ* (Acts xx. 24), and has *μονογενὴς Θεός* with B C L in John i. 18—a reading undoubtedly wrong. The MS. has been published at St. Petersburg in fac-simile (4 vols. fol.) In 1863 the N. T. part was published at Leipzig, 4to, with columns the same as the original. Scrivener has also printed its readings in a small vol. (1863), and Hansell has added them to his edition of the N. T. (1864).

ΚΛΙΟΜΟΛΟΓΟΥΜΕ  
ΝΩΣΜΕΓΛΕΣΤΙΝ  
ΤΟΤΗΣΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΑΣ  
ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝΟΣΕ  
ΦΑΝΕΡΩΘΗΕΝΣΑΡ  
ΚΙ·ΕΔΙΚΛΙΩΘΗΕΝ  
ΠΝΙΩΦΘΗΑΓΓΕΛΟΙ  
ΕΚΗΡΥΧΘΗΕΝΕ  
ΘΝΕΣΙΝΕΠΙΣΤΕΥ  
ΘΗΕΝΚΟΣΜΩ·  
ΑΝΕΛΗΜΦΘΗΕΝ  
ΔΟΣΗ

349. Cod. Sinait. (1 Tim. iii. 16).

C. *Codex Regius*, or *Ephraemi rescriptus*, now in the Imperial Library at Paris, where it is numbered 9. This MS. was probably written in Egypt in the 5th century. It was subsequently corrected about a century after. It was revised a second time about the 9th century, at Constantinople. In the 12th century the old writing was erased with a sponge, to make room for various treatises in Greek of Ephrem the Syrian. It now contains fragments of the O. and N. T., which were published entire

for the first time by Tischendorf, 1843, 1845 (2 vols. 4to). This scholar was permitted to apply the Giobertine tincture for the purpose of bringing out the original characters (see Tischendorf's prolegomena to vol. i.) In the N. T. it has portions of the Gospels, Acts, Catholic and Pauline Epistles.

D. *Codex Cantabrigiensis*, or *Bezae*.—This MS. was presented, in 1581, to the University of Cambridge, by Theodore Beza. It is a Greek-Latin MS. of the four Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles, with a single fragment of the Catholic Epistles. Its age is probably the *sixth* century. Kipling, Hug, and Schulz think that it was written in Egypt; but Scholz has given some reasons for assigning it to the south of France, which are not without weight. Credner assents to the latter opinion, as far as the MS. is concerned; while he thinks that the text is of Jewish-Christian origin, and attributes it to Palestine. The text is written stichometrically, without separation of words and accents, with many corrections and supplements by different hands. Great diversity of opinion has prevailed respecting the quality of its readings. Bishop Middleton, at the end of his work on the Greek article, depreciated it. Matthæi had done so before. Both unduly lessened its value. Whiston, Harwood, and Bornemann magnified it too highly. The original text, without correction and revision, is ancient and valuable, agreeing substantially with B. Dr. Kipling published a fac-simile of it at Cambridge, 1793, 2 vols. folio. This is so inaccurate that Scrivener has collated and published the readings anew.

D. *Claromontanus*, or *Regius*, in the Imperial Library at Paris, No. 107, marked by the same letter of the alphabet as the preceding, but containing a different part of the N. T., viz., all Paul's Epistles with the exception of a few verses. It is a Greek-Latin MS., written stichometrically, with accents and breathings, but without division into words. According to Montfaucon, it belongs to the 7th century; but Tischendorf assigns it to the 6th. The text was edited by the latter scholar in 1852, and is very valuable. Various correctors may be traced, but it is not easy always to distinguish them. The first readings are of course the principal ones (see the prolegomena to Tischendorf's edition.)

E. *Codex Basilensis*, K. iv. 35 in the public library at Basel. It contains the Gospels, with a very few chasms in Luke's. In some parts smaller writing has taken the place of the older. It belongs to the middle of the 8th century, and was collated by Tischendorf in 1843. See his description in the *Studien und Kritiken* for 1844.

E. *Codex Laudianus*, a Greek-Latin MS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. The text is written stichometrically. It contains the Acts, and has a hiatus from xxvi. 29 to xxviii. 26. Its age is the end of the 6th century, as Tischendorf supposes; or the 7th, as Wetstein prefers. The readings are very valuable. Hearne published an edition at Oxford 1715, 8vo; and Tischendorf proposes to publish it more correctly in a future volume of his *Monumenta Sacra*. But Scrivener has already undertaken a new edition.

E. *Sangermanensis*, in the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg; a very incorrect transcript of the *Codex Claromontanus*, and therefore possessing no authority or importance. It appears to belong to the 10th century.



F. *Codex Boreali*, now in the Library of Utrecht, containing the Gospels, but with many chasms. It was collated and described by Heringa, whose work was published by Vinke, 1843. The MS. belongs to the end of the 9th century.

F<sup>a</sup>. *Codex Coislinianus*, containing a few fragments of the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles, found among the scholia of Cod. Coislin. i, which has the Octateuch, with the book of Kings. They were edited by Tischendorf in his *Monumenta Sacra inedita*, 1846, p. 400, *et seq.* The fragments belong to the 7th century.

F<sup>b</sup> in the British Museum, 17,136, a *rescript* fragment from the Nitrian desert, containing a few places of St. John's Gospel, which were deciphered and published by Tischendorf in his *Monumenta inedita*, vol. ii. The text agrees with the most ancient and best authorities. Tischendorf assigns the fragment to the 4th century. It rather belongs to the 5th.

F. *Codex Augiensis*, a Greek-Latin MS. of St. Paul's Epistles, in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge. It wants the Epistle to the Hebrews in Greek, and Romans i. 1-iii. 18. Dots are inserted between many of the Greek and Latin words. The text is ancient and valuable. It belongs to the 9th century. In 1842 and 1849 it was collated by Tischendorf; and edited by Scrivener (1859).

G. *Harleianus*, 5684 in the British Museum, a MS. of the four gospels, but imperfect in many places. It belongs to the 9th or 10th century, and was collated by Tischendorf.

G. *Boernerianus*, a Greek-Latin MS. of Paul's Epistles, now in the Royal Library of Dresden. It has the same chasms as F. *Augiensis*, with which it agrees remarkably; so that both texts seem to have proceeded from the same copy. They belong to one country and age: probably to Switzerland and the 9th century. Matthæi published it in 1791, 8vo.

H. *Codex Seidelii II.*, a MS. of the four gospels, in the public library of Hamburg. It is imperfect in many places, belongs to the 9th century, and was collated by Tregelles in 1850.

H. *Codex Mutinensis*, 196 in the Ducal Library of Modena, a MS. of the Acts with considerable gaps. Its age is the 9th century. From Acts xxvii. 4 till the end was supplied in uncial letters in the 11th century. The Pauline and Catholic epistles were added in cursive letters in the 15th or 16th century. Tischendorf collated it in 1843.

H. *Codex Coislinianus*, No. 102 in the Imperial Library at Paris. This MS. contains fragments of Paul's Epistles. It consists only of twelve leaves, two which it formerly had being now at Petersburg. Another leaf was recently brought by Tischendorf from Mount Athos, containing Col. iii. 4-11. The fifteen leaves should be put together. It has been collated by Tischendorf, who intends to publish it all, and belongs to the 6th century.

I. A MS. in the Library of Petersburg, found by Tischendorf on his travels in the East. It is a *rescript*, containing the remains of seven very ancient MSS. exhibiting parts of the Gospels, Acts, and two Pauline Epistles. Tischendorf thinks that the first, second, and third belong to the 5th century. All are edited by him in the first volume of *Monumenta Sacra*, p. 1, etc.

K. *Codex Regius* or *Cyprinus*, now 63 in the Imperial Library of Paris. It contains the four

gospels complete, belongs to the middle of the 9th century, and was accurately collated by Tischendorf in 1842.

K. *Codex Mosquensis*, xcvi. in the Library of the Holy Synod at Moscow, containing the Catholic and Pauline Epistles. It belongs to the 9th century, and was collated by Matthæi.

L. *Codex Regius*, 62 in the Imperial Library at Paris, containing the gospels entire with the exception of five places. The text of this codex contains very old and good readings. It belongs to the 8th century, and was published by Tischendorf in his *Monumenta Sacra*, p. 57.

L. *Codex Bibliothecæ Angelicæ*, A 2. 15 in the Library of the Augustine Monks at Rome, a MS. containing the Acts, Catholic Epistles, and those of St. Paul. It begins with Acts viii. 10, and ends with Hebrews xiii. 10. Its age is the 9th century. It was first collated with care by Fleck; afterwards by Tischendorf and Tregelles.

M. *Codex Regius*, 48 in the Imperial Library of Paris, containing the gospels entire. This MS. has been transcribed by Tischendorf, but is not yet published. He assigns it to the latter part of the 9th century.

M. Two fragments; one at Hamburg, the other at London. The former contains some parts of the Epistle to the Hebrews; the latter, portions of the Epistle to the Corinthians. Both were published by Tischendorf in his *Anecdota Sacra*, p. 174, *et seq.* The text is both ancient and valuable.

N. *Codex purpureus*. The fragment of a MS., of which four leaves are in the British Museum, six in the Vatican, and two at Vienna. Tischendorf has recently found 33 leaves more, containing about a third of the entire Gospel of Mark, between vi. 53 and xv. 3. The letters were silver on purple vellum. They are larger and rounder than in A B C. The text is in two columns. The Ammonian sections and Eusebian canons are placed in the margin. All contain portions of the gospels. The contents of the twelve leaves were published by Tischendorf in his *Monumenta inedita*, who assigns the fragment to the end of the 6th century.

N. A fragment consisting of two leaves, with Gal. v. and vi. and Heb. v. and vi. Assigned by Tischendorf to the 9th century.

N<sup>c</sup>. A few fragments, now at Moscow, of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Tischendorf thinks they may be of the 6th century; but Matthæi did not state enough to determine their age.

O. A small fragment, consisting of two leaves, containing 2 Cor. i. 20-ii. 12, belonging to the 9th century.

O<sup>i</sup>. *Codex Mosquensis*, No. cxx., at Moscow; a fragment containing eight leaves, containing a few parts of John's Gospel, probably of the 9th century. Matthæi published the text.

O<sup>a</sup>. The two hymns, Luke i. 46-55, and i. 68-79, in a Latin MS. containing the grammar of Pompeius. They are written in uncial Greek letters, and belong to the 9th century. Tischendorf published them in his *Anecdota sacra et profana*, p. 206, *et seq.*

O<sup>b</sup>. The same two hymns, together with a third, Luke ii. 29-32, in a psalter in the Bodleian Library, No. 120, belonging to the 9th century. See Tischendorf, *Anecdota*, p. 206.

O<sup>c</sup>. The hymn of Mary, Luke i. 46-55, contained in the Verona psalter, and belonging to the

6th century. The Greek is in Latin letters. It was published by Blanchini in the *Psalterium duplex* appended to his *Vindicie canoniarum Scripturnarum*, Rome 1740. O<sup>d</sup>. The three hymns of Luke i. and ii., as contained in the *Psalter* of Turin, written in gold and silver letters, belonging to the 7th century. Tischendorf is about to publish the entire *Psalter*. O<sup>e</sup>. The same three hymns in a St. Gall Codex, which he has published in his *Monumenta Sacra inedita* (1860).

**T A I C E N T O A D I C**  
**K A I A I K A I D**  
**M A C C I T O M A**  
**A M E N T T O**  
**K A I O Y K I A V**  
**D i a n u n g r a b l e q u a n t u n d**  
**I d e x r i a c i n c u n c t u s u n d p o e**  
**1750**

350. Cod. Guelph. A (Luke i. 6, 7).

P. A MS. of the Acts, Catholic and Pauline Epistles, and Apocalypse. This is a valuable palimpsest, consisting of upwards of 300 leaves. Though belonging to the 9th century, the text, except in i Peter and Acts, agrees with that of the oldest codices.  
Q. *Codex Guelpherbyanus* B, another palimpsest, containing fragments of Luke and John's Gospels, discovered by Knittel, and published with the last fragments. Tischendorf is about to re-ed it in a more complete and accurate state. According to him, P belongs to the 6th, and Q to the 5th century. Q. This is a papyrus fragment, containing parts of i Cor. i. vi. vii., belonging to the 5th or 6th century.  
R. A rescript MS. belonging to the British Museum, brought from the Nitrian desert, with many other codices, chiefly Syriac ones. The Syriac text of Severus of Antioch was written over it. The forty-eight leaves contain parts of Luke's Gospel. The writing is in two columns; and the Ammonian sections have not the canons of Eusebius. Tischendorf published *almost* the whole text (for some of it is illegible) in his *Monumenta Sacra inedita*, vol. ii. Dr. Wright found three leaves overlooked by Tischendorf, of which he gave an account in the *Journal of Sacred Literature* for January 1864. It is assigned to the 6th century, but may belong to the 7th.  
S. *Vaticanus*, 354. This MS. contains the four gospels entire. It is in the Vatican Library, where Birch carefully collated it twice for his Greek Testament. A subscription to it states that it was written A. D. 949. See Tischendorf in the *Annals of Lindisfarne*, 1847, where a fac-simile better than those of Blanchini and Birch is given.  
T. *Codex Borgianus*, No. 1 in the Library of the Propaganda at Rome, a MS. of thirteen leaves, containing fragments of John's Gospel. The Greek text has a *Theban translation* by its side. Giorgi published the text in 1789 at Rome. Tischendorf, who inspected the MS. and made a fac-simile of it, assigns it to the 5th century.  
T<sup>a</sup>. Six leaves, containing John i. iii. iv., belonging to the 6th century.  
T<sup>b</sup>. Two leaves, containing Matt. xiv. xv., belonging to the 6th century. The writing and text resemble those of the Borgian fragments.  
T<sup>c</sup>. *Fragmentum Wolderum*, a few leaves, Greek and Sahidic, whose text was edited by Woide (contained in the Appendix to the *Codex Alexandrinus*, 1799). The one contains Luke xii. 15-xiii. 32, the other John viii. 33-42. Tischendorf has discovered that these fragments are parts of T, published by Giorgi. Hence they belong to the same time.  
U. *Codex Vetus Marianus*, formerly *Manianus*, in St. Mark's Library at Venice; a MS. of the gospels complete, with a text elegantly written. It was first collated accurately by Tischendorf in 1843, and again by Tregelles in 1846. According to Tischendorf it belongs to the end of the 9th or 10th century.  
V. *Codex Mosquensis*, in the Library of the Holy Synod at Moscow, a MS. of the four gospels, with several chasms. From John vii. 39 has been supplied by a more recent hand of the 13th century, in cursive letters. It belongs to the 9th century, and was twice collated by Matthaei. W<sup>a</sup>. Two leaves at the end of *Cod. Reg.*, now in the Imperial Library of Paris. They contain Luke ix. 34-47, x. 12-22, and are the fragment



of a continuous MS. of the gospels belonging to the 8th century. Tischendorf has edited the whole in his *Monumenta Sacra inedita*.

W<sup>b</sup>. *Codex Neapolitanus rescriptus*, consisting of fourteen leaves which contain fragments of the first three gospels as old as the 8th century. Tischendorf edited some verses of it in the *Annales Vindobonenses*, 1847; and it is described by Scotti. Tischendorf supposes that the leaves belong to the same MS. as W<sup>a</sup>.

W<sup>c</sup>. Three leaves at *St. Gall*, containing fragments of Mark and Luke. They are a sort of palimpsest, the writing having been effaced, though nothing new was written over. Tischendorf, who copied, and intends to edit these fragments, assigns them to the 9th century.

W<sup>d</sup>. Fragments of Mark's Gospel, vii. viii. ix., found in Trinity College, Cambridge, belonging to the 9th century.

X. *Codex Monacensis*, in the Library of the University of Munich, containing fragments of the four gospels. Commentaries of several fathers,

especially Chrysostom, accompany the text, except Mark's. It belongs to the 10th century. Between John ii. 22 and vii. 1, is supplied by a later hand of the 12th century. The MS. was collated by Tischendorf and Tregelles.

Y. *Codex Barberinus*, No. 225, six leaves containing fragments of John's Gospel, belonging to the 8th century, copied by Tischendorf in 1843, and published in his *Monumenta Sacra inedita*, 1846. Belonging to the Barberinian Library at Rome.

Z. *Codex Dublinensis*, in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, a palimpsest, containing fragments of Matthew's Gospel, and belonging to the 6th century. The text of this MS. presents ancient and valuable readings. It was published in fac-simile by Barrett, 1801, 4to. Barrett's collation, however, is not so complete or accurate as it might have been made; and therefore Dr. Todd intends to edit a better edition of the text, in which more readings have been deciphered by the application of a chemical tincture.

ΕΙΒΛΕΨΑCΔΕΟΙCΕΙΤΤΕΝΑΥ  
ΤΟΙC ΠΑΡΑΝΟΙCΤΟΥΤΟ  
ΔΑΥΝΑΤΟΝΕCΤΙΝΠΑΡΑΔΕ  
ΘΩΔΑΥΝΑΤΑΤΑΝΤΑ

351. Cod. Dublin. (Matt. xix. 26).

Π. A MS., now in the Bodleian Library, consisting of 157 leaves large 4to. It contains Luke's Gospel entire, and parts of the other three. The form of the letters resembles the *Codex Cypricus* or K. Tischendorf, who got it in the East, assigns it to the 9th century. He collated and described it in *Anecdota sacra et profana*.

The second half of this MS. has been recently found, containing the greatest part of Matt. and John. The date is 844.

Δ. *Codex Sangallensis*, a Greek-Latin MS. in the Library of St. Gall, containing the four gospels entire, with the exception of John xix. 17-35. It is very similar in character to G (*Cod. Boernerianus*), both belonging to the same age and country, i. e., they were written in the monastery of St. Gall in Switzerland, in the 9th century. Rettig published it at Zürich, in fac-simile, in 1836. This MS., with the codices Augiensis and Boernerianus, are portions of one and the same document.

Θ. *Codex Tischendorffianus I.*, in the Library of Leipzig University, consisting of four leaves, of which the third is almost decayed, containing a few fragments of Matthew's Gospel. Tischendorf assigns them to the end of the 7th century. He published the contents in his *Monumenta Sacra inedita*, p. 1, etc.

Θ<sup>b</sup>. A fragment, containing six leaves, with Matt. xxii. and xxiii. and Mark iv., belonging to the 7th century.

Θ<sup>c</sup>. Two leaves, containing Matt. xxi. 19-24, and John xviii. 29-35, belonging to the 6th century.

Θ<sup>d</sup>. A small fragment of the 8th century, containing Luke xi.

Θ<sup>e</sup>. A fragment of Matt. xxvi., of the 6th century.

Θ<sup>f</sup>. Four leaves, containing Matt. xxvi. xxvii., Mark i. and ii. Of the 6th century.

Θ<sup>g</sup>. A fragment of John vi. belonging to the 6th century.

Θ<sup>h</sup>. A Greek-Arabic MS., containing three leaves, with Matt. xiv. and xxv., belonging to the 9th century.

Α. A MS. in the Bodleian Library, containing the Gospels of Luke and John entire. It consists of 157 leaves, and belongs to the 8th century. Tischendorf collated it.

II. A valuable MS. of the gospels, almost complete, brought by Tischendorf from Smyrna to St. Petersburg. It belongs to the 9th century. (See Tischendorf's *Notitia editionis codicis Bibliorum Sinaitici*, etc., p. 51).

Ξ. *Codex Zacynthius*, a palimpsest containing fragments of Luke's Gospel, belonging to the committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society. It is of the 8th century, and is accompanied by a *catena* of the 13th. Tregelles transcribed and published the fragments (1861).

Such are the *uncial* MSS. hitherto collated. Their number is not great, but every year is adding to it; upwards of a hundred uncials, including evangelistaria and apostoli. Those written in the *cursive* character are described in the large critical editions of Wetstein, Griesbach, Scholz, and Tischendorf; and in the *Introduction* of Michaelis, up to the period when it was published. Later Introductions contain descriptions of several, but not all the MSS. Space will not allow of a description of the chief *cursive* MSS., of which the

number is considerable. The existence of about 1500 is known; but comparatively few have been well collated. Mr Scrivener's collation of fifty, contained in his edition of the *Codex Augiensis*, is excellent.

Three cursive MSS. deserve mention, from their connection with the much-disputed passage, 1 John v. 7, which they are usually quoted as containing. Being written in *cursive* letters, they are not older than the 10th century.

1. *The Codex Montfortianus* or *Dublinensis*, belonging to the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. It was quoted by Erasmus, under the title of *Codex Britannicus*, numbered 34 in the Acts and Catholic Epistles. It is on paper of 12mo size, and was evidently written by different hands. The gospels are the most ancient part. The Apocalypse was transcribed from the Cod. Leicestrensis, which is now defective there. The Acts and Epistles belong to the beginning of the 16th century; the Apocalypse is later. An imperfect collation of the MS., nearly to the end of Acts, is printed in the sixth volume of Walton's *Polyglott*. Barrett collated the remainder, which he published at the end of his edition of Z. More recently, Dr. Dobbin collated the part not re-collated by Barrett. The resemblance of the readings in the Acts and Epistles to a MS. in the Library of Lincoln College, Oxford, would lead to the inference that the one was used in part as the archetype of the other; and there is little doubt that the Montfortianus was made from the Lincoln one, plus 1 John v. 7 (see *The Codex Montfortianus*: a collation of the celebrated MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, throughout the Gospels and Acts. By O. T. Dobbin, LL.D., etc., 1854, small 4to).

2. *The Codex Ravianus*, or *Berolinensis*.—This MS. is generally supposed to be a forgery, copied in the greater part of it from the Greek of the *Complutensian Polyglott*, and the third edition of Stephens, text and margin. It has even their *typographical* errors. It was written in the 16th century, and has no critical value (see Pappelbaum's *Untersuchung der Ravischen Griechischen Handschrift des Neuen Testaments*, Berlin 1785, 8vo; and his subsequent treatise, entitled, *Codicis Manuscripti N. T. Græci Raviani in Biblioth. Reg. Berol. publica asservati examen, quo ostenditur, alteram ejus partem majorem ex editione Complutensi, alteram minorem ex editione Rob. Stephani tertia esse descriptam*, Berlin 1796, 8vo).

3. *Codex Ollobonianus* (298), preserved in the Vatican. This MS. contains the Acts and Epistles, with a Latin version. Scholz ascribes it to the 15th century. It has no critical value, because it has been altered in many cases to correspond with the *Vulgate*. In it the disputed text is found in a different form from the common reading. Instead of *in heaven*, it has *from heaven*; and instead of *on earth*, it has *from the earth*.

*Codex Neapolitanus Regius*, No. 173, has the text merely in the margin, and in a recent character. Hence it is no proper witness for the existence of the passage.

MSS. are sometimes divided by the critics of Germany into—1. Such as were written before the practice of *stichometry*, a mode of dividing the text which will be explained hereafter. 2. The *stichometrical*. 3. Those written after *stichometry* had ceased. 3. Hug and De Wette in their Introductions to the N. T. According to this classification

A, B, and C belong to the first class; D, D, etc., to the second; and by far the greatest number to the third. We have alluded to them under the two great heads of *uncial* and *cursive*.

In examining MSS. and comparing their characteristic readings, it is not easy in every instance to arrive at the true original form of a passage. Many circumstances are to be taken into account, and many cautions to be observed. They are more useful in detecting interpolated passages than in restoring the correct reading.

The reading of an older MS. is preferable *ceteris paribus*.

In determining the age of a MS. internal marks are chiefly followed, such as the form of the letters, the divisions, abbreviations, the nature of the lines, the presence or absence of the accents, etc. These particulars, however, are not safe criteria.

Age alone is not sufficient to ensure the value of the text of a MS. The copyist may have been guilty of negligence or inattention. In proportion to his accuracy or carelessness the authority of the codex will be greater or less.

Again, a document certainly copied from one which is very ancient will have greater authority than an earlier taken from another of no great antiquity. Thus a MS. of the *eight*th century may have been directly copied from one of the *fifth*th; and consequently the former will be entitled to greater estimation than one belonging to the 7th century transcribed from one of the 6th.

In determining the value of a codex, it is usual to refer to the country where it was written. Griesbach and others prefer the *African*; Scholz, the *Constantinopolitan*. Those written in Egypt are the best. With respect to Hebrew MSS., it is admitted by all that the Spanish are the best. The Italian, again, are superior to the German.

The reading contained in the greater number of MSS. is preferable to that of a less number. *Mere majority*, however, is not a safe criterion. A majority arising from *independent sources*, or, in other words, of those belonging to *different recensions*, can alone be relied on as decisive. But here critics are not agreed as to the number of *recensions* belonging to Greek MSS. Some have proposed four, some three, others two. Besides, the same MS. may belong to a different recension in different parts of itself. In others, the characteristic readings of two or three recensions are mingled together, rendering it difficult to determine which recension or family preponderates. Hebrew MSS. belong to one and the same recension. It is true that some have distinguished them into *Masoretic* and *Ante-masoretic*; but the existence of the latter is a mere fiction. One great family alone, viz., the *Masoretic*, can be distinctly traced. Since the time of Lachmann's first edition, greater importance has been attached by N. T. critics to the age of MSS. It has been the object of his followers in the same department to adhere for the most part to the oldest copies. This is right within certain limits. The true text of the N. T., as far as we can now obtain it, lies in the MSS. of the 4th till the 8th centuries, accompanied and modified by the testimony of ancient versions and fathers during that period. But within this period we can easily distinguish MSS. of a second order in goodness, viz., E, F, G, H, K, M, S, U, V, from those of the first class, A, B, C, Z (see Davidson's *Biblical Criticism*, vol. ii.



and the prolegomena to the editions of Wetstein, Griesbach, Scholz, Tischendorf, especially the last, where the best account of the sources of Greek Testament textual criticism is given).—S. D.

MAOCH (מַעֲוֶה; Sept. Ἀμαχ; Alex. Μαδβ), the father of Achish, king of Gath, with whom David found refuge (1 Sam. xxvii. 2). In 1 Kings ii. 39, Achish king of Gath is called the son of Maachah. There can be little doubt that מַעֲוֶה and מַעֲכָה are forms of the same word (the Syr. reads Maoch in both places); and it is quite possible that it is the same person who is mentioned in both places.—W. L. A.

MAON (מַעֲוֶה; Sept. Μαών), a town in the tribe of Judah (Josh. xv. 55) which gave name to a wilderness where David hid himself from Saul, and around which the churlish Nabal had great possessions (1 Sam. xxiii. 24, 25; xxv. 2). Eusebius and Jerome place it to the east of Daroma (*Onomast.*, s. v. Maon). Dr. Robinson regards it as one of the sites first identified by himself; he finds it in the present Ma'in, which is about seven miles south by east from Hebron. Here there is a conical hill about 200 feet high, on the top of which are some ruins of no great extent, consisting of foundations of hewn stone, a square enclosure, the remains probably of a tower or castle, and several cisterns. The view from the summit is extensive. This is Ma'in. The traveller found here a band of peasants keeping their flocks, and dwelling in caves amid the ruins (*Bibl. Researches*, ii. 190-196). [HACHILAH.]—J. K.

MAONITES (מַעֲוֶה; Μαδύμ; Chanaan). It is to be observed that, though in our A. V. the name *Maonites* occurs in Judg. x. 12, yet the Hebrew word so rendered is the same elsewhere translated MAON (Josh. xv. 55; 1 Sam. xxiii. 24), and applied to a city and wilderness in the south of Judah. There can be no doubt that in this passage 'Maon' (מַעֲוֶה), like 'Amalek' (עַמְלֵק), though in the singular, is applied to a *people*, and not to a place.—The Sidonians also, and Amalek, and Maon did oppress you.' The Septuagint reads (Μαδύμ) *Midian*, and the Vulgate *Chanaan*, doubtless from a desire to reconcile this statement with previous history; but this is against the rules of sound criticism. Where there is no MS. authority, the reading of versions can never warrant a change in the sacred text. It is quite true that the Maonites are nowhere mentioned as having oppressed Israel before this period; but the Bible was never intended to contain a *complete* history.

Traces of the name *Maon* are found in several localities. It is given to a town in the south of Judah, now identified with the ruins of Tell Ma'in (MAON; *Handbook for S. and P.*, p. 61). It is given to the bleak and hilly 'pasture-lands' (Hebrew מִדְבָּר; DESERT) which extend away to the southward of the town of Maon (1 Sam. xxiii. 25). In pronouncing a prophetic curse upon Moab, Jeremiah mentions Beth-Meon (בֵּית מַעֲוֶה; xlviii. 23), which may perhaps be the same as the Beth-Baal-Meon of Josh. xii. 17, and the Baal-Meon of Num. xxxii. 38, and would thus be identical with the ruin Ma'in, three miles south of Heshbon. Still another *Maon* is mentioned in 2 Chron. xxvi.

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7, where it is said of King Uzziah, that 'God helped him against the Philistines, and against the Arabians that dwelt in Gur-baal, and the *Meunim*' (A. V. *Mehunims*; but Heb. הַמְעֻנִּים, which is

the plural of מַעֲוֶה; *Mu'atim*). The LXX. also renders the word translated '*habitations*' (הַמְעֻנִּים; Keri הַמְעֻנִּים; which in form is identical with 2 Chron. xxvi. 7) in the A. V. of 1 Chron. iv. 41, *Minaioi* (*Mu'atōi*); and both the form of the Hebrew word, and the sense of the passage, seem to show that it is a proper name. It is probable that all these names indicate the presence of an ancient and powerful nomad tribe, which was allied to the Phœnicians (or Sidonians), whose earliest settlements were in the vale of Sodom, and with the Amalekites who dwelt in the wilderness south of Palestine. These Maonites migrated eastward, leaving their name at Maon in the south of Judah, where they may have had their head-quarters for a time, and again at Beth-Meon, on the plateau of Moab; and also at the large modern village of

Ma'an (مَعَان), on the eastern border of Edom, about fifteen miles from Petra. Ma'an is one of the most important stations on the Syrian *Haj* ('pilgrim caravan') route. It contains an old castle and some other remains of antiquity among the modern houses; and around it are gardens and orchards (Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria*, p. 436; *Handbk.*, p. 58; Ritter, *Pal. und Syr.*, 1004, *seq.*; Winer, *R. W.*, s. v.; Abulfeda, *Tab. Syr.*, p. 14; and especially Wallin, in *Journal of R. G. S.*, vol. xxiv. pp. 121-128). This was perhaps one of the chief stations of the Maonites. It is not uncommon at the present day to find the names of great Arab tribes attached to their principal camping-grounds, though very far apart. One of the most celebrated of the Arabian tribes at the commencement of our era was the *Mimai* (Strabo, xvi. pp. 768, 776; Pliny, vi. 32; Ptolemy, vi. 7); but they seem to have resided in southern or south-eastern Arabia, much too far distant from Palestine to be identified with the Maonites, as has been shown by Bochart (*Opp.*, i. 121; Forster's *Arabia*, ii. 254, *seq.*).—J. L. P.

MARAH (מָרָה, bitterness; Sept. Μαρά). The Israelites, in departing from Egypt, made some stay on the shores of the Red Sea, at the place where it had been crossed by them. From this spot they proceeded southward for three days without finding any water, and then came to a well, the waters of which were so bitter, that, thirsty as they were, they could not drink them (Exod. xv. 22-24; Num. xxxiii. 8). The well was called *Marah*, from the quality of its waters. Unaccustomed as yet to the hardships of the desert, and having been in the habit of drinking of the best water in the world, they were much distressed by the scarcity of water in the region wherein they now wandered; and in their disappointment of the relief expected from this well, they murmured greatly against Moses for having brought them into such a dry wilderness, and asked him, 'What shall we drink?' On this, Moses cried to Jehovah, who indicated to him 'a certain tree,' on throwing the branches of which into the well, its waters became sweet and fit for use. Attempts have been made to set aside the miraculous character of this transaction by the discovery of some tree belonging to that district the

wood or fruit of which has the property of rendering bitter water sweet. No such, however, has been discovered (Kitto, *Pictorial Hist. of Palestine*, p. 209, 210). As respects the locality of this transaction, since Burckhardt's time the fountain Howârah, situated in the Wady el-Amârah, has been generally regarded as probably the Marah of the Israelites, though some think it should rather be sought in the neighbouring Wady Ghurundel. The latter, however, is probably the Elim of Scripture (Robinson, i. 96-100). The water of the Howârah fountain is unpleasant to the taste, saltish and bitter, so that the Arabs use it only when hard pressed, though camels drink it freely; and this has been generally relied on as a proof of the identity of this fountain with Marah. This is valid, however, only on the supposition that the change produced by Moses was of temporary duration; a supposition to which the miraculous character of the transaction is somewhat opposed (comp. 2 Kings ii. 21). Tradition identifies Marah with the 'Ayun Mûsa or *Fountains of Moses*, but these are too near to the Red Sea to correspond with a place which it took the Israelites three days to reach.

MARALAH (מַרְלָה; 'trembling'; Μαγελδά; Alex. Μαράδα; *Merala*), a town on the southern border of Zebulun (Josh. xix. 11). It was unknown to Eusebius and Jerome; and the former even locates it in Manasseh (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Marala*). The situation of Maralah we have not yet sufficient data to determine. In defining the southern border of the tribe, Sarid is made the starting-point; but its site is unknown. From Sarid the border 'went up to the westward (A. V. 'toward the sea'; but Heb. לְיָמָה) and Maralah, and reached to Dabbasheth, and reached to the river that is before Jokmeam, and turned from Sarid eastward . . . unto the border of Chisloth-Tabor.' Sarid then lay to the west of Chisloth-Tabor, and Maralah west of Sarid. This would indicate a spot at the southern base of the hills of Galilee, and near the plain of Esdraelon; and here, about four miles south-west of Nazareth, on the top of a hill, stands the little village of *Malûl*, containing the ruins of a temple, and other vestiges of antiquity. In the surrounding rocks and cliffs are some excavated tombs. This may probably mark the site of Maralah (*Handbook*, p. 385). To locate Maralah on Carmel, as Keil has attempted to do, is against the plain indications of Scripture (Keil on Joshua, l. c.)—J. L. P.

MARANATHA. [ANATHEMA.]

MARBLE. [BAHAT; DAR; SOHERETH; SHESH L.]

MARCHESHVAN (מַרְחֶשְׁוָן; Joseph. *Antiq.* i. 3, *Μαρσούνης*; the Macedonian Δῖος) is the name of that month which was the eighth of the sacred, and the second of the civil, year of the Jews; which began with the new moon of our November. There was a fast on the 6th, in memory of Zedekiah's being blinded after he had witnessed the slaughter of his sons (2 Kings xxv. 7).

This month is always spoken of in the O. T. by its numerical designation, except once, when it is called Bul (בּוּל, 1 Kings vi. 38; Sept. Βαδλ). Ac-

cording to Kimchi, Bul is a shortened form of the Hebrew בּוּל, 'rain,' from בָּל. The signification of *rain-month* is exactly suitable to November in the climate of Palestine. Others derive it from בָּל. Benfey, availing himself of the fact that the Palmyrene inscriptions express the name of the god Baal, according to their dialect, by בּוּל (as עֲנַלְבּוּל, Ἀγλιβόλος), has ventured to suggest that, as the months are often called after the deities, Bul may have received its name from that form of Baal (*Monatsnamen*, p. 182). The rendering of the Septuagint might have been appealed to as some sanction of this view. He supposes that Marcheshvân is a compound name, of which the syllable *mar* is taken from the Zend *Ameretât*, or its later Persian form *Mordâd*; and that *cheshvân* is the Persian *cheshân*, 'autumn:' both of which are names belonging to the same month (l. c. p. 136, sq.)—J. N.

MARCK, JOHANN VAN, a distinguished Dutch theologian, born 31st December 1655 at Sneek, in Friesland. He studied at the University of Leyden, and such was his early reputation, that before the completion of his twenty-first year he was appointed to the professorship of theology at Franeker. In 1682 he removed to Groningen as Professor Primarius of Theology and University preacher. In 1690 he accepted a theological chair at Leyden, and in 1720 succeeded the younger Spanheim as Professor of Ecclesiastical History. He died 30th January 1731. In addition to several works on dogmatic theology, which are highly esteemed in the Reformed Church, he made various valuable contributions to the interpretation of the Scriptures. Of these the principal are: 1. *In Apocalypsim Commentaria seu analysis exegetica*, 4to, Lugd. Bat. 1689, Ed. auct. 1699. 2. *In Canticum Salomonis Commentarius seu analysis exegetica cum analysi Ps. xlv.*, Lugd. 1703, 4to. 3. *In præcipuas quasdam partes Pentateuchi Commentarius; seu ultimorum Jacobi, reliquorum Bilhami et novissimorum Mosi analysis exegetica*, Lugd. 1713, 4to. 4. *Commentarii seu analysis exegetica in Prophetas minores*, 5 vols., Amst. 1696-1701, 4to. This is a very complete and carefully-executed work. Walch characterises it as one of the best of the commentaries on the minor prophets. 5. *Sylloge dissertationum philologico-exegeticarum ad selectos quosdam textus N. T.*, Rotterd. 1721, 4to. 6. *Fasciculus dissertationum philologico-exegeticarum ad selectos textus V. et N. Testamenti*, 2 vols., Lugd. 1724-1727.—S. N.

MARESHAH (מַרְשָׁה; Sept. Μαρσά), a town in the tribe of Judah (Josh. xv. 44), rebuilt and fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chron. xi. 8). The Ethiopians under Zerah were defeated by Asa in the valley near Mareshah (2 Chron. xiv. 9-13). It was laid desolate by Judas Maccabæus, on his march from Hebron to Ashdod (1 Maccab. v. 65-68; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 8. 6). Josephus mentions it among the towns possessed by Alexander Jannæus, which had been in the hands of the Syrians (*Antiq.* xiii. 15. 4); but by Pompey it was restored to the former inhabitants, and attached to the province of Syria (*Ib.* xiv. 4. 4). Maresa was among the towns rebuilt by Gabinius (*Ib.* xiv. 5. 3), but was again destroyed by the Parthians in their irruption against Herod (*Ib.* xiv. 13. 9). A place so often mentioned in history



must have been of considerable importance; but it does not appear that it was ever again rebuilt. The site, however, is set down by Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomast.* s. v. Morasthi) as within two miles of Eleutheropolis, but the direction is not stated. Dr. Robinson (*Bibl. Researches*, ii. 422) found, at a mile and a half south of the site of Eleutheropolis, a remarkable *tel*, or artificial hill, with foundations of some buildings. As there are no other ruins in the vicinity, and as the site is admirably sited for a fortress, this, he supposes, may have been Mareshah.—J. K.

MARGARITES (μαργαρίτης, s.c. λίθος = the shining stone, from μαργαρεύω) is the designation of the pearl, which is a secretion found in certain of the mollusca, and collects on the shell, usually around some grain of sand which has intruded itself between the shell and the delicate mantle of the animal. The best pearls are those found in the *Meleagrina Margaritifera* of the Indian Ocean, but they are found also in the common oyster, the mussel, and especially in the pearl-mussel of our own waters. From an early period the pearl has been esteemed as a precious stone, and has been used as an ornament (1 Tim. ii. 9; comp. Hor. *Epod.* viii. 13, 14; Sen. *De Benef.* vii. 9; *Hippol.* 391; Plin. *H. N.* ix. 56, ed. Franz, etc.) As the true pearl was—as it still is—a costly gem, the name came to be extended so as to designate stones of great price in general; it is thus used generally in the N. T. (Matt. xiii. 45; Rev. xvii. 4; xviii. 12, 16; xxi. 21). It is used also metaphorically to designate anything precious (Matt. vii. 6; cf. Wettstein, *in loc.*)—W. L. A.

MARK. 'John whose surname was Mark,' with whom the evangelist may almost certainly be identified, was the son of a Jewish matron of substance and position, residing at Jerusalem. Her house formed an ordinary place of assemblage for Christians even in times of danger and persecution (Acts xii. 12), to which St. Peter at once resorted on his miraculous deliverance from prison. Thus we find that the very first mention of John Mark prepares us for the future intimate connection between him and that apostle, and supports his identity with the evangelist. Mark is mentioned by St. Paul among those *οἱ ὄντες ἐκ περιτομῆς* (Col. iv. 10), and he was therefore certainly a Jew by birth, and, according to the very probable supposition of Ewald (vi. 411), of an Hellenistic family settled at Jerusalem. Barnabas of Cyprus was his cousin (not as in the A. V. 'sister's son'), Col. iv. 10, but we cannot thence infer, with Cave, that he was of the tribe of Levi. His original name was 'John'; the Latin surname 'Marcus' having been assumed from some unexplained cause, by a process of which the change of Saul into the universally known 'Paul' affords an exactly analogous instance, became the prevalent name in the church. The Acts and Epistles enable us to trace the gradual acceptance of the new name—'John, whose surname was Mark,' cf. Acts xii. 12, 25, xv. 37, is 'John' alone xiii. 5, 13; becomes 'Mark,' xv. 39; and thenceforward appears by that name alone, Col. iv. 10; Philem. 24; 2 Tim. iv. 11. Of his earlier history nothing can be known with any certainty. The statement that he was one of the seventy (Hippolyt. *Philosophumena*, vii. 20; Epiphani. *Contr. Hier.*, li. 6), who (as is also recorded of St. Luke with as little warrant) took offence at our

Lord's 'hard saying,' John vi. 60-66, is entirely groundless, and is inconsistent with the words of Papias, *οὔτε γὰρ ἤκουσε τοῦ Κυρίου, οὔτε παρηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ*. Little more can be said in support of the theory first started by Townson, and elaborately defended by Greswell, which has found considerable acceptance, as being in keeping with the supposed ardent and impulsive character of St. Mark, that he was the 'young man' mentioned by him (Mark xiv. 51, 52) as being suddenly awakened from sleep on the night of the Betrayal, and with difficulty escaping the soldiers' hands. Such identifications, however specious, must be always accepted with extreme caution, as they usually arise from an unwillingness to acquiesce in the fragmentariness of the gospels. Da Costa's identification of him with the 'devout soldier' (Acts x. 7) is a still more groundless fancy. When we consider how naturally Mark's intercourse with the apostle at his mother's house may have ripened into his conversion, we can hardly be wrong in looking on Peter as his spiritual father, and interpreting *νιός* (1 Pet. v. 13) in that sense. It has been taken as implying the natural relation by Bengel, Neander, Credner, Hottinger, Tholuck, Stanley (*Serm. on Apost. Age*, p. 95), but this is contrary to the view of the earlier writers (Origen, ap. Euseb. *H. E.*, vi. 25; Euseb. *H. E.*, ii. 15; Jerome, *de Vir. Ill.*, c. 8), and is based on the feeble argument, that because St. Paul always employs *τέκνον* of the spiritual connection, St. Peter must have done the same. Besides, the view that *ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτή* means St. Peter's wife, has been rejected by the soundest critics (cf. Wieseler, *Apostol. Zeitalt.*, p. 558; De Wette, *Exeg. Handbuch*, *in loc.*) The silence of all early writers on a point of so much interest appears conclusive. The visit of Saul and Barnabas to Jerusalem, as bearers of the alms of the church of Antioch immediately after Peter's miraculous deliverance, was a turning-point in the history of the young convert. The natural tie of relationship was strengthened by a closer bond, and on the return of the apostles we read they were accompanied by 'John, whose surname was Mark' (Acts xii. 25). On their first missionary voyage Mark attended them as their *ὑπηρετής* (Acts xii. 5); but on leaving the perhaps familiar ground of Cyprus, the native country of his kinsman Barnabas (Acts iv. 26), for the unknown dangers of the Asiatic mountains, his heart would appear to have failed him, and forsaking his companions at Perga in Pamphylia, where, as Dr. Howson suggests, he may have found a ship sailing to Palestine, he 'returned to Jerusalem,' to his mother and his home. This event was productive of most important consequences. When starting a second time on their missionary enterprise, Barnabas was led by natural affection again to select his young kinsman as the companion of their journey. Paul was unwilling to have the attendance of one who, from his natural timidity, might give way just when his services were most needed, and prove a hindrance and not a help. Neither was willing to yield to the other, and the issue was a 'sharp contention,' resulting in the temporary estrangement and permanent separation of the fellow-labourers. Mark accompanied Barnabas to Cyprus, where St. Luke's narrative takes leave of him (Acts xv. 37-39). The after history of Mark, it has been truly said, 'affords a specimen of the rare change from timidity to boldness' (Newman, *Paroch.*

*Serm.*, ii. 197), and when he reappears in the sacred volume it is pleasing to find him by the side of the apostle whose good opinion he had once seemed to have entirely lost—acknowledged by him as one of his few ‘fellow-labourers unto the kingdom of God’ who had been ‘a comfort’ to him in his weary imprisonment (Col. iv. 10, 11; Philem. 24). At that time Mark appears to have had in contemplation a journey into Asia Minor, and perhaps in consequence of his character having suffered from his previous desertion of the apostle, St. Paul thought it desirable to prepare the Colossians to give him a friendly reception. We have a still further proof of the high esteem in which he was held by St. Paul towards the close of his life, in the request to Timothy, that on his approaching visit to Rome he would bring Mark with him, inasmuch as he was ‘profitable’ to him ‘for the ministry,’ which the aged apostle foresaw he was so soon to lay down (2 Tim. iv. 11). As St. Mark was at this time in Timothy’s neighbourhood, we may infer that the projected journey to Asia Minor took place, and since we find him with St. Peter (1 Pet. v. 13) in Babylon (which must certainly be taken in its plain sense, and not allegorized as signifying Rome—the subscription to a letter being the last place in which one would look for a mystical meaning), it would appear probable that he rejoined his beloved father in the faith, and aided him in his labours among his own countrymen in that city, which at that time, and for some hundred years afterwards, was one of the chief seats of Jewish culture.

From this point we have nothing to guide us but the vague and often inconsistent indications of tradition. On the intimate relation in which Mark and his gospel stood to St. Peter, however, all early writers, from Papias downward, are so unanimous, that if tradition is to be accepted at all it is hardly possible to gainsay it. (Papias apud Euseb. *H. E.*, iii. 39; Irenæus, *ibid.*, v. 8; Clemens Alex., *ibid.*, ii. 15; vi. 14; Euseb. *Demonst. Evang.* iii. 5; Tert. *cont. Marc.* iv. 5; Jerome *ad Heb. lib.* quest. xi.) What is the exact signification of the word *ἐρμηνεύτης*, the office which Mark is said to have filled to St. Peter, has been much controverted. Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Kuinoel, etc., took it in its modern sense, as though St. Mark had, as with modern missionaries, translated into Greek the original Aramaic discourses of his master. But it is far more probable that, in the words of Tholuck, ‘he was the assistant of Peter, and either orally or in writing communicated and developed what Peter taught’ (Valesius, Lange, Fritzsche, Meyer, Alford, etc.).

The tradition that St. Mark was the companion of St. Peter at Rome does not appear in Papias, but is of considerable antiquity. It may be traced up to Clemens Alex. (apud Euseb. ii. 15, vi. 14), who states that he received it from the presbyters of old time, *τῶν ἀνέκαθεν πρεσβυτέρων*, after which time it becomes general. It is not, however, free from suspicion, as it is expressly connected with the erroneous identification of Rome with Babylon (Jerome *de Vir. illust.*, c. 8; Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 15). According to Eusebius (*H. E.* ii. 16), after Peter’s death Mark visited Egypt, and published the gospel he had written, and founded the church of Alexandria, in which city, according to a singular tradition of late date, he met with and excited the admiration of Philo, and where, according to Je-

rome (*u. s.*), he died in the eighth year of Nero. The late and credulous Nicephorus, and Simeon Metaphrastes, state that he suffered martyrdom. According to the legend his remains were obtained from Alexandria by the Venetians through a pious stratagem, and conveyed to their city, 827 A. D. Venice was thenceforward solemnly placed under his protection, and the lion, which mediæval theology had selected from the apocalyptic beasts as his emblem, became the standard of the republic. The place of the deposition of his body having been lost, a miracle was subsequently wrought for its discovery, A.D. 1094, which figures in many famous works of art. Where his remains now lie is, according to the Roman Catholic Eustace, ‘acknowledged to be an undivulged secret; or, perhaps, in less cautious language, to be utterly unknown.’

In the above remarks we have identified the evangelist with the ‘John Mark’ of the Acts and the ‘Mark’ of the Epistles. It has, however, been maintained by Grotius, Calovius, Du Pin, Tillemont, Schleiermacher, Credner, Da Costa, and others, that they were two distinct persons. Kienlin has even ascribed the gospel to the Pauline and not the Petrine Mark, while Hitzig has been led by the identity of the name to propound the idea that John Mark was the author of the Apocalypse. But in the pithy words of Lightfoot, ‘to suppose two Marks, one with Peter and another with Paul, is to breed confusion where there needeth none. It is easily seen how John Mark came into familiarity with Paul and Peter, and other Mark we can find none in the N. T. unless of our own invention’ (*Harm. of N. T.*, vol. i. p. 336).—E. V.

MARK, GOSPEL OF.—1. *Authorship.*—The voice of the church with one consent assigns our second gospel to Mark, the ‘son’ (1 Pet. v. 17) and ‘interpreter’ (Papias ap. Euseb. *H. E.*, iii. 39) of St. Peter. The existence of this ascription is the best evidence of its truth. Had not Mark been its author, no sufficient reason can be given for its having borne the name of one so undistinguished in the history of the Church. His identity with the ‘John Mark’ of the Acts and Epistles has usually been taken for granted, nor (see last article) is there any sufficient ground for calling it in question. It must, however, be acknowledged that there is no early testimony for the fact—as there is none *against* it—which appears first in the preface to the *Commentary* on the Evangelist usually attributed to Victor of Antioch, *circa* 407 A. D. (Cramer, *Catena* i., p. 263), and in a note of Ammonius (*Ibid.* ii., p. iv.), where it is mentioned with some expression of doubt *τάχα οὗτός ἐστιν Μάρκος ὁ εὐαγγελιστής . . . πιθανὸς δὲ ὁ λόγος* (Westcott, *Introd.*, p. 212). An argument in favour of their identity has been drawn with much acuteness by Tregelles (*Journ. of Philol.* 1855, p. 224; Horne’s *Introd. to N. T.*, p. 433) from the singular epithet ‘stump-fingered,’ *κολοβοδακτύλος*, applied to the evangelist in the *Philosophumena* vii. 30, as illustrated by the words of the Latin preface found in some MSS. ‘at least nearly coeval with Jerome,’ ‘amputasse sibi post fidem pollicem dicitur ut sacerdotio reprobis haberetur;’ as though by his desertion of the apostles (Acts xiii. 13) he had become figuratively a ‘pollice truncus’—a poltroon.

2. *Relation to St. Peter.*—The unanimous testimony of the early church declares that Mark



wrote his gospel under the special influence and direction of St. Peter. The words of John the presbyter, as quoted by Papias (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 39), are explicit on this point—‘This, then, was the statement of the elder :—Mark having become Peter’s interpreter (*ἐρμηνεύτης*) wrote accurately all that he remembered (*ἐμνημόνευσε*), but he did not record the words and deeds of Christ in order (*οὐ μὲν τοι τάξει τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα*), for he was neither a hearer nor a follower of our Lord, but afterwards, as I said, became a follower of Peter, who used to adapt his instruction to meet the requirements of his hearers, but not as making a connected arrangement of our Lord’s discourses (*ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὥσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λόγων*); so Mark committed no error in writing down particulars as he remembered them (*ἐνία γράψας ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευσε*), for he made one thing his object, to omit nothing of what he heard, and to make no erroneous statement in them.’ The value of the foregoing extract, from its almost apostolic date, is extremely great, though too much stress has been laid upon some of its expressions by Schleiermacher and others, to discredit the genuineness of the existing Gospel of St. Mark. In addition to St. Peter’s teaching having been the basis of the gospel, we learn from it three facts of the greatest importance for the right comprehension of the origin of the gospels, ‘the historic character of the oral gospel, the special purpose with which it was framed, and the fragmentariness of its contents’ (Westcott, *Introd.*, p. 168). The testimony of later writers is equally definite, though probably to a certain extent derived from that of Papias. Justin quotes from the present gospel under the title *τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα Πέτρου*. Irenæus (Euseb. *H. E.*, iii. 1) asserts that Mark ‘delivered in writing the things preached by Peter;’ and Origen (*Ibid.* vi. 25), that he ‘composed it as Peter directed him—ὡς Πέτρος ἰδηγγήσατο αὐτῷ ποιήσαντα. Clement of Alexandria enters more into detail, and according to Eusebius’ report of his words (*H. E.* vi. 14; ii. 15) contradicts himself. He ascribes the origin of the gospel to the importunity of Peter’s hearers in Rome, who were anxious to retain a lasting record of his preaching from the pen of his *ἐρμηνεύτης*, which, when completed, the apostle viewed with approbation, sanctioning it with his authority, and commanding that it should be read in the churches: while elsewhere we have the inconsistent statement, that when Peter knew what had been done ‘he neither forbade nor encouraged it.’ Tertullian’s witness is to the same effect, ‘Marcus quod edidit evangelium Petri affirmatur’ (*Adv. Marc.* vi. 5); as is that of Eusebius (*H. E.*, iii. 5), and Jerome (*de Vir. Ill.*, c. viii.; *ad Hedib.*, c. ii.), who in the last passage writes, ‘eujus (Marci) evangelium Petro narrante et illo scribente compositum est.’

Such, so early and so uniform, is the tradition which connects, in the closest manner, St. Mark’s Gospel with the Apostle Peter. To estimate its value we must inquire how far it is consistent with facts; and here it must be candidly acknowledged that the gospel itself supplies very little to an unbiassed reader to confirm the tradition. The narrative keeps more completely to the common cycle of the Synoptic record, and even to its language, than is consistent with the individual recollections of one of the chief actors in the history; while the

differences of detail, though most real and important, are of too minute and refined a character to allow us to entertain the belief that Peter was in any way *directly* engaged in its composition. Any record derived immediately from St. Peter could hardly fail to have given us far more original matter than the slender additions made by Mark to the common stock of the Synoptical gospels. It is certainly true that there are a few unimportant passages where Peter is specially mentioned by Mark, and is omitted by one or both of the others (i. 36; v. 37; xi. 20; xiii. 3; xvi. 7); but, on the other hand, there are still more and more prominent instances which would almost show that St. Mark was less intimately acquainted with St. Peter’s life than they. He omits his name when given by Matthew (xv. 15 cf. Mark vii. 17); passes over his walking on the sea (Matt. xiv. 28-31; cf. Mark vi. 50, 51) and the miracle of the tribute-money (Matt. xvii. 24-27 cf. Mark ix. 33), as well as the blessing pronounced on him by our Lord, and his designation as the rock on which the Church should be built (Matt. xvi. 17-19 cf. Mark viii. 29, 30). Although he was one of the two disciples sent to make ready the Passover (Luke xxii. 8), his name is not given by Mark (xiv. 13). We do not find in Mark the remarkable words, ‘I have prayed for thee,’ etc. (Luke xxii. 31-32). The notice of his repentance also, *ἐπιβαλὼν ἑλκυσεν* (xiv. 72), is tame when contrasted with the *ἐξελθὼν ἔξω ἐκλαυσεν πικρῶς* of Matthew and Luke. Advocates are never at a loss for plausible reasons to support their preconceived views, and it has been the habit from very early times (Eusebius, Chrysostom) to attribute these omissions to the modesty of Peter, who was unwilling to record that which might specially tend to his own honour; an explanation unsatisfactory in itself, and which cannot be applied with any consistency. Indeed, we can hardly have a more striking proof of the readiness with which men see what they wish to see, and make the most stubborn facts bend to their own foregone conclusions, than that a gospel, in which no unbiassed reader would have discovered any special connection with Peter, should have yielded so many fancied proofs of Petrine origin. But while we are unable to admit any considerable *direct* influence of Peter in the composition of the gospel, it is by no means improbable that his oral communications may have *indirectly* influenced it, and that it is to him the minuteness of its details and the graphic colouring which specially distinguish it are due. Its richness in subtle and picturesque touches, by which he sets, as it were, the scene he is describing before us in all its outward features, with the very look and demeanour of the actors, betoken the report of an eye-witness; and with the testimony of the early Church before us, which can hardly be set aside, we are warranted in the conclusion that this eye-witness was Peter. Not that the narrative, as we have it, was his; but that when Mark, under the Holy Spirit’s guidance, after separation from his master, undertook the task of setting forth that cycle of gospel teaching, to which—from grounds never yet, nor perhaps ever to be satisfactorily explained—the Synoptists chiefly confine themselves, he was enabled to introduce into it many pictorial details which he had derived from his master, and which had been impressed on his memory by frequent repetition.

3. *Relation to St. Matthew and St. Luke.*—The question of priority of composition among the Synoptic Gospels has long been the subject of vehement controversy, and to judge by the diversity of the views entertained, and the confidence each appears to feel of the correctness of his own, it would seem to be as far as ever from being settled. May it not be that we are not yet, and perhaps never shall be, in possession of data sufficient for the solution of the problem?

The position of St. Mark in relation to the other two has, in particular, given rise to the widest differences of opinion. The independence of his record was maintained up to the time of Augustine. He conceived the view, which, however, he does not employ with much consistency, that Mark was merely 'tanquam pedissequus et breviator' of St. Matthew (*De Consens. Ev.*, i. 4); and from his day it has been held by many that Mark deliberately set himself to make an abridgment of one or both the other Synoptists. Griesbach expressed this opinion most decidedly in his 'Commentatio quo Marci Evangelium totum a Matthæi et Lucæ commentariis decerptum esse monstratur;' and it has been stated in a more or less modified form by Paulus, Schleiermacher, Thiele, DeWette, Delitzsch, Fritzsche, and Bleek, the two last named adding St. John's Gospel to the materials before him. Nor can it be denied that at first sight this view is not devoid of plausibility, especially as regards St. Matthew. We find the same events recorded, and apparently in the same way, and very often in the same words. St. Mark's is the shorter work, and that principally, as it would seem, by the omission of the discourses and parables, which are a leading feature in the others. And yet, though this opinion was for a long time regarded almost as an established fact, no very searching investigation is needed to show its baselessness. Instead of St. Mark's narrative being an abridgment of that of St. Matthew or of St. Luke, it is often much fuller. Particulars are introduced which an abridger aiming at condensation would have been certain to prune away if he had found them in his authority; while the freshness and graphic power of the history, the life-like touches which almost put us on the stage with the actors, and his superior accuracy as regards persons, words, times, and places, prove the originality and independence of his work. Of late, therefore, opinion has been tending as violently in the opposite direction, and the prevailing view among modern critics is, that in St. Mark we have the primitive gospel, '*Urevangelium*,' from which both those of St. Matthew and St. Luke were derived. This is held by Weiss, Wilke, Ewald, Lachmann, Hitzig, Reuss, Ritschel, Thiersch, Meyer, etc., and has been lately maintained with considerable ingenuity in Mr. Kenrick's *Biblical Essays*. Hilgenfeld again adopts an intermediate view, and considers St. Mark to have held a middle position both as regards form and internal character; himself deriving his gospel from St. Matthew, and in his turn supplying materials for that of St. Luke; while doctrinally he is considered to hold the mean between the Judaic gospel of the first, and the universal gospel of the third evangelist.

Many formidable difficulties beset each of these theories, and their credit severally is impaired by the fact that the very same data which are urged by one writer as proofs of the priority of St. Mark,

are used by another as irrefragable evidence of its later date. We even find critics, like Baur, bold enough to attribute the vivid details which are justly viewed as evidences of the independence and originality of his record, to the fancy of the evangelist; thus importing the art of the modern novelist into times and works to the spirit of which it is entirely alien.

So much, however, we may safely grant, while maintaining the substantial independence of each of the Synoptic gospels—that St. Mark exhibits the oral tradition of the official life of our Lord in its earliest extant form, and furnishes the most direct representation of the common basis on which they all rest. 'In essence, if not in composition,' says Mr. Westcott, *Introd.*, p. 190 (the two not being necessarily identical, the earlier tradition being perhaps possibly the latest committed to writing), 'it is the oldest.' The intermediate theory has also so much of truth in it, that St. Mark does actually occupy the central position in regard to diction; frequently, as it were, combining the language of the other two (i. 32 cf. Matt. viii. 16; Luke iv. 40—i. 42 cf. Matt. viii. 3; Luke v. 13—ii. 13-18 cf. Matt. ix. 9-14; Luke v. 27-33—iv. 30-32, cf. Matt. xiii. 31-33; Luke xiii. 18-21), as indeed would naturally be the case if we consider that his gospel most closely represents the original from which all were developed. In conclusion we may say, that a careful comparison of the three gospels can hardly fail to convince the unprejudiced reader, that while St. Mark adds hardly anything to the general narrative, we have in his gospel, in the words of Meyer (*Comment.*), 'a fresher stream from the apostolic fountain,' without which we should have wanted many important elements for a true conception of our blessed Lord's nature and work.

If we now proceed to a detailed comparison of the matter contained in the gospels, we shall find, that while the history of the conception and birth and childhood of our Lord and His forerunner have no parallel in St. Mark, afterwards the main course of the narrative (Luke ix. 51—xviii. 14, being of course excepted) is on the whole coincident; and that the difference is mainly due to the absence of the parables and discourses, which were foreign to his purpose of setting forth the *active* ministry of Christ. Of our Lord's parables he only gives us four: 'the sower,' 'the mustard seed,' and 'the wicked husbandmen'—common also to Matthew and Luke; and one, 'the seed growing secretly,' iv. 26-29 (unless indeed it be an abbreviated and independent form of the 'tares'), peculiar to himself. Of the discourses, he entirely omits the sermon on the mount, the denunciations against the Scribes and Pharisees, and almost entirely the instructions to the twelve; while of the other shorter discourses he only gives that on fasting (ii. 19-22), the Sabbath (ii. 25-28), the casting out devils by Beelzebub (iii. 23-29), on eating with unwashed hands and Corban (vii. 6-23), and divorce (x. 5-9). That on 'the last things' (xiii.) is the only one reported at any length. On the other hand, his object being to develop our Lord's Messianic character in deeds rather than words, he records the greater part of the miracles given by the Synoptists. Of the twenty-seven narrated by them, eighteen are found in St. Mark, twelve being common to all three; three—the Syrophenician's daughter, the feeding of the four thousand, and the cursing of the fig-tree—common to him and



St. Matthew; one—the demoniac in the synagogue—to him and St. Luke; and two—the deaf stammerer (vii. 31-37), and the blind man at Bethsaida (viii. 22-26), (supplying remarkable points of correspondence, in the withdrawal of the object of the cure from the crowd, the use of external signs, and the gradual process of restoration)—peculiar to himself. Of the nine omitted by him, only three are found in St. Matthew, of which the centurion's servant is given also by St. Luke. The others are found in St. Luke alone. If we suppose that St. Mark had the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke before him, it is difficult to assign any tolerably satisfactory reason for his omission of these miracles, especially that of the centurion's servant, so kindred to the object of his work. On the contrary hypothesis, that they copied from him, how can we account for their omitting the two remarkable miracles mentioned above?

The arrangement of the narrative, especially of our Lord's earlier Galilean ministry, agrees with St. Luke in opposition to that of St. Matthew, which appears rather to have been according to similarity of subject than order of time.

According to Norton (*Genuineness of Gospels*) there are not more than twenty-four verses in Mark to which parallels, more or less exact, do not exist in the other Synoptists. The same painstaking investigator informs us, that while the *general* coincidences between St. Mark and one of the other two amount to thirteen-fourteenths of the whole gospel, the *verbal* coincidences are one-sixth, and of these four-fifths in St. Mark occur in the recital of the words of our Lord and others; and only one-fifth in the narrative portion, which, roughly speaking, forms one-half of his gospel.

Additions peculiar to St. Mark are, 'the Sabbath made for man' (ii. 27); our Lord's friends seeking to lay hold on Him (iii. 21); many particulars in the miracles of the Gadarene demoniac (v. 1-20); Jairus's daughter, and the woman with issue of blood (v. 22-43); the stilling of the tempest (iv. 35-41), and the lunatic child (ix. 14-29); the salting with fire (ix. 49); that 'the common people heard Him gladly' (xii. 37); the command to watch (xiii. 33-37); the young man with the linen cloth about his body (xiv. 51); the want of agreement between the testimony of the false witnesses (xiv. 59); Pilate's investigation of the reality of Christ's death (xv. 44), and the difficulty felt by the women as to the rolling away the stone (xvi. 3, 4). St. Mark has also preserved several words and phrases, and entire sayings of our Lord, which merit close attention (i. 15; iv. 13; vi. 31, 34; vii. 8; viii. 38; ix. 12, 39; x. 21, 24, 30; xi. 17; xiii. 32; xiv. 18-37; xvi. 7, [15-18]).

4. *Characteristics.*—In the gospel now under review, our Lord is presented to us, not as in St. Matthew, as the Messiah, the Son of David and Abraham, the theocratic King of the chosen people; nor, as in St. Luke, as the universal Saviour of our fallen humanity; but as the 'incarnate and wonder-working Son of God, for whose emblem the early church justly selected 'the lion of the tribe of Judah.' His record is emphatically 'the gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God' (Mark i. 1), living and working among men, and developing His mission more in acts than by words. The limits of his narrative and its general character can hardly be better stated than in the words of his great teacher, Acts x. 36-42.

Commencing with the Baptist preaching in the wilderness, and announcing the 'Mightier One' who was at hand, he tells us how, at His baptism, 'God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost and with power,' and declared Him to be His 'Beloved Son,' gathering up the temptation into the pregnant fact, 'He was with the wild beasts;' thus setting the Son of God before us as the Lord of nature, in whom the original grant to man of dominion over the lower creation was fulfilled (Maurice, *Unity of N. T.*, p. 226; Bengel, *in loc.*; Wilberforce, *Doctrine of Incarnation*, pp. 89, 90). As we advance, we find him detailing every exercise of our Lord's power over man and nature distinctly and minutely—not merely chronicling the incidents, as is St. Matthew's way, but surrounding them with all the circumstances that made them impressive to the bystanders, and making us feel how deep that impression was; how great the awe and wonder with which His mighty works and preaching were regarded, not only by the crowd (i. 22, 27; ii. 12; vi. 2), but by the disciples themselves (iv. 41; vi. 51; x. 24, 26, 32); how the crowds thronged and pressed upon Him (iii. 10; v. 21, 31; vi. 33; viii. 1), so that there was scarce room to stand or sit (ii. 2; iii. 32; iv. 1), or leisure even to eat (iii. 20; vi. 31); how His fame spread the more He sought to conceal it (i. 45; iii. 7; v. 20; vii. 36, 37); and how, in consequence, the people crowded about Him, bringing their sick (i. 32-34; iii. 10); and 'whithersoever He entered into villages, or cities, or country, they laid the sick in streets, and besought that they might touch, if it were but the border of His garment, and as many as touched were made perfectly whole' (vi. 56); how the unclean spirits, seeing Him, at once fell down before Him and acknowledged His power, crying, 'Thou art the Son of God' (i. 23-26; iii. 11); how, again, in St. Peter's words, 'He went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the devil, for God was with Him.'

But while the element of divine power is that which specially arrests our attention in reading his gospel, there is none in which the human personality is more conspicuous. The single word *ὁ τέκτων* (vi. 3) throws a flood of life on our Lord's early life as man in His native village. The limitation of His knowledge is expressly stated (xiii. 32, *οὐδὲ ὁ Πῖλος*); and we continually meet with mention of human emotions—anger (iii. 5; viii. 12, 33; x. 14), wonder (vi. 6), pity (vi. 34), love (x. 21), grief (vii. 34; viii. 12); and human infirmities—sleep (iv. 38), desire for repose (vi. 31), hunger (xi. 12).

In St. Mark we have no attempt to draw up a continuous narrative. His gospel is a rapid succession of vivid pictures loosely strung together (usually by *καὶ, καὶ πάλιν, or εὐθὺς*), without much attempt to bind them into a whole, or give the events in their natural sequence. This pictorial power is that which specially characterises this evangelist; so that, as has been well said, 'if any one desires to know an evangelical fact, not only in its main features and grand results, but also in its most minute and, so to speak, more graphic delineation, he must betake himself to St. Mark' (Da Costa, *Four Witnesses*, p. 88). This power is especially apparent in all that concerns our Lord Himself. Nowhere else are we permitted so clearly to behold His very gesture and look; see His very position; to read His feelings and to hear His very

words. It is St. Mark who reveals to us the comprehensive gaze of Christ (*περιβλεψάμενος*, iii. 5, 34; v. 32; x. 23; xi. 11); His loving embrace of the children brought to Him (*ἐναγκαλισάμενος*, ix. 36; x. 16); His preceding His disciples, while they follow in awe and amazement (x. 32). We see Him taking His seat to address His disciples (*καθίσας*, ix. 35); and turning round in holy anger to rebuke Peter (*ἐπισταραφείς*, viii. 33); we hear the sighs which burst from His bosom (vii. 34; viii. 12), and listen to His very accents ('*Talitha cumi*,' v. 41; 'Ephphatha,' vii. 34; 'Abba,' xiv. 36). At one time we have an event portrayed with a freshness and pictorial power which places the whole scene before us with its minute accessories—the paralytic (ii. 1-12), the storm (iv. 36-41), the demoniac (v. 1-20), Herod's feast (vi. 21-29), the feeding of the 5000 (vi. 30-45), the lunatic child (ix. 14-29), the young ruler (x. 17-22), Bartimeus (x. 46-52), etc. At another, details are brought out by the addition of a single word (*κύβας*, i. 7; *σχίζομένους*, i. 10; *σπλαγχνισθείς*, i. 41; *τοῖς ἔξω*, iv. 11; *προσωμίσθησαν*, vi. 53; *ἔσθωθεν*, *ἔξωθεν*, vii. 21, 23; *κράζας*, *σπαράζας*, ix. 26; *στυγνάσας*, x. 22; *συντρίψασα*, xiv. 3; *ἐμβλέψασα*, xiv. 67); or by the substitution of a more precise and graphic word for one less distinctive (*ἐκβάλλει*, i. 12; *ἐξίστασθαι*, ii. 12; *γемίξεσθαι*, iv. 37; *ἐξηράνθη*, v. 29; *ἀποσταζόμενος*, vi. 46; *ἀθετεῖτε*, vii. 9; *ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι*, xiv. 33). It is to St. Mark, also, that we are indebted for the record of minute particulars of persons, places, times, and number, which stamp on his narrative an impress of authenticity.

(1.) *Persons*.—i. 20; ii. 14; iii. 5, 17, 32, 34; iv. 11; v. 32, 37, 40; vi. 40, 48; vii. 1, 25, 26; viii. 10, 27; ix. 15, 36; x. 16, 23, 35, 46; xi. 21, 27; xiii. 1, 3; xiv. 20, 37, 65; xv. 7, 21, 40, 47; xvi. 7.

(2.) *Places*.—i. 28; iv. 1, 38; v. 11, 20, 21; vi. 55; vii. 17, 31; viii. 10, 27; ix. 30; xi. 4; xii. 41; xiv. 66; xv. 16, 39; xvi. 5.

(3.) *Time*.—i. 32, 35; ii. 1, 26; iv. 35; v. 2, 18, 21; vi. 2; xi. 11, 19, 20; xiv. 1, 12, 17, 30, 68, 72; xv. 1, 25, 33, 34, 42; xvi. 1, 2.

(4.) *Number*.—v. 13, 42; vi. 7; viii. 24; xiv. 30, 72.

Other smaller variations are continually occurring. Here a single word, there a short parenthesis, sometimes an apparently trivial accession—which impart a striking air of life to the record; e.g., Zebedee left with the hired servants (i. 20); our Lord praying (i. 35); the paralytic borne of four (ii. 3); the command that a ship should wait on Him (iii. 9); 'thy sisters' (iii. 32); our Lord taken 'even as He was in the ship' (iv. 36); 'other little ships with them' (*ibid.*); Jairus' daughter 'walked' (v. 42); 'divers came from far' (viii. 3); only 'one loaf' in the ship (viii. 14); 'so as no fuller on earth can white' (ix. 2); the danger of *trusting* in riches (x. 24); 'with persecutions' (x. 30); 'no vessel suffered to be carried through the temple' (xi. 16); 'a house of prayer for all nations' (xi. 17); 'she hath done what she could' (xiv. 8); Barabbas, one of a party of insurrectionists *all* guilty of bloodshed (xv. 7).

We cannot conclude our remarks on this head better than in the words of Mr. Westcott (*Introd.*, p. 348)—that 'if all other arguments against the mythic origin of the evangelic narratives were wanting, this vivid and simple record, stamped with the most distinct impress of independence

and originality, would be sufficient to refute a theory subversive of all faith in history.'

5. *Style and Diction*.—The style of St. Mark may be characterised as vigorous and abrupt. His terms of connection and transition are terse and lively; he is fond of employing the direct for the indirect (iv. 39; v. 8, 9, 12; vi. 23, 31, 37; ix. 25, 33; xii. 6), the present for the past (i. 25, 40, 44; ii. 3, 4, 5; iii. 4, 5, 13, 20, 31, 34; iv. 37, etc. etc.), and the substantive instead of the pronoun; he employs the cognate accusative (iii. 28; vii. 13; xiii. 19; iv. 41; v. 42), accumulates negatives (*οὐκ ἐτι οὐδεὶς*, vii. 12; ix. 8; xii. 34; xv. 5; *οὐκ ἐτι οὐ μὴ*, xiv. 25; *μηκέτι μηδεὶς*, xi. 14), and for sake of emphasis repeats what he has said in other words, or appends the opposite (i. 22, 45; ii. 27; iii. 26, 27, 29; iv. 17, 33, 34), and piles up synonyms (iv. 6, 8, 39; v. 12, 23; viii. 15; xiii. 33; xiv. 68), combining this forcible style with a conciseness and economy of expressions consistent with the elaboration of every detail.

St. Mark's diction is nearer to that of St. Matthew than to St. Luke. It is more Hebraistic than the latter, though rather in general colouring than in special phrases. According to Davidson (*Introd.*, i. 154), there are forty-five words peculiar to him and St. Matthew, and only eighteen common to him and St. Luke. Aramaic words, especially those used by our Lord, are introduced, but explained for Gentile readers (see below). Latinisms are more frequent than in the other gospels; *κεντρίων*, xv. 39, 44, 45; *σπεκουλάτωρ*, vi. 27; *τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιῆσαι*, xv. 15; *ἔσσης*, vii. 4, 8; are peculiar to him. Others, *ὄρνιθιον*, *κῆρσος*, *λεγιών*, *πραιτώριον*, *φραγελλῶς*, *κοδράντης*, he has in common with others of the evangelists. He is fond of diminutives, *θυγάτριον*, *κοράσιον*, *κυνάρια*, *ώτάριον*, but they are not peculiar to him. He employs unusual words and phrases, e.g., *ἀλαλάζειν*, *ἐπισυντρέχειν*, *κωμόπολις*, *μεγιστάνες*, *νάρδος πιστική*, *ρουνεχῶς*, *παιδιῶθεν*, *πλοῖάριον*, *προμεριμνῶν*, *τρυμαλία*, *ὑπολήριον*, *στοιβάς*, *σμιρνιζόμενος οἶνος*, *συνθλίβειν*, *ἐντελεῖν*. Of other noticeable words and expressions we may remark, *ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα*, eleven times, Matt. six, Luke three; *ἤρξατο λέγειν*, *κράζειν*, twenty-five times; *διεστέλλω*, and *-στέλλω*, five times, Matt. once; compounds of *πορεύεσθαι*; e.g., *εἰσπορ.*, eight times, Matt. once, Luke four; *ἐκπορ.*, eleven times, Matt. six, Luke three; *παρπορ.*, four times, Matt. once; *προσπορ.* The verb *ἐπερωτᾶω* occurs twenty-five times, to eight times in Matt. and eighteen in Luke; *εὐαγγελίζω*, eight times, Matt. four, but the verb not once; *εὐθέως*, forty times, Matt. fifteen, Luke eight. Other favourite words are, *κηρύσσειν*, fourteen, Matt. nine, Luke nine; *μακρόθεν*, five, Matt. two, Luke four; *οὐκέτι* and *μηκέτι*, ten, Matt. three, Luke four; *περιβλέπω*, six times, Luke once; *πιστεύω*, fourteen, Matt. eleven, Luke nine; *πρῶτ.*, six times, Matt. twice, John once; *φέρω*, thirteen, Matt. four, Luke four times. Of words only found in St. Mark, as compared with St. Matthew and St. Luke, we may mention—*ἀμάρτημα*, *ἀναθεματίζω*, *ἐξάπινα*, *εὐκαιρος*, and *-ρος*, *ἐσχίμων*, *ἡδέως*, *θαμβεῖσθαι*, *θυρῶδ.*, *κτίσις*, *κυλιόμαι*, *μογιάλος*, *μορφή*, *παράβλαιν*, *παράδεχέσθαι*, *παρόμοιος*, *προστρέχω*, *συνπῶσις*, *συστασιαστής*, *στίλβειν*, *σκόληξ*. Words not found at all, or found less frequently in St. Mark, are—*ἀγαθός*, only twice, in the same context (x. 17, 18), Matt. sixteen, Luke fifteen times; *νόμος*, *παῖς*, *στόμα*, *ὥσπερ*, *ἀνοίγω*, *δξιος*,



κελεύω, μεριμνάω, μακάριος, ὀφείλω, καλέω, only three times, to Matt. twenty-six, Luke forty-two; πέμπω, only once; Χριστός, seven, Matt. sixteen, Luke thirteen. Publicans are only mentioned twice, Samaria and its inhabitants not once.

6. *Whom written for.*—A dispassionate review of the gospel confirms the traditional statement that it was intended primarily for Gentiles, and among these the use of Latinisms, and the concise abrupt character 'suitable for the vigorous intelligence of a Roman audience' (Westcott, *Introd.*, p. 348), seem to point out those for whom it was specially meant. In consistency with this view, words which would not be understood by Gentile readers are interpreted, Boanerges (iii. 17); Talitha cumi (v. 40); Corban (vii. 11); Bartimeus (x. 46); Abba (xiv. 36); Eloi lama sabachthani (xv. 34); two mites 'make a farthing' (xii. 42); Gehenna is 'unquenchable fire' (ix. 43); Jewish usages, and other matters with which none but Jews could be expected to be familiar, are explained, e.g., the washing before meals (vii. 3, 4); in the days of unleavened bread the Passover was killed (xiv. 12); at the Passover the season of figs was not come (xi. 13); the preparation is 'the day before the Sabbath' (xv. 42); the Mount of Olives is 'over against the Temple' (xiii. 3). All reference to the law of Moses is omitted, and even the word νόμος does not occur; the Sabbath was appointed for the good of man (ii. 27); and in the quotation from Isaiah (lvi. 7) he adds 'of all nations.' In conclusion, the absence of all quotations from the O. T. made on his own authority, with the exception of those in the opening verses from Mal. iii. 1, Is. xl. 3 (xv. 28 being rejected as interpolated), points the same way. The only citations he introduces are those made by our Lord, or by those addressing Him.

7. *Citations from Scripture.*—The following are the only direct citations:—

Mal. iii. 1 - i. 2.	(b) Is. lvi. 7 - - } xi. 17.
Is. xl. 3 - - i. 3.	Jer. vii. 11 - - }
Is. vi. 9, 11 - iv. 12.	Ps. cxviii. 22, 23 xii. 10, 11.
Is. xxix. 13 - vii. 6.	Deut. xxv. 5 - 19.
Ex. xx. 12 - - }	Ex. iii. 6 - - 26.
xxi. 17 } 10.	Deut. vi. 4 - 29, 30.
(a) Is. lxvi. 24 - ix. 44, 46,	Lev. xix. 18 - 31.
48.	Ps. cx. 1 - - 36.
Gen. i. 27 - - x. 6.	Dan. ix. 27 } xiii. 14.
Gen. ii. 24 - - 7, 8.	xii. 11 }
Ex. xx. 12-15 - 19.	Zech. xiii. 7 - xiv. 27.
Ps. cxviii. 25, 26 xi. 9.	Is. liii. 12 (?) - xv. 28.
	Ps. xxii. 1 - 34.

Of these (a) is the only one peculiar to St. Mark. In (b) we have the addition of a few words to the Synoptical quotation. We have also references to the O. T. in the following passages:—

Lev. xiv. 2 - - i. 44.	Is. xiii. 10 - - xiii. 24.
1 Sam. xxi. 6 - - ii. 25.	Dan. vii. 13 - - xiv. 62.
Deut. xxiv. 1 - - x. 4.	

8. *Time and Place of Composition.*—On these points the gospel itself affords no information, except that we may certainly affirm, against Baur, Hilgenfeld, Weiss, etc., that it was composed before the fall of Jerusalem, since otherwise so remarkable a fulfilment of our Lord's predictions could not but have been noticed. Ecclesiastical tradition is, as usual, vacillatory and untrustworthy. Clement, as quoted by Eusebius, *u.s.*, places the composition of the gospel in the lifetime of Peter,

while Irenæus, with much greater probability, asserts that it was not written till after the decease (ἐξοδόν, not 'departure from Rome,' Mill, Grabe, Ebrard) of Peter and Paul. Later authorities are, as ever, much more definite. Theophylact and Euthym. Zigab., with the Chron. Pasch. Gregor. Syncell., and Hesychius, place it ten years after the Ascension, *i.e.*, A. D. 40; Eusebius, in his *Chronicon*, A. D. 43, when Peter, Paul, and Philo were together in Rome. We may probably correctly date it between Peter's martyrdom, *circa* A. D. 63, and the destruction of Jerusalem, A. D. 70.

As to the place, the uniform testimony of early writers (Clement, Eusebius, Jerome, Epiphanius, etc.) is, that the gospel was written and published in Rome. In this view most modern writers of weight agree. Chrysostom asserts that it was published in Alexandria, but his statement is not confirmed, as if true it must certainly have been, by any Alexandrine writer. Some (Eichhorn, R. Simon) maintain a combination of the Roman and Alexandrine view under the theory of a double publication, first in one city and then in the other. Storr is alone in his view that it was first made public at Antioch.

9. *Language.*—There can be no reason for questioning that the gospel was composed in Greek. To suppose that it was written in Latin—as is stated in the subscription to the Peshito, and some early Greek MSS., ἐγράφη Ῥωμαῖσι ἐν Ῥώμῃ—because it was intended for the use of Roman Christians, implies complete ignorance of the Roman Church of that age, which in language, organization, and ritual, was entirely Greek, maintaining its character in common with most of the churches of the west as 'a Greek religious colony' (Milman, *Lat. Christ.*, i. 27). The attempt made by Baronius, Bellarmine, etc., to strengthen the authority of the Vulgate by this means was therefore, as one of their own church, R. Simon, has shown, entirely futile; and the pretended Latin autograph, said to be preserved in the library of St. Mark's at Venice, turned out to be part of an ancient Latin codex of the four gospels, now known as 'Cod. Forojuliensis.'

10. *Contents.*—The Gospel of St. Mark may be divided into three parts.

(1.) The occurrences previous to the commencement of the public ministry of our Lord, including the preaching and baptism of John, our Lord's baptism and temptation (i. 1-13).

(2.) Our Lord's ministry in Galilee, including that in Eastern Galilee (i. 14-vii. 23); that in Northern Galilee (vii. 24-ix. 37); that in Peræa, and the journeyings toward Jerusalem (ix. 38-x. 52).

(3.) His triumphant entry, passion, death, resurrection, and ascension (xi. 1-xvi. 8 [20]).

11. *Genuineness and Integrity.*—The genuineness of St. Mark's Gospel was never doubted before Schleiermacher, who, struck by an apparent discrepancy between the orderly narrative we now possess and the description of Papias, *u.s.*, broached the view followed by Credner, Ewald, and others, that the gospel in its present form is not the work of Mark the companion of Peter. This led to the notion, which has met with much acceptance among German critics (Baur, Hilgenfeld, Köstlin, etc.), of an original, præcanonical, Mark, 'the Gospel of Peter,' probably written in Aramaic, which, with other oral and documentary sources, formed the basis on which some unknown later

writers formed the existing gospel. But even if, on other grounds, this view were probable, all historical testimony is against it; and we should have to account for the entire disappearance of an original document of so much importance without leaving a trace of its existence, and the silent substitution of a later work for it, and its acceptance by the whole church. If ordinary historical testimony is to have any weight, we can have no doubt that the gospel we now have, and which has always borne his name, was that originally composed by St. Mark. We can have no reason to think that either John the presbyter or Papias were infallible, and if the ordinary interpretation of *ὁ ράξει* was correct, and the description of the gospel given by Papias was really at variance with its present form, it would be at least equally probable that their judgment was erroneous, and their view mistaken. There can, however, be little doubt that the meaning of *ὁ ράξει* has been strained and distorted, and that the words do really describe not St. Mark's alone, but all three Synoptic Gospels as we have them; not, that is, 'Lives of Christ' chronologically arranged, but 'a summary of representative facts' given according to a moral and not a historic sequence, following a higher order than that of mere time.

As regards the integrity of the gospel, Ewald, Reuss, and others, have called in question the genuineness of the opening verses (i. 1-13). But the external evidence for them is as great as that for the authenticity of any part of the gospels. Internal evidence is too subtle a thing, and varies too much with the subjectivity of the writer, for us to rely on it exclusively.

The case is very different with the closing portion (xvi. 9-20), where the evidence, both external and internal, is very strong against its having formed a part of St. Mark's original gospel; which, for causes on which it is now idle to speculate, appears to have broken off abruptly with the words *ἐφοβήντο γὰρ* (for various theories to account for this, the death of St. Peter, that of St. Mark, sudden persecution, flight, the loss of the last leaf, etc., see Hug, Meyer, Schott). No less than twenty-one words and expressions occur in it, some of them repeatedly, which are never elsewhere used by St. Mark. This alone, when we remember the peculiarities of diction in the pastoral epistles, as compared with St. Paul's other writings, would not be sufficient to prove that it was not written by the same author; though when taken in connection with the external evidence, it would seem to show that it was not composed at the same time. On this ground, therefore, we must conclude that if not the work of another hand, it was written at a later period than the rest of the gospel. The external evidence, though somewhat inconsistent, points the same way. While it is found in all codices of weight, including A, C, D, and all versions, and is repeatedly quoted, without question, by early writers from the time of Irenæus (*Hæc.* iii. 10. 6), and appears in the very ancient Syriac recension published by Cureton, it is absent from the Vatican and Sinaitic MSS. (in the former of which, after the subscription, the greater part of the column and the whole of the next are left vacant, a phenomenon nowhere else found in the N. T. portion of the codex), while in several MSS. that contain it, it is noted that it is wanting in others, and those the most accurate copies.

Jerome (*ad Hedib.* iv. 172) speaks of it as being found in but few copies of the gospels, and deficient in almost all the Greek MSS. Eusebius (*ad Marin.* Quest. I.) states that it is wanting 'in nearly all the more accurate copies,' while the canons that bear his name and the Ammonian sections do not go beyond v. 8. Of later critics, Olshausen and De Wette pronounce for its genuineness. The note of the latter may be consulted, as well as those of Alford and Meyer, who take the other side, for a full statement of the evidence for and against. The citation of v. 19 as Scripture by Irenæus appears sufficient to establish its canonicity.

With regard to St. Mark's Gospel generally, as it presents so few facts peculiar to himself, we cannot be surprised that there are but few references to it in the early Fathers. The Muratorian canon, however (*circa* 170), commences with words which evidently refer to it. It is mentioned by Papias. Justin Martyr refers to it for the name Boanerges (*Tryph.* 106), as the 'Memoirs of Peter.' Irenæus, as we have seen above, quotes from it, and in the 19th Clementine Homily (ed. Dusseld. 1853) a peculiar phrase of St. Mark (iv. 34) is repeated verbatim. The fact also recorded by Irenæus (*Hæc.* iii. 11. 7), that the Docetic heretics preferred the Gospel of St. Mark to the others, affords an early proof of its acceptance in the church.

*Commentaries.*—The Gospel of St. Mark has been the subject of but few separate commentaries. In addition to the works on the gospels and the N. T. generally, Walch mentions special comments and annotations by the Lutheran divines, Hegendorf, Erasmus Sarcenius, Winckelman, Klemm, and Heupel, as well as by Myconius and Danæus of the Reformed, and Del Pas and Novarinus of the Romish Church. We may also refer to the works of Elsner, Van Wiles, and Baumgarten-Crusius, Baur, and Hilgenfeld, and the very suggestive little treatise of Kenrick in his recently published *Biblical Essays*.—E. V.

MARLORATUS, AUGUSTINUS, a French Protestant divine, born at Bar-le-Duc, department of Meuse, in the year 1506. Left an orphan at an early age, he was placed by his guardian in a monastery of the Augustinians, and in his eighteenth year he took the monastic vows, and subsequently became prior of the convent at Bourges. As early as 1533 he began to exhibit in his sermons some approach towards the reformed doctrines. After some time he openly avowed himself a Protestant, and, to save his life, fled to Geneva. Here he worked for a while as a corrector of the press, but subsequently removed to Lausanne, and gave himself to the study of theology. In 1549 he was appointed pastor at Crissier, and a little later was invited to Vevey. In 1560 he was called to the responsible duty of superintending the Reformed Church at Rouen. He took a prominent part at the Conference of Poissy in 1561, and in May of the same year presided at the Provincial Synod at Dieppe. In the spring of the following year war began between the Huguenots and Catholics, and Rouen was seized by the former. Although Marlatus laboured to the utmost to moderate the violence of the Protestants, and kept aloof from all political affairs, he was apprehended by the royalists, after the recapture of the town, and condemned



to death. He was executed in front of the church of Notre-Dame on 30th October or 1st November 1563. His various exegetical works may be best described as a painstaking and not injudicious selection of the interpretations of other writers, of all ages of the Church. They are—1. *Novi Testamenti Catholica expositio ecclesiastica seu bibliotheca expositionum Novi Testamenti*, Genev. 1561, fol. This work passed rapidly through a large number of editions, and several portions have been translated into English, the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, by Thomas Timme, 1570-83; John, 1575; Jude, by J. D., 1584; and the Apocalypse, by Arthur Golding, 1574. 2. *In 150 Psalmos Davidis et aliorum SS. Prophetarum explicatio ecclesiastica, sive bibliotheca expositionum in Psalmos. Item Cantica sacra ex diversis Bibliorum locis cum simili expositione*, Genev. 1562, fol. Selections from this were translated into English under the title *Prayers in the Psalms*, by Rodolph Warcup, Lond. 1571, 16mo. 3. *Esaie Prophetia cum cath. exp. eccl.*, Paris 1564, Genev. 1610, fol. 4. *Expositio in Jobum*, Genev. 1585. 5. *Genesis, cum cath. exp. eccl.*, Paris 1562.—S. N.

MAROTH (מָרוֹת; pl. of מָרָה 'bitterness'; *δδύας*; in *doloribus*), a place mentioned only in Mic. i. 12; the situation is not indicated, though it would seem from the passage not to have been far distant from Jerusalem. The verse may be translated as follows: 'The dweller in Maroth surely grieveth for goods (לְטוֹבוֹ), for evil hath come from the Lord to the gate of Jerusalem' (See Rosenmüller and De Wette, *ad loc.*) Reference is apparently made to the army of Rabshakeh coming from Lachish (cf. 2 Kings xviii. 17). The name is radically different from *Maarath* (מֵעֶרֶת) of Josh. xv. 59.—J. L. P.

MARRIAGE. It is very remarkable, as well as significant, that there is no word in the whole Hebrew Scriptures for *the estate of marriage*, or to express the abstract idea of *wedlock*, *matrimony*, as the Germ. *che* does. It is only in the post-exile period, when the laws of marriage had gradually developed themselves, that we meet with the abstract מִשְׁוֹת וְזוֹן = *ἑσθῆς* (*Jerusalem Jebamoth*, vi. 5; *Jerusalem Kiddushin*, i. 2; *Babylon Jebamoth*, 52 b; 59 b; *Kiddushin*, 1, 2 b); the former denoting *the legal*, and the latter *the natural* side of matrimony. But even then no such definition of marriage is to be found in the Hebrew writings, as we find in the Roman law, *nuptie sunt conjunctio maris et femine et consortium omnis vite, divini et humani juris communicatio* (*Dig.*, lib. xxiii. tit. 2, De ritu nupt.) This makes it sufficiently evident that, in discussing the question of marriage, it is most essential to keep the notices of each period separate, so as not to transfer from one epoch into another those usages and laws which were called into existence by the special circumstances of each period, and gradually developed themselves with the growth of the nation. Accordingly, we have to distinguish three periods; viz.—i. The pre-Mosaic period; ii. The period dating from the giving of the Law to the Babylonish captivity; and iii. The post-exile period.

#### i. THE PRE-MOSAIC PERIOD.

1. *Mode of selecting a Bride, Betrothal and Marriage-price*.—Imitating the example of the Father of the Universe, who provided the man he made

with a wife, fathers from the beginning considered it both their duty and prerogative to find or select wives for their sons (Gen. xxiv. 3; xxxviii. 6). In the absence of the father, the selection devolved upon the mother (Gen. xxi. 21). Even in cases where the wishes of the son were consulted, the proposals were made by the father (Gen. xxxiv. 4, 8); and the violation of this parental prerogative on the part of the son was 'a grief of mind' to the father (Gen. xxvi. 35). The proposals were generally made by the parents of the young man, except when there was a difference of rank; in such a case the negotiations proceeded from the father of the maiden (Exod. ii. 21), and when accepted by the parents on both sides, sometimes also consulting the opinion of the adult brothers of the maiden (Gen. xxiv. 51; xxxiv. 11), the matter was considered as settled without requiring the consent of the bride. The case of Rebekah (Gen. xxiv. 58) forms no exception to this general practice, inasmuch as the alliance had already been concluded between Eleazar and Laban, and the question put to her afterwards was, to consult her opinion, not about it, but about the time of her departure. Before, however, the marriage-contract was finally concluded, a price (מֹדָר) was stipulated for, which the young man had to pay to the father of the maiden (Gen. xxxi. 15; xxxiv. 12), besides giving presents (מִתְּנָן) to her relations (Gen. xxiv. 53; xxxiv. 12). This marriage-price was regarded as a compensation due to the parents for the loss of service which they sustained by the departure of their daughter, as well as for the trouble and expense which they incurred in her education. Hence, if the proffered young man had not the requisite compensation, he was obliged to make it up in service (Gen. xxix. 20; Exod. ii. 21; iii. 1). Some indeed deny that a price had to be paid down to the father for parting with his daughter, and appeal for support to Gen. xxxi. 15, where, according to them, 'the daughters of Laban make it a matter of complaint, that their father bargained for the services of Jacob in exchange for their hands, just as if they were *strangers*;' thus showing that the sale of daughters was regarded as an unjust act and a matter of complaint (Saalschütz, *Das Mosaische Recht*, p. 733; Mr. Bevan, in *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*, s.v. *Marriage*). But, on a closer inspection of the passage in question, it will be seen that Rachel and Leah do not at all complain of any indignity heaped on them by being sold just as if they were strangers, but, on the contrary, mention the sale, to corroborate their statement that they are no longer their father's property, have no more any portion in his possession, and are now regarded by him as strangers, since, according to the usual custom, they have been duly sold to their husband, and hence agree with the latter that it is time for them to depart. Besides, the marriage-price is distinctly mentioned

\* According to the analogy of דָּהַר from דָּר, לָהֵט from לָהֵט, and מֹדָר from מָדָר is to be derived from מָדָר, to exchange. Hence מֹדָר denotes the exchange, the price given for a bride to her parents (Gen. xxxiv. 12; Exod. xxii. 16; 1 Sam. xviii. 25); Greek, *ἔδωκ*; comp. Gesenius, *Hebr. Handwörterbuch*, ed. Dietrich, Leipzig 1863; and Fürst, *Hebr. Handwörterbuch*, s.v.

in other passages of Scripture (Exod. xxii. 15, 16; 1 Sam. xviii. 23, 25; Ruth iv. 10; Hos. iii. 2), and was commonly demanded by the nations of antiquity; as the Babylonians (Herod. i. 196); Assyrians (Ælian, *V. H.*, iv. 1; Strabo, xvi. 745); the ancient Greeks (*Odys.*, viii. 318, ff.; Arist. *Polit.*, ii. 8; Pausan., iii. 12. 2); the Germans (Tacitus, *Germ.*, xviii.), and still obtains in the East to the present day. In fact, it could not be otherwise where polygamy was practised. As the number of maidens was under such circumstances less than that of wooers, it called forth competition, and it was but natural that he who offered the highest marriage-price obtained the damsel. There was therefore no fixed marriage-price; it varied according to circumstances. We meet with no dowry given with the bride by her father during the patriarchal age, except a maid-servant (Gen. xxiv. 61; xxix. 24, 29).

2. *Marriage*.—When the proposals were accepted, and the marriage-price (מֹדֶר), as well as the sundry other gifts (מִתְּנָה), were duly distributed, the bridegroom (חָתָן) could at once remove the bride (כִּלְהָ) from her father's house to his own house, and this removal of the maiden, under the benedictions of her family, but without any definite religious ceremony whatever, and cohabitation, consummated and expressed *marriage* (לָקַח אִשָּׁה). Thus we are told that Isaac, when meeting Eleazar and Rebekah in the field, as soon as he was informed by the former of what had transpired, took Rebekah to the tent of his departed mother, and this without farther ceremony constituted the marriage, and she *thereby* became his wife (וַתְּהִי לוֹ).

לָאִשָּׁה, Gen. xxiv. 63-67). Under more ordinary circumstances, however, when the bride had not at once to quit her parental roof under the protection of a friend, as in the case just mentioned, but where the marriage took place in the house of the bride's parents, it was celebrated by a feast to which all the friends and neighbours were invited, and which lasted seven days (Gen. xxix. 22, 27). On the day of the marriage, the bride was conducted to her future husband veiled, or more properly in an outdoor wrapper or shawl (צַעֲרֵי), which nearly enveloped her whole form, so that it was impossible to recognise the person, thus accounting for the deception practised on Jacob (Gen. xxiv. 65; xxix. 23), and on Judah (Gen. xxxviii. 14).

3. *Polygamy and Concubinage*.—Though the history of the protoplasts—in which we are told that God in the beginning created a single pair, one of each sex—seems to exhibit a standard for monogamy, yet the Scriptures record that from the remotest periods men had simultaneously several wives, occupying either co-ordinate or subordinate positions. Against the opinion that Lamech, sixth in descent from Adam through Cain, introduced polygamy—based on the circumstance that he is the first who is recorded as having married two wives (Gen. iv. 19)—is to be urged that (1.) Lamech is the first whose marriage or taking of a wife is recorded, and consequently it is impossible to say how many wives his five progenitors had; (2.) The mention of Lamech's two wives is incidental, and is entirely owing to the fact that the sacred historian had to notice the useful inventions made by their respective sons Jabel, Jubal, and Tubal-Cain, as well as to give the oldest piece of

rhythmical composition which was addressed to the wives, celebrating one of these inventions; and (3.) If polygamy had been for the first time introduced by Lamech, the sacred writer would have as distinctly mentioned it as he mentions the things which were first introduced by Lamech's sons. The manner in which Sarah urges Abraham to take her servant Hagar, and the fact that Sarah herself gives the maiden to her own husband

(לָאִשָּׁה) to be his wife, the readiness with which the patriarch accepts the proposal (Gen. xvi. 1-4), unquestionably show that it was a common custom to have one or more secondary wives. In fact, it is distinctly mentioned that Nahor, Abraham's own brother, who had eight sons by Milcah, his principal wife, and consequently did not require another wife for the purpose of securing progeny,

had nevertheless a secondary wife (פְּלִגִּישׁ), by whom he had four sons (Gen. xxii. 21-24). Besides, it is now pretty generally admitted that Gen. xxv. 1 describes Abraham himself to have taken another or secondary wife in the lifetime of Sarah, in addition to Hagar, who was given to him by his principal wife, as is evident from Gen. xxv. 6, 1 Chron. i. 32 [KETURAH], and that he could not have taken her for the sake of obtaining an heir. If any more proof be wanted for the prevalence of polygamy in the patriarchal age, we refer to Esau, who, to please his father, married his cousin Mahalath in addition to the several wives whom he had (Gen. xxviii. 8, 9); and to Jacob, who had not the slightest scruple to marry two sisters, and take two half-wives at the same time (Gen. xxix. 23-30; xxx. 4, 9), which would be unaccountable on the supposition that polygamy was something strange. Though sacred history is silent about the number of wives of the twelve patriarchs, yet there can be little doubt that the large number of children and grandchildren which Benjamin had at so early an age (Gen. xlv. 21; Num. xxvi. 38-41; 1 Chron. vii. 6-12; viii. 1), must have been the result of polygamy; and that Simeon, at all events, had more than one wife (Exod. vi. 15). The extraordinary rate at which the Jews increased in Egypt implies that they practised polygamy during their bondage. This is, moreover, corroborated by the incidental notice that Asher, Judah's grandson, had two wives (1 Chron. iv. 5 with ii. 24); that Caleb, Judah's great-grandson, had three principal and two subordinate wives (1 Chron. ii. 9, 18, 42, 46, 48); that Aharaim, probably Benjamin's great-grandson, had three wives (1 Chron. viii. 8-11); and that Moses had two wives (Exod. ii. 21; Num. xii. 1); as well as by the fact that the Mosaic legislation assumes the existence of polygamy (Lev. xiii. 14; Deut. xxv. 47). Still, the theory of monogamy seems to be exhibited in the case of Noah and his three sons (Gen. vi. 18; vii. 7, 13; viii. 16), of Aaron, and of Eleazar.

4. *Proscribed Degrees and Laws of Inter-marriage*.—There were no proscribed degrees within which a man was forbidden to marry in the pre-Mosaic period. On the contrary, the fact that Adam married 'bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh,' and that his sons married their own sisters, rather engendered the aversion to marry out of one's own kindred. Hence we find that Abraham married his half-sister (Gen. xx. 12); Nahor, Abraham's brother, married the daughter of his brother Haran, or his niece (Gen. xi. 29); Jacob married



two sisters at the same time, who were the daughters of his mother's brother (Gen. xxviii. 2; xxix. 26); Esau married his cousin Mahalath, the daughter of Ishmael (Gen. xxviii. 8, 9); Amram married his aunt Jochebed, his father's sister (Exod. vi. 20); and Judah married his daughter-in-law, Tamar, the widow of his own son (Gen. xxxviii. 26-30). This aversion to intermarriage with strangers and other tribes, which made Abraham pledge his faithful steward by the most sacred oath not to take for his son a wife from the daughters of the Canaanites (Gen. xxiv. 2-4); which occasioned such 'a grief of mind' to Isaac, because his son Esau married Hittite women (Gen. xxvi. 34, 35); and which was the cause of great dissatisfaction in the family of Moses when he married a Midianitish woman (Exod. ii. 21); was afterwards greatly increased on the ground of difference of creed. The same feeling of aversion against intermarriage (*ἐντὶ γαμου*) with foreigners prevailed among other nations of antiquity, and may also have been the cause why marriages with the nearest of kin were practised among them. Thus the Athenians were allowed to marry half-sisters by the father's side (Corn. Nepos, *Pref.*; *Cimon* i.; Plutarch, *Cimon* iv.; *Themistocl.* xxxii.); the Spartans married half-sisters by the same mother (Philo, *de Spec. Leg.*, p. 779); and the Assyrians and Egyptians full sisters (Lucian, *Sacrific.* 5; Diod. i. 27; Philo, *de Spec. Leg.*, p. 779; Selden, *de jure naturali et gentium*, v. 11). In later times, when the desire to preserve purity of blood, which was the primary cause for not intermarrying with alien tribes, was superseded by religious motives, the patriarchal instances of epigamy recorded without censure during this period became very inconvenient. Hence means were adopted to explain them away. Thus the marriage of Judah with a heathen woman, the daughter of Shuah, a Canaanite (Gen. xxxviii. 2), is made orthodox by the Chaldee Paraphrase, the Midrash (*Beresith Rabba*, c. lxxxv.), the Talmud (*Pessachim*, 50 a), Rashi (*in loco*), etc., by explaining כַּנְעָנִי to mean תַּנְרָא, *merchant*, as in Job xl. 30; Prov. xxxi. 24; and the Jerusalem Targum finds it necessary to add that Judah converted her to Judaism (וַיִּירֶה). The marriage of Simeon with a Canaanite (Gen. xli. 10) is explained away in a similar manner (comp. *Beresith Rabba*, c. lxxx.; and Rashi on Gen. xli. 10).

5. *Sanctity of Marriage, and Mutual Rights of Husband and Wife.*—Though at the creation the wife occupied an equal position with the husband, being a part of him, yet as she became the cause of his sin, God ordained it as part of her punishment that the wife should be in subjection to the will of her husband, and that he should be her master, and 'rule over her' (Gen. iii. 16). This dependence of the wife on her husband is henceforth declared by the very Hebrew appellation (בעל) for husband (Exod. xxi. 3, 22), which literally denotes *lord, master, owner*, and is seen in the conduct of Sarah, who speaks of her husband Abraham as (אדני) *my lord* (Gen. xviii. 12), which is commended by St. Peter as illustrating the proper position of a wife (1 Pet. iii. 6). From this mastery of the husband over the wife arose the different standard of virtue which obtained in married life. The wife, as subject to her husband, her lord and master, was not allowed to practise polyandry; she was obliged to regard the sanctity

of marriage as absolute, and any unchastity on her part was visited with capital punishment; whilst the husband could take any unmarried woman he liked and violate the laws of chastity, as we should view it, with impunity (Gen. xxxviii. 24). This absolute sanctity of marriage on the part of the wife was also acknowledged by other nations of antiquity, as is gathered from the narratives of the patriarchs. Thus Abraham knew that Pharaoh would not take Sarah from her husband, and we are told that as soon as the Egyptian monarch discovered that she was a married woman, he immediately restored her to her husband (Gen. xii. 15-19); and this is confirmed by Egyptology, which, based on ancient writers and monuments, shows that he who seduced a married woman received a thousand rods, and that the woman had her nose cut off (Uhlemann, *Egypt. Alterthumsk.*, 11, sec. 25, 65). The same sanctity was attached to a married woman in Philistia (Gen. xx. 1-18; xxvi. 9-11).

6. *Divorce.*—The arbitrary power of the husband over his wife in the patriarchal age is also seen in the fact that he could divorce her at his pleasure. There is but one instance of it recorded, but it is a very significant one. Abraham, though he has a child by Hagar, sends away his half-wife, not requiring any legal or religious intervention (Gen. xxi. 14), but, as in the case of marriage, effecting it by a mere verbal declaration.

7. *Levirate Law.*—The only power which a woman had over the man during this period in matrimonial matters, was when her husband died without issue. The widow could then claim his next brother to marry her; if the second also died without progeny, she could ask the third, and so on. The object of this Levirate-marriage, as it is called, from the Latin, *levir*, brother-in-law (Hebrew, יָבֵם; Greek, *ἐπιγαμβρέω*), is 'to raise up seed to the departed brother,' which should preserve his name upon his inheritance, and prevent it from being erased from among his brethren, and from the gate of his town (Gen. xxxviii. 8; Deut. xxv. 6; Ruth iv. 10); since the Hebrews regarded childlessness as a great evil (Gen. xvi. 4; xix. 31), and entire excision as a most dire calamity and awful punishment from God (Deut. ix. 14; Ps. ix. 7; cix. 15). To remove this reproach from the departed, it was regarded as the sacred duty of the eldest surviving brother to marry the widow, and the first-born son resulting from such an alliance was to all intents and purposes considered as the representative and heir of the deceased. Thus we are told that when Er, Judah's eldest son, who was married to Tamar, died without issue, the second son was called upon to marry his deceased brother's widow, and that when he again died leaving no children, Tamar, the widow, had still a claim upon the only surviving son, for whom she had to wait, as he was not as yet marriageable (Gen. xxxviii. 6-12, 14, 26). Ultimately, Judah himself had to marry his daughter-in-law, for she inveigled him into it as a punishment for neglecting to give her his third son (Gen. xxxviii. 26-30); and Pharez, the issue of this Levirate-marriage, not only became the founder of a numerous and illustrious family, but was the direct line from which the royal family of David descended, and the channel through which the Messiah was born (Gen. xxxviii. 29, with Matt. i. 3). This Levirate-marriage was not peculiar to the Hebrews. It also obtained among

the Moabites (Ruth i. 11-13), Persians (Kleuker, *Zendavesta*, iii. 226), Indians (*Asiatic Researches*, iii. 35), and still exists in Arabia (Burekhardt, *Notes* i., p. 112; Niebuhr, *Voyage*, p. 61), among the tribes of the Caucasus (Hanthausen, *Transcaucasia*, p. 403), and other nations (comp. Leyser, in *Herzog, Real-Encyclopädie* viii. 358, s. v. *Leviratsche*).

## ii. THE PERIOD FROM THE GIVING OF THE LAW TO THE BABYLONISH CAPTIVITY.

As the aim of the Mosaic enactments was not to uproot the ancient institutions which obtained among the people, but simply to mitigate certain evils connected with them, as well as to bring those practices thus ameliorated and modified under the regulations and amenableness of law, we shall best see to what degree this was effected, by discussing the different regulations bearing upon the diverse points of the marriage-question, in the same order as we have detailed them in the pre-Mosaic period.

1. *Mode of Selecting a Bride—Betrothal and Marriage-price.*—The Mosaic enactments introduced no changes into these usages. The father's power over the child in matters of marriage continued paramount, and he could give his children to any one he pleased without asking their consent. Thus Caleb offers his daughter Achsah (Josh. xv. 16, 17) as wife to any one who will conquer Kirjath-sepher (Judg. i. 12). Saul promises his daughter to him who shall kill the Philistine, and barter his daughter Michal for the prepuces of a hundred slain Philistines (1 Sam. xvii. 26, 27; xviii. 25-27); and Iban takes thirty wives for his thirty sons (Judg. xii. 9). A judicial marriage-price (*מזר הבתולת*) was now introduced, which was fixed at fifty silver shekels (Exod. xxii. 16, with Deut. xxii. 29), being the highest rate of a servant (Lev. xxvii. 3), so that one had to pay as much for a wife as for a bondwoman. When the father of the maiden was rich and *did not want the marriage-price* (*אין חפץ במהר*), he expected some service by way of compensation for giving away his daughter (1 Sam. xviii. 25). As soon as the bargain was concluded, and the marriage-price paid, or the required service was rendered, the maiden was regarded as betrothed to her wooer, and as sacredly belonging to him. In fact, she was legally treated as a *married woman* (*אשת איש*); she could not be separated from her intended husband without a bill of divorce, and the same law was applicable to her as to married people. If she was *persuaded* to criminal conduct between the espousals and the bringing her home to her husband's house, both she and her seducer were publicly stoned to death; and if she was violated, the culprit suffered capital punishment (Deut. xxii. 23-27, with ver. 22; and Lev. xx. 10). With such sacredness was betrothal regarded, that even if a bond-maid who was bought with the intention of ultimately becoming a secondary wife (Exod. xxi. 7-11), was guilty of unchastity prior to her entering into that state, both she and her seducer were scourged, whilst the latter was also obliged to bring a sin-offering, and the priest had to pray for the forgiveness of his sin (Lev. xix. 20-22). Every betrothed man was by the Mosaic law exempt from military service (Deut. xx. 7).

2. *Marriage.*—The Mosaic law prescribes no civil or religious forms for the celebration of marriage. The contract or promise made at the pay-

ment of the marriage-price, or when the service which was required in its stead was rendered, constituted the solemn bond which henceforth united the espoused parties, as is evident from the fact pointed out in the preceding sections, that a betrothed maiden was both called a *married woman*, and was legally treated as such. There can, however, be no doubt that the ancient custom of celebrating the consummation of the marriage by a feast, which lasted seven days (Gen. xxix. 22, 27), must have become pretty general by this time. Thus we are told that when Samson went to Timnath to take his wife, he made there a feast, which continued for seven days, according to the usage of young men on such occasions (*כִּי כָן עָשׂוּ הַבְּחֹרִים*), that the parents of the bride invited thirty young men (*νῆοι τοῦ νυμφῶνος*, Matt. ix. 15) to honour his nuptials, and that to relieve their entertainment, Samson, in harmony with the prevailing custom among the nations of antiquity, proposed enigmas (Judg. xiv. 10-18). We afterwards find that the bridal-pair were adorned with nuptial crowns (Song of Songs, iii. 11; Is. lxi. 10) made of various materials—gold, silver, myrtle, or olive—varying in costliness according to the circumstances of the parties (*Mishna, Sota* ix. 14; *Gemara*, 49 a and b; Selden, *Ux. Ebr.* ii. 15), and that the bride especially wore gorgeous apparel, and a peculiar girdle (Ps. xlv. 13, 14; Is. xlix. 18; Jer. ii. 12), whence in fact she derived her name *Kallah* (*כלה*), which signifies *the ornamented, the adorned*. Thus attired, the bridegroom and bride were led in joyous procession through the streets, accompanied by bands of singers and musicians (Jer. vii. 34; xxv. 10; xxxiii. 11), and saluted by the greetings of the maidens of the place, who manifested the liveliest interest in the nuptial train (Song of Songs, iii. 11), to the house of the bridegroom or that of his father. Here the feast was prepared, to which all the friends and the neighbours were invited, and at which most probably that sacred covenant was concluded which came into vogue during the post-Mosaic period (Prov. ii. 17; Ezek. xvi. 8; Mal. ii. 14). The bride, thickly veiled, was then conducted to the (*חדר*) bridal-chamber (Gen. xxix. 23; Judg. xv. 11; Joel ii. 6), where a nuptial couch (*חפה*) was prepared (Ps. xix. 5; Joel ii. 16) in such a manner as to afford facility for ascertaining the following morning whether she had preserved her maiden purity; for in the absence of the *signa virginitalis* she was stoned to death before her father's house (Deut. xxii. 13-21).

3. *Polygamy and Concubinage.*—In the case of polygamy, as in that of other national customs, the Mosaic law adheres to the established usage. Hence there is not only no express statute to prohibit polygamy, which was previously held lawful, but the Mosaic law presupposes its existence and practice, bases its legislation thereupon, and thus authorises it, as is evident from the following enactments:—1. It is ordained that a king 'shall not multiply wives unto himself' (Deut. xvii. 17), which, as Bishop Patrick rightly remarks, 'is not a prohibition to take more wives than one, but not to have an excessive number, after the manner of eastern kings, whom Solomon seems to have imitated;' thus, in fact, legalizing a moderate number. The *Mishna* (*Sanhedrin*, ii. 4), the *Talmud* (*Babylon Sanhedrin*, 21 a), Rashi (*on Deut.* xvii. 17), etc., in harmony with ancient tradition, regard



eighteen wives, including half wives, as a moderate number, and as not violating the injunction contained in the expression 'multiply.' 2. The law enacts that a man is not to marry his wife's sister to vex her while she lives (Lev. xviii. 18), which, as the same prelate justly urges, manifestly means 'that though two wives at a time, or more, were permitted in those days, no man should take two sisters (as Jacob had formerly done) begotten of the same father or born of the same mother;' or, in other words, a man is at liberty to take another wife besides the first, and during her lifetime, provided only they are not sisters. 3. The law of primogeniture (Deut. xxi. 15-17) actually presupposes the case of a man having *two* wives, one beloved and the other not, as it was with Jacob and his two wives, and ordains that if the one less beloved is the mother of his first-born, the husband is not to transfer the right of primogeniture to the son of his favourite wife, but is to acknowledge him as first-born who is actually so. 4. Exod. xxi. 9, 10, permits a father who had given his son a bondswoman for a wife, to give him a second wife of *freer birth*, and prescribes how the first is then to be treated—that she is to have alimony, clothes, and the conjugal duty; and 5. Deut. xxv. 47 expressly enjoins that a man, though having a wife already, is to marry his deceased brother's widow.

Having existed before the Mosaic law, and being acknowledged and made the basis of legislation by it, polygamy continued in full force during the whole of this period. Thus, during the government of the judges, we find Gideon, the celebrated judge of Israel, 'had many wives, and threescore and ten sons' (Judg. viii. 30); Jair the Gileadite, also a judge of Israel, had thirty grown-up sons (Judg. x. 4) and a proportioned number of daughters. Ibzan, another judge of Israel, had thirty full-grown sons and thirty full-grown daughters (Judg. xii. 9); and Abdon, also a judge of Israel, had forty adult sons and thirty adult daughters—which was utterly impossible without polygamy; the pious Elkanah, father of Samuel the illustrious judge and prophet, had two wives (1 Sam. i. 2). During the monarchy, we find Saul, the first king of Israel, had many wives and half wives (2 Sam. iii. 7; xii. 8); David, the royal singer of Israel, 'their best king,' as Bishop Patrick remarks in his comment on Lev. xviii. 18, 'who read God's law day and night, and could not but understand it, took many wives without any reproof; nay, God gave him more than he had before, by delivering his master's wives to him' (2 Sam. xii. 8); Solomon, the wise monarch, had no less than a thousand wives and half wives (1 Kings xi. 3); Rehoboam, his son and successor, had eighteen wives and threescore half wives (2 Chron. xi. 21); Abijah, his son and successor to the throne of Judah, married fourteen wives (2 Chron. xiv. 21); and Joash, the tenth king, including David, who reigned from 378 to 338 B.C., had two wives given to him by the godly high-priest Jehoiada, who restored both the throne of David and the worship of the true God according to the law of Moses (2 Chron. xxiv. 3). A very remarkable illustration of the prevalence of polygamy in private life is given in 1 Chron. vii. 4, where we are told that not only did the five fathers, all of them chief men of the tribe of Issachar, live in polygamy, but that their descendants, numbering 36,000 men, 'had many wives.' De Wette indeed affirms that 'the Hebrew moral teachers speak

decidedly for monogamy, as is evident from their always speaking of one wife, and from the high notion which they have of a good wedded wife—'A virtuous woman is the diadem of her husband, but a bad wife is like rottenness in the bones' (Prov. xii. 4); 'Whoso findeth a wife findeth happiness' (Prov. xviii. 22); 'a house and wealth are an inheritance from parents, but a discreet wife is from the Lord' (*ibid.* xix. 14). Prov. xxxi. 10-31 describes an industrious and managing wife in such a manner as one only could be it (comp. *Christl. Sittenlehre*, iii., sec. 472). Similarly Ewald, 'Wherever a prophet alludes to matrimonial matters, he always assumes faithful and sacred monogamy contracted for the whole life as the legal one' (*Die Alterthümer Israels*, p. 177, ff.). But we have exactly analogous passages where parental felicity is described, 'A wise son is happiness to the father, but a foolish son is the grief of his mother' (Prov. x. 1; xv. 20); 'A wise son heareth his father's instruction' (Prov. xiii. 1); and upon the same parity of reasoning it might be said that the theory of having only one son is assumed by the sacred moralist, because, when speaking of happiness or misery, which parents derive from their offspring, only one son is alluded to. Besides, the facts which we have enumerated cannot be set aside by arguments.

#### 4. *Proscribed Degrees and Laws of Inter-marriage.*

—The regulations now introduced in this respect are of a twofold nature: *i.* Enactments about inter-marriages among the Israelites themselves; and *ii.* Epigamy with other nations.

*i.* The most important change in the Biblical gamology is the Mosaic law about the prohibited degrees. Whilst in the pre-Mosaic period no prohibition whatever existed against marrying one's nearest and dearest relatives, the Mosaic law (Lev. xviii. 7-17; xx. 11, etc.) proscribes no less than fifteen marriages within specified degrees of both consanguinity and affinity. In neither consanguinity nor affinity, however, does the law extend beyond two degrees—viz., the mother, her daughter, aunt, father's wife, father's sister, sister on the father's side, wife of the father's brother, brother's wife (excepting in the case of a Levirate marriage), daughter-in-law, grand-daughter, either from a son or daughter, a woman and her daughter, or her grand-daughter either from a son or daughter, and two sisters together. The subjoined table exhibits these degrees. We must only remark that the squares stand for *males*, the circles for *females*, the triangles within the squares for *deceased*, the numbers refer to the order in which they are enumerated in Lev. xviii. 17, and that the husband and wife, who form the starting-point, are represented by a double square and double circle.

It will be seen from the following table that whilst some kindred are proscribed, others are allowed, *e.g.*, a father's sister is forbidden whilst a brother's daughter is not. This has occasioned great difficulty in tracing the principle which underlies these prohibitions. Philippson is of opinion that it may be deduced from the remarks which accompany the respective vetos. The stepmother is proscribed because 'it is thy father's nakedness' (Lev. xviii. 8); the son's or daughter's daughter because it 'is thine own nakedness' (ver. 10); the father's or mother's sister because she is the 'father's or mother's flesh' (vers. 12, 13); and the brother's wife because 'it is the nakedness of thy brother'

(ver. 16). 'From this it is evident,' this erudite chief Rabbi submits, 'that on the one side, son, daughter, and grandchild, are identified with the father, whilst on the other side brothers and sisters are identified with each other, *because they have one and the same source of life*. Accordingly, we obtain the following data. All members proceeding from a common father or mother constitute one issue, because they possess *together* the same source of life; whilst the ascendants and the descendants in a straight line form *one line*, because they have *one after the other and from*

*each other* the same source of life; and hence the law—1. Two members of the same issue, or two members of the same line, are *not* to intermarry, because they have the same source of life. But inasmuch as the ascending is the primary to each descending issue, and the descending the derived to every ascending, an ascending issue may press forward out of the straight line, or step down into the following, *i. e.*, the primary into the one derived from it; whilst the succeeding cannot go backwards into the foregoing, *i. e.*, the derived into the primary. Now, as the man is the moving cause in

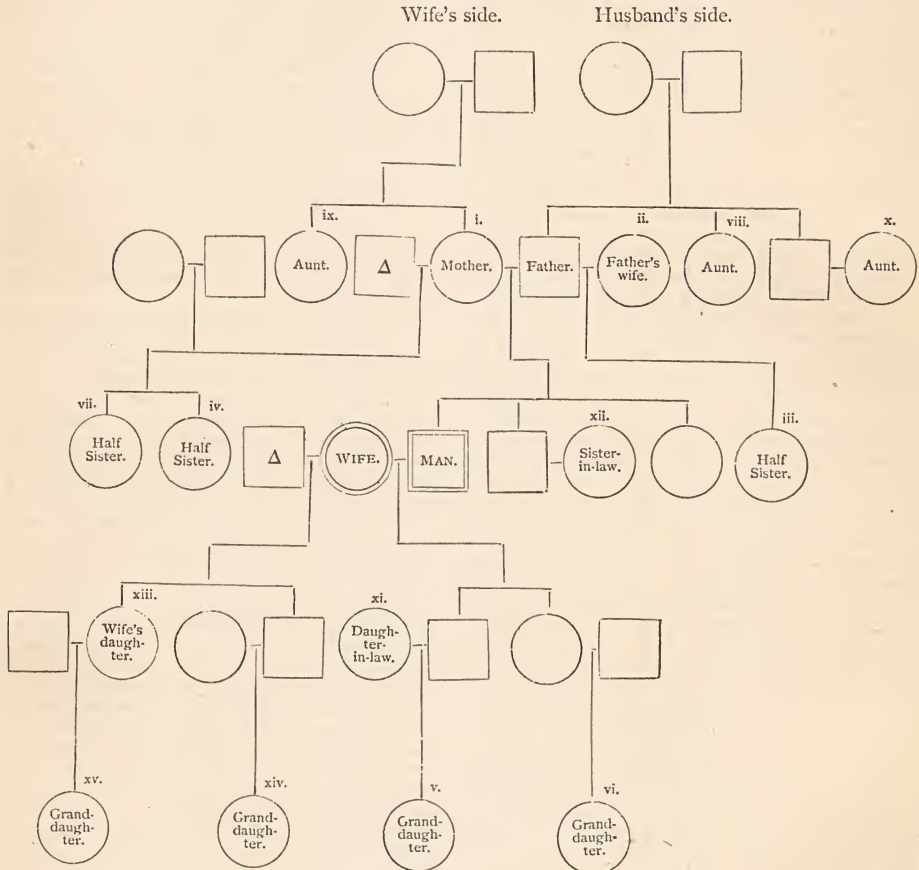


TABLE OF PROHIBITED DEGREES IN MARRIAGE.

carnal intercourse, hence the law—2. A male member of the succeeding issue must not marry a female member of the preceding issue, whilst, on the contrary, a male member of the preceding issue may marry a female of the succeeding issue, provided they are not both of a direct line. Half-blood and step-relations make no difference in this respect, since they are identified, both in the issue and in the line, because husband and wife become identified. It is for this reason also that the relationship, which the wife always assumes in marriage with regard to her husband, is such as a blood re-

lation bears to her; hence it is, for instance, that a brother's wife is proscribed, whilst the wife's sister is allowed. Thus the principle of the Mosaic proscriptions is a profound one, and is fully borne out by nature. Connubial intercourse has for its object to produce a third by the connection of two opposites; but that which proceeds from the same source of life is merely of the same kind. Hence, when two, originally of the same kind, unite, it is contrary to the true design of copulation, and can only proceed from an overpowering and excess of rude and animal passions. It is a desecration of



the nature and morality of man, and the highest defilement' (*Israelitische Bibel*, vol. i. p. 598, ff.; 3d ed. Leipzig 1863).

Different penalties are attached to the infringement of these prohibitions. The punishment of death is to be inflicted for marrying a father's wife (Lev. xviii. 8; xx. 11), or a daughter-in-law (Lev. xviii. 15; xx. 12); of death by fire for marrying a woman and her daughter at the same time (xviii. 17; xx. 14); of being cut off or excommunicated for marrying a sister on the father's side or on the mother's side (xviii. 9; xx. 17); of not being pardoned for marrying a father's or mother's sister (xviii. 12, 13; xx. 19); of not being pardoned and childlessness for marrying a father's brother's wife (xviii. 14; xx. 20); and of childlessness alone for marrying a brother's wife (xviii. 16; xx. 21), excepting the case of a Levirate marriage (Deut. xxv. 5-10). No penalty is mentioned for marrying one's mother (xviii. 7), grand-daughter (xviii. 10), or two sisters together (xviii. 18). From this enumeration it will be seen, that it only specifies *three instances* in which capital punishment is to be inflicted; and we are therefore not a little surprised at the assertion of Mr. Bevan, the writer of the excellent article *Marriage* in Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, that 'the general penalty [for the infringement of these prohibitions] being death (Lev. xxii. 17), but in the case of the aunt and the brother's wife childlessness (vers. 19-21), involving probably the stain of illegitimacy in cases where there was an issue, while in the case of two sisters no penalty is stated.'

Besides the proscribed degrees, the Mosaic law also forbids the following intermarriages: i. No Israelite is to marry the progeny of incestuous and unlawful copulations, or a *mamzer* (מומזר), Deut. xxiii. 2). In the absence of any Biblical definition of this much-disputed expression, we must accept the ancient traditional explanation contained in the Mishna, which is as follows: 'When there is betrothal without transgression of the law about forbidden marriages—*e.g.*, if the daughters of priests, Levites, or Israelites, are married to priests, Levites, or Israelites—the child goes after the father; where there is betrothal, and this law has been transgressed—*e.g.*, if a widow is married to a high-priest, a divorced woman or one who performed the ceremony of *chalitzah* to an ordinary priest, or a bastardess or a female *Nethin* to an Israelite; or, *vice versa*, if a Jewess is married to a bastard or *Nethin*—the child goes after the inferior party; where the woman cannot be betrothed to the man, but might legally be betrothed to another person—*e.g.*, if a man married within any one of the degrees proscribed by the law—the child is a *bastard* or *Mamzer*' (*Kiddushin*, iii. 12). ii. Any person who is *פצוע דכה*, *cujus testiculi vulnereati sunt, vel certe unus eorum*, *ברות שפכה*, *cujus membrum virile præcisum est*, as the Mishna (*Yebamoth*, viii. 2) explains it, is not allowed to marry (Deut. xxiii. 1). iii. A man is not to remarry a woman whom he had divorced, and who, after marrying another husband, had become a widow, or been divorced again (Deut. xxiv. 2-4). iv. Heiresses are not allowed to intermarry with persons of another tribe (Num. xxxvi. 5-9). v. A high-priest is forbidden to marry a widow, a divorced woman, a profane woman, or a harlot, and restricted to a pure Jewish maiden (Lev. xxi. 13, 14); and vi. Ordinary priests are prohibited from marrying prostitutes and divorced women (Lev. xxi. 7).

ii. The proscription of epigamy with non-Israelites is absolute with regard to some nations, and conditional with regard to others. The Mosaic law absolutely forbids intermarriage with the seven Canaanitish nations, on the ground that it would lead the Israelites into idolatry (Exod. xxxiv. 15, 16; Deut. vii. 3, 4); and with the Ammonites and Moabites on account of national antipathy (Deut. xxiii. 4-8); whilst the prohibition against marriage with the Edomites and Egyptians only extends to the third generation (Deut. xxiii. 7, 8). The Talmud, which rightly expounds the prohibition to 'enter into the congregation of the Lord' as necessarily extending to epigamy (comp. 1 Kings xi. 2; *Kiddushin*, iv. 3), takes the third generation to mean of those who became proselytes, *i.e.*, the grand-children of an Ammonite or Moabite who professes Judaism (Mishna, *Yebamoth*, viii. 3; Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chazaka*, *Issure Bi'ah*, xii. 19, 20). This view is confirmed by the fact, that the Bible only mentions *three* intermarriages with Egyptians, and records at least two out of the three to show the evil effects of it. One occurred after the Exodus and in the wilderness, and we are told that the son of this intermarriage, whilst quarrelling with a brother Jew, blasphemed the name of God, and suffered capital punishment (Lev. xxiv. 10-14); the second occurred towards the end of the rulership of the judges, and tradition endeavours to show, that Ishmael the murderer of Gedaliah (Jer. xli. 1, 2) was a descendant of Jarha the Egyptian son-in-law of Sheshan (1 Chron. ii. 34, 35; and Rashi *in loco*); and the third is the intermarriage of Solomon, which is censured in the book of Kings (1 Kings iii. 1; xi. 1, 2). Of intermarriages with Edomites not a single instance is recorded in the O. T.; the Jewish antipathy against them was transmitted down to a very late period, as we find in the declaration of Jesus son of Sirach, that his soul hates the inhabitants of Seir (Eccles. iv. 25, 26), and in the fact that Judas Maccabæus carried on a deadly war with them (1 Maccab. v. 3; 2 Maccab. xx. 15-23).

An exception is made in the case of female captives of war (Deut. xxi. 10-14), which is evidently designed to obviate as far as possible the outrages committed after the evil passions have been stirred up in the conflict. The law, however, most humanely ordains that the captor, before making her his wife, should first allow her to indulge herself for a full month in mourning for her parents from whom she is snatched away, and to practise the following customary rites expressive of grief:—1. Cut off the hair of her head, which was the usual sign of mourning both among the Jews and other nations of antiquity (Ezra ix. 3; Job i. 20; Is. xv. 2; Jer. vii. 29, xvi. 6; Ezek. vii. 18, xxvii. 31; Amos viii. 10; Micah i. 16); 2. Cut off her nails, which were stained to form a part of personal adornment; and 3. Put off the raiment in which she was taken captive, since the women who followed their fathers and husbands to the war put on their finest dresses and ornaments previous to an engagement, in the hope of finding favour in the eyes of their captors in case of a defeat (Ovid, *Remed. Amor.* 343; Rosenmüller, *Das alte u. neue Morgenland*, ii. 308).

The first complaint of epigamy with aliens is, strange to say, made against Moses, the lawgiver himself (Num. xii. 1). In the days of the Judges the law against intermarriage was commonly trans-

gressed (Judges iii. 6), and from the earlier portions of the book of Proverbs, which ring with repeated denunciations of foreign women (Prov. ii. 16, 17; v. 8-11; xv. 17), as well as from the warnings of Isaiah (ii. 6), it is evident that intermarriages with foreign women were generally practised in private life in after times. Of the twenty-nine kings of Israel who reigned from the division of the kingdom to the Babylonish captivity, Ahab is the only one mentioned who married a foreign wife (1 Kings xvi. 31); whilst of twenty kings of Judah, Jeroboam alone intermarried with aliens.

5. *Sanctity of Marriage, and Mutual Rights of Husband and Wife.*—Recognizing the previously existing inequality of husband and wife, and basing its laws upon the then prevailing notion that the husband is lord over his wife, that he can take as many wives as he likes, and send them away whenever he dislikes them, the Mosaic gamology, as a matter of course, could neither impose the same obligation of nuptial fidelity nor confer the same rights on both. This is evident from the following facts:—

1. The husband had a right to expect from his wife connubial chastity, and in case of infidelity could demand her death as well as that of her seducer (Lev. xx. 10; Deut. xxii. 20-22; Ezek. xvi. 40; John viii. 5). 2. If he became jealous and suspicious of her, *even when she had not been unfaithful*, he could bring her before the priest and have administered to her the water of jealousy (Num. v. 12-31). But if the husband was suspected, or was actually guilty of carnal intercourse with an unmarried woman, no statute was enacted to enable the wife or wives to arraign him for a breach of marriage or infringement of her or their rights. Even when he was discovered with another man's wife, it was the injured husband that had the power to demand the death of the seducer, but not the wife of the criminal. 3. If the wife vowed anything to the Lord, or imposed upon herself voluntary obligations to the Deity, her husband could nullify it (Num. xxx. 6-8). 4. He could send her away or divorce her when she displeased him (Deut. xxiv. 1-4). The woman again is protected by the following laws:—1. When a Hebrew maiden is sold by her father to a man, with the understanding that she is to be his half-wife (פילגש = אמה), Exod. xxi. 7; Judg. ix. 18, with Judg. viii. 31), the law enacts that, in case her master and intended husband is displeased with her, and he refuses to redeem his promise—i. He is not to keep her till the Sabbatic year, and then give her her liberty like ordinary servants; ii. He is not to sell her to any one else as a wife; iii. He may give her to his son as a wife, and in that case must treat her as a daughter-in-law; iv. If he gives his son an additional wife, she is to obtain—*a.* her food, *b.* raiment, and *c.* conjugal right as heretofore; and, v. If these three last-mentioned points are refused to her, she is forthwith to be set at liberty (Exod. xxi. 7-11).\* 2.

\* This we believe to be the meaning of this confessedly difficult passage: the pronoun לו in the margin, or the *Keri*, according to our opinion, is the proper reading; and the negative particle לא in the text, or the *Kethiv*, belongs to והפרה, i.e.

והפרה ולא הפרה, אשר לו יעדה ולא הפרה, *who hath betrothed her to himself, but who hath not caused her to be redeemed—i.e., by his promise—or redeemed her.*

If he maliciously impugns her chastity, he is to be scourged and loses his right over her to divorce her (Deut. xxii. 13-19). 3. If she has children, they must render equal obedience to her as to the father (Exod. xx. 12; Deut. xxvii. 16). 4. The husband must not vex her by marrying two sisters simultaneously (Lev. xviii. 18). 5. He is not allowed to annoy his less beloved wife by transferring the primogeniture from her son to the child of his favourite wife (Deut. xxi. 15-17). 6. If her husband dislikes her, he is not arbitrarily to dismiss her, but give her a 'bill of divorcement' (Deut. xxiv. 1), which requires the interposition of legal advisers. And, 7. When a woman is divorced, or her husband dies, she is free, and at liberty to marry any one she likes, as is evident from the enactments in Lev. xxi. 7, 8, 13; Deut. xxiv. 2-4; xxv. 5; which are based upon this fact.

6. *Divorce.*—It must be remarked that the Mosaic law does not *institute* divorce, but, as in other matters, recognises and most humanely regulates the prevailing patriarchal practice (Deut. xxiv. 1-4). The ground on which the law allows a divorce is termed ערות רבר, *any shameful thing*. What the precise meaning of this ambiguous phrase is, and what, according to the Mosaic gamology, gives a husband the right to divorce his wife, have been greatly disputed in the schools of Shammai and Hillel, which were founded before the advent of Christ [EDUCATION], and is given below. It is, however, certain that the phrase does not denote *fornication or adultery*, for in that case the woman was not divorced, but *stoned* (Lev. xx. 10; Deut. xxii. 20-22; Ezek. xvi. 40; John viii. 5). Moreover, the phrase מוצא הן בעיני

פלגני, with which this statute begins, when used of opposite sexes, as in the case before us, generally denotes *favourable impression which one produces on the other, by graceful manners, or beautiful appearance* (Gen. xxxix. 4; Ruth ii. 2, 10, 13; Ezek. v. 2, with 8). That it has this sense here seems to be warranted by ver. 3, where it is supposed that the divorced woman marries again, and her second husband also divorces her, and that not on account of immorality, but because *he does not like her*. The humane regulations which the Mosaic gamology introduced in order to render a divorce legal were as follows:—1. If a man dislikes his wife, or finds that he cannot live happily together with her, he is not summarily to send her away by word of mouth as heretofore, but is to give her a formal and judicial *bill of divorcement* (ספר כריתת), which required the intervention of a legal adviser, and caused delay, thus affording time for reflection, and preventing many a divorce resolved on under the influence of passion. 2. Allowing the parties, even after the dissolution of the marriage, to renew the connection if they wished it, provided the divorced wife had not, in the meantime, married another husband, and become a widow, or been again divorced. When Mr. Hayman (the writer of the article *Divorce* in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*) denies this, and asserts that 'Winer is surely mistaken (s. v. *Ehescheidung*) in supposing that a man might take back as wife her whom he had divorced, except in the cases when her second husband had died or had divorced her,' we can only say that not only are Bishop Patrick (on Deut. xxiv. 4), Michaelis (*Law of Moses*, ii. 137,



English translation), and many other Christian expositors, of the same opinion, but that it has been so understood and acted upon by those who were charged with the administration of the law from time immemorial. The only exception which the sages made was when a man divorced his wife because of an evil report, which he maliciously circulated about her; then he was not allowed to re-marry her (Mishna, *Gittin* iv. 7). 3. If the divorced woman marries again, and the second husband either dies or divorces her, she is not allowed to re-marry her first husband; so as to preclude the possibility of procuring the death of, or a divorce from, the second husband, in case the parties wished to be reunited. 4. If a man seduces a maiden, and on this account is legally obliged to marry her, 'he may not put her away all his life' (Deut. xxii. 28, 29); or 5. If he groundlessly impugns her chastity, he also loses the power of ever divorcing her (Deut. xxii. 13-19). This, as well as the preceding benign law, was evidently designed to make men care for those women whom they had either virtually or actually deprived of their moral character, and who, if these men were allowed to desert them, might never be able to get husbands. Thus these laws, whilst checking seduction, inasmuch as the man knew that he would have all his lifetime to be wedded to and care for the injured woman, also prevented those females who had momentarily fallen, from being branded for life, and compelled to give themselves up to prostitution; and 6. Though the Mosaic law has no express statute that the wife, under certain circumstances, may demand a divorce from her husband, yet it is undoubtedly implied in the enactment contained in Exod. xxi. 10. For if a bondswoman who became the wife of her master could quit him if he did not fulfil the conditions of a husband, it is but natural to conclude that a *free* wife would, under similar circumstances, be able to claim the protection of the same law. A few instances of the violation of the divorce law, between the period of its enactment and the Babylonish captivity, are incidentally recorded without any censure whatever. Thus we are told that Saul took away Michal, his daughter, David's wife, without David formally divorcing her, and gave her to Phalti (1 Sam. xxv. 44), and that David took back again Michal, who had been united to another husband (2 Sam. iii. 14-16). Still the laws of divorce and of prohibiting reunion after the divorced woman had been married to another husband, are alluded to by Jeremiah, as well known and commonly observed (iii. 1, 8).

7. *Levirate Law*.—This law, which, as we have seen, existed from time immemorial both among the patriarchs and other nations of antiquity, is now formally enacted as part of the Biblical gamology. In adopting this law, however, as in the case of other primitive practices incorporated in the Mosaic code, the sacred legislator both prescribes for it definite limits, and most humanely deprives it of the irksome and odious features which it possessed in ancient times. This is evident from the enactment itself, which is as follows: 'If brothers dwell together, and one of them die and have no child, the wife of the deceased shall not marry out of the family a stranger; her husband's brother shall go in unto her, and take her as his wife, and perform the duty of a brother-in-law. Her first-born shall then succeed in the

name of the deceased brother, so that his name be not blotted out of Israel' (Deut. xxv. 5, 6). Accordingly—i. Levirate is restricted to brothers who *dwell together*, i.e., in contiguous properties, as the rabbinical law explains it according to the meaning of the phrase שבת יוריו in Gen. xiii. 6, xxxvi. 7, and elsewhere. If the brothers lived far away, or if the deceased had not brothers at all, it was an understood thing that it devolved upon the nearest of kin to marry the widow, or care for her if she was too old, when of course it passed over from the domain of Levirate into that of *Gool* or *redeemer* (Ruth ii. 20; iii. 9; iv. 15, 16). And ii. To cases where no issue whatever is left, as בן is here used in its general sense of *offspring* and not specifically for *son*. This is not only confirmed by the Sept. (στέρμα), Matt. (μὴ ἔχω στέρμα, xxii. 5), Mark (xii. 19), Luke (ἀρεκνος, xx. 28), Josephus (*Antiq.* iv. 8. 23), and the Talmud (*Sebamoth*, 22 b), but is evident from the law of inheritance (Num. xxvii. 8-11), in which it is declared that if a man dies without leaving a son, his daughter is to inherit the property. For if his widow could claim the surviving brother to marry her in order to raise up a son to the deceased, the daughter who legally came to the inheritance would either have to lose her possessions, or the son born of the Levirate marriage would have to be without patrimony.

In fulfilling the duty of the *Levir* in the patriarchal age the surviving brother had to make great sacrifices. He had not only to renounce the perpetuating of his own name through the first-born son (Gen. xxxviii. 9), and mar his own inheritance (Ruth iv. 6); but, what was most galling, he was obliged to take the widow whether he had an inclination for any such marriage or not, as the *Levir* in the patriarchal age had no alternative. Now, the Mosaic law removed this hardship by opening to the man a door of escape: 'But if the man like not to take his brother's wife, then let his brother's wife go up to the gate of the elders and say, My husband's brother refuseth to raise up unto his brother a name in Israel; he will not perform the Levirate duty. And the elders of the city shall call him, and speak unto him. But if he still persist and say, I like not to take her, then shall his brother's wife come in to him in the presence of the elders, and loose his shoe from off his foot, and spit in his face and say, So shall it be done unto that man that will not build up his brother's house; and his house shall be called in Israel the house of the bare-foot' (Deut. xxv. 7-10). Thus the Mosaic gamology does not impose it as an inexorable law, but simply enjoins it as a duty of love, which the *Levir* might escape by submitting to censure and reproach. Of this he could not complain, for he not only neglected to perform towards his deceased brother the most sacred offices of love, but by refusing to do so, he openly declared his dislike to the widow, and thus publicly insulted her. The symbolic manner in which she took away in the public court his right to her and his deceased brother's possession, has its origin in the fact that the possession of property was claimed by planting the foot on it. Hence, when the transfer of property was effected by an amicable transaction, the original owner signified the renunciation of his rights by taking off his shoe and giving it to the new possessor (Ruth iv. 7, 8). A similar custom obtained among the Indians (Benary, *De Hebræorum Leviratu*, Berol.

1835, p. 14) and the ancient Germans (Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, p. 156). In the case before us, however, where the privilege of possession was not renounced by a mutual understanding, but involved insult both to the deceased brother and the surviving widow, the outraged sister-in-law snatched the right from him by pulling off his shoe.

### iii. THE POST-EXILE PERIOD.

During this period Scriptural gamology reached its highest state of development through the minute expositions and definitions of the spiritual heads of the nation, which were called forth by the difficulties experienced in the course of time in the administration of the concise Mosaic laws under peculiar circumstances and un contemplated phases. In describing the state of the law bearing on the different points of the marriage-question during this period, we shall follow the order adopted in the preceding two periods, so that the reader may be able to trace the development of each department separately.

1. *Mode of Selecting a Bride—Betrothal and Marriage-price.*—As long as the children were minors—which, in the case of a son, was up to thirteen, and a daughter, to twelve years of age—the parents could betroth them to any one they chose; but when they became of age their consent was required (Maimonides, *Hilchoth Ishuth*, iii. 11, 12). It not unfrequently happened, however, that the selection of partners for life was made by the young people themselves. For this, the ceremonies connected with the celebration of the festivals in the Temple afforded an excellent opportunity, as may be gathered from the following remark in the Mishna:—‘R. Simeon b. Gamaliel says, ‘There were never more joyous festivals in Israel than the 15th of Ab [WOOD-CARRYING, FEAST OF] and the Day of Atonement. On these the maidens of Jerusalem used to come out dressed in white garments, which they borrowed, in order not to shame those who had none of their own, and which they had immersed [for fear of being polluted]. Thus arrayed, these maidens of Jerusalem went out and danced in the vineyards, and singing, Young man, lift up thine eyes, and see whom thou art about to choose; fix not thine eye upon beauty, but look rather to a pious family; for gracefulness is deceit, and beauty is vanity, but the woman that fears the Lord, she is worthy of praise’ (*Megilla*, iv. 8). Having made his choice, the young man or his father informed the maiden’s father of it, whereupon the young people were legally betrothed. The betrothal was celebrated by a feast made in the house of the bride (*Jebamoth*, 43 a; *Taanith*, 26 b; *Pessachim*, 49 a; *Kiddushin*, 45 b), and is called *קידושין*, made sacred, for by it the bride was made sacred to her bridegroom, and was not to be touched by any one else. It is also called *אירוסין*, which may be from *אירש = אירש, to betroth*. For a betrothal to be legal, it has to be effected in one of the following three modes:—1. *By money*, or *money’s worth*, which, according to the school of Shammai, must be a *denar* (*דינר*) = 90 grains of pure gold, or, according to the school of Hillel, a *peruta* (*פרוטה*) = half a grain of pure silver, and which is to be given to the maiden, or, if she is a minor, to her father, as betrothal price (*כסף*), *שטר אירוסין* (2. *By letter or contract* (*שטר אירוסין*), which the young man, either in person or through a proxy, has to give to the maiden, or to her father when she is a minor; or, 3. *By cohabitation* (*ביאה*),

*usus*), when the young man and maiden, having pronounced the betrothal formula in the presence of two witnesses, retire into a separate room. This, however, is considered immodest, and the man is scourged (*Kiddushin*, 12 b). The legal formula to be pronounced is:—‘Behold, thou art betrothed or sanctified to (הרי את מקודשת לי ברת)

(משה וישראל according to the law of Moses and Israel’ (*Kiddushin*, i. 1, iv. 9; *Tosiftha Kethuboth*, iv.; *Jerusalem Kethuboth*, iv. 8; Maimonides, *Hilchoth Ishuth*, iii.; *Eben Ha-Ezer*, xxxii.)

Though betrothment, as we have seen before, was the beginning of marriage itself, and, like it, could only be broken off by a regular bill of divorce (*גט*), yet twelve months were generally allowed to intervene between it and actual marriage (*הופה*) in the case of a maiden, to prepare her outfit, and thirty days in the case of a widow (*Kethuboth*, 57 a). The intercourse of the betrothed during this period was regulated by the customs of the different towns (*Mishna Kethuboth*, v. 2). When this more solemn betrothment (*קידושין*) was afterwards united with the marriage-ceremony (*הופה*), engagements (*שדוכין*) more in our sense of the word took its place. Its nature and obligation will best be understood by perusing the contents of the contract (*תנאים*) which is made and signed by the parties, and which is as follows:—‘May He who declares the end from the beginning give stability to the words of this contract, and to the covenant made between these two parties!—namely, between A, bachelor, with the consent of his father B, and C, who is proxy for his daughter D, spinster. The said A, bachelor, engages under happy auspices, to take the afore-mentioned D, spinster, by marriage and betrothal (*הופה וקידושין*), according to the law of Moses and Israel. These henceforth are not to conceal anything from each other appertaining to money or goods, but to have equal power over their property. Moreover, C, the said father of the bridegroom, is to dress his son in goodly apparel before the marriage, and to give the sum of . . . in cash; whilst C, father of the said bride, is to give his daughter before the marriage a dowry in cash to the amount of . . . as well as jewellery to the amount of . . . to dress her in goodly apparel corresponding to the dowry, to give her an outfit,

and the bridegroom the *Talith* (*טלית*), i.e., the fringed wrapper used at prayer [FRINGED GARMENT], and *Kittel* (*קיטל*), i.e., the white burial garment, in harmony with his position and in proportion to the dowry. The marriage is to be (d.v.) on the . . . in the place . . . at the expense of the said C, the bride’s father; and if agreed to by both parties, may take place within the specified period. Now the two parties have pledged themselves to all this, and have taken upon themselves by an oath to abide by it, on the penalty of the great anathema, and at the peril of forfeiting half the dowry, but the forfeit is not to absolve from the anathema, nor is the anathema to absolve from the forfeit. The said father of the bride also undertakes to board at his table the newly-married couple for the space of . . . and furnish them with lodgings for the space of . . . The surety on the part of the bridegroom is E, son of F; and on the part of the bride, G, son of H. The two bridal parties, however, guarantee that



these sureties shall not suffer thereby. Farther, C, the said father of the bride, is to give his daughter an assurance letter, that, in the event of his death, she is to get half the inheritance of a son (שטר חצי בן); whilst the bridegroom pledges himself to get his brothers, in the event of his dying without issue, to give her a *Chaliza document* [for which see below], without any compensation. But if there should be dispute or delay on the subject, which God forbid, the decision is to be left to the Jewish congregation. We have taken all this in possession from the party and sureties, for the benefit of the other parties, so that everything afore mentioned may be observed; with the usual witness which qualified us to take care of it. Done this day . . . Everything must be observed and kept. (Signed) . . . (Comp. *Nachlas Shiva*, 9b). This contract, which is written in Rabbinic Hebrew, is used by all orthodox Jews to the present day.

2. *Marriage*.—The proper age for marriage is fixed in the Mishna at eighteen (*Aboth*, v. 31), and though, for the sake of preserving morality, puberty was regarded as the desirable age, yet men generally married when they were *seventeen* (*Sebamoth*, 62; *Kiddushin*, 29). The day originally fixed for marriage was Wednesday for maidens and Friday for widows (*Mishna, Kethuboth*, i. 1). But the Talmud already partially discarded this arrangement (*Gemara, ibid.*, 3 a), and in the middle ages it became quite obsolete (*Eben Ha-Ezer*, lxxv.) The primitive practice of the sages, however, has been resumed among the orthodox Jews in Russia, Poland, etc. The wedding feast was celebrated in the house of the bridegroom (*Kethuboth*, 8 a, 10 a) and in the evening, for the bridal pair fasted all day, since on it, as on the day of atonement, they confessed their sins, and their transgressions were forgiven. On the day of the wedding, the bride, with her hair flowing and a myrtle wreath on her head (if she was a maiden, *Mishna Kethuboth*, ii. 1), was conducted, with music, singing, and dancing, to the house of the bridegroom, by her relations and friends, who were adorned with chaplets of myrtle, and carried palm branches in their hands (*Kethuboth*, 16, 17; *Sabbath*, 110 a; *Sota*, 49 b). The streets through which the nuptial procession passed were lined with the daughters of Israel, who greeted the joyous train, and scattered before them cakes and roasted ears of wheat, whilst fountains freely poured forth wine (*Kethuboth*, 15 b; *Berachoth*, 50 b). Having reached the house, the bridegroom, accompanied by the groom's men, met the bride, took her by the hand, and led her to the threshold. The *Kethuba* (כתובה) = *donatio propter et ante nuptias*, or the marriage-settlement, alluded to in the book of Tobit (vii. 15), was then written, which in the case of a maiden always promises 200, and in the case of a widow 100 *denar* (each *denar* being equal to 90 grains of pure gold), whether the parties are rich or poor (*Mishna, Kethuboth*, i. 2), though it may be enlarged by a special covenant (תוספות, כתובה). The marriage must not be celebrated before this settlement is written (*Baba Kama*, 89). The wording of this instrument has undergone various changes in the course of time (*Kethuboth*, 82 b). The form in which it is given in the Talmud, by Maimonides, etc., is as follows: 'Upon the fourth day of the week, on the . . . of the month, in the year . . . of the creation of the world, according to the computation adopted in

this place, A, son of B, said to C, spinster, daughter of E, 'Be thou my wife according to the law of Moses and Israel, and I will work for thee, honour thee, maintain thee, and provide for thee according to the custom of Jewish husbands, who work for their wives, honour them, maintain them, and provide for them honestly; I also give thee the dowry of thy virginity, 200 silver *Sus*, which belong to thee by the law, as well as thy food, thy apparel, and whatsoever is required for thy maintenance, and I will go in to thee according to the custom of the whole earth.' And C, the spinster, consented, and became his wife. The dowry which she brought him from the house of her father, in silver, gold, and ornaments, as well as in apparel, domestic utensils, and bedding, amounts to . . . pure silver, and A the bridegroom has consented to add to it from his own property the same sum; and the bridegroom said thus, 'I undertake for myself and my heirs after me the security for this *Kethuba*, this dowry and this addition, so that the same shall be paid from the best and most choice of my possessions which I have under the whole heaven, which I have acquired or shall acquire in real or personal property. All this property is to be mortgaged and pledged, yea, even the coat which I have on is to go in order to pay this *Kethuba*, this dowry and this addition, from this day to all eternity.' And the surety of this *Kethuba*, this dowry and this addition, A, the bridegroom, has undertaken in the strictness of all the *Kethubas* and supplement instruments usual among the daughters of Israel, and which are written according to the order of our sages of blessed memory, not after the manner of a mere visionary promise or empty formula. We have taken possession of it from A, the bridegroom, and given it to C, spinster, daughter of D, according to all that is written and explained above, by means of such a garment as is legal in the taking of possession. All this is yea and amen. (Signed) . . . Comp. Maimonides, *Jad Ha Chazaka Hilchoth Gebim Ve-Cheliza*, iv. 33. After the document was handed over to the bride, crowns, varying in expense according to the circumstances of the parties, were placed upon the heads of the bridal pair (*Sota*, 49 a, b), and they with their relations and friends sat down to a sumptuous repast; the marriage-feast was enlivened by the guests, who sang various songs and asked each other amusing riddles (*Berachoth*, 31 a; *Nedarim*, 51 a), parched corn was distributed among the guests if the bride was a virgin (*Keth.* ii.), and when the meal was concluded with customary prayer of thanksgiving, the bridegroom supplemented it with pronouncing over a cup of wine the seven nuptial benedictions (שבע ברכות) in the presence of at least ten persons (*Kethuboth*, 7 b), which gave the last religious consecration to the marriage-covenant, and which are as follows:—i. 'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, king of the universe, who hast created everything for thy glory.' ii. 'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, king of the universe, who hast created man.' iii. 'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, king of the universe, who hast created man in thine image, in the image of the likeness of thy own form, and hast prepared for him, in himself, a building for the perpetuity of the species. Blessed art thou, O Lord, the creator of man.' iv. 'The barren woman shall rejoice exceedingly and shout for joy when her children are gathered around her

in delight. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who rejoicest Zion in her children,' *vi*. 'Make this loving pair to rejoice exceedingly, as thou hast made thy creature rejoice in the garden of Eden in the beginning. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who rejoicest the bridegroom and the bride.' *vi*. 'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, king of the universe, who hast ordained joy and gladness, bride and bridegroom, delight and song, pleasure and intimacy, love and friendship, peace and concord; speedily, O Lord our God, let there be heard in the cities of Judah and in the streets of Jerusalem the voice of joy and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride, the voice of jubilant bridegrooms under their canopies, and of the young men at the nuptial feast playing music. Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, who makest the bridegroom rejoice with his bride.' And *vii*. 'Remove all suffering and anger; then will the dumb be heard in song; lead us in the paths of righteousness, listen to the benedictions of the children of Jeshurun! With the permission of our seniors and rabbins, and my masters, let us bless our God in whose dwelling is joy, and of whose bounties we have partaken!' to which the guests respond: 'Blessed be our God, in whose dwelling is joy, of whose bounties we have partaken, and by whose goodness we live;' and he then answers, 'Then let us bless our God, in whose dwelling is joy, of whose bounties we have partaken, and by whose goodness we live' (*Kethuboth*, 7 b, 8). The married couple were then conducted to an elaborately ornamented nuptial chamber (*חופה*), where the bridal couch (*thalamus*) was carefully prepared, and at the production of the *linteum virginitatis* the following morning (Deut. xxii. 13-21), which was anxiously awaited, the following benediction was pronounced by the bridegroom, 'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, king of the universe, who hast placed a nut in paradise, the rose of the valleys—a stranger must not rule over this sealed fountain; this is why the hind of love has preserved the holy seed in purity, and has not broken the compact. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hast chosen Abraham and his seed after him!' (comp. *Halachoth Gedoloth*, ed. Vienna, 51 b, and Pliny, *Hist. Natur.* xv. 24, where an explanation will be found of the use of *אגוז*, *nut*, in this connection). Festivities continued for seven days (*Kethuboth*, 7 a).

As important religious questions had to be put to the bridal pair which required a learned man to do (*Gittin*, 6; *Kiddushin*, 6, 13), it was afterwards resolved that the marriage-ceremony should be performed by a rabbi, and it is celebrated in the following manner:—A beautifully embroidered silk or velvet canopy about three or four yards square, supported by four long poles, is held by four men out of doors on the day of the wedding. Under this *chupa* (*חופה*), which represents the ancient bridal chamber, the bridegroom is led by his male friends preceded by a band of music, and welcomed by the joyous spectators with the exclamation, *Blessed is he who is now come!* (*ברוך הבא*); the bride, with her face veiled (*nuptiae*), is then brought to him by her female friends and led three times round the bridegroom, in accordance, as they say, with the remark of Jeremiah, 'the woman shall compass the man' (xxx. 22), when he takes her round once amidst the congratulations of the bystanders and then places her at his right hand (Ps. xlv. 10), both standing with their faces

to the south and their backs to the north. The rabbi then covers the bridal pair with the *Talit*, or fringed wrapper [FRINGED GARMENTS] which the bridegroom has on (comp. Ruth iii. 19; Ezek. xvi. 8), joins their hands together and pronounces over a cup of wine the benediction of affiance (*ברכת ארוסין*), which is as follows: 'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, king of the universe, who hast created the fruit of the vine. Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, king of the universe, who hast sanctified us with thy commandments, and has forbidden to us consanguinity, and has prohibited us the betrothed, but hast permitted us those whom we take by marriage and betrothal. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hast sanctified thy people Israel by betrothal and marriage' (*Kethuboth*, 7 a). Whereupon the bridegroom and bride taste of the cup of blessing, and the former produces a plain gold ring, and, in the presence of all the party, puts it on the bride's finger, saying, 'Behold thou art consecrated unto me with this ring according to the rites of Moses and Israel!' The rabbi then reads aloud, in the presence of appointed witnesses, the *Kethuba*, or the marriage-settlement, which is written in Syro-Chaldaic, and concludes by pronouncing over another cup of wine the seven benedictions (*שבע ברכות*), which the bridegroom in ancient times, before the ceremony of marriage became a public act and was delegated to the spiritual head, used to pronounce himself at the end of the meal. The bridegroom and bride taste again of this cup of blessing, and when the glass is emptied it is put on the ground and the bridegroom breaks it with his foot, as a symbol to remind them in the midst of their joys, that just as this glass is destroyed so Jerusalem is destroyed and trodden down under the foot of the Gentiles. With this the ceremony is concluded, amidst the shouts, *May you be happy!* (*מזל טוב*).

3. *Polygamy and Concubinage*.—As nothing is said in the post-exile portions of the Bible to discourage polygamy, this ancient practice also continued among the Jews during this period. During the second temple, we find that Herod the Great had nine wives (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 1. 3); his two sons, Archelaus the Ethnarch, and Antipas the Tetrarch of Galilee, had each two wives (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 13. 2; xviii. 5. 1); and John the Baptist and other Jews, who censured the one for violating the Mosaic law by the marriage of his deceased brother's wife who had children (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 13. 2), and the other for marrying Herodias, the wife of his half-brother Herod-Philip (Matt. xiv. 3, 4; Matt. vi. 17, 18; Luke iii. 19), raised no cry against their practising polygamy; because, as Josephus tells us, 'the Jews of those days adhered to their ancient practice to have many wives at the same time' (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 1. 2). In harmony with this ancestral custom, the post-exile legislation enacted various statutes to regulate polygamy and protect the rights and settlement of each wife (*Mishna Jebamoth*, iv. 11; *Kethuboth*, x. 1-6; *Kiddushin*, ii. 7). As a striking illustration of the prevalence and legality of polygamy during this period, may be mentioned the following circumstance which is recorded in the Talmud: Twelve widows appealed to their brother-in-law to perform the duty of *Levir*, which he refused to do, because he saw no prospect how to maintain such an additional number of wives and possibly a large



increase of children. The case was then brought before Jehudah the Holy, who promised that if the man would do the duty enjoined on him by the Mosaic law, he himself would maintain the family and their children, in case there should be any, every Sabbatical year when no produce was to be got from the land which was at rest. The offer was accepted by the *Levir*, and he accordingly married his twelve sisters-in-law; and after three years these twelve wives appeared with thirty-six children before Jehudah the Holy, to claim the promised alimony, as it was then the Sabbatical year, and they actually obtained it (*Jerusalem Jebamoth*, iv. 12). Rabba b. Joseph, founder and president of the college at Machuza (A.D. 338-352, see art. EDUCATION in this Cyclopædia), taught that a man may take as many wives as he pleases, provided that he can maintain them all (רבא אמר) רבא ארם כמה נשים על אשתו והוא דאית ליה

למזונינהו, *Jebamoth*, 65 a). From the remark in the Mishna, that a *Levir* may marry his deceased brother's four widows (*Jebamoth*, iv. 11), the Babylonian Gemara concluded that it recommends a man to have no more than this number (*Babyl. Jebamoth*, 44 a); from which most probably Mohammed's injunction is derived (*Koran Sura*, iv. 3). It was Rabanu Gershom b. Jehudah of France (born circa 960, died 1028), who, in the 11th century, prohibited polygamy under pains of excommunication, saving in exceptional cases (Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, v. 405-507). His motive for doing so is a matter of dispute; the older Occidental rabbins say that the prohibition originated in a desire to preserve the peace of the family, whilst the Oriental rabbins will have it that it was dictated by the governments of Christian countries. His interdict, however, made but slow progress, even in Germany and France, for which it was chiefly designed. Thus Simon b. Abraham of Sens, one of the most celebrated French Tossafists, tells us (circa 1200): 'The institution of R. Gershom has made no progress either in our neighbourhood or in the provinces of France. On the contrary, it happens that pious and learned men and many other people marry a second wife in the lifetime of the first' (*B. Joseph, Eben Ha-Ezer* 1). The practice of marrying a second wife in the event of the first having no issue within ten years also obtained in Italy till about the 15th century—the Pope giving a special dispensation for it. The Spanish Jews never recognised R. Gershom's interdict; bigamy was practised in Castile till the 14th century, whilst the Christian government of Navarre declared polygamy among the Jews as legal, and the law of King Theobald allowed them to marry as many wives as they could maintain and govern, but they were not permitted to divorce any one of them without sending all away (Kayslering, *Geschichte der Juden in Spanien*, i. 71). Nor was the said interdict acknowledged by the Jews in the East; and monogamy is there practised simply because the bride makes a special agreement and has a clause inserted in the *Kethuba* (כתובה), or marriage-settlement, that her husband is not to marry another as long as she lives. An exception, however, is made in case there is no issue. As to the opinion of the Karaites on monogamy and polygamy, the celebrated Jehudah b. Elia Hadassi (flourished 1149) remarks, in his famous work against rabbinic Judaism, 'The Pentateuch pro-

hibits one to marry two wives with a view to vex one of them (לצורר אהת מזה), Lev. xviii. 18); but he may take them provided he loves them and does not grieve either of them, and treats them both affectionately. If he does not diminish their food, raiment, and conjugal rights (Exod. xxi. 11), he is allowed to take two wives or more, just as Elkanah married Hannah and Peninnah, and as David, peace be upon him, and other kings and judges did' (*Eshkol Ha-Copher*, ed. Eupatoria 1836, p. 129). From this it is evident that polygamy was not prohibited by the Jewish law nor was it regarded as a sin, and that the monogamy of the Jews in the present day is simply in obedience to the laws of the countries in which they live. There were, however, always some rabbins who discouraged polygamy (*Abolth*, ii. 7; *Jebamoth*, 65 a, al.); and the elevated notion which they had of monogamy is seen in the statutes which they enacted, that the high-priest is to be the husband of one wife and to keep to her ( . . . כהן גדול

אינו נושא שתי נשים לעולם כאחת שנאמר אשה

אחת ולא שתיים, *Jebamoth*, 58 a; Maimonides, *Hilchoth Issure Bia*, xviii. 13; *μὴν δ' αὐτῷ δέδωκε γαμεῖν παρθένον καὶ ταύτην φυλάττειν*, Joseph. *Antiq.* iii. 12. 2; Maimonides), and which the Apostle Paul also urges on Christian bishops (1 Tim. iii. 2; Titus i. 16).

4. *Proscribed Degrees and Laws of Intermarriage*.—Besides the fifteen proscribed degrees enumerated in Lev. xviii. 7-17; xx. 11, etc., the *Sopherim* or scribes (B.C. 322-221) prohibited marriage with other relations (*Mishna, Jebamoth*, ii. 4), and those prohibitions were afterwards extended still by R. Chiya b. Abba the Babylonian (A.D. 163-193), and friend of Jehudah I. the Holy (*Jebamoth*, 22 a). The prohibited degrees of the scribes are denominated *שניות*, i.e. *לעריות*, the *second* or *sub-ordinate in rank* with respect to those forbidden in the Bible, and may be seen in the following list given by Maimonides: 'i. The mother's mother, and this is infinite, for the mother's mother's mother's mother, and so upwards, are proscribed; ii. The mother of his father's mother, and no further; iii. His father's mother, and this is infinite, for even the father's mother's mother's mother, and so upwards, are proscribed; iv. The mother of his father's father only; v. The wife of his father's father, and this is infinite, for even if she were the wife of our father Jacob, she is forbidden to every one of us; vi. The wife of his mother's father only; vii. The wife of his father's brother by the mother; viii. The wife of his mother's brother, whether by the mother or by the father; ix. His son's daughter-in-law, i.e., his son's son's wife, and this is infinite, for even if she were the son's son's son's wife, descending to the end of the world, she is forbidden, so that if, as long as the wife of one of us lives, she is secondary or forbidden to our father Jacob; x. His daughter's daughter-in-law, i.e., son's wife only; xi. The daughter of his son's daughter only; xii. The daughter of his son's son only; xiii. The daughter of his daughter's daughter only; xiv. The daughter of his daughter's son only; xv. The daughter of his wife's son only; xvi. The daughter of his wife's daughter's daughter only; xvii. The mother of his wife's father's mother only; xviii. The mother of his wife's mother's father only; xix. The mother of his wife's mother's mother

only; *xx*. The mother of his wife's father's father only. Thus, of these secondary prohibitions, there are four which are infinite; *a*, the mother's mother and all upwards; *b*, the father's mother and all upwards; *c*, the grandfather's wife and all upwards; and *d*, the son's son's wife and all downwards' (*Hilchoth Ishuth*, i. 6). The principle by which the scribes were guided was to extend the prohibition to the whole line wherever the Mosaic law refers to lineal ascendants or descendants, as well as to those who might easily be mistaken by having a common appellation. Thus, mother's mother's mother, *ad infinitum*, is forbidden, because the Mosaic law proscribes the mother, so also the wife of the grandfather, because the wife's father is forbidden in the Mosaic law; whilst the mother of the father is proscribed, because the appellation grandmother is used without distinction for both the mother's and father's mother. From Maimonides' list, however, it will be seen that he, like Alfasi, restricts prohibition *ii*. to the mother of the grandfather, and prohibitions *xii*.-*xvi*., *xx*., to the son's grandchildren, great-grandmother and great-grandchildren, but does not extend it to any further ascendants or descendants. The whole subject is extensively discussed in the Talmud (*Jebamoth* 21, 22; *Jerusalem Jebamoth*, ii. 4), and by Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chazaka*, *Hilchoth Ishuth*, i. 6, etc.), to which we must refer. It must however be remarked that Philo's list of proscribed degrees is much shorter. After explaining why Moses prohibited marriage with one's own mother or sister, he says, 'For this reason he has also forbidden other matrimonial connections, inasmuch as he ordained that a man shall not marry his grand-daughter (*μη θυγατρὸς ἑκῆς, μη υἱῆς*), nor his aunt on the father's or mother's side, nor the wife of an uncle, son, or brother; nor a step-daughter whilst in the lifetime of her mother or after her death, because a step-father takes the place of a father, and a step-daughter is to be looked upon as his own daughter. Neither does he allow the same man to marry two sisters, either at the same time or at different times, even in case one of them had been married to another and is divorced. For he did not consider it pious that one sister should succeed to the place of her unfortunate sister, whether the latter is still cohabiting with him, or is divorced and has no husband, or is married to another husband' (*De special. legis*, 780). Still shorter is the list of Josephus, who says, 'The law prohibits it as a heavy sin and an abomination to have carnal intercourse with one's mother, step-mother, father's or mother's sister, one's own sister, or a son's wife' (Joseph. *Antiq.* iii. 12. 1). Marriage with a wife's step-mother is allowed by Babylonian and forbidden by the Jerusalem Talmud; the Spanish Jews follow the former, whilst the Germano-French communities adopt the latter. Inter-marriages between cousins, uncle and niece, entire step-brother and step-sister, are quite legitimate. Indeed, for an uncle to marry a niece, which the English law forbids, has been considered by the Jews from time immemorial as something specially meritorious. The Talmud says that the promise given in Isaiah, 'Then shalt thou call and the Lord shall answer' (lviii. 9), refers to that man especially *האווה את שכניו והמקרב את קרוביו* 'who loves his neighbours, befriends his

relations, marries his brother's daughter, and lends money to the poor in the hour of need' (*Jebamoth*, 62 b, 63 a).

As to the ethical cause of the prescribed marriages, or the cases specified, including parallels by affinity, the ancient Jews, to whom the oracles of God were committed, and who had to explain and administer the law in practical life, knew nothing about it. The Palestinian doctors regarded the proscribed degrees as a *positive* law, the cause of which cannot be divined by human reason (*Sifra*, *Kadoshim*, ix. 12; *Talmud*, *Sabbath*, 130 a; *Joma*, 75 a). The only attempt to rationalize on the subject is on the apparent inconsistency of the Mosaic law in prohibiting marriage with the wife of the father's brother, in case she is divorced or left a widow, and not forbidding the wife of the mother's brother. Upon this the Talmud remarks, that a man visits his father's relations more than

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his mother's (*שכיח ואויל להבא לא שכיח*), and Rashi on this passage

(למשפחת אביו אדם רגיל לילך); and it is submitted, and we believe with perfect reason, and based on Num. i. 2, that it is the father's relations who constitute the family, and not the mother's (*משפחת אב קרוי משפחה כמשפחת אם אינה קרוי משפחה*). We thus see that up to the time of the Ptolemies, when the Greek loose barriers of consanguinity threatened to fall among the Jewish families, the ancient Hebrews were bound only by the specific proscriptions in the Mosaic law, and that even after the prohibitions were extended by the Scribes, the proscription of a male relative by blood did not imply the wife's relatives of the like degree, because of the strong distinction made by them between consanguinity and affinity by marriage; the former being permanent and sacred, and the latter uncertain and vague, as a man might any moment divorce his wife, or take as many as he pleased, and because the husband's family were regarded as the relations, whilst the wife's were not esteemed beyond those who are especially mentioned.

The proscribed degrees were sacredly avoided by the Jews during this period, and no dispensation could be obtained by any one, no matter how high his position, as Judaism never invested any spiritual functionary with power to absolve, even in extraordinary cases, from the obligations of the law. Hence the outcry against Herod the Great, who married his half-sister (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 1, 3); against Archelaus, who took his deceased brother's widow when she was the mother of children (*ibid.* xvii. 13. 1); and against Herod Antipas, for which John the Baptist had to atone with his life (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 1; Matt. xiv. 3).

Besides the proscribed degrees, the Rabbinic law also enacted—i. A man must not marry a divorced woman with whom he has committed adultery prior to her divorce (*Sota*, 27), or even if he is only suspected of it (*Jebamoth*, 24; Maimonides, *Sota*, ii. 12); ii. A man who attested the death of the husband is not allowed to marry the widow, nor is the bearer of a divorce permitted to marry the divorced woman, to avoid suspicion (*Jebamoth*, ii. 9, 10); iii. If a man's wife dies, he must not marry again till three festivals after his wife's death (*Moed Katon*, 23); iv. A man



is not to marry a woman who has lost two husbands (*Jebamoth*, 64) ; v. A father is not to give a young daughter in marriage to an old man, nor is a young man to marry an old woman (*Jebamoth*, 101 ; Maimonides, *Isure Bia*, xxi. 26) ; vi. A man is not to marry within thirty days of the death of a near relation (*Mo'ed Katon*, 23) ; vii. Widows are not to marry within ninety days of the loss of their husbands, nor are divorced women to marry within ninety days of their being divorced, in order that the paternity of the newly-born child might

be distinguished (להבחין בין רעו של ראשון לרעו של שני *Jebamoth*, 41 a) ; viii. If a widow or a divorced woman is nursing an infant, she must not marry within twenty-four months of the birth of the baby (*Jebamoth*, 41 ; *Kethuboth*, 60 ; and *Tosafoth* on these passages).

5. *Sanctity of Marriage, and Mutual Rights of Husband and Wife.*—The notions about sanctity of marriage were loftier during this period than in the preceding epochs, as may be judged from the fact that unfaithfulness to a wife is denounced by the prophet Malachi as violating a sacred covenant to the transaction of which God himself was a witness (ii. 14). And though it may be questioned whether the prophet's appeal to God as having been witness to the marriage-contract refers to the above-named seven benedictions (שבע ברכות) which the bridegroom had to pronounce at the marriage-feast, and in which he invoked God's presence and blessing to the compact, as Abrahanel will have it, yet there can be no doubt that marriage is here for the first time expressly described as a *covenant* (ברית) *made in the presence of God*. With such a view of the sanctity of marriage, the notion that a wife is a plaything for a leisure hour rapidly disappeared, and the sages who had to expound the law to the people in the time of Christ, taught that the declaration 'Peace shall be in thy house' (Job v. 24), will be realised by him (האחוב את אשתו כנפול והמכרה יותר) 'who loves his wife as himself, and honours her more than himself, and trains his sons and daughters up in the way of righteousness' (*Jebamoth*, 62 b). Moreover, marriage was regarded as illegal if the man had not given to his wife the instrument (כתובה), in which he promises his wife, 'I will work for thee, honour thee, maintain thee, and provide for thee, according to the custom of Jewish husbands.' The Rabbinic laws both define this promise and insist upon its being fulfilled, as may be seen from the following enactments :—i. A wife is to be kept in proportion to the circumstances of her husband, and have her meals with him at the table ; if he ill-treats her and she removes from him, he is obliged to send her maintenance (*Jebamoth*, 64 b) ; ii. If the husband goes on a three months' journey without making provision for his wife, the legal authorities of the place are to maintain her from his property (*Kethuboth*, 48 a, 107) ; iii. He is obliged to perform the duties of a husband within a stated period (*Mishna*, *Kethuboth*, v. 6) ; iv. If her husband dies, she is to be maintained from his property, or by the children, in the manner as she was in his lifetime, till she is betrothed to another man, and her rights must be attended to before the claims of any one else (*Kethuboth*, 43, 51, 52, 68, 103 ; *Jerusalem Kethuboth* iv. 14). v. If a

woman marries a man of higher rank than herself, she rises with him, but if he is inferior to

her she does not descend to him (אינה עולה עמו), (*Kethuboth* 48 a, 61 a). For other rights which the wife possesses we must refer to the *Kethuba* or the marriage-instrument given in *section 2* of this period. The husband, on the other hand, has a right to expect from his wife chastity which is beyond the reach of suspicion, unreserved obedience, and to do the work of a housewife. The latter is defined in the *Mishna* as follows :— 'She must grind corn, bake, wash, cook, suckle her children, make his bed, and work in wool. If she brings a bondswoman with her, she is not required to grind, bake, or wash. If she brings two, she need not cook nor suckle her child ; if three, she need not make his bed nor work in wool ; and if four, she may sit in her easy chair (καθέδρα=ישיבת בקתרהא *Mishna*, *Kethuboth* v. 5). Other rights are given in the following section on *Divorce*.

6. *Divorce.*—The rather uncertain grounds on which the Mosaic law permits divorce (*Deut.* xxiv. 1-4) were minutely defined during this period. And though the school of Shammai restricts the phrase, ערות דבר, to *unchastity*, and the Sadducees too insisted that divorce is not to be tolerated except when the woman is guilty of *adultery* (*Eshcol Ha-Copher*, *Alphab.* xcix. ; *Ben Chonania*, iv. 276), yet the Jews as a nation, as well as most Christian expositors, agree with the school of Hillel (*Mishna Gittin* ix. 10), that it denotes *faults or deformities*, as the context plainly shows it. Now, in stating the grounds on which the Jewish expositors of the law, in the time of Christ and after, regarded dissolution of marriage as justifiable, we must distinguish the cases in which the law authorities themselves took up the matter, from those in which the married parties asked for divorce.

a. *Dissolution of marriage occasioned by the law authorities* took place—i. When the woman is guilty of *adultery* ; ii. When the woman carries on secret intercourse with a man after her husband has warned her against it (*Sota*, 27 ; *Jebamoth*, 24) ; iii. Where, though betrothal had taken place, yet a matrimonial law (*matrimonium injustum*) is violated, either referring to the proscribed degrees or to other matters enacted by the Rabbins ; and iv. When the husband is infected with leprosy (*Kethuboth*, 77). b. *It was granted on the demand of the married parties.* Thus the husband could effect a dissolution of marriage—i. When his wife, by violating the Mosaic law, caused him, without knowing it, to be guilty of transgression (*Mishna*, *Kethuboth*, vii. 6) ; ii. If the wife violates the bounds of modesty—e.g., by going into the street with uncovered hair, flirting with young men, etc. (*ibid.*) ; iii. If the wife is suspected of adultery ; iv. If the woman curses her father-in-law in the presence of her husband (*Kethuboth*, 72) ; v. If the wife will not follow her husband to another place (*Kethuboth*, 110) ; vi. If the wife refuses her husband the conjugal rights for twelve months. The wife can demand a divorce—i. If after marriage the husband contracts a loathsome disease (*Mishna*, *Kethuboth*, vii. 9, 10) ; ii. If he after marriage betakes himself to a disgusting business (*ibid.* the Gemara thereon, 75) ; iii. If he treats her cruelly (*Eben Ha-Ezar*, 154) ; iv. If her husband changes his religion

(*ibid.*) ; *v.* If the husband commits an offence which makes him flee from his country (*Eben Ha-Ezar*, 9) ; *vi.* If he leads a dissolute and immoral life (*Eben Ha-Ezar*, *Gloss on Sects*, 11) ; *vii.* If he wastes his property and neglects to maintain her (*Mishna, Kethuboth*, vii. 1) ; or, *viii.* If he refuses her conjugal rights (*Mishna, Kethuboth*, v. 6). There are other grounds on which divorce can be obtained, but for these we must refer to the *Mishna Gittin*, as they are too numerous to be detailed. The bill of divorcement must be handed over, either by the husband or a messenger, to the wife or one deputed by her, with the words, 'This is thy divorce ; thou art henceforth divorced from me, and canst marry whomsoever thou likest' (*Mishna Gittin*, ix.) It must, however, be remarked that divorce was greatly discouraged by the Talmudists, and it is declared that 'he who divorces his wife is hated of God. The altar sheds tears over him who divorces the wife and companion of his youth' (*Gittin*, 90 a).

7. *Levirate Law*.—That this patriarchal law, which, as we have seen, was incorporated in the Mosaic gamology, continued in its full force after the Captivity, is evident from Matthew (xxii. 25-27), Mark (xii. 19-23), and Luke (xx. 28-33). From the question put to our Saviour in these passages, it will be seen that it was incumbent upon each surviving brother in succession to perform the duty of the *Levir*. There were, however, cases where this duty could not be performed, about which the Mosaic law gives no directions whatever—*e.g.*, when the deceased brother's widow was a near relation of the *Levir*, and came within the proscribed degrees, of which the *Mishna (Jebamoth*, i. 1) gives fifteen cases ; or when the latter was a child when his brother died and left a widow without issue. There can, therefore, be no question that the administrators of the law in time of the prophets and at the advent of our Saviour had to define and supplement Levirate law. As the space of this article does not permit us to enumerate these important definitions and enactments, we must refer to the *Mishna, Tract Jebamoth*, which derives its name (יבמות) from the fact that it embodies these laws. It only remains to be remarked, that the fear lest the performance of the duty of *Levir* should come in collision with the law of consanguinity, made the ancient Rabbins declare that (תליצה קודם ליבום) the ceremony of taking off the shoe is preferable to marrying the widow, and thus virtually set aside Levirate marriages. As his ceremony, which is called *Chaliza* (חליצה from חליץ, to draw out, to pull off), supersedes the ancient law, the Rabbins gave very minute orders about the manner in which it is to be performed. The ceremony is performed in the synagogue after morning prayer, in the presence of three Rabbis and two witnesses, attended by others of the congregation as auditors and spectators. The *Levir* and widow are called forward, and after being questioned by the principal Rabbi, and avowing his determination not to marry her, the man puts on a shoe of a peculiar form and made for this purpose, and the woman repeats, 'My husband's brother refuseth to raise up unto his brother a name in Israel ; he will not perform the duty of my husband's brother.' To which the *Levir* replies, 'I like not to take her.' Upon this declaration the widow unties the shoe with her right hand, takes it off, throws it on the ground, and spits before him, saying in Hebrew, 'So shall it be done

unto that man that will not build up his brother's house ; and his name shall be called in Israel, The house of him that hath his shoe loosed ;' when the persons present exclaim three times, 'His shoe is loosed !' This concludes the ceremony, and the Rabbi tells the widow that she is now at liberty to marry whom she pleases.

*Literature*.—The most important ancient literature on all the marriage questions is contained in the third order (סדר) of the *Mishna*, five tractates of which treat respectively—1. On the Levirate law ; 2. On the marriage-instrument ; 3. On suspicion of having violated the marriage-bond ; 4. On divorce ; and 5. On betrothal. To this must be added the *Gemaras* or *Talmuds* on these tractates. Maimonides devotes six tractates of the second volume of his *Jad Ha-Chazaka* to Biblical and Talmudic gamology, giving an abridgment of the traditional enactments. Jacob b. Asher occupies the entire third volume of his *Tur*, called *Eben Ha-Ezar*, with marriage in its various ramifications, and gives a lucid epitome of the ancient code. The life and works of this author are given in the article JACOB B. ASHER of this Cyclopædia. Of modern writers are to be mentioned Michaelis, *Commentaries on the Laws of Moses*, vol. i. p. 450 ff., ii. p. i. ff. ; Saalschütz, *Das Mosaische Recht*, vol. ii. p. 735 ff. ; by the same author, *Archäologie der Hebräer*, vol. ii. p. 173 ff. ; Ewald, *Die Alterthümer der Völker Israel*, 218 ff. ; Geiger, *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift*, Frankfort-on-the-Maine, vol. iv. 36 ff., 345 ff. ; *Jüdische Zeitschrift*, Breslau 1862, vol. i. p. 19 ff., 253 ff. ; Stein and Süskind's *Israelitische Volks-lehrer*, vol. i. 192, iv. 282, 301, 315, v. 323, vi. 74, vii. 264, viii. 73, ix. 171 ; Frankel, *Grundlinien des Mosaisch-talmudischen Eherechts*, Breslau 1860 ; Leopold Löw, *Ben Chananiah*, vols. iii.-vi.—C. D. G.

#### MARS HILL. [AREOPAGUS.]

MARSH, HERBERT, D.D., Bishop of Peterborough, one of the acutest and most truly learned divines of his day, was born in 1757, entered St. John's Coll., Cambridge, as a sizar in 1776, where he greatly distinguished himself, taking his B.A. degree as second wrangler and second Smith's prizeman in 1779 ; was elected Fellow of his college, and became M.A. in 1782. The next year he visited Germany, and resided some years at Göttingen, but on the approach of the French armies he returned home, and resumed his duties at Cambridge and became B.D. in 1792. In 1793 the trial of the notorious Friend, and his consequent banishment from the university, took place, after which, as his relative and confidential friend, Marsh's position became so unpleasant that he resolved to return to Germany, and took up his residence at Leipsic. While there, he published a German pamphlet to prove that the French were the aggressors in the war, which, together with some important political information he transmitted to the home government, so ingratiated him with Pitt that he granted him a pension of £500. He returned to England in 1800, and succeeded Dr. Mainwaring as Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity in 1807, in which capacity he delivered English instead of Latin lectures, which were afterwards published, and went through several editions. He received the degree of D.D. by royal mandate in 1808. In 1816 he was appointed Bishop of Llandaff, whence, in 1819, he was removed to the see of Peterborough, which he held till his death, May 1, 1839.



As a bishop he had the reputation of being attentive to his clergy, prompt and exact in the dispatch of business, liberal in his views, of great benevolence, and much beloved by his friends. During his episcopate he was embroiled in many controversies, some of which occasioned much heat and bitterness. His contributions to theological literature evidence unwearied assiduity in research, extreme acuteness, and clearness of expression. His great work is his translation of J. D. Michaelis' *Introduction to the N. T.*, to which he appended very valuable notes, and a most able and searching disquisition on the *Origin and Composition of the Three First Gospels*, the publication of which formed an epoch in theological literature both in England and on the Continent. Of his other works, we may specify—(1.) *Lectures on Divinity, with an account of the principal authors who have excelled in theological learning*, in seven parts, Camb. 1809-23; Lond. 1838. (2.) *Essay on the usefulness and necessity of Theological Learning to those designed for Holy Orders*, 1792. (3.) *The Authenticity of the Five Books of Moses*, 1792. (4.) *Comparative View of the Churches of England and Rome*, Camb. 1814; third edit. Lond. 1841.—E. V.

MARSHAM, SIR JOHN, Bart., was born in London in 1602, and educated at Westminster School, and St. John's College, Oxford. He chose the law as his profession, and having completed his studies at the Temple, was appointed to a chief clerkship in Chancery. He was created a baronet soon after the Restoration, for his faithful services as a Royalist in the time of the Commonwealth. His learning was both extensive and curious, as is evident from his great work, *Chronicus Canon Aegyptiacus Hebraicus Græcus et disquisitiones*, folio, London 1672; Lips. 1676, 4to; Frank. 1696, 4to. The author's chief aim in this work is to fix the chronology of the Egyptian dynasties; but it is doubtful if he has succeeded in it, although Shuckford and others have maintained he did. The tendency of the book is adverse to the chronology of the Bible. Witsius, who replied to it, allows it to be a work of value, discovering much reading and thought calculated to aid the inquirer in pursuing the obscure and perplexing labyrinths of antiquity (Orme's *Bib. Bib.*) Marsham died in 1685.—W. J. C.

MARTHA (Μάρθα), sister of Lazarus and Mary, who resided in the same house with them at Bethany. From the house at Bethany being called 'her house' in Luke x. 38, and from the leading part which Martha is always seen to take in domestic matters, it has seemed to some that she was a widow, to whom the house at Bethany belonged, and with whom her brother and sister lodged; but this is uncertain, and the common opinion, that the sisters managed the household of their brother, is more probable. Luke probably calls it her house because he had no occasion to mention, and does not mention, Lazarus; and when we speak of a house which is occupied by different persons, we avoid circumlocution by calling it the house of the individual who happens to be the subject of our discourse. Jesus was intimate with this family, and their house was often his home when at Jerusalem, being accustomed to retire thither in the evening, after having spent the day in the city. The point which the evangelists bring out most distinctly with respect to Martha,

lies in the contrariety of disposition between her and her sister Mary. The first notice of Christ's visiting this family occurs in Luke x. 38-42. He was received with great attention by the sisters; and Martha soon hastened to provide suitable entertainment for the Lord and his followers, while Mary remained in his presence, sitting at his feet, and drinking in the sacred words that fell from his lips. The active, bustling solicitude of Martha, anxious that the best things in the house should be made subservient to the Master's use and solace, and the quiet earnestness of Mary, more desirous to profit by the golden opportunity of hearing his instructions, than to minister to his personal wants, strongly mark the points of contrast in the characters of the two sisters. Martha, apprehending her own act to be good, and supposing her sister's wrong, because it was not the same, appealed to Jesus, saying, 'Lord, carest thou not that my sister leaveth me to serve alone?' and no doubt expected that he would commend her active zeal, and send away Mary with a slight reproof. Great, therefore, was her surprise to hear him say, 'Martha, Martha, thou art careful and troubled about many things: but *one* thing is needful: and Mary hath chosen that good part, which shall not be taken away from her.' This has been variously explained; but the obvious reference is to the value of the soul as compared with that of the body, and to the eternal welfare of the one as compared with the temporary interests of the other.

The part taken by the sisters in the transactions connected with the death and resurrection of Lazarus, is entirely and beautifully in accordance with their previous history. Martha is still more engrossed with outward things, while Mary surrenders herself more to her feelings, and to inward meditation. When they heard that Jesus was approaching, Martha hastened beyond the village to meet him, 'but Mary sat still in the house' (John xi. 20, 22). When she saw Jesus actually appear, whose presence had been so anxiously desired, she exhibits a strong degree of faith, and hesitates not to express a confident hope that he, to whom all things were possible, would even yet afford relief. But, as is usual with persons of her lively character, when Christ answered, with what seemed to her the vague intimation, 'Thy brother shall rise again,' she was instantly cast down from her height of confidence, the reply being less direct than she expected: she referred this saying to the general resurrection at the last day, and thereon relapsed into despondency and grief. This feeling Jesus reproveth, by directing her attention, before all other things, to that inward, eternal, and divine life, which consists in union with him, and which is raised far above the power even of the grave. This he did in the words, 'I am the resurrection, and the life: he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live: and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die. Believeth thou this?' Sorrow and shame permitted the troubled Martha, in whose heart the feeling of an unconditional and entire surrender to his will was reawakened, to make only the general confession that he was actually the promised Messiah; in which confession she, however, comprised an acknowledgment of his power and greatness. It is clear, however, that she found nothing in this discourse with Christ to encourage her first expectation of relief. With the usual rapid change in

persons of lively susceptibilities, she had now as completely abandoned all hope of rescue for her brother, as she had before been sanguine of his restoration to life. Thus, when Jesus directed the stone to be rolled away from the sepulchre, she gathered from this no ground of hope, but rather objected to its being done, because the body, which had been four days in the tomb, must already have become disagreeable. The reproof of Christ, 'Said I not unto thee, that, if thou wouldest believe, thou shouldst see the glory of God?' suggests that more discourse had passed between them than the evangelist has recorded, seeing that no such assurance is contained in the previous narrative (John xi. 39, 40).

Nothing more is recorded of Martha save that some time after, at a supper given to Christ and his disciples at Bethany, she, as usual, busied herself in the external service. Lazarus, so marvelously restored from the grave, sat with her guests at table. 'Martha served,' and Mary occupied her favourite station at the feet of Jesus, which she bathed with her tears, and anointed with costly ointment (John xii. 1, 2). [LAZARUS; MARY.]

There are few characters in the N. T., and certainly no female character, so strongly brought out in its natural points as that of Martha; and it is interesting to observe that Luke and John, although relating different transactions in which she was concerned, perfectly agree in the traits of character which they assign to her. Tholuck has skillfully followed out its development in his *Commentary* on the eleventh chapter of St. John. See also Niemeyer, *Charakt.* i. 66; and Hall's *Contemplations*, vol. iii., b. 4, *Contemp.*, 17, 23, 24.—J. K.

MARTIANAY, JEAN, a learned Benedictine of the Congregation of St. Maur, was born at St. Sever-Cap 30th December 1647, and died 16th June 1717 at St. Germain-des-Prés, of which he was abbot. He devoted himself chiefly to Biblical studies, and was the author of several valuable works in this department. Of these may be mentioned: *Défense du texte Hébr. et de la chronologie de la Vulgate*, Par. 1689; *Continuation de la Défense*, etc., 1693 [in these works he advocates the Hebrew text in preference to the LXX., and maintains that only 4000 years elapsed between the Creation and the Advent]; *Traité de la connaissance et de la vérité de l'Ecrit. Ste.*, 4 vols., 1694-95; *Traité méthodique ou manière d'expliquer l'Ecrit. par le secours des trois Syntaxes, la propre, la figurée, et l'harmonique*, 1704; *Le Nouveau Testament trad. en François sur la Vulg.*, 3 vols., 1712; *Méthode Sacrée pour apprendre à expliquer l'E. S. par l'E. même*, 1716. He also edited the works of St. Jerome in 5 vols. fol., Par. 1693-1706; and wrote *Vie de S. Jerome*, 1706.—W. L. A.

MARTIN, DAVID, was born at Revel in 1639, and died in 1721 at Utrecht, where he was pastor of the French church. His principal works are *Le N. T. expliqué par des notes courtes et claires*, 4to, Utr. 1696; *Histoire du V. et du N. T.*, 2 vols. fol., Amst. 1700. He also revised the Geneva version of the Bible, 2 vols. fol., Amst. 1707 [FRENCH VERSIONS]. All these works have passed through several editions. His dissertation on 1 John v. 7 was translated into English (Lond. 1719), and was the occasion of a controversy which made some noise at the time [EMLYN].—W. L. A.

MARY, THE VIRGIN (*Μαριάμ*). Two great prophecies were to be fulfilled in the birth of the Messiah: the one that he was to be in a peculiar and emphatic sense the 'seed of the woman,' the other that he was to be the Son of David. The former, first uttered by the Almighty in the sentence pronounced upon the tempter (Gen. iii. 15), was more widely developed by Isaiah (vii. 14) and Jeremiah (xxxii. 22), and received its full accomplishment in the event foretold by the angel Gabriel to the Virgin Mary (Luke i. 35). But how was the other prophecy fulfilled? That the Messiah was to be the son of David we have the concurrent testimony of the O. and N. T. in a great number of passages. Moreover, we have the concurrent belief of the Jewish nation, ancient and modern, and of the church of Christ in all ages. And yet in those two documents which profess to give us the genealogy of Jesus Christ there is no notice whatever of the connection of his only earthly parent with the stock of David. On the contrary, both the genealogies profess to give us the descent of Joseph, to connect our Lord with whom, by natural generation, would be to falsify the whole story of his miraculous birth, and overthrow the Christian faith.

Two opinions have been entertained in reference to this difficulty. The one most favoured by modern writers on the genealogies (Lord Arthur Hervey, Wordsworth, Alford, etc.), is that Mary's connection with the line of David though real was purposely passed over in silence by the sacred writers, and that the combined effect of the two genealogies of the N. T. is to establish Joseph's right to the throne of David, as shown in Matthew, in virtue of his lineal descent from David, as given in Luke, and, consequently, the right of Jesus, his legal and acknowledged, though not natural son, to the same honours. The other, which is ably maintained in the article on the Genealogy of Jesus Christ in this work, and which has also the support of the learned Dr. Hales, following Lightfoot, of Bengel, and other authorities, is that the genealogy of St. Matthew gives the lineal descent of Joseph, while that of St. Luke gives the lineal descent of Mary, and that we are to understand this latter genealogy as stating Joseph to be not the actual son but the son-in-law of Heli, in virtue of his marriage with Mary, the daughter of Heli.

One thing is certain, that our belief in Mary's descent from David is grounded on inference and tradition, not on any direct statement of the sacred writers. Had she not been of the royal line, the adversaries of the gospel could easily have proved it by showing her actual parentage. The carelessness of the evangelist to substantiate her descent from David, while they so unmistakably assume that her son proceeded from his loins, appears in the incidental statement of St. Luke that Elizabeth was her cousin. This would naturally lead to the inference that Mary, like Elizabeth, was a daughter of Aaron (Luke i. 5). Indeed it is broadly asserted by Gregory Nazianzen, and other Christian writers, that she *was* of the tribe of Levi. This descent, according to the flesh, would give to our Lord, it might be thought, a claim to the priestly office in virtue of his descent from Aaron. But the words of St. Paul are express on this point:—He of whom these things are spoken pertaineth to another tribe, of which no man gave attendance at the altar. For it is evident that our



Lord sprang out of Juda, of which tribe Moses spake nothing concerning the priesthood' (Heb. vii. 13, 14). And may not this remarkable concealment of the *very line* by which he descended from David amidst the blaze of light which proclaims him to be David's son, afford an illustration of the peculiarity of his priesthood as being of the order of Melchizedec, of whom it is said that he was without father, without mother, without descent, or, as the margin reads, without pedigree, having neither beginning of days nor end of life. But Melchizedec and Mary must both have had a line of ancestors, though their names nowhere appear in the sacred genealogies; and there has been a ceaseless endeavour, both among ancients and moderns, to gratify the natural craving for knowledge on this subject. According to the traditions of Christian antiquity, Mary was the great-great-grand-daughter of Levi who is named in St. Luke's genealogy as the great-grandfather of Joseph: it is generally agreed that her father's name was Joachim, and her mother's Anna, and the names of Panther and Barpanther are given as those of her great-grandfather and grandfather. It is said that the records of this genealogy were destroyed by Herod, but its substance kept in memory by the Desposyni or brethren of the Lord. There are, however, grave reasons against this tradition, which are discussed by Lord Arthur Hervey in his *Genealogy of our Lord*, and also by the writer of the article on that subject in this work. Having made these remarks on the descent of Mary, we may now turn to the history of her life.

As to her early condition, the gospel simply tells us that she was a virgin espoused to a man whose name was Joseph, of the house of David. It has been supposed—and very reasonably—that Joseph and Mary, and their immediate relations, were now the only representatives of the house of David. Mary, too, may have been the representative of the eldest, and Joseph of the youngest branch of the surviving family, and as such it is by no means unlikely that Mary may have possessed some small inheritance at Bethlehem. We know how strictly it was the aim of the Mosaic law to prevent the alienation of property from the tribe and family to which it originally belonged, and nothing would be more accordant with the customs of the nation than for Joseph—supposing him to be the heir of David's throne—to have espoused Mary the inheritress of his patrimony. During the period of her espousal she would, according to the custom of the Jews, reside with her parents, and have no communication with her intended husband except through a third person, and the effect of her espousal would be to add a higher degree of sacredness to her virginity, since the punishment inflicted by the law of Moses for a violation of chastity on the part of a betrothed damsel was the death by stoning of both the guilty persons, while the consequence of the same offence in the case of a damsel not betrothed was only the imposition of a trifling fine upon the man, and the marriage of the woman. Various opinions have been held as to the purpose of divine wisdom in causing the Saviour to be born of a *betrothed* rather than a *dis-engaged* virgin. It seems eminently seemly and decorous, that the mother of the Messiah should have some one to vouch for her virginity, and to act as her protector, and the foster-father of her child, and that he should be one who, as heir of the

throne of David, would give to his adopted son the legal rights to the same dignity, while, of all persons, he was the most interested in resisting the claims of a pretender. Origen, following Ignatius, thinks it was in order to baffle the cunning of the devil and keep him in ignorance of the fact of the Lord's advent. The simpler and more natural reason appears the better one.

The announcement of her coming greatness was made to her by the same angelic messenger, Gabriel, the MAN OF GOD, who had declared that seventy weeks of years were to elapse before the advent of the Messiah (Dan. ix. 24). That time being fulfilled, he comes again to announce the fact to her who was to be the immediate instrument of its accomplishment. Nothing can be conceived more full of grace and dignity; nothing more expressive of sublime elevation and lowly surrender to the divine will, than the conduct of Mary in her interview with the angel. One can hardly doubt that he appeared to her under the form of a man, as in the case of earlier angelic appearances, and yet one cannot but believe that there was a glory in his features which at once convinced Mary of the true nature of her visitor, entering as he did unannounced, most probably into her secret chamber—most probably at the time of her devotions. He addresses her as *κεχαριτωμένη*, a word which the doctors of the Church of Rome have translated 'full of grace,' and on which they have built the theory that she had all the seven gifts of the Spirit, and all the theological and moral virtues, and such a fulness of the graces of the Holy Ghost as none ever had the like (Lightfoot). The word does not occur in classical Greek, but the analogy of similar words leads us to the meaning of 'highly favoured,' and such is, no doubt, its meaning in Eph. i. 6, the only other place where it occurs in the N. T. At the first salutation of the angel, Mary was troubled, wondering what its purport might be, for as yet he had only told her that she was blessed among women. But when he reassures her, and reveals to her in express terms the divine intention that she should conceive, and become a mother, and bear a son who should sit on the throne of his father David, her trouble changes, not into unbelief, as was the case with Zacharias (Luke i. 18, 20), but into a devout inquiry as to the manner in which so great a miracle was to be wrought in her. How shall these things be, seeing I know not a man? It clearly follows from this reply that she already understood the angel to mean that she should, *as she then was*, and previously to the consummation of her marriage with Joseph, conceive and bear a son; otherwise there was no marvel in the announcement. This is the more remarkable, since the angel said that her son was to sit on the throne of his father David, and Joseph, her betrothed husband, was himself the heir of David's throne. What was more natural than that, after the consummation of her marriage with him, all that the angel promised her should be fulfilled? But she clearly understood it otherwise. She clearly understood the angel to mean that she, virgin as she was, should conceive, and thus become the mother of the son of David. Joseph appears to be forgotten, and yet that *her* son should be the son of David was no wonder: the wonder was that she should become a mother without knowing man. We may surely infer from this that she knew herself to be a daughter of David. The angel then tells her that

the Holy Ghost should come upon her, and the power of the Highest should overshadow her; wherefore also that holy thing which should be born of her should be called the Son of God. To which she replies with exquisite dignity and meekness, Behold the handmaid of the Lord, be it unto me according to thy word.

To quicken Mary's faith, and show her that with God nothing is impossible, the angel had told her that her cousin Elisabeth, who had lived to old age in barrenness, had conceived, and was now in the sixth month of her pregnancy, and Mary hastens to visit her. Very opposite views are entertained in reference to the time, object, and circumstances of this visit. It has generally been held that the time of Mary's conception was, when bowing with reverential submission to the will of God, she said, 'Behold the handmaid of the Lord, be it unto me according to thy word.' Lightfoot, however, while acknowledging that this is the received opinion, thinks that her journey to the hill country was especially intended to allow her conception to take place there. She went to the hill country to a city of Judah. This city is pronounced by Lightfoot—than whom none has paid more attention to the chorography of Scripture—to be Hebron. For unto the sons of Aaron Joshua gave the city of Arba, which is Hebron in the hill country of Judah (Josh. xxi. 11). It was a sacred city, and the scene of some of the greatest events of the early history of God's people. There was given the promise of Isaac and the covenant of circumcision. There Abraham had his first land and David his first crown. There lay interred Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebekkah, Jacob and Leah. What could be more fitting than that the Messiah should be conceived in the city of those patriarchs to whom the promise of the Messiah was given? that this Shiloh of the tribe of Judah and of David should be conceived in a city of Judah and of David? On the other hand, it is argued that Mary, as a betrothed virgin, could not travel, and that her being reported to be with child (Matt. i. 18) must have occurred before her journey to the hill country. This, by giving occasion to Joseph to take her to his own house, would also enable her to travel, with or without him, into Judea. It is remarkable that when she arrives Elisabeth salutes her as the mother of her Lord, an expression which would accord better with the supposition that she had already conceived, while the glorious hymn of praise into which she bursts on hearing the salutation of Elisabeth might very well spring from such an outpouring of the Holy Ghost as we may believe to have attended the moment of her conception. Much, too, has been written as to the manner of this miraculous act. All that is proper to be said about it has been said by Bishop Pearson with his usual judgment and comprehensiveness. One thing may be referred to here—the importance of guarding against the notion that the Holy Ghost is the father of Jesus Christ. On this he says: 'Because the Holy Ghost did not beget Christ by any communication of his essence, therefore he is not the father of him, though Christ was conceived by him. . . . The Word was conceived in the womb of a woman, not after the manner of men, but by the singular, powerful, invisible, immediate operation of the Holy Ghost, whereby a virgin was beyond the law of nature enabled to conceive, and that which was conceived in her was originally and completely sanctified.'

We now turn our thoughts to her betrothed husband. When the fact of Mary's being with child was made known to him, he drew the inference which was natural under the circumstances, and felt it to be right to break the compact between them. We should probably look in vain for the precise law of the Mosaic code under which he might have acted had he wished to make her a public example, or that under which he intended to act in putting her away privily. Num. v. and Deut. xxii. and xxiv. have been referred to. But the punishment of death by stoning seems only to have been prescribed when the guilty parties were found in the very act, and it is probable that this law was not strictly executed in our Saviour's days (John viii.)

But the anxieties of this just man were soon ended by the same divine messenger who had appeared to Mary. 'Joseph, thou son of David,' said the angel, 'fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife, for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost. And she shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins.' St. Matthew adds, 'Now all this was done that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet: Behold a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name Emmanuel, which, being interpreted, is, God with us.' [VIRGIN.]

The next event in the life of Mary was her visit to Bethlehem on the occasion of a census of the empire commanded by Augustus. Her going there with Joseph at a time when travelling would naturally be inconvenient, is an additional proof that she, as well as he, was of the house and lineage of David. The journey was one of about seventy-five miles, and had been travelled over eight or nine months before by Mary, on her way to the hill country of Judea, ten or fifteen miles beyond it. And how often was the same country traversed by Mary's divine son, in his many journeys to and from Jerusalem! Bethlehem stands on the narrow ridge of a long grey hill running east and west, and its position suggests the difficulty that a crowd of travellers would have in finding shelter within it. Already, in the 2d century, a neighbouring cave was fixed upon as the stable where Joseph abode, and where accordingly Christ was born and laid in the manger. The hill sides are covered with vineyards, and a range of convents occupies the height, and incloses within it the cave of the nativity; but there are grassy slopes adjoining, where the shepherds may have kept watch over their flocks, seen the vision of the angelic hosts, and heard the divine song of, 'Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace and good will towards men.' Full of wonder and hope, they sought the lowly sojourn of the Virgin, and there saw with their own eyes what the Lord had made known to them. But while they publish abroad and spread the wondrous tale, Mary kept all these things and pondered them in her heart. Her first duty in connection with her son was his circumcision—his first experience of the sharp pains of human life, her first occasion of sympathy with his sorrows. As usual, it was performed on the eighth day, probably by his reputed father Joseph, and he then received the name of Jesus, which was given to him by the angel. On the fortieth day after his birth, she took him to Jerusalem, for the double



purpose of presenting him to the Lord, and making the offering prescribed by the law of Moses for her own purification. It is remarkable that the Greek text says *their*, not (as the A. V.) *her* purification; especially remarkable, as the Levitical law says nothing about the purification of the *child*. Possibly common usage may have applied the word *καθαρismus* to the presentation of the child as well as the purification of the mother, so as to include both rites under one term. A touching evidence of the 'low estate' of Mary is given by the reference to the offering enjoined in cases similar to hers by the law of Moses—a pair of turtle doves or two young pigeons. If we refer to the law in question, we shall find that this offering was only prescribed where the woman was too poor to bring a lamb. But though tokens of poverty attended her on this occasion, she was met by notes of welcome and hymns of grateful joy, by the worthiest and most venerable of Jerusalem. Simeon, we know, was a just and devout man, one who waited for the consolation of Israel, and had revelations from the Holy Ghost. But tradition also says, that he was the great Rabbi Simeon, the son of Hillel, and father of Gamaliel, in whose days, according to the Rabbis, the birth of Jesus of Nazareth took place (Rosenmüller, quoted by Wordsworth). And Anna, who had spent her long life in daily attendance at the worship of the temple, was evidently the centre of a devout circle, whose minds had been led by the study of Scripture to an expectation of redemption. Mary wondered when Simeon took her child into his arms, and received him as the promised salvation of the Lord, the light of the Gentiles, and the glory of Israel; but it was the wonder of joy at the unexpected confirmation of the promise already given to her by the angel. Other words were added, showing the spiritual character and the momentous importance of the kingdom of her son, and closing a prophetic allusion to the opposition he should encounter, with the touchingly suggestive declaration, 'Yea, a sword shall pierce through thy own soul also.'

But that hour was yet distant, and new honours awaited the son of Mary. She had returned to Bethlehem, and probably she and Joseph intended to make it their abode. Such an intention might spring from her ancestral connection with the place, and the unevolved but distinct assurances of the coming kingdom of her son. It is certain that their eventual return to Nazareth may be said to have been accidental, being occasioned by the reports they heard of Archelaus on their return from Egypt. But while they continued at Bethlehem, a party of Persian magi appeared at Jerusalem. They had come on a strange errand, to seek and to worship him that was born King of the Jews. [MAGI.] The alarmed attention with which their inquiry was met by the Jewish Sanhedrim and by Herod, shows how alive *they* were to the expectation of a real or pretended Jewish deliverer, nor was there a doubt as to the place where he ought to be found according to prophecy. To Bethlehem, then, they went, under engagement to return and report the result of their inquiries. The miraculous star foretold by Balaam, and which they had seen in the east, shone brightly in the heavens over the dwelling of Joseph and Mary. What the star was we need not inquire. The argument for its being a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in the constellation Pisces, is strikingly put by Dean Alford, while

Wordsworth rejects this view, holding with Ignatius, Chrysostom, and St. Augustine, that it was a new star created at the nativity. But whatever was its nature, the magi, when they saw it, rejoiced with exceeding great joy, and testified their adoration of the infant to whom it directed them by gifts of great value and deep significance. We soon find Mary and her child, guided by Joseph, wending their way over the green hills of Judah, towards that Egypt, now a Roman province, from which God's people had been called so many centuries before. It was now much frequented by Jews, was not more than sixty miles from Bethlehem, and was separated from Herod's jurisdiction by the river Sihor. It seems a natural inference, from the precaution taken by Herod (Matt. ii. 16), that our Lord was about two years old at this time, and it was but a few months later that the death of Herod enabled him to return into Palestine. Now, however, though apparently intending to remain in Judea, they returned to Nazareth, and settled there.

We hear no more of Mary till that most touching incident which occurred when her son was twelve years old, on the occasion of one of their annual visits to Jerusalem at the Feast of the Passover. Our Lord had attained the age when a boy was called by the Jews *בֶּן הַתּוֹרָה* (Ben Ha-Torah), son of the law. Till now he had been in a more especial manner the child of his mother. We see the comparative independence into which he had grown by her indifference to the fact of his non-appearance in the company of herself and Joseph when they started from Jerusalem on their return. We also have in it an evidence of his undeviating rectitude of conduct and good sense. But when the evening came without him, their human feelings took alarm, an alarm which was not quieted till they saw him in the midst of the doctors—not teaching them, but, as an intelligent Jewish child, hearing them, and learning of them by asking questions. We may imagine how Mary's heart leaped up when she saw her divine son, and the reflections into which she would be thrown by his first recorded gentle, but serious rebuke, 'Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?'

We meet with no further mention of Mary till the marriage of Cana of Galilee, to which Mary, now probably a widow, seems to have been invited as an honoured relative. Lightfoot supposes the marriage to have taken place in the house of Alpheus, Mary's brother-in-law, as his son Symon is called the Canaanite, or man of Cana. Cana itself is identified with the modern Kana el jelil, or Kirbet Cana, about seven miles north of Nazareth, and ten south-west of Capernaum. It is clear that Mary felt herself to be invested with some authority in the house. Jesus was naturally there as her son, and the disciples as those whom he had called and adopted as his especial friends. As yet, the Lord had done no miracle; and it has been questioned whether Mary, in drawing his attention to the failure of the wine, meant to invoke his miraculous powers, or merely to submit the fact to his judgment, that he might do what was best under the circumstances, either withdrawing from the feast with his disciples, or engaging the attention of the guests by his discourse. The better opinion, however, seems to be, that she knew he was about now to enter on his public ministry, and that

miracles would be wrought by him in proof of his divine mission; and the early fathers do not scruple to say, that a desire to gain *clat* by the powers of her son, was one motive for her wish that he should supply the deficiency of the wine, and that by his reply he meant to condemn this feeling. The writers of the Church of Rome are very desirous to clear our Lord's answer of all intention of rebuke, and say that what he intended was to teach a general lesson that miracles were not to be performed from regard to human affinity, but solely from love, and his object of manifesting his glory. And this is true, but first among those to be taught this was she herself who had tempted him to work a miracle from that regard (Alford quoting Trench). But Mary having received this lesson, having heard from his lips the words, respectful but decided, 'Woman, what have I to do with thee? mine hour is not yet come,' is by no means shaken in her conviction that he will perform the miracle; her faith triumphs over the apparent rebuke. She had been taught that, though she was the mother of his humanity, it was not her part to interfere with the exercise of his divine power, that what he wrought he would work at his own time and in his own way; but still she was assured both of his power and of his will to perform, and accordingly she says to the servants, 'Whatsoever he may say unto you, do.' In what strange opposition to the whole spirit of this incident, and to the comments upon it, of Irenæus, Chrysostom, and Augustine, is the prayer offered to Mary by the Romish church—'Monstra te esse matrem, jure matris impera filio!'

It was probably not long afterwards, and when he was in the full career of his Galilean ministry, teaching, preaching, and healing, in house, in synagogue, on the shore, on the mountain, and not having leisure so much as to eat, that his kindred were seized by the idea that he was beside himself. Even his mother seems to have been taken with the notion that he was doing too much. For we find her with his brethren pressing upon the skirts of the crowd which surrounded the house where he was at Capernaum, and desiring to speak with him. It is a natural picture of maternal anxiety. But when the circumstance was mentioned to our Lord, he once more taught the lesson that earthly relationships were as nothing compared with that new relationship which was to subsist between himself and his church:—'Whoso heareth my word and keepeth it, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother.' Chrysostom, however, and other fathers of the church, taking a different view of the transaction, animadvert in strong terms on the vainglory of the Virgin, who desired to share the honour which he gained by his miracles, and to show the people her connection with him and influence over him. 'Such comments show what would have been the opinion of St. Chrysostom and the church in his age on the dogma now enforced by the Church of Rome as an article of faith—viz., that the blessed Virgin was exempt from original and actual sin' (Wordsworth *on Matt.* xii. 48).

The mention of our Lord's brethren naturally leads to the question whether Mary had children by Joseph after the birth of Jesus. On this point we cannot do better than quote the words of Pearson: 'We believe the mother of our Lord to have been not only before and after his nativity,

but also for ever, the most immaculate and blessed Virgin. For although it may be thought sufficient as to the mystery of the incarnation, that when our Saviour was conceived and born his mother was a virgin; . . . yet the peculiar eminency and unparalleled privilege of that mother; the special honour and reverence due unto that Son, and ever paid by her; the regard of that Holy Ghost who came upon her, and the power of the Highest which overshadowed her; the singular goodness and piety of Joseph to whom she was espoused;—have persuaded the church of God in all ages to believe that she still continued in the same virginity, and therefore is to be acknowledged the Ever-Virgin Mary.' As if the gate of the sanctuary in the Prophet Ezekiel were to be understood of her, 'This gate shall be shut, it shall not be opened, and no man shall enter in by it; because the Lord the God of Israel hath entered in by it, therefore it shall be shut.' In accordance with this view, the better opinion appears to be that the brethren of the Lord were (not, as was held by many, the sons of Joseph by a former marriage) but the sons of Alpheus by Mary the sister of the virgin.

But in that last and most touching interview between Mary and her divine Son, while he hung on the cross, it was to the care of none of these his kindred according to the flesh that Mary was confided, but to that of John, the disciple whom Jesus loved. This, according to Chrysostom, was that hour of weakness when he should again be subject to the ties and anxieties of human affinity, which he contemplated afar off when his mother seemed to exact from him a token of submission to her authority at Cana in Galilee. We see in it a proof that, as ever so now, he was perfect man, ever sympathizing with our wants, ever touched with a feeling of our infirmities: 'Woman,' said he to the weeping Mary, 'behold thy son!' and then turning to the beloved disciple, 'Behold thy mother! And from that day that disciple took her unto his own home.'

Beyond the fact stated by St. Luke in the first chapter of the Acts, that she, with the eleven apostles and the women and the brethren of Jesus, continued in prayer and supplication in an upper room after our Lord's ascension into heaven, there is no further mention of Mary in the sacred volume. Other Marys attended at his sepulchre, and witnessed his resurrection; but Mary, the mother of our Lord, has passed from before us, and we see her no more.

Not so, however, in legendary story, and in the history of the church. Here the name of Mary bursts out afresh with new but artificial lustre. The legend says that when the apostles dispersed to spread the gospel through the world, Mary continued to reside near Mount Zion, and spent her days in visiting the places which had been made sacred by the most memorable events of her Son's life—his baptism, his fasting, his prayer, his passion, his burial, his resurrection, and his ascension, which last event she survived twenty-four years, and died at the age of seventy-two; others say she died at the age of sixty, having survived him twelve years. According to the legend of the assumption, her soul took flight in the presence of all the apostles, who were miraculously brought together to witness her departure. The soul flew, at his call, into the arms of her son; but was afterwards, at his command, re-united with the body, that as



she had known no spot of carnal sin, so she should suffer in the tomb no bodily decay; and then she was carried up all glorious into heaven, accompanied by a multitude of angels (see the *Golden Legend* of Jac. de Voragine). A more unpretending tradition is that she went to Ephesus with St. John, and died there at the age of seventy-three; and the general council which was held at Ephesus, A.D. 431, seems to support the belief that she was buried there. Another well-supported opinion is that she died at Jerusalem before the dispersion of the apostles, and that she was buried at Gethsemane.

We must now glance at the Jewish and Mohammedan traditions respecting her.

We have already a hint during our Lord's ministry of the Jewish calumnies as to his birth. 'We be not born of fornication' (John viii. 41), seems to be an insinuation on their parts that *he* was. This is one of the charges on the part of Celsus that Origen had to refute. Celsus not only states that her husband the carpenter had to put her away for adultery, but he gives the name of the adulterer, speaking of Mary as *τίκτουσα ἀπὸ τινος στρατιώτου Πανθήρα τοῦνομα*. Lightfoot quotes the same story from the Talmudists (Hebrew and Talmud *Exercit.*, Matt. xxvii. 56), who, he says, often vilify her under the name of Satdah, and repeats a story in which she is called Mary the daughter of Heli, and is represented as hanging in torment among the damned, with the great bar of hell's gate hung at her ear (*ibid.*, Luke iii. 23). Similar charges may be found in the *Historia Jeschue Nazareni*, by Huldric (Leyden 1705), and are well refuted by Wagenseil, in his *Tela Ignea Satanae hoc est arcani et horribiles adversus Christum Deum et Christianam religionem* ANEKAOTOI, Altdorf 1681. The most formal set of accusations against Mary are to be found in a work entitled *Toldoth Jesu*, which was at one time supposed to be of very great antiquity. But Wagenseil has proved it to be a composition of the 13th century. It makes Mary the wife of a good man named Johanan, residing at Bethlehem, and states that she was deceived in the dark by one Joseph Pandera, who pretended to be her husband. Johanan, though advised by Rabbi Simeon to bring his wife before the Sanhedrim, fled with her to Babylon, where she had a son, Jehoshua, who discovered the art of working miracles by stealing the knowledge of the sacred name from the temple, but being defeated by the superior art of a certain Juda, was crucified, and his body hidden under a water-course.

The Mohammedan traditions, on the contrary, treat Mary with the greatest respect. One chapter of the Koran is inscribed with her name, and several others speak not only of her birth, but also of the circumstances which preceded it, of her education in the house of Zacharias and in the temple, and of the miraculous birth of her son. Hossain Vaez, commenting on the Koran, informs us that every child coming into the world is handled and squeezed by the devil until it cries, and that Mary and her son Jesus are the only ones that were preserved from this diabolical handling, an opinion curiously in accordance with the modern doctrine of the immaculate conception. He also tells us that Anna, the mother of Mary, had devoted her daughter to God from before her birth, and that when she presented her in the temple she said—using the words of the Koran—'Behold the pre-

sent which I make you, a present from which God is to proceed.' He says that God named her Miriam, a servant of God, and that Zacharias—her appointed guardian—kept her in a chamber of the temple, which was only accessible by a ladder, and of which he always kept the key, and that he frequently paid her visits, and always found her furnished with the finest fruits of the Holy Land, and when he asked her where they came from, Mary replied, 'All that you see comes from God, who bestows all things without reckoning and without number on those on whom he wills.' The Koran appears to confound her with Miriam, the sister of Moses and Aaron, and the commentators on the Koran note the mistake, and try lamely enough to explain it away by saying that Joachim or Amram, the father of the virgin, was the son of Matheus, and consequently a different person from Amram the father of Moses and Aaron. The Mohammedans accuse the Christians of making Mary the third person of the Trinity. D'Herbelot says that this mistake arises from the Eastern Christians calling her *Al Seidat* (the lady), and from St. Cyril's having said that she was the complement or supplement of the Trinity.

The Church of Rome must not be charged, except indirectly, with all the extravagances which have been held and taught by her members respecting the Virgin Mary. These vain stories and notions were introduced at a very early date, and for several centuries the authority of the papal chair was exercised for their repression. But age after age fresh stories were invented, fresh pretended revelations were received, and these gave rise to fresh dissensions and fresh appeals to authority, and at length Rome gave way under the pressure of the popular opinion. This will best appear in tracing the history of the several festivals which have been instituted in honour of the Virgin Mary.

*The Feast of the Immaculate Conception.*—The dogma now held on this point was evolved by the subtleties and refinements of the schoolmen in the 12th and 13th centuries; and after a debate of 600 years, in which popes and cardinals, kings and their ambassadors, sage doctors of philosophy and heated enthusiasts, have taken part, it has only been made an article of faith by a decree of Pope Pius the ninth within the last ten years (Dec. 8th, 1854). The doctrine asserted is that the Virgin Mary was conceived without original sin. The distinction established is between absolute freedom from original sin *in* the first instant of conception, and absolute freedom from original sin *from* the first instant of conception; for many theologians who granted the latter hypothesis would not allow the former. The arguments to prove it—partly the fitness of things, partly the miracles performed by the Virgin in favour of the most dissolute and wicked of both sexes, provided they were diligent in the celebration of her 'hours,' and the injunctions she laid upon those whom she had rescued from death under such circumstances, to celebrate the feast of her conception. The suppositions by which it is rendered credible—either that all Adam's posterity were implicated in his guilt, with a reservation in favour of that person of whom the Son of God was to be born, or that the curse fell upon the whole man Adam, with the exception of one single particle of his substance, which was to descend uncontaminated through all his posterity in one line, and ultimately to be formed into the

sinless body of the Virgin. Foremost amongst its abettors were Duns Scotus and his followers the Scotists, and his commentator Bellarmine—the canons of Lyons, whose church was one of the first to celebrate her immaculate conception, and who thereby exposed themselves to the castigation of St. Bernard—the fathers of the council of Basle, who pronounced in its favour after the council itself had been declared schismatic (1438)—the kings Philip III. and IV. of Spain, who in vain solicited the Popes Paul V. and Gregory XV. to pronounce in its favour—and several popes who, without venturing to make it an article of belief, approved of offices for its celebration, gave indulgences to those who celebrated them, and sanctioned fraternities and sisterhoods instituted in its honour. Against the dogma we have St. Augustine and the whole body of the fathers who wrote before the controversy, but expressed themselves unequivocally on the point—Peter Lombard, St. Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure, St. Bernard, and the Dominican brotherhood, with Vincent Baudello the general of their order. The feast is said to have been instituted on the occasion of the preservation from shipwreck of St. Anselm, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and by the direction of Mary herself, who informed him that the day of her conception was the 8th of December.

*The Nativity of the Virgin.*—There is a good deal of controversy as to the time of its first celebration, and its origin. It is celebrated on the 8th September, and is not traceable further back than the 9th century. There is a Romish calumny that Queen Elizabeth substituted her own birthday in its place.

*Her Presentation in the Temple*, November 21, mentioned in very early martyrologies, and in a constitution of the Emperor Manuel Comnenus.

*Her Espousals*, January 23.

*The Annunciation*, March 25.

*The Visitation*, July 2, established by Urbain VI., and approved by the council of Basle.

*The Purification*, February 2, established in the East under the Emperor Justinian, and a little later in the West.

*The Assumption* (*κοίμησις*, in the Greek Church), celebrated originally at different times, but fixed to be on the 15th August about the time of Charlemagne. There has been almost as much diversity of opinion as to whether the body of the Virgin was taken into heaven, as there has been on the subject of her immaculate conception. Usuard, a writer of the 9th century, whose opinion is respected in the Church of Rome, says, 'That although her sacred body is not found on earth, the church, which is a pious mother, celebrates her blessed memory, not doubting in the least but that she died according to the condition of all mankind. But the church being deliberate in her judgments, hath rather chosen to own she knows not where this sacred temple of the Holy Ghost is hidden, than teach anything herein either vain or apocryphal.' These words of Usuard were originally introduced into the service of the feast of the assumption, but were afterwards, about 1550, taken from it to introduce instead a sermon which taught just the reverse. But this sermon was again suppressed by the chapter of the Cathedral of Notre Dame at Paris, in 1668, and the passage from Usuard restored (Fleetwood, Bishop of Ely, in Gibson's *Preservative from Popery*). The

principal authorities on this subject are Launoy, Jacques Boileau, Joly, Combefis, Tillemont, on one side, and Gaudin and l'Advocat Billiad on the other. There appeared at Louvain, in 1786, *Discussio Historica an de fide sit Assumptio*, by P. J. Marant, a work which excited a good deal of indignation among the Belgian Catholics.

Besides the great festivals in honour of Mary, particular churches and fraternities have had their private ones. Several religious orders have chosen her for their especial patroness, and the whole kingdom of France was, in 1638, placed under her protection by a vow of Louis XIII. Festivals have been established in honour of particular objects connected with her, as the chamber in which she was born, and which was conveyed miraculously from Nazareth to Loretto, la Cintola at Prato, la Saint Chemise at Chartres, the rosary which she gave to Saint Dominick, and the scapular which she gave to Simon Stock; and indulgences have been granted on the occasion of these festivals, and the devotions they elicited. Books have been written to describe her miraculous pictures and images, and the boundless extent and diversity of the literature to which her worship has given rise may be inferred from a description of two of the 115 works, all on the same subject, of Hyppolyte Marracci, a member of the congregation of the Clerks of the Mother of God, born 1604. *Bibliotheca Mariana* is a biographical and bibliographical notice in alphabetical order of all the authors who have written on any of the attributes or perfections of the holy Virgin, with a list of their works. The number of writers amounts to more than 3000, and the number of works in print or MS. to twice as many. This rare and highly valued work is accompanied by five curious and useful indices. The other is *Conceptio immaculatae Deiparae Virginis Mariae celebrata MCXV anagrammatibus prorsus puris ex hoc salutationis Angelicae programma deductis 'Ave Maria gratia plena Dominus tecum.'* This work, of which he was only the editor, certainly exceeds in laborious trifling the production of Father J. B. Hepburne, the Scotch Minim, who dedicated to his patron, Paul V., seventy-two encomiums on the Virgin, in as many different languages.

It would take volumes to relate all that has been said on the mere subject of her name, and to enumerate the epithets by which she has been addressed. Gesenius derives מַרְיָה from מָרַי, contumacia; Schleusner, referring to Ruth i. 20, from מָרַר, amarus fuit, or from רָם, altum esse, eminere, the ך passing into an ם mobile, and the hemantic ם being prefixed. This last derivation is the more affected by the learned of the Church of Rome. But the devotees of Mary are bound by no puny rules of verbal criticism; with them *Star of the Sea* is the favourite meaning of the name; others prefer myrrh of the sea, and others say that God called the gathering together of the waters *Maria* (seas), that he might be the first to pronounce the name of Mary.

The cultus of the Virgin, though in some respects repulsive, and though directly at variance with the solemn words 'Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God and him only shalt thou serve,' was, under many of its aspects, touchingly beautiful, and there cannot be a doubt that to the veneration



and love with which she was regarded we are indebted for efforts in art, and emotions in connection with it, which could not possibly have resulted from any other cause.

(Lightfoot's *Works*; Alford's *Greek Testament*; Wordsworth, *Do.*; Bengel's *Gnomon*; *Biographie Universelle*; Gibson's *Preservative from Popery*).—M. H.

MARY MAGDALENE (Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνή). Each of the four Evangelists mentions Mary Magdalene by name, and in each case she is referred to as being in attendance on our Lord. She is first mentioned with two other women whom he had healed of certain infirmities, and who, like her, testified their gratitude by ministering to him of their substance. Hence it appears that they were women of some means, which in the case of one of them is accounted for by her being the wife of Herod's steward, a position of great trust, and which no doubt gave to its possessor large means of acquiring wealth. Whatever Mary's wealth may have been—and we may suppose her, as being first mentioned, to have been distinguished in some way above the others—her cause of gratitude to the Lord was greater than theirs, for he had released her from an aggravated form of that mysterious affliction, possession by evil spirits. He had cast out of her seven devils. Was this affliction necessarily or usually connected with moral guilt? Lightfoot tells us that the Jews sometimes called vices by the name of devils, as *an evil affliction is Satan*. *Drunkennes by new wine is a devil*. See also the *Hom. in Evang.* of Gregory the Great, 25 and 53. And we know that the man possessed of a legion of devils was thereby prompted to acts of extraordinary violence; and the daughter of the Syrophenician woman is said specifically to have been possessed with the spirit of an *unclean* devil; and it is very likely that a deadening, and an apparent obliteration of the moral sense may have been an accompaniment of diabolical possession. But one can hardly suppose that so distinctly *mental* an affliction would allow scope for that exercise of the understanding and the will which is necessary to constitute a person pre-eminently a sinner; and it would seem especially to incapacitate from that independent life of sin which has been traditionally, and we may almost say authoritatively, ascribed to Mary Magdalene. We should be disposed rather to consider her as a person of some worldly importance, anxiously watched during the period of her infirmity by friends and attendants, if not by relatives, and devoting all her time and means after her deliverance to the service of that Saviour who had made her whole.

This, however, is not the inference which has been drawn by the general assent of the Christian church, and is sanctioned by our own A. V. of the N. T. In the heading of the 7th chapter of St. Luke the name of Mary Magdalene is given to that woman whom Simon knew to be a sinner, who presented herself unbidden among his guests, who washed our Lord's feet with her tears and wiped them with the hairs of her head, and anointed them with ointment, and by so doing gave occasion for one of the most touching and instructive acts of our Lord's ministry; and it would certainly not be surprising if we should find the person who had been so pardoned, and so restored to a life of innocence as she was, devoting herself to an assiduous

attendance upon him from that very hour. Nor is it improbable that the evangelist, in speaking of her good works, at the beginning of the 8th chapter, should purposely disconnect her in thought from the woman whose conversion from a life of sin he had mentioned at the end of the 7th; and besides the general verdict of tradition, some evidence for the common belief is to be drawn from an independent source. Little reliance is to be placed on any direct assertions of the Talmudists, but the indirect evidence which they give is sometimes valuable, and it is certain that they speak of some one—in connection with certain calumnies against our Lord, under the name of Ben Satda—

whom they call מרים מנדלָה נשים, *Mary, the plaiter of women's hair*—the word which indicates the plaiting or curling of the hair being *Magdala*; and they speak of this person as having been shut up under suspicion by her husband, and having in consequence broken out into adulteries. This has been supposed not only to confirm the common opinion as to Mary Magdalene's previous life, but also to suggest the derivation of her name; and it must be granted that such an expression as *Μαρία ἡ καλονύμενη Μαγδαληνή* (Luke viii. 3), is a manner of phrase rarely used when persons are named after their country (Lightfoot, *Hebrew and Talmud. Exercit.*, Matt. xxvii. 56.)

Still, the more obvious and commonly received derivation of her name is from *Magdala*, originally a tower or fortress as its name indicates, the situation of which is probably the same with that of the modern village of el-Mejdel, on the western shore of the lake of Tiberias (Stanley). But Lightfoot starts another supposition, both with regard to the place of residence and to the identity of Mary Magdalene. He shows that there was a place called *Magdala* very near Jerusalem, so near that a person who set up his candles in order on the eve of the Sabbath, might afterwards go to Jerusalem, pray there, and return and light up his candles when the Sabbath was now coming in (*Talmud. Exercit.*, John xii. 3.) This place is stated in the Talmud to have been destroyed on account of its adulteries. Now, it is argued by Baronius, that Mary Magdalene must have been the same person as Mary the sister of Martha and Lazarus, and on this point Lightfoot entirely agrees with him, and he thinks that, Bethany and *Magdala* being both near Jerusalem, she may have married a man of *Magdala*, and acquired the dissolute morals of the place; or that *Magdala* may have been another name for Bethany.

It must, however, be remembered that the first mention of Mary Magdalene is made when our Lord was in Galilee (Luke viii. 2), nor can there be a doubt that the persons mentioned in Luke xxiv. 10, where her name next occurs, as *ἡ Μαγδαληνή Μαρία καὶ Ἰωάννα καὶ Μαρία Ἰακώβου καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ σὺν αὐταῖς*, were the same as those described in the 49th and 55th vers. of the 23d chapter in the words *γυναῖκες αἱ συνακολουθήσαναι αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας*, and *γυναῖκες αἰτίνας ἦσαν συνελθυνύσαι αὐτῷ ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας*. This appears to mark her unmistakably as a Galilean (see also Matt. xxviii. 55, 56; and Mark xv. 40, 41), and consequently as of *Magdala* in Galilee, and not of the ill-famed *Magdala* near Jerusalem. But though one would be glad to clear the character of her former life from groundless aspersions, one cannot

but observe how all her actions, as detailed by the evangelists, at the closing scene of our Lord's life, and after his resurrection, are in unison with the feelings of the woman who washed his feet with her tears, and wiped them with the hair of her head, and who loved much because she had much forgiven. While Jesus hung upon the cross, and committed his mother to the care of the beloved disciple, she was one of those who stood close by. When the awful scene of the crucifixion had been enacted, and even the ordinary spectators among the crowd smote their breasts and retired, she was one of that little band of friends who stood afar off, beholding these things in silent consternation. And when Joseph of Arimathea obtained possession of the body from Pilate, she followed those who took it down from the cross to carry it to the neighbouring garden; and while they laid it in the new sepulchre hewn in stone, she sat with Mary the mother of Jesus over against the sepulchre to see how they laid it. The whole of that day of agonizing grief she had followed and watched him, and then she returned with the other women and prepared spices and ointments, and on the Sabbath day she rested.

St. John gives us a life-like and beautiful account of her acts on the day following that Sabbath—the first blessed Easter Sunday of the world. There is no doubt considerable difficulty in reconciling his account with the inferences we should be disposed to draw from the statements of the other evangelists, but if we take his narrative for our guide, we shall find Mary Magdalene alone at a very early hour, while it was yet dark, at the sepulchre, where she discovered to her great surprise that the stone which closed its entrance had already been removed. She ran to tell Peter and John what she had seen, and when she came to them she said, 'They have taken away the Lord out of the sepulchre, and we know not where they have laid him.' In the meantime other women may have gone to the sepulchre, and that may have occurred which is related by Matthew, Mark, and Luke, as it was probably some distance from the sepulchre to the house of Peter and John. Peter and John ran to the sepulchre and became separated from Mary Magdalene, as well as from each other, and having satisfied themselves as to the fact of the resurrection, returned home. Mary, who had followed them, still clung to the place. Peter and John had both gone into the sepulchre—she stood without, near it, weeping, not yet convinced that he was risen. The opening into the sepulchre was so situated that it was necessary to stoop in order either to enter it or to look within it. Mary stooped down, and saw the two angels sitting, the one at the head and the other at the feet, where the body of Jesus had lain. They ask her why she wept? She answers, 'Because they have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him.' She scarcely seems to view the angels as supernatural beings; and when she turns round and sees the Lord himself, she fails to recognise him at first, her whole mind being engaged by the one idea of finding his body. We see her tearful preoccupied countenance, and her gaze wandering from side to side, in the question of the Lord, 'Woman, why weepest thou? whom seekest thou?' and she seems to answer with averted face, 'Sir, if thou have borne him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him, and

I will take him away;' for it was not till she heard the well-known sound of 'Mary' from his own lips that she turned herself and said unto him, 'Rabboni.' The sudden change of manner on this recognition, the eager movement to fall before him and embrace his feet, is all but indicated in the words, 'Touch me not.' Jesus saith unto her, 'Touch me not, for I have not yet ascended to my Father; but go to my brethren and say to them, I ascend unto my Father and your Father, and to my God and your God. Thus it was that Mary Magdalene received the assurance of our Lord's resurrection, probably a short time after the other women had been convinced of the fact, without seeing him, by the vision of the angels. Then Mary Magdalene came and told the disciples that she had seen the Lord, and that he had spoken these things unto her. The little apparent discrepancies between the several accounts of these marvellous transactions rather confirm than shake the credibility of the story, and could be reconciled in many ways. We must take each account separately as a picture complete in itself. No scheme for harmonising them, however plausible, can be looked upon as certainly true.

Besides the derivations of the appellation Magdalene already given, it may be mentioned that Jerome derives it from Migdol, a tower, and Origen from מגדל, to be great. The great force of modern opinion, both among Protestants and Roman Catholics, separates Mary Magdalene on the one hand from the penitent woman, and on the other from the sister of Martha. Dr. Pusey and Isaac Williams adhere with Bishop Andrews, Lightfoot, and Baronius, to the supposition of their identity (Dean Alford, *Greek Testament*; Wordsworth, *Do*; Bengel, Lightfoot, *Biographie Universelle*, etc.)—M. H.

MARY, THE SISTER OF LAZARUS (*Mapla*). Whatever may be the teaching of tradition, and whatever inference we may be disposed to draw from the similarity of their feelings and conduct towards our Lord, and of his towards each of them, there can be no doubt that the words of Scripture present to our minds Mary the sister of Martha and Lazarus, and Mary Magdalene, as two distinct individuals. The first mention of Mary the sister of Martha is in the 10th chapter of St. Luke, where he says that in a certain village there was a woman named Martha who received Christ into her house, καὶ τῇδε ἦν ἀδελφὴ καλουμένη Μαρία. Now, it seems impossible that he should have introduced to us in this manner a person of whom he had spoken in the 8th chapter as Μαρία ἡ καλουμένη Μαгдаληνή, ἀφ' ἧς δαίμονια ἐπτα ἐξεληλύθει. The specific description of each at their first mention seems to imply a purpose of distinguishing them, and would obviously be a source of error which St. Luke would have avoided had he been relating different things of the same person. Then if we take St. John's Gospel, we shall find Mary the sister of Martha introduced in the 11th chapter with a particular description, ἦν δὲ Μαρία ἡ ἀλείψασα τὸν κύριον μύρον καὶ ἐκμάσασα τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ τοῖς ὀρεξίν αὐτῆς ἧς ὁ ἀδελφὸς Λάζαρος ἠσθένει—'it was that Mary who anointed the Lord with ointment and wiped his feet with her hair, whose brother Lazarus was sick.' Let this be interpreted by St. John himself, and we shall find a full account of the transaction in the beginning of the 12th chapter.



He also specifies another Mary as *Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνή*. Had he not mentioned the anointing by Mary the sister of Lazarus in the 12th chapter, and were we obliged to explain John xi. 2 by Luke vii. 38, there would be ground for believing Mary the sister of Lazarus to be the woman who was a sinner; but if we let each gospel explain itself, the anointing by Mary at Bethany was a different anointing from that by the penitent woman in the house of Simon the Pharisee. And we may add that the very fact of this latter anointing having been described by St. Luke would have deterred St. John, if he was acquainted with St. Luke's gospel, from describing Mary the sister of Lazarus as *Μαρία ἡ ἀλείψασα τὸν κύριον*, etc., had the penitent woman of Luke vii. 38 also been named Mary. This consideration gives some additional probability to the opinion that the penitent woman was *not* Mary Magdalene.

The opinion that Mary the sister of Lazarus was the Magdalene is grounded by Baronius on the improbability that one who loved him so much should not have been named as present at his death and resurrection. There is no great weight in this argument, for by the same rule we should have expected a mention of Martha. It is possible that both Martha and Mary may have been included in the *αἱ λοιπαὶ* of Luke xxiv. 10, just as we may suppose Mary Magdalene to be included in the *γυναῖξιν* of Acts i. 14.

But who was the woman mentioned by Matthew and Mark as having poured the ointment on his head in the house of Simon the leper? Certainly Mary the sister of Martha and Lazarus; and certainly this anointing was the same as that mentioned in John xii. 3. It is remarkable that neither Matthew nor Mark makes any specific reference to the household at Bethany of which we have such a lively description in St. Luke and St. John, or to any of its members by name, but both of these Evangelists record our Lord's most memorable prophecy, 'Verily I say unto you, whosoever this gospel shall be preached in the whole world, there shall also this that this woman hath done be told for a memorial of her.' Can we consider this prophecy to be fulfilled unless we know the name of the person who performed this good work? If it is the *same* transaction which St. John describes, the name *is* declared to us; if a different transaction, then St. John, who does not relate the prophecy, leads the whole Christian world into the error of attributing to Mary the sister of Lazarus an honour which our Lord did not promise to her, but to another person. We infer, therefore, that it is the same transaction, and that St. John's account supplements that of St. Matthew and St. Mark. Having thus shown what appears to be the correct view as to the identity of Mary the sister of Lazarus, we have only to relate briefly what the Evangelists say respecting her. She is introduced to us by St. Luke, sitting at the feet of Jesus in the house of her sister Martha, an active and hospitable person of comfortable means and simple habits, who received our Lord at Bethany. Martha, troubled and anxious in her preparations for his entertainment, comes in and reproaches her sister for not helping her in her work, and gives our Lord occasion to pronounce that beautiful commendation of Mary's spirituality of mind, 'Martha, Martha, thou art careful and troubled about many things; but one thing is needful, and Mary hath

chosen that good part which shall not be taken away from her.'

This occurred about the time of the Feast of Tabernacles, in the month Tisri, or September, of the year before our Lord's crucifixion. Some months afterwards he was at Bethany again, on the occasion of the illness and death of Lazarus. When the sisters sent to him, he was at another Bethany, in Peræa, beyond Jordan, whither he had retired to escape the malicious plottings of the Jews. He did not come at once on hearing from them, foreseeing the great miracle he had to perform; and the sisters seem to have been left in doubt as to his intentions. In the meantime Lazarus died, and was buried. Martha was probably outside the house when she heard that he was coming, and went at once to meet him; while Mary, not aware of his approach, remained sitting within, surrounded by her mourning friends.\* She was aroused from her attitude of silent grief by a whisper from Martha, 'The Master is come, and calleth for thee.' He was still at the spot where Martha had met him, wishing, perhaps, to keep as much as might be out of observation. Mary instantly rose and went to him. Her friends—they are called *Ἰουδαῖοι*, and this word usually designates persons of position and influence among the Jews—rose and followed her, thinking she was going to weep at the tomb. When Mary met the Lord, she fell at his feet and said, 'Lord, if thou hadst been here, my brother had not died.' There is a touching tenderness in the Greek of these words as compared with those of Martha, which does not appear in the English of the A. V., and cannot very easily be expressed, Martha had said, *Κύριε, εἰ ἦς ὥδε, οὐκ ἂν ὁ ἀδελφός μου ἐτεθνήκει*, My brother would not be (now) dead; Mary says, *Κύριε, εἰ ἦς ὥδε, οὐκ ἂν μου ἀπέθανεν ὁ ἀδελφός*, My brother would not (or perhaps *could* not) have died; while the recurrence of the same thought from the lips of both sisters almost admits us into the sick chamber of Lazarus to hear the very words spoken at his bedside. The intensity with which Mary appropriated Lazarus to herself as *her* brother, would seem to have some significance, as if Lazarus really did belong to her in a stronger sense than he did to Martha. And it would seem from the 45th verse, that it was especially with *Mary* that the Jews came to condole. Martha was evidently the mistress of the house, probably much older than Lazarus and Mary, perhaps by a different mother.

After the great miracle had been performed, our Lord again retired from Judæa until the beginning of the Passover. We may suppose him to have arrived at Bethany on the evening before the Sabbath which ushered in the feast. On the following evening, that of the Sabbath day itself, a supper was made for him in the house of one Simon, who was surnamed the Leper, as having been at one time afflicted with leprosy, though now free from it—another monument, perhaps, of the healing mercies of Christ. Simon's name is not mentioned by John, who only says, 'They made him a supper,' whence it might be inferred that it was in

\* Bengel thinks she knew of our Lord's approach, and that her quieter and less excitable nature, and unwillingness to leave the Jews, kept her within. This does not correspond with the eagerness of her movements when Martha told her he was come.

Martha's house. And yet John's statement that 'Martha served, and Lazarus was one of them that sat at the table with him,' seems to indicate that it was in another person's house rather than in their own, where such an arrangement might naturally be expected. Simon was probably a relative. But what share did Mary take in the honours rendered to the Lord? She brought a quantity of a very costly unguent, *μύρον νάρδων πιστικῆς πολυτίμου*,\* in a box or vessel of alabaster, a substance very beautiful and easily cut, but very brittle, and she crushed the box in her hand, and poured its contents on his head, and, 'like the precious ointment upon the head, which ran down upon the beard, even Aaron's beard, and that went down to the skirts of his garments,' it bedewed his whole person, and distilled upon his feet, and she wiped his feet with her hair, and the house was filled with the odour of the ointment. Then said Judas Iscariot, 'Why was not this ointment sold for three hundred pence, and given to the poor?' Jesus replied, 'Let her alone; against the day of my burying hath she kept this. For the poor always ye have with you, but me ye have not always.' He also added, 'Verily I say unto you, Whosoever this gospel shall be preached in the whole world, there shall also this, that this woman hath done, be told for a memorial of her.'

This is the last mention of Mary, the sister of Martha, in the N. T. (Wordsworth's *Greek Testament*; Dean Alford's *Do.*; Bengeli's *Gnomon*, etc.)—M. H.

MARY, THE WIFE OF CLEOPHAS (*Μαρία ἡ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ*). St. John (xix. 25) calls her the sister of the mother of Jesus. 'Now there stood,' he says, 'by the cross of Jesus, his mother and his mother's sister, Mary the wife of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalene.' There is a little ambiguity in the words, and the punctuation of the A. V. rather favours the opinion that his mother's sister and Mary the wife of Cleophas were different persons, and that four and not three individuals are spoken of. And it has been thought that his mother's sister was Salome, the wife of Zebedee and the mother of James and John. The objection to the other and more received opinion, on the ground that the two sisters were not likely to have the same name, is of very little weight. We have seen [JERUSALEM] that the high-priest Onias III. had a brother also named Onias, who eventually succeeded him in his office under the adopted name of Menelaus. We have the authority of the earliest traditions for the opinion that our Lord's mother had at least one sister called Mary. Indeed, it is an old opinion, that Anna, the mother of the Virgin Mary, had three daughters of that name by different husbands; and Dr. Routh, in his *Reliquiæ Sacre*, gives us from Papias the scholar of St. John (*ex Cod. MS. Bibl. Bodl.*, 2397), the following enumeration of four Marys of the N. T.:—1. Maria, Mater Domini; 2. Maria, Cleophae sive Alphei uxor, quæ fuit mater Jacobi Episcopi et Apostoli, et Simonis, et Thadæi, et ejusdam Joseph; 3. Maria Salome uxor Zebedei, mater Johannis evan-

geliste et Jacobi; 4. Maria Magdalene. It is further stated in this fragment of Papias, that both Mary the wife of Cleophas and Mary Salome were aunts of our Lord, and consequently sisters of the Virgin Mary. In Matt. xxvii. 56, we read—instead of *Μαρία ἡ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ*—*Μαρία ἡ τοῦ Ἰακώβου καὶ Ἰωσὴ Μήτηρ*; and in Mark xv. 40, *Μαρία ἡ τοῦ Ἰακώβου τοῦ μικροῦ καὶ Ἰωσὴ μήτηρ*. She was, therefore, besides being the wife of Cleophas, the mother of James the less and Josès. Now, in Matt. (x. 3), where the apostles are mentioned name by name, this James is called the son of Alpheus; the other James being the brother of John and son of Zebedee. Hence Mary the mother of James was Mary the wife of Alpheus. How comes she to be called the wife of Cleophas? St. John's words are, *Μαρία ἡ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ*, and may mean Mary the daughter, not the wife, of Cleophas; and the fragment of Papias, to which we have referred, says that St. John calls her *Μαρία ἡ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ* for this or some similar reason. Maria Jacobi minoris et Joseph mater soror fuit Mariæ Matris domini, quam Cleophae Joannes nominat vel a patre vel a gentilitatis familiâ, vel aliâ causâ. The more general opinion is now, that Cleophas and Alpheus were the same person, the two Greek words being only different ways of expressing the same Hebrew name *עֲלִפָּה*. The sons

of Mary and Alpheus are generally allowed to be those who are called the brethren of the Lord, and from the way in which they were spoken of by the Jews, they were probably brought up with Jesus, and belonged to the same household. Most likely Joseph, the husband of the younger Mary, and Alpheus, the husband of the elder one, had both died before our Lord's ministry began, and the two sisters thenceforth lived together. This would account for the sons of Alpheus being called the brethren of the Lord, and throw light on several passages of the N. T. (see Matt. xiii. 55, 57; Mark iii. 21, 31-35; Mark vi. 3-4; John vii. 3-5); and may not their want of faith and occasional opposition to his work account in some degree for the low place which they occupy in every classification of the apostles, and perhaps for our Lord's transferring his mother from their care to that of the beloved apostle at his death, while they give point to the words, 'If any man come to me and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren and sisters, yea and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple' (Luke xiv. 26). —M. H.

MARY, THE MOTHER OF JOHN WHOSE SURNAME WAS MARK. From the circumstance mentioned respecting her, in Acts xii. 12, that many of the Christians were gathered together praying at her house during Peter's imprisonment by Herod, we may judge that she was at that time a pious and distinguished member of the church of Jerusalem. We also gather from the statement of St. Paul (Col. iv. 10), that she was a sister of Barnabas, that noble son of consolation of the country of Cyprus who sold his land and laid the price of it at the apostles' feet. Of this statement we have a pleasing verification in the fact, that when Barnabas accompanied Paul in his return from Jerusalem to Antioch, they took her son John Mark with them as their companion and 'minister' (Acts xii. 25; xiii. 5). Whatever may have been

\* The word *πιστικῆς* is best interpreted by genuine. *Νάρδος πιστικῆς* is contrasted with Pseudonardus (Pliny, *N. H.*, xii. 26), sunt multa ejus genera sed omnia hebetiora præter Indicum quod pretiosius est (Bede).



his motive for leaving them in the midst of their labours at Perga, he no doubt returned to his mother's house at Jerusalem.—M. H.

MASALOTH (Μασαλὼθ, Μεσσαλὼθ, Vulg. *Masaloth*), mentioned 1 Maccab. ix. 2, as a place in Arbela besieged and captured by Bacchides and Alcimus as they advanced by the way which leadeth to Galgala to invade Judæa. A comparison of the account given by Josephus of the transaction (*Antiq.* xii. 11. 1) makes it evident that under this name are designated the fortified caverns described by the historian (*Vit.* 37) near Arbela, and which are identified with the singular remains of Kul'at Ibn Ma'an near Irbid [BETH-ARBEL]. Dr. Robinson suggests (*Bib. Res.* ii. 398, note) that the word Masaloth is the Heb. מַסְלוֹת, in the sense of *terraces, steps*, as in 2 Chron. ix. 11.—H. C. G.

MASCHIL. [PSALMS.]

MASH (מַשׁ; Sam. מִשָּׁה; Sept. Μοσῆχ; Vulg. *Mes*), the fourth son of Aram (Gen. x. 23); called Meshech in 1 Chron. i. 17. He seems to have settled in the north-east of Mesopotamia, as, since Borchart's investigations (*Phal.* ii. 11), the name has been traced in Mons Masius, on the borders of Armenia and Mesopotamia, below which lay Nisibis (Strab. xi. 12; xvi. 1), and in the river Masche which flowed past that city. Josephus (*Antiq.* i. 6. 4) locates him in Mesene, a region bordering on the north of the Persian Gulf; but he is thus separated by a wide distance from the rest of the Aramite nations. To the same objection is exposed the view of Knobel (*Völkert.* p. 237), adopted by Fürst (*H. W. B.*), that an offshoot of the family of Mash left their original settlement in the north-east of Mesopotamia and migrated to Mesene. The readings of the Alexandrian translator and of the author of 1 Chron. i. 17, suggest that in later times the name was known to the Hebrews under the modified form מַשֶּׁךְ, which in Ps. cxx. 5 is combined with Kedar, and hence must designate some nomadic tribe in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates. It is remarkable that among the Asiatic confederates of the Khita, or Hittites, who are enumerated as conquered by Rameses II. at Kadesh on the Orontes, is found the Prince of Masou or Masa (Brugsch, *Hist. d'Égypte*, i. 140, 142).—H. C. G.

MASHAL (מַשָּׁל; Μαασάλ; Alex. Μασάλ; *Masal*), a city of Asher assigned to the Levites (1 Chron. vi. 74 [59]). This is a contracted form of the name, which is found written fully in Josh. xix. 26 and xxi. 30—*Mishal* (מִישָׁעַל; Μαασά; Alex. Μασάψ; but in xxi. 30, Βασελλά, Alex. Μασάδλ). Mashal was one of the border cities of Asher, and was situated apparently near Carmel, and not far from the sea coast (xix. 26; and also Eusebius and Jerome in *Onomast.*, s.v. *Masan*). It has not been identified.—J. L. P.

MASORAH, MASORETH, or MASSORETH (מַסְרָה, מִסְרֶת, מִסְרֹת), the name given to a grammatico-critical commentary on the O. T., the design of which is to indicate the correct reading of the text in respect of words, vowels, accents, etc., so as to preserve it from all corruption. The word denotes *tradition*, from מָסַר, which is used in

Chald. in the sense of *to give over, to commit* (corresponding to the Heb. חָסַר, סָנַר, cf. Targ. on 1 Sam. xvii. 46; xxiv. 11; 1 Kings xx. 13; Exod. xxi. 3; Amos vi. 8), and hence by the rabbinical writers in the sense of *to deliver* with reference to the oral communication of doctrine, opinion, or fact. The derivation, from מָסַר, *to bind*, seems to have been an afterthought, suggested by the sentiment that the Masorah is a hedge to the Torah. The Masorah, however, is not confined to what is communicated by *oral* tradition; in the state in which it has come down to us it embraces all that has been delivered traditionally, whether orally

or in writing. Its correlate is קַבָּלָה (*Kabbala*), *reception*; and as the latter denotes whatever has been *received* traditionally, the former embraces whatever has been *delivered* traditionally; though in usage Kabbala is generally restricted to matters of theologic and mystic import, while Masorah has reference rather to matters affecting the condition of the text of Scripture. It takes account not only of various readings, but also contains notes of a grammatical and lexicographical character.

*Origin of the Masorah.*—The Masorah is the work of certain Jewish critics who from their work have received the title of בעלי המסורת (*Baali Hammasoreth*), *masters of the Masorah*, or, as they are generally designated, *Masoretes*. Who they were, and when or where their work was accomplished, are points involved in some uncertainty. According to Jewish tradition, the work began with Moses; from him it was committed to the wise men till Ezra and the great Synagogue, and was then transferred to the learned men at Tiberias, by whom it was committed to writing and called the Masorah (El. Levita, *Masorah Hammasorah*, Pref. p. 2). Some even claim Ezra as the author of the written collection (Buxtorf, *Tiberias*, c. 11, p. 102; Leusden, *Philol. Heb. Diss.* 25, sec. 4; Pfeiffer, *De Masora*, cap. ii., Opp. p. 891, etc.); but the arguments which have been adduced in support of this opinion are not sufficient to sustain it. Ibn Ezra says expressly, 'So was the usage of the wise men of Tiberias, for from them were the men the authors of the Masorah, and from them have we received the whole punctuation' (*Zachuth*, cited by Buxtorf, *Tib.*, c. 3, p. 9); and even Buxtorf himself unconsciously gives in to the opinion he opposes by the title he has put on his work. That various readings had been noted before this, even in pre-talmudic times, is not to be doubted. In the Talmud itself we have not only directions given for the correct writing of the Biblical books, but references to varieties of reading as then existing (*Hierosol. Tr. Taanith*, f. 68, c. 1; cf. Kennicott, *Diss. Gen.*, sec. 34; de Wette, *Einleit. ins A. T.*, sec. 89; Hävernicks, *Introd.*, p. 280); especial mention is made of the *Itur Sopherim* (עֲטוּר סֹפְרִים, *ablatio Scribarum*; *Nedarim*, f. 37, c. 2), of the *Keri velo Ketibh*, the *Ketibh velo Keri*, and the *Keri vehetibh* (*Nedarim*, l. c., *Tr. Sota* v. 5; *Joma*, f. 21, c. 2), and the *puncta extraordinaria*, which, however, are not properly of critical import, but rather point to allegorical explanations of the passage (*Tr. Nasir*, f. 23, c. 1; cf. Hieronym. *Quast. in Gen.* xviii. 35); and already the middle consonant, the middle word, and the middle verse of the Pentateuch are noted as in the Masorah. In the *Tr. Sopherim*, written between the Talmud and the Masorah,

there are also notes of the same kind; though not exactly agreeing with those in the Masorah. But these variants had not before been formally collected and reduced to order in writing. This was the work of the Jewish scholars who, from the 6th century after Christ, flourished in Palestine, and had their principal seat at Tiberias (Zunz, *Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, p. 309).

*Contents of the Masorah.*—These are partly palaeographic, partly critical, partly exegetical, partly grammatical. They embrace notes concerning—1. *The consonants of the Hebrew text.*—Concerning these the Masoretes note about thirty letters which are larger than the others, about thirty that are *less*, four which are *suspended* or placed above the line of the others in the same word, and nine which are *inverted* or written upside down; to these peculiarities reference is made also in the Talmud, and the use of them as merely marking the middle of a book or section indicated (Tr. *Kiddushin*, fol. 30, c. 1; Hävernick, *l. c.*, p. 282). The Masoretes also note a case in which the final **ד** is found in the heart of a

word (לסרכה, Is. ix. 6); one in which the initial **מ** is found at the end (חמ, Neh. ii. 13); and one in which the initial **נ** occurs at the end (מונ, Job xviii. 1), irregularities for which no reason can be assigned (cf. Leusden, *Phil. Heb.*, Diss. x.) They have noted how often each letter occurs; and they signalise the middle of each book; the middle letter of the Pentateuch (the **ו** in נחור, Lev. xi. 42); the middle letter of the Psalter (the **ע** in מיער, Ps. lxxx. 14); the number of times each of the five letters which have final forms occurs in its final and in its initial form. 2. *The vowel-points and accents in the Hebrew text.*—Here the Masoretes note the peculiarities or anomalies in the use of the vowel-points, of the dagesh and mappik, and of the accents in the text—a fact to which Buxtorf appeals with considerable force, as proving that the authors of the Masorah, as we have it, were not the *inventors* of the diacritical marks by which vowels and accents are indicated in the Hebrew text; for had they been so, they would not have confined themselves to laboriously noting anomalies into which they themselves had fallen, but would at once have removed them. 3. *Words.*—In respect of these the Masoretes note—(1), The

cases of *Scriptio plena* (מלאים) and *defectiva* (חסרים); (2), The number of times in which certain words occur at the beginning of a verse (as, *ex. gr.*, קום, which they say is nine times the first word of a verse) or the end of a verse (as הארץ, which they say occurs thrice as the final word of a verse); (3), Words of which the meaning is ambiguous, and to which they affix the proper meaning in the place where they occur; (4), Words which have over them the *puncta extraordinaria*; and (5), Words which present anomalies in writing or grammar, and which some have thought should be altered, or peculiarities which need to be explained (סכריין). 4. *Verses.*—The Masoretes number the verses in each book of the O. T., as well as in each of the larger sections of the Pentateuch, and they note the middle verse of each book of the O. T.; they also note the number of verses in which certain expressions occur, the first and last letters of each verse, and in many cases the number of letters of which it is composed; and, in fine, they have marked twenty-five or

twenty-eight places where there is a pause in the middle of a verse, or where a hiatus is supposed to be found in the meaning (as, *ex. gr.*, in Gen. iv.

8, where, after the words ויאמר קין אל-הבל אחיו, there is in Rabbinical editions of the O. T. a space left vacant (פסקא, *piska*) to indicate that something is probably omitted). 5. *Tikkun Sopherim* (תקון סופרים, *ordinatio, sive correctio Scribarum*).—On the word כבודם, Ps. cvi. 20, the Masorah

has this note מלן בקריאה תקון כבודם חד מן יה"מ כבודם סופרים, *the word כבודם is one of eighteen words in Scripture which are an ordination of the Scribes.* These eighteen words are also enumerated in a note at the beginning of Numbers. The passages where they occur are presented in the following table:—

	<i>Tikkun Sopherim.</i>	<i>Erroneous reading.</i>
Gen. xviii. 22	לפני יהוה . . . . . אברהם	לפני אברהם יהוה
Num. xi. 15	ברעתו	ברעתם
Num. xii. 12	אמו	אמינו
	בשרו	בשרנו
1 Sam. iii. 13	להם	לי
2 Sam. xvi. 12	בעיני	בעניי
1 Kings xii. 16	לאחליו	לאלהיו
2 Chron. x. 16	אל אפם	אל אפי
Ezek. viii. 17	לא נמות	לא תמות
Hab. i. 12	אותו	אותי
Mal. i. 13	עינו	עניי
Zech. ii. 8	כבדו	כבודי
Jer. ii. 11	כבודם	כבודי
Hos. iv. 7	כבודם	כבודי
Ps. cvi. 20	כבודם	כבודי
Job vii. 20	עלי	עליך
Job xxxii. 3	את איוב	את דיך
Lam. iii. 20	עלי	עליך

Charges have been rashly advanced against these Sopherim of having corrupted the sacred text (Galatin, *De Arcanis Cathol. Ver.*, l. i. c. 8); but for this there is no foundation (see B. Chajim's *Introduction to the Rabbinic Bible*, translated by Ginsburg, p. 21). Eichhorn concludes from 'the character of the readings' that 'this recension took note only of certain errors which had crept into the text through transcribers, and which were corrected by collation of MSS.' (*Einleit. ins A. T.*, sec. 116). Bleek, however, thinks that this is affirmed without evidence, and that in some cases the rejected reading is probably the original one, as, *ex. gr.*, in Gen. xviii. 22, and Hab. i. 12 (*Einleit. ins A. T.*, p. 803). 6. *Ittur Sopherim* (עטור סופרים, *Ablatio Scribarum*).—The Masoretes have noted four instances in which the letter **י** has been erroneously prefixed to the letter **א**—viz., Gen. xviii. 5; xxiv. 55; Num. xii. 14; and Ps. lxxviii. 26; they note also that it has been erroneously prefixed to the word משפטך in Ps. xxxvi. 7. Of these passages the only one in which the injunction of the Sopherim to remove the **י** has been neglected is Num. xii. 14; a neglect at which Buxtorf expresses surprise (*Lex. Talmud*, in voc. עטר). 7. *Keri and Ketiv* [see the article KERI and KETHIV in this work].

*Form of the Masorah.*—The greater part of the notes of which the *Masorah* is composed was at first written on separate leaves, or in books, as occasion demanded. Afterwards they were appended as marginal notes to the text, sometimes on the upper



and lower margin, sometimes in a more curt form on the space between the text and the Chaldee version, where, from scarcity of room, many abbreviations and symbols were resorted to, and considerable omissions were made. Hence arose a distinction

between *מסורה גדולה*, the *Masora Magna*, and the *מסורה קטנה*, the *M. Parva*; the former of which comprehends the entire body of critical remark on the margins, the latter the more curt and condensed notes inserted in the intermediate space. The latter has frequently been represented as an abbreviated compend of the former; but this is not strictly correct, for the lesser Masorah contains many things not found in the greater. At an early period the scribes introduced the practice of adorning their annotations with all manner of figures and symbols and caligraphic ingenuities, and from this, as well as from causes connected with their method of selection and arrangement, the whole came into such a state of confusion that it was rendered almost useless. In this state it remained until the publication of Bomberg's *Rabbinical Bible*, Venet. 1526 (the second Bomberg *Biblia Rabbin.*, not the first, as is sometimes stated), for which the learned R. Jacob ben Chajim, with immense labour, prepared and arranged the *Masorah* [JACOB BEN CHAJIM]. To facilitate the use of the Greater Masorah, he placed at the end of his work what has been called the *Masora maxima* or *finalis*, and which forms a sort of Masoretic Concordance in alphabetic order.

*Value of the Masorah.*—Whilst there is much in the Masorah that can be regarded in no other light than as laborious trifling, it is far from deserving the scorn which has sometimes been poured upon it. There can be no doubt that it preserves to us much valuable traditional information concerning the constitution and the meaning of the sacred text. It is the source whence materials for a critical revision of the O. T. text can now alone be derived. It is a pity that it is now impossible to discriminate the older from the more recent of its contents. We would earnestly reiterate the wish of Eichhorn, that some one would undertake the 'bitter task' of making complete critical excerpts from the Masorah.

*Literature.*—*Elias Levita*, *מסורת המסורת*, Ven. 1538; German trans. by Semler, Halle 1770; Buxtorf, *Tiberias, sive Comment. Masoreth. triplex histor. didact. crit.*, Basel 1620, 4to; Cappell, *Crit. Sac.*, lib. iii.; Ol. Celsius, *De Masora Disput.*; Leusden, *Philol. Heb.*, Diss. xxii.-xxv.; Walton, *Prolegg. in Polyglott*, No. viii.; Carpzov, *Crit. Sac.*, p. 283; Waehtner, *Antiq. Hebr.*, sec. i, c. 36; Eichhorn, *Einleit. ins A. T.*, vol. i. sec. 140-158; De Wette, *Einleit.*, sec. 90-92; Hävernick, *Introd. to the O. T.*, p. 279, ff.; Bleek, *Einleit. ins A. T.*, p. 803, ff.; Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Rabbinic Bible* by Jac. b. Chajim, translated in *Journal of Sacred Literature* for July 1863; art. *Masorah* in Herzog's *Real. Encyk.*—W. L. A.

**MASPHA** (*Μασσηφά*), the place where the Israelites under Judas Maccabæus assembled to fast and pray in the prospect of encountering the army sent against them by Antiochus (1 Maccab. iii. 46). It is described as 'over against Jerusalem,' and as 'the place where they prayed aforetime in Israel.' The allusion here is probably to Judg. xx. 1, or to 1 Sam. vii. 5, which would identify Maspha with Mizpeh of Benjamin, now represented

by the *Nebi Samw'el*, a ridge in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem (Robinson, *B. R.*, ii. 143).

Another Maspha (Alex. *Μασφά*) is mentioned 1 Maccab. v. 35. Assuming the reading to be correct, it remains doubtful whether it be Mizpeh of Moab (1 Sam. xxii. 3) or Mizpeh of Gilead (Judg. xi. 29, etc.) that is intended. The Syr. has *ܡܝܣܦܗ* here, one Greek cod. *eis* "Αλεμα, another *eis* Σάλεμα, another *eis* Λέμα; but this seems to be a mere arbitrary correction from ver. 26 by some one who thought that the places mentioned in both verses should be the same. Michaelis, however, would combine the two readings, and make the place *Mizpeh-Elim*. Josephus calls it *Μάλλη*, which Grimm thinks has arisen from the transposition of "Αλεμα into *Μάλεα* (*Exaget. Hdb. zu d. Apokr.* in loc.)—W. L. A.

**MASREKAH** (*מִסְרֵקָה*; 'vineyard,' *Μασσεκκάς* and *Μασεκκάς*; *Masreka*), the native place of Samlah, one of the kings of Edom, and only mentioned in Gen. xxxvi. 36, and 1 Chron. i. 47. It was perhaps situated in Edom, though this is not absolutely certain; and the way in which the king's name is mentioned might indicate a foreigner. The student will observe that while some of the kings are mentioned with the addition, 'and the name of his town was' (*וְשֵׁם עִירוֹ*), others are introduced as 'coming from' (*בָּא*). Kalisch remarks that the former seems to comprise native Idumeans, the latter foreigners (*ad loc.*) If this be so, then Samlah was a foreigner, and Masrekah lay beyond the borders of Edom. Eusebius and Jerome, however, locate Masrekah in Gebalene, a province embracing the northern section of Edom (GEBAL; *Onomast.*, s. v. *Masraca*), and now called *Jebâl*. It is worthy of note that a portion of it is still famous for its vineyards, which perhaps may be considered as affording some little confirmation to the statement of Eusebius (Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 418). The site of Masrekah has not been identified.—J. L. P.

**MASSA** (*מִסָּא*; *Μασση*; *Massa*), a son of Ishmael, and also, apparently, the name of the place in which his descendants settled (Gen. xxv. 14, 16). Some identify Massa with the *Masani* (*Μασανί*) of Ptolemy, a people of Eastern Arabia, bordering on Babylonia (v. 19), and doubtless the same as the *Masei* of Pliny, a nomad tribe of Mesopotamia (*H. N.*, vi. 30). If this identity be admitted, then, as Mr. Forster states, we have evidence of the truth of the Mosaic statement that the twelve sons of Ishmael peopled the whole section of the Arabian Peninsula, extending from Shur to Havilah (*Geogr. of Arabia*, i. 284; cf. Winer, *B. W.*, ii. 59; Kalisch on Gen. *ad loc.*) Hitzig has propounded another theory, according to which he locates Dumah in Wady el-Kora, about 50 miles S.E. of Akabah, and then places Masrekah between it and Mount Seir (Zeller, *Fahrbb.* 1844; Winer, *B. W.*, ii. 742). But this theory has no substantial basis on which to rest.—J. L. P.

**MASSAH** (*מִסָּה*, 'temptation,' *πειρασμός*; *tentatio*), a name given to the place where the Israelites encamped in Rephidim. The people had no water to drink, therefore 'they did chide with Moses . . . and Moses said, Why do ye chide with me? wherefore do ye *tempt* (*תִּנְּסֶה*) the Lord?' (Exod. xvii. 2). When water was procured from

the smitten rock, Moses 'called the name of the place *Massah* ('temptation,' from root מָסָה) and Meribah' (ver. 7). Ever after this period the sacred writers, when speaking of this event, call the place Massah, and not Rephidim (Deut. vi. 16; ix. 22; xxxiii. 8). So also, in Ps. xcv. 8, which ought to be translated, 'Harden not your heart as in Meribah, as in the day of *Massah*, in the wilderness.' For the geographical position of Massah, see REPHIDIM, and WILDERNESS OF WANDERING.—J. L. P.

#### MASTICH. [SCHINOS.]

MATTANAH (מַתָּנָה; 'a gift,' as in Gen. xxv. 6; *Matṣavalev*; *Matthana*), one of the stations of the Israelites. It lay on the border between Moab and the Amorites, on the north side of the Arnon, and eastward toward the wilderness of Arabia (Num. xxi. 11, 13-18). The whole passage in which this name occurs is obscure (vers. 14-20). In the previous verses the journeyings of the people are regularly given in the usual form—'from thence they removed and pitched in,' etc.; but at the beginning of ver. 14 the historian breaks off the itinerary to introduce a quotation from the 'book of the wars of the Lord,' the meaning and bearing of which are doubtful. The itinerary appears in the A. V. to be taken up again in ver. 16; but the verbs 'journeyed from' and 'pitched in' are wanting. We find only כָּאֵרָה (and then a short song of praise, or ode of dedication, is introduced, after which comes very abruptly, 'And from the wilderness Mattanah (וּמִמִּדְבַּר מַתָּנָה), and from Mattanah Nahaliel,' etc., which appears more like a continuation of the ode than prose narration. On comparing the passage with the systematic itinerary in Num. xxxiii. 43-47, we find a difference of names. All these circumstances appear to favour the conclusion of Kennicott, that while the words in ch. xxxiii. are the proper names of places, Mattanah and the other words used here are intended to express figuratively and poetically some signal blessings or extraordinary circumstances which occurred to the Israelites at those places. By Mattanah allusion is probably made to some great gift from God—perhaps the 'well' just mentioned (Kennicott, *Remarks on Passages of the O. T.*, p. 60; cf. *Targum of Onkelos*. For other interpretations consult Rosenmüller, Clarke, Gesenius, etc.)—J. L. P.

MATTANIAH (מַתָּנְיָה, once מַתָּנְיָה; Sept. *Matṭanias*, *Matṭanias*, *Matṭanias*, *Matṭanias*, *Matṭanias*, *Matṭanias*; Alex. *Matṭanias*, *Matṭanias*), the name of ten persons mentioned in Scripture. Regarding one of these, Mattaniah the Levite, who is mentioned as the leader of the temple-choir in the time of Ezra (Neh. xi. 17; xii. 8), there is a difficulty arising from his great-grandson Zechariah apparently being named as amongst the 'priests' sons' who blew the trumpet in Ezra's procession round the walls (Neh. xii. 35). If Zechariah was a priest's son, and if he was old enough to blow a trumpet in Ezra's time, how could he be descended from Mattaniah the Levite, or how could the latter be the leader of the temple-choir at the same date? It seems improbable that the Mattaniah of Neh. xii. 35 is a different person from the Mattaniah of xi. 17; xii. 8, 25; so that we are forced to suspect an omission in xii. 35 after 'Shemaiah, the son of,'

and to connect 'Mattaniah, the son of Micaiah,' etc., with 'his brethren' (comp. ver. 8) named in ver. 36. Bertheau (*Exeg. Hdb.*, in loc.) suggests the supplying of 1 before Zechariah, so as to take him from among 'the priests' sons;' but though this removes one difficulty, it leaves the other standing, unless we suppose Mattaniah to have retained his powers to a very great age.—W. L. A.

MATTHAEI, CHRISTIAN FRIEDRICH VON, was born in Thuringia in 1744. He held a professorship first in Moscow, next in Wittemberg, and again in Moscow, where, in addition to the professorship of classical literature, he held the honourable office of Aulic Councillor. Taking advantage of the Moscow MSS., which his researches were the means of bringing to light, he prepared and published his once famous *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine; Textum denuovariis Lectionibus numquam antea Vulgatas collegit, Scholia Graeca addidit, animadversiones criticas adiecit*, etc., Rigae 1782-88, 12 vols. 8vo; 1803-7, 3 vols. 8vo. The extensive researches and criticism of more recent scholars have superseded in a large measure this edition of the Greek Testament. The competent judgment of Michaelis pronounces its just value in few words. Michaelis says, 'He has made his collection of various readings with great labour and diligence; he found in his MSS. a confirmation of many readings, which I should have hardly expected, because they are found in MSS. of a different kind and of a different country from those which he used; nay, even those of the Western Edition, of which he speaks with the utmost contempt, he has corroborated by the evidence of his Moscow MSS. This edition is absolutely necessary for every man who is engaged in the criticism of the Greek Testament.' Matthaei also edited from MSS. portions of the works of several ancient authors, and some inedited scholia. He died in 1811.—W. J. C.

MATTAN (Ματθᾶν), the grandfather of Joseph according to the genealogy in Matthew (i. 15, 16). By some he is identified with Matthat in the genealogy of Luke (iii. 24); but this is more than doubtful [GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST].

MATTATH (Ματθᾶν, Tisch. Μαθᾶν), the name of two of our Lord's ancestors in the genealogy of Luke (iii. 24, 29).

MATTHEW (Ματθαῖος; Lachmann, Alford, *Matṭhaios*, with B. D.; *Matthaus*). Few things are more suggestive to the thoughtful mind than the scantiness of our knowledge of the lives and actions of the apostles and evangelists of our Lord. Of several of the twelve nothing beyond the names has reached us; others are barely mentioned in the gospel narrative, and that chiefly in the way of blame or remonstrance. Of the very chiefest of them, the thing to be noted is, not what we know, but what we do not know. Of their work in the evangelization of the world little or nothing remains beyond vague traditions. St. Matthew is no exception to this rule. Once, and once only, he appears in the gospel history. He is called from 'the receipt of custom,' when the Lord—

'beside yon breezy lake  
Bade the meek publican his gainful seat forsake.'  
(Keble's *Christian Year*. 'St. Matthew's Day.')  
He leaves all at His command,—



‘At once he rose, and left his gold ;  
His treasure and his heart transferred ;’—*Id.*

makes a great feast in Christ's honour, and then disappears, nor is ever seen again except in the catalogues of the apostles. Tradition, as we shall see, adds more ; but its statements are inconsistent, and the sharpness of their definitions, increasing the further we remove from the facts, inspires little confidence. Matthew had also the name of Levi, Mark ii. 14 ; Luke v. 27 ; and, according to Mark, he was the son of Alphæus, who has been identified by many able commentators with the father of James the Less, Mark iii. 18 (Euthym. Zigab., Schleusner, Paulus, Bretschneider, Grotius, Ewald, Doddridge). In the catalogues—Mark iii. 18 ; Luke vi. 15—he is coupled with Thomas, which has given rise to the not altogether unfounded conjecture, that Matthew was the twin brother of Thomas (Θῶμα=a twin), whose real name, according to Euseb. *H. E.*, i. 13, was Judas, and that they were both ‘brethren of our Lord’ (Donaldson, *Jashar*, p. 10 ; cf. Matt. xiii. 55 ; Mark vi. 3). This would account for Matthew's immediate obedience to the call of Christ, but is hardly consistent with the indefiniteness of the words with which he is introduced—ἀνθρῶπον Ματθ. λεγόμεν., Matt. ix. 9 ; τελῶντην ὀνόματι Λευί, Luke v. 27—or the unbelief of our Lord's brothers, John vii. 5. The identity of profession, the place and circumstances of the call, and its immediate consequences, and even the very words in which it is recorded, leave no reasonable doubt that the three evangelists are describing the same event, and that Levi and Matthew are one and the same person. The grounds on which this has been questioned are very insufficient. Heracleon, as quoted by Clem. Alex. (*Strom.* iv. 11), mentions Levi as well as Matthew among the early teachers who did not suffer martyrdom. Origen also (*Contr. Cels.*, i., sec. 62 [48]) speaks of ὁ Λεβῆς τελῶνης ἀκολουθήσας τῷ Ἰησοῦ, together with ‘Matthew the publican ;’ but the names Λεβῆς and Λευῆς are by no means identical, and there is a hesitation about his language which shows that even then the tradition was hardly trustworthy. The attempt of Theod. Hase (*Bibl. Brem.*, tom. v. p. 475) to identify Levi with the apostle Lebbæus, is an example of misapplied ingenuity which deserves little attention (cf. Wolf. *Cur.* ad Marc. ii. 14). The distinction between Levi and Matthew has, however, been maintained by Grotius (though he acknowledges that the voice of antiquity is against him, ‘et sane congruunt circumstantiæ’), Michaelis, De Wette, Sieffert, Ewald, etc. But it is in the highest degree improbable that two publicans should have been called by Christ in the same words, at the same place, and with the same attendant circumstances and consequences ; and that, while one became an apostle, the other dropt entirely out of memory. Still less can we acquiesce in the hypothesis of Sieffert (*Urspr. d. erst. Kanon. Ev.*, p. 59) and Ewald (*Drei Erst. Ev.*, p. 344 ; *Christus*, pp. 289, 321), that the name ‘Matthew’ is due to the Greek editor of St. Matthew's Gospel, who substituted it by an error in the narrative of the call of Levi. On the other hand, their identity was assumed by Eusebius and Jerome, and most ancient writers, and has been accepted by the soundest commentators (Tischendorf, Meyer, Neander, Lardner, Ellicott, etc. etc.) The double name only supplies a difficulty to those who are

resolved to find such everywhere in the gospel narrative. It is analogous to what we find in the case of Simon Peter, John Mark, Paul, Jude, etc., which may all admit of the same explanation, and be regarded as indicating a crisis in the spiritual life of the individual, and his passing into new external relations. Matthew, like Matthias, according to Geseuius, is a contraction of Mattathias, and= מַתְתִּיָּא, Θεόδωρος or Θεόδοτος, ‘the gift of Jehovah ;’ and we may reasonably believe, that, ‘after and in memory of his call, the grateful publican changed his name to one more appropriate and significant.

He was no longer לֵוִי but מַתְתִּיָּא, not *Levi* but *Theodore*—one who might well deem both himself and all his future life a veritable ‘gift of God’ (Ellicott, *Hist. Lect.*, p. 172 ; cf. Meyer, *Comment.* i. 2 ; Winer, *R. W. B.*, s. v. Matthäus, Name). The τελῶναι, of whom he was one, are not to be identified with the *publicani*, properly so called—the equestrian capitalists who farmed the taxes under the Romans—but with the ‘*portitores*,’ their underlings, a body generally regarded as infamous, and hated by their countrymen as traitors and apostates, the willing tools of the Roman oppressor. A ‘dangerous class,’ among whom He who ‘came to seek and to save that which was lost,’ found a reception denied Him by the respectable Pharisees, and won some of His most glorious triumphs. St. Matthew's special occupation was probably the collection of dues and customs from persons and goods crossing the lake of Gennesareth. It was while he was actually engaged in his duties, καθημέρον ἐπὶ τὸ τελῶναι, that he received the call, which he obeyed without delay. Our Lord was then invited by him to a ‘great feast,’ Luke v. 29, to which perhaps, as Neander has suggested (*Life of Christ*, p. 230, Bohn ; cf. Blunt, *Undes. Coincid.*, p. 257), by way of farewell, his old associates, ὄχλος τελῶνων πολλῶς, were summoned. Those on the look out for discrepancies fancy they see one in the account of this feast ; but we may probably account for St. Matthew's silence about himself to his humility, of which we see another proof in his catalogue of the twelve, where alone his name appears with the title of infamy, ‘Matthew the publican’ (Matt. x. 3, cf. Euseb., *Dem. Evan.*, iii. 5).

St. Matthew is found once again in the company of his brother apostles after the ascension, Acts i. 13, but of his after history we have no trustworthy information. According to the Κήρυγμα Πέτρου, cited by Clem. Alex., *Strom.* vi. 5. 43, which is referred to as a *traditional* statement by Apollonius, *cir.* 180 (ap. Euseb. *H. E.*, v. 18), all apostles remained at Jerusalem twelve years after the crucifixion, devoting their labours to their own countrymen ; and, according to Eusebius, when Matthew was called to leave them, he sought to supply the want of his personal presence, τὸ λείπον τῇ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ, by the gift of his Aramaic gospel (*H. E.*, iii. 24). Eusebius could only tell us that he went to preach ‘to others,’ ἐφ’ ἑτέροισ ; nor was Origen (Euseb., *H. E.* iii. 1) or Jerome (*De Vir. Ill.*) able to supply any thing more definite. This deficiency is, as usual, amply supplied by later writers, by whom the field of his missionary labours is specified as Macedonia (Isid. Hispal.), Syria (Symeon, Metaph.), Persia (Ambrose), Parthia, and Media. The favourite place was Ethiopia, a tradition probably based on Euseb.,

*H. E.* v. 10 (Socrates, *H. E.* i. 19; Ruff., *H. E.* x. 9). Nicephorus Callistus, ii. 41 (*cir.* 1350, A. D.), the latest of all, knows most about the evangelist, and finds him hearers and converts among the Anthropophagi. He also makes him die a martyr's death, which is accepted by the *Martyrolog. Roman.*, in defiance of the testimony of the early church that his end was natural. According to Clem. Alex., *Paed.* ii. 1, he practised rigid asceticism, 'living on seeds and fruits, and herbs, without flesh,' and exaggerating the abstinence of the Baptist. The apocryphal 'Acts and Martyrdom of Matthew,' published by Tischendorf, are unworthy of attention.—E. V.

MATTHEW, GOSPEL OF. I. *Author.*—There is no ancient book with regard to the authorship of which we have earlier, fuller, and more unanimous testimony. From Papias, almost if not quite contemporary with the apostles, downwards, we have a stream of unimpeachable witnesses to the fact that Matthew was the author of a gospel; while the quotations which abound in the works of the Fathers prove that at least as early as Irenæus—if we may not also add Justin, whose 'Memorabilia of Christ' we cannot but identify with the 'Gospels' he speaks of as in public use—prove that the gospel received by the church under his name was the same as that which has reached us. As in the case of the other synoptists, a subsidiary argument of no small weight in favour of the correctness of this assignment, may be drawn from the comparative insignificance of St. Matthew among the twelve. Any one desirous of imposing a spurious gospel on the church would have naturally assumed one of the principal apostles as its author, instead of one whose name could add but little weight or authority to the composition.

2. *Time and Place of its Composition.*—There is little in the gospel itself to throw any light on the date of its composition. In xxvii. 7, 8; xxviii. 15, we have evidences of a date some years subsequent to the Resurrection; but these may well be additions of a later hand, and prove nothing as to the age of the substance of the gospel. Little trust can be placed in the dates given by some late writers; e. g., Theophylact, Euthymius Zigabenus, Euseb. *Chron.* eight years after the Ascension; Niceph., Callist., and the *Chron. Pasch.*, A. D. 45. The only early testimony is that of Irenæus (*Hæc.* iii. 1, p. 174), that it was written 'when St. Peter and St. Paul were preaching in Rome, and founding the church.' This would bring it down to about 63 A. D.; probably somewhat earlier, as this is the latest date assigned for St. Luke's Gospel; and we have the authority of a tradition accepted by Origen, for the priority of that of St. Matthew, *ἐν παραδόσει μαθὼν . . . ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν γέγραπται τὸ κατὰ τὸν ποτε τελώνην ὑστερον δὲ ἀπόστ.* I. Xp. Ματθαίου (Euseb., *H. E.*, vi. 25). The most probable date is between 50 and 60 A. D., though this is by no means universally accepted by modern writers. Tillemont maintains 33 A. D.; Townson 37 A. D.; Owen and Tomline 38 A. D.; Davidson, *Introd. N. T.*, inclines to 41-43 A. D.; while Hug, Eichhorn, Credner, Bertholdt, etc., identifying 'Zacharias the son of Barachias' (xxiii. 35) with Zacharias the son of Baruch, whose murder is recorded by Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* iv. 6. 4), place its composition shortly after the fall of Jerusalem, a theory which is rejected by De Wette and Meyer,

and may safely be dismissed as untenable. When the external evidence is so inconsistent, and the internal evidence so scanty and precarious, no definite conclusion can well be arrived at.

With regard to the place, there is no difference of opinion. All ancient authorities agree that St. Matthew wrote his gospel in Palestine, and this has been as unanimously received by modern critics.

3. *For what readers was it written?*—As with the place of its composition, so with the persons for whose use it was primarily intended. The concurrent testimony of the early church that St. Matthew drew up his gospel for the benefit of the Jewish Christians of Palestine (*τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ πιστεύουσι*, Orig. *apud* Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 25), has been accepted without question, and may be regarded as a settled point. The statement of Eusebius is that, 'having previously preached to the Hebrews, when he was about to go to others also, he committed to writing in his native tongue his gospel (*τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐαγγέλιον*), and so filled up by his writing that which was lacking of his presence to those whom he was departing from' (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 24). The testimony of Jerome, frequently repeated, is to the same effect (*Præf. ad Matt.*; *de Vir. Ill.*; *Comm. in Hos.* xi.). The passages quoted and referred to above, it is true, have reference to the supposed Aramaic original, and not to the present Greek gospel. But whatever conclusion may be arrived at on the perplexed question of the origin of the existing gospel, Mr. Westcott has shown (*Introd. to Gospels*, p. 208) that 'there is no sufficient reason to depart from the unhesitating habit of the earliest writers who notice the subject, in practically identifying the revised version with the original text,' so that whatever has been stated of the purpose or characteristics of the one may unhesitatingly be regarded as applicable to the other also.

Looking therefore to our present gospel for proofs of its original destination, we find internal evidence tending to confirm the traditional statement. The great object of the evangelist is evidently to prove to his countrymen that Jesus of Nazareth was the promised Messiah, the antitype of the figures of the old covenant, and the fulfilment of all prophecy. The opening words of his gospel declare his purpose. Jesus Christ is set forth as 'the son of David,' and 'the son of Abraham' fulfilling 'the promises made to the fathers,' and reviving the faded glories of the nation in the heir of David's royal line, Abraham's promised seed (cf. Iren. *Fragm.* xxix.; *Hæc.* iii. 9. 1; Orig. *in Joann.*, tom. iv., p. 4). In the symmetrical arrangement of the genealogy also, 'its divisions' (as Dean Goodwin has remarked, *Comm. in St. Matt.*, *Introd.*), 'corresponding to the two great crises in their national life—the maximum and minimum points of Hebrew prosperity'—we have an accommodation to Jewish prejudices and Jewish habits of thought, in marked contrast with the continuous order of the universalistic St. Luke. As we advance we find that the accomplishment of the promises, the proof that Jesus Christ is He of whom 'Moses in the law and the prophets did write,' is the object nearest to his heart. Thus he is continually speaking of the necessity of this or that event happening, in order that a particular prophecy might be fulfilled (*ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου* (or *Θεοῦ*) *διὰ τοῦ προφήτου*, i. 22, ii. 15, xxi. 4, xxvi. 56, cf. ii. 17, iii. 3, iv. 14,



viii. 17, etc.); while his whole gospel is full of allusions to those passages and sayings of the O. T. in which the Christ was predicted and foreshadowed. As Da Costa has remarked (*Four Witnesses*, p. 20), he regards the events he narrates as 'realised prophecy,' and everything is recorded with this view, that he may lead his countrymen to recognise in Jesus their promised Deliverer and King.

It is in keeping with the destination of his gospel that we find in St. Matthew less frequent explanations of Jewish customs, laws, and localities, than in the other gospels. In the Sermon on the Mount Christ is introduced declaring himself not as the destroyer but the fulfiller of the Mosaic law. When the twelve are sent forth they are forbidden to go 'into the way of the Gentiles' (x. 5, cf. xv. 24). And in the same passage—the only one in which the Samaritans are mentioned—that abhorred race is put on a level with the heathen, not at once to be gladdened with the gospel message.

But while we keep this in view, as the evangelist's first object, we must not strain it too narrowly, as though he had no other purpose than to combat the objections and to satisfy the prepossessions of the Jews. No evangelist expresses with greater distinctness the universality of Christ's mission, or does more to break down the narrow notion of a Messiah for Israel, who was not one also for the whole world; none delivers stronger warnings against trusting to an Abrahamian descent for acceptance with God. It is in St. Matthew that we read of the visit of the Magi (ii. 1, ff.), symbolizing the manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles; it is he that speaks of the fulfilment of Isaiah's prophecy, when 'the nations that sat in darkness saw a great light' (iv. 15, 16), and adds to the narrative of the cure of the centurion's servant what is wanting to the universalistic Luke, that 'many should come from the East and West,' etc. (viii. 11). The narrative of the Syrophenician woman, omitted by St. Luke, is given by St. Matthew, in whom alone we also find the command to 'make disciples of all nations' (xxviii. 19), and the unrestricted invitation to 'all that labour and are heavy laden' (xi. 28). Nowhere are we made more conscious of the deep contrast between the spiritual teaching of Christ and the formal teaching of the rulers of the Jewish church. We see also that others besides Jewish readers were contemplated, from the interpretations and explanations occasionally added, e.g., Immanuel, i. 23; Gollgotha, xxvii. 33; Eli, lama sabachthani? ver. 46.

4. *Original Language.*—We have seen that, with regard to those for whom this gospel was originally composed, the external evidence is supported and confirmed by the internal. It is not so with the difficult question we now proceed to consider. While there is absolutely nothing in the gospel itself to lead us to imagine that it is a translation, and, on the contrary, everything favours the view that in the present Greek text, with its perpetual verbal correspondence with the other synoptists, we have the original composition of the author himself; the unanimous testimony of all antiquity affirms that St. Matthew wrote his gospel in *Hebrew*, i.e., the Aramaic or Syro-Chaldaic dialect, which was the vernacular tongue of the then inhabitants of Palestine. The internal evidence therefore is at variance with the external, and it is by no means easy to adjust the claims of the two.

To look first at the external evidence. The unanimity of all ancient authorities as to the Hebrew origin of this gospel is complete. In the words of the late Canon Cureton (*Syriac Recension*, p. lxxiii.), 'no fact relating to the history of the gospels is more fully and satisfactorily established. From the days of the apostles down to the end of the 4th century, every writer who had occasion to refer to this matter has testified the same thing. Papias, Irenæus, Pantænus, Origen, Cyril of Jerusalem, Athanasius, Epiphanius, Jerome, all with one consent affirm this. Such a chain of historical evidence appears to be amply sufficient to establish the fact that St. Matthew wrote his gospel originally in the Hebrew dialect of that time, for the benefit of Jews who understood and spoke the language.' To look at the evidence more particularly—(1.) The earliest witness is Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia, in the beginning of the 2d century; a hearer of the apostle, or more probably the presbyter John, and companion of Polycarp (Iren., *Her.* v. 33. 4). Eusebius describes him (*H. E.*, iii. 36) as 'a man of the widest general information, and well acquainted with the Scriptures,' ἀνὴρ τὰ πάντα ἐνὶ μέλει λογιστάτος καὶ γραφῆς εἰδήμων; and though in another place he depreciates his intellectual power, σφόδρα μικρὸς ὢν τὸν νοῦν (*H. E.*, iii. 39), this unfavourable view seems chiefly to have reference to his millenarian views (cf. Iren., *Her.* v. 33. 3), and can hardly invalidate his testimony on a matter of fact. Papias says, it would seem on the authority of John the Presbyter, 'Matthew compiled his gospel (or 'the oracles') in the Hebrew dialect; while each interpreted them according to his ability' (Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Εβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο: ἡρμηνεύσε δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς ἕκαστος). In estimating the value of this testimony two important points have to be considered; the meaning of the term *λόγια*; and whether Papias is speaking of the present or the past. On the latter point there can be little doubt. His use of the aorist, ἡρμηνεύσε, not ἡρμηνεύει, evidently shows that the state of things to which he or his original authority referred had passed away, and that individual translation was no longer necessary. It would seem, therefore, to follow, that 'an authorised Greek representative of the Hebrew St. Matthew' had come into use 'in the generation after the apostles' (Westcott, *Introd.*, p. 207, note). The signification of *λόγια* has been much controverted. Schleiermacher (*Stud. u. Krit.*, 1832, p. 735) was the first to explain the term of a supposed 'collection of discourses' which is held to have been the basis which, by gradual modification and interpolation, was transformed into the existing gospel (Meyer, *Comm.*, i. 13). This view has found wide acceptance, and has been strenuously maintained by Lachmann (*S. u. K.*, 1835), Meyer, De Wette, Credner, Wieseler, B. Crusius, Ewald, Renan, etc., but has been controverted by Lücke (*S. u. K.*, 1833), Hug, Ebrard, Bauer, Delitzsch, Hilgenfeld, Thiersch, Alford, Westcott, etc. But *λόγια*, in the N. T., signifies the *whole revelation* made by God, rather than the mere *words* in which that revelation is contained (Acts vii. 38; Rom. iii. 2; Heb. v. 12; 1 Pet. iv. 11); and, as has been convincingly shown by Hug and Ebrard, the patristic use of the word confirms the opinion that, as used by Papias, both in this passage and in the title of his own work (λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις), it implies a combined record of

facts and discourses corresponding to the later use of the word 'gospel.' (2.) The next witness is Irenæus, who, as quoted by Euseb. (*H. E.*, v. 8), says, that 'Matthew among the Hebrews published also a written gospel in their own language'—*τῇ ἰδίᾳ αὐτῶν διαλέκτῳ*. Hug and others have attempted to invalidate this testimony, as a mere repetition of that of Papias, whose disciple, according to Jerome, Irenæus was; but we may safely accept it as independent evidence. (3.) Pantænus, the next witness, cannot be considered to strengthen the case for the Hebrew original much. Though, as far as it goes, his evidence is definite enough. His story, as reported by Eusebius, is that 'he is said to have gone to the Indians' (probably in the south of Arabia), 'where it is reported that the Gospel of St. Matthew had preceded him among some who had there acknowledged Christ, to whom it is said the Apostle Bartholomew had preached, and had left with them the writing of Matthew in Hebrew letters' (*Ἑβραίων γράμμασι τὴν τοῦ Ματθαίου καταλείψαι γραφὴν*), and that it was preserved to the time mentioned.' Jerome tells the same tale, with the addition that Pantænus brought back this Hebrew gospel with him (*de Vir. Ill.*, 36). No works of Pantænus have been preserved, and we have no means of confirming or refuting the tale, which has somewhat of a mythical air, and is related as a mere story (*λέγεται, λόγος εὐρεῖν αὐτὸν*), even by Eusebius. (4.) The testimony of Origen has been already referred to. It is equally definite with those quoted above on the fact that the gospel was 'published for Jewish believers, and composed in Hebrew letters' (*ἐκδεδοκῶτα αὐτὸ τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ πιστεύουσι, γράμμασιν Ἑβραϊκοῖς συνεταγμένον*, Euseb. *H. E.*, vi. 25). There is no reason for questioning the independence of Origen's evidence, or for tracing it back to Papias. He clearly states what was the belief of the church at that time, and without a doubt as to its correctness. (For a refutation of the objections brought against it by Masch and Hug, etc., see Marsh's *Michaelis*, iv. 128, 135, ff.) (5.) We have already given the testimony of Eusebius (*H. E.*, iii. 24), to which may be added a passage (*ad Marin. quæst.*, ii. p. 941) in which he ascribes the words, *ὅπερ τοῦ σαββᾶτου*, to the translator, *παρὰ τοῦ ἐρμηνεύσαντος τὴν γραφὴν*, adding, 'for the evangelist Matthew delivered his gospel in the Hebrew tongue.' This is very important evidence as to the belief of Eusebius, which was clearly that of the church generally, that the gospel was originally composed in Hebrew. (6.) Epiphanius (*Hær.*, xxix. 9, p. 124) states the same fact without the shadow of a doubt, adding, that Matthew was the only evangelist who wrote *ἑβραϊστὶ καὶ ἑβραϊκοῖς γράμμασιν*. The value of his evidence, however, is impaired by his identification of the Hebrew original with that employed by the Nazarenes and Ebionites, by whom he asserts it was still preserved, *ἐν τῷ σώζοντι*. (7.) The same observation may also be made concerning the testimony of Jerome, whose references to this subject are very frequent, and who is the only one of the fathers who appears to have actually seen the supposed Hebrew archetype (*Præf. ad Matt.*; *De Vir. Ill.* 3 and 36; in *Quæt. Ev. ad Dam. præf.*; *Ep. Dam. de Osanna*; *Ep. ad Hedib. quæst. viii.*; *Comm. in Hos. xi.*) A perusal of these passages shows that there was a book preserved in the library collected by Pamphilus at Cæsarea, which was supposed to be the Hebrew original, *ἰψὺμ*

*Hebraicum*, and was as such transcribed and translated into Greek and Latin by Jerome, *circa* 392 A. D., from a copy obtained from the Nazarenes at the Syrian city of Berea. Afterwards, *circa* 398 A. D. (*Comm. in Matt.* xii. 13), he speaks more doubtfully of it, '*quod vocatur a plerisque Matt. authenticum*.' Later on, 415 A. D. (*Contr. Pelag.* iii. 1), he modifies his opinion still further, and describes the book used by the Nazarenes and preserved in the library at Cæsarea as '*Ev. juxta Hebræos . . . secundum Apostolos, sive ut plerique autumant juxta Mattheum*' (cf. *Edin. Rev.*, July 1851, p. 39; De Wette, *Einl.*, p. 100). While then we may safely accept Jerome as an additional witness to the belief of the early church that St. Matthew's gospel was originally composed in Hebrew (Aramaic), which he mentions as something universally recognised without a hint of a doubt, we may reasonably question whether the book he translated had any sound claims to be considered the genuine work of St. Matthew, and whether Jerome himself did not ultimately discover his mistake, though he shrunk from openly confessing it. We may remark, in confirmation of this, that unless the Aramaic book had differed considerably from the Greek gospel, Jerome would hardly have taken the trouble to translate it; and that while, whenever he refers to St. Matthew, he cites it according to the present text, he never quotes the Nazarene gospel as a work of canonical authority, but only in such terms as, '*quo utuntur Nazareni*,' '*quod lectitant Nazareii*,' '*quod juxta Heb. Nazar. legere consueverunt*,' and still more doubtfully, '*qui crediderit evangelio, quod secundum Hebræos editum nuper transtulimus*,' language inconsistent with his having regarded it as canonical Scripture. (8.) The statements of later writers, Cyril of Jer., Athanas., Chrysos., August., Greg. Naz., etc., merely echo the same testimony, and need not be more particularly referred to.

An impartial survey of the above evidence leads to the conclusion, that in the face of so many independent witnesses we should be violating the first principles of historical criticism if we refused to accept the fact that St. Matthew wrote his gospel originally in Hebrew. But whether this original was ever seen by Jerome or Epiphanius, is more than questionable.

What, then, is the origin of our present gospel? To whom are we to ascribe its existing form and language? What is its authority? These are the questions which now meet us, and to which it must be confessed it is not easy to give a satisfactory answer. We may, at the outset, lay down, as indisputable, in opposition to Cureton (who asserts, *u. s.*, that 'a careful critical examination of the Greek text will afford very strong confirmation' of the Hebrew original), that the phenomena of the gospel as we have it—its language, its coincidences with and divergences from the other synoptists, the quotations from the O. T. it contains, and the citations made from it by ancient writers, all oppose the notion of the present Greek text being a translation, and support its canonical authority. (1.) An important argument may be drawn from the use made of the existing gospel by all ancient writers. As Olshausen remarks (Clark's ed., i. xxviii.), while all the fathers of the church assert the Hebrew origin of the gospel, they without exception make use of the existing Greek text as canonical Scripture, and that without doubt or



question, or any thing that would lead to the belief that they regarded it as of less authority than the original Hebrew, or possessed it in any other form than that in which we now have it. (2.) Another argument in favour of the authoritative character of our present gospel arises from its universal diffusion and general acceptance, both in the church and among her adversaries. Had the Hebrew gospel been really clothed with the authority of the sole apostolic archetype, and our Greek gospel been a mere translation, executed, as Jerome asserts, by some unknown individual, 'quis postea in græcum transtulerit non satis certum est' (*De Vir. Ill.* 3), would not, as Olshausen remarks, *u.s.*, objections to it have been urged in some quarter or other, particularly in the country where Matthew himself laboured, and for whose inhabitants the Hebrew was written? Would its statements have been accepted without a cavil by the opponents of the church? No trace of such opposition is, however, to be met with. Not a doubt is ever breathed of its canonical authority. (3.) Again, the text itself bears no marks of a translation. This is especially evident in the mode of dealing with the citations from the O. T. These are of two kinds: (a), Those standing in the discourses of our Lord himself, and the interlocutors; and (b), Those introduced by the evangelist as proofs of our Lord's Messiahship. Now, if we assume, as is certainly most probable (though the contrary has been maintained by Hug, the late Duke of Manchester, and more recently by the Rev. Alexander Roberts, whose learned and able 'Discussions on the Gospels' demand attentive consideration from every Biblical student), that Aramaic, not Greek, was the language ordinarily used by our Lord and His Jewish contemporaries, we should certainly expect that any citations from the O. T., made by them in ordinary discourse, would be from the original Hebrew or its Aramaic counterpart, not from the Septuagint version, and would stand as such in the Aramaic record; while it would argue more than the ordinary license of a mere translator to substitute the LXX. renderings, even when at variance with the Hebrew before him. And yet what is the case? While in the class (b), due to the evangelist himself, which may be supposed to have had no representative in the current Greek oral tradition which we assume as the basis of the synoptical gospels, we find original renderings of the Hebrew text; in the class (a), on the other hand, where we might, *a priori*, have looked for an even closer correspondence, the citations are usually from the LXX. even where it deviates from the Hebrew. (In (a) we may reckon iii. 3; iv. 4, 6, 7, 10; xv. 4, 8, 9; xix. 5, 18; xxi. 13; xxi. 42; xxii. 39, 44; xxiii. 39; xxiv. 15; xxvi. 31; xxvii. 46. In (b), called by Westcott (*Introd.* p. 208, note 1), 'Cyclic quotations,' i. 23; ii. 6, 15, 18; iv. 15, 16; viii. 17; xii. 18, ff.; xiii. 35; xxi. 5; xxvii. 9, 10.) In two cases St. Matthew's citations agree with the synoptic parallels in a deviation from the LXX., all being drawn from the same oral groundwork. St. Matthew's quotations have been examined by Credner, one of the soundest of modern scholars, who pronounces decidedly for their derivation from the Greek (*Einleit.*, p. 94, cf. De Wette, *Einl.*, 198). We may therefore not unwarrantably find here additional evidence, that in the existing Greek text we have the work, not of a mere translator, but of an independent and autho-

ritative writer. (4.) The verbal correspondences between St. Matthew and the other synoptists in their narratives, and especially in the report of the speeches of our Lord and others, are difficult to account for if we regard it as a translation. As Alford remarks (*Gr. Test.*, Proleg. i. 28), 'The translator must have been either acquainted with the other two gospels, in which case it is inconceivable that, in the midst of the present coincidences in many passages, such divergences should have occurred, or unacquainted with them, in which case the identity itself would be altogether inexplicable.' Indeed, in the words of Credner (*Einleit.*, 94, 95), 'the Greek original of this gospel is affirmed by its continual correspondence with those of Mark and Luke, and that not only in generals and important facts, but in particulars and minute details, in the general plan, in entire clauses, and in separate words—a phenomenon which admits of no explanation under the hypotheses of a translation from the Hebrew.'

(5.) This inference in favour of an original Greek gospel is strongly confirmed by the fact that all versions, even the Peshito Syriac, the language in which the gospel is said to have been originally written, are taken from the present Greek text. It is true that Canon Cureton (*Syriac Recens.*, p. lxxv., ff.) argues with much ability against this, and expends much learning and skill in proof of his hypothesis, that the Syriac version of St. Matthew published by him is more ancient than the Peshito, and may be regarded as, in the main, identical with the Aramaic gospel of St. Matthew; which he also considers to have been identical with the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, used by the Nazarenes and Ebionites, 'modified by some additions, interpolations, and perhaps some omissions.' His statement (p. xlii.) that 'there is a marked difference between the recension of St. Matthew and that of the other gospels, proving that they are by different hands—the former showing no signs, as the others do, of translation from the Greek'—demands the respect due to so careful a scholar; but he fails entirely to explain the extraordinary fact, that in the very country where St. Matthew published his gospel, and within a comparatively short period, a version from the Greek was substituted for the authentic original; nor have his views met with general acceptance among scholars.

Having thus stated the arguments in favour of a Hebrew and Greek original respectively, it remains for us to inquire whether there is any way of adjusting the claims of the two. We think there is, and that Mr. Westcott—to whom the study of the gospels owes so much—has pointed out the road to it. Not that the difficulties which beset this matter can be regarded as cleared up, or the question finally and satisfactorily settled, but a mode of reconciling the inconsistency between testimony and fact has been indicated, which, if pursued, may, we think, lead to a decision. 'It has been shown,' says Mr. Westcott, *Introd.* p. 208, note, 'that the oral gospel probably existed from the first both in Aramaic and in Greek, and in this way a preparation for a fresh representative of the Hebrew gospel was at once found. The parts of the Aramaic oral gospels which were adopted by St. Matthew already existed in the Greek counterpart. The change was not so much a version as a substitution; and frequent coincidence with common parts of St. Mark and St. Luke, which were derived from the same

oral Greek gospel, was a necessary consequence. Yet it may have happened that, as long as the Hebrew and Greek churches were in close connection, perhaps till the destruction of Jerusalem, no authoritative Greek gospel of St. Matthew—*i.e.*, such a version of the Greek oral gospel as would exactly answer to St. Matthew's version of the Aramaic—was committed to writing. When, however, the separation between the two sections grew more marked, the Greek gospel was written, not indeed as a translation, but as a representation of the original, as a Greek oral counterpart was already current.' This theory of the origin of the Greek gospel, it appears to us, meets the facts of the case, and satisfies its requirements more fully than any other. We have seen above that the language of Papias indicates that, even in his day, the gospel of St. Matthew existed substantially in Greek, and its universal diffusion and general authority in the earliest ages of the Church prove that its composition cannot be placed much after the times of the apostles. May it not have been then that the two—the Aramaic and the Greek gospel—existed for some time in their most important portions as an oral tradition side by side—that the Aramaic was the first to be committed to writing, and gained a wide though temporary circulation among the Hebrew Christians of Syria and Palestine?—that when, as would soon be the case, the want of a Greek gospel for the use of the Hellenistic Jews was felt, this also was published in its written form, either by St. Matthew himself (as is maintained by Thiersch, Olshausen, and Lee), or by those to whom, from constant repetition, the main portions were familiar; perhaps under the apostle's eye, and with the virtual, if not the formal sanction of the church at Jerusalem? As it supplied a need widely felt by the Gentile Christians, it would at once obtain currency, and as the Gentile church rapidly extended her borders, while that of the Jewish believers was continually becoming confined within narrower limits, this Greek gospel would speedily supplant its Hebrew predecessor, and thus furnish a fresh and most striking example of what Mr. Westcott, in his excellent work on *The Bible in the Church*, Introd. p. viii., calls 'that doctrine of a divine providence separating (as it were) and preserving special books for the perpetual instruction of the church, which is the true correlative and complement of every sound and reverend theory of inspiration.' No other hypothesis, as Dr. Lee has satisfactorily shown (*Inspir. of H. Sc.*, Appendix M), than the Greek gospel being either actually or substantially the production of St. Matthew himself, 'accounts for the profound silence of ancient writers respecting the translation, . . . or for the absence of the least trace of any other Greek translation of the Hebrew original.' The hypotheses which assign the translation to St. Barnabas (Isid. Hispal., *Chron.* p. 272), St. John (Theophyl., Euthym. Zigab.), St. Mark (Greswell), St. Luke and St. Paul conjointly (Anastas. Sinaita), or James the brother of our Lord (*Syn. Sacr. Scr. apud* Athanas. t. ii. p. 202), are mere arbitrary assertions without any foundation in early tradition. The last named is the most ingenious, as we may reasonably suppose that the Bishop of Jerusalem would feel solicitude for the spiritual wants of the Hellenistic Christians of that city.

Those who desire to pursue the investigation of this subject will find ample materials for doing so in the 'Introductions' of Hug, De Wette, and Credner;

Marsh's *Michaelis*, vol. iii. part i., where the patristic authorities are fully discussed; Lardner's *Credibility*, vol. v.; Reuss's *Gesch. d. Kanon*; Tregelles on *The Original Language of St. Matthew*; Rev. A. Roberts' *Discussions on the Gospels*; the commentaries of Olshausen, Meyer, Alford, Weststein, Kuhnoel, Fritzsche, Lange, etc.; and the works on the Gospels of Norton (*Credibility*), Westcott, Baur, Gieseler (*Entstehung*), Hilgenfeld, etc.; Cureton's *Syriac Recension*, Preface; and Dr. W. Lee on *Inspiration*, Append. M; Jeremiah Jones' *Vindication of St. Matthew*; Ewald, *die drei Erst. Ev.*; and *Jahrbuch, d. Bibl. Wissensch.*, 1848-1849.

5. *Characteristics.*—St. Matthew's is emphatically the Gospel of the Kingdom. The main object of the evangelist is to portray the kingly character of Christ, and to show that in Him the ideal of the King reigning in righteousness, the true Heir of David's throne, was fulfilled (cf. August., *De Consens. Ev.*, passim). And thus the tone throughout is majestic and kingly. He views things in the grand general aspect; and, indifferent to the details in which St. Mark loves so much to dwell, he gathers up all in the great result. His narrative proceeds with a majestic simplicity, regardless of time and place, according to another and deeper order, ready to sacrifice mere chronology or locality to the development of his idea. Thus he brings together events separated sometimes by considerable intervals, according to the unity of their nature or purpose, and with a grand but simple power accumulates in groups the discourses, parables, and miracles of our Lord (I. Williams, *Study of Gospels*, p. 28). From the formation and objects of the gospels, we should expect that their prevailing characteristics should be indicated rather by a general tone and spirit than by minute peculiarities. Not, however, that these latter are wanting. It has been already remarked how the genealogy with which St. Matthew's gospel opens sets our Lord forth in His kingly character, as the heir of the throne of David, the representative of the royal line of which He was the true successor and fulfilment. As we advance we find His birth hailed, not by lowly shepherds as in St. Luke, but by wise men coming to wait on Him with royal gifts, inquiring, 'Where is He that is born king of the Jews.' In the Sermon on the Mount the same majesty and authority appear. We hear the Judge himself delivering His sentence; the King laying down the laws of His kingdom, 'I say unto you,' and astonishing His hearers with the 'authority' with which He speaks.

The awful majesty of our Lord's reproofs in His teaching in the temple, and His denunciations of the Scribes and Pharisees, also evidence the authority of a king and lawgiver—'one who knew the mind of God and could reveal it;' which may also be noticed in the lengthened discourses that mark the close of His ministry, in which 'the king' and 'the kingdom of heaven' come forward with so much frequency (xxi. 31, 43; xxii. 2, ff.; xxiii. 14; xxiv. 14; xxv. 1, 34, 40). Nor can we overlook the remarkable circumstance, that in the parable of the marriage-feast, so similar in its general circumstances with that in St. Luke (xiv. 16), instead of 'a certain man,' it is 'a king' making a marriage for his son, and in kingly guise sending forth his armies and binding the unworthy guest. The addition of the doxology also to the Lord's Prayer, with its ascription of 'the kingdom, the power,



and the glory,' is in such true harmony with the same prevailing tone as to lead many to see in this fact alone the strongest argument for its genuineness.

But we must not in this, or in any of the gospels, direct our attention too exclusively to any one side of our Lord's character. 'The King is one and the same in all; and so is the Son of Man, and the Priest. . . . He who is the King is also the Sacrifice' (Williams, *u. s.*, p. 32). The gospel is that of the king, but it is the king 'meek' (xxi. 5), 'meek and lowly of heart' (xi. 29); the kingdom is that of 'the poor in spirit,' 'the persecuted for righteousness' sake' (vers. 3, 10), into which 'the weary and heavy laden' are invited, and which they enter by submitting to the 'yoke' of its king. And He, it tells us, was to be one of ourselves, 'whose brotherhood with man answered all the anticipations the Jewish prophets had formed of their king, and whose power to relieve the woes of humanity could not be separated from his participation in them, who 'Himself took our infirmities and bare our sicknesses'' (viii. 17) — (Maurice, *Unity of N. T.*, p. 190). As the son of David and the son of Abraham He was the partaker of the sorrows as well as the glories of the throne—the heir of the curse as well as the blessing. The source of all blessings to mankind, fulfilling the original promise to Abraham, the curse due to man's sin meets and centres in Him, and is transformed into a blessing when the cross becomes His kingly throne; and from the lowest point of His degradation He reappears, in His resurrection, as the Lord and King to whom 'all power is given in heaven and earth.' He fulfils the promise, 'in thy seed shall all families of the earth be blessed;' in the command to 'go and make disciples of all nations,' he 'expands the I AM, which was the ground of the national polity, into the name of 'the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost'' (Maurice, *u. s.*, p. 221).

And once again, the kingdom He came to establish was to be a fatherly kingdom. The king He made known was One reigning in God's name, and as His representative. And that God was the father of His people, as of Him, in and through whom human beings were to be adopted as the children of God. This characteristic of the gospel is perpetually meeting us. At every turn St. Matthew represents our Lord bringing out the mind of God and showing it to be the mind of a Father. The fatherly relation is the ground of all His words of counsel, command, warning, comfort. Especially is this the case in the Sermon on the Mount. Every command, as to good works (v. 16, 45, 48), almsgiving (vi. 1, 2), prayer (vi. 6, 8), forgiveness (vi. 14, 15), fasting (vi. 18), trust and faith (vi. 26; vii. 11), is based on the revelation of a Father. The twelve are sent forth in the same name and strength (x. 20, 29). The kingdom Christ came to establish is not so much a kingdom as a family—the *Ecclesia*, a word found only in St. Matthew (xvi. 18; xviii. 17)—'held together by the law of forgiveness and mutual sacrifice, with their elder Brother in the midst of them, and their will so identified with that which rules heaven and earth, that whatever they shall agree to ask shall be done by their Father.' This characteristic of St. Matthew is remarkably evidenced by a comparative survey of the usage of the evangelists. In St. Mark we find our Lord speaking of to or God, as His Father, three times, in St. Luke twelve times, in St. Matthew twenty-two times; as the Father of

His people, in St. Mark twice, in St. Luke five times, in St. Matthew twenty-two times.

Another minor characteristic which deserves remark, is St. Matthew's use of the plural, where the other evangelists have the singular. Thus, in the temptation, we have 'stones' and 'loaves' (iv. 3), two demoniacs (viii. 28), *τοὺς χόρτους* (xiv. 19), two blind men (xx. 30, cf. ix. 27), the ass and her colt (xxi. 2), servants (xxi. 34, 36), both thieves blaspheming (xxvii. 44). This is ingeniously accounted for by Da Costa (*Four Witnesses*, p. 322), though this is not universally applicable, on the idea that 'his point of view—regarding the events he narrates as fulfilled prophecies—leads him to regard the species rather than the individual; the entire plenitude of the prophecy rather than the isolated fulfilment.'

6. *Relation to Mark and Luke—Arrangement.*—It is needless again to enter into the maze of conflicting opinions as to the order of priority of the synoptic gospels, of which we have already spoken (see MARK and LUKE). In the article on Mark we have expressed our opinion that, while his gospel is probably *in essence* the oldest, there is nothing seriously to invalidate the traditional statement that St. Matthew's was the earliest in composition—the first committed to writing. Neither does a careful review of the text of the gospel allow us to accept the view put forth by Ewald with his usual dogmatism, and defended with his wonted acuteness, that, as we have it, it is a fusion of four different elements—(1.) An original Greek gospel of the simplest and briefest form; (2.) an Aramaic 'collection of sayings,' *τὰ λόγια*; (3.) the narrative of St. Mark; and (4.) 'a book of higher history.' That our gospel is no such curious mosaic is evident from the unity of plan and unity of language which pervades the whole, and to an unprejudiced reader Ewald's theory refutes itself.

Comparing St. Matthew's gospel with those of St. Mark and St. Luke, we find the following passages peculiar to him: chap. i. (with the exception of the great central fact), and chap. ii. entirely. The genealogy, the suspicions of Joseph, the visit of the Magi, the flight into Egypt and return thence, the massacre of the innocents, and the reason of the settlement at Nazareth, are given by St. Matthew alone. To him we owe the notice that 'the Pharisees and Sadducees' came to John's baptism (iii. 7); that John was unwilling to baptize our Lord, and the words in which Jesus satisfied his scruples (ver. 13-15); the Sermon on the Mount in its fullest form (v., vi., vii.); the prediction of the call of the Gentiles, appended to the miracle of the centurion's servant (viii. 11, 12); the cure of the two blind men (ix. 27-30); and that memorable passage by which, if by nothing else, St. Matthew will for ever be remembered with thankfulness—which, as perhaps the fullest exposition of the spirit of the gospel anywhere to be found in Holy Scripture, taught St. Augustine the difference between the teaching of Christ and that of the best philosophers (xi. 28-30); the solemn passage about 'idle words' (xii. 36, 37); four of the parables in chap. xiii., the tares, the hid treasure, the pearl, and the draw-net; several incidents relating to St. Peter, his walking on the water (xiv. 28-31), the blessing pronounced upon him (xvi. 17-19), the tribute money (xvii. 24-27); nearly the whole of chap. xviii., with its lessons of humility and for-

givenness, and the parable of the unmerciful servant; the lessons on voluntary continence (xix. 10, 12); the promise to the twelve (ver. 28); the parables of the labourers in the vineyard (xx. 1-16), the two sons (xxi. 28-32), the transference of the kingdom to the Gentiles (ver. 43); the parable of the marriage of the king's son (xxii. 1-14); nearly the whole of the denunciations against the Scribes and Pharisees in chap. xxiii.; the parables of the last things in chap. xxv. In the history of the passion the peculiarities are numerous and uniform in character, tending to show how, in the midst of His betrayal, sufferings, and death, our Lord's Messiahship was attested. It is in St. Matthew alone that we read of the covenant with Judas for 'thirty pieces of silver' (xxvi. 15); his inquiry 'Is it I?' (xxvi. 25), as well as the restoration of the money in his despair, and its ultimate destination in unconscious fulfilment of prophecy (xxvii. 3-10); the cup 'for the remission of sins' (xxvi. 28); the mention of the 'twelve legions of angels' (ver. 52-54); Pilate's wife's dream (xxvii. 19), his washing his hands (ver. 24), and the imprecation 'His blood be on us,' etc. (ver. 25); the opening of the graves (ver. 52, 53), and the watch placed at the sepulchre (ver. 62-66). In the account of the resurrection we find only in St. Matthew the great earthquake (xxviii. 2), the descent of the angel, his glorious appearance striking terror into the guards (ver. 2-4), their flight, and the falsehood spread by them at the instigation of the priests (ver. 11-15); our Lord's appearance to the women (ver. 9, 10); the adoration and doubt of the apostles (ver. 17); and finally, the parting commission and promise of His ever-abiding presence (ver. 18-20).

This review of the gospel will show us that of the matter peculiar to St. Matthew, the larger part consists of parables and discourses, and that he adds comparatively little to the narrative. Of thirty-three recorded miracles eighteen are given by St. Matthew, but only two, the cure of the blind men (ix. 27-30) and the tribute money (xvii. 24-27), are peculiar to him. Of twenty-nine parables St. Matthew records fifteen; ten, as noticed above, being peculiar to him.

St. Matthew's order of arrangement we have already seen is according to subject-matter rather than chronological sequence, which in the first half is completely disregarded. More attention is paid to order of time in the latter half, where the arrangement agrees with that of St. Mark. The main body of his gospel divides itself into groups of discourses collected according to their leading tendency, and separated from one another by groups of anecdotes and miracles. We may distinguish *seven* such collections of discourses—(1.) The Sermon on the Mount, a specimen of our Lord's ordinary didactic instruction (v-vii.); divided by a group of works of healing, comprising no less than ten out of eighteen recorded miracles, from (2.) the commission of the twelve (chap. x.) The following chapters (xi. xii.) give the result of our Lord's own teaching, and, introducing a change of feeling towards Him, prepare us for (3.) His first open denunciation of His enemies (xii. 25-45), and pave the way for (4.) the group of parables, including seven out of fifteen recorded by him (chap. xiii.). The next four chapters, containing the culminating point of our Lord's history in Peter's confession (xvi. 13-20), and the transfiguration (xvii.), with the first glimpses of the cross (xvi. 21; xvii. 12),

are bound together by historical sequence. In (5), comprising chap. xviii., we have a complete treatise in itself, made up of fragments on humility and brotherly love. The counsels of perfection, in xix. 1-xx. 16, are followed by the disputes with the Scribes and Pharisees (xxi. 23-xxii. 46), which supply the ground for (6.) the solemn denunciations of the hypocrisies and sophisms by which they nullified the spirit of the law (chap. xxiii.), followed by (7.) the prophecy of the last things (xxiv. xxv.).

The view that St. Matthew's gospel is arranged chronologically, was revived by Eichhorn, who has been followed by Marsh, De Wette, and others. But it has been controverted by Hug, Olshausen, Greswell, Ellicott, and others, and is almost universally held to be untenable.

Reuss, dividing the matter contained in the synoptical gospels into 100 sections, finds 73 of them in St. Matthew, 63 in St. Mark, in St. Luke, the richest of all, 82. Of these, 49 are common to all three; 9 common to St. Matthew and St. Mark; 8 to St. Matthew and St. Luke; 3 to St. Mark and St. Luke. Only 7 of these are peculiar to St. Matthew; 2 to St. Mark; while St. Luke contains no less than 22.

St. Matthew's narrative, as a rule, is the least graphic. The great features of the history which bring into prominence our Lord's character as teacher and prophet, the substance of type and prophecy, the Messianic king, are traced with broad outline, without minute or circumstantial details. We are conscious of a want of that picturesque power and vivid painting which delights us in the other gospels, especially that of St. Mark. This deficiency, however, is more than compensated for by the grand simplicity of the narrative, in which everything is secondary to the evangelist's great object. The facts which prove the Messianic dignity of his Lord are all in all with him, the circumstantials almost nothing, while he portrays the earthly form and theocratic glory of the new dispensation, and unfolds the glorious consummation of 'the kingdom of heaven.'

7. *Style and Diction.*—The language of St. Matthew is less characteristic than that of the other evangelists. Of the three synoptical gospels it is the most decidedly Hebraistic, both in diction and construction, but less so than that of St. John. Credner and others have remarked the following instances of Hebraistic phraseology:—

(1.) ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, which occurs thirty-two times in St. Matt. and not once in the other evangelists, who use instead ἡ βασ. τ. θεοῦ, employed also by St. Matt. (vi. 33; xii. 28; xxi. 31, 43.)

(2.) ὁ πατήρ ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς (ὁ οὐράνιος, four times), sixteen times, only twice in Mark, not at all in Luke.

(3.) Ἰῶς Δαβὶδ, to designate Jesus as the Messiah, seven times, three times each in Mark and Luke.

(4.) Ἡ ἀγία πόλις, and ὁ ἅγιος τόπος, for Jerusalem, three times; not in the other evangelists.

(5.) ἡ συντελεία τοῦ αἵωνος, 'the consummation of the age'—'the end of the world,' is found five times in Matt., nowhere else in the N. T. except Heb. ix. 26, in the plural, αἰώνων.

(6.) ἵνα (ὅπως) πληρωθῇ τὸ ρηθὲν, eight times, nowhere else in the N. T. St. John uses ἵνα πληρ. ὁ λόγ., or ἡ γραφ.; St. Mark once (xiv. 49), ἵνα πληρ. αἱ γραφ.

(7.) τὸ ρηθὲν (always used by Matt. when quoting Holy Scripture *himself*, in other citations γέγραπ-



ται, with the other evangelists), twelve times; ὁ ῥηθὲς, once (iii. 3). He never uses the singular, γραφή. Mark once uses τὸ ῥηθὲν (xiii. 14).

(8.) ἐθνικός, twice; nowhere else in N. T.

(9.) ὀμνέειν ἐν, seven times; not elsewhere, save Rev. x. 6.

(10.) καὶ ἰδοὺ, in narrative, twenty-three times; in Luke sixteen times; not in Mark. ἰδοὺ, after a genitive absolute, nine times.

(11.) προσέρχεσθαι and πορεύεσθαι, continually used to give a pictorial colouring to the narrative (e.g., iv. 3; viii. 5, 19, 25; ix. 14, 20, etc.; ii. 8; ix. 13; xi. 4, etc.)

(12.) λέγων, absolutely, without the dative of the person (e.g., i. 20; iii. 2, 13, 20; iii. 2, 14, 17; v. 2; vi. 31, etc.)

(13.) Other peculiarities, establishing the unity of authorship, may be noticed:—(1.) The use of τότε, as the ordinary particle of transition, ninety times; six times in Mark, and fourteen in Luke. (2.) καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε, five times; Luke uses ὅτε δὲ ἐγένετο, or καὶ ὅτε ἐγένετο. (3.) ἕως οὗ, seven times. (4.) ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ, ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐκ. and ἀπὸ τ. ὥρ. ἐκ. scarcely found in Mark or Luke. (5.) ἀναχωρεῖν, 'to retire,' ten times. (6.) κατ' ὄναρ, six times. (7.) ποιῶν ὡς, ὥσπερ, καθὼς, ὡσαύτως; Luke, ποι. ὁμοίως. (8.) τάφος, six times; only Rom. iii. 13 besides in N. T. (9.) σφόδρα, and other adverbs, after the verb, except οὕτω, always before it. (10.) προσκυνεῖν, with the dative, ten times; twice in Mark, three times in John. Other words which are found either only or more frequently in Matthew, are φρόνιμος, οἰκιακός, ὑστερον, ἐκείθεν, διατάζειν, καταποντίζεσθαι, μεταρρεῖν, συναρρεῖν λόγον, συμβούλιον λαμβάνειν, μαλακία—kos, etc. (cf. Credner, *Einleit.*, p. 63, ff.; Gersdorf, *Beiträge z. Sprachcharact. d. N. T.*)

8. Citations from the O. T.—Few facts are more significant of the original purpose of this gospel, and the persons for whom it was designed, than the frequency of citations from and references to the O. T. Scriptures. While in St. Luke and St. Mark, the Gentile gospels, we have only twenty-four and twenty-three respectively, St. Matthew supplies no less than fifty-four. The character of the quotations is no less noticeable than the number. In St. Matthew the O. T. is cited verbally no less than forty-three times, many of the quotations being peculiar to this evangelist; in St. Luke we have not more than nineteen direct citations, and only eight quotations (in St. Mark only two), which are not found elsewhere. The two classes into which these citations are distinguished—those more or less directly from the LXX., and those which give an original rendering of the Hebrew text—have been alluded to above. The citations peculiar to St. Matthew are marked with an asterisk (\*), and those which he quotes as having been fulfilled in our Lord's life with (a).

\* (a) i. 23 . . . Is. vii. 14.

\* (a) ii. 6 . . . Mic. v. 2.

\* (a) 15 . . . Hos. xi. 1.

\* (a) 18 . . . Jer. xxxi. 15.

iii. 3 . . . Is. xl. 3.

iv. 4 . . . Deut. viii. 3.

6 . . . Ps. xci. 11, 12.

7 . . . Deut. vi. 16.

10 . . . Deut. vi. 13.

\* (a) 14-16 . . . Is. ix. 12.

\* v. 5 . . . Ps. xxxvii. 11, 29.

\* 21 . . . Exod. xx. 13.

\* 27 . . . Exod. xx. 14.

31 . . . Deut. xxiv. 1.

\* 33 . . . { Lev. xix. 12; Deut. xxiii. 23.

\* 38 . . . Exod. xxi. 24.

43 . . . Lev. xix. 18.

viii. 4 . . . Lev. xiv. 2.

\* (a) 17 . . . Is. liii. 4.

\* (a) ix. 13 . . . Hos. vi. 6.

\* x. 35, 36 . . . Mic. vii. 6.

xi. 5 . . . Is. xxxv. 5; xxix. 18.

xi. 10 . . . Mal. iii. 1.

\* (a) xii. 7 . . . Hos. vi. 6.

\* (a) 18-21 . . . Is. xlii. 1-4.

xiii. 14, 15 . . . Is. vi. 9, 10.

\* (a) 35 . . . Ps. lxxviii. 2.

xv. 4 . . . Exod. xx. 12; xxi. 16.

8, 9 . . . Is. xxix. 13.

\* xviii. 16 . . . Deut. xix. 15.

xix. 4 . . . Gen. i. 27.

5 . . . Gen. ii. 24.

7 . . . Deut. xxiv. 1.

xix. 18, 19 . . . Exod. xx. 12-16.

\* (a) xxi. 5 . . . Zech. ix. 9.

9 . . . Ps. cxviii. 25, 26.

13 . . . Is. lvi. 7; Jer. vii. 11.

\* 16 . . . Ps. viii. 2.

42 . . . Ps. cxviii. 22.

xxii. 24 . . . Deut. xxv. 5.

32 . . . Exod. iii. 6.

37 . . . Deut. vi. 5.

39 . . . Lev. xix. 18.

44 . . . Ps. cx. 1.

xxiii. 38 . . . Hag. i. 9 (?)

39 . . . Ps. cxviii. 26.

xxiv. 15 . . . Dan. xii. 11; ix. 27.

29 . . . Is. xlii. 10; Joel ii. 10.

xxvi. 31 . . . Zech. xiii. 7.

64 . . . Dan. vii. 13.

\* (a) xxvii. 10 . . . Zech. xi. 13.

\* (a) 35 . . . Ps. xxii. 18.

\* 43 . . . Ps. xxii. 8.

46 . . . Ps. xxii. 1.

To these may be added (ii. 23), 'He shall be called a Nazarene;' and the appeal to the words of the prophets generally (xxvi. 54, 56).

References to the O. T. which are not direct citations, are as under:—

xi. 14 . . . Mal. iv. 5.

xii. 3 . . . 1 Sam. xxi. 3-6.

5 . . . Num. xxviii. 9.

40 . . . Jonah i. 17.

42 . . . 1 Kings x. 1.

xvii. 11 . . . Mal. iv. 6.

xxi. 44 . . . Dan. ii. 44.

xxiii. 35 . . . { Gen. iv. 8; 2 Chron. xxiv. 21.

9. *Genuineness.*—Notwithstanding the doubts that have been thrown upon it, the genuineness of St. Matthew is as satisfactorily established as that of any ancient book whatever. From the days of Justin we find perpetual quotations corresponding with the existing text of the gospel, which prove that the book then in circulation, as of canonical authority, was the same as that we now have. Of the various recensions by which we are invited by Marsh, Hilgenfeld, Schleiermacher, Ewald, etc., to believe that the gospel assumed its present form, there is absolutely no external evidence, while the

internal, arising from style and diction, are entirely in favour of the whole having substantially proceeded from one hand. Other supposed internal evidence varies so much, according to the subjective position of critics, and leads them by the same data to such opposite results, as to be little worth. This branch of the subject has been amply discussed by Hug, *Einleit.*; Norton, *Genuineness*; Westcott, *Canon*; to whose works the reader may be referred.

The genuineness of the first two chapters has been called in question, but on no sufficient grounds. See Meyer's note, *Comment.* i. 65, who adduces as arguments for their genuineness, that—(1) they are found in all MSS. and ancient versions, and are quoted by the fathers of the 2d and 3d centuries; Irenæus, Clem. Alex., etc., and are referred to by Celsus (*Orig., C. Cels.*, i. 38; ii. 32). (2.) The facts they record are perfectly in keeping with a gospel written for Jewish Christians. (3.) The opening of chap. iii., *ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις* etc. refers back, by its construction, to the close of chap. ii.; and iv. 13 would be unintelligible without ii. 23. (4.) There is no distinction between the diction and constructions and those in the other parts of the gospel.

The opponents of these two chapters rest chiefly on their alleged absence from the Gospel of the Hebrews in use among the Ebionites (Epiphanius, *Har.*, xxx. 13). But Epiphanius describes that book as 'incomplete, adulterated, and mutilated,' and as the Ebionites regarded Jesus simply as the human Messiah co-ordinate with Adam and Moses, the absence of the two chapters may be readily accounted for on doctrinal grounds. The same explanation may be given for the alleged absence from the Diatessaron of Tatian of these chapters, and the corresponding parts of St. Luke containing the genealogy, and all the other passages which show that the Lord was born of the seed of David 'according to the flesh;' (Theodor., *Har.*, fab. i. 20). The case must be a weak one which requires us to appeal to acknowledged heretics for the correction of our canon. The supposed discrepancy between the opening chapters of St. Matthew and St. Luke, which has led even Professor Norton to follow Strauss, Paulus, Schleiermacher, etc., in rejecting them, have been abundantly discussed in all recent commentaries, and by Wieseler, *Synopsis*; Neander, *Life of Christ*; Mill, *Pantheism*; Kern, *Ursprung d. Ev. Mat.*, etc., as well as in the various answers to Strauss.

*Commentaries.*—Origen, *Comm. in Matth.*; Chrysostom, *Homil. in Matth.*; Augustine, *De Serm. Dom.*; Quæst. in *Matth.*; Hilar. Pictav.; Jerome; Bede, *Comm. in Matth.*; Melancthon, *Breves Comment. in Matth.*, 1523; Œcolampadius, *Enarr. in Ev. Matth.*, 1536; Erasmus Sacerius, *Schol. in Matt.*, 1538; Bullinger, *Comment.*, 1542; Musculus, *Comment. in Matth.*, 1548; Spanheim, Fred., *Evang. vindic.*, 1663-1685; Van Til, *Explic. literal.*, 1678; Olearius, *Obs. ad Ev. Matth.*, 1713; Pfaff, *Int. Exeg. in Ev. Matth.*, 1721; Elsner, *Comm. in Ev. Matth.*, 1767; Bolten, *Bericht d. M.*, 1792; Arnoldi; Delitzsch; Tholuck; Wichelhaus.—E. V.

MATTHIAS (*Μαθθίας*), the disciple chosen to be the successor of the Apostle Judas Iscariot. Nothing is known of his previous history. He must, however, have been among those who had frequent intercourse with our Lord throughout his three years' ministry (Acts i. 21). It has therefore

been supposed that he was one of the Seventy (Euseb., *H. E.*, i. 12). The manner of his appointment was this:—The 120 who were assembled together at Jerusalem after the ascension, at the suggestion of St. Peter, selected two from among those who had been eye and ear-witnesses of Christ's whole official life—Joseph, called Barsabas, who was surnamed Justus; and Matthias. They then prayed to their ascended Lord, and besought him to signify on which of the two his choice rested. They then cast lots, expecting that, as they were not yet possessors of the Spirit which should teach and guide them in all things, the Lord would in this way, as oftentimes he had done before, signify his will; and the lot having fallen upon Matthias, he was straightway numbered among the apostles. Nothing reliable is recorded of his after life. He is not mentioned again in the N. T. One tradition says that he preached the gospel in Judæa, and was there stoned to death by the Jews. Others make him a martyr—by crucifixion—in Ethiopia or Colchis. An apocryphal gospel bearing his name is referred to by Eusebius (*H. E.*, iii. 12).—J. G. C.

MATTOCK, an instrument of husbandry, occurs four times in the O. T. 1. מוֹרְשֵׁת, *δρέπανον*, *sarculum*, rendered 'share,' meaning 'ploughshare;' and מַחְרֶשֶׁת, *θερισθήριον*, *vomer*, rendered 'mattock,' 1 Sam. xiii. 20. Both words are derived from the one root חָרַשׁ, 'to cut into' or 'carve.'

In ver. 21, same chap., מַחְרֵשֹׁת occurs as the plural form common to each; but which was the ploughshare, and which the mattock, it is now impossible to determine. We only know, as Gesenius says, that both instruments had sharp edges, and were used in the cultivation of the soil (see *Ges., Lex.*, p. 466).

2. 'Mattock' in 2 Chron. xxiv. 6 (בְּתֵיחִים, *τὸ πῶς*) is a misrendering for 'places' or districts.\*

3. מַעְדֵּר, *sarculum*, Is. vii. 25, 'dugged with a mattock.' This implement was made of wood, and, like the mattock in common use in Egypt, could be used either as a spade, hoe, or mattock. It resembled in form the grubbing-tool or picking-axe of our own country (see Wilkinson's *Ancient Egypt*; Niebuhr, *Description de l'Arabie*, tom. i. Tab., 15 G.)—W. J. C.

MAUL. This word occurs only in Prov. xxv. 18. It is there given as the translation of the Hebrew מַכְרֵי, a derivative from the root פָּרַץ or נָפַץ, 'to break into pieces with violence,' and thence 'to disperse.' The same Hebrew term is also found in Nah. ii. 2 (ver. 1 in A. V.), where it is rendered in the margin 'the disperser.' The cognate form מַכְרֵץ occurs in Jer. li. 20, translated 'battle-axe,' and the expression מַכְרֵץ מַכְרֵץ, 'weapon of smashing' (A. V., 'a slaughter weapon'), is used in Ezek. ix. 2. In these passages some instrument of war, such as might be used for break-

\* [The K'ri here is בְּחֶרְבֵיהֶם, *with their swords*, but this hardly makes sense. If we read בְּחֶרְבֵיהֶם, *in their desolate place* (comp. Ps. cix. 10), a better sense is obtained.]



ing in pieces and dispersing, is clearly described, and there is little room for doubting that the weapon referred to is the war-club. This is the interpretation put upon the term by the LXX., who render it by the Greek *ρόπαλον*. It is remarkable that of the various nations whose warlike equipments are described by Herodotus, the only two mentioned as bearing the club are nations with whom the Israelites were brought into frequent contact—namely, the Assyrians and the Ethiopians (Herod. vii. 63, 69). Representations of the Ethiopian club are given by Rawlinson (*Herod.*, vol. ii., p. 488), and also (vol. iv., p. 64) of the Assyrian maces, taken from Layard.—S. N.

MAUZZIM (מַעְזִים) occurs (Dan. xi. 38) in connection with the word, מַלְאָכִים, *God*. By some it is retained as the proper name or characteristic epithet of the Deity; so Theodotion, *θεὸν Μαζωεμ*, Vulg. *Deum Maozim*; Arab. 'Aziza (عزیز); Syr. 'Ashisho (ܐܫܝܫܐ). From Julian's Hymn to the Sun we learn that 'Αἰζών was a name of the Tyrian Hercules, Melkarth; derived doubtless from *ἰσ*, *strong*, and applied to him because of his strength (Beyer, *Addit. ad Seldeni De Diis Syr. Syntag.*, p. 275). The majority of interpreters, however, translate the word, and to this the use of it in other parts of the chapter naturally leads. By the usage of the word we are led to regard 'strongholds,' which is the rendering given by the A. V. in ver. 39, as better than 'forces,' the rendering given in ver. 38 (comp. מַעְזֵי אֲרָץ, ver. 19, and מַעְזָה, ver. 10). Aquila renders by *θεὸν λαχύνω*, the LXX. by *ἐθνη λαχύνει* (*Cod. Chisian.*, comp. מַלְאָכִים), in Bugati, *Daniel sec. cod. Syr. Ambros.*, p. 105), though Jerome says (*Comment. in Dan.*, in loc.) that the rendering of the LXX. was 'deum fortissimum.' Maurer's rendering is 'Deus munimentorum,' and with this Hävernack, Gesenius, von Lengerke, and others, accord. Hitzig (*Exeget. Hdb.*, in loc.) suggests, and Fürst (*Heb. Chald. W. B.*, s. v.) seems to approve, that מַעְזִים should be resolved into מַעְזָה = *fortress of the sea*, sc. Tyre; thus making the deity referred to one of the idols of that city. But this seems hardly to accord with what follows, where the idol in question is said to have been formerly unknown to the Jews, whose intercourse with Tyre must have made them acquainted with its idols.

As to the particular idol referred to in this passage, opinions are divided between Melkarth, Mars, Jupiter Olympius, and Jupiter Capitolinus. The weight of authority is in favour of the last. This was a purely Roman deity, and unknown to the people of the East until introduced to their knowledge by Antiochus Epiphanes, who affected everything Roman (Polyb. xxvi. 10), and among other works of a similar kind had purposed to erect a magnificent temple to the Capitoline Jove at Antioch (Liv. xli. 20). Sir Isaac Newton, Mede, Bishop Newton, and Wintle, understand by Mauzzim *protectors* or *guardians*, and suppose the passage to be a prediction of the introduction of the worship of guardian angels by the Romish Antichrist. This is altogether arbitrary. Many of

the Fathers, however, understood the prediction of Antichrist. Thus Theodoret, who retains the reading of Theodotion, and gives the explanation *θεὸν λαχύνει καὶ θανάτῳ*, of the words before us, regards the whole passage. Jerome inclines to the same view. If Antiochus be viewed as the typical Antichrist this reference may be accepted, and the interpretation of the whole section thereby rendered more satisfactory.—W. L. A.

#### MAZZAROTH. [ASTRONOMY.]

MEADOW. The representative in the A. V. of two distinct words, neither of which is accurately rendered by it.

(1.) מַדְבָּר, *achu* (Gen. xli. 2, 18). In the only other place where it occurs (Job viii. 11) it is translated 'flag,' LXX. *βούτομον*, and corresponds to מַדְבָּר, *gōme*, LXX. *πάπυρος*, the paper reed of Egypt, of which Moses's ark was constructed (Exod. ii. 3). We may conclude therefore that it does not signify the place, but the growth of the place; not a 'meadow,' but the rank vegetation of reeds and coarse grass which fringes the borders of a river, especially in warm countries. Gesenius asserts that the word is of Egyptian origin, which as such has been retained in the Greek of the LXX., Gen. xli. 2, 18, *ἐβόσκοντο ἐν τῷ Ἀχέι*, as well as Is. xix. 7, 'the paper reeds by the brooks,' A. V., Heb. *עֲרֹות*, and Ecclus. xl. 16. Jerome (*Es.* xix. 7) says, 'Quum ab eruditis quærerem quid Ἀχέι significaret audiui ab Ægyptiis hoc nomine lingua eorum omne quod in palude virens nascitur significari.' The Vulgate not incorrectly renders it 'locis palustribus' or 'pastu paludis,' Vatablus, 'in carecto.' [ACHU.]

(2.) מַעְרָה (Judg. xx. 33), 'the meadows of Gibeah.' The word with this pointing is a *ἀπαξ λεγόμενον*, and its meaning is doubtful. Gesenius, with the Targum and Kimchi, renders it 'an open plain without wood,' which, however, would hardly be a suitable place for an ambush. The LXX., according to the Vatican MS., leave it untranslated *ἀπὸ Μαραγαβέ*, while the reading adopted by Grabe, from the Cod. Alex., *ἀπὸ δυσμῶν τῆς Γαβαά*, which appears also in the Vulgate, 'ab occidentali urbis parte,' bears witness to another word in the Hebrew text מַעְרָב, 'from the west.'

Others, as Tremellius, Piscator, Buxtorf, translate it 'post denudationem Gibeah,' explaining it of the desertion of the town by its inhabitants (ver. 32), the moment seized by the ambush to rise up and make themselves masters of the place. This is adopted by Bertheau (*Kurzgefasst. Handbd. z. A. T.*) as the only interpretation possible without a change in the pointing or reading, for which there is no warrant. The Peshito, however, by the rendering 'from the cave,' shows that in the text used the word was pointed מַעְרָה. This would suit the locality, the limestone hills of Palestine being full of caverns, but does not accord with the fact that the liers in wait were set 'round about' the city (ver. 29).—E. V.

MEAH (מֵאָה, 'a hundred'; *ἑκατὼ*; *Emath*), one of the towers (מִגְדָּל) in the wall of Jerusalem, as rebuilt after the return from the captivity (Neh. iii. 1). In the Septuagint the word is translated *ἑως*

πύργου τῶν ἑκατὸν, and in the Vulgate it is rendered *ad turrim centum cubitorum* in one passage, but in the other *turrim Emath* (xii. 38). The topography of Jerusalem in the time of Nehemiah is very uncertain. The tower of Meah lay between the *Sheep-gate* and the tower of *Hananeeh*, but the sites of both these are disputed. The most probable theory appears to be that the Sheep-gate adjoined the temple on the north, and that Meah was only a short distance from it, thus occupying the position on which the great fortress of Antonia was afterwards built. Those who adopt this view, however, are not agreed as to the size of the temple-courts, and consequently they differ as to the real site of Meah (cf. Lewin, p. 64; Thrupp, p. 124). Barclay places Meah east of the temple, on the very brink of the Kidron (*City of the Great King*, 152). Fergusson again would identify it with the tower rebuilt or repaired by Herod, and called *Mariamne*, and would locate it near the north-western angle of the ancient city (*Jerusalem*, p. 59). The writer of this article believes that the whole of the wall which now bounds the *Haram* on the east is in part ancient, and stands on ancient foundations; that the northern section of it formed the eastern rampart of the fortress of Antonia, and that the tower of Meah probably stood on those colossal foundations which are now seen at the north-eastern angle (*Handbook*, p. 128; Robinson, *B. R.*, i. 292; iii. 230, *seq.*)—J. L. P.

MEALS. [FOOD; HOSPITALITY.]

MEARAH (מַעְרָה, 'a cave'=Arab. مغارة; *Maara*), a place only mentioned in Josh. xiii. 4. The historian, in describing the land which at that time still remained unsubdued, mentions as one district, 'Mearah which belongs to the Sidonians' (ומערה אשר לצידונים). The LXX. has in both MSS. simply of Σιδωνιῶν, 'the Sidonians'; and the Chaldee and Syriac translate the word *cave*, and are followed by Keil and others (on Josh. *ad loc.*; *Critici Sac.*, *ad loc.*) The scope of the passage shows that some place—either a city or district—must be meant. About half-way between Tyre and Sidon, close to the shore, are the ruins of an ancient town; and in the neighbouring cliffs are large numbers of caves and grottoes hewn in the rock, and formerly used as tombs. Dr. Robinson suggested that this may be 'Mearah of the Sidonians' (ii. 474). The ruins are now called *Adlân*; but perhaps take that name from the village on the mountain-side. William of Tyre mentions a cave in the territory of Sidon which was fortified and occupied by the Crusaders. It may possibly have been the same place (*Hist.* xix. 11; cf. Rosenmüller, *Bib. Geog.* ii.)—J. L. P.

MEASURES. [WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.]

MEAT. [FLESH.]

MEAT-OFFERING. [OFFERING.]

MEBUNNAI. [HUSHATHITE.]

MEDAD. [ELDAD.]

MEDAN (מִדְיָן, 'strife'; *Madân*, and *Madâm*; *Madan*), the third son of Abraham by Keturah (Gen. xxv. 2; 1 Chron. i. 32). All the sons of Keturah appear to have become the heads of Arab tribes, and some of them, as Jokshan and Midian,

were celebrated in after history. Medan, however, is not again mentioned; for though its regular plural *Medanim* (מִדְיָנִים, rendered in A. V. 'Midianites') occurs in Gen. xxxvii. 36, yet it is manifestly identical with the *Midyanim* (מִדְיָנִים) of verse 28. Some have thought that perhaps the two families were so closely allied, both by descent and abode, that they came to be considered as one, and were called by both names (Kalisch on Gen., *ad loc.*; cf. Delitzsch and Keil). Forster believes that the descendants of Medan and Midian remained distinct; and that the former may be identified with an Arab nomad tribe called *Medan* or *Madan*. Some settlements of this tribe were discovered by Gen. Chesney (*Euphrates Expedition*) on the banks of the river Euphrates; and there also he found a village called *Madan*. There is, besides, a place in the interior of the Hejaz called *Maadan*, mentioned by D'Anville (*Géographie Ancienne*) and Burckhardt (*Travels in Arabia*, 457), which Forster supposes to be named from the same tribe. The latter place adjoins the region of Midian on the east, and may perhaps, if the name can be depended on, be identical with *Medan*.

D'Anville, however, writes the name *Maadan*, and interprets it as derived from 'mines.' If this be so, then the word is radically different from the

Hebrew (מִדְיָן from מִדְיָן). Burckhardt spells

it *Meddyen* (مدائن pl. of مَدِينَة, 'a city'; l. c.), and gives a different account of the origin of the name. On such uncertain data we cannot ground any trustworthy identification (see, however, Forster, *Geog. of Arabia*, i. 336).—J. L. P.

MEDE, JOSEPH, was born October 1586 in Berden in Essex, and died at Cambridge 1st October 1638. Meeting with Bellarmine's Hebrew Grammar, he was attracted to the study of Hebrew while a boy at school. In 1602 he entered Christ's College, Cambridge, where subsequently he was elected fellow. In 1626 he declined the provostship of Trinity College, Dublin, to which he was recommended by primate Usher. He published little; but after his death his writings were collected and published. The best edition is that by Dr. Worthington, fol., 1672. Although now chiefly known by his labours on the Apocalypse, his *Discourses on several texts of Scripture* contains much of value bearing on the explanation of many passages of the Bible. In his *Clavis Apocalyptica*, 1627, and *Commentarius in Apocal.*, 1632, works which still are of reputation, he maintained the continuous historical interpretation. His other writings on Prophetical Scriptures are: *A Paraphrase and Exposition of the Prophecy of S. Peter concerning the Day of Christ's Second Coming*; *The Apostasy of the Latter Times*; and *Three Treatises upon some Obscure Passages in Daniel*. He also wrote *The Christian Sacrifice*, and some tracts *On Churches, and the Worship of God therein*, but any notice of these does not come within the scope of the present work.—H. C. G.

MEDEBA (מִידְבָּה, 'water of rest;' in Num. xxi. 30, *Mwdb*; *Maïdabân*; *Mhdaßá*; in Josh. xiii. 16 the LXX. omits the word; and in Is. xv. 2, it



reads *Μωαβιτιδος*; *Medaba*), a city of Moab, first mentioned in the short ode describing the conquest of that country by Sihon the Amorite (Num. xxi. 27-30). From Josh. xiii. 9 we learn that it gave its name to a section of the high plain [MISHOR] of Moab, south of Heshbon (cf. ver. 16). In the days of King David it appears to have passed into possession of the Ammonites, for there they concentrated their forces and allies to resist an attack which their own insolence and folly led them to anticipate. They were totally defeated by Joab, David's general; the allies were dispersed; but the Ammonites found refuge in Medeba (1 Chron. xix. 1-15). In the prophetic curse pronounced upon Moab by Isaiah, Medeba is mentioned as one of its chief cities (xv. 2). The Moabites had at that time regained possession of their ancient country [MOAB]. It is somewhat remarkable that Medeba is not found in the list of cities assigned to Reuben, though it was evidently within the borders of that tribe; nor have we any proof that it was ever possessed by the Israelites. The whole plain of Medeba was occupied by the Reubenites; but the city itself was perhaps strongly fortified, and suffered to remain, like many in western Palestine, in the hands of its old inhabitants (Josh. xiii. 9, 16-20). It is true we find it stated (ver. 21) that 'all the cities of the plain' were given by Moses to Reuben; but had Medeba been included it would in all probability have been named with the other principal cities. The city continued to be an important fortress during the rule of the Maccabees, and its people succeeded in capturing John, the brother of Jonathan the Jewish prince (1 Maccab. ix. 35-37), for which treacherous act they were afterwards made to suffer (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 1. 4; 9. 1). Medeba (written *Μηδύβα* and *Μηδάβα*) is mentioned by Ptolemy as a town of Arabia Petraea (v. 17), between Bostra and Petra (Reland, p. 666); and the name occurs also among the episcopal cities of the province of Arabia (Reland, p. 217). It was known to Eusebius and Jerome, for they describe Cariatha as a village of Christians west of Medaba (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Cariatha*); and they state that 'Medaba is to this day a city of Arabia near Heshbon, retaining its ancient name' (*Onomast.*, s. v.).

The ruins of Medeba still exist and bear their old name, under the Arabic form *Mādeba*. They lie about four miles south-east of Heshbon, with which they are connected by an ancient paved road. The city occupied a low hill a mile and a half in circumference. The whole site is covered with ruins, not a solitary building remains standing. The only objects of interest are a large cistern, and the remains of a massive temple of the Doric order. The plain around it, though now desolate, is fertile, and thickly dotted with ancient cities (Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 366; Irby and Mangles, p. 471; *Handbook*, p. 303; Reland, *Pal.* 893).—J. L. P.

MEDIA and MEDES (מִדְיָן). The same Hebrew word is used in the O. T. as the name of a son of Japhet, of the nation which he founded, and of their country. Hence we find it rendered in four different ways in our A. V. In most cases these renderings are arbitrary, and tend to confuse rather than explain—(1.) *Madai*, the proper rendering (Gen. x. 2; *Maḏol*; Alex. *Maḏal*; *Madai*; 1 Chron. i. 5, *Maḏaḏu*); (2.) *Medes* (*Μήδοι*, 2 Kings xvii. 6; xviii. 11; Esther i. 19; Is. xiii. 17;

Jer. xxv. 25; Dan. ix. 1; v. 28; *Μήδεα*, Ezra i. 22; *Medoi*); (3.) *Media* (*Μήδοι*, *Medoi*, Esther i. 3; x. 2; Is. xxi. 2; Dan. viii. 20); (4.) *Mede*, only in Dan. xi. 1.

*Early History.*—In Gen. x. 2 we are told that Madai was the third son of Japhet (cf. 1 Chron. i. 5). The names in that invaluable ethnological summary were not merely those of individuals but of the nations which descended from them; for the historian says, 'By these were the isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands, every one after his tongue, after their families, in their nations' (ver. 5). For a period of fifteen centuries the Medes are not again mentioned in Scripture. Then Isaiah, in pronouncing the prophetic doom of Babylon, says, 'I will stir up the Medes against them' (xiii. 17). This prophecy was uttered about B.C. 720. There is no direct evidence connecting Madai the son of Japhet, and the nation he founded, with the Medes (*Madai*) of whom Isaiah speaks; but the names are identical in Hebrew; and the genealogical tables of Genesis appear to have been intended to show the origin of those nations which afterwards bore an important part in the history of God's people.

Berosus, the Babylonian priest and historian, states that at a very remote period (cir. B.C. 2000) the Medes ruled in Babylon (Eusebius, *Chron.* i. 4). Though we may not be able to rely upon either his dates or his facts, yet we may infer from his words and references, that the Medes were one of the great primeval races which established themselves in central Asia. Herodotus gives a very graphic and circumstantial account of the early history of the Medes, and the establishment of the empire: 'The Medes were called anciently by all people *Arians*; but when Medæa, the Colchian, came to them from Athens, they changed their name. Such is the account which they themselves give' (vii. 62). This is opposed to what appears to be the opinion of the sacred writers; but there can be no doubt that during the time of ascendancy of Greek arms, literature, and art, eastern nations were all anxious to claim some sort of connection with Greece, and this may account for Herodotus' story (cf. Rawlinson's *Herod.*, iv. 61, 1st ed.)

The Medes appear, however, to have been a branch of the Arian family, who probably had their primitive seat on the east bank of the Indus, and thence sent their colonies eastward into India, and westward to Media, Persia, Greece, etc. (Müller, *Science of Language*). It has been supposed by some that there was a Scythic tribe of Madai who conquered and held Babylonia long previous to the irruption of the Arian family, and that it is to them Berosus alludes. There are no good grounds for this belief; and it is worthy of note as tending to disprove the theory, that the name 'Mede' does not appear upon the Assyrian monuments before the year B.C. 880 (Rawlinson's *Commentary on Assyrian Inscriptions*). To that date is assigned the inscription on the famous black obelisk, discovered by Layard at Nimrūd, which contains a record of the victories of Temen-bar the Assyrian monarch. In the twenty-fourth year of his reign he invaded the territory of the Medes (Vaux, *Nineveh and Persepolis*, p. 263, where a translation of the inscription is given). At this time the Medes were independent, occupying an extensive country with many cities, and divided, like the Persians, into a number of tribes having

each a chief. This remarkable monument thus fixes the date of the first conquest of the Medes by the Assyrians; but it does not determine the date of the settlement of the former in Media. Sir H. Rawlinson thinks that the way in which the nations are grouped in that inscription seems to indicate that the Medes when attacked were in the act of migrating (*Commentary*). This, however, is very uncertain.

The invasion of Temen-bar was probably more like an Arab raid than a military conquest. His successors on the Assyrian throne were almost incessantly engaged in hostilities with the Medes (Rawlinson's *Herodot.*, i. 404); and Sargon appears to have been the first who attempted to occupy the country with regular garrisons. He built cities in Media, and reduced the people to tribute (Rawlinson's *Herod.*, i. c.; and *Comment.*) Sargon was that king of Assyria 'who took Samaria, and carried Israel captive,' and placed some of them 'in the cities of the Medes' (2 Kings xvii. 6; cf. xviii. 17; Is. xx. 1). The truth of Scripture history is here strongly confirmed by monuments recently disintegrated from the ruins of Sargon's palace at Khorsabad. On its walls are inscribed the records of his conquests, in which both Media and Judæa are mentioned—the former as on the eastern, and the latter on the western limits of his vast empire (Rawlinson's *Comment.*, p. 61; Rawlinson's *Herodot.*, i., p. 405).

Media was not yet a kingdom. It was occupied by a number of petty chiefs, each ruling his own tribe. From these chiefs the Assyrian monarchs exacted tribute. The tribes increased in numbers, influence, and power. They held a country naturally strong. The Assyrian yoke was galling to their free spirits, and probably this first induced them to unite their forces, elect a common leader, and assert their independence. The exact date of this revolution cannot now be fixed, but the fact of it is certain. Herodotus' account of it is as follows:—'The Assyrians had held the empire of Upper Asia for a space of 520 years, when the Medes set the example of revolt. They took arms for the recovery of their freedom, and fought a battle with the Assyrians, in which they behaved with such gallantry as to shake off the yoke of servitude' (i. 95). He then tells how the empire was formed by a certain Deioces, who, in consequence of his wisdom and justice, was elected monarch by the six tribes composing the nation (i. 96-101). Deioces built the great city of Ecbatana; and after a prosperous reign of fifty-three years left the throne to his son Phraortes. Phraortes conquered Persia, vastly enlarged the Median empire, and reigned twenty-two years. He was succeeded by his son Cyaxeres. During his reign, while engaged in a war against Nineveh, Media was overrun by a horde of Scythians, who held a great part of Western Asia for twenty-eight years. The Scythian leaders were at length treacherously murdered by Cyaxeres, and the Median monarchy re-established. He ruled forty years, and then left the kingdom to his son Astyages, whose daughter Mandane was married to a Persian noble, and became mother of the great Cyrus. According to this narrative, the Median monarchy was established about B.C. 708 (Rawlinson's *Herodot.*, i. 407). There is good reason to believe, however, that the early portion of the narrative is apocryphal, and that Cyaxeres was the real founder of the

Median empire. He is so represented by most ancient historians (Diodorus Sic., ii. 32; Æschylus, *Persæ*, 761; Grote's *Hist. of Greece*, vol. iii.) The Assyrian monumental annals are almost complete down to the reign of the son of Eserhadden (B.C. 640), and they contain no mention of any Median irruptions; on the contrary, they represent the Median chiefs as giving tribute to Eserhadden (Rawlinson's *Herodot.*, i. 405, 408).

Ctesias, as quoted by Diodorus Siculus (ii. 32), assigns to the Median monarchy a still older date than Herodotus. He gives a list of eight kings who ruled before Astyages, for an aggregate period of 282 years, which would fix the establishment of the monarchy about B.C. 875. The names of the kings are different from those of Herodotus; and it is vain to attempt to reconcile the narratives (see, however, Hales' *Analysis of Chronology*, iii. 84; Heeren, *Manual of Ancient Hist.*) Rawlinson has clearly shown that Ctesias' narrative is fabulous (*Herodot.*, i. 406).

*The Median Empire.*—From the foregoing notices, we may conclude that the Medes migrated from beyond the Indus to the country on the southern shores of the Caspian Sea not later than the 9th century B.C.; that they settled there as a number of distinct tribes (probably six, as Herodotus states, *l. c.*), and so remained during a period of three or four centuries; that some Scythian tribes either occupied the country with them or invaded it at a later date; and that (about B.C. 633) Cyaxeres rose suddenly to power, united the Medes under his sway, drove out the Scythians, and established the monarchy. Before this time the Medes are only once mentioned in Scripture, and then, as has been seen, their country was subject to Assyria (2 Kings xvii. 6).

A few years after the establishment of his empire, Cyaxeres made a league with the Babylonian monarch, and invaded Assyria. Nineveh was captured and destroyed, B.C. 625. The incidents of the siege and capture, as related by Diodorus Siculus (ii. 27, 28; Nahum i. 8; ii. 5, 6; iii. 13, 14), contain a remarkable fulfilment of the prophecies uttered by Nahum nearly a century previously; and recent excavations by Layard illustrate both (*Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 71, 103, etc. See art. NINEVEH). The Assyrian monarchy was then overthrown (Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, ii. 521).

*Geography of Media.*—The extent and boundaries of the kingdom of Media as first established by Cyaxeres cannot now be accurately determined. The country appears to have been divided from the earliest times into two provinces—(1.) *Upper Media*, afterwards called *Atropatene*, from Atropates, the Persian satrap who gained its independence in the time of Alexander the Great (Arrian, *Exped. Alex.*, iii. 8; vi. 29; Strabo, xi. p. 523). It was bounded on the north by the river Cyrus; on the east by the Caspian Sea; and on the west by Armenia. It thus embraced the lake and fertile plain of Urumiah, the *Spautia* of Strabo (*l. c.*) The greater part of it is mountainous, and towards the north the mountain-ranges are wild, bleak, and barren, but are intersected by spacious upland plains and fertile valleys, which produce abundance of grain where cultivated. The cold during winter is intense. The people lived principally on fruits and game. Its chief city was Ecbatana, which, according to Sir H. Rawlinson, was the



ancient capital of the Medes to which Herodotus refers. It was situated in a plain encompassed by mountains, south-east of Urumiah, and has been identified with the modern *Tukht-i-Suleiman* (Rawlinson, in *Journ. of R. G. S.*, vol. x. pt. 1). It is supposed to have been the *Canzaca* of the Byzantine historians (Procopius, *Bell. Pers.*, ii.), and the *Gazaca* of Ammianus (ii. 84; cf. Strabo, xi., p. 523; Ptolemy vi. 18), which is frequently mentioned by classic historians as the capital of Atropatene. The mountains of this province are connected with the ranges of Zagros and Taurus. The modern province of Azerbaijan corresponds pretty nearly in extent to Atropatene. The present capital is Tabriz, which is a summer residence of the kings of Persia.

(2.) *Lower Media*, or *Media Magna*, lay to the south of the former. It was bounded on the west by the Zagros mountains, which separated it from Assyria and Babylonia; on the south by Susiana and Persia; and on the east by the Great Salt Desert and the Caspian Gates, beyond which lay Parthia (Strabo, *l. c.*; Pliny, vi. 14). This province consists of a number of high plains, varying from 2000 to 4000 feet above the sea, and long rich valleys winding through the adjoining mountain-chains. The country in general is fertile, the air cool, water abundant, and pasture luxuriant. It was famous for its breed of horses, called *Nisaeans*, from a plain in which they were chiefly reared (Herod. vii. 40; Ammian. Mar. xxiii. 6; Strabo, xi., p. 524). Media Magna comprehended the modern provinces of Irak Ajem and Ardelan, with part of Kurdistan. Its capital was *Ecbatana* (*Ἐκβάτανα*; but more properly *Ἀγβάτανα*), situated in a plain twelve stadia from Mount Orontes. It was a city of great strength and beauty, though the extravagant descriptions given of it by Herodotus and some other ancient writers are to a large extent fabulous [see ACHMETHA]. It has been satisfactorily identified with the modern *Hamadân*.

Professor Rawlinson estimates the entire length of the kingdom of Media at 550 miles, and its breadth at from 250 to 300 (Herodotus, vol. i., p. 574). Southern Ecbatana, or Achmetha, as it is called in Scripture (Ezra vi. 2), was the capital of the kingdom.

*Enlargement of the Empire.*—The conquest of Assyria produced a great change in the Median Empire, and on the whole of Western Asia. Babylon then regained its independence, and formed a close alliance with Media. The Israelites, who had been led captive by the Assyrians, were placed under new rulers. Cyaxeres led his victorious armies into Syria and Asia Minor (Herod., i. 103). When Pharaoh-necho marched to the banks of the Euphrates against Babylon, the Babylonians were aided by the Medes (Joseph. *Antiq.* x. 5. 1). It was in attempting to oppose this expedition of the Egyptian monarch that King Josiah was slain at Megiddo (Jer. xli. 2; 2 Chron. xxxv. 20; 2 Kings xxiii. 29). We also learn that Nebuchadnezzar was aided by the Medes in the conquest of the Jews and capture of Jerusalem (Eusebius, *Pr. Evang.*; cf. 2 Kings xxiv. 1; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 5). Media was now the most powerful monarchy in Western Asia. It ruled a country extending from the borders of Parthia to the banks of the Halys in Asia Minor, and from the plains of Babylonia to the Caucasus.

Its rise was rapid, and appears to have been chiefly owing to the genius of one man—Cyaxeres. The power of Media was short-lived. With Cyaxeres it rose, and with him it passed away. At his death he left his throne to Astyages, of whom little is known except the stories told by Herodotus (i. 110-129) and Nicolaus of Damascus, who probably borrowed from Ctesias; and on these little reliance can be placed. They are founded on fact; and we may infer from them that during the reign of Astyages a war broke out between the Medes and Persians, in which the latter were victorious, and Cyrus, the Persian king, who was himself closely related to Astyages, united the two nations under one sceptre (B. C. 558). The life of Astyages was spared, and even the title of king continued with him.

It has been conjectured, and is probably true, that Astyages and 'Darius the Mede,' so often mentioned by Daniel, were only different names of the same person. 'If the identification be regarded as sufficiently established, we must believe that Cyrus, when he conquered Astyages, did not deprive him of the name or state of king, but left him during his life the royal title, contenting himself with the real possession of the chief power. This would be the more likely if Astyages were, as Herodotus maintains, his grandfather. When the combined armies of Persia and Media captured Babylon, Astyages, whose real name may possibly have been Darius, might appear to the Jews to be the actual king of Babylon—more especially if he was left there to exercise the kingly office, while Cyrus pursued his career of conquest. At his death Cyrus may have taken openly the royal title and honours, and so have come to be recognised as king by the Jews' (Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, i. 417; cf. Joseph. *Antiq.* x. 11. 2, *seq.*; Dan. v. 31; vi. 1; ix. 1; see art. DARIUS).

*Overthrow of the Empire.*—Astyages (or Darius) was the last king of Media. When he was conquered by Cyrus, the Median monarchy virtually ceased to exist, and Media thenceforth became a province of Persia. The close connection of these two great nations, and the position which the Medes continued to occupy in the Persian court and kingdom, have created much difficulty and controversy among historians. They cannot be accounted for by any alliance, however intimate, between the royal families. The true solution appears to be that the two nations were branches of the same great Arian family (Herodot. vii. 62; Strabo, xv. p. 720). They were thus identical in origin, in language, in religion, in manners and customs, and in dress (Rawlinson's *Herodot.*, i. 670-673; *Commentary*). Separated for a long period by geographical position, and by the state of neighbouring nations, they were, by the accidents of war, brought together again, and coalesced as one people. In this way we can account for the almost universal occurrence of the two names in the records of Persian conquests, laws, and ordinary historic events. In the book of Esther, written half a century after the overthrow of the Median Empire, the phrase 'Persia and Media' occurs five times. Daniel, interpreting the miraculous inscription on the palace-wall just before the destruction of Babylon, says, 'The kingdom is given to the Medes and Persians' (ver. 28); and he repeatedly mentions 'the laws of the Medes and Persians' (vi. 8, 12, 15). So also in classic authors

the names are used as convertible (Herodot. i. 163; vi. 64; Thucyd. i. 14, 23). Upon this subject Prof. Rawlinson has well said, 'We see how natural it was that there should be an intimate union, if not an absolute fusion, of two peoples so nearly allied; how it was likely that the name of either should apply to both; how they would have one law and one dress, as well as one religion and one language, and would stand almost, if not quite, upon a par, at the head of the other nations, who in language, religion, and descent were aliens' (Herodot., i. p. 403).

The foregoing facts also illustrate the predictions of Isaiah (xlii. 17) and Jeremiah (li. 11, 28), which represent the Medes as the chief agents in the overthrow of Babylon. They acted there in conjunction with the Persians, and apparently under the immediate command of their own monarch.

The subsequent history of Media is unimportant. It held the first rank among the Persian satrapies; but this did not satisfy the proud spirit of the Medes. In the third year of Darius Hystaspes they joined the Assyrians and Armenians in an attempt to throw off the Persian yoke. They even elected a king. Darius went against them in person, defeated their army, captured the usurper at the city of Rhages, and put him to death at Ecbatana (Herodot. i. 130; Rawlinson, *Behist. Inscript.* i.; Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, iv. 304). Again they rebelled during the reign of Darius Nothus, but were easily put down (Xen., *Hellen.* i. 2, 9). Media, with the rest of the Persian empire, fell under the sway of Alexander the Great. At his death the northern province was erected by the satrap *Atropates* into an independent state, and called *Atropatene*. The southern province, *Media Magna*, was attached with Babylon to the kingdom of the Seleucidæ. The whole country eventually passed over to the Parthian monarchy (Strabo, xvi. p. 745). It is now included in the dominions of the Shah of Persia.

*Character, Manners and Customs.*—The ancient Medes were a warlike people, particularly celebrated, as Herodotus (vii. 61) and Strabo (xi. p. 525) inform us, for their skill in archery. Xenophon says their bows were three ells long. This illustrates the language of Isaiah describing the attack of the Medes on Babylon: 'Their bows also shall dash the young men to pieces' (xiii. 18). Their cavalry was also excellent, their horses being fleet and strong, and their men skilful riders. It is doubtless in reference to this fact that Jeremiah, speaking of the overthrow of Babylon, says, 'They (the enemies) shall hold the bow and the lance . . . and they shall ride upon horses' (li. 42). Strabo states that the province of Atropatene alone was able to bring into the field an army of 10,000 horse (xi. p. 523). Xenophon affirms that the Medes did not fight for plunder. Military glory was their great ambition, and they would never permit gold or silver to turn them aside from their object. How striking do the words of Isaiah thus appear! 'Behold I will stir up the Medes against them, which shall not regard silver, and as for gold, they shall not delight in it' (xlii. 18). The wealth of Babylon could not save it, for the Medes could not be bought off (Rosenmüller, *Bib. Geog.*, i. 176). The conquests of the Medes, and their intercourse with other nations, produced a marked change upon their character. They became fond of dress and

display; those settled in cities engaged in commerce, and lost their hardy habits and bravery. The splendour of the Median robes became proverbial, and their princes and nobles ruled the fashion in the East. They were imitated by the Persian court (Herodot. vi. 112; Xen., *Cyrop.* i. 3. 2; Strabo, xi. p. 525). The Medes thus gave way to luxury and its consequent vices, and they soon became an easy prey to their more warlike neighbours. The northern mountaineers retained their primitive habits, and consequently their independence for a much longer period.

*Religion.*—The ancient religion of the Medes we learn from the *Zend* books. It was identical with that of the Persians. It mainly consisted of the adoration of two great beings—the principle of *Good* and the principle of *Evil*. They also connected with this the worship of the heavenly bodies, especially the sun, moon, and planets. To this they added at a later period the worship of the elements, and of *fire* as the chief (Herodot. i. 131; iii. 16). Their priesthood then constituted a distinct class, called *Magi*, who laid claim to mysterious and miraculous power—consulting the stars, interpreting dreams, explaining visions, and prognosticating the future (Rawlinson's *Herodot.*, i. 424, seq.).

The ancient authorities for the history and geography of Media and the Medes are *Herodotus*, especially when read with the learned and valuable notes of Rawlinson; *Strabo*, *Xenophon*, *Ptolemy*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Arrian*, and *Josephus*. The monuments and inscriptions discovered, and in part deciphered, within the last few years, add vastly to our stores of information. The various works and articles of Sir H. Rawlinson referred to in the body of this article serve to set forth and illustrate their contents. Among modern writers the student may consult *Bochart*, *Cellarius*, *Ritter*, *Grote's History of Greece*, and Prof. Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*. For the present state of the country, Sir K. Porter's *Travels*; Kinnier's *Persian Empire*; Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*; Sir H. Rawlinson's articles in the *Journal of R. G. S.*, vols. ix. and x.; and the valuable Dissertations in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. i.—J. L. P.

*MEDIATOR* (Μεσίτης, 'mediator') is a word peculiar to the Scriptures (see Beza, *Annot. in Gr. Test.*), and is used to signify an intermedium, or ambassador, one who stands as the channel of communication between two contracting parties. Some commentators think that the Apostle Paul, in Gal. iii. 19, calls Moses *mediator*, because he conveyed the expression of God's will to the people, and reported to God their wants, wishes, and determinations. In reference to this passage of Scripture, Basil (*De Spiritu Sancto*, cap. xiv.) says, 'Mosen figuram representasse quando inter Deum et populum intermedium extiterit.' Many ancient and modern divines, however, are of opinion that Christ himself, and not Moses, is here meant by the inspired apostle, and this view would seem to be confirmed by comparing Deut. xxxiii. 2 with Acts vii. 38-52. Christ it was who, surrounded by angelic spirits, communicated with Moses on Mount Sinai. On this point the words of the learned and pious Chrysostom, on Gal. iii., are very express: 'Here,' says he, 'Paul calls Christ Mediator, declaring thereby that he existed before the law, and that by him the law was revealed.' This application of the passage will be the more evident



if we consider the scope of the apostle's argument, which evidently is to point out the dignity of the law. How could he present a clearer demonstration of this than by showing that it was the second person of the ever-blessed Trinity who stood forth on the mount to communicate between God the Father and his creature man! Moreover, to contradistinguish Christ's mediation from that of Moses, the former is emphatically styled *μεσίτης κρείττονος διαθήκης* (Heb. viii. 6).

Christ is called Mediator by virtue of the reconciliation he has effected between a justly offended God and his rebellious creature man (see Grotius, *De Satisfactione Christi*, cap. viii.) In this sense of the term Moses was, on many occasions, an eminent type of Christ. The latter, however, was not *Mediator* merely by reason of his coming between God and his creatures, as certain heretics would affirm (see Cyril Alex. *Dial. I. de Sancta Trinitate*, p. 410); but because he appeased his wrath, and made reconciliation for iniquity. 'Christ is the Mediator,' observes Theophylact, commenting on Gal. iii., 'of two, *i.e.*, of God and man. He exercises this office between both by making peace, and putting a stop to that spiritual war which man wages against God. To accomplish this he assumed our nature, joining in a marvellous manner the human, by reason of sin unfriendly, to the divine nature.' 'Hence,' he adds, 'he made reconciliation.' Occumenius expresses similar sentiments on the same passage of Scripture. Again, Cyril, in his work before quoted, remarks: 'He is esteemed mediator because the divine and human nature being disjointed by sin, he has shown them united in his own person; and in this manner he reunites us to God the Father.'—J. W. D.

# MEDICINE. [PHYSIC.]

MEGIDDO (מֶגִּדּוֹ, and in Zech. xii. 11 מְגִדּוֹ; Μαγεδδών and Μαγεδδών; Alex. Μαγεδδών; *Mageddo*), an ancient royal city of the Canaanites enumerated among those whose kings were slain by Joshua (Josh. xii. 21). Though within the allotted territory of Issachar, it, with several other cities in the plain, was assigned to Manasseh (xvii. 11). This arrangement was made partly to supplement the mountain-territory of Manasseh and partly to give those strongly-fortified places to a tribe who, from their courage and their alliance with Ephraim, might be able to drive out the old inhabitants. The task, however, proved too great even for the warlike Manassites; but when the power of Israel was fully established, the Canaanites were reduced to slavery (xvii. 13-18; Judg. i. 27, 28).

Megiddo was situated on the southern border of the great plain which intersects Palestine, extending across it from the Mediterranean to the Jordan, and having on its southern side the ranges of Carmel and Samaria, and on its northern Tabor and the hills of Galilee. The plain is usually called *Esdraelon*, the Greek form of 'Jezreel'; but it is also called the '*Valley of Megiddo*' (2 Chron. xxxv. 22). It was the battle-field of Palestine, where the Israelites gained some of their most glorious victories, and sustained some of their most terrible defeats. From two of these battles Megiddo has derived its greatest celebrity. The first was the victory of Barak. Jabin, king of Hazor, successor of the prince who had organized the northern con-

federation against Joshua, was now the oppressor of Israel, and Sisera was his general. The army of Jabin, with its 900 chariots of iron, was led down into the great plain, and drawn up at Megiddo, in a position to afford the best ground for the terrible war-chariots. With much difficulty Deborah the prophetess induced Barak to collect the warriors of the northern tribes. They assembled on Tabor. Deborah gave the signal, and the Israelites marched down to attack the enemy, full of hope and enthusiasm. At this moment a hail-storm from the east burst over the plain, and drove full in the faces of the advancing Canaanites (Joseph. *Antiq.* v. 4). 'The stars in their courses fought against Sisera.' His army was thrown into confusion. The waters of the Kishon rose rapidly, the low plain became a morass; chariots, horses, soldiers, all together were engulfed (Judg. iv. and v.) The writer visited Megiddo and traversed its plain in the spring of 1857, after a heavy fall of rain, and found the Kishon greatly swollen, its banks quagmires, and all the ordinary roads impassable.

Six centuries later Megiddo saw another sight, and heard, instead of a song of triumph, a funeral wail from the vanquished host of Israel (Zech. xii. 11). Pharaoh-necho was on his march against the king of Assyria. He passed up the plains of Philistia and Sharon, and king Josiah foolishly attempted to stop him while defiling through the glens of Carmel into the plain of Megiddo. He was defeated, and as he fled the Egyptian archers shot him in his chariot. He was taken to Jerusalem, but appears to have died on the road (2 Kings xxiii. 29; 2 Chron. xxxv. 20-24). The whole land mourned for the good king so bitterly that the mourning became proverbial; and Zechariah says, 'In that day there shall be a great mourning, as the mourning of Hadad-rimmon in the valley of Megiddon' (xii. 11).

Megiddo, with some neighbouring cities on the great plain, was assigned to one of Solomon's twelve purveyors (1 Kings iv. 12); and it was one of the cities which that wise monarch fortified for the protection of his kingdom (ix. 15). Holding Megiddo, he was able to command Esdraelon and the leading road from Egypt through Palestine. After the division of the kingdom, Megiddo appears to have been retained in the hands of Judah, for to it Ahaziah fled when wounded by Jehu at Jezreel, and he died there (2 Kings ix. 17); and there, as has been seen, Josiah took his stand to resist the army of Pharaoh-necho.

The name of Megiddo does not again appear in history. Herodotus mentions a *Magdolis*, where Pharaoh-necho conquered the Syrians in a pitched battle; by which it is probable he means Megiddo (ii. 159). The city was evidently unknown to Eusebius and Jerome, for though it is found in the *Onomasticon* (s. v. *Majeddo*), there is no reference to its site or its existing state. These writers, however, frequently mention a city called *Legio*, which stood in that part of the plain where Megiddo must have been situated, and was the capital of a large district (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Nazareth*, *Camon*, *Thaanach*, etc.) *Legio* is a Roman name, and was doubtless given to an old city. Its position in the plain, and its proximity to Taanach (four miles)—with which Megiddo is almost uniformly joined in Scripture—lead to the belief that *Legio* was just the Roman name of the Hebrew Megiddo. This appears to have been first suggested by R. Parchi in

the 14th century (*Benj. of Tud.* by Asher, ii. 433); and it has since been maintained by Robinson (*B. R.*, ii. 328, *seq.*), Van de Velde (*Memoir*, 333), and others.

The ruins of Legio are now called *El-Lejjûn*. They stand on both banks of a glen which cuts through a low spur of Carmel, and consist of some heavy foundations and heaps of hewn stones among corn-fields, intermixed with columns of granite, marble, and limestone. The traces of a large *khan*, which was still habitable in Maundrell's day (*Early Travels*, Bohn, p. 430), are visible. Along the bottom of the glen winds a stream whose waters drive two or three mills; and through the glen passes the ancient road to Sharon, Philistia, and Egypt. About three quarters of a mile north of the ruins is a large truncated tell, called *Till el-Mutsellim*, 'The Governor's Hill.' It is a most commanding site, affording a view of the whole plain and of the ancient cities of Shunem, Jezreel, and Taanach. The writer felt convinced, when he visited it, that upon this tell stood the stronghold of Megiddo. It has for ages been under cultivation, but some few faint traces of old buildings may be seen, and the sides of the hill have evidently been scarped for the purposes of defence. Not far from the base of the tell flows, in its deep bed, the stream which passes Lejjûn. Here are doubtless 'the waters of Megiddo,' and on the level plain beyond the glen, extending away to the tell on which lie the remains of Taanach, was fought the great battle between Barak and Sisera. And when one stands on this ancient site he can understand the appropriateness of the geographical allusions in Deborah's war-song, 'The kings came and fought; then fought the kings of Canaan in Taanach by the waters of Megiddo' (*Judg.* v. 19).

Von Raumer (*Paläst.* 402, 3d ed.) has endeavoured to identify Lejjûn with *Maximianopolis*, as well as Legio. This seems very improbable. It would imply that two Roman names were given at the same time to the same ancient city (see Robinson, *B. R.*, iii. 118; and in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, February 1844). Jerome identifies Maximianopolis with Hadadrimmon (on *Zech.* xii. 11). Consequently, if Raumer's theory be admitted, this ancient site had no less than four names, two Hebrew and two Roman. Van de Velde may be correct in stating that Hadadrimmon is now represented by the hamlet of *Rummâneh* at the foot of the hills four miles south of Lejjûn (*Travels*, i. 355; *Memoir*, p. 333).

It may be that this 'plain of Meggido'—this great battle-field of Israel—was before the mind of the Apostle John when he figuratively described the final conflict between good and evil, who were gathered to a place 'called in the Hebrew tongue *Ar-Mageddon*,' that is, 'the city of Megiddo' (*Rev.* xvi. 16; Stanley, *S. and P.*, 330); or if we regard the aspirated *ḥ* as equivalent to the Hebrew *הר*, then the meaning will be 'mountain of Megiddo,' which would likewise be appropriate (*Alford, in loc.*)—J. L. P.

MEGIDDON, VALLEY OF (בְּקַעַת מְגִדּוֹן; *ἐν πεδίῳ ἑκκοπτομένου*; *Campus Mageddon*), the form of the name Megiddo found in *Zech.* xii. 11. The word is translated in the Septuagint as if derived from the root *גִּדַּד*, *incidit*. See preceding article.

—J. L. P.

MEGILLOTH (מְגִלּוֹת, *rolls*, from מָגַל). The Hebrew MSS. were on rolls of parchment, usually written on one side, though sometimes also on both (*Ezek.* ii. 10). Afterwards the term מְגִלּוֹת was used of a *book* consisting of several leaves fastened together (*Jer.* xxxvi. 23, 24); once it occurs in Scripture as designating the Pentateuch (*Ps.* xl. 8 [7]). In later Jewish usage the term Megilloth was applied to the five books, viz., Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther, which were read on certain festivals in the Synagogue [*HAPHTHARA*, vol. ii., p. 225]. The title Megillah was used κατ' ἐξοχήν of the book of Esther [*ESTHER*, BOOK OF]; and from this it is supposed it was transferred to the others. To the reading of this at the Feast of Purim special importance was attached by the Jews (*Talmud*, Tr. *Megillah*, ed. Surenhus., ii., p. 387).—W. L. A.

MEHUNIMS. [MAONITES.]

MEJARKON (מֵי הַיֶּרְקוֹן; ἀπό θαλάσσης Ἱερὰ-κων; *Aque Jercon*), a town of Dan, mentioned only in *Josh.* xix. 46, and apparently situated in the plain near Joppa. In the Hebrew there are two words, the proper translation of which would be 'The water of yellowness;' and the first word, מֵי, is translated in most ancient versions. It is probable the place took its name from some fountain or pool. The site is unknown.—J. L. P.

MEKONAH (מְכֹנָה, 'a place' = Arab. مَكَان; LXX., omit; *Mechona*), one of the towns occupied by the tribe of Judah on the return from captivity. It appears to have been situated on the southern border of Palestine, as it is mentioned in connection with Ziklag (*Neh.* xi. 28). Reland thinks it may be identical with *Mechamim*, a village located by Jerome between Eleutheropolis and Jerusalem, eight miles from the former (*Reland, Pal.* p. 892; *Onomast.*, s. v. *Bethmachah*). It seems strange that Jerome should speak of a village south of Jerusalem when describing Bethmachah, which lay at the northern extremity of Palestine (2 *Sam.* xx. 14); and Reland's conjecture is equally devoid of foundation. The site of Mekonah is unknown.—J. L. P.

MELANCHTHON (PHILIP), one of the greatest of the reformers, was born at Bretten in the duchy of Baden, 16th February 1497. His proper name was Schwartzerd, which, in compliance with a fashion of the times, he Grecised into Melanchthon. He received his education at the school of Pforzheim, and the universities of Heidelberg and Tübingen. In 1518 he came to Wittenberg, where he lectured on the N. T. with such acceptance that he had often an audience of above 2000. In alliance with Luther, he laboured earnestly and powerfully to advance the cause of the Reformation; and was of especial service in promoting the cause of education, and settling the theological position of the Lutheran Church. After Luther's death he led for some years a rather changeful life, teaching successively at Herbst, Wittenberg, Magdeburg, and Jena, or residing in literary quiet at various monasteries in different parts of Germany. He died at Wittenberg, 19th April 1560. Melanchthon's literary labours were chiefly directed to systematic and polemic theology, but, like all the



reformers, he was devoted to the study of Scripture, and occupied himself in the exposition of it to others. His exegetical works, several of which appeared after his death, consist of brief notes on Genesis, Daniel, Zechariah, Malachi, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Gospels by Matthew and John, and the principal epistles of Paul. His collected works have appeared in 4 vols. fol., Witeb. 1601, but a more complete edition in 4to was begun by Bretschneider in 1834, and continued after his death by Bindseil, of which 25 vols. have appeared.—W. L. A.

MELCHIZEDEK מֶלְכִּי צֶדֶק; Sept. Μελχι-σέδεκ), 'priest of the most high God,' and king of Salem, who went forth to meet Abraham on his return from the pursuit of Chedorlaomer and his allies, who had carried Lot away captive. [According to the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (vii. 2), the name means βασιλεὺς δικαιοσύνης, *King of righteousness*. Philo (*Leg. Allegor.* iii. 25, p. 102, Sylb.) and Josephus (*Antiq.* i. 10. 2) gives a similar though less exact rendering, βασιλεὺς δίκαιος.] We read that Melchizedek, on the occasion referred to, brought refreshment, described in the general terms of 'bread and wine,' for the fatigued warriors, and bestowed his blessing upon their leader, who, in return, gave to the royal priest a tenth of all the spoil which had been acquired in his expedition (Gen. xiv. 18, 20). This statement seems sufficiently plain, and to offer nothing very extraordinary; yet it has formed the basis of much speculation and controversy. In particular, the fact that Abraham gave a tithe to Melchizedek attracted much attention among the later Jews. In one of the Messianic Psalms (cx. 4), it is foretold that the Messiah should be 'a priest after the order of Melchizedek;' which the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (vi. 20) cites as showing that Melchizedek was a type of Christ; and the Jews themselves, certainly, on the authority of this passage of the Psalms, regarded Melchizedek as a type of the regal priesthood, higher than that of Aaron, to which the Messiah should belong. The bread and wine which were set forth on the table of show-bread, were also supposed to be represented by the bread and wine which the king of Salem brought forth to Abraham (Schöttgen, *Hor. Heb.* ii. 645). A mysterious supremacy came also to be assigned to Melchizedek, by reason of his having received tithes from the Hebrew patriarch; and on this point the Epistle to the Hebrews (vii. 1-10) expatiates strongly, as showing the inferiority of the priesthood represented by Aaron to that of Melchizedek, to which the Messiah belonged. 'Consider how great this man was, unto whom even the patriarch Abraham gave a tenth of the spoils;' and he goes on to argue that the Aaronic priesthood, who themselves received tithes of the Jews, actually paid tithes to Melchizedek in the person of their great ancestor. This superiority is, as we take it, inherent in his typical rather than his personal character. But the Jews, in admitting this official or personal superiority of Melchizedek to Abraham, sought to account for it by alleging that the royal priest was no other than Shem, the most pious of Noah's sons, who, according to the shorter chronology, might have lived to the time of Abraham (Bochart, *Phaleg*, ii. 1). Christian writers have not failed to enter into the same unprofitable researches, and would make Melchizedek

to have been either Shem, or Mizraim, or Canaan, the sons of Ham, or Ham himself, or even Enoch (Deyling, *Observat. Sacr.* ii. 71, seq.; Clayton, *Chronolog. of the Heb. Bible*, p. 100). The last-named conjectures seem to require no notice; but the one which holds Melchizedek to have been Shem, and which we find in the Jerusalem Targum, and also that of Jonathan, requires an explanation of how his name came to be changed, how he is found reigning in a country inhabited by the descendants of Ham, how he came forth to congratulate Abraham on the defeat of one of his own descendants, as was Chedorlaomer, and how he could be said to have been without recorded parentage (Heb. vii. 3), since the pedigree of Shem must have been notorious. In that case also, the difference of the priesthoods of Melchizedek and Levi would not be so distinct as to bear the argument which the Epistle to the Hebrews founds upon it. ['Levi qui exstitit in lumbis Abrahami exstitit quoque in lumbis Shemi tanquam proavi, et sic ipse decimas tum dedisset in lumbis nempe Abrahami, et accepisset in lumbis Shemi, quod incongruum est et a mente apostoli alienum.' Deyling, *Obs. Sac.*, ii. p. 78.] Rejecting on such grounds this opinion, others, in their anxiety to vindicate the dignity of Abraham from marks of spiritual submission to any mortal man, have held that Melchizedek was no other than the Son of God himself. But in this case it would hardly have been said that he was made 'like unto the Son of God' (Heb. vii. 3), or that Christ was constituted 'a priest' after the order of Melchizedek (Heb. vi. 20), or, in other words, was a type of himself. Some who do not go so far as this, take him to have been an angel; and this was one of the wild notions of Origen and several of his school. The best founded opinion seems to be that of Carpzov (*Apparat. Antiq. Sacr. Cod.*, c. iv. p. 52) and most judicious moderns, who, after Josephus (*De Bell. Jud.* vi. 10), allege that he was a principal person among the Canaanites and posterity of Noah, and eminent for holiness and justice, and therefore discharged the priestly as well as regal functions among the people: and we may conclude that his twofold capacity of king and priest (characters very commonly united in the remote ages) afforded Abraham an opportunity of testifying his thankfulness to God in the manner usual in those times, by offering a tenth of all the spoil. This combination of characters happens for the first time in Scripture to be exhibited in his person. [Whether his priesthood was an appendage of his royalty, or his royalty was enjoyed in virtue of his sacred office, is a question on which it is impossible to come to a certain conclusion. Perhaps we shall most justly think of him if we suppose that, being a man venerable for his religious character, he gathered around him a number of disciples, and that these gradually multiplied until they formed a community over which Melchizedek reigned without remitting his priestly functions. In the midst of a turbulent and idolatrous community, his city of peace would be a sort of asylum for all who desired to escape from the agitations and pollutions of Canaanitish society, and devote themselves to religious contemplation and service.] The union of the royal and priestly offices in him, together with the abrupt manner in which he is introduced, and the nature of the intercourse between him and Abraham, render him in various respects an appro-

priate and obvious type of the Messiah in his united regal and priestly character.

Salem, of which Melchizedek was king, is usually supposed to have been the original of Jerusalem (Joseph. *Antiq.* i. 10. 2; Jerome, *Quæst. in Genes.*) But in another place (*ad Evagrium*, iii. fol. 13) Jerome mentions a town near Scythopolis, which in his time bore the name of Salem, and where was shown the palace of Melchizedek, which from the extent of the ruins must have been very magnificent. This he takes to have been the Shalem of Gen. xxxiii. 18; and the Salim near to which John was baptizing (John iii. 23). The fact stated by Jerome shows that the place was in his time regarded as the Salem of Melchizedek; but the tradition on which this intimation rests is too late to be of much value; and as Jerusalem is called Salem in Ps. lxxvi. 2, the site of the Salem in question must be determined by the intimations of the context, which are more in agreement with Jerusalem than with any site near Bethshan. [To these considerations may be added—1. That ancient Jewish tradition is opposed to this hypothesis; 2. That this hypothesis supposes Abraham on his return from Damascus to Hebron, whence he had set out, to have made a vast and needless detour; 3. That

at Jerusalem the roads to Hebron and to Sodom would naturally diverge, so that here was the most likely spot for Bera to await the return of Abraham; 4. The king's dale where they met was probably in the vicinity of Jerusalem [KING'S DALE]; 5. It is more probable that Σαλειμ (John iii.

23), represents סַלְמִי than סַלְמִי, for the pl. ending סַלְמִי is generally represented in Greek by εμ, whereas סַלְמִי is represented by ημ, εμ, or υμ (Knobel, *Exeget. Hdb.*, in loc.)] Besides the cited authorities, see Heidegger, *Hist. Patriarch.*, ii. note 2; Borger, *Hist. Crit. Melchisedeci*; Fabrici, *Cod. Pseudepigr.*, i. 311; Hottinger, *Enneas Dissertatt.*, p. 159, seq.; Ursini, *Analect. Sacr.*, i. 349; Kurz, *Hist. of the Old Cov.*, i. p. 218; Kalisch *On Genesis*, in loc.; Henderson, *Melchizedek*, Lond. 1834; Alexander, *Connection and Harmony of the O. and N. T.*, 2d ed., p. 423.—J. K.

MELITA (Μελίτη), an island in the Mediterranean, on which the ship which was conveying St. Paul as a prisoner to Rome was wrecked, and which was the scene of the interesting circumstances recorded in Acts xxvii. xxviii.



352. Malta.

Melita was the ancient name of Malta, and also of a small island in the Adriatic, now called Meleda, and each of these has found warm advocates for its identification with the Melita of Scripture. The received and long-established opinion is undoubtedly in favour of Malta; and those who uphold the claims of Meleda are to be regarded as dissenting from the general conclusion. This dissent proceeds chiefly upon the ground that the ship of St. Paul was 'driven about in (the sea of) Adria,' when wrecked on Melita. The conclusions deducible from this strong position are vigorously stated by P. Abate D. Ignazio Giorgi, in his *Ispezione Anticritiche*, published at Venice in 1730, and which then attracted considerable atten-

tion. There is a curious account of the controversy to which this gave rise in Ciantar's edit. of Abela's *Malta Illustrata*, i. 609, seq. The view thus advocated was in this country taken up by the learned Bryant, and more lately by Dr. Falconer, in his clever *Dissertation on St. Paul's Voyage*, 1817. These writers do not, however, seem to be aware of the very solid answers to this notion, and the arguments in support of the received conclusions, which were produced at the time. There was nothing to answer but this one objection; for if that could be obviated, the historical and other probabilities in favour of Malta remained in their former force, although they could have no counter-vailing weight if the limitation of the name Adria



to the gulf of Venice could be established. The course taken was, therefore, to show from ancient writers that the name Adria was *not*, in its ancient acceptation, limited to the present Adriatic Sea, but comprehended the seas of Greece and Sicily, and extended even to Africa. This seems to have been established beyond dispute, and every one acquainted with the mass of evidence brought to bear on this point, must regard the only strong argument in favour of Meleda as having been entirely overthrown. Those who have any curiosity or doubt in the matter may find this evidence copiously produced in Ciantar's edition of Abela's work, and also in Wetstein. Abela, after disposing of this part of his subject, very properly calls attention to the ample memorials of St. Paul's visit which exist in Malta, and the utter absence of any such in Meleda:—'Finalmente in Meleda non vi fu ma vestigio, o memoria di S. Paolo, non che Tempio ad onor di lui edificato; ma sibbene nella nostra isola vene sono molte memorie: anzi non v'è luogo, in cui non si celebri il glorioso nome dell' Appostolo (*Malta Illustrata*, i. 608). He goes on to enumerate particulars, which we will spare the reader, although the present writer's personal acquaintance with the island would enable him greatly to extend Abela's list of the Pauline associations which it contains. There is, perhaps, no piece of land of the same extent in the world which is made to contain reference so diversified and so numerous to any one person, as the island of Malta to St. Paul, who is, in fact, the tutelary saint of the island. These appropriations of Pauline memorials may in detail be open to dispute, or may possibly all be erroneous, but they serve in the mass to indicate a current of opinion which may be traced back to a remote source in ancient times.

The name of St. Paul's Bay has been given to the place where the shipwreck is supposed to have taken place. This, the sacred historian says, was at 'a certain creek with a shore,' *i. e.*, a seemingly practicable shore, on which they purposed, if possible, to strand the vessel, as their only apparent chance to escape being broken on the rocks. In attempting this the ship seems to have struck and gone to pieces on the rocky headland at the entrance of the creek. This agrees very well with St. Paul's Bay, more so than with any other creek of the island. This bay is a deep inlet on the north side of the island, being the last indentation of the coast but one from the western extremity of the island. It is about two miles deep, by one mile broad. The harbour which it forms is very unsafe at some distance from the shore, although there is good anchorage in the middle for light vessels. The most dangerous part is the western headland at the entrance of the bay, particularly as there is close to it a small island (Salamone), and a still smaller islet (Salamonetta), the currents and shoals around which are particularly dangerous in stormy weather. It is usually supposed that the vessel struck at this point. From this place the ancient capital of Malta (now Citta Vecchia, Old City) is distinctly seen at the distance of about five miles; and on looking towards the bay from the top of the church on the summit of the hill whereon the city stands, it occurred to the present writer that the people of the town might easily from this spot have perceived in the morning that a wreck had taken place; and this is a circumstance which

throws a fresh light on some of the circumstances of the deeply interesting transactions which ensued.

The sacred historian calls the inhabitants *βάρβαροι*, 'barbarians:—'the barbarous people showed us no small kindness.' This is far from implying that they were savages or uncivilized men: it merely intimates that they were not of Greek or Roman origin. This description applies to the ancient inhabitants of Malta most accurately; and as it could not apply to the inhabitants of Melida, who were Greeks, this is another argument to show that not Melida but Malta is the Melita of Scripture.

The island of Malta lies in the Mediterranean, about sixty miles south from Cape Passaro in Sicily. It is sixty miles in circumference, twenty in length, and twelve in breadth. Near it, on the west, is a smaller island, called Gozo, about thirty miles in circumference. Malta has no mountains or high hills, and makes no figure from the sea. It is naturally a barren rock, but has been made in parts abundantly fertile by the industry and toil of man. The island was first colonized by the Phœnicians, from whom it was taken by the Greek colonists in Sicily about B.C. 736; but the Carthaginians began to dispute its possession about B.C. 528, and eventually became entire masters of it. From their hands it passed into those of the Romans, B.C. 242, who treated the inhabitants well, making Melita a municipium, and allowing the people to be governed by their own laws. The government was administered by a propretor, who depended upon the prætor of Sicily; and this office appears to have been held by Publius when Paul was on the island (Acts xxviii. 7). On the division of the Roman empire, Melita belonged to the western portion; but having, in A.D. 553, been recovered from the Vandals by Belisarius, it was afterwards attached to the empire of the East. About the end of the 9th century, the island was taken from the Greeks by the Arabs, who made it a dependency upon Sicily, which was also in their possession. The Arabs have left the impress of their aspect, language, and many of their customs, upon the present inhabitants, whose dialect is to this day perfectly intelligible to the Arabians, and to the Moors of Africa. Malta was taken from the Arabs by the Normans in A.D. 1090, and afterwards underwent other changes till A.D. 1530, when Charles V., who had annexed it to his empire, transferred it to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, whom the Turks had recently dispossessed of Rhodes. Under the knights it became a flourishing state, and was the scene of their greatest glory and most signal exploits. The institution having become unsuited to modern times, the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, commonly called Knights of Malta, gradually fell into decay, and the island was surrendered to the French under Buonaparte when on his way to Egypt in 1798. From them it was retaken by the English with the concurrence and assistance of the natives; and it was to have been restored to the Knights of Malta by the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens; but as no sufficient security for the independence of the order (composed mostly of Frenchmen) could be obtained, the English retained it in their hands; which necessary infraction of the treaty was the ostensible ground of the war which only ended with the battle of Waterloo. The island is

still in the hands of the English, who have lately remodelled the government to meet the wishes of the numerous inhabitants. It has lately become the actual seat of an Anglican bishopric, which, however, takes its title from Gibraltar, out of deference to the existing Catholic bishopric of Malta—a deference not paid to the Oriental churches in recently establishing the Anglican bishopric of Jerusalem. F. Wandalin, *Dissert. de Melita Pauli*, Havn. 1707; P. Carlo, *Origine della Fede in Malta*, Milan 1759; Ciantar, *Critica de' Critici Moderni sul Controverso Naufragio di San Paolo*, Venez. 1763; Boisgelin, *History of Malta*, 1804; and especially Smith *On the Shipwreck of St. Paul*.—J. K.

MELKART. [HERAKLES.]

MELON. [ABATTICHIM.]

MELZAR (מֶלְזָר). In the A. V. (Dan. i. 11, 16) and most of the modern versions, this appears as a proper name, though in the margin of the A. V. we have for this 'the steward;' and Diodati in a marginal note says, 'Mostra che sia un nome d'ufficio, come e calco o proveditore.' The LXX. give in both places a quite different name, Ἀβιεδρί, which Josephus follows; Theodotion has Ἀμελσᾶδ; Alex. Ἀμερσάρ. The use of the article, however (which Theodotion has made part of the name), indicates that this is an appellative. The word is not Semitic; it is probably Persian. By some it is explained from the Pers. ملسر, *melsar*, *vini princeps*; but the officer in question seems rather to have fulfilled the function of a παιδαγωγός or τροφός in the royal household, than that of a cup-bearer. The old Jewish version of Athias renders it by 'Küchenmeister,' *surveyor of the kitchen*; Zunz gives 'Aufseher,' *overseer*; and De Wette, 'Kellermeister,' *butler*. The Melzar was an officer under the Rabсарis. The use of the article does not necessarily indicate that there was only one officer with this title; it simply points out the one specially entrusted with the charge of Daniel and his companions.—W. L. A.

MEMPHIS, a city of Egypt called in the Hebrew text Noph נֹפֶח, or Moph מֹפֶח, LXX. Μέμφις; Vulg. *Memphis*. Memphis occurs once in the A. V., in Hosea ix. 6, where the Hebrew has Moph. These two Hebrew forms are contractions of the ancient Egyptian MEN-NUFR or MEN-NEFRU, whence the Coptic ⲙⲉⲛⲡⲣⲓ, ⲙⲉⲛⲡⲣⲓ, ⲙⲉⲛⲡⲣⲓ, ⲙⲉⲛⲡⲣⲓ (M.), and ⲙⲉⲛⲡⲣⲓ (S.), the Greek name, and the Arabic

مَنْف, Menf. The Hebrew forms were probably in use among the Shemites in Lower Egypt, and perhaps among the Egyptians, in the vulgar dialect.

The ancient Egyptian common name signifies either 'the good abode,\*' or 'the abode of the

good one.' Plutarch, whose Egyptian\* information in the treatise de *Iside et Osiride* is generally valuable, indicates that the latter or a similar explanation was current among the Egyptian priests. He tells us that some interpreted the name the 'haven of good ones,' others, 'the sepulchre of Osiris' (καὶ τὴν μὲν πόλιν οἱ μὲν ὄρμον ἀγαθῶν ἐρμηνεύουσιν, οἱ δ' [ἰδ.] τὸν τάφον Ὀσίριδος, c. 20). 'To come to port' is, in hieroglyphics, MENA or MAN, and in Coptic the long vowel is not only preserved but sometimes repeated (cf. ⲙⲉⲛⲡⲣⲓ, ⲙⲉⲛⲡⲣⲓ, ⲙⲉⲛⲡⲣⲓ,

ⲙⲉⲛⲡⲣⲓ). There is, however, no expressed vowel

in the name of Memphis, which we take therefore to commence with the word MEN, 'abode,' like the name of a town or village MEN-HEB, 'the abode, or mansion, of assembly,' cited by Brugsch (*Geographische Inschriften*, i., p. 191, No. 851, tav. xxxvii.) 'The good abode' is the more probable rendering, for there is no preposition, which, however, might possibly be omitted in an archaic form. The special determinative of a pyramid follows the name of Memphis, because it was the pyramid-city, pyramids having perhaps been already raised there as early as the reign of Venephes, the fourth king of the first dynasty (Manetho ap. Cory, *Anc. Frag.*, pp. 96, 97; cf. Brugsch, *Geogr. Inschr.*, i., p. 240). Thus we may read the name 'MEN-NUFR,' or 'MEN-NEFRU, the pyramid city.'

The sacred name of Memphis was HA-PTAH, PA-PTAH, or HA-PTAH-KA, or HA-KA-PTAH, 'the abode of Ptah,' or 'of the being of Ptah' (Brugsch, i., pp. 235, 236, Nos. 1102, 1103, 1104, 1105, tav. xlii.)

Memphis was well chosen as the capital city of all Egypt. It stands just above the ancient point of the Delta, where the Pelusiatic, Sebennytic, and Canopic branches separated. It was within the valley of Upper Egypt, yet it was close to the plain of Lower Egypt. If further north it could not have been in a position naturally strong: if anywhere but at the division of the two regions of Egypt it could not have been the seat of a sovereign who wished to unite and command the two. Where the valley of Upper Egypt is about to open into the plain it is about five miles broad. On the east, this valley is bounded almost to the river's brink by the light yellow limestone mountains which slope abruptly to the narrow slip of fertile land. On the west, a broad surface of cultivation extends to the low edge of the Great Desert, upon which rise, like landmarks, the long series of Memphite pyramids. The valley is perfectly flat, except where a village stands on the mound of some ancient town, and unvaried but by the long groves of date-palms which extend along the river, and the smaller groups of the villages. The Nile occupies the midst with its great volume of water, and to the west, not far beneath the Libyan range, is the great canal called the Bahr Yoosuf, or 'River of Joseph.' The scene is beautiful from the contrast of its colours, the delicate tints of the bare desert-mountains or hills bright with the light of an Egyptian sun, and the tender green of the fields, for a great part of the year, except when the Nile spreads its inundating waters from desert to desert, or when the harvest is yellow with such plenteous ears as Pharaoh saw in his dream. And the beauty is enhanced by the recollection that here stood that capital of Egypt which was in times very

\* Dr. Brugsch would translate it indifferently *mansio bona*, or *portus bonus*, but we take the second signification to be inapplicable to the first word of the name in the ancient language, as we have later argued (see *Geographische Inschriften*, i., pp. 190, 191).



remote a guardian of ancient civilization; that here, as those pyramids—which triflers in all ages have mocked at—were raised to attest, the doctrine of a future state was firmly believed and handed down till revelation gave it its true significance; and that here many of the great events of sacred history may have taken place, certainly many of its chief personages may have wondered at remains which in the days of Abraham were the work of an older and stronger generation.

But for the pyramids it would be difficult to trace the site of Memphis, and the pyramids, extending for twenty miles, do not materially help us. No lofty mounds, as at Bubastis and Saïs, mark the place of the great city; no splendid temples, as at Thebes, enable us almost to recall its magnificence. The valley between the Libyan Desert and the Nile is flat and unmarked by standing columns, or even, as at neighbouring Heliopolis, by a solitary obelisk. Happily a fallen colossal statue and some trifling remains near by, half-buried in the mud, and annually drowned by the inundation, show us where stood the chief temple of Memphis, and doubtless the most ancient part of the city, near the modern village of Meet-Raheeneh. This central position is in the valley very near the present west bank of the river, and three miles from the edge of the Great Desert. The distance above Cairo is about nine miles, and that above the ancient head of the Delta about sixteen. The ancient city was no doubt of great extent, but it is impossible, now that its remains have been destroyed and their traces swallowed up by the alluvial deposit of the Nile, to determine its limits, or to decide whether the different quarters mentioned in the hieroglyphic inscriptions were portions of one connected city; or again, whether the Memphis known to classical writers was smaller than the old capital, a central part of it from which the later additions had, in a time of decay, been gradually separated. In the inscriptions we find three quarters distinguished:—The 'White Wall,' mentioned by the classical writers, *λευκὸν τεῖχος*, has the same name in hieroglyphics, in which we find SEBT-HET, 'White Wall,' in the name of the Memphite Nome, HESP SEBT-HET, 'Nome of the White Wall,' and also separately NU-SEBT-HET, 'White-wall-city' (Brugsch, *G. I.*, i., pp. 120, 234, 235; i tav. xv., Nos. 1091-1094; tav. xlii.) That Memphis is meant in the name of the nome appears, not only from the circumstance that Memphis was the capital of the Memphite Nome, but also from the occurrence of HA-PTAH-KA or HA-KA-PTAH, as the equivalent of SEBT-HET in the name of the nome (Brugsch, *G. I.*, i., tav. xv., i. 1, i. 1, etc., and *Nomen aus dem neuen Reiche*, 1). The White Wall is put in the nome-name for Memphis itself, probably as the oldest part of the city. Herodotus mentions the White Wall as the citadel of Memphis, for he relates that it held a garrison of 120,000 Persians (iii. 91), and he also speaks of it by the name of the Citadel simply (*τὸ τεῖχος*, 13, 14). Thucydides speaks of the White Wall as the third, and, as we may infer, the strongest part of Memphis, but does not give the names of the other two parts (i. 104). The Scholiast remarks that Memphis had three walls, and that whereas the others were of brick, the third, or White Wall, was of stone (*φασὶ γὰρ ὅτι τρία τεῖχη εἶχεν ἡ Μέμφις. τῶν οὖν δύο ληφθέντων, πρὸς τὸ τρίτον ἡ μάχη ἐγίνετο. λευκὸν δὲ ἐκαλεῖτο, ὡς τῶν ἄλλων*

*μὲν ἀπὸ πλινθῶν ἐσκενασμένον, ἐκείνου δὲ ἀπὸ λίθων, ad loc.*) No doubt the commentator had in his mind Greek towns surrounded by more than a single wall, and did not know that Egyptian towns were rarely if ever walled. But his idea of the origin of the name white as applied to the citadel of Memphis is very probably correct. The Egyptian forts known to us are of crude brick, therefore a stone fort, very possible in a city like Memphis, famous for its great works in masonry, would receive a name denoting its peculiarity. It is noticeable that the monuments mention two other quarters, 'The two regions of life' (Brugsch, *G. I.*, i., pp. 236, 237, Nos. 1107, *seq.*, tav. xlii. xliii.), and AMHEE or PER-AMHEE (*Id.*, p. 237, No. 1114 a, tav. xliii.)

Before speaking of the monuments of Memphis we must notice its history. The foundation of the city is assigned to Menes, the first king of Egypt, head of the 1st dynasty (*Herod.*, ii. 99). The situation, as already observed, is admirable for a capital of the whole country, and it was probably chosen with that object. According to Herodotus, Menes raised a dyke which still protected Memphis from the inundations of the Nile. Previously the river had flowed under the Libyan range; but Menes, by banking up the stream at the bend it took 100 stadia south of Memphis, made the ancient channel dry, and dug a new course for the river between the two ranges of hills. The historian adds, that in his time the Persians carefully guarded the point where the Nile had been forced into the new channel, lest Memphis should be endangered by a flood (*l. c.*) Sir Gardner Wilkinson observes, 'The dyke of Menes was probably near the modern Kafr el-Eiyât, 14 miles south of Meet-Raheeneh, where the Nile takes a considerable bend, and from which point it would (if the previous direction of its course continued) run immediately below the Libyan mountains, and over the site of Memphis. Calculating from the outside of Memphis, this bend agrees exactly with the hundred stadia, or nearly 11½ English miles—Meet-Raheeneh being about the centre of the old city. No traces of these dykes (*sic*) are now seen' (Rawlinson's *Herod.*, vol. ii., p. 163, note 6). Herodotus also states that Menes excavated a lake outside the town to the north and west, communicating with the river which bounded it on the east (iii. 99). That the dyke has been allowed to fall into neglect, and ultimately to disappear, may be accounted for by the gradual obliteration of the old bed, and the cessation of any necessity to keep the inundation from the site of Memphis, which, on the contrary, as the city contracted, became cultivable soil and required to be annually fertilized. But are we to suppose that Menes executed the great engineering works attributed to him? It is remarkable that the higher we advance towards the beginnings of Egyptian history, the more vast are the works of manual labour. The Lake Moëris, probably excavated under the 6th dynasty, put to shade all later works of its or any other kind executed in Egypt. The chief pyramids, which, if reaching down to this time, can scarcely reach later, increase in importance as we go higher, the greatest being those of El-Geezeh, sepulchres of the earlier kings of the 4th dynasty. This state of things implies the existence of a large serf-population gradually decreasing towards later times, and shows that Menes might well have diverted the



course of the Nile. The digging a new course seems doubtful, and it may be conjectured that the branch that became the main stream was already existent. It would appear from the fragments of Manetho's history that Memphis continued the seat of government of kings of all Egypt as late as the reign of Venephes the third successor of Menes. Athothis, the son and successor of Menes, built the palace there, and the king first mentioned built the pyramids near Cochoime (Cory's *Anc. Frag.*, 2d ed., pp. 94-97): pyramids are scarcely seen but at Memphis, and Cochoime is probably the name of part of the Memphite necropolis, as will be noticed later. The 3d dynasty was of Memphite kings, the 2d and part of the 1st having probably lost the undivided rule of Egypt. The 4th dynasty, which succeeded about B. C. 2440, was the most powerful Memphite line, and under its earlier kings the pyramids of El-Geezeh were built. It is probable that other Egyptian lines were tributary to this, which not only commanded all the resources of Egypt to the quarries of Syene on the southern border, but also worked the copper mines of the Sinaitic Peninsula. The 5th dynasty appears to have been contemporary with the 4th and 6th, the latter a Memphite house which continued the succession. At the close of the latter Memphis fell, according to our opinion, into the hands of the Shepherd kings, foreign strangers who, more or less, held Egypt for 500 years. At the beginning of the 18th dynasty we once more find hieroglyphic notices of Memphis after a silence of some centuries. During that dynasty and its two successors, while the Egyptian empire lasted, Memphis was its second city, though, as the sovereigns were Thebans, Thebes was the capital. After the decline of the empire, we hear little of it until the Persian period, when the provincial dynasties gave it a preference over Thebes as the chief city of Egypt. With the Greek rule, its political importance rose, and while Thebes had dwindled to a thinly-populated collection of small towns, Memphis became the native capital, where the sovereigns were crowned by the Egyptian priests; but Alexandria gradually destroyed its power, and the policy of the Romans hastened a natural decay. At length, after the Arab conquest, the establishment of a succession of rival capitals, on the opposite bank of the Nile, El-Fustât, El-Askar, El-Katâ-ë, and El-Kahireh, the later Cairo, drew away the remains of its population, and at last left nothing to mark the site of the ancient capital but ruins, which were long the quarries for any who wished for costly marbles, massive columns, or mere blocks of stone for the numerous mosques of the Muslim seats of government.

Of the buildings of Memphis none remain above ground; the tombs of the neighbouring necropolis alone attest its importance. It is, however, necessary to speak of those temples which ancient writers mention, and especially of such of these as are known by remaining fragments. The chief temple was that of Ptah, the Egyptian Vulcan, assigned by Herodotus to Menes as its founder (ii. 99), the site of which is near the village of Meet-Raheeneh. The only important vestige of this great temple, probably second only, if second, to that of Amen-ra at Thebes, now called the temple of El-Karnak, is a broken colossal statue of limestone representing Rameses II., which once stood,

probably with a fellow that has been destroyed, before one of the propyla of the temple. This statue, complete from the head to below the knees, is the finest Egyptian colossus known. It belongs to the British government, which has never yet spared the necessary cost of transporting it to England. Near this temple was one of Apis, or Hapi, the celebrated sacred bull, worshipped with extraordinary honours at Memphis, and from which the Israelites possibly took the idea of the golden calf. The Serapeum, or temple of Serapis, or Osir-hapi, that is, Osiris-Apis, the ideal correspondent to the animal, lay in the desert to the westward, between the modern villages of Abou-Seer and Sakkarah, though to the west of both. Near this temple was the burial-place of the bulls Apis, a vast excavation, in which they were sepulchred in sarcophagi of stone in the most costly manner. M. Mariette recently discovered this monument, and thus added greatly to our knowledge of Egyptology, especially as the tablets in the burial-places of the sacred bulls afforded very important chronological and historical information. There were also at Memphis a temple of Sokari-Osiris, whence the modern name of Sakkarah (as Abou-Seer, from Busiris, records the existence of a temple of Osiris, PA-HESAR), a temple of AY-EM-HETP, the Egyptian Æsculapius, and another of Anubis. And we must not forget that temple of the Foreign Venus (Ἰβὼν, τὸ καλεῖται ξένης Ἀφροδίτης) which Herodotus mentions as situate in the Tyrians' Camp (Τυρίων στρατόπεδον), inhabited in his time by Phœnicians of Tyre (ii. 112), and the fact that in a tablet of Amenoph II., of the 18th dynasty, in the opposite quarries of Tura, the Canaanite and Phœnician goddess Ashtoreth is represented as a local divinity. Perhaps the name of the camp and the worship dated from the capture of Memphis by the Shepherds. The memory of a like event was as long traditionally preserved in the Coptic name of El-Geezeh, the town on the bank of the Nile eastward of the most famous group of pyramids

†περσιοί, which, if it do not record the place of the Persian camp when Cambyses besieged Memphis, must record something similar during the Persian occupation.

The necropolis of Memphis has escaped the destruction that has obliterated almost all traces of the city, partly from its being beyond the convenient reach of the inhabitants of the Muslim capitals, partly from the unrivalled massive solidity of its chief edifices. The pyramids that belong to Memphis extend along the low edge of the Libyan range, and form four groups—those of El-Geezeh, Abou-Seer, Sakkarah, and Dahshoor—all so named from a neighbouring town or village. The principal pyramids of El-Geezeh—those called the First or Great, Second, and Third—are respectively the tombs of Khufu or Shufu, the Cheops of Herodotus and Suphis I. of Manetho, of the 4th dynasty; of Khafra or Shafra, Cephren (Hdt.), of the 5th? and of Menkaura Mycerinus or Mencheres of the 4th. The Great Pyramid has a base measuring 733 feet square, and a perpendicular height of 456 feet, having lost about twenty-five feet of its original height, which must have been at least 480 feet (Mr. Lane in Mrs. Poole's *Englishwoman in Egypt*, ii., pp. 121, 125). It is of solid stone, except a low core of rock, and a very small space allowed for chambers and passages leading to



them. The Second Pyramid is not far inferior to this in size. Next in order come the two stone pyramids of Dahshoor. The rest are much smaller. In the Dahshoor group are two built of crude brick, the only examples in the Memphite necropolis. The whole number that can now be traced is upwards of thirty, but Dr. Lepsius supposes that anciently there were about sixty, including those south of Dahshoor, the last of which are as far as the Feiyoom, about sixty miles above the site of Memphis by the course of the river. The principal pyramids in the Memphite necropolis are twenty in number; the pyramid of Aboo-Ruweysh, the three chief pyramids of El-Geezeh, the three of Aboo-Seer, the nine of Sakkarah, and the four of Dahshoor. The 'pyramids' built by Venephes near Cochoime may have been in the groups of Aboo-Seer, at Sakkarah, for the part of the necropolis where the Serapeum lay was called in Egyptian KEM-KA or KA-KEM, also KEM or KEMEE, as Brugsch has shown, remarking as its probable identity with Cochoime (*G. Z.*, i., p. 240, Nos. 1121, 1122, 1123, tav. xliii.) The pyramids were tombs of kings, and possibly of members of royal families. Around them were the tombs of subjects, of which the oldest were probably in general of the time of the king who raised each pyramid. The private tombs were either built upon the rock, or excavated, wherever it presented a suitable face in which a grotto could be cut, and in either case the mummies were deposited in chambers at the foot of deep pits. Sometimes these pits were not guarded by the upper structure or grotto, though probably they were then originally protected by crude brick walls. A curious inquiry is suggested by the circumstance that the Egyptians localized in the neighbourhood of Memphis those terrestrial scenes which they supposed to symbolize the geography of the hidden world, and that in these the Greeks found the first ideas of their own poetical form of the more precise belief of the older race, of the Acherusian Lake, the Ferry, Charon, and the 'Meads of Asphodel,' but this captivating subject cannot be here pursued (see Brugsch, *G. Z.*, i., pp. 240, 241, 242).

The notices of Memphis in the Bible are wholly of the period of the kings. Many have thought that the Land of Goshen lay not very far from this city, and that the Pharaohs who protected the Israelites, as well as their oppressors, ruled at Memphis. The indications of Scripture seem, however, to point to the valley through which ran the canal of the Red Sea, the Wádi-t-Tumeylát of the present inhabitants of Egypt, as the old Land of Goshen, and to Zoan, or Tanis, as the capital of the oppressors, if not also of the Pharaohs who protected the Israelites. A careful examination of the narrative of the events that preceded the Exodus seems indeed to put any city not in the easternmost portion of the Delta wholly out of the question.

It was in the time of the decline of the Israelite kingdom, and during the subsequent existence of that of Judah, that Memphis became important to the Hebrews. The Ethiopians of the 25th dynasty, or their Egyptian vassals of the 23d and 24th, probably, and the Saïtes of the 26th, certainly, made Memphis the political capital of Egypt. Hosea mentions Memphis only with Egypt, as the great city, predicting of the Israelite fugitives, 'Mizraim shall gather them up, Noph shall bury

them' (ix. 6). Memphis, the city of the vast necropolis, where Osiris and Anubis, gods of the dead, threatened to put in the shade the worship of the local divinity, Ptah, could not be more accurately characterized. No other city but Abydos was as much occupied with burial, and Abydos was far inferior in the extent of its necropolis. With the same force that personifies Memphis as the burier of the unhappy fugitives, the prophet Nahum describes Thebes as walled and fortified by the sea (iii. 8), as the Nile has been called in ancient and modern times, for Thebes alone of the cities of Egypt lay on both sides of the river (Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, NOPH, NO-AMMON). Isaiah, in the wonderful Burden of Egypt, which has been more markedly and literally fulfilled than perhaps any other like portion of Scripture, couples the princes of Zoan (Tanis) with the princes of Noph as evil advisers of Pharaoh and Egypt (xix. 13). Egypt was then weakly governed by the last Tanite king of the 23d dynasty, as ally or vassal of Tirhakah; and Memphis, as already remarked, was the political capital. In Jeremiah, Noph is spoken of with 'Tahapanes,' the frontier stronghold Daphnæ, as an enemy of Israel (ii. 16). It is difficult to explain the importance here given to 'Tahapanes.' Was it to warn the Israelites that the first city of Egypt which they should afterwards enter in their forbidden flight was a city of enemies? In his prophecy of the overthrow of Pharaoh Necho's army, the same prophet warns Migdol, Noph, and 'Tahpanhes' of the approach of the invader (xlv. 14), warns the capital, and the frontier towns. When Migdol and 'Tahpanhes' had fallen, or whatever other strongholds guarded the eastern border, the Delta could not be defended. When Memphis was taken, not only the capital was in the hands of the enemy, but the frontier-fort commanding the entrance of the valley of Upper Egypt had fallen. And later he says that 'Noph shall be waste and desolate, without an inhabitant' (19). And so it is, while many other cities of that day yet flourish—as Hermopolis Parva and Sebennytus in the Delta; Lycopolis, Latopolis, and Syene, in Upper Egypt; or still exist as villages, like Chemmis (Panopolis), Tentyra, and Hermonthis, in the latter division—it is doubtful if any village on the site of Memphis, once the most populous city of Egypt, even preserves its name. Latest in time, Ezekiel prophesies the coming distress and final overthrow of Memphis. Egypt is to be filled with slain; the rivers are to be dried and the lands made waste; idols and false gods are to cease out of Noph; there is to be 'no more a prince of the land of Egypt.' So much is general, and refers to an invasion by Nebuchadnezzar. Noph, as by Hosea, is coupled with Egypt—the capital with the state. Then more particularly Pathros, Zoan, and No are to suffer; Sin and No again; and with more vivid distinctness the distresses of Sin, No, Noph, Aven, Pi-beseth, and 'Tehaphnehes' are foretold, as though the prophet witnessed the advance of fire and sword, each city taken, its garrison and fighting citizens, 'the young men,' slain, and its fair buildings given over to the flames, as the invader marched upon Daphnæ, Pelusium, Tanis, Bubastis, and Heliopolis, until Memphis fell before him, and beyond Memphis Thebes alone offered resistance, and met with the like overthrow (xxx. 1-19). Perhaps these vivid images represent, by the force of repetition and their climax-like

arrangement, but one series of calamities: perhaps they represent three invasions—that of Nebuchadnezzar, of which we may expect history one day to tell us;\* that of Cambyses; and last, and most ruinous of all, that of Ochus. The minuteness with which the first and more particular prediction as to Memphis has been fulfilled is very noticeable. The images and idols of Noph have disappeared; when the site of almost every other ancient town of Egypt is marked by colossi and statues, but one, and that fallen, with some insignificant neighbours, is found where once stood its greatest city.

The chief authorities on the subject of this article are Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*; Brugsch, *Geographische Inschriften*; Col. Howard Vyse, *Pyramids of Gizeh*, fol. plates, and 8vo text and plates; Sir J. G. Wilkinson, *Modern Egypt and Thebes*, and *Handbook to Egypt*; and Mrs. Poole, *Englishwoman in Egypt*, where the topography and description of the necropolis and the pyramids are by Mr. Lane.—R. S. P.

MENAHEM (מְנַחֵם, *consoler*; Sept. מנחם), sixteenth king of Israel, who began to reign B.C. 772, and reigned ten years. Menahem appears to have been one of the generals of king Zachariah. When he heard the news of the murder of that prince, and the usurpation of Shallum, he was at Tirzah, but immediately marched to Samaria, where Shallum had shut himself up, and slew him in that city. He then usurped the throne in his turn; and forthwith marched to Tiphseh, which refused to acknowledge his rule. Having taken this place, after a siege, he treated the inhabitants with a degree of savage barbarity, which, as Josephus remarks (*Antiq.* ix. 11. 1), would not have been pardonable even to foreigners. He adhered to the sin of Jeroboam, like the other kings of Israel. In his time the Assyrians, under their king Pul, made their first appearance on the borders of Palestine; and Menahem was only able to save himself from this great invading power at the heavy price of 1000 talents of silver, which he raised by a tax of 50 shekels from every man of substance in Israel. This was probably the only choice left to him; and he is not therefore to be blamed, as he had not that resource in the treasures of the temple of which the kings of Judah availed themselves in similar emergencies. Menahem died in B.C. 761, leaving the throne to his son Pekahiah (2 Kings xv. 14-22).—J. K.

MENDELSSOHN, MOSES, also called *Ramban* (רמב"ן), from the initials of משה בן מנחם (Moses b. Menachem Mendel and Moses Dessau), was born Sept. 6, 1729. His early life was spent amid circumstances of extreme penury, approaching at times to the verge of destitution; but in spite of these he prosecuted with dauntless perseverance his literary and philosophical studies, first at Dessau and afterwards at Berlin. At length, however, a Jewish merchant employed him (1750) to educate his children. Being thus relieved from want, he devoted himself more than ever to the acquisition of learning, and, though only one-and-twenty, began publishing a weekly periodical in

Hebrew, entitled *קהלת מוסר*, *A Collection of Ethics*. The philosophical works which he now published spread his fame over Europe, and secured for him the friendship of eminent literary men, who were constantly corresponding with him about philosophical, archæological, religious, and Biblical subjects, and who solicited his aid in literary enterprises. From the very starting of the *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften* he was a contributor to it, and published in it (1756) the masterly analysis of Lowth's *Lectures on Hebrew Poetry* [LOWTH]. His contributions to Biblical literature are as follows:—(1.) A Commentary on Ecclesiastes, written in Hebrew, Berlin 1769; *ibid.* 1788. It was translated into German by Rabe, the translator of the Mishna, Aispach 1771; and into English by Theodore Preston, London 1845. (2.) A German translation of the Pentateuch, made by himself, with a grammatical and exegetical commentary in Hebrew, contributed by several Jewish literati—viz., the commentary on Genesis by Dubno [DUBNO], with the exception of that on ch. i. 1-vi. 8, which is by Mendelssohn himself, Berlin 1780; the commentary on Exodus by Mendelssohn himself, who used the fragments of Dubno, Berlin 1781; the commentary on Leviticus principally by Wessely, Berlin 1782; the commentary on Numbers by Jaroslaw, Berlin 1783; and the commentary on Deuteronomy by Homberg, except a few chapters at the beginning and end, Berlin 1783. This important work is entitled ספר

נתיבות השלום, *The Book of the Paths of Peace*, and is preceded by an elaborate and most valuable introduction written in Hebrew, called אור לנתיבה, *A Light to the Path*, in which Mendelssohn discusses various topics connected with Biblical exegesis and literature. This was published separately before the completion of the commentary (December 1782), and now accompanies the translation and commentary. It is given in a German translation with his translation of the Pentateuch in his *Collected Works*, vol. vii., Leipzig 1845, p. 18, ff.; and in English in *The Hebrew Review*, edited by Breslau, London 1860. (3.) A German translation of the Psalms, Berlin 1783; *ibid.*, 1788; and in his *Collected Works*, vol. vi., p. 127, ff. where are also his annotations on divers Psalms. (4.) A German translation of the Song of Solomon, published three years after his death, Berlin 1789, also given in his *Collected Works*, vol. vi., p. 369, ff. (5.) A logical and philosophical treatise on the Hebrew

language, entitled לשון הזהב, *The Tongue of Gold*, Berlin 1782; and (6.) *Ritualgesetze der Juden*, or Ritual Laws of the Jews, Berlin 1778, which he published at the request of the Government, and which is essential to the understanding of the Jewish rites, manners, and customs. It is contained in vol. vi. of his works. Mendelssohn died January 4, 1786. The influence which this famous philosopher and Hebraist exercised over the Jewish nation is incalculable. He effected a reformation in Judaism, and founded in Berlin that new school of Hebrew literature and Biblical exegesis which has now produced so many and such distinguished Jewish literati, not only in Germany, but throughout Europe. No wonder that the Jews express their gratitude to him, and reverence for him in the saying משה ועד משה לא קם כמותו, מומשה למשה ועד משה לא קם כמותו,

\* The recent discovery of Assyrian conquests of Egypt warns us not to trust to the negative evidence of classical writers as to a Babylonian one.



'from Moses (the lawgiver) to Moses (Maimonides) and Moses (Mendelssohn), no one hath arisen like Moses,' alluding to Deut. xxxiv. 10; comp. Dr. Mendelssohn's edition of *Mendelssohn's Works*, 7 vols., Leipzig 1843-1845; Jost, *Geschichte des Judenthums*, iii. 293, ff.; Kayserling, *Moses Mendelssohn, Sein Leben und seine Werke*, Leipzig 1862.—C. D. G.

MENELAUS (Μενέλαος), brother of Simon, the governor of the Temple (2 Maccab. iv. 23); or, according to Josephus (*Antiq.* xii. 5), brother of Jason and Onias. Jason, who by the offer of a large bribe had persuaded Antiochus Epiphanes to make him high-priest, sent Menelaus to bear the money to the king. But, by flattery and the promise of a large bribe, Menelaus got the priesthood to himself (B.C. 172). Not having paid this money, he was summoned to appear before the king; but an insurrection in Tarsus requiring the presence of Antiochus, Andronicus was deputed to deal with the matter. Menelaus stole certain vessels of gold out of the temple, and by the gift of these to Andronicus, made easy terms with him, and even persuaded him to kill Onias, who had ventured to speak against the sacrilege. Andronicus, on the charge of the indignant Jews, was put to death for this crime; but Menelaus does not seem to have been suspected of instigating it. Afterwards he was accused to the king of encouraging Lysimachus to sacrilegious deeds, and was actually convicted; but by promise of much money he induced one Ptolemy to pacify the king, and even procure the death of his accusers (2 Maccab. iv.). He is next mentioned as among the governors whom Antiochus 'left to vex the [Jewish] nation' (v. 23). Ultimately, on the intimidation of Lysias, 'that this man was the cause of all mischief,' Antiochus Eupator caused him to be put to death at Berea (xiii. 3-8).—J. G. C.

MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN (מְנֵה, מְנֵה, תְּקֵל, וּפְרָסִין; Sept. Μανή, Θεκέλ, Φάρες; Vulg. *Mane, Thecel, Phares*), the inscription supernaturally written 'upon the plaster of the wall' in Belshazzar's palace at Babylon (Dan. v. 5-25); which 'the astrologers, the Chaldeans, and the soothsayers,' could neither read nor interpret, but which Daniel first read and then interpreted. Yet the words, as they are found in Daniel, are pure Chaldee, and if they appeared in the Chaldee character, could have been read, at least, by any person present on the occasion who understood the alphabet of his own language. To account for their inability to decipher this inscription, it has been supposed that it consisted of those Chaldee words written in another character. Dr. Hales thinks that it may have been written in the primitive Hebrew character, from which the Samaritan was formed, and that, in order to show on this occasion that the writer of the inscription was the offended God of Israel, whose authority was being at that moment peculiarly despised (ver. 2, 3, 4), he adopted his own sacred character, in which he had originally written the decalogue, in which Moses could transcribe it into the law, and whose autograph copy was found in Josiah's days, and was most probably brought to Babylon in the care of Daniel, who could therefore understand the character without inspiration, but which would be unknown to 'the wise men of Babylon' (*Neu*

*Analysis of Chronology*, vol. i., p. 505, Lond. 1811). This theory has the recommendation, that it involves as little as possible of miraculous agency. Josephus makes Daniel discourse to Belshazzar as if the inscription had been in Greek. The passage is certainly curious: 'Εδῆλον δὲ τὰ γεγραμμένα τὰδε. ΜΑΝΗ. τούτο δ' ἔλεγεν Ἑλλάδι γλώττῃ σημαίνει' ἂν ἀριθμὸς· ὥσπερ τῆς ζωῆς σου τοσοῦτον χρόνον καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡρίθμηκεν ὁ θεός, καὶ περισσεύει ἐπὶ σοὶ βραχὺν χρόνον. ΘΕΚΕΛ. σημαίνει τούτο σταθμὸν. στήσας οὖν σου λέγει τὸν χρόνον τῆς βασιλείας ὁ θεός, ἥδη καταφερομένην δηλοῖ. ΦΑΡΕΣ. καὶ τούτο κλάσμα δηλοῖ κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλώτταν. κλάσει τοιαυτοῦν σου τὴν βασιλείαν, καὶ Μήδοις αὐτὴν καὶ Πέρσας διανεμεῖ. 'He (Daniel) explained the writing thus: ΜΑΝΗ. 'This,' said he, 'in the Greek language, may mean a number; thus God hath numbered so long a time for thy life and for thy government, and that there remains a short time for thee.' ΘΕΚΕΛ. This signifies *weight*; hence he says, 'God having weighed in a balance the time of thy kingdom, finds it already going down.' ΦΑΡΕΣ. This also, according to the Greek language, denotes a *fragment*; hence 'he will break in pieces thy kingdom, and divide it among the Medes and Persians' (*Antiq.* x. 11. 3). There is some doubt whether the reading ἔλεγεν be genuine, but Josephus evidently represents the whole passage as addressed by Daniel to the king, and makes him speak as if the inscription had been in Greek. Still Josephus, for some cause or other, represents Daniel as speaking doubtfully ('may mean') in the former part of the passage, and scarcely less so in the latter. It has been supposed by some, that 'the wise men' were not so much at fault to read the inscription, as to explain its meaning, which, it is said, they might sufficiently understand to see its boding import to the monarch, and be unwilling to consider further—like the disciples in regard to the predictions of our Lord's death (Luke ix. 45), where it is said, 'this saying was hid from them, they perceived it not, and they feared to ask him of that saying.' And certainly it is said throughout our narrative that 'the wise men could not read the writing, nor make known the interpretation of it,' phrases which would seem to mean one and the same thing; since, if they mean different things, the order of ideas would be that they could not interpret nor even read it, and Wintle accordingly translates, 'could not read so as to interpret it' (*Improved Version of Daniel*, Lond. 1807). At all events the meaning of the inscription by itself would be extremely enigmatical and obscure. To determine the application, and to give the full sense, of an isolated device which amounted to no more than 'he or it is numbered, he or it is numbered, he or it is weighed, they are divided' (and there is even a riddle or paranomasia on the last word פָּרַס; comp. Susannah, ver. 54, 55 and 58, 59, Greek, and Jer. i. 11, 12, Hebrew; which may either mean 'they divide,' or 'the Persians,' according as it is pronounced), must surely have required a supernatural endowment on the part of Daniel—a conclusion which is confirmed by the exact coincidence of the event with the prediction which he propounded with so much fortitude (ver. 30, 31).—J. F. D.

MENI, מְנִי, Is. lxx. 11, the only place where the word occurs. It is rendered by the LXX.

ἡ τύχη, although some copies have τῶ δαμονίῳ, and ἡ τύχη in the former clause as the equivalent of מְנִי.

This transposition is adopted by Jerome (*et paratis fortunæ mensam, et impletis dæmoni potionem*), who also in his commentary 'exerte monet τοὺς Ὁ vocem מְנִי reddidisse τῶ δαμονίῳ.' But Vitrina, 'suspiciatur, Hieronymum, cum ex doctrina Magistri Judæi alle sibi impressisset מְנִי esse fortunam, locum festinante oculo sic legisse, ut alterum pro altero sumpserit' (Schleusneri *Lex.* s. v. τύχη). The Vulg., following a peculiar various reading, has super *eam*, referring to 'Mensam' in the preceding clause. Similar must have been the reading which the Syr. translator had before him, as he renders

ܡܢܝ, for them. Luther retains the Hebrew

word, Meni. De Wette renders it, *Verhängniss*; Alexander, *fate*; the A. V., *number*. The whole verse in which the word occurs runs thus: 'Ye are forsakers of Jehovah, forgetters of his holy mountain, who prepare for Gad a table, and fill up for Meni a mixture.' There can be little doubt that *Gad* and *Meni* are proper names of certain objects of idolatrous reverence among the apostate Jews. The only question is, What are the objects denoted by the names? On this point opinions are very much divided. Omitting the former word [see GAP], we confine ourselves to the latter. The radical meaning of the word is, *allotting, apportioning, measuring out*, from מָנָה. Most of the inter-

pretations proposed keep this in view. A sample of these follow:—1. *Number*, because the Jews referred to in the context, after the manner of the Pythagoreans, worshipped number. 2. The *Stars*, because they are so numerous. 3. *Idols*, because they were innumerable. 4. A certain deity called *Meni*, worshipped in Armenia and Phrygia. The ancient name of Armenia, Minni, it is said, was derived from an illustrious king who reigned over that country in ancient times, and who, after his death, was translated among the gods. 5. The planet *Mercury*, 'the god of numbers,' which was regarded as exercising an influence on human affairs, and to which libations were poured out to secure a happy issue of events. 6. The *Moon*, because most peoples were accustomed to measure their time according to it, following the lunar rather than the solar year. The similarity of מְנִי to the Hebrew word is regarded as a confirmation of this view. 7. The planet *Saturn*, *Gad* denoting Jupiter (Ewald). 8. The same as the idol worshipped by the Arabians before the time of Mohammed, and called in Arabic *Manah*. [See for authorities, *Poli Synop. Crit.*, in loco; Alexander's *Earlier and Later Prophecies of Isaiah*; Henderson's *Isaiah*; Ges., *Thes.*, etc.] 9. Fürst takes the word as denoting *fate*—the goddess of fate. It is, he says, 'N. pr. idoli vel sideris quod superstitione lectisterniis et libationibus a Judæis in Babylonia extorribus colebatur, a v. מְנָה, adsignare, attribueret, hinc, attributio, μοῖρα, fortuna, deinde Dea fati (Schicksalsgöttin). Fortuna, arab. مَنَاة, una ex tribus Dei filius ut fert Mythologia Arabum vetusta' (*Vet. Test. Concord. Heb. et Chal.*, in v.) 10. Gesenius says, 'Fortunæ significatio ex com. 12. certa est, et non potest non numen aliquod dici, quod fortunæ, s. fato praeesse credebatur. Intelligende igitur Veneris stella, quam ut fortunæ datricem uno cum Gado (i. e., Jove Stella) cole-

bant veteres Semitæ' (*Thes.* 798). 'Amidst this diversity of theories and explanations . . . it is satisfactory to find that there is a perfect unanimity upon the only point of exegetical importance, that the passage is a description of idolatrous worship' (Alexander). The kind of worship given to *Gad* and *Meni* is supposed to be identical with the *lectisternia* of Roman writers, 'feasts offered to the gods, in which their images were placed on couches before tables covered with viands' (Smith's *Lat. Dic.*) The מְנִי filled for *Meni* denotes a mixture, i. e., most probably, of spiced wine. The custom mentioned by *Jerome* as having existed in ancient Egypt is thought to illustrate the present passage. On the last day of the year the Egyptians placed a table covered with dishes of various kinds, and a cup filled with mead [the mixture], as an offering in acknowledgment of the fertility of the past year, and to secure a continuance of the blessing (see *Com.*, in loco).—I. J.

MENOCHIVS, JOHN STEPHEN, a Jesuit priest, was born at Pavia in 1576, and died at Rome, 4th February 1655. He was selected by his brethren to expound the Scriptures in the college at Milan, a duty which he discharged with great success. The substance of his lectures appeared in the form of commentaries on all the books of Scripture. The best edition is that edited by Tournamin and published at Paris in 1719, in 2 vols. fol. He had a share also in the annotations in the *Biblia Magna*, published at Paris in 1643 in 5 vols. fol. His commentaries are appended to an edition of the Vulgate which appeared at Vienna in 1755 in 7 vols. 4to. They consist chiefly of selections from the notes of others; but these are made with much judgment, are well arranged, and are presented in a clear style, so that the compilation is, as a whole, very useful.—W. L. A.

MEONENIM. The word occurs in the A. V. (Judg. ix. 37) in the proper name Elon-Meonenim (אֵלֹן מְעֹנְנִים), 'the plain'; or, as it should be rendered, 'the oak of Meonenim' (LXX. Ἠλὼν Μαιωνενίμ, cod. Alex. δένος ἀποβλεπόντων, marg. A. V. 'regardars of times').\* Meonenim means 'sorcerers,' and is derived either from מְנִי, 'time' (Exod. xxi. 10), from עֵין, 'the eye,' or else, which is more probable, from עָנָה, 'a cloud'; it means, therefore, those dealers in forbidden arts who observe times, or practice fascination, or take auguries from the signs of the sky. For a full examination of the word in all its possible meanings, see DIVINATION, vol. i. 685, 686. Whatever was its original meaning, Meonenim was afterwards used in a perfectly general sense (Deut. xviii. 10, 14; 2 Kings xxi. 6; Micah v. 12) for wizards.

In this article, therefore, we are only concerned with 'the Oak of the Sorcerers,' a celebrated tree near Shechem, mentioned in Judg. ix. 37, where Gaal, son of Ebed, the Shechemite conspirator, standing 'in the entering of the gate,' sees the soldiers of Abimelech first on the hill-tops, and then in two companies, of which one approached by the 'Oak of the Sorcerers,' which is evidently

\* In the A. V. Meonenim is variously rendered 'soothsayers,' 'regardars of times,' etc.



pointed out as a conspicuous\* land-mark. Now it happens that in Scripture no less than *four* other celebrated trees in the immediate neighbourhood of Shechem are prominently mentioned in connection with important events, and it is interesting to inquire whether all or any of these can be identified with 'the Sorcerer's Oak.'

1. In Gen. xii. 6 we are told that Abraham 'passed through the land unto the place of Shechem, unto the oak of Moreh' (LXX., *τὴν δρὸν τὴν ὑψηλήν*), where the use of the singular points to *one* tree of note, although at Shechem there was a grove of oaks (Deut. xi. 30). It was, therefore, in all probability conspicuous for size and beauty, and the vision which Abraham there commemorated by building an altar would add to it a sacred and venerable association.

2. In Gen. xxxv. 4 we read that Jacob, on his way to Bethel, took from his family all the strange gods which were in their hand, and all their earrings which were in their ears, and hid them under the oak which was by Shechem (*הָאֵלֶּה אֲשֶׁר עִם* *הָאֵלֶּה*). The use of the article in this verse is not indeed absolutely decisive, but would lead naturally to the supposition that this tree was the one already so famous in the religious history of the Israelite family. That *אֵלֶּה* is used (LXX., *τερεβινθος*) and not *אֲלֵן*, is a consideration of no importance, for it seems certain that the two words are synonymous (see Gesenius, *Thes.*, pp. 50, 51), or at any rate are used interchangeably.

3. In Josh. xxiv. 26, Joshua, after addressing the assembled tribes at Shechem, 'took a great stone and set it up there under an oak (*the oak, הָאֵלֶּה*) that was by the sanctuary of the Lord.' The use of the definite article again renders it probable that this is the same tree as that which had been connected with the memories of Abraham's vision, and Jacob's rejection of idolatrous possessions; and the probability is strengthened into certainty by the fact that Joshua's injunction in ver. 14 ('put away the gods which your fathers served on the other side of the flood') is almost identical with that which Jacob had addressed to his family on that very spot (Gen. xxxv. 2) some 300 years before. Kalisch indeed objects that a 'sanctuary of the Lord' would never have been erected at the place of idols (*Genesis*, p. 586); but, to say nothing of the fact that *several* of the Jewish high-places seem to have been also connected with the worship of the Canaanites, a place where idols had been buried, and so rejected and scorned, would surely be most fitted for the sanctuary, especially if it had been hallowed by a previous protest made by the great forefather of the race against the idolatry which there surrounded him (Gen. xii. 7).

4. In Judg. ix. 6, we read that 'all the men of Shechem . . . made Abimelech king, by the oak (A. V. plain) of the pillar that was in Shechem (*עֵם* *בְּשֶׁכֶם*). The word *מֵצֵב* is very obscure, and Jerome's version, 'quercus quæ stabat

in Sichem,' seems to show that it may once have *foli-  
loved* *אֲשֶׁר*. The LXX. render it *πρὸς τῇ βαλάνῳ*

(*τῇ εὐρετῇ*) *τῆς στάσεως τῆς ἐν Σικίμοις*, where *στάσις* means 'a military station,' a rendering approved by Gesenius (*Thes.*, p. 904), who compares Is. xxix. 3. Our A. V. refers it to the sacred stone set up by Joshua, and this seems a very probable rendering, from the constant use of the word *Mattsebah* for similar erections (Gen. xxviii. 18; Exod. xxiv. 4; 2 Kings iii. 2; Micah v. 13, etc.) The argument that this tree cannot be identical with Jacob's, because *that* is spoken of as *near* (*עִם*),

and *this* as *in* (*ב*) Shechem, is quite unconvincing, both because the use of the prepositions by Hebrew writers is by no means minutely\* accurate, in this way corresponding to their general *ἀγνοογραφία*, and because Shechem may mean the *district*† *round the city*, as well as the city itself. We believe, therefore, that all these trees are one and the same, which thus becomes connected with four most memorable events in the lives of Abraham, Jacob, Joshua, and Abimelech.

Was this tree also the 'oak of the sorcerers?' Mr. Grove (Smith's *Bibl. Dict.*, ii. 323) thinks there is a positive reason *against* the identification, because (1.) The name 'sorcerers,' or 'enchanters,' would not be particularly suitable to the tree, which Kalisch also thinks might with more propriety have been called the 'oak of idols,' or of 'witchcraft,' than the oak of enchanters (*Gen.*, p. 586); and (2.) Because Gaal evidently points to the Elon Meonenim at a distance from the city, whereas Jacob's tree was in it. Of this second argument we have already disposed;‡ and besides, Gaal's expression may merely mean that one company was on the *road which led by* 'the sorcerer's oak.' As regards the first argument, the Elon Meonenim may have been the same as Jacob's tree, and yet *not* have received its name from the idols and amulets which Jacob buried there. The close connection of earrings with talismans and magic arts is well known, and in the Chaldee the word used for earring is *קְרִישָׁא*, so that it does seem *reasonable* to suppose that there is a connection between the name and the event. But if not, *may not the name have originated in some use made of the tree by the priests and necromancers of the neighbouring shrine of Baal-Berith?* (Judg. viii. 33; ix. 36). And if it be asked how it was that a tree so sacred as this could have received an *opprobrious name*, it must be borne in mind that this name only occurs on the lips of Gaal, *who in all probability was an aboriginal Canaanite of the old royal family* (ix. 28; cf. Gen. xxiv. 2, 6), and *who would therefore be likely to call the tree by a name derived from its associations with idolatrous rather than with Jewish worship.*—F. W. F.

\* Thus Rosenmüller, in commenting on Josh. xxiv. 26, says, 'Præpositio ב pro אֵל capienda' (*Schol.* ad. loc.)

† For a decisive case in point, see Josh. v. 13, where the Vulgate rightly renders *בְּיִרְיָח* by 'in agris urbis Jericho.'

‡ Indeed, Mr. Grove cannot attach any great importance to it, for he identifies Jacob's oak with *Joshua's*, although the very same argument holds against that identification.

\* It would be the better suited for this purpose because oaks are rare in Palestine, except in the hills. For other trees used as land-marks, see Gen. xxxv. 8; 1 Sam. xxii. 6; x. 3; xiv. 2, etc.

MEPHAATH (מִפְּעַת; Jer. xlviii. 21 (Kethibh) מִפְּעַת; Vulg. *Mephaath, Mephath*). A city in the tribe of Reuben, situated in the plain country or Mishor; assigned to the sons of Merari; subsequently in the possession of the Moabites (Josh. xiii. 18; xxi. 37; 1 Chron. vi. 79; Jer. xlviii. 21). In the time of Eusebius, who writes the name Μηφάθ, it was the station of a Roman garrison, placed there on account of the proximity of the desert (*Onomast.*) As it is always mentioned in combination with either Jahaza or Kedemoth, its site cannot have been far from these cities; and the meaning of the word, as derived by Fürst (*II. W. B.*), from מִפְּעַת, to be prominent, conspicuous, seems to point to it as placed on an eminence. The renderings of the name in the Sept. are very various: Josh. xiii. 18, Μαφάαδ, Alex. Μηφάαδ; xxi. 37, Μαφά, Alex. Μασφά; 1 Chron. vi. 79, Μαεφλά, Alex. Φάαδ; Jer. xlviii. 21, Μωφάδ.—H. C. G.

MEPHIBOSHETH (מִפִּי בִשֶׁת; Sept. Μεμφι-βοσθῆ)—1. The son of Saul by Rizpah his concubine (2 Sam. xxi. 8). He and his brother Armoni were, with the five sons of Michal [MERAB], delivered up by David to the Gibeonites, by whom they were 'hanged up' as a sacrifice of purgation for the guilt brought by Saul on the land by the slaughter of the Gibeonites. That the verb translated 'hanged up,' in the A. V., intimates that their bodies were fastened by some means to a stake, seems certain (comp. Num. xxv. 4); but it is not so certain that the Vulgate rendering *crucifixerunt* is the right one here. The LXX. give ἐξηλασαν, which decides nothing as to the mode of exposure; but Aquila has ἀνέπηξαν, which would rather convey the meaning that they were impaled (comp. Aristoph., *Eccles.* 843). In whatever manner fastened, their bodies were exposed to the action of the elements from the beginning of harvest till the rains began to fall—that is, from April to October; during which time they were defended from the attacks of birds and beasts of prey by the pious care of Rizpah who watched them day and night for that period (2 Sam. xxi. 10).—W. L. A.

2. The son of Jonathan, and nephew of the preceding (2 Sam. iv. 4; also in 1 Chron. ix. 40, MERIB-BAAI). He was only five years of age when his father and grandfather were slain in Mount Gilboa; and on the news of this catastrophe, the woman who had charge of the child, apprehending that David would exterminate the whole house of Saul, fled away with him; but in her hasty flight she stumbled with the child, and lamed him for life (B.C. 1055). Under this calamity, which was very incapacitating in times when agility and strength were of prime importance, Mephibosheth was unable to take any part in the stirring political events of his early life. According to our notions, he should have been the heir of the house of Saul; but in those times a younger son of an actual king was considered to have at least as good a claim as the son of an heir-apparent who had never reigned, and even a better claim if the latter were a minor. This, with his lameness, prevented Mephibosheth from ever appearing as the opponent or rival of his uncle Ishbosheth on the one hand, or of David on the other (2 Sam. ix.) He thus grew up in quiet obscurity in the house of Machir, one of the great

men of the country beyond the Jordan (2 Sam. ix. 4; xvii. 27); and his very existence was unknown to David till that monarch, when firmly settled in his kingdom, inquired whether any of the family of Jonathan survived, to whom he might show kindness for his father's sake. Hearing then of Mephibosheth from Ziba, who had been the royal steward under Saul, he invited him to Jerusalem, assigned him a place at his own table, and bestowed upon him lands, which were managed for him by Ziba, and which enabled him to support an establishment suited to his rank. He lived in this manner till the revolt of Absalom, and then David, in his flight, having noticed the absence of Mephibosheth, inquired for him of Ziba, and being informed that he had remained behind in the hope of being restored to his father's throne, instantly and very hastily revoked the grant of land, and bestowed it on Ziba (2 Sam. xvi. 1-4). Afterwards, on his return to Jerusalem, he was met with sincere congratulations by Mephibosheth, who explained that, being lame, he had been unable to follow the king on foot, and that Ziba had purposely prevented his beast from being made ready to carry him; and he declared that, so far from having joined in heart, or even appearance, the enemies of the king, he had remained as a mourner, and, as his appearance declared, had not changed his clothes, or trimmed his beard, or even dressed his feet, from the day that the king departed to that on which he returned. David could not but have been sensible that he had acted wrong, and ought to have been touched by the devotedness of his friend's son, and angry at the imposition of Ziba; but to cover one fault by another, or from indifference, or from reluctance to offend Ziba, who had adhered to him when so many old friends forsook him, he answered coarsely, 'Whyspeakest thou any more of thy matters? I have said, thou and Ziba divide the land.' The answer of Mephibosheth was worthy of the son of the generous Jonathan:—'Yea, let him take all; forasmuch as my lord the king is come again in peace unto his own house' (2 Sam. xix. 24-30). Undoubtedly David does not shine in this part of his conduct to Mephibosheth; but some of the German writers, in their eagerness to impugn the character and motives of 'the man after God's own heart,' have handled the matter much more severely than a due consideration of the difficult circumstances in which the king was placed will be found to justify.

We hear no more of Mephibosheth, except that David was careful that he should not be included in the vengeance which the Gibeonites were suffered to execute upon the house of Saul for the great wrong they had sustained during his reign (2 Sam. xxi. 7).—J. K.

MERAB (מֵרָב; LXX. Μεράβ; Joseph. Μεράβη; Vulg. *Merab*), the elder of Saul's two daughters (1 Sam. xiv. 49; xviii. 17; Joseph. *Antiq.* vi. 6. 5), whom her father promised to give in marriage to David, in the hope that the warlike service which was imposed as a condition would issue in the death of the latter at the hands of the king's enemies. It has been inferred from David's reply (ver. 18) that he was disinclined to this alliance; but his words appear to be nothing more than the customary expression of self-depreciation which Eastern politeness expected from those who were about to receive a favour from a



superior. Similar expressions are used, 1 Sam. xviii. 23; xxv. 41; 2 Sam. ix. 8; where it is plain that no disinclination is either expressed or implied. The offer of Saul was accepted by David, and the condition it imposed was probably fulfilled by one or more military expeditions; but at the time when Merab should have been given to David, the king was faithless to his promise, and gave his daughter to Adriel the son of Barzillai the Meholahtite. Of this marriage five sons were the issue, and these, with the two sons of Rizpah, were the seven members of the family of Saul whom David delivered to the Gibeonites as an atonement for the wrong which Saul had done to that people (2 Sam. xxi. 8). In the Hebrew text of the passage just referred to, the mother of the five sons of Adriel is named Michal. There is scarcely room for doubting that this is an error of transcription, although of very early date, for it must have existed in the copies used by the LXX., and is followed by Josephus; such at least seems to be the most probable explanation of the incredible statement respecting Michal made by this writer (*Antiq.* vii. 4. 3). The translators of the A. V., following the explanation given by the Targum, have endeavoured to evade the difficulty by rendering יָלְדָה 'she brought up,' notwithstanding they had already translated the same word in the former part of the verse by 'she bare.' The Syriac has, in this verse, the same name as that given in all the other passages in which she is mentioned to the elder daughter of Saul, which, according to the present text, is נֹדֹב. — S. N.

MERAIOTH (מֵרַיֹוֹת; Sept. Μαρεϊθ, 1 Chron. vi. 6, 7, 52; Μαρεώθ, Ezra vii. 3; Μαριώθ, Neh. xi. 11; Alex. Μαραιώθ, 1 Chron. vi. 6, 7; Ezra vii. 3; Μεραϊώθ, 1 Chron. vi. 52). 1. A descendant of Aaron through Eleazar. Lightfoot (*Temple Service*, ch. iv. sec. 1) makes him the last high-priest of the line of Eleazar, and makes him precede Eli, the first of that of Ithamar; 2. A priest who, in the genealogy of Azariah, is placed between Ahitub and Zadok (1 Chron. ix. 11; Sept. Μεραϊώθ; Alex. Μαριώθ); 3. The head of a priestly house, which, in the time of Joshua, was represented by Helkai (Neh. xii. 15; Sept. Μαριώθ). In ver. 3 he is called Meremoth, for which Meraioth is probably a clerical mistake. — †

MERAN (Μερράν), a place mentioned along with Theman (Θαμάν), as famous for its merchants and its wise men (Bar. iii. 23). As the connection leads us to Arabia, we are probably to seek for Meran there. It may be Mohrah in Desert Arabia, or Marane of which Pliny speaks (*N. II.*, vi. 28, 32). Strabo (xvi. 4, p. 776) and Diodor. Sic. (iii. 43) also mention the Μαπαῖρα. The conjecture of Grotius that it is the Mearah mentioned Josh. xiii. 4 [MEARAH]; that of Hitzig (*Psalmen II.* p. 119) that Μερράν is a mistake for the word מֵרַיֹוֹת of the Heb. original; and that of Hävernicks (*De libro Baruch*, p. 5) that it is the Syrian town סַלְסַסִּינֹס, are mere guesses without any ground or reason (comp. Fritzsche, *Exeg. Hdb. z. Apok.*, in loc. — W. L. A.

MERARI (מֵרַאֲרִי, bitter; Sept. Μεραρι), youngest son of Levi, born in Canaan (Gen. xlv. 11; Exod. vi. 16; Num. iii. 17; 1 Chron. vi. 1).

He is only known from his name having been given to one of the three great divisions of the Levitical tribe. [LEVITES.]

MERATHAIM (מֵרַתַּיִם). When pronouncing a prophetic doom upon Babylon, Jeremiah makes use of these words, 'Go up against the land of Merathaim, even against it, and against the inhabitants of Pekod; waste and utterly destroy after them, saith the Lord' (l. 21). The word *Merathaim* appears to be an epithet or symbolic name applied to Babylon, and the kingdom of which it was then the capital, to indicate the relation in which it stood to the Jews. מֵרַתַּיִם is dual of מָרָה, which signifies 'bitter affliction;' it may, therefore, be intended to express the double captivity—that of Israel and that of Judah. Gesenius renders מֵרַתַּיִם הָאָרֶץ, *terra duplicis contumacie* (*Thes.* p. 819); and all the ancient versions agree in translating the word as an appellative, and not a proper name. The LXX. is very loose, the only word representing Merathaim is πικρῶς; the Vulgate has *super terram dominantium* (see Maurer, *ad loc.*)—J. L. P.

MERCERUS, JOHN (Mercier, John le), a very eminent Orientalist of the 16th century. He was a native of Languedoc, and held the chair of Hebrew and Chaldee in the Royal College of Paris in 1549. Dupin remarks that his lectures were so popular and interesting that 'the royal auditory was always full when he read.' His great works are the following:—*In Genesin Commentarius addita Theodori Beza prefatione*, fol., Gen. 1598; *Commentarii in Jobum et Proverbia, Ecclesiasten, Canticum Canticorum*, fol., L. Bat. 1651; *Commentarii in Prophetas quinque priores, Minores*, fol., Gen. 1573; *Commentarii in Vates quinque priores quibus adjuncti sunt R. Jarchi, Aben Ezra et R. Kimchii Commentarii ab Latinitate donati. Editio Altera*, Cura G. C. Bürklini, Gissæ 1695. Mercerus having, after much earnest inquiry, fully embraced the Protestant faith, left Paris, and went to live in Venice. As a commentator he is described as having 'joined to an extensive knowledge of the languages, particularly Hebrew, a vast erudition, much judgment, candour, and simplicity.' Mercerus died in 1570.—W. J. C.

MERCURY. [HERMES.]

MERCY-SEAT (כִּפֹּרֶת; Sept. ἱλαστήριον; Vulg. *propitiatorium*; Luth. *gnadenstuhl*). The Hebrew name literally denotes a *cover*, and, in fact, describes the lid of the ark with cherubim, over which appeared 'the glory of God' (Exod. xxvi. 17, *seq.*; xxx. 8; xxxi. 7, and elsewhere). [ARK.] Compare 1 Chron. xxviii. 11, where the holy of holies is called the בֵּית הַכִּפֹּרֶת, 'house of the mercy-seat.' The idea involved in these translations seems to be founded upon the metaphorical application of the word כִּפֹּר *copher*, to *cover*, thus making 'to cover sin' mean to forgive or expiate it. The word used in the Septuagint and N. T. to translate the term, is ἱλαστήριον, the 'expiatory,' or 'propitiatory,' in allusion to that application of the Hebrew word which we have noted: which application is in this instance justified and explained by reference to the custom of the high-priest once a year entering the most holy place, and sprinkling the lid of the ark with the blood of an expiatory victim, whereby 'he made atonement

for the sins of the people.' As this was the most solemn and significant act of the Hebrew ritual, it is natural that a reference to it should be involved in the name which the covering of the ark acquired. By a comparison of the texts in which the word occurs, it will be seen that there would, in fact, have been little occasion to name the cover of the ark separately from the ark itself, but for this important ceremonial. From this it seems to follow that 'mercy-seat' is not a good or correct representative of the idea involved in the metaphorical sense of the original Hebrew, and still less of the Greek *ἱλαστήριον*. It carries the idea a stage further from the original. The lid of the ark was no doubt the 'seat of mercy,' but it was mercy conferred through the act of expiation; and therefore a name bringing the sense nearer to the idea of expiation or of propitiation would be more exact. The term 'mercie seat' occurs in Barker's Bible, but is explained there by 'or covering, or propitiatorie;' and the notion which led the English translators to call it 'mercie-seate,' is expressed in the note—'There God appeared mercifully unto them: and this was a figure of Christ.' In the same Bible a figure of the covering of the ark is given separately, and the explanatory description is, 'The propitiatorie, or mercie-seate, which is the covering of the arke of the testimonie.'—J. K.

MERED (מֶרֶד, LXX. *Μωράδ, Μωρήδ*), a man of the tribe of Judah, mentioned in an obscure part of its genealogies (1 Chron. iv. 17, 18). His period is uncertain, but it is probable that he lived not long after the occupation of Palestine. Othniel, and Caleb the son of Jephunneh, are mentioned just before him (13, 15), and amongst his apparent sons were fathers of cities, therefore probably founders or first Israelite occupiers of them (18). In his genealogy the name Miriam also occurs, seemingly as that of a daughter. Respecting him a remarkable circumstance is related, that he married an Egyptian princess. It is said, after mention of the names thought to be of his children, 'And these [are] the sons of Bithiah the daughter of Pharaoh, which Mered took' (18). Another wife is spoken of called 'the Jewess' Jehudijah (18), apparently the same as Hodiah (19). It has been supposed that Pharaoh is here the name of an Israelite, but there are strong reasons for the common and contrary opinion. The name Bithiah, 'daughter,' that is 'Servant, of the Lord,' is appropriate to a convert. It may be observed that the Muslims of the present day very frequently give the name 'Abdallah, 'Servant of God,' to those who adopt their religion. That another wife was called the Jewess, is in favour of Bithiah's Egyptian origin. The name Miriam, if, as we believe, Egyptian, is especially suitable to the child of an Egyptian. We therefore suppose Mered's wife Bithia to have been the daughter of an Egyptian king. [BITHIA.] If, as we hold, the Exodus took place before the 18th dynasty, her father may have been one of the contemporary sovereigns who then ruled Egypt, and she may have been taken in border warfare. If she were the daughter of a king of the 18th or a later dynasty of the empire, it would be probable that she was given in marriage to Mered, who would appear to have been a powerful chief, from the mention of towns colonized, as it seems, by his descendants.—R. S. P.

MEREMOTH (מֶרְמוֹת). 1. (Sept. *Μερμώθ*; Alex. *Μαρμώθ*.) A priest to whom was entrusted the weighing of the silver, the gold, and the vessels of the temple in the time of Ezra (viii. 33). He is mentioned also by Nehemiah (iii. 4; Sept. *Παμώθ*) as taking part in the building of the wall of Jerusalem, and it is probably the same person who is named in ver. 21 (Sept. *Μερμώθ*). He was the son of Uriah, of the family of Koz. After the statement in Ezra ii. 62 respecting the exclusion of this family from the priesthood, it is puzzling to find one of this family recognised as a priest; but probably the exclusion did not extend to the whole family, some being able to establish their pedigree.—2. One of the sons of Bani who had married a foreign wife (Ezra x. 36; Sept. *Μαρμώθ*).—3. A priestly family who signed the covenant (Neh. x. 5; xii. 3, *Μερμώθ*). In the days of Jeshua this family was represented by Helkai. [MERAIOTH, 3.]—W. L. A.

MERI-BAAL, or MERIB-BAAL (מֶרִי-בַעַל, generally מֶרִי-בַעַל; Sept. *Μεριβάαλ, Μερειβάαλ*; Alex. *Μεφριβάαλ, Μεχριβάαλ*), a name given to Mephibosheth, son of Jonathan, in 1 Chron. viii. 34; ix. 40 [MEPHIBOSHETH]. Of the two, the latter seems the more correct form. Some think that the difference has arisen from some corruption of the text; but, from the analogy of Ishbosheth, whose original name was Esh-baal, it seems more like a designed alteration, arising probably from the reluctance of the Israelites to pronounce the name of Baal. [ISHBOSHETH.]

MERIBAH (מֶרִיבָה, *quarrel, strife*). 1. One of the names given by Moses to the fountain in the desert of Sin, on the western gulf of the Red Sea, which issued from the rock which he smote by the divine command (Exod. xvii. 1-7). He called the place, indeed, Massa (temptation) and Meribah, and the reason is assigned 'because of the chiding of the children of Israel, and because they did there tempt the Lord.' [WANDERING.]

2. Another fountain produced in the same manner, and under similar circumstances, in the desert of Zin (Wady Arabah), near Kadesh; and to which the name was given with a similar reference to the previous misconduct of the Israelites (Num. xx. 13, 24; Deut. xxxiii. 8). In the last text, which is the only one where the two places are mentioned together, the former is called Massah only, to prevent the confusion of the two Meribahs. Indeed, this latter Meribah is almost always indicated by the addition of 'waters,' *i. e.*, 'waters of Meribah' (מִי מֶרִיבָה), as if further to distinguish it from the other (Ps. lxxxi. 7; cvi. 32); and still more distinctly, 'waters of Meribah in Kadesh' (Num. xxvii. 14; Deut. xxxii. 51; Ezek. xlvii. 19). Only once is this place called simply Meribah (Ps. xcv. 8). It is strange that, with all this carefulness of distinction in Scripture, the two places should rarely have been properly discriminated. The distance of place from the former Meribah, the distance of time, and the difference of the people in a new generation, are circumstances which, when the positive conditions of the two wells were so equal, explain why Moses might give the same name to two places.—J. K.



MERODACH (מֶרֶדַךְ; Sept. Μαρωδάχ) occurs in Jer. I. 2, in such connection with idols as to leave no doubt that it is the name of a Babylonian god. In conformity with the general character of Babylonian idolatry, Merodach is supposed to be the name of a planet; and, as the Tsbian and Arabic names for Mars are Nerig and Mirrich, 'arrow' (the latter of which Gesenius thinks may be for Mirdich, which is very nearly the same as Merodach), there is some presumption that it may be Mars. As for etymologies of the word, Gesenius has suggested that it is the Persian *mardak*, the diminutive of *mard*, 'man,' used as a term of endearment; or, rather, that it is from the Persian and Indo-Germanic *mord*, or *mort* (which means death, and is so far in harmony with the conception of Mars, as the lesser star of evil omen), and the affix *och*, which is found in many Assyrian names, as Nisroch, etc. The bloody rites with which Mars was worshipped by the ancient Arabs are described in Norberg's *Onomast. Codicis Nasar.*, p. 107.—J. N.

[It is doubtful if any phonetic representative of Merodach has been found on the monuments. There is great uncertainty also as to his titles and attributes. In the most ancient monuments he seems to be called 'the old man of the gods,' and 'the judge.' Though primarily a Babylonian deity, and perhaps the tutelary deity of the city of Babylon, he was also worshipped in Assyria. As to the etymology of the name, it is very doubtful if we should seek for it in a Semitic or Aryan source (Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, i. 169; ii. 255; *Translation of Herodotus*, i. 627-31)].

#### MERODACH BALADAN (מֶרֶדַךְ בַּלְאָדָן)

'son of Baladan, king of Babylon,' sent letters and gifts to Hezekiah, ostensibly as an embassy of congratulation on Hezekiah's recovery from his sickness (2 Kings xx. 12, where the name is miswritten *Berodach B.*; Is. xxxix. 1; in 2 Chron. xxxii. 31 the writer mentions only 'the ambassadors of the princes of Babylon who sent unto him to inquire of the wonder that was done in the land'). That the embassy had a political object (Joseph. *Antiq.* x. 2. 9) is very probable; and, perhaps, the statement, 'Hezekiah was glad of them,'\* and the mention of his showing them 'all his treasures and all the house of his armour,' may imply that he was disposed to listen to overtures of alliance. Any such intention, however, on the part of Hezekiah was effectually checked by the stern reproof of the prophet Isaiah.

This incident forms one of the connecting points between sacred and profane chronology [CHRONOLOGY, sec. 12-15]. Indeed, of late it has become cardinal to the whole question of the relations subsisting between the Biblical annals and those of Assyria and Babylon for the time of Sargon and Sennacherib. It is placed, with the connecting words 'At that time,' immediately after Hezekiah's recovery, which, as being 15 years before the close of his reign of 29 years, should fall in his 14th year, which is expressly named as the year of Sennacherib's invasion (2 Kings xviii. 2, 13; xx. 6;

Is. xxxvi. 1; xxxviii. 5). This 14th year, as it lies 107 years before 4 Jehoiakim = 1 Nebuchadnezzar, comes to 713 or 711 B.C. according as 1 Neb. is set on Biblical data at 606, or with the Canon at 604 B.C. Now the Canon has *Mardokempad* reigning in Babylon 12 years at Ae. Nab. 26-38 = 721-709 B.C. The time agrees; and the name, read *Mardok-empal* (A for Δ), is well explained as *Mardok-bal* (by the consideration that the modern Greek uses μπ to denote the *b* of other languages, its own β being our *v*), with the *adan* dropt for shortness. So Bunsen, *App. to Egypt's Place*, i. 726; Dr. Hincks, *Journal of Sac. Lit.*, No. xv. 134. Knobel's explanation, on Is. xxxix. 1, is less satisfactory; Ewald, *Gesch. des V. Isr.*, iii. 344, makes *empad* an abbreviation from *empalad*.

But the Armenian version of the lost *Chronicon* of Eusebius brought to light a passage of Berossus, preserved by the Polyhistor, which, if authentic, disproved the identification of Merodach Baladan with Mardokempad, and altogether disturbed the received chronology of Hezekiah's reign. It purports that 'after the reign in Babylon of a brother of *Senecherim*, Akises had reigned not 30 days when he was slain by *Marudach Baldan*, who, after an usurpation of six months, was slain by one *Elibus*. But in the third year of this *Elibus*, *Senecherim*, king of Assyria, invaded Babylon, took *Elibus* captive, and made his own son *Asordanes* king' (*Chron. Armeno-lat.*, i. 5). To this the Polyhistor appends an enumeration of reigns amounting to 88 years, from 1 Senn. to 1 Neb., which makes 1 Senn. = 692 B.C., *i.e.*, 17 years after the end of the 12 years of Mardokempad, and 5 (or 3) years after the death of Hezekiah in the usual chronology. But it happens that at this precise year, 692 B.C., the Canon has *Mesessi-Mordak* reigning in Babylon 4 years: this, then, becomes the Merodach Baladan of Scripture and Berossus to those who accept the numbers of Polyhistor, and therewith Niebuhr's proposal to strike off 20 years from the 55 of Manasseh, so lowering 1 Hezekiah to 704 B.C., and 14 Hezekiah to 691 B.C., synchronizing with the 2d of Sennacherib and of Mesessi-Mordak (Movers, *die Phönizier*, i. 154; v. Gumpach, *Abriss der Bab. Assy. Gesch.*; Lepsius, *Königsbuch der Aeg.*, 97, ff.; Scheuchzer, *Pul u. Nabonassar*). Of those who held to the Biblical numbers and to Mardokempad as the M. B. of Scripture, some, rejecting Polyhistor's numbers, affirmed the M. B. of Berossus to be the M. B. of Scripture (Gesenius, *Comm. über Jesai.*, 998, ff.; Brandis, *Rerum Assy. temp. emend.*—retracted in a later work; *Ordo Saec.* sec. 496—also retracted): by most this identity was denied (Winer, *R. W. B.*, s. v.; Ewald, *Gesch.* iii. 344; Hitzig, *über d. Begriff der Kritik*; Knobel, *in loc.* Esai.; Thénius, *in loc.* 2 Kings). A third view, taken by Duncker (*Gesch. des Alterth.*, i. 456), involves the assumption that the embassy from M. B. (of Berossus, not = Mardokempad) occurred long after the Assyrian invasion and Hezekiah's illness (see Knobel, *u. s.*): this, which also requires an alteration of Polyhistor's numbers, is quite incompatible with the Scripture narrative [HEZEKIAH, p. 296, col. 2].

So far the inquiry was confined to the collation of Scripture, the Canon, and Berossus. It has passed those limits now. The information obtained from *Assyrian monuments* can no longer be ignored, now that the substantial reality of their decipherment is a fact not to be gainsaid but by the wilfully blind.

\* וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ עֲלֵיהֶם, ἐχάρη ἐπ' αὐτῶν, LXX., and so all the versions; the ungrammatical וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ, 'hearkened to them,' of 2 Kings, is corrupt.

(1.) In the great inscription of Khorsabad, *Salles* iv., vii., viii., x., published with interlinear Iecipherment and Latin translation by Oppert and Ménant (*Fastes de Sargon*, 1863), the king Sargina (Is. xx. 1) relates, p. 7, how he made war upon *Marudak Bal-idin*, son of *Jakin*, who 'for twelve years, against the will of the gods, had forcibly held Babylon.' In another large inscription, *Salles* ii., v., xiii., xiv., which, as detailing the campaigns year by year, may be called the *Annals of Sargon*, the defeat and dethronement of this *Marudak Bal-idin* are related under Sargon's twelfth year. Hence it appears that Sargon and M. B. began to reign in the same year. And the inscription, in giving to this M. B. a reign of twelve years, is held, and justly, to prove him identical with *Mardokempad*, to whom, and to no other of its Babylonian kings, the Canon gives twelve years of reign. So, the epoch of Sargon is defined to the year 721 B.C.

(2.) From the lists of the *eponymi*, or high officers by whose names the years were designated (as at Athens by archons, at Rome by consuls, etc.), it appears that Sargina reigned 17, or, according to one copy (Canon 4), 18 years. See the lists as rendered by Sir H. Rawlinson in *Athen*. May and July '62, and by Oppert in *Inscr. des Sargonides*, p. 15, ff. (but comp. *Athen*. '63, p. 245, note 13). Hence the reign of Sennacherib would begin 704 or 703 B.C.

(3.) Sennacherib, in his *Annals* (on the 'Taylor Cylinder,' dated in his 15th year), records that in his first year\* he vanquished *Marudak Bal-idin*, king of lower Chaldea: the 'Bellino Cylinder,' dated in his 4th year, records further that he gave the vacant throne to a certain officer whose name Sir H. Rawlinson originally read *Bel-adon*, now *Bel-ipni* or *Bel-abana*, *Athen*. Aug. 1862, p. 85; Oppert, *Bel-ibnuu*; but Dr. Hincks reads it *Bel-ib*, and so Brandis, *über den hist. Gewinn*, etc., p. 44, note. In the 3d year ('Taylor Cylinder') is related the expedition against Syria, with the defeat and submission of *Hezekiah*; in the 4th year, *Marudak Bal-idin* reappears, is again defeated, and Sennacherib's son *Assurnadin* is placed on the throne of Babylon (Oppert, *Inscr. des Sarg.*, p. 41, ff., comp. Talbot, *Journal R. Asiat. Soc.*, xix. 135, ff.) But the Canon has a *Belibus* king in Babylon, and with him this *Bel-ib* is identified on these grounds: (a), *Belibus* in the Canon stands at 702 B.C. *Bel-ib* was made king at the end of the first or early in the second year of Sennacherib, i.e. (if Sargon has 18 years as in Canon 4), late in 703 or early in 702 B.C. Or thus: the Canon has  $12 + 5 + 2 = 19$  years from 1 *Mardokempad*, which is 1 Sargon, to 1 *Belibus*—the monuments show the same interval of 19 years from 1 Sargina to end of 1 Sennacherib, i.e., to epoch 1 *Bel-ib*. (b), In the Canon, *Belibus* reigns 3 years—in the *Annals*, the reign of *Bel-ib* reaches its third year; beginning at

\* Sennacherib, indeed, speaks of 'campaigns,' not 'years,' and it has been assumed that the first or Babylonian campaign was in his third year (Mr. Rawlinson, *Anc. Empires*, ii. 429, comp. 444). It is possible that the eight campaigns recorded on the Taylor Cylinder were spread over 14 years; but that the first four campaigns were in the first four years respectively is proved by the coincidences between monument and Canon pointed out in this section.

1 Sennacherib *fin.* it ends in 4 Sennacherib. (c), In the *Annals*, *Bel-ib* is succeeded by *Assur-nadin*—in the Canon, *Belibus* by *AIAPANAΔΙΟΣ*, which is easily explained as a corruption of *ΑΣΣΑΡ-ΝΑΔΙΟΣ*, *Assar-nadios*.\* Or thus: the Canon from 1 *Mardokempad* (= 1 Sargon) to 1 *Assar-nadios* has 22 years—the inscriptions from 1 Sargon to 4 Sennacherib *fin.* = 1 *Assurnadin*,  $18 + 4 = 22$  years. Even the account in *Berosus* agrees so far as this, that it has an *Elibus* (= *Belibus*) with a third year of reign, and with Sennacherib's son *Asordanes* for his successor. These coincidences are too close to be accidental. In the face of these it is useless to contend (as v. Gumpach does) for the lower date given by Polyhistor's misreported summation. The casual partial resemblance of the name *Mesessi-mordak* counts for nothing; the *Apis-stele* prove only that *Tirhaka* reigned in Egypt not before 697 B.C. at the earliest; it is as king of Ethiopia that he appears in the Biblical story together with a contemporaneous king of Egypt [CHRONOLOGY, sec. 14]; and in fact Sennacherib's own annals of the 3d year distinguish a king of Egypt and a king of *Mirukha* (*Meröe*, Ethiopia); Sir H. Rawlinson, *Trans. R. S. Lit.*, vii. 154; Oppert, *Inscr. des Sarg.*, 44.

For the construction of an Assyrian chronology we have, therefore, not one but two cardinal, extra-biblical, synchronisms. 1. The 1st year of Sargina is wholly or in part the 1st of *Marudak Bal-idin*, i.e. of *Mardokempad*, which began 721 B.C. 2. In the 1st year of Sennacherib, and late in it, began the 1st of *Bel-ib* = *Belibus*, whose epoch in the canon is 702 B.C. These two substantive synchronisms are linked together by the fact, as above shown, that Sargina reigned 18 years, therefore 1 Sennacherib = 703 B.C.† All this is independent of the Biblical narrative. The connection of Biblical with Assyrian and Babylonian chronology is determined, *prima facie*, by the express statement, 'In the 14th year of *Hezekiah*, Sennacherib came up, etc.,' 2 Kings xviii. 13; Is. xxxvi. 1: for Sennacherib's own monumental annals give that expedition to his third year, i.e., to the year 701 B.C. Hence it would follow that there is

\* Sir H. Rawlinson reads the name *Assur-inadisu*, in curious agreement with which a various reading of the Canon (Syncecl. cod. B.) gives the name *Απαρναδιος*.

† In the Lists of *Eponymi*, Sennacherib has 23 years (if Sargon has 18, canon 4). The son *Esarhaddon* is plainly *Assuridin* of the canon, who begins to reign in Babylon at 680 B.C., just 23 years after 703. Polyhistor's summation may be corrected by restoring 21 for 20 *Nabopolassar* and *IH'* for *H'* *Asordanes*: so the 88 become 99 years, and epoch of Sennacherib becomes  $604 + 99 = 703$  B.C. But the distribution of the 36 years of Sennacherib and *Esarhaddon* into  $18 + 18$  instead of  $23 + 13$  is wrong, placing *Esarhaddon* 5 years too high. Perhaps *Berosus* was misled by a list of *eponymi* like No. 3 of Rawlinson, in which Sennacherib, after a reign of 18 years, seems to be followed by another king, with 5 years, and then *Esarhaddon*. Mr. Bosanquet wishes to infer from this circumstance that Sennacherib did not begin to reign, *de facto*, till the 19th year after the death of Sargon. Unfortunately this 19th year is 685 B.C.: Mr. B.'s scheme requires 692 B.C., and so he makes it (*Athen*. 1862, p. 761; *R. Asiat. Soc.*, March 1864).



something wrong in the Biblical numbers, according to which the 14 Hezekiah is not 701 but 713 (or 711) B.C. But there is another synchronism, which, it is supposed, overrules this. The *Fall of Samaria*, which is expressly assigned to 6th Hezekiah, 2 Kings xviii. 10, appears to be recorded in the *Fasti* and *Annals* of Sargina (Oppert, *Fastes de Sargon*, p. 3, l. 2; *Inscr. des Sargonides*, p. 19; Dr. Hincks, *Journ. S. Lit.*, No. xv., 133, ff.; Mr. Rawlinson, *Herodot.* i. 386, comp. Sir H. Rawlinson, *Athen.*, Aug. 1863, p. 246) as occurring in his 1st, or possibly 2d year. The statement, 'I appointed a governor (or judges, lieutenants) over them' seems to imply that the monarchy of Hoshea had come to an end. The deportation there recorded was partial; completed in some later year. No subsequent expedition against Samaria is mentioned. Now 1 Sargina begins 721 B.C., and that is precisely 6th Hezekiah in the usual chronology—which, unless this Assyrian synchronism can be invalidated, is thus made good against the objections raised from other quarters (the numbers of Polyhistor, Egyptian dates, etc.) But if 6 Hezekiah is 1 Sargina, 14 Hezekiah cannot be 3 Sennacherib, which, being 20 years later, is 26 Hezekiah. For solution of this difficulty, Dr. Hincks, *u.s.*, assumes that the Biblical text has undergone a displacement. Originally, he thinks, it stood thus: (1.) 2 Kings xviii. 13 a—'Now in the 14th year of Hezekiah the king of Assyria came up'—meaning Sargon, whose monuments show that he was in Palestine in his 10th year, which Dr. Hincks makes = 14 Hezekiah. (2.) xx. 1-19—'In those days Hezekiah was sick,' etc. . . . 'At that time Merodach B.,' etc.—*i.e.* the M. B. of Sargina's time, Mardokempad of the canon (3.) xviii. 13 b-xix. fin., 'And Sennacherib king of Assyria came up,' etc. Mr. Rawlinson, *Herodot.* i. 393, note, proposes, 'as the least change,' to read 27th for 14th Hez., suggesting that 'the error may have arisen from a correction made by a transcriber who regarded the invasion of Senn. and the illness of Hez., which last was certainly in his 14th year, as synchronous; whereas the words 'In those days' were in fact used with a good deal of latitude by the sacred writers'—which is no improvement on Dr. Hincks' solution, as it does not explain what could have induced the sacred writer to relate after the invasion what happened so long before it. But, indeed, the present writer finds it impossible to accept any view in which the embassy from Merodach B. is placed elsewhere than after the deliverance from the Assyrians. The pointed mention of *Babylon* (2 Kings xx. 17) of itself shows that the Assyrian crisis was then past; and this is clearly implied in H.'s expression, 'There shall be peace and truth in my days' (ver. 19). It is clear that, according to the narrative, H.'s sickness and recovery took place before the deliverance, and during, or shortly before the invasion: the embassy, soon after the deliverance. But as, by hypothesis, the number *fourteenth* is wrong, the most obvious supposition is that it should be read *twenty-fourth* (עשרה ועשרים), which is not indeed the actual year of the invasion, but is *the first year of Sennacherib*, and, as such, forms a momentous epoch. It should be observed that, during the latter years of Sargon, the power of Assyria must have been on the decline. The record of his campaigns reaches only to his 15th year, and the canon shows that in his last year (18th) Babylon was in revolt.

It was perhaps during these latter years that Hezekiah 'rebelled against the king of Assyria and served him not,' 2 Kings xviii. 17. But the accession of Sennacherib greatly changed the face of affairs for the revolted provinces; and the year of Hezekiah in which this befell—probably marked by a demand of instant submission—may be supposed to have been noted in that fuller record 'The Chronicles of the Kings of Judah,' from which the existing condensed narrative was drawn. Its compiler, by retaining only this initial date, and passing on at once to the invasion, two years later, seems to place this in the 24th year. This, however, may have been the year of H.'s illness, which seems in fact to have occurred at a time when the peril from Assyria was impending, but not actually present; and it will not be disjoining it too far from the Babylonian embassy to suppose it to have befallen late in the 24th year (the invasion in the 26th and the embassy in the 27th). In any case, it is not likely that the number *fifteen* in the promise of added life has undergone any change. It may therefore be necessary to make the term of Hezekiah's reign 39 instead of 29 years, and to retrench 10 years from the 55 of Manasseh. All this rests on the supposition that the synchronism 6 Hez. = year of Fall of Samaria = 1 Sargina = 721 B.C., is unassailable (comp. Sir H. Rawlinson, *Trans. R. S. Lit.*, vii. 156).\*

But should monumental evidence yet come to light, proving that the expedition of Sargina's first year did not effect the final overthrow of Samaria, the cardinal synchronism will once more be 14 Hez. = 3 Senn. = 701 B.C. Then 6 Hezekiah will be 709 B.C., and it will be necessary to reduce the reign of Manasseh to 43 years (comp. Sir H. Rawlinson, *Athen.*, Aug. 1862, p. 247).

Whatever uncertainty may still attach to this point of chronology (*i.e.*, whether 3 Senn., which is 701 B.C., be 14 or 26 Hezekiah), we can put together a connected account in which Scripture, Canon, Berosus, and monuments, all fit into each other. It is nowhere intimated on Senn.'s monuments that the Marudak Bal-idin, with whom he contended, was the M. B. whom his father had dethroned; nor is he called, as on Sargina's monu-

\* Tiglath-Pileser records that in his 8th year he received tribute of the king of Judea, the king of Samaria, and Rezin, king of Syria. Except in the names given to the two former, this fully accords with the Biblical account, 2 Kings xv. 29, xvi. 7-9, of the submission of *Ahaz* and the overthrow of *Pekah* and Rezin, in a year which would be Pekah's last; for his defeat was immediately followed by insurrection and by his death. Now, according to the list of eponymi (canon 4 as above), T. P. began to reign 24 years before Sargon, therefore 745 B.C.; consequently his 8th year is 738 B.C. But if 1 Sargon, which is 721 B.C., is 6 Hez., which is 21 Ahaz, which is 37 Pekah, then 738 B.C. is 20 Pekah—*i.e.*, the last year of his reign. So far this record completely attests the synchronism in the text. But the names do not agree: they are *Minikhimmi* and *Jahu-khaz*. The latter is well explained by Mr. Tyrwhitt, *Athen.*, April 1862, p. 500; the other may have been ignorantly copied as the name of the king of Samaria from the records of Pul, to whom *Menahem* paid tribute. See Sir H. Rawlinson, *Athen.*, 1862, p. 330; Aug. 1863, p. 245, f.; Mr. Rawlinson, *Herodot.* i. 384.

ments, 'son of Jakin.' But the Biblical M. B. is 'son of Baladan.' It seems, then, there were two persons of the name, father and son; the first, 'son of Jakin' in Sargina's time,\* named in the Canon Mardokempad, in Scripture simply Baladan, father of the second, who is the M. B. of Hezekiah and Sennacherib named by Berossus, but not in the Canon (comp. Brandis, *über den h. Gewinn*, etc., p. 53; others assume but one M. B.) Of the father, after his dethronement by Sargon (709 B.C.), we hear no more. Five years later, a time of anarchy in Babylon is marked in the Canon at 704-703 B.C., i.e., in the last year of Sargon and first of Sennacherib, and partly described by Berossus. During this revolutionary period, Merodach Baladan, second of the name, repossessed himself of his father's throne in Babylon for a time of 6 months according to Berossus (who, however, is wrong in saying that he was then slain), to be driven from it late in the 1st year of Sennacherib (703). Between that time and 4 Senn. = 700 B.C. something befell which encouraged M. B. once more to raise insurrection in Babylon. That 'something' may well be conceived to have been the reverse sustained by Senn. in Palestine (701), and nothing could be more natural than that M. B. should seek to strengthen himself by alliance with that Hezekiah in invading whom the great king had been so ignominiously checked in his career of conquest.—It is here assumed that the defeat which is related in 2 Kings xviii. befell in the 3d year of Sennacherib, which year, in his account of it (dated in his 15th year), is filled only with victories. The disparity between the Biblical and the monumental record has led to the inference that there were two invasions—the first in 3 Senn., briefly related ver. 13-16; the second, of which there is no monumental record, that of xviii. 17-xix. fin., which is placed a year or two later by Dr. Hincks, *Journal of S. Lit.*, u.s., and Mr. Rawlinson, *Herodot.* i. 393; *Anc. Empires*, ii. 439; but by Sir H. Rawlinson at least 10 years later,† *Trans. R. S. Lit.*, vii. 155; *Athen.*, Aug. 1863, p. 247.

In the view of the present writer, vers. 13-16 are condensed from a fuller report of the transactions from Sennacherib's accession to Hezekiah's submission. It does not appear, indeed, that S. was himself in Palestine during the first two years of his

reign, but his generals may have been, and their successes, together with his own in the early part of the campaign, the tribute levied, the tale of spoil and deported captives, furnished matter of glorification, twelve years later, for a year which ended in disaster. 'Great king, mighty king, king of hosts,' he wrote his own story on his palace walls—with whom to gainsay it? After long ages the record is disinterred and deciphered—with whom to vouch for it? On the bringing to light of some new and unexpected document, the fortunate discoverers are prone to claim a too implicit credence for its contents: to the calm inquirer the genuine and the authentic are still distinct considerations, nor does the truth of the decipherment carry with it the truth of the thing deciphered.—H. B.

#### MEROM, WATERS OF (מֵי מְרֹם; *Mapōw*; Alex.

*Meppōw* and *Mappōw*; *Merom*), the place where Joshua attacked and defeated the confederate princes of northern Palestine who had been collected by Jabin king of Hazor (Josh. xi. 5, 7). It is only mentioned in the one passage of Scripture, and no clear indication is given of its geographical position. The name would seem to indicate some elevated position; the word מְרֹם signifying 'height,' from the root מָרַם.\* 'The Waters of Merom' must have been in the north of Palestine, and not far distant from Hazor, for after Joshua had pursued the routed Canaanites to Zidon, it is said 'he turned back and took Hazor' (ver. 8, 10). It is somewhat remarkable that Josephus, in giving an account of this great battle, states that the scene of it was 'Beroth, a city of upper Galilee, not far from Kadesh' (*Antiq.* v. 1. 18); and he does not mention the Waters of Merom.

Most geographers identify the Waters of Merom with the lake *Samochonitis*, now called *el-Hülch* (Reland, p. 262; Robinson, *B. R.*, ii. 440). The words of Josephus, though they do not expressly state this, yet seem to indicate it. He describes the city of Hazor as situated 'over the lake Samochonitis' (*Antiq.* v. 5. 1); and Hazor, as has been seen, must have been at or near the Waters of Merom (Cellarius, *Geogr. Ant.*, ii. 480). The name *Samochonitis* (Σαμοχωνίτις, or as it is sometimes written, Σεμεχωνίτις), may perhaps be derived

from the Arabic root *samak*, سَمَك, *altus fuit*, and would thus be identical in meaning with the Hebrew Merom† (Gesenius, *Thes.* p. 1276; Reland, p. 262). It is true that the usual Hebrew word

\* And, indeed, early in the time of T. Pileser, on whose monuments he is frequently mentioned, not in connection with Babylon, but only with his ancestral territory, Beth Jakin.

† 'The more that we examine this period of history, and the more light that is thrown upon it from the Egyptian and Assyrian monuments, the more certain does it become that there must have been two distinct expeditions conducted by Sennacherib,' etc. The argument from Tirhaka is, as above remarked, quite inconclusive. The only Assyrian evidence (known to the present writer) consists in the circumstance that Esarhaddon speaks of 'the city of Edom of the Arabians' as having been taken by his father Sennacherib (Oppert, *Inscr. des Sarg.*, p. 55); whereas Senn. mentions under his 3d year, 'Yorammi king of Edom' in a list of kings who did homage and paid tribute to him (Oppert, p. 44). But the 'taking' may have been prior to the submission; or, which is as likely, Esarhaddon magnifies the temporary submission into a permanent right of conquest.

\* Perhaps the phrase מֵי מְרֹם might be rendered *aque superiores*, 'the upper waters'; that is, the upper lake or collection of waters formed by the river Jordan (see Reland, p. 262).

† Several other explanations of this word have been given. 1. It is derived from the Chaldee סִמֹךְ, 'red,' because of the ruddy colour of its water. 2. From סִבְךְ, 'a thorn,' because its shores abound with thorn-bushes (Lightfoot, *Opp.* ii., p. 172).

3. From the Arabic سَمَك, 'a fish' (Reland, p. 262). These explanations appear to be all too fanciful (cf. Stanley, *Sin. and Pal.*, p. 383. note). Josephus mentions a city called *Meroth* (Μηρώθ or Μηρώ, *Vita*, 37; *Bell. Jud.*, ii. 20. 6), which Ritter connects with the lake *Samochonitis* (*Pal. und Syr.*, ii. 235).



for 'sea' or 'lake' is מַי; but it seems to be applied generally to a large expanse of water. The word מַי ('waters') here used with Merom is employed in a great variety of meanings in Scripture. It signifies 'waters,' whether in fountain, river, tank, lake, or sea; and may therefore be given appropriately to the lake Samochonitis. There is besides no other collection of waters in northern Palestine answering to the notices of Merom in the book of Joshua; and it may also be added that the shores of this lake form the only ground near the site of Hazor where war-chariots could be used with any effect against an enemy. It may therefore be safely admitted that 'the Waters of Merom' are identical with the Samochonitis of Josephus, and the modern Bahret el-Hüleh.

The name *Hüleh* appears also to be of high antiquity. The whole of the rich plain north of the lake, as far as the fountains of the Jordan at Baniâs and Dan, is called *Ard el-Hüleh*, 'The land or province of Hüleh'; and from it the lake appears to have taken its name. This name we find in Bohadin's *Life of Saladin* (p. 98) applied to a district. Looking still farther back, Josephus states that the region of *Ulatia* (Ὀὐλάτια) and Paneas was given by Augustus to Herod, and he describes it as lying between Trachon and Galilee (*Antiq.* xv. 10. 3). There cannot be a doubt that *Ulatia* is the Greek form of the Arabic

*Hüleh* (حولة). This fact leads us up to a far more remote period, and shows that the name is among the oldest on record. In Gen. x. 23 we

read that *Hul* (חול) was the second son of Aram, and the sacred historian indicates that all the persons mentioned in this valuable ethnological summary were founders of nations to which they gave their own names. Now the Hebrew *Hul* is radically identical with the Arabic *Hüleh*. The Septuagint reading is Ὀὐλα, and that of Josephus Ὀὐλος (*Antiq.* i. 6. 4), which is just the primitive form of Ὀὐλάτια, the name of the district (cf. Ritter, *Pal. und Syr.* ii. 234; Stanley, *S. and P.*, p. 383). It would seem, therefore, that the original name of the district at or around the sea has continued the same from the remotest ages to modern times—*Hul* or *Hüleh*—and from this the lake took its common modern appellation. This, however, is not its only name; Abulfeda calls it the lake of Baniâs (*Tab. Syr.*, p. 147).

'The waters of Merom,' or Lake *Hüleh*, is a sheet of water triangular in form, its apex pointing southward to the place where the Jordan issues from it. Its length is about four and a half miles, and its breadth three and a half; but it is subject to periodical variations in extent, owing to the fall of rain and the melting of the snow on the neighbouring mountains. It occupies the southern end of a plain or large basin, fifteen miles long by five wide. Round the lake is a broad margin of marshy ground, which extends several miles to the northward along the banks of the streams, and is covered with dense jungles of canes, the home of wild swine and buffaloes. Beyond the marshes is a wider border of fertile ground, reaching to the mountain ranges on each side, and embracing more than a half of the northern section of the plain. A large portion of its rich soil is now cultivated, partly by local tribes of Bedawin who live in tents and reed huts, and partly by some sheikhs of Lebanon and

merchants of Damascus. These latter may be regarded as the modern representative of the old merchant princes of Phœnicia, who planted their agricultural colonies here, in the city of Laish, thirty centuries ago (*Judg.* xviii. 7-10).

The lake is fed by numerous streams and fountains. The largest is the Jordan, which falls in near the north-eastern angle, and is made up of the united streams from Dan, Baniâs, and Hasbeiya [*JORDAN*]. West of the Jordan is the stream from Merj 'Ayûn, the Ijon of Scripture [*IJON*]. At the foot of the mountains of Naphtali, on the western side of *Ard el-Hüleh*, are several large fountains, whose waters flow into the lake. The chief of these are 'Ain Belât, and 'Ain Mellâhah. The latter gives to the lake one of its names. William of Tyre calls it *Lacus Meleha* (*Hist.* xviii. 13); and the name now usually given to it by the neighbouring Arabs is Bahret el-Mellâhah. Schwartz calls the fountain *Ein el-Maleha*, which he translates 'the king's spring,' a manifest confounding

of two widely different Arabic words—مَلَاخَة,

'salt,' and مَلِك, 'king.' According to Dr.

Thomson the district of *Hüleh* is also called *Ard el-Khait*, and the lake Bahret el-Khait (*Bibliotheca Sacra*, iii., p. 199); but the writer never heard this name (see Reland, p. 262; Ritter, *Pal. und Syr.*, ii. 231, *seq.*; De Bertou, *Itinéraire*, etc.; Rosenmüller, *Bibl. Alt.* ii.)—J. L. P.

MERORIM (מְרֹרִים) occurs in two places in Scripture, and is in both translated *bitter herbs* in our A. V., as well as in several others (*Exod.* xii. 8; *Num.* ix. 11). The word *merorim* is universally acknowledged to signify *bitter*, and the word *herbs* has been supplied to complete the sense. By the Sept. it has been translated ἐν τῇ πικρῶν, and by St. Jerome, 'cum lactucis agrestibus.' Several interpreters, however, render it simply *amara*; which Celsius adopts, and considers that *merorim* has reference to the ξυβάμμα which was eaten with the paschal lamb, and that it signifies 'cum amaritudinibus, vel rebus amaris.' In the Arabic a word similar to the Hebrew has also reference to bitterness, and, like the Greek word πικρός, came to be applied to a bitter plant. Thus the Arabic *murr*, 'bitter,' pl. *murar*, signifies a species of bitter tree or plant; as does *maru*, a fragrant herb which has always some degree of bitterness. *Murooa* is in India applied both to the bitter *Artemisia*, or wormwood, and to the fragrant *Ocimum pilosum*, a species of Basil; in Arabia, to the bitter Centaury, according to Forskal. It is extremely probable that a bitter herb of some kind is intended, but whether a particular species or any bitter herb, it is difficult to say. The Jews, as we learn from the Mishna (*Tract. Pesachim*, cap. ii. sec. 6, as quoted by Bochart, *Hieroz.* i. l. ii. c. 50), used five kinds of bitter herbs, thus given by Dr. Harris: '1. *Chazareth*, taken for lettuce; 2. *Ulsin*, supposed to be endive, or succory; 3. *Tamca*, probably tansy; 4. *Charubbinim*, which Bochart thought might be the nettle, but Scheuchzer shows to be the camomile; 5. *Meror*, the sow-thistle, or dent-delion, or wild lettuce.' All these translations betray their European origin. To interpret them with anything like accuracy, it is requisite, in the first place, to have a complete Flora of the countries, from Egypt

to Syria, with the Arabic names of the useful plants, accompanied by a notice of their properties. Science is as yet far from having anything of the kind. We have seen that the succory or endive was early selected as being the bitter herb especially intended; and Dr. Geddes justly remarks, that 'the Jews of Alexandria, who translated the Pentateuch, could not be ignorant what herbs were eaten with the paschal lamb in their days.' Jerome understood it in the same manner; and Pseudo-Jonathan expressly mentions *horehound* and *lettuces*. Forskal informs us that the Jews at Sana and in Egypt eat the lettuce with the paschal lamb. Lady Calcott inquires whether mint was originally one of the bitter herbs with which the Israelites ate the paschal, as our use of it with roast lamb, particularly about Easter time, inclined her to suppose it was. Ibn Ezra, as quoted by Rosenmüller, states that the Egyptians used bitter herbs in every meal: so in India some of the bitter *Cucurbitaceae*, as *kurella*, are constantly employed as food [PAKYOTH]. It is curious that the two sets of plants which appear to have the greatest number of points in their favour are the endive or succory, and one of the fragrant and usually also bitter labiate plants; because we find that the term *marooa* is in the East applied even in the present day both to the bitter wormwood and the fragrant *Ocymum*. Moreover the Chaldee translator, Jonathan, expressly mentions lettuce and *horehound*, or *marrubium*, which is also one of the Labiate. It is important to observe that the Artemisia, and some of these fragrant labiate, are found in many parts of Arabia and Syria; that is, in warm, dry, barren regions. The endive is also found in similar situations, but requires, upon the whole, a greater degree of moisture. Thus it is evident that the Israelites would be able to obtain suitable plants during their long wanderings in the Desert, though it is difficult for us to select any one out of the several which might have been employed by them.—J. F. R.

MEROZ (מֶרוֹז; Sept. Μηροζ), a place in the northern part of Palestine, the inhabitants of which are severely reprehended in Judg. v. 23, for not having taken the field with Barak against Sisera. It would seem as if they had had an opportunity of rendering some particular and important service to the public cause which they neglected. The site is not known: Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomast.*, s. v. 'Merus') fix it twelve Roman miles from Sebaste, on the road to Dothaim; but this position would place it too far south of the field of battle to agree with the history. [Meroz must have been near Kishon, and not far from Kedesh Naphthali. This would bring it close on the lake Merom, and Fürst suggests it may have been the original name of this place which gave name to these waters (*H. W. B.*, s. v.) Wilson (*Lands of the Bible*, ii. 89) identifies it with the *Kefr-Mesr* on the southern slope of Mount Tabor, and this Van de Velde approves (*Mem.*, p. 334).]

MESECH and MESHECH (מֶשֶׁח; מוֹשֶׁח; Mosoch, and Μεσόχ; *Mosoch*), the sixth son of Japheth, and founder of an ancient nation (Gen. x. 2; 1 Chron. i. 5). His posterity is not mentioned in either Genesis or Chronicles; but the nation is evidently alluded to in Ps. cxx. 5, in conjunction with Kedar, apparently as representing places so remote and barbarous that exile to them would be regarded as

a grievous punishment: 'Woe is me that I sojourn in Mesech, that I dwell in the tents of Kedar.' The LXX. here reads, 'Woe is me that my sojourning is prolonged' (ὁποῦν ὅτι ἡ παροικία μου ἐμακρύνῃ; Vulgate, *quod incolatus meus prolongatus est*), a rendering which the Hebrew text in its present state will not bear. Several commentators translate the word as an appellative, though the construction of the parallelism indicate the contrary (see Venema, and *Pol. Synopsis Crit.*, ad loc.) Meshech is mentioned by Ezekiel among those nations which traded in the marts of Tyre, bringing slaves and vessels of brass (xxvii. 13); and again, as involved in the ruin of Egypt (xxxii. 26). The same prophet also connects Meshech with Gog and Magog (xxxviii. 2; xxxix. 1).

There is no indication given in any of these passages of the geographical position of Meshech farther than that the nation had its possessions among the descendants of Japheth. It is worthy of note that Meshech and Tubal are almost uniformly connected in Scripture as neighbouring nations, joining also in traffic (Ezek., *l. c.*) Now, in the writings of Herodotus we find two very ancient tribes, the *Moschi* and *Tiburimi*, associated as forming part of the nineteenth satrapy of Persia (iii. 94); and again, as armed in the same way, and under the command of one leader in the army of Xerxes (vii. 78). There can be no doubt that these are identical with Meshech and Tubal of Scripture. The names are also joined frequently on the Assyrian inscriptions (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, i. 651; cf. Pliny, vi. 4). The primitive seat of the Moschi appears to have been among the Caucasus mountains, on the south-eastern shores of the Black Sea, immediately north of Armenia (Strabo, xi., pp. 498, *seq.*); and, according to Strabo, a part of the great chain or group of mountains took the name Moschi (xi. p. 521). The Moschi were, however, a wild and warlike race, and extended their depredations and conquests far beyond the confines of their native hills. Cappadocia appears to have been, at least in part, occupied by them (Joseph. *Antiq.* i. 6. 1), and probably from them its capital city took its name *Mazaka* (Strabo, xii. p. 538; Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, iv. 222). In the time of the Hebrew prophets their power was felt even in Syria and Egypt in conjunction with their Scythic allies, Gog and Magog, under whose command they had apparently placed themselves. It is interesting to observe how Ezekiel's description of their equipments—'bucklers, small shields (מִנִּי), and swords' (Ezek. xxxviii. 1-4)—corresponds with that of Herodotus (vii. 78). Tubal and Meshech are also mentioned by Ezekiel (xxvii. 13) as supplying Tyre with copper and slaves; and it is known that copper abounds in northern Armenia, while to the present day the tribes of the Caucasus—the Georgians and Circassians—supply the Turkish harams with female slaves; and it appears that this infamous traffic has continued uninterrupted from the earliest ages (see Bochart, *Opera*, i. 182). During the ascendancy of the Babylonians and Persians in western Asia the Moschi were subdued; but it seems probable that a large number of them crossed the Caucasus range and spread over the northern steppes, mingling with the Scythians. There they became known as *Muskovs*, and gave that name to the Russian nation, and its ancient capital, by which they are still universally known throughout the East (Rawlinson's *Herod.*, iv. 222).



The word מֶשָׁה occurs in Is. lxvi. 19, and is translated in the A. V., 'that draw the bow.' The LXX. renders the word as a proper name, Μωσάχ, and omits קִשֶׁת ('bow'). Lowth thinks that the Hebrew is corrupted and the Greek version correct; but this is against all evidence (cf. Jer. xlvi. 9). The same word is found in Jer. v. 8, and Ibn Ezra conjectures that it is a proper name, but the construction of the passage is against him.

For fuller information regarding Meshech, consult Bochart (*l. c.*); also Kalisch (*on Gen. x.*); Michaelis (*Spicileg.* i. 50); Ritter (*Erdkunde*, x. 816); Rawlinson (*l. c.*)—J. L. P.

MESHA (מֶשָׁה); Μωσῆ; Alex. Μωσῆ; (*Messa*), a place only mentioned in Gen. x. 30, where Moses, in describing the possessions of the Joktanites, states that 'their dwelling was from Mesha, as thou goest unto Sephar, a mount of the east.' This explanatory note is of great importance, as clearly defining the limits of the great nation founded by Joktan. The interpretation of it given by Kalisch (*Comment. on Gen.*, p. 283) appears to be at variance with the plain meaning of the Hebrew. He thus renders it—'Their abode was from Mesha towards Sephar, to the mount of the east;' thus distinguishing 'Sephar' from 'the mount of the east;' whereas the Hebrew is כְּמִשְׁא בְּהַר הַקֶּדֶם, 'From Mesha until thou comest to Sephar the mountain of the east' (cf. ver. 19; xiii. 10); making Sephar the mountain of the east, and representing this mountain as the limit of the territory on the one side, while Mesha was the limit on the other (see, however, Gesenius, *Thes.* p. 823). We are not warranted in concluding from this, however, that Mesha was the western and Sephar the eastern limit. Nothing is here said as to the relative directions of the two places.

The situation of Mesha has been a subject of much controversy among geographers. Bochart identifies it with the ancient city of *Musa* (Μούσα), a port of Arabia near the mouth of the Red Sea, mentioned by Ptolemy (vi. 7), Pliny (vi. 23), and others, and probably the same as the Músa discovered by Niebuhr (*Voyage en Arabie*, i. 296; Vincent, *Periplus*, p. 315). He farther identifies Sephar with a mountain of that name a short distance eastward of Musa; and he interprets the passage, 'et fuit habitatio eorum à Mesa, cum tendis Saphar montem Orientis;' and farther explains the meaning—'Musa emporium, unde iter erat ad Saphar' (*Opera*, i. 144). But the Hebrew כְּמִשְׁא בְּהַר הַקֶּדֶם will not bear such a rendering. It evidently means 'until thou comest to Sephar.' Therefore, if Mount Sephar be rightly identified, as it seems to be, Mesha cannot be identical with Musa, for sufficient room is not left between them for the great family of Joktan; and it is well known that the Joktanites occupied nearly all Arabia Felix. Besides, the Arabic form of *Musa* appears to be مَوْسَى, which is radically different from מֶשָׁה (Gesen. *Thes.* p. 823; Michaelis, *Spicileg.* ii. 214).

Gesenius would identify Mesha with *Mesene*, once an island, but now a portion of the delta at the mouth of the Tigris in the Persian Gulf, and which is frequently mentioned by classic and ecclesiastical writers (Philostorg. *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 7; Strabo, ii. 84; Gesen. *Thes.* p. 823). This view

is adopted by Kalisch (*on Gen.*, p. 283). But it is very doubtful whether the island, which has been formed by the deposits of the river, was in existence in the days of Moses; and it is still more doubtful that such a spot could at that early period have attained to any political or geographical notoriety. Besides, it is not likely that an accurate writer would describe a purely Arabian territory as commencing on the east side of the Tigris.

The theory of Mr. Forster is much more probable than either of the preceding. He identifies Mesha with a mountain-range called *Zames* by Ptolemy (vi. 7), which commences near the Persian Gulf, and runs in a south-western direction nearly across the peninsula. It is an undoubted fact that the various Joktánite tribes, or Beni Kahtán as they are called by Arab writers, are still found, and have been from the earliest period, in the wide region extending from Mount Zames to the Indian Ocean and Red Sea; and that this range separates them from the Ishmaelite Arabs (Forster, *Geog. of Arabia*, i. 95, *seq.*) Forster farther conjectures that the name Zames is radically identical with Mesha, the syllables being inverted, as is very common in Arabic words;—thus Mesza = Mesha (the Arabic); taking the place

of the Heb. שָׁ). The Zames range is now called by the general name of the 'Nejd Mountains,' and the country extending thence to the Indian Ocean on the east, and the Red Sea on the south, embraces the most fertile part of Arabia—the classic *Arabia Felix*, now called *Yemen* (Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xii. 708, *seq.*) The mountains of Nejd are now famous for their pastures and for their horses, which are considered the best in Arabia (Ritter, pp. 918-1035; Fresnel, *Lettres sur la Geog. de l'Arabie*, in *Journ. Asiat.* v.; also Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*; Wellsted, *Trav. in Arabia*; Niebuhr, *Descript. de l'Arabie*; Forster, *Geog. of Arabia*).—J. L. P.

MESHACH (מִשְׁחָךְ); Sept. Μισάχ; Alex. Μισάκ), the name given to Mishael, one of the companions of Daniel (Dan. i. 7). Gesenius resolves it into מִיז שָׁח *miz shah*, the guest of the shah; Hitzig (*Exeget. Hdb.*, in loc.) and Fürst (*H. W. B.*, s. v.) refer it to the Sans. *Mśhah*, *Ram*, and regard it as a name of the sun-god. The changing of the names of persons taken into a family as servants or slaves was common in ancient times among both the Orientals and the Greeks (Jahn, *Archæol.*, Th. I. Bd. 2, p. 280; Theodoret on Dan. i. 7; Chrysostom, *Opp.* v. 286; Hävernick, *Comm. heb. Dan.*, p. 30).—W. L. A.

MESHELEMLIAH (מִשְׁלֵמְיָהוּ); Sept. Μωσολλάμ; Alex. Μωσολλάμ), the father of Zechariah, one of the porters of the door of the tabernacle of the congregation (1 Chron. ix. 21). The name appears also in the form מִשְׁלֵמְיָהוּ; Sept. Μωσολλάμ; Alex. Μωσολλάμ, in 1 Chron. xxvi. 1, 2, 9; in ver. 14 he is called Shelemiah, and in ix. 18 Shallum. It is probably he also who is called Meshullam, Neh. xii. 25.—†

MESHULLAM (מִשְׁלָלָם); Sept. Μεσολλάμ), a name borne by twenty-one persons mentioned in the O. T., none of whom require special notice.—†



MESOPOTAMIA (Μεσποταμία), the district lying between the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, and deriving its name from this circumstance (Arrian, *Alex.*, vii. 7; Tacit. *Ann.*, vi. 37). Its limits seem to have varied at different periods, or the name was vaguely used so as to be applied to different extents of territory by different writers. Thus, whilst Strabo draws a line between it and Babylonia (xvi. p. 746), Pliny assigns it to Assyria, and extends it southwards as far as the Persian gulf (*N. H.*, v. 24; vi. 26). It belongs to physical, not to political geography, as it was at no time the designation of any territory artificially determined.

The LXX. use this word to represent the Aram-Naharaim of Gen. xxiv. 10; Deut. xxiii. 4; and also the Padan-Aram of Gen. xxv. 20; xxxi. 18). By this they have been generally understood as intending to identify these districts with the Babylonian Mesopotamia. This, however, may be doubted. There was a Syrian Mesopotamia known to the ancients, as well as that between the Tigris and the Euphrates (see Mela, *De situ Orbis*, i. 11), and that it is to this that the LXX. translators refer in the case before us appears probable, 1. from their expressly stating that it was the Syrian Mesopotamia (ἐκ τῆς Μεσποταμίας Συρίας) from which Rebecca, the daughter of Laban the Syrian, came to be the wife of Isaac (Gen. xxv. 20); 2. from their rendering Aram-Naharaim in Judg. iii. 8, 10, by Συρία ποταμῶν, *Syria of the rivers*; and 3. from their calling the place to which Jacob went for a wife πεδίον Συρίας, *the plain of Syria* (Hos. xii. 12), by which they doubtless intended the *Ager Damascus* of the classical writers (Plin. *N. H.*, v. 13). Why this country should be called Mesopotamia, or Syria of the rivers, will be at once seen by observing its position between the Abana and the Parpar. To Dr. Tilstone Beke is due the credit of having first suggested that we are to seek the Aram-Naharaim and the Padan-Aram of the Bible in this district. His reasons for this were first presented in his *Origines Biblicæ*, p. 123, ff., and have since been urged by him in various publications. They rest chiefly on the identification of the Haran of the Bible with the *Harrân-el-Awamid*, or *Harrân of the Pillars*, a village four hours east of Damascus, first brought to notice by Mr. Porter, and mentioned by him in *Five Years in Damascus*, i. 376. If this identification can be established, Dr. Beke's opinion as to the position of Aram-Naharaim and Padan-Aram will hardly admit of question. Dr. Beke has recently visited the place, and traversed the ground from Harrân to Gilead, along the supposed route of Jacob when he fled from Laban. His notes, which are printed in the *Journal of the Geographical Society* for 1862, are full of interest, and have tended to confirm his opinion in the judgment of several who were previously disposed to pass it by as fanciful.

In the address of Stephen (Acts viii. 2) Mesopotamia proper is mentioned as the seat of the family of Terah when Abraham left it to settle at Haran. This, as Dr. Beke has noticed, is proof of itself that the Haran of the Bible was not in Mesopotamia proper, and therefore is incorrectly identified by Jerome with the city Charra, beyond Edessa (*Onomast.*, s. v. Charan). The principal ancient accounts of the Babylonian Mesopotamia are to be found in Quintus Curtius, v. 1; Strabo, xvi. p. 766; Ptolemy, v. 18; Pliny, v. 2. 4; vi. 9.

For modern accounts see Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, ii. 1. 17; Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii. p. 300, ff.; Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, ch. xiv. xv. See also ARAM and HARAN in this work.—W. L. A.

MESSIAH, MESSIAS. The Hebrew word מָשִׁיחַ is in every instance of its use (thirty-nine times) rendered in the Sept. by the suitable term Χριστός, which becomes so illustrious in the N. T. as the official designation of the Holy Saviour. It is a verbal noun (see Simonis, *Arcanum Form. Hebr. Ling.*, p. 92, sqq.), derived from מָשַׁח, and has much the same meaning as the participle מְשֻׁחָה (2 Sam. iii. 39, and occasionally in the Pentateuch), i. e., *Anointed*. The prevalent and all but universal (Is. xxi. 5 and Jer. xxii. 14 being perhaps the sole exceptions) sense of the root מָשַׁח, points to the consecration of objects to sacred purposes by means of anointing oil. Inanimate objects (such as the tabernacle, altar, laver, etc.) are included under the use of the verb; but the noun מָשִׁיחַ is applied only\* to animate objects. The official persons ('the Christs of the O. T.; Perowne, *Coherence of O. and N. T.*) who were consecrated with oil were *Priests* (Exod. xxviii. 41; Levit. iv. 3, 5, 16; Num. xxxv. 35), *Kings* (1 Sam. ix. 16; xvi. 3; 2 Sam. xii. 7; 1 Kings i. 34), and *Prophets* (1 Kings xix. 16). The great Antitype, the Christ of the N. T., embraced and exhausted in himself these several offices, which, in fact, were shadows of his threefold function as the Prophet, Priest, and King of his people. And it is the pre-eminence which this combination of anointed offices gave him which seems to be pointed at in Psalm xlv. 8, where the great Messiah is anointed 'above his fellows'; above the Christs of old, whether of one only function, as the priest Aaron, or the prophet Elisha, or the king Saul; or of two functions, as Melchizedec the priest and king, or Moses the priest and prophet, or David the king and prophet. In our Saviour Christ is uniquely found the triple comprehension, the recapitulation in

\* There is, however, some doubt as to 2 Sam.

i. 21—מִגֵּן שָׂאֹל בְּמָשִׁיחַ בִּשְׁמֶן—where, according to some (Maurer, Gesenius, Fürst; see also Corn. a Lapide, *in loc.*), the phrase, 'not anointed with oil,' is applied to *the shield* (comp. Is. xxi. 5). The majority of commentators refer it to *Saul*, 'as if he had not been anointed with oil.' So A. V., which seems to follow the Vulgate. This version, however (*quasi non esset unctus oleo*), is really as inexplicit as the original, admitting the application of 'anointed' to either the king or his shield. This double sense is avoided by the Septuagint (Θυπέος Σαούλ οὐκ ἐχρίσθη ἐν ἐλαίῳ), which assigns the anointing, as an epithet, to the shield. The Targum of Jonathan refers the מָשִׁיחַ to Saul, but drops the negative. To us the unvarying use of the word, as a *human* epithet, in all the other (thirty-eight) passages, two of them occurring in the very context of the disputed place (2 Sam. i. 14, 16), settles the point in favour of our A. V., as if the king had fallen on the fatal field of Gilboa like one of the common soldiers, 'not as one who had been anointed with oil.'



himself of the three offices (see Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* i. 3, vol. i. p. 24, by Burton, Oxon. 1838). But not only were the ancient offices typical, the material of consecration had also its antitype, in the Holy Ghost (St. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. Illum.* x. 99; *Catech. Neoph.*, pp. 202, 203; St. Basil, *contra Eunom.* v.; St. Chrysostom on Psalm xlv.; Theodoret, *Epit. divin. Decret.* xi., p. 279; Theophylact. on Matt. i.; Ecumenius on Rom. i., etc.) The prophecy of Is. lxi. 1 ('The Spirit of the Lord Jehovah is upon me, because Jehovah hath anointed me') was expressly claimed by Jesus for fulfilment in the synagogue at Nazareth (Luke iv. 16-21) on his return to Galilee 'in the power of the Spirit' (ver. 14), which he had plenarily received at his recent baptism (ver. 1), and by which he was subsequently led into the wilderness (ver. 1). This anointing of our Lord to his Messianic functions is referred to, in a general sense, in such passages as Is. xi. 2 and Acts x. 38. But from the more specific statement of St. Peter (Acts ii. 36), it would appear that it was not before his resurrection and consequent ascension that Christ was fully inducted into his Messianic dignities. 'He was anointed to his prophetic office at his baptism; but thereby rather initiated to be, than actually made Christ and Lord. Unto these two offices of everlasting Priest and everlasting King he was not actually anointed, or fully consecrated, until his resurrection from the dead' (Dean Jackson, *Works*, vii. 368). As often as the evangelists do instill him *Christ* before his resurrection from the dead, it is by way of *anticipation* (*Ibid.*, p. 296). On this point, indeed, the grammatical note of Gersdorf (*Sprachechar.* i. 39, 272), as quoted by Winer (*Gram. des N. T. sprachid.*, iii. 18, p. 107; Clark, p. 130), is interesting: 'The four evangelists almost always write ὁ Χριστός [the expected Messiah, like ὁ ἐρχόμενος], while Paul and Peter employ Χριστός, as the appellation had become more of a proper name. In the epistles of Paul and Peter, however, the word has the article when a governing noun precedes.' (For extremely elaborate tables, containing every combination of the sacred names of Christ in the N. T., the reader is referred to the last edition of Bishop Middleton's *Doctrine of the Greek Article*, by H. J. Rose, B. D., App. ii. pp. 486-496). Respecting the official name itself, see JESUS CHRIST [*Import of the designation*, vol. ii., p. 542, col. 2]; we here simply add, that twice only in N. T. does the Hebrew form of it (Messias) occur, in John i. 41 and iv. 25; and twice only in the O. T. have our translators retained the same form (Messiah), in Dan. ix. 25 and 26. In these passages, both in the Greek of the evangelist [*Μεσσίας*, or (as Griesbach preferred to read) *Μεσias*, more closely like the original] and in the Hebrew of the prophet [מָשִׁיחַ], there is an absence

of the article—the word having, in fact, grown out of its appellative state, which so often occurs in the earlier books, into a proper name; thus resembling the course of the *Χριστός* of the Christian Scriptures.

We are forbidden by our limits to fully treat this great subject, which is in fact commensurate with the Scriptures themselves. The substance of the O. T., from the *Protevangelium* of Gen. iii. 15 to the latest prediction of Malachi, with the intermediate communications of type and prophecy,

points to 'the coming one' (ὁ ἐρχόμενος of Matt. xi. 3 and Luke vii. 19), 'the desire of all nations' (Hag. ii. 7), 'the light of the Gentiles, and the glory of Israel' (Luke ii. 32); while the N. T. supplies the historical counterpart, gathering up and applying the ancient testimony to Jesus of Nazareth, and (like St. Paul, as the first-fruits of his conversion) 'proving that he is the very Christ,' or Messiah (Acts ix. 22). The Messianic interpretation of the salient predictions of the Jewish Scriptures is inevitable to the careful student of the N. T. In the N. T. there occurs a double guarantee of such interpretation, a *general* and a *specific* direction. In such passages as Matt. xxi. 42; xxvi. 54, 56; Mark xiv. 49; Luke xxiv. 27, 32, 44; and John v. 39, we have Jesus asserting for himself a *general* fulfilment of the ancient Scriptures in his earthly career; and his leading disciples, in their confession and teaching, fully maintained this general application of prophecy to their Master—thus did the Apostle Philip, in John i. 45; St. Peter, in Acts x. 43 (comp. 1 Pet. i. 10-12); St. Paul (Acts xvii. 1-3; xxvi. 22; xxviii. 23); and St. John, in Rev. xix. 10. While the accomplishment of particular prophecies is *specifically* vouched for still more fully and frequently, of which instances will be given in the course of this Article. We now proceed to notice, briefly,

*The gradual growth of the Messianic Revelation.*

—1. In the primeval promise (Gen. iii. 15) lies the germ of a universal blessing. 'The seed of the woman,' the vagueness and obscurity of which phrase was so suited to the period of the protevangelium, is cleared in the light of the N. T. (see Gal. iv. 4, where the γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικός explains the original נָחֶשֶׁת). The deliverance intimated was

no doubt understood by our first parents to be universal, like the injury sustained, and it is no absurdity to suppose that the promise was cherished afterwards by thoughtful Gentiles as well as believing Jews; only to the latter it was subsequently shaped into increasing precision by supplementary revelations, while to the former it never lost its formal vagueness and obscurity. The O. T. gives us occasional gleams of the glorious primeval light as it struggled with the gross traditions of the heathen. The nearer to Israel the clearer the light; as in the cases of the Abimelechs (Gen. xx. 6; xxvi. 28), and Melchizedek (Gen. xiv. 18), and Job (xix. 25), and Balaam (Num. xxiv. 17), and the Magi (Matt. ii.), and the Samaritan woman (John iv. 25; and see, on *The Christology of the Samaritans*, Westcott's *Introduction*, pp. 148, 149). But, even at a distance from Israel, the light still flickered to the last, as 'the unconscious prophecies of heathendom' show, as Archbishop Trench happily designates—though in a somewhat different sense—the yearnings of the Gentiles after a deliverer (*Hulsean Lectures* for 1846; see also Bishop Horsley's *Dissert. on the Messianic Prophecies dispersed among the Heathen, Sermons*, vol. ii. (ed. 1829), pp. 263-318; and comp. Virgil's well-known eclogue *Pollio*, and the expectations mentioned by Suetonius, *Vit. Vespasian*, c. iv. 8, and Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 9, 13, and the Sibylline oracles, discussed by Horsley [*ut antea*], with a strong leaning to their authenticity). But although the promise was absolutely indefinite to the first father of man (on which see Bishop Horsley, *Sermon* xvi., pp. 234, 235, comp. with Dr. Stanley



Faber's *Prophetical Dissert.* vii., 4 and 5), additional light was given, after the Deluge, to the second father of the human race. 2. To Noah it was given to see a special reservation of blessing for one of his sons in preference to the other two, and—as if words failed him—he exclaimed, 'Blessed be Jehovah, the God of Shem!' (Gen. ix. 26). Not that at any time God meant to *confine* a monopoly of blessing to the individual selected as the special depository thereof. In the present instance Japheth, in the next verse, is associated with his brother for at least some secondary advantage: 'God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem.' 3. The principle of limitation goes on. One of Shem's descendants has three sons. One only of these is selected as the peculiar treasurer of the divine favour. But not for himself alone was Abraham chosen. As in Shem's instance, so here again Abraham was to be the centre of blessing to even a larger scope. More than once was he assured of this: 'In thy seed ['in thee,' chap. xii. 3] shall all the nations of the earth be blessed' (Gen. xxii. 18). The Messianic purport of this repeated promise cannot be doubted after Christ's own statement (John viii. 56), and St. Paul's comment (Gal. iii. 16). 4. In Abraham's grandson—the father of twin sons—we meet with another limitation; Jacob not only secures the traditional blessing to himself, but is inspired to concentrate it at his death on Judah, to the exclusion of the eleven other members of his family. 'Judah, thou art he whom thy brethren praise. . . The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until *Shiloh* come' (Gen. xlix. 8, 10) [SHILOH]; also to Perowne's *Essay*, pp. 26, 188; Delitzsch, *in loc.*; Bishop Pearson, *Cread.* art. ii.; Hengstenberg, *Christol.* i. 59, 60; Davison, *On Prophecy*, p. 106; Döllinger, *Gentile and Jew in the Courts of the Temple of Christ*, translated by Darnell, ii. 392. Onkelos and Raschi, it may be worth while to add, make 'Shiloh' here to refer to the Messiah, as do D. Kimchi and Abendana.) To us the Messianic interpretation of the passage seems to be called for by the principle of periodical limitation, which amounts to a law in the Christological Scriptures. We accept the conclusion, therefore, that the מְשִׁיחַ of this verse is the שֶׁרֶשֶׁת שְׁלוֹם, 'Prince of Peace' of Is. ix. 5 [6]; and the מְשִׁיחַ שְׁלוֹם, 'This man is peace,' of Micah v. 4; and the דְּבַר שְׁלוֹם, 'the peace-speaker,' of Zech. ix. 10; and the Εἰρημὸν ἡμῶν, 'our peace,' of St. Paul, Eph. ii. 14—in a word, our Messiah, Jesus Christ. 5. Passing by the later predictions of the Pentateuch, 'the prophet like unto Moses,' and 'the star' and 'the sceptre' of Balaam, we come to the next salient period of prophecy in the age of David. Here another advance is found in prophetic limitation. Jacob had only specified the *Tribe*, now the particular *Family* is indicated from which Messiah was to spring. From the great promise made to David (2 Sam. vii. 11, 16), and so frequently referred to afterwards (1 Kings xi. 34, 38; Ps. lxxxix. 30-37; Is. lv. 3; Acts xiii. 34), and described by the *svet psalmist* of Israel himself as 'an everlasting covenant ordered in all things and sure' (2 Sam. xxiii. 5), arose that concentrated expectation of the Messiah expressed by the popular phrase *Son of David*, of which we hear so much in the N. T. (comp. Matt. ix. 27; xii.

23; xxi. 9; xxii. 42; Mark x. 47, 48; xi. 10; Luke i. 32; xviii. 38, 39; John vii. 42; Rom. i. 3; Rev. xxii. 16; with Jer. xxiii. 5). Having now confined Messiah's descent to the family of the illustrious king who was 'the man after God's own heart,' prophecy will await God's own express identification of the *Individual* (see it given Matt. iii. 17; xvii. 5; Mark i. 11; ix. 7; Luke iii. 22; ix. 35; and referred to 2 Pet. i. 17). But it will not idly wait. It has other particulars to announce, to give point and precision to a nation's hopes.

All the more important events of the coming Redeemer's life and death, and subsequent kingdom and exaltation, were foretold. . . . Bethlehem was to be his birth-place (Micah v. 2, comp. with Matt. ii. 1-6); Galilee his country (Is. ix. 1, 2, comp. with Matt. iv. 14-16); a virgin his mother (Is. vii. 14, comp. with Matt. i. 23); he was to preach glad tidings to the meek and to bind up the broken-hearted (Is. lxi. 1, comp. with Luke iv. 17-21); though her king, he was to come to the daughter of Zion just and having salvation, lowly and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt, the foal of an ass (Zech. ix. 9, comp. with John xii. 14, 15); he was to be despised and rejected of men; was to be led like a lamb to the slaughter (Is. liii. 3, 7, comp. with Ps. xxii. 6; John i. 11; xviii. 40; Mark xiv. 61 and xv. 5); his garments were to be parted, and lots cast upon his vesture (Ps. xxii. 18, comp. with John xix. 23, 24); his hands and feet were to be pierced (Ps. xxii. 16, comp. with Luke xxiii. 33, and John xx. 25); he was to have vinegar given to him to drink (Ps. lxix. 21, comp. with Matt. xxvii. 34, 48); he was to pour out his soul unto death; was to be numbered with the transgressors; and his grave, though intended to be with wicked men [see this trans. in Mason and Bernard's *Hebr. Gram.*, ii. 305], was in reality destined to be with a rich man (Is. liii. 9, comp. with Matt. xxvii. 57, 58); his soul was not to be left in hell, nor his flesh to see corruption (Ps. xvi. 10, comp. with Acts ii. 31, and xiii. 34-36); he was to sit on the right hand of Jehovah till his foes were made his footstool (Ps. cx. 1, comp. with 1 Pet. iii. 22; Heb. i. 3; Mark xvi. 19, and 1 Cor. xv. 25); his kingdom was to spread until ultimately 'the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, should be given to the saints of the Most High' (Dan. vii. 27; see Perowne, *Coherence*, pp. 29, 30). Slight as is this sketch of the prophetic announcements with which God was pleased to sustain human hope amidst human misery, 'as a light that shineth in a dark place' (2 Pet. i. 19), 'shining more and more unto the perfect day' (Prov. iv. 18), it is yet enough to suggest to us how great must have been the longing for their Deliverer which such persistent and progressive promises were likely to excite in the hearts of faithful men and women.

It is therefore quite consistent with the probability of the case, that we are informed by St. Luke of the existence of what seems to have been a considerable number of persons 'that looked for redemption in Israel' (ii. 38). The demeanour of these believers was exhibited in a close and conscientious adherence to the law of Moses, which was, in its statutes and ordinances, at once the rule of pious life and the schoolmaster to guide men to their Messiah (Gal. iii. 24). As examples of these 'just and devout' persons, the evangelist



presents us with a few short but beautiful sketches in his first and second chapters. Besides the blessed Mary and faithful Joseph, there are Zacharias and Elizabeth, Simeon and Anna—pictures of holiness to be met with among men and women, married and unmarried, whose piety was strongly toned with this eminent feature, which is expressly attributed to one of them, ‘*waiting for the consolation of Israel*’ (comp. Luke i. 6, with ii. 25, and 37, 38). Such hopes, stimulated by a profound and far-sighted faith, were exhibited at the birth and infancy of the Messiah Jesus by these expectant Jews; and they were not alone. Gentiles displayed a not less marvellous faith, when ‘the wise men from the East’ did their homage to the babe of Bethlehem, undeterred by the disguise of humiliation with which the Messiah’s glory was to human eye obscured (Matt. ii. 2, 11). But at his death, no less than at his birth, under a still darker veil of ignominy, similar acknowledgments of faith in his Messiahship were exhibited. St. Mark mentions it as one of the points in the character of Joseph of Arimathea, that he ‘waited for the kingdom of God;’ and it would seem as if this faith urged him to that holy ‘boldness’ of using his influence with Pilate to rescue the body of Jesus, and commit it to an honourable tomb, as if he realised the truth of Isaiah’s great prophecy, and saw in the Crucified no less than Messiah himself (Mark xv. 43). To a like faith must be imputed the remarkable confession of the repentant thief upon the cross (Luke xxiii. 42)—a faith which brought even the Gentile centurion who superintended the execution of Jesus to the conviction that the expiring sufferer was not only innocent (Luke xxiii. 47), but even ‘the Son of God’ (Matt. xxvii. 54, and Mark xv. 39). This conjunction of Gentile faith with that of Hebrews is most interesting, and, indeed, consistent with the progress of the promise. We have seen above, how, in the earliest stages of the revelation, Gentile interests were not overlooked. Abraham, who saw Messiah’s day (John viii. 56), was repeatedly assured of the share which all nations were destined to have in the blessings of his death (Gen. xii. 3; xxii. 18; Acts iii. 25). Nor was the breadth of the promise afterwards narrowed. Moses called ‘the nations’ to rejoice with the chosen people (Deut. xxxii. 43). Isaiah proclaimed Messiah expressly as ‘the light of the Gentiles’ (xlii. 6; xlix. 6); Haggai foretold his coming as ‘the desire of all nations’ (ii. 7); and when he came at last, holy Simeon inaugurated his life on earth under the title of ‘a light to lighten the Gentiles’ (Luke ii. 32); and when his gospel was beginning to run its free course, the two missionaries for the heathen quoted this great prophetic note as the warrant of their ministry: ‘I have set thee to be a light of the Gentiles, that thou shouldest be for salvation unto the ends of the earth’ (Acts xiii. 47). Plain, however, as was the general scope of the Messianic prophecies, there were features in it which the Jewish nation failed to perceive. Framing their ideal not so much from their Scriptures as from their desires, and impatient of a hated heathen yoke, they longed for an avenging Messiah who should inflict upon their oppressors retaliation for many wrongs. This wish coloured all their national hopes; and it should be borne in mind by the student of the gospels, on which it throws much light. Not only was the more religious class, such as Christ’s own

apostles and pupils, affected by this thought of an external kingdom, even so late as his last journey to Jerusalem (Mark x. 37); but the indiscriminating crowds, who would have forcibly made him king (John vi. 15)—so strongly did his miracles attest his Messianic mission even in their view (ver. 14)—and who afterwards followed him to the capital and shouted hosannas to his praise, most abruptly withdrew their popular favour from him and joined in his destruction, because he gave them no signs of an earthly empire or of political emancipation. [JESUS CHRIST, *Life on Earth*, vol. ii. p. 571, col. 2; and p. 572, col. 1.] Christ’s kingdom was ‘not of this world,’ is a proposition which, although containing the very essence of Christianity, offended the Jewish people, when Jesus presented himself as their veritable Messiah, and led to their rejection of him. Moreover, his lowly condition, sufferings, and death, have been a stumbling-block in the way of their recognition of him ever since.

*A suffering Messiah.*—The portrait of an afflicted and suffering Messiah\* is too minutely sketched by the psalmist (Ps. xxii., xlii., xliii., lxix.), by Isaiah (ch. liii.), by Zechariah (ch. xi.-xiii.), and Daniel (ix. 24-27), to be ignored even by reluctant Jews; and strange is the embarrassment observable in Talmudic Judaism to obviate the advantage which accrues to Christianity from its tenure of this unpalatable doctrine. Long ago did Tryphon, Justin Martyr’s Jew, own the force of the prophetic Scriptures, which delineated Messiah as ‘a man of sorrows,’ Παθητόν μὲν, said he, τὸν Χριστὸν ὅτι αἱ γραφαὶ κηρύσσουσιν φανερόν ἐστιν (Justin., *Dial.* 89). In later times, after the Talmud of Babylon (7th century) became influential, the doctrine of two Messiahs was held among the Jews.† For several centuries it was their current belief that Messiah-Ben-David was referred to in all the prophecies which spoke of glory and triumph, while on Messiah-Ben-Joseph of Ephraim fell all the predicted woes and sufferings. By this expedient they both gratified their traditional idea which exonerated their chief Messiah, of David’s illustrious race, from all humiliation, and likewise saved their nominal deference to the inspired prophets who had written of the sorrows of Messiah. (For a popular sketch of this opinion of two Messiahs, the reader is referred to Mr. Payne Smith’s Oxford Sermons, on the *Messianic Prophecies of Isaiah*, pp. 177-181; see also Buxtorf’s *Rabbinical Lexicon*, s. v. משיח, pp. 1126-

1127, and s. v. אַרְמִיָּהוּ, Eisenmenger’s *Entdecktes Judenthum*, ii. 720-750; Otho’s *Rabbinical Lexicon*; Schoettgen, *Hore*, *Heb. et Rabbin.*, ii. 1-778.)

\* ‘Even in the first prediction, of the woman’s seed bruising the serpent’s head, there is the idea of a painful struggle and of a victory, which leaves the mark of suffering upon the Conqueror’ (Smith’s *Messianic Prophecies of Isaiah* [1862], p. 164).

† All the references to a suffering Messiah made by great writers, such as Raschi, Ibn Esra, and D. Kimchi, are to ‘Messiah-Ben-Joseph;’ while of the more than seventy quotations cited by Buxtorf (*Lex. Rabbin.*, s. v. משיח) from the Targums, including Onkelos, not one refers to the Messiah as suffering. This early Targumist literature (as distinguished from the later Rabbinical) dwells on the glories, triumphs, and power of a conquering Messiah.



However absurd this distortion was, it was yet felt to be too great a homage to the plain interpretation of the prophetic Scriptures as given by Christian writers, who showed to the votaries of the Talmud that their earlier authors had applied to the Son of David the very passages which they were for referring to the Son of Joseph. From the 10th and 11th centuries, therefore, other interpretations have been sought for. Maimonides omits the whole story of Messiah-Ben-Joseph in his account of the Messiah; see Pococke, *Append. on Malachi*. *The Messiah has been withdrawn altogether from the reach of all predicted sufferings*. Such passages as Is. liii. have been and still are applied to some persecuted servant of God, Jeremiah especially, or to the aggregate Jewish nation. This anti-Messianic exegesis is prevalent among the Neologians of Germany and France, and their 'free-handling' disciples of the English school (see Dr. Rowland Williams, *Essays and Reviews*, pp. 71-75 [edit. 2]). Thus Jewish sentiment has either reverted to that low standard of mere worldly expectation which recognised no humiliation in Messiah, but only a career of unmixed triumph and glory, or else has collapsed in a disappointment and despair, which forbids all speculation of a Messiah whatever (Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Jud.*, i. 677). 'We have waited so long for the Messiah you have promised us,' said the Jews of Constantinople to their Rabbi, 'without his arrival, that if you do not soon terminate our disappointment, we will turn Christians' (Chevalier Drach, *L'église et la synagogue*, pp. 98, 99). But Jewish despair does not often resolve itself into Christian hope. Here and there affecting instances of the genuine change occur, such as the two mentioned by Bishop Thirlwall (*Reply to Dr. W.'s earnestly respectful letter*, p. 78); in the second of which—that of Isaac da Costa—conversion arose from his thoughtful reflections on the present dispersion of the Jewish race for its sins. His acceptance of Jesus as the Messiah solved all enigmas to him, and enabled him to estimate the importance of such prophetic promises as are yet unfulfilled to Israel. But the normal state of Jewish Messianic opinion is that sickness of heart which comes from deferred hopes. This despair produces an abasement of faith,\* and a lowering of religious tone, or

else finds occasional relief in looking out after pretended Messiahs. Upwards of thirty cases of these are noticed by Basnage and other historians, as having deluded the nation in its scattered state since the destruction of Jerusalem. The havoc of life and reputation caused by these attempts has tended more than anything else to the discouragement of Messianic hopes among the modern Jews. Foremost in the unhappy catalogue of these fanatics stands the formidable rebellion under Bar-Cocheba, in the 2d century. Rabbi Akiba, 'the second Moses,' the great light of the day in Jewry, declared before the Sanhedrim that Bar-Cocheba was the Messiah. Rabbi Jochanan alone made opposition, and said, 'Grass, O Akiba, will grow out of thy jaws, and yet the Son of David not have come.' We know not what was the fate of Bar-Cocheba (or Bar-Coseba, 'the son of lying,' as his disappointed dupes at length called him), but the gray-headed Akiba was taken by the Romans and executed. More are said to have perished in this attempt than in the previous war of Titus. Embarrassing as all these failures are to the Jew, they only add one more to the many proofs of the Messiahship of Jesus of Nazareth, who expressly foretold these delusions of 'false Christs' (Matt. xxiv. 24; Mark xiii. 22), as one class of retributions which should avenge on Israel the guilt of his own rejection. Not only, however, from the lowliness and suffering of the Christian Messiah, but in a still greater degree from his exalted character, there arises a difficulty of faith to the Jewish objection. The divinity of nature which Jesus claimed for himself, and on account of which the Sanhedrim procured his death, is perhaps the greatest stumbling-block in the way of his reception among the Jews. But on this we cannot now dwell.

*Authorities.*—Besides the works which we have already referred to, use has been made of Jost, *Geschichte des Judenthums*, 3 vols., 1857; Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*; Pye Smith, *Testimony of the Messiah*, 3 vols., 1829; Bishop Kidder, *Demonstration of the Messiah*, folio, 1726; Bleek, *Einleitung in das A. T.*, 1860; Dr. McCaul, *Messiahship of Jesus*, Warburton Lectures, 1852; Reimke, *Die Messianischen Psalmen*, and *Der Prophet Malachi*; and Oehler, art. *Messias*, Herzog, ix. 408-441.—P. H.

\* This degeneracy of faith will, among other proofs, be evident to the reader who contrasts the old creed of the Jews with the *advanced* opinion of their modern writers. Maimonides on the Mishna (*Sanhed. c. Pelék*), calls the belief in the Messiah a fundamental article, and he quotes Article xii., which runs thus:—'I believe with a firm and perfect faith that the Messiah is yet to come; and although he tarrieth, I will wait or expect his coming daily.' And this expectation is no doubt cherished by the devout Jew still, who at the close of every grace after meal pray—'Merciful God, make us worthy of seeing the days of Messiah.' On the other hand, the learned rationalist Jew Salvador (*Histoire des Instit. de Moïse*, ed. 1862, vol. ii. p. 525), says—'Comme cette idée [of the coming of Messiah] n'est pas consignée d'une manière expresse dans les cinq livres fondamentaux [Pentateuch], elle ne forme nullement, quoiqu'en ait dit Maimonide, un article indispensable de la foi des Hébreux.' In a note, he quotes the renowned Joseph Albo, of 15th century, who re-

METALS. The principal metals are in this work considered separately under their several names; and a few general observations alone are necessary in this place.

The mountains of Palestine contained metals, nor were the Hebrews ignorant of the fact (Deut. viii. 9); but they do not appear to have understood the art of mining. They therefore obtained from others the superior as well as the inferior metals, and worked them up. They received also metal utensils ready made, or metal in plates (Jer. x. 9), from neighbouring and distant countries of Asia and Europe. The metals named in the O. T.

proves Maimonides for stretching too far the fundamental doctrines of Judaism, and not distinguishing between them and private opinions, such as he was content to regard the Messianic belief as being; and further justifies his rejection of this belief by the great authority of Hillel, who in the 1st century of the Christian era maintained that Israel must no longer expect a Messiah.



are ברזל *barzel*, iron (steel, Jer. xv. 12); נחשת *nechosheth*, copper, or copper ore; כסף *ceseph*, silver; זהב *zahab*, gold; עפרת *ophereth*, lead;

and בריל *bedil*, tin. The trade in these metals was chiefly in the hands of the Phœnicians (Ezek. xxvii. 7), who obtained them from their colonies, principally those in Spain (Jer. x. 9; Ezek. xxvii. 12). Some also came from Arabia (Ezek. xxvii. 19), and some apparently from the countries of the Caucasus (Ezek. xxvii. 13). A composition of several metals is expressed by the Hebrew word

חשמל *chasmil* (which see). In general the ancients had a variety of metallic compositions, and that which the word *chasmil* describes appears to have been very valuable. Whether it was the same as that precious compound known among the ancients as Corinthian brass is uncertain, but it is likely that in later times the Jews possessed splendid vessels of the costly compound known by that name. Indeed this is distinctly affirmed by Josephus (*Vita*, 13).

The vast quantity of silver and gold used in the temple in the time of Solomon, and which was otherwise possessed by the Jews during the flourishing time of the nation, is very remarkable, under whatever interpretation we regard such texts as 1 Chron. xxii. 14; xxix. 4, etc. In like manner, we find among other ancient Asiatic nations, and also among the Romans, extraordinary wealth in gold and silver vessels and ornaments of jewellery. As all the accounts, received from sources so various, cannot be founded on exaggeration, we may rest assured that the precious metals were in those ancient times obtained abundantly from mines—gold from Africa, India, and perhaps even then from Northern Asia; and silver principally from Spain.

The following are the metallic manufactures named in the O. T.:—Of *iron*, axes (Deut. xix. 5; 2 Kings vi. 5); saws (2 Sam. xii. 31); stone-cutters' tools (Deut. xxvii. 5); sauce-pans (Ezek. iv. 3); bolts, chains, knives, etc., but especially weapons of war (1 Sam. xvii. 7; 1 Maccab. vi. 35). Bedsteads were even sometimes made of iron (Deut. iii. 11); 'chariots of iron,' *i.e.*, war-chariots, are noticed elsewhere. [CHARIOTS.] Of *copper* we find vessels of all kinds (Lev. vi. 28; Num. xvi. 39; 2 Chron. iv. 16; Ezek. xxvii. 13; and also weapons of war, principally helmets, cuirasses, shields, spears (1 Sam. xvii. 5, 6, 38; 2 Sam. xxi. 16); also chains (Judg. xvi. 21); and even mirrors (Exod. xxxviii. 8). [COPPER.] *Gold* and *silver* furnished articles of ornament, also vessels, such as cups, goblets, etc. The holy vessels of the temple were mostly of gold (Ezra v. 14). Idolaters had idols and other sacred objects of silver (Exod. xx. 23; Is. ii. 20; Acts xvii. 29; xix. 24). *Lead* is mentioned as being used for weights, and for plumb-lines in measuring (Amos vii. 7; Zech. v. 8). Some of the tools of workers in metal are also mentioned: פַּעַם *paam*, anvil (Is. xli. 7); מַקְבֵּה *makkabah* (Is. xlv. 12); פַּטִּישׁ *pattish*, hammer (Is. xli. 7); מַל קָחִים *mal kachim*, pincers; and מַפְּחָה *mapphach*, bellows (Jer. vi. 29); מִצְרֶפֶת *matzreph*, crucible (Prov. xiii. 3); כּוּר *cur*, melting-furnace (Ezek. xxii. 18).

There are also allusions to various operations connected with the preparation of metals. 1. The smelting of metal was not only for the purpose of

rendering it fluid, but in order to separate and purify the richer metal when mixed with baser minerals, as silver from lead, etc. (Is. i. 25; comp. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxvii. 47; Ezek. xxii. 18-20). The dross separated by this process is called סִיגִים *sigim*, although this word also applies to metal not yet purified from its dross. For the actual or chemical separation other materials were mixed in the smelting, such as alkaline salts, בּוֹר *bor* (Is. i. 25); and lead (Jer. vi. 29; comp. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 31). 2. The casting of images (Exod. xxv. 12; xxvi. 37; Is. xl. 19), which are always of gold, silver, or copper. The casting of iron is not mentioned, and was perhaps unknown to the ancients (Hausmann, in *Commentatt. Soc. Goett.*, iv. 53, sqq.; Müller, *Archäol.* p. 371). 3. The hammering of metal, and making it into broad sheets (Num. xvi. 38; Is. xlv. 12; Jer. x.) 4. Soldering and welding parts of metal together (Is. xli. 7). 5. Smoothing and polishing metals (1 Kings vii. 45). 6. Overlaying with plates of gold and silver and copper (Exod. xxv. 11-24; 1 Kings vi. 20; 2 Chron. iii. 5; comp. Is. xl. 19). The execution of these different metallurgic operations appears to have formed three distinct branches of handicraft before the Exile; for we read of the blacksmith, by the name of the 'worker in iron'

(רוֹשֵׁי בְרֹזֶל, Is. xlv. 12); the brass-founder (1 Kings vii. 14); and the gold and silver smith (Judg. xvii. 4; Mal. iii. 2). [HANDICRAFT.]

The invention of the metallurgic arts is in Scripture ascribed to Tubal-cain (Gen. iv. 22). In later times the manufacture of useful utensils and implements in metals seems to have been carried on to a considerable extent among the Israelites, if we may judge from the frequent allusions to them by the poets and prophets. But it does not appear that, in the finer and more elaborate branches of this great art, they made much, if any progress, during the flourishing times of their commonwealth; and it will be remembered that Solomon was obliged to obtain assistance from the Phœnicians in executing the metal work of the temple (1 Kings vii. 13).

The Hebrew workers in iron, and especially such as made arms, were frequently carried away by the different conquerors of the Israelites (1 Sam. xiii. 19; 2 Kings xxiv. 14, 15; Jer. xxiv. 1; xxix. 2); which is one circumstance among others to show the high estimation in which this branch of handicraft was anciently held.—J. K.

METHEG-AMMAH (מֶתֶגֶת אַמָּה). In the A.V. of 2 Sam. viii. 1 we read, 'David took *Metheg-Ammah* out of the hand of the Philistines;' but in the margin instead of 'Metheg-Ammah' is 'the bridle of Ammah.' It seems most probable that the sacred writer did not give the word as a proper name, but as a descriptive epithet. It is not found in any other part of the Bible, nor in any ancient writer. The parallel passage in 1 Chron. xviii. 1 is, in the Hebrew, word for word the same as this, except that instead of 'Metheg-Ammah,' it has 'Gath and her daughters' (אֶת־גֹּת וּבָנֶיהָ); it would seem, therefore, that the phrase 'Metheg-Ammah' must be in some sense equivalent to 'Gath and her daughters.' The word *Metheg* signifies 'bridle'; and *Ammah* (אִמָּה) is the same as *em* (אִם), 'mother,' which, like the



Arabic *um* (أُم), may mean 'metropolis' (cf. 2 Sam. xx. 19). *Metheg-haammah* (for it has the article) may therefore mean 'the bridle (that is, 'the command or government') of the metropolis.' Thus interpreted, the parallel passages are identical in meaning. Gaza was the metropolis of Philistia. When David took 'Gaza and her daughters,' he took 'the government of the metropolis' from the Philistines. This is substantially the interpretation of Gesenius, who thus translates the clause, '*et sumsit Davides frenum metropoleos e manu Philistæorum; i. e., metropolin Philistæorum sibi subject'*' (*Thesaurus*, p. 113).

The LXX. renders the clause ἔλαβε Δαυὶδ τὴν ἀφωρισμένην ἐκ, κ. τ. λ.; though what is meant by ἀφωρισμένην, or how *Metheg-haammah* could be so rendered, it is now impossible to tell. The Vulgate has *frenum tribut*, 'the bridle of bondage,' a translation which the Hebrew will not legitimately bear, though Forster (*Dict. Heb.*) tries to defend it by saying that *Metheg-haammah* means literally *frenum cubiti*, which is equivalent to *frenum tribut* seu *subjectionis*. Others suppose *Ammah* to be the name of a mountain at or near Gath, mentioned by Pliny (v. 13) as *Amgar*; and the 'bridle of Ammah' was thus equivalent to Gath (so Pool, Patrick). Other interpretations are given by Glassius (*Philolog. Sac.*, p. 639), but they are not worth recording.—J. L. P.

METHUSAEŁ (מֶתוּשָׁאֵל, *man of God*; Sept. Μαθουσαλα), son of Mehujael, of the race of Cain (Gen. iv. 18).

METHUSELAH (מֶתוּשֶׁלַח, *man of the dust*; Sept. Μαθουσαλα), son of Enoch, and remarkable as being the oldest of those antediluvian patriarchs whose great ages are recorded Gen. v. 21, 22. At the age of 187 years he begat Lamech (the father of Noah); after which he lived 782 years, making altogether 969 years. [LONGEVITY.]—J. K.

#### MEUNIMS. [MAONITES.]

MEUSCHEN, JOHANN GERHARD, a learned divine and philologist, was born in 1680, at Osnabrück, in Westphalia, studied at Jena, and obtained the degree of A.M. in 1702. He then went to Kiel, where he eventually became professor of philosophy in 1704. Having returned to his native place, he assisted his father for some time in the ministry, until he was elected preacher at St. Catherine's. In 1708 he was made pastor of the Lutheran congregation in the Hague; in 1716 he became court preacher of Hanau, and subsequently general superintendent of Coburg, church-councillor and professor of theology at Coburg, where he died in 1743. His most important works in the field of Biblical literature are—*Diatriba de Nasi principe et direttore Synedrui Magni Hebræorum*, Coburg 1724; *Novum Testamentum e Talmude illustratum*, Leip. 1736; *Bibliotheca Medici sacri, seu recensio scriptorum qui Scripturam Sacram ex medicina et philosophia naturali illustrarunt*, the Hague 1712. Besides publishing many sermons and smaller dissertations, on topics of practical or historical interest, he edited H. Eygas' *Chronicon Universale*, Leyd. 1643.—E. D.

MEZAHAB (מֵי זָהָב; Sept. Μαζωβ; Alex.

Μεζωβ), the grandfather of Mehetabel, the wife of Hadar, one of the kings of Edom (Gen. xxxvi. 39; 1 Chron. i. 50). The name means *gold-water*, i. e., probably *auriferous stream*. Some regard it as the name of a place rather than a person, and suppose that *daughter* is used in the sense of *inhabitant* or *native*; but this is unnecessary, for though it may seem strange to call a man a stream or water, yet analogous instances are not wanting

(comp. בְּאֵרִי, יָבֵל, etc.). To what this prince was indebted for his name, whether to his material wealth—he was called Mezahab because gold was in his house as water' (Abarbanel)—or to some exuberance of mental resources, such as led Cicero to say of Aristotle, ὅτι χρυσίου ποταμοῦ εἰν ῥέοντος (Plutarch, *Vit. Cic.*, vol. iv., p. 465, of Bryan's edit.), it is impossible to say. The Targ. Onkel. abolishes the proper name, and renders 'daughter of a worker in gold.' The Targ. Jonath. and the T. Hierosol. resolve the name into מֵי, *What is*

*gold?* and apply it to Matred, who, say they, 'was a man that laboured with much assiduity and vigilance, and after he became rich and was full of wealth, his mind was purified, and he repented and said, What is gold, and what is silver?' Jarchi gives a similar rendering, but assigns a different reason for the name; 'he was,' says he, 'a rich man, and gold was not of any value in his eyes.'—W. L. A.

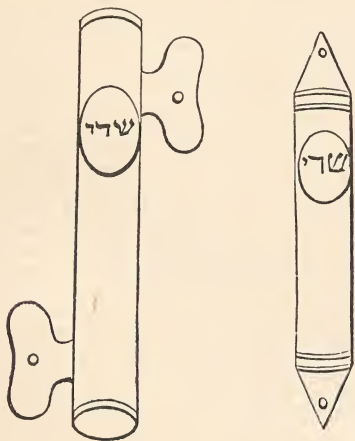
MEZUZA, pl. MEZUZOTH (מְזוּזוֹת, מזוזות), the place on which the Mosaic law enjoins the Israelites to write passages of Scriptures, Deut. vi. 9; xi. 20.

1. *Signification of the Word, and Design of the Injunction.*—The word מְזוּזָה (from זָז, *to push about, to move*) denotes either that which is most prominent, hence *the post of a door*, or that on which the door moves, or on which the hinges turn—hence a *door-post*. This is the sense in which it occurs in the Hebrew Scriptures. From the fact, however, that on it were written passages of the law, the term *Mezuzah* came afterwards synecdochically to denote the writing itself, or the passages of Scripture affixed to the door-post, and this is the sense in which the word is used in the Chaldee paraphrases, and in the Jewish writings generally. As books were exceedingly rare and expensive in ancient times, and could only be possessed by very few, the practice obtained, among the nations of antiquity, and still prevails in the East, of writing, engraving, or painting, such sacred mottoes or sage maxims over the doors of dwellings as the parents were especially anxious to record or to impart to their children. Thus, the ancient Egyptians had brief hieroglyphical legends over their doorways (Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of Ancient Egypt*, ii. 102; Wathen, p. 101), the Greeks and Romans had inscriptions over their doors (Virgil, *Georg.*, iii. 26, *seq.*) Other nations had their laws written upon their gates (Huetius, *Demonstratio Evangelica*, p. 58); and the Moslems to the present day, 'never set up a gate, cover a fountain, build a bridge, or erect a house, without writing on it choice sentences from the Koran, or from their best poets' (Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, p. 98). Now Moses in this instance, as in many other cases, availed himself of a prevalent custom, in



order to keep the divine precepts ever before the eyes of the people, and to enable them to instruct their children in the law of God. Hence Maimonides beautifully remarks, 'The commandment about the *Mezuzah* is binding on every one. For whenever an Israelite comes into the house, or goes out, he, seeing on it the name of the Holy One, blessed be he, will thereby be reminded of his love; and when he awakens from his sleep, and from his thoughts about the vanities of time, he will thereby be led to remember, that there is nothing which endures for ever and throughout all eternity except the knowledge of the everlasting Rock, and he will reflect and walk in the paths of righteousness' (*Iad Ha-Chezaka, Hilchoth Tefillin*, vi. 13).

2. *The Manner in which this Injunction has been and still is observed.*—That the Jews of old literally observed this injunction is not only evident from the above-mentioned prevailing custom of antiquity, but also from Josephus, who distinctly says that the Jews 'inscribe the greatest blessings of God upon their doors' (*Antiq.* iv. 8. 13); from the Chaldee paraphrase of Onkelos, who translates Deut. vi. 9, xi. 20, 'and thou shalt write them upon scrolls, and affix them on the door-posts of thy houses and thy gates;' from the Jerusalem Targum, Jonathan ben Uziel, Jerusalem Talmud (*Pea*, i. 1), Babylonian Talmud (*Erubin*, 96 b; *Aboda Sora*, 11 a), etc. These authorities, moreover, show that the Hebrews, at least after the Babylonish captivity, and at the time of Christ, wrote the passages containing this injunction on a piece of parchment, and affixed it to the door-posts, and that this *Mezuzah*, as it is called, is substantially the same as the Jews now have it, which is made in the following manner:—On the inside of a piece of square parchment, prepared by a Jew especially for this purpose, are written Deut. vi. 4-9,



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and xi. 13-21, whilst on the outside are written the divine name *שדי*, the Almighty, on the place where the first passage ends, and the words *במוכסז כוז*, *Kuzu Bemuchzas Kuzu*, to the left at the bottom. Thus written, the schedule is then rolled up in such a manner that the divine name *שדי* is outside, and is put into a reed, or hollow cylinder

made of lead, brass, or silver, varying in costliness according to the circumstances of the people. In this tube there is a little hole, just large enough to show the divine name, which is protected by a piece of glass, forming as it were a little window through which *שדי* is seen. Such a *Mezuzah* must be affixed to the right hand door-post of every door in the house by a nail at each end. The fixing of it is accompanied by the following prayer, 'Behold I prepare my hands to perform the commandment which my Creator has given me about the *Mezuzah*. In the name of the one, holy, most blessed God and his Shechinah, who is concealed, mysterious, and incorporated in the name of all Israel. Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, king of the universe, who has sanctified us by thy commandments, and has enjoined us to affix the *Mezuzah*!' Like the Greeks and Romans, who attached amulets to the jambs of the doors, and ascribed to them magic power, the Jews from a very early period believed that the *Mezuzah* guarded the house against the entrance of diseases and evil spirits, as may be seen

from the remarks in the Talmud *מילה דאת דמן*

*לך והיא מנטרה לך*, *Jerusalem Pea*, i. 1; and *בי היכי דתנטרי*, *Babylonian Aboda Sora*, 11 a;

*Menachoth*, 33 b, to which Rashi adds *לכל הבית* (*מן המזיקין*) and the Chaldee paraphrase of the Song of Solomon viii. 3, which is, 'I have affixed the *Mezuzah* to the right side of my door, in the third part thereof, towards the inside, so that the evil spirits may have no power to hurt me.' Hence the divine name *שדי* is made to denote the *Guardian of the dwellings of Israel*, the *ש* standing for

*ישראל*, the *י* for *דירת*, and the *ד* for *שומר*, according to the exegetical rule called *נוטריקון* (= *notarium* from *notarius*, a short-hand writer, one who writes with abbreviations), which regards every letter of a word as an initial or abbreviation of a word; whilst the words *כוז במוכסז כוז*, supposed to be the name of the guardian angel, or of

God himself, are made to stand for *אלהינו יהוה*, *Jehovah our God is Jehovah*, by another exegetical rule which exchanges each letter of a word with its immediate predecessor in the alphabet; e. g., the *כ* in *כוז* is exchanged for *י*, the *ו* for *ה*, the *ז* for *ו*, and the *י* for *ה*, thus yielding *יהוה*. Every pious Jew, as often as he passes the *Mezuzah*, in leaving the house or in entering it, touches the divine name with the finger of his right hand, puts it to his mouth, and kisses it, saying in Hebrew, 'The Lord shall preserve thy going out and thy coming in, from this time forth, and for ever more' (Ps. cxxi. 8); and when leaving on a business expedition, he says, after touching it, *בשמן*

*כוז במוכסז כוז אלך ואצליח*, *Kuzu Bemuchzas Kuzu* (= God), I go out and shall prosper.

3. *Literature.*—Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chezaka Hilchoth Tefillin U-Mezuzah Ve-Sepher Tora*, v. vi.; *Forc Dea*, sections 285-295; the Jewish ritual entitled *Derech Ha-Chajim*, containing a summary of all the laws connected with the Jewish observances, Vienna 1859, p. 31, ff.—C. D. G.

MIBHAR (מִבְהָר; Sept. Μεβδαλ; Alex. Μαβάρ), son of Haggeri (1 Chron. xi. 38). [HAGARITE.]

MIBSAM (מִבְסָם; Sept. Μασσάμ). 1. One of the sons of Ishmael (Gen. xxv. 13; 1 Chron. i. 29). Knobel (*Gen. in loc.*), followed by Bunsen (*Bibelwerk, in loc.*), founding on the meaning of the word, *Balsam* or *sweet odour*, suggests that this is 'the name of a tribe between Mecca and Medina, where the mountain land of the *Beni Sobh*, a section of the great tribe of the *Beni Harb*, the proper site of the Mecca balsam lies.' But this is purely conjectural. 2. A son of Simeon (1 Chron. iv. 25). The occurrence of Mibsam and Mishma, both in the family of Ishmael and in that of Simeon, shows that the same names may occur in families of cognate relationship; so that there is no force in the argument which, from the similarity of names, would infer that the two genealogical lists in Gen. iv. and v. are merely different forms of the same.—W. L. A.

MIBZAR (מִבְצָר; Sept. Μαζάρ in Gen.; Βαζ-σάρ Alex., Μαβσάρ in Chron.), one of the dukes of Edom or Esau (Gen. xxxvi. 42; 1 Chron. i. 53). The word signifies *fortress* or *keep*, and from this Knobel, followed by Bunsen, suggests that it may be Petra. He compares Pss. cviii. 10, and lx. 9, where the principal city of Edom is called עִיר מִבְצָר and עִיר מוֹצֹר.—W. L. A.

MICAH, THE PROPHET. Sept. Μιχαῖς; Vulg. *Michaeas*. The full form of the Hebrew name is מִיכָיָהוּ (who is like Jehovah?), 2 Chron. xiii. 2; xvii. 7; abbreviated first to מִיכָיָה, Judg. xvii. 1-4; then to מִכָּיָה, Jer. xxxvi. 11, or מִיכָיָה, 1 Kings xxii. 13; and finally to מִיכָה. In the Septuagint Micah ranks third among the prophets, and in the arrangement of the present Hebrew copies he is placed the sixth of the minor prophets. In point of time he might be classed as fourth in the prophetic series—Jonah, Joel, and Amos having preceded him. Of his life nothing is known. In Jer. xxvi. 18, and in the inscription to his oracles, he is called 'Micah the Morasthite.' The epithet was probably given to distinguish him from an older prophet, Micaiah the son of Imlah, who lived in the period of Elijah. Some of the fathers, as Jerome, Athanasius, and Eusebius, have identified the two men, though they were separated by more than a century, and, according to Bleek, the compiler of the Book of Kings has fallen into the same anachronism (*Einleit.* p. 539). Bleek's one proof is the similarity between the beginning of this prophecy and an oracle of Micaiah the son of Imlah, recorded in 1 Kings xxii. 28, the repeated formula being the simple one, 'Hearken, O people, every one of you.' The assertion of Hengstenberg, and of Naegelsbach (Herzog's *Encyclopaedia*, art. *Micah*), that this repetition was intentional, and was meant to form a kind of link in the prophetic succession, is as unwarranted, on the one hand, as is that of Bleek on the other, for such an initial note of warning was surely natural to one bearing a momentous divine message. Micah was of Moresheth—either as born in it or identified with it as his home—though Jerusalem seems to have been the scene of his prophetic activity. Jerome and Eusebius call it Morasthi, and the first says it is a hamlet—*haud grandis viculus*—to the east of Eleutheropolis and in its immediate neighbourhood. The Morasthite is therefore no patronymic, as the Septuagint gives

it—ὄν τοῦ Μωρασθελ—in this place, though the reading is different under Jer. xxvi. 18—ὁ Μωρα-θλητης. The word in this first verse is translated by the Chaldee and Syriac versionists, and in the Septuagint and Vulgate, as a common noun—κληρονομία, Haereditas. It is probable, but not absolutely certain, that the place is the same as Moresheth-gath, i. 14—a town belonging to Judah. It is doubtful, as Robinson suggests, whether Jerome does not confound Mareshah with Moresheth—or perhaps they were near one another. Jerome says further of the place—'Sepulchrum quondam Michaiæ prophetæ nunc Ecclesiam,' Ep. 108, ad Eustochium [MORESHETH-GATH; MARESHAH]. (Robinson's *Biblical Researches*, vol. ii. p. 68.) Ewald remarks that Micah gives proof that he belonged to a small city of the lowlands, as he chiefly refers to such towns both in his threatenings and in his promises of mercy (i. 10, 15; v. 2), *Die Propheten*, p. 324. According to Sozomen, *Hist. Eccles.* vii. 29, the remains of Habakkuk and Micah were brought to light under the Emperor Theodosius—those of the latter being found at a place called Beratsatia, ten stadia from Cela—while his tomb was ignorantly called by the people Nephsamemana, an Aramaic word which he interprets into Greek as *μνημα πλοστον*.

According to the inscription—and there is no reason to doubt its genuineness—Micah prophesied 'in the reigns of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah.' His ministry began at some point in Jotham's reign, and terminated at some point in Hezekiah's, giving a duration of from twenty to twenty-five years—for one need not give the extreme termini of the accession of Jotham and the death of Hezekiah, comprising a period of more than half a century, or from B.C. 756 to 697. The inscription, however, has been called in question. On the one hand, Bertholdt holds that none of Micah's oracles belong to the period of Hezekiah, but to the times of Ahaz and Manasseh, *Einleit.* sec. 411. But his proofs based on denunciations of idolatry are very precarious, for even in the days of Jotham and Hezekiah polytheism had deeply leavened the people, bringing along with it superstitious practices and moral declension. Hartmann and Eichhorn go still farther, and refer them wholly to the reign of Manasseh, though they admit that Micah flourished in Hezekiah's time, or from the 14th year of his reign. De Wette would give the last years of Ahaz and the first of Hezekiah, as the period of Micah's prophetic work. Little argument can be gathered from the allusions to neighbouring kingdoms, since what is said of them in Micah quite harmonizes with what is known of them during the reigns of these three Jewish sovereigns. On the other hand, Ewald, Hitzig, Bleek, Knobel (*Prophetismus*, ii. p. 203), and Maurer (*Comment. Gram.*, ii. p. 243), while not denying that the prophet may have lived and laboured under Jotham and Ahaz, maintain that the oracles, as preserved in his book, belong all to the reign of Hezekiah. But it may be replied, that many references fit in to the reigns of Jotham and Ahaz. The allusion in v. 10 to the war-horses and chariots, and fortresses, is surely applicable to the reign of Jotham, the successor of him who fortified the capital, built towers, invented 'engines to shoot arrows and great stones,' and had a large and disciplined body-guard, as well as a prodigious host, equipped with the finest armour (2 Chron. xxvi. 9, 10, 14, 15).



The allusions to idolatrous usages are in keeping with the historical accounts of the reign of Ahaz. It is said of him (1 Kings xvi. 3), 'that he walked in the way of the king of Israel;' and Micah gives, as one reason of the divine anger, 'The statutes of Omri are kept, and all the works of the house of Ahab, and ye walk in their counsels.' 'Shall I give my first-born for my transgression?' was a question of peculiar point under a sovereign who 'burned his children in the fire' (2 Chron. xxviii. 3). The frightful state of morals, false teaching, selfishness, rapacity, and injustice described in Micah agrees well with the reign of Ahaz, by whom the nation was brought to the verge of ruin, and who was not privileged to be buried 'in the sepulchres of the kings' (2 Chron. xxviii. 27). While the first chapter refers to the fall of idolatrous Samaria as a catastrophe soon to happen, it at the same time menaces Jerusalem, especially on account of its 'high places.' Besides, would it not be strange that the oracles delivered under Jotham and Ahaz had perished, and only those under Hezekiah were preserved? Better is it to suppose that Micah's prophecies were recast and collected together as we now have them in the early period of Hezekiah, or before the sixth year of his reign—the period of the destruction of Samaria. Great stress is laid on the quotation from Micah iii. 12 in Jer. xxvi. 18, 'Then rose up certain of the elders of the land, and spake unto all the assembly of the people, saying—Micah the Morasthite prophesied in the days of Hezekiah, king of Judah, and spake to all the people of Judah, saying, Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, 'Zion shall be ploughed like a field,' etc. This appeal was made in the reign of Jehoiakim. It is as useless on the part of Ewald to base the reference on the 'good historical recollection' of the elders, as it is on the part of Hävernicks to suppose that the elders were survivors from the period of its first utterance. Nor can we agree with Hengstenberg (*Christol.* i. 480), apparently endorsed by Keil (*Einleit.*, p. 297), that Hezekiah is singled out because he alone of the three kings mentioned in the inscription was possessed of theocratic authority, in that he had listened to the voice of the prophets; and because Micah probably collected his oracles under his reign. But really, the quotation by the elders only proves that this individual prophecy was delivered in the reign of Hezekiah, and it affirms nothing as to the time of the other oracles. Nay more, the quotation affords a strong presumption in favour of the genuineness of the inscription; as a mere redactor, aware of the reference in Jeremiah to king Hezekiah, would have been strongly tempted to place the era of Micah's prophetic activity under that monarch alone. We can lay no stress on another argument which Caspari (*Ueber Micha*, p. 60) adduces as of convincing power, and which is based on the identity of a paragraph in Isaiah ii. 2-5, with that in Micah i. 1-4. He assumes that the passage in Micah is the original, and that Isaiah made a borrowed use of it; Pusey adds, that the opinion is 'owned well-nigh on all hands' (*Minor Prophets*, p. 289). If Micah be the author, then it would prove him a contemporary of Isaiah at an early period of his career, even when Jotham was associated in the government with his father Uzziah. But it is hard to find which is the earlier composition. If it be said that in Micah it appears

to be an integral part of an oracle, brought out into relief by the previous prediction of the overthrow of Jerusalem, then it may be replied, that in Isaiah it stands as the first formal utterance, immediately after the distinct preamble—the word that 'Isaiah the son of Amoz saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem.' The probability is rather that the oracle used by both belongs to an earlier age, and commended itself to two prophets of kindred spirit. Perhaps, however, the original form is more distinctly preserved in Micah. The last or fourth verse seems an essential part of the oracle, and verse 5—so terse, rythmical, and suggestive, in Micah—is toned down into a brief exhortation in Isaiah. But see Gesenius (*Commentar über d. Jesaja*, in loc., p. 177). The use of the abbreviated form of the prophet's name in the inscription does not point of itself to a late age. The Kethib, indeed, gives the longer form in Jer. xxvi. 18, but the shorter occurs even in Judg. xvii. 1, 4, 5, 8; and though the briefer form of such a word is always a second form, it is impossible to say when the change was effected, or how gradually it came into use. Lastly, the arrangement of Wells (*Micah*, Pref., sec. 4-6) cannot be borne out, as it is too minute and mechanical; for he places the first chapter under Jotham, the next two chapters under Ahaz, and the rest under Hezekiah—while there are really no palpable criteria for such a sharp and definite adjustment.

The book has been variously divided: Eichhorn cuts it into five *Volksreden*; Henderson and Stähelin (*Spec. Einleit.* p. 247) divide it into two parts—the first comprising the earlier five chapters, and the second the remainder. Caspari, Keil, Bunsen, and Ewald, virtually make three divisions, each introduced by the warning שִׁמְעוּ, 'hear ye;' the first comprising chaps. i. and ii., the second iii.-v., and the last vi., vii. The objection to this arrangement, that the word שִׁמְעוּ stands too abruptly at

the beginning of the second section, has no force; especially if we suppose, with Knobel, Ewald, De Wette, Meier, Keil, and Pusey, that though the oracles were spoken at various times and as occasion required, they were collected together and moulded into their present form and connection in the reign of Hezekiah. One consequence is that the various sections have an inner connection, while they may admit of formal separation. Each section begins with a warning or expostulation, and passes into blessed promise. The first opens with the awful descent of Jehovah to judge the people; announces the doom of Samaria; sketches the path of the conqueror toward Jerusalem; reprobrates the sins of selfishness, rapacity, and falsehood; and menaces captivity to Jerusalem, but promises a return. The second deals with the iniquities of the rulers, their lawless refusal of justice, and their wanton cruelty in 'building up Zion with blood.' How can Bleek say that Micah does not blame 'political misdeeds,' when he singles out oppression and maladministration, and pictures the rulers as flaying the skin, breaking the bones, and chopping in pieces the people as flesh 'for a cauldron?' This section, while it threatens that 'Zion shall be ploughed as a field,' passes on to glorious prospects of restored nationality and worship. In fact, the oracles in this portion are the most magnificent in the book, culminating with the announcement of Messiah's birth at Bethlehem. The third section is in part



dramatic. God speaks (vi. 1)—the people reply, or make inquiry (ver. 6). The prophecy concludes with a glowing anthem, which finds a fitting place in the ode of Zechariah (Luke i. 68).

The style of Micah is rich, full, and musical—as nervous, vehement, and bold, in many sections, as Hosea, and as abrupt, too, in transitions from menace to mercy. He presents, at the same time, no little resemblance to Isaiah in grandeur of thought, in richness and variety of imagery, and in roundness and cadence of parallelism. The sudden changes are so far hidden from the English reader, because our version interprets as well as translates. The simple connective *ו*, is often rendered by some logical term, as ‘therefore’ (i. 6), ‘then’ (iii. 7), ‘but’ (iv. i.), ‘notwithstanding’ (vii. 13), etc. Concise and pointed questions are put suddenly; persons are changed rapidly; the people are spoken of, and then in a moment spoken to; the nation is addressed now as a unit, and now edged appeals are directed to individuals. The language is also pure and classical—intercourse with northern countries had not yet debased it. An under-tone of deep earnestness pervades the book, everywhere are discerned the workings of an intensely pious and patriotic soul. The figures are drawn from pastoral and rural life; the industrial life with which he was familiar in the vicinity of Moresheth-Gath, the low country of Judæa. Plays upon words are not uncommon, as in chap. i. 10-15, in which the rest of the clause in which a proper name occurs has a corresponding meaning with it, or bears a paronomastic relation to it. In these verses there is also vivid grouping, as place after place is challenged along the line of the conqueror’s march. Each town is seen to carry its doom in its very name. And that doom is told in many ways—either to them or of them; either in the prophet’s name or as a divine burden; either as an event about to come or a judgment which will certainly overtake them. Perhaps in vii. 18 there is an allusion to the meaning of the prophet’s own name. Correspondences to some extent with Isaiah may be seen—Mic. i. 1-4, Is. ii. 2-4; Mic. i. 9-16, Is. x. 28-32; Mic. ii. 2, Is. v. 8; Mic. ii. 6, 11, Is. xxx. 10, 11; Mic. iv. 10, Is. xxxii. 11; Mic. vi. 6-8, Is. i. 11-17; Mic. vii. 7, Is. viii. 17; Mic. vii. 12, Is. xi. 11. Allusions to the past history of the people are found in many places. There are also several expressions which are found in the Mosaic writings, though it might be rash to say that Micah takes them directly from the Pentateuch. Nor would we indorse all the instances in which, as Caspari affirms, later prophets, as Jeremiah and Ezekiel, Habakkuk and Zephaniah, have adopted the language of Micah (*Micha*, 449, etc.).

The prophecies of Micah thus comprehend many great events—the overthrow of Israel and ruin of Samaria; the invasion of Judah; the Babylonish captivity and the restoration; with the re-establishment of a new kingdom, and the birth of the great Ruler at Bethlehem. The punishment of the nations who oppressed the chosen people is also, but rather obscurely, fore-pictured. It requires some ingenuity to find the minuter shades of prophecy which Jahn and others have detected, such as the Maccabæan dynasty, with its victories and subsequent peace. For the future is Messianic and remote—a period of tranquillity and universal theocratic dominion.

Micah vii. 6 is alluded to in Matt. x. 35; Mark

xiii. 12; and Luke xii. 53. Micah v. 2 is referred to in John vii. 42, and quoted with some variation in Matt. ii. 5, 6. In Micah the words are—‘But thou, Bethlehem Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall he come forth unto me that is to be ruler in Israel.’ In Matthew the quotation runs—‘And thou, Bethlehem, in the land of Juda, art not the least among the princes of Juda: for out of thee shall come a Governor, that shall rule my people Israel.’ It is needless to say that the form in Matthew is only the Sanhedrim’s quotation. Nor need we give the verbal criticisms of Meyer, Fritzsche, and others upon it. The variation is not very important. In Micah emphasis is laid on the actual smallness of Bethlehem to enjoy such an honour; in Matthew the prominent idea is the honour itself, and its ideal grandeur—the converse side of the statement. Pocock cuts the knot by adopting Rabbi Tanchum’s odd opinion that the term *בֵּית לֵחֶם* means

both little and great, the prophet selecting the one sense and the evangelist the other. Nor can we hold, with the Jewish Rabbis Kimchi, Abarbanel, and Ibn Esra, followed by Theodore of Mopsuestia, Paulus, Strauss, and Davidson (*Introduction*, iii. p. 289), that the prophecy simply implies that the Messiah was to be of Davidic descent. The evangelist adopts the quotation in proof that Jesus was born in Bethlehem, so that it ranks with the other quotations adduced directly by him in the earlier chapters of his gospel. The current interpretation of the earlier Jews also contradicts this weak exegesis. The plain meaning is, that the Messiah, as David’s son, should be born in David’s town (Hofmann, *Weiss. u. Erf.*, p. 249). Tertullian also presses the argument that the Messiah has come, for Bethlehem was deserted—*neminem de genere Israel in civitate Bethlehem remansisse* (*Adversus Judæos*, xiii.; *Opera*, vol. ii. p. 734, ed. Oehler). To give the vague sense of Davidic extraction, and yet to deny that the words point out the place of birth, was thus a necessary but feeble Jewish subterfuge. Renan admits the usual interpretation of the prophecy, though he affirms that Jesus was really not of the family of David, and was born at Nazareth (*Vie de Jésus*, chap. ii.) The application of the oracle to Zerubbabel advocated by Grotius is wholly out of the question (*Opera*, vol. i. p. 527, ed. London 1679). The same exposition was held in former times by some whom Chrysostom calls *ἀνασχυντοῦρες*, persons past shame, for the Hebrew leader ‘was born in Babylon’ (Chrys., *Hom. vii. in Matt.*; *Opera*, vol. vii. p. 121, ed. Paris 1836). The Targum gives the reference formally to the Messiah.

The genuineness of the book has not been called in question. Only Ewald in his *Jahrb.* xi. 29, is disposed to maintain that the two concluding chapters are the work of a different author. His objections, however, have no force against the universal opinion.

*Commentaries*.—Bibliander, *Comment. in Micham*, Tiguri 1538; Luther, *Com. in M.*, Viteb. 1542, and in German, 1555; A. Gilby, *Commentary upon Micha*, Lond. 1551; David Chytræus, *Explicatio Micha*, Viteb. 1565; Pocock, *Commentary on Micah*, Works, vol. i., Lond. 1740; Bauer, *Animadversiones*, Altdorf 1790; Grosschopf, *Die Orakel d. Proph. Micha übersetzt*, etc., Jena 1798; Justi, *Micha neu übersetzt*, etc., Leipz. 1799; Hart-



mann, do., Lemgo 1800; Ewald, *Die Propheten des A. Bundes*, Stuttgart 1840; Henderson, *Minor Prophets*, Lond. 1845; Caspari, *über Micha den Morasthiten u. s. Proph. Schrift.*, Christiania 1852; Hitzig, *Die Zwölf kleinen Proph. erklärt*, 2d ed., Leipz. 1852; Pusey, *Minor Prophets*, Lond. 1861.—J. E.

MICAH, or MICAIAH (מִיכָה, or as in i. 1-4, מִיכָה; *Mīkalas*; *Mīká*; Michas, Micha. (See for different forms of name, under Micah the prophet.) Micah was 'a man of Mount Ephraim,' a peculiarly suggestive episode in whose life has been preserved in the 17th and 18th chapters of the book of Judges. Micah had in some way appropriated eleven hundred shekels of silver belonging to his mother, but, as her curses on him that had done the robbery rang in his ear, he confessed the theft and returned the money. The superstitious mother admitted that she had saved up the silver 'that she might wholly dedicate it unto Jehovah' in the form of images; and with a fifth part of it she at once provided a graven and a molten image for her son's idol-chapel. The other portion was probably reserved for the support of the establishment; for Micah had already a house of gods—idols of various styles, and teraphim too, while the sacerdotal ephod was worn by his son, who, in flagrant contravention of the law, had become his priest. This idolatry, so carefully and expensively fostered, was evidently regarded and venerated as in harmony with the worship of Jehovah. 'Blessed be thou of Jehovah,' said the mother to the son. 'Now I know that Jehovah will do me good,' said the patron of this organized superstition. In course of time a Levite, without any fixed residence, strayed into the settlement, and bargained, for a trifling recompense, to superintend the image-worship, consenting at the same time to be consecrated by Micah, who was anxious to have his worship under one who belonged at least to the sacred caste. This vagabond Levite was a grandson of Moses (for the true reading in xviii. 30 is not Manasses but Moses), a person, therefore, of some note; though we know not how one of such illustrious descent came to be a houseless and aimless wanderer. The incident shows how prone the nation was to relapse into idolatry, and how such idol-worship was creeping in and sustaining itself, from its symbolic character, or its supposed imitation of the cherubim forms in the tabernacle. We cannot tell why two images are so distinctly characterised, a 'graven' one and a 'molten' one. Deut. xxvii. 15. Perhaps the pair formed one symbolic representation, and the representation was probably analogous to that which was devised at Sinai and borrowed from the calf-worship of Egypt.

By and by some adventurous Danites, unable to dispossess the Amorites (Judg. i. 34), and longing for new settlements, sent five spies to reconnoitre the northern part of the country. These spies, happening to lodge in Micah's house, and recognising the voice of the grandson of Moses, were told his history and present occupation. On receiving his official blessing, they went their adventurous way. A body of Danites, on learning their report, soon followed. 'Six hundred armed men' traversed the country, and, apparently fired with religious zeal, entered Micah's sanctuary, and took violent possession of his priest and his images. Micah's remonstrances were vain. The armed band suc-

ceeded in its sudden invasion of Laish, so, 'quiet and secure,' changed its name into Dan, and formally set up, in that remote district, the idol-worship which they had despoiled in the house of Micah. This establishment, a rival to that of Shiloh, remained long in existence—'until the day of the captivity of the land;' and perhaps it suggested to Jeroboam the expedient which ensnared the ten tribes—the calf at Dan and the other at Bethel.

The time of these lawless incidents—betokening a state of declension and anarchy—may be assigned to the period immediately after that of 'the elders that overlived Joshua.' Dan apparently had possession of ships and a portion of sea-coast by the time of Deborah, and therefore this conquest seems to have happened before the monarchy of Jabin 'who reigned in Hazor.' At this early period, and in the disjointed tribal state of the kingdom, there was no central controlling power, the judges had but limited territorial sway, and the nation had been accustomed to arms during the conquest under Joshua; so that we can easily believe that a band of fierce soldiers, like these Danites, might work out their lawless will without opposition, especially as they were going in quest of new lands. One of these encampments, named after them Mahaneh-dan (xviii. 12), is referred to in Judg. xiii. 25. The words have a melancholy emphasis: 'In those days there was no king in Israel, but every man did that which was right in his own eyes.'

The date of the composition of this appendix to the book of Judges must be placed after the establishment of the monarchy, as the phrase 'there was no king in Israel' clearly indicates. The allusion to the time, 'that the house of God was in Shiloh,' might suggest a date posterior to the earlier part of Saul's reign, when the ark was removed to Nob. Some, like Le Clerc, argue for a later date, from the phrase, 'until the day of the captivity of the land' in xviii. 30, as if it necessarily referred to the Assyrian invasion. The reading is doubtful. Studer and Hitzig take the 30th verse as a later interpolation; Kimchi, Hävernicks, Hengstenberg, and Bleek refer the phrase to the captivity of the ark in the time of Eli, but on no good ground, unless the reading הָאָרֶץ be changed, as some prefer, into הָאָרֶן. Stähelin and Ewald,

regarding the verse as a later addition, place the composition about the period of Asa or Jehoshaphat; Stähelin insisting, too, that the diction does not belong to the purer period of the language. Verse 30, indeed, does not quite agree with 31, which seems to limit the duration of the Danite idolatry to the period of the station of the ark at Shiloh; and the phrase, 'until the day of the captivity,' as Keil remarks, may refer to some unknown invasion on the part of the neighbouring Syrians (*Biblischer Commentar über das A. T.*, 2d part, vol. i. p. 336, Leipzig 1863). Besides, it can scarcely be supposed that this idolatrous cultus, so directly and openly opposed to the spirit and letter of the Mosaic law, would have been allowed to stand in the zealous days of Samuel and David. See Stanley's *Lectures on the Jewish Church*, pp. 296-97.—J. E.

MICAIAH (מִיכָה, *who as Jehovah?* Sept. *Mīkalov*), a prophet of the time of Ahab. Accord-



ing to Josephus, he was the prophet who had rebuked Ahab for not putting Benhadad to death after he had conquered him at Samaria (1 Kings xx.); and that in consequence of this Ahab had imprisoned him. This will account for his not being among the prophets who assembled at the summons of Ahab when he and Jehoshaphat were preparing to make war on the Syrians. For some reason, Jehoshaphat being dissatisfied with the counsel given by the prophets, Micaiah was sent for at his special request; and as he declared against the enterprise, which the other prophets encouraged, Ahab commanded him to be imprisoned, and allowed only 'bread and water of affliction,' till he returned from the wars in peace. To which the prophet ominously answered, 'If thou return at all in peace, then the Lord hath not spoken by me' (1 Kings xxii. 8-28). The event corresponded with this intimation [AHAB]; but we have no further information concerning the prophet, excepting some statements of Josephus, for which he gives no authority (*Antiq.* viii. 15. 6).

MICHAEL (מִיכָאֵל, *who as God?* Sept. Μεχαήλ). This, which seems to have been a common name among the Jews (comp. Num. xiii. 13; 1 Chron. v. 13, 14; vi. 40; vii. 3; viii. 16; xii. 20; xxvii. 18; 2 Chron. xxi. 2, 4; Ezek. viii. 8), is the name given to one of the chief angels, who, in Dan. x. 13-21, is described as having special charge of the Israelites as a nation; and in Jude 9 as disputing with Satan about the body of Moses, in which dispute, instead of bringing against the arch-enemy any railing accusation, he only said, 'The Lord rebuke thee!' Again, in Rev. xii. 7-9, Michael and his angels are represented as warring with Satan and his angels in the upper regions (*ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς*), from which the latter are cast down upon the earth. This is all the reference to Michael which we find in the Bible.

On the authority of the first of these texts the Jews have made Michael not only one of the 'seven' archangels, but the chief of them; and on the authority of all three the Christian church has been disposed to concur in this impression. The Jews regard the archangels as being such, not simply as a class by themselves, but as respectively the chiefs of the several classes into which they suppose the angels to be divided; and of these classes Michael is the head of the first, and therefore chief of all the archangels (*Sepher Othioth*, fol. 16).

The passages in Daniel and Revelations must be taken as symbolical, and in that view offer little difficulty. The allusion in Jude 9 is more difficult to understand, unless, with Vitrina, Lardner, Macknight, and others, we regard it also as symbolical; in which case the dispute referred to is that indicated in Zech. iii. 1; and 'the body of Moses' as a symbolical phrase for the Mosaic law and institutions. A comparison of Jude 9 with Zech. iii. 1 gives much force and probability to this conjecture.—J. K.

[There seems good reason for regarding Michael as a name of the Messiah. Such was the opinion of the best among the ancient Jews (Wetstein, *N. T.*, note on Jude 9; Surenhusius *Biblos Katal.*, p. 701, etc.) With this all the Bible representations of Michael agree. He appears as the Great Prince who standeth for Israel (Dan. xii. 1), and he is called 'the prince of Israel' (Dan. x. 21); expressions

which may be compared with that used in chap. ix. 25 of the Messiah. So in the *N. T.* Michael appears as the defender of the church against Satan (Rev. xii. 7), the special work of the Christ (1 John iii. 8). The allusion in Jude 9 can hardly be understood as above suggested; for though the church is called the body of Christ (Eph. i. 23), it is not in such a sense as admits of our giving an analogous explanation to the phrase 'body of Moses;' the ancient Jewish state was never so incorporated into Moses as the spiritual church is into Christ. Jude doubtless cites here a Jewish tradition which there is no reason for not regarding as true; for aught that can be shown to the contrary, Satan and the Logos, as Michael, may have contended for the body of Moses as a deep symbol of their grand contest for the spiritual dominion of the race. The appearance of Moses in a body at the transfiguration gives some countenance to the belief that he was on this occasion delivered from him that hath the power of death, and, like Elijah, triumphantly carried into heaven. As for an order of archangels, Scripture knows nothing of it. The Bible names but one archangel, Michael, the archangel, even the Lord, who shall come to judge the quick and the dead (1 Thess. iv. 16).]

MICHAELIS is the name of a German family, of which several members have been eminent in theological and Biblical literature since the Reformation. The writings of some of these men, although valued in their day, have now fallen into oblivion; but this cannot be said of the publications of the following members of this family:—I. JOHN BENEDICT MICHAELIS, from whose pen we have a valuable treatise on *The Capital Punishments of the Jews and other Eastern nations mentioned in the Bible*. Much learned illustration of several obscure passages of Scripture is to be met with in this dissertation, which is reprinted in Ugolino, *Thesaur.*, vol. xxvi. col. 233-264. II. JOHN FREDERICK MICHAELIS, pupil of Danzius, author of a philological dissertation on the derivation and meaning of the

sacred name מִיכָאֵל, also reprinted in Ugolino, *Thes.* xxiv. 105-138; with this treatise it is worth while to compare J. D. Michaelis' remarks, *Supplement. ad Lex. Hebraic.*, 85-87; and Gesenius, *Thes.* 95-99. III. JOHN GEORGE MICHAELIS, divinity professor at Halle, author of several learned works; one, on the famous Catechetical school of Alexandria, was first published in 1739; another work, more connected with Biblical literature, proceeded from his pen in 1752, *De progressu et incremento doctrine salutis inde a protovangelio usque ad Noachum*; he is, however, better known for his *Observationes Sacre*, a volume of great and varied erudition, comprising certain disputations which he had held at the University of Frankfort [now Breslau]. This volume was published at Utrecht in 1738; we add the titles of such as claim mention in this work—*De incisura propter mortuos*; *De Elisao, a probro puerorum Bethlehensium justo Dei judicio vindicato*; *De cane, symbolo prophete*; *De Spiritu Sancto, sub externo linguarum ignearum symbolo Apostolis communicato*; *De crustulis quotidianis pontificis maximi*; *De Sacerdote, ex ministerio suffitus non divite*. In Ugolino, *Thes.* xi. 727-748, there occurs a valuable



dissertation, *De Thuribulo Adyti*, in which our author fully considers the high-priest's sacrificial duties on the great day of atonement, and takes occasion to illustrate, in an interesting manner, the priesthood of Christ in some of its features as indicated in the Epistle to the Hebrews, ix. 7-15.

IV. JOHN HENRY MICHAELIS, who was, upon the whole, the most accurately learned of all the accomplished members of his family, was born at Klettenberg, in Hohnstein, in the year 1668. He studied Oriental literature for some years at Frankfurt-on-the-Oder, where he had the celebrated Ludolf for his instructor in Ethiopic. He removed to Halle, the head-quarters of Spener's influence, and became professor of the Oriental languages, and eventually of divinity, in that university. Halle was at that time the most renowned of the German universities; its professors were eminent men, and its schools crowded with eager students, and J. Henry Michaelis was the soul of the place. Fifty years before Kennicott's publication, J. H. Michaelis, after some thirty years' conscientious labour, led the way in O. T. textual criticism, by issuing from the press a carefully edited Hebrew Bible in two 4to volumes, at Halle in 1720. Kennicott, who was impetuous in judgment, spoke slightly of this work, as if the author, from favour of the Masoretic text, had improperly used his MSS. (see Kennicott's *Annual Accounts of Hebr. Coll.*, p. 146). He afterwards modified his opinion in the following statement, which we extract, as giving a good description of Michaelis' labours:—'This edition was the first which contained any various readings collected from Hebrew MSS. by a Christian editor. The text is taken from Jablonski's edition, with some few emendations. . . . There were collated for this Bible most of the best printed editions, and also five Hebrew MSS. belonging to the library at Erfurt; two of which contain the verses in Joshua excluded by the Masora. The propriety of selecting various readings from Hebrew MSS. and ancient versions is set forth in the preface' (*Hist of Hebr. Text. Dissert.*, ii. p. 487, Teller's edition, p. 465). Three 4to volumes of exegesis, in the shape of a commentary on the *Hagiographa*, accompanied the critical text. This is a work of still acknowledged value. J. H. Michaelis was the general editor of the whole work; but he received assistance from his nephew and Rambach in some portions of it. The annotations on the Psalms, Job, Canticles, Ezra, and the Chronicles, were contributed by him (on the critical merit of our author, see Wiseman, *Connection between Science*, etc., 2d edit., p. 349). Other works of John Henry Michaelis are worthy of mention here: such as a dissertation, *De Paradiso*; a tract, *De peculiaribus Hebræorum loquendi modis*, Halle 1702; *De Iesaja propheta ejusque vaticinio*, Halle 1710; and on the N. T., *De textu N. T. græco*, Halle 1707; *Introductio in Jacobi epistolam*, Halle 1722, in a 4to volume. This diligent and profound scholar ended his labours in the year 1731. Associated with him in much of his learned occupation was—V. His nephew, CHRISTIAN BENEDICT MICHAELIS, who was born at Elrich, in Hohnstein, in the beginning of 1680. Educated at Halle, he became in 1713 'extraordinary,' and the year after, 'ordinary,' professor of philosophy, and in 1731 professor of theology. In 1738 he succeeded to the chairs of Greek and Oriental literature, to the duties of

which he continued to apply himself until the year of his death, 1764, at the ripe age of eighty-four. He was not so extensive an author as his uncle, but what writings he left show him to have been an intelligent and careful scholar. His knowledge of Hebrew was very sound, and he was in advance of many of his contemporaries in his method of teaching it. Herein he was a follower of Schultens, whom he excelled in judgment if not in erudition. Cardinal Wiseman (*Lectures*, p. 364) has mentioned his merits in just terms. Referring to 'the true and solid method' of this school, he says, 'It consisted in not attempting to reach at once a full and comprehensive system of grammar, but in illustrating particular points—either from the cognate dialects, or by a collation of numerous passages in the Bible itself. C. B. Michaelis laudably attended to both methods.' Still more recently an equally competent critic has pronounced a high opinion on two of our author's works, as 'replete with excellent observations, and partly based on a judicious comparison of the dialects' (Kalisch, *Hebr. Gram.*, vol. ii. p. 39). We will mention his chief works: [I.] *On Hebrew Grammar and Philology*; '*Dissertatio, qua solacismus casuum ab Ebraismo S. Codicis, depellitur*,' Halle 1729; '*Dissert. qua solacismus generis a Syntaxi S. Codicis Ebraici depellitur*,' Halle 1739; A treatise against the etymological hypothesis, defended by Hermann Hardt and others, that Hebrew and the cognate tongues were derived from Greek, Halle 1726; A treatise on the Hebrew points, in which he took the side of Capellus, Halle 1739; A dissertation on *Scripture Paronomasia*, Halle 1737; A disputation on *Hebrew Ellipses*, Halle 1724. [II.] *On Biblical Exegesis*: '*De Herba Borith*,' Halle 1728; '*De Idumæa et ejus Antiqu. Historia*,' Halle 1733; '*Philologemata Medica*' (in which he discusses certain points of the *ars medica* of the Bible); '*Observationes philologicae de nominibus propriis Ebraicis*,' a work which was a worthy predecessor of Simonis *Onomasticon V. T.*; '*Dissertatio philologica de antiquitatibus æconomie patriarchalis*,' reprinted in Ugolino, *Thesaur.* xxiv. 323. In the year 1749, he published at Halle in a 4to volume an elaborate treatise on the various readings of the Greek Text., in which work he exhibited proofs of an accurate critical judgment, and gave some account of the MSS. known in his day, both Greek and Latin; of the ancient versions, and of the patristic quotations. We must not omit to mention the co-operation of C. B. Michaelis with his uncle in the valuable commentary on the *Hagiographa*, to which we have already referred. Our author contributed the annotations on the Proverbs, Lamentations, and Daniel; moreover he was associated with J. H. Michaelis in a commentary on the first two of the greater prophets. Simultaneously with the work of the latter on Isaiah, noticed above, appeared C. B. Michaelis' treatise, '*De Jeremia et Vaticinio ejus*,' Halle 1712. In the year 1736 he published a short work, '*De vaticinio Amosi, propheta*,' VI. The last and greatest of this learned clan was JOHN DAVID MICHAELIS, who has been in many respects more influential than any other of the great German writers in Biblical literature whom Germany has produced during the last 150 years. Born in 1717, and surviving until 1791, Michaelis, whose indomitable activity and inquiring spirit evaded



nothing of interest, was a connecting link between the old orthodoxy, which took everything on trust, and the new rationalism, which rejected authority and accepted nothing but what stood the trial of critical search. Michaelis felt the transition, and his consistency suffered from its influence. Retaining much of the traditional respect of his family for the Church's dogmas, but ever striving after independent opinion and new light, his works are too frequently disfigured with the incongruities of sacred subjects dressed in sceptical clothes, which have an ill fit. Although not a sceptic, he could never enter into the true spirit of revealed truth. After all drawbacks, however, the discriminating and careful student will seldom consult Michaelis without benefiting by his erudition and clearness of illustration; and often will he find objections on Scripture refuted with much force and felicitous originality. At the beginning of his literary career, at his birth-place Halle, Michaelis seemed for a time to take the side of the ultra-orthodox. His *Dissertatio de Punctorum Hebr. Antiquitate*, Halle 1739, was quite Buxtorfian. But his mind speedily began to change; in 1745 he published at Halle a Hebrew grammar, in which he defends the views of Schultens. Previous to this he visited England, and formed a friendship with Bishop Lowth and some other learned men both in this country and in Holland. His advancing views made him impatient of Halle, and in 1746 he removed to Göttingen, in which university he became professor of philosophy and Oriental literature. Although he spent the remainder of his life and died at Göttingen, he became connected with other countries by literary and political ties. He was made a Knight of the Polar Star by the King of Sweden in 1775 (whence he is sometimes called SIR J. D. Michaelis), and in 1789 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of London. Intent on the interests of his favourite pursuit, Biblical science, Michaelis planned, in the year 1756, the expedition to Arabia and India, which was conducted by Carsten Niebuhr. The project being submitted to Frederick V., king of Denmark, by his minister Bernstorff, was accepted by that liberal monarch. The choice of the travellers was left to Michaelis, who drew up a series of questions for their guidance. These questions discuss the most interesting points of Biblical science—Sacred geography; Oriental habits and customs; Natural productions mentioned in the Bible; Diseases which still afflict men in the East, as they did of old. The perspicuity, and precision, and learning, with which our author proposes the questions, and the information in answer to them obtained by Niebuhr and Forskal (as embodied in the *Voyage en Arabie*, and *Description de l'Arabie* of the former, and in the *Descriptiones Animalium*, etc., of the latter), strikingly illustrate the sagacity of Michaelis; and the literary results of the expedition, though short of the exaggerated expectations of the time, have, in the shape of five quarto volumes, been permanently beneficial to Biblical science. The principal works of this voluminous writer, which are suitable for mention in this *Cyclopaedia* are—[1.] '*Spicilegium Geographiae Hebraeorum externa post Bochartum*' (Göttingen 1769, 1780); an edition of the *Abulfeda Tabula Aegypti*.—[2.] Several grammars of Oriental tongues. Besides the Hebrew already mentioned, he wrote Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic grammars, and dissertations on

philological points connected with these languages. Linguistic learning, however, it must be confessed, was not a very strong point with Michaelis.—[3.] '*The Oriental and Exegetical Library*,' a valuable periodical, conducted by him from 1771 to 1795, in 24 volumes.—[4.] '*Supplementa ad Lexica Hebraica*' (6 parts in 2 vols. quarto); useful, not more for the language illustrated, than for the information afforded on Biblical geography, archaeology, and natural history.—[5.] Various *exegetical* works, such as his monograph on the three chief Messianic Psalms [viz., x. xl. cx.], in which we are much indebted to him for an able defence of their prophetic character—see Card. Wiseman, *Lectures*, etc., p. 378—(1759; republished by Schleusner, 1793); his Commentary on the Book of Maccabees (1778), on Ecclesiastes (1762); but especially his Paraphrastic Translations of portions of the O. T. (13 parts quarto, 1769-1786) and of N. T. (2 parts quarto, 1790), accompanied with useful\* notes for unlearned persons.—[6.] Several dissertations from time to time on the Laws and Antiquities of the Jews, the substance of which is embodied in his celebrated '*Mosaïsches Recht*' (6 vols. 1770-1775; second edition in 1776-1780). This, his most original work, was translated by a Scotch clergyman, Dr. Alexander Smith, in 4 vols. 8vo, 1814. If defective in method, these '*Commentaries on the Laws of Moses*,' as the translator designated them, have been justly valued for the perspicuity, wide views, and historical illustrations wherewith the author has so learnedly investigated the whole subject.—[7.] Learned notes on Bp. Lowth's *Sacra Poesis Hebraeorum* (reprinted in the Oxford edition, with farther annotations, by E. F. C. Rosenmüller, 1821).—[8.] 'The Burial and Resurrection of Jesus Christ, according to the Four Evangelists,' an able vindication of the sacred history (English Trans. 1827; the original work was published at Halle, 1783).—[9.] The best known of Michaelis' works is his '*Introduction to the New Testament*.' The late Bishop Marsh brought English students acquainted with this work, by an excellent translation of the fourth German edition, which he considerably augmented, with notes and a dissertation on the origin and composition of the three first gospels. (This translation was first made in 1802† [4th and best edition, of six vols. in four, was published in 1823]; but the first edition of the original appeared as early as 1750; little, however, of the original treatise survived in the fourth edition of 1788 [in 2 quarto vols.] which Marsh translated, so greatly did the author's critical opinions change and develope). Much controversy arose in this country on the appearance of Bp. Marsh's translation. The opinions of both author and translator

\* A part of this work was published as early as 1740, in a 4to vol., entitled 'Paraphrases und Anmerkungen über die Briefe Pauli an die Galater, Epheser, Philipper, Colosser, Thessalonicher, den Timotheus, Titus, und Philemon.' Walchius highly commends the work: 'Hic liber erudite atque accurate conscriptus merito laudari ac commendari debet. Paraphrases sunt breves ac perspicuae: notae non vulgares; sed selectae ac saepe ea exhibent, quae alii interpretes neglexerunt.'—*Bibliotheca Theologica*, vol. iv. p. 671.

† The first edition, however, was also translated and published in a quarto volume as early as the year 1761.



were freely canvassed; much general caution was offered to unwary students on what was said to be 'the tendency of the work, in several particulars, to lower the credit of the sacred writings, and consequently to weaken the foundation of our faith, by raising unnecessary doubts, and magnifying little difficulties' (*Remarks on Michaelis*, 2d edition, 1802), and specific objections have been justly urged by various writers (e.g., by Cardinal Wiseman, *Lectures*, pp. 379-385, who ably refutes Michaelis' attack on the authenticity of chapters i. and ii. of St. Matthew's Gospel). It would, however, be an unworthy prejudice to deny to this work, after all drawbacks, a great amount of excellent information (especially on the textual criticism of the N. T.), which was not only much in advance of the age when it was produced, but which, owing to Michaelis' vivid and effective treatment, is still, and long will be, considered as worthy of careful perusal. Eichhorn's eulogy is not too strong: 'For the criticism of the N. T. we are indebted in the most part to Michaelis: he received it poor and uncultivated; he left it rich and matured.' (*On the Life and Writings of J. D. Mich.*, p. 31). He contemplated, in his active old age, an 'Introduction to the O. T.' on the plan of his great work on the N. T., and the first part appeared at Hamburgh in 1787. The vigour and ripe learning which this attempt exhibited, justify the supposition that Michaelis would, if he had lived a few more years in equal vigour, have produced a work on a great and difficult subject which would have adorned his genius as its crowning effort. We have not mentioned his numerous miscellaneous writings, and therefore have only partially represented to the reader the product of Michaelis' adamant labours. He was one of the most industrious of men, and few have written so little, out of stores so vast, which has fallen ineffectual to the ground. Living, as he did, in a time of transition, it is no wonder if his views were not full grown; but it is remarkable that so much of what he propounded has stood the test of subsequent development, and, instead of being swept away as obsolete, has been reproduced and perfected by other scholars on the continent and among ourselves.—P. H.

MICHAIAH (מִיכָיָהוּ; Sept. *Mīchālas*, *Mīchala*; Alex. *Mīchāla*, *Maaḡā*), the same name as Micaiah and as Micah or Micha. Of the six persons called Michaiah in the A. V., two are elsewhere called Micah—viz., the father of Achbor (2 Kings xxii. 12; comp. 2 Chron. xxxiv. 20) and the son of Zaccur (Neh. xii. 35; comp. 1 Chron. ix. 15; Neh. xi. 17). In 2 Chron. xiii. 2, Michaiah appears as the name of a female, the same who is elsewhere called Maacah (1 Kings xv. 2; 2 Chron. xi. 20); and so the LXX. and the Syr. read it here. The other Michaiahs are—1. One of the princes whom Jehoshaphat sent to teach the law in the cities of Judah (2 Chron. xvii. 7); 2. One of the priests who blew the trumpets at the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem by Nehemiah (Neh. xii. 41); 3. The son of Gamariah and grandson of Shaphan the scribe, who after having heard Baruch read in his father's house the predictions of Jeremiah announcing calamity upon the nation, went, apparently with good intentions, and reported what he had heard to the king's officers (Jer. xxxvi. 11-13).—W. L. A.

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MICHAL (מִיכָל, *who as God?* Sept. *Μελαχδλ*), youngest daughter of King Saul (1 Sam. xiv. 49). She became attached to David, and made no secret of her love; so that Saul, after he had disappointed David of the elder daughter [MERAB], deemed it prudent to bestow Michal in marriage upon him (1 Sam. xviii. 20-28). Saul had hoped to make her the instrument of his designs against David, but was foiled in his attempt through the devoted attachment of the wife to her husband. Of this a most memorable instance is given in 1 Sam. xix. 11-17. When David escaped the javelin of Saul he retired to his own house, upon which the king set a guard over-night, with the intention to slay him in the morning. This being discovered by Michal, she assisted him to make his escape by a window, and afterwards amused the intended assassins under various pretences, in order to retard the pursuit. 'She took an image (*teraph*), and laid it in the bed, and put a pillow of goat's hair for a bolster, and covered it with a cloth.' This she pretended was David, sick in bed; and it was not until Saul had commanded him to be brought forth, even in that state, that the deception was discovered. Michal then pretended to her father that David had threatened her with death if she did not assist his escape. Saul probably did not believe this; but he took advantage of it by cancelling the marriage, and bestowing her upon a person named Phalti (1 Sam. xxv. 44). David, however, as the divorce had been without his consent, felt that the law (Deut. xxiv. 4) against a husband taking back a divorced wife could not apply in this case: he therefore formally reclaimed her of Ish-bosheth, who employed no less a personage than Abner to take her from Phalti, and conduct her with all honour to David. It was under cover of this mission that Abner sounded the elders of Israel respecting their acceptance of David for king, and conferred with David himself on the same subject at Hebron (2 Sam. iii. 12-21). As this demand was not made by David until Abner had contrived to intimate his design, it has been supposed by some that it was contrived between them solely to afford Abner an ostensible errand in going to Hebron; but it is more pleasant to suppose that, although the matter happened to be so timed as to give a colour to this suspicion, the demand really arose from David's revived affection for his first wife and earliest love.

The re-union was less happy than might have been hoped. On that great day when the ark was brought to Jerusalem, Michal viewed the procession from a window, and the royal notions she had imbibed were so shocked at the sight of the king not only taking part in, but leading, the holy transports of his people, that she met him on his return home with a keen sarcasm on his undignified and unkingly behaviour. This ill-timed sneer, and the unsympathising state of feeling which it manifested, drew from David a severe but not unmerited retort; and the Great King, in whose honour David incurred this contumely, seems to have punished the wrong done to him, for we are told that 'therefore Michal, the daughter of Saul, had no child to the day of her death' (2 Sam. vi. 16-23). It was thus, perhaps, as Abarbanel remarks, ordered by providence that the race of Saul and David should not be mixed, and that no one deriving any apparent right from Saul should succeed to the throne.—J. K.

M



MICHMAS, or MICHMASH (מִכְמָשׁ; Sept. *Maxmas*), a town of Benjamin (Ezra ii. 27; Neh. xi. 31; comp. vii. 31), east of Beth-aven (1 Sam. xiii. 5), and south from Migron, on the road to Jerusalem (Is. x. 28). The words of 1 Sam. xiii. 2; xiv. 4; and Is. x. 29, show that at Michmas was a pass where the progress of a military body might be impeded or opposed. It was perhaps for this reason that Jonathan Maccabæus fixed his abode at Michmas (1 Maccab. ix. 73); and it is from the chivalrous exploit of another hero of the same name, the son of Saul, that the place is chiefly celebrated (1 Sam. xiii., xiv. 4-16). Eusebius describes Michmas as a large village nine Roman miles from Jerusalem, on the road to Ramah (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Maxmas*). Travellers have usually identified it with Bir or El-Bireh; but Dr. Robinson (*Researches*, ii. 117) recognises it in a place still bearing the name of Mukhmas, at a distance and position which correspond well with these intimations. This is a village situated upon a slope to the north of a valley called Wady es-Suweinit. It is small, and almost desolate, but bears marks of having been once a place of strength and importance. There are many foundations of hewn stones, and some columns lie among them. The valley es-Suweinit, steep and precipitous, is probably 'the passage of Michmash' mentioned in Scripture. 'In it,' says Dr. Robinson, 'just at the left of where we crossed, are two hills of a conical, or rather spherical, form, having steep rocky sides, with small wadys running up between each so as almost to isolate them. One of them is on the side towards Jeba (Gibeah), and the other towards Mukhmas. These would seem to be the two rocks mentioned in connection with Jonathan's adventure (1 Sam. xiv. 4, 5). They are not, indeed, so 'sharp' as the language of Scripture would seem to imply; but they are the only rocks of the kind in this vicinity. The northern one is connected towards the west with an eminence still more distinctly isolated.—J. K.

MICHMETHAH (הַמִּכְמֶתָה; Sept. *Ἰκαμῶν*, *Δηλὰρδᾶ*; Alex. *Μαχμάθ*; *Machmethah*), a town on the northern border of Ephraim (Josh. xvi. 6). In defining the boundaries of Manasseh Joshua says of Michmethah that 'it is before, or in the face of, Shechem' (אֲשֶׁר עֲלֵי-פָנֶי שֶׁכֶם), xvii. 7), which may mean either that it was situated opposite to it within sight, or east of it. This note fixes the site of Michmethah, locating it a short distance from Shechem, and probably on its east side. It seems difficult, however, to reconcile this with the words of chap. xvi. 6, the only other passage in which the name occurs: 'The border of Ephraim . . . on the east side was Ataroth-addar, unto Beth-horon the upper; and the border went out to the sea (or westward, *הַיָּם*) to the Michmath (הַמִּכְמֶתָה) on the north' (מִצְפֹּן). From this it would appear as if Michmath (the final ה is local) lay on the sea-coast, at the north-western border of Ephraim; and if so it cannot be identical with the Michmath near Shechem. It is not unusual to find the same name applied to two cities. Reland supposes that the two words in xvii. 7 should be united, and that the passage ought to be read, 'And the coast of Manasseh was from *Asher-Hammichmethah*,' etc., and this view would favour the theory that this city was different from the former Michmath; but

the Masoretic text will not bear Reland's interpretation (Reland, *Pal.*, p. 596). Michmethah is not mentioned by Eusebius or Jerome, and its site is unknown. With our present data it is impossible to determine whether the sacred writer refers to one town or two. If to one town only, then it must have been situated near Shechem, and the meaning of Josh. xvi. 6 will be: 'The border went out to (or along) the west side (*הַיָּם*) to Michmath on the north.' We have no authority, from either MSS. or ancient versions, for saying with Keil that the text of this verse is corrupt (Keil, *ad loc.*)—J. L. P.

MICHTAM. [PSALMS.]

MIDDIN (מִדִּין, 'measures,' from מִדָּה=Arab. *Ṣad*); the Vat. text of the LXX. is very corrupt in Josh. xv. 61; it seems to read here *Αἰνών*; Alex. *Μαδών*; *Meddin*), a town in the wilderness (מִדְבָּר) of Judah, grouped with Engedi, and only mentioned in Josh. xv. 61. The 'wilderness' lay along the western shore of the Dead Sea, and included nearly the whole eastern declivities of the mountain-range. Somewhere in this wild region Middin must have been situated, but its site is unknown; and it appears to have been also unknown to ancient as well as modern geographers.—J. L. P.

MIDDLETON, THOMAS FANSHAW, D.D., first bishop of Calcutta, was the only son of the Rev. Thomas Middleton, rector of Kedleston, in Derbyshire. He was born Jan. 26, 1769. When ten years old he was admitted to Christ's Hospital, where he was a contemporary and friend of Coleridge and C. Lamb. Thence he proceeded as exhibitor to Pembroke College, Cambridge, and took his degree as B.A. in 1792, appearing as fourth Sen. Optime. The same year he was ordained and became tutor to the sons of Archdeacon Pretyma, whose brother, Bishop Pretyma (Tomline), presented him to the living of Tansor, Northants, in 1795. In 1805 he published the work by which his name is chiefly known, *The Doctrine of the Greek Article applied to the Criticism and Illustration of the N. T.* He became D.D. the same year; prebendary of Lincoln, 1809; vicar of St. Pancras, Middlesex, 1811; Archdeacon of Huntingdon, 1812; and was consecrated first Bishop of Calcutta, May 8, 1814. He reached his diocese in the following November, and was untiring in his efforts to promote the spread of Christianity and education. He made three visitations of his enormous diocese, and paid special attention to the Syrian Christians of the Malabar coast. The 'Bishop's College' of Calcutta was established by him in 1820. He was cut off in the midst of his labours, after a brief episcopate of eight years, July 8, 1822, in the 54th year of his age. New and improved editions of his work on the Greek Article were published by Prof. Scholefield in 1828, and by H. J. Rose in 1833. The arguments for the divinity of Christ he deduces from the force of the article have, as was natural, been warmly controverted by Unitarian critics, and it is possible that in some cases they may be overstrained; but his line of proof demands attentive consideration, and its general results have been accepted by the majority of scholars.—E. V.

MIDIAN (מִדְיָן; 'strife,' *Μαδύμ*; *Madian*), the name of Abraham's fourth son by Keturah, and of



a powerful and celebrated nation that sprung from him (Gen. xxv. 2; Num. xxii.) The Gentile noun is מִדְיָנִי (Num. x. 29; *Μαδιανῆς*), fem. מִדְיָנִית.

The plural מִדְיָנִים (*Μαδιανῆται* and *Μαδιανῆται*) is used a few times (Gen. xxxvii. 28; Num. xxv. 17); but the usual name given to the nation is simply מִדְיָן, *Midian*. In the N. T. (Acts vii. 29, *Text. Rec.*) the form *Μαδιάν* is used as in the LXX.

Midian, though not the oldest, was the most celebrated son of Keturah. What Judah became among the tribes of Israel, Midian became among the tribes of Arabia. It is true we find the other branches of the Keturites spoken of a few times in sacred history, and mentioned in such a way as to prove that as tribes they never lost their individuality; yet the Midianites were the dominant people, and Midian is the great name which always comes out prominently before the historian. Not only so; but the Midianites appear to have been for a lengthened period the virtual rulers of Arabia, combining into a grand confederacy, and then guiding or controlling, as circumstances required, all the Arabian branches of the Hebrew race. This fact comes out incidentally in many parts of Scripture; and we require to keep it carefully in view in order to understand the sacred narrative.

Midian had five sons, who, doubtless, in accordance with Arab custom, became heads of distinct tribes (Gen. xxv. 4; cf. Num. xxxi. 8). We are told that while 'Abraham gave all that he had to Isaac,' that is, made him his heir—head of his house and patrimony—to the sons of the concubines Abraham gave gifts, and sent them away from Isaac his son while he yet lived, eastward, to the land in the east' (vers. 5, 6). This is the first indication of the country occupied by the Midianites and other descendants of Keturah. The expression is not very definite. Abraham's principal place of residence was southern Palestine, Mamre and Beersheba. The 'country of the east' appears to have included the whole region on the east side of the Arabah or great valley which reaches from the fountains of the Jordan to the Ælanitic Gulf. All Arabia, in fact, and even Mesopotamia were included in the 'country of the east' (Gen. xxix. 1; Num. xxiii. 7, etc.). Another incidental notice in Gen. xxxvi. 35 points more clearly to the exact territory of Midian. Hadad, one of the early kings of Edom, is said to have 'smitten Midian in the field of Moab.' We may conclude from this that the Midianites were at that time settled on the eastern borders of Moab and Edom. They were, like all Arabians, a nomad, or semi-nomad people; having some settlements around fountains and in fertile valleys, but forced to wander in their tents from place to place to secure sufficient pasture for their flocks. The Midianites were an enterprising people. They were not satisfied with the dull routine of pastoral and agricultural life. From the first they appear to have engaged in commercial pursuits. Some districts of Arabia, eastern Palestine, and Lebanon, yielded valuable spices and perfumes which were in great demand in Egypt, not merely for the luxuries of the living, but for the embalming of the dead. In this profitable trade the Midianites engaged. It was to one of their caravans passing through Palestine from Gilead to Egypt, that Joseph was sold by his brethren (Gen. xxxvii. 25, *seq.*) Slaves at that time found as ready a market in Egypt as they do

now. It will be observed that the traders are called by the historian both *Ishmaelites* and *Midianites*, the two names being used as synonymous. The reason probably is, that these were the dominant tribes in Arabia, and carried on the trade jointly, hence they were known among strangers by both names. It would seem, however, that the merchants in this caravan were true Midianites, though they may have been accompanied by Ishmaelites (verses 28, 36; but cf. 25, 27).\*

The next notice of Midian is in connection with the eventful history of Moses—'Moses fled from the face of Pharaoh, and dwelt in the land of *Midian*' (Exod. ii. 15). Reuel or Jethro, the priest of Midian, became his master and father-in-law. Moses kept his flock. The subsequent incidents of this strange narrative show clearly the region then inhabited by Jethro, and called 'the land of Midian.' It was the peninsula of Sinai, and it was while watching his flock there on the side of Horeb that he saw the glory of the Lord in the burning bush, and received the commission to return to Egypt for the deliverance of Israel (Exod. iii. 1, *seq.*) It would appear, from a comparison of the several incidental notices of Jethro given in the Pentateuch, that the peninsula of Sinai was not his settled place of abode. When Israel was encamped at Horeb, Jethro brought thither Moses' wife and two sons; and after a brief stay, we are told that 'he went his way into his own land' (Exod. xviii. 1-3, 27; cf. Num. x. 29, 30). The Midianites were nomads roaming over a very wide region, but, like most Arab tribes, having one permanent nucleus. This nucleus was specially their home: it was the 'land of their kindred'; yet they also claimed the whole region in which they pastured their flocks as their own. The nucleus of the Midianites was somewhere on the eastern border of Edom, but their pasture-grounds extended probably as far as Gilead and Bashan on the north, while on the south they embraced an extensive territory along both shores of the Ælanitic Gulf. Hence Horeb was said to be in the land of Midian (Exod. ii. 15 with iii. 1), while we read in another place that Jethro left the camp of Israel at Horeb, 'and went his way unto his own land' (*l.c.*); that is, to the chief seat of his tribe on the east of Edom. The Midianites were thus accustomed to lead their flocks and herds over the whole of that region which the Israelites afterwards traversed—the choice pastures, the fountains, and the wells in the desert were all known to them. This fact throws light on Moses' urgent request to his father-in-law—'Leave us not, I pray thee: forasmuch as thou knowest how we are to encamp in the wilderness, and thou mayest be to us instead of eyes' (Num. x. 31).

The Midianites were a wise and a wily people. So long as the Israelites only traversed their outlying pasture-grounds on the west of the Arabah, they were content to cultivate their friendship; but when, in the latter part of their journey, having

\* In verse 36 the Hebrew is מִדְיָנִים, the *Medanites*, which is the regular plural of *Medan* (מִדְיָן), the third son of Keturah (Gen. xxv. 2); while in verse 28 the word is מִדְיָנִים, the regular plural of מִדְיָן. There can be little doubt that the Midianites are referred to in both passages as represented in the Septuagint, Vulgate, Targums, and other ancient versions.



passed round the southern end of Edom, they entered the proper territory of Midian, the Midianites tried every plan and used every effort to work their destruction. They consulted with their neighbours, the chiefs of Moab, and resolved to bring the prophet Balaam to curse the powerful strangers (Num. xxii. 4-7). Balaam came, and the Lord turned the intended curse into a blessing. The prophet, however, adopted a more effectual mode of injuring the Israelites than by the agency of enchantments. He persuaded the women of Midian and Moab to work upon the passions of the Israelites, and entice them to the licentious festivals of their idols, and thus bring upon them the curse of heaven (xxi. 16). This infamous scheme proved only too successful (xxv.), and had it not been checked by the almost complete annihilation of the Midianites, it would have brought destruction upon the whole host of Israel (xxv. 17; xxxi. 2). The vengeance then executed upon Midian was terrible. Their cities and castles were burned; the entire males that fell into the hands of the conquerors were put to death, and with them all the married females; and the young women and children were reduced to slavery. It has been affirmed that these acts of vengeance are so cruel, so barbarous in their character, that they could never have been prompted by a God of love, and that, therefore, the narrative cannot be considered as of divine authority. Those who bring such an accusation against the Scriptures must surely overlook the leading circumstances of the case—they must forget that the God of love is also the God of justice. The whole Midianitish nation, male and female, had deliberately combined and conspired by wile and stratagem, to wean the Israelites from their allegiance to the God of heaven; and not only so, but wantonly to allure them to the commission of the most foul and degrading crimes. Was it inconsistent with justice for the moral Governor of the universe to punish such guilt? Could any punishment less sweeping have freed the earth from crime so deep-rooted and so dangerous?

The details of this war given by Moses afford us some little insight into the nature of the country of Midian, and the occupations of the people. The Midianites were not pure nomads; they had cities and goodly castles (xxxi. 10). Their principal wealth consisted, however, in flocks and herds, for the Israelites captured 675,000 sheep, 72,000 beeves, and 61,000 asses. It is singular that camels are not mentioned; but it is probable that as the Israelites were all footmen, the camels escaped to the desert. Recent investigations have shown that the whole desert east of Edom and Moab is thickly studded with the ruins of ancient cities and castles (Wallin, in *Journal of R. G. S.*, xxiv. 115, seq.; Porter, *Damascus*, ii. 188; Wetzstein, *Reisebericht über Hauran*, etc.; Graham, in *Journal of R. G. S.* for 1859). These were doubtless the habitations of the Midianites. The whole region around their cities, extending from the mountains of Haurân to the Ælanitic Gulf, though now dreary and desolate, is not barren. In spring and early summer it is covered with vegetation, and it has many rich valleys, a few patches of which are still here and there cultivated by the Arab tribes. Everywhere there are evidences of partial cultivation in former days, and there are also traces of a comparatively dense population.

Some time previous to the exodus it appears that the Midianites had allied themselves closely to the

Moabites. Sihon, king of the Amorites, made war upon Moab and Ammon, conquered a large part of their territory, and retained possession of it (Judg. xi. 13-23). At the same time he made Midian, the ally of Moab, tributary; and hence the five princes of Midian are called by Joshua 'vassals' (נְסִיכִי; Keil on *Josh.* xiii. 21) or 'dukes' of Sihon. The defeat of Sihon by the Israelites secured the freedom of the Midianites; and then they, fearing that they should in like manner be subdued by Moses, conspired to destroy Israel, and thus brought destruction upon themselves. The government of Midian was doubtless similar to that of all the nations of Arabia—patriarchal. The nation was divided into a number of tribes, each of which was independent, and led by its own *sheikh* or chief. In time of common danger or of war, the sheikhs of the various tribes formed a council, but always acknowledged the presidency of the head of one leading family, who was (and still is) styled the 'prince' (*Emir*) of the nation. Five of the sheikhs of Midian are mentioned in Judges as subjects of Sihon. In Num. xxxi. 8 they are called 'kings' (מְלָכִי); while in chap. xxii. 4, Moab is said to have consulted with the 'elders' (זְקֵנֵי) of Midian. The great Arab tribes have two classes of chiefs: one class is composed of the rulers of the leading divisions of the tribe; the other of the rulers of subdivisions. The former are hereditary, the latter are simply influential or warlike men who, by their talents, have gathered round them a number of families. It would seem to be the former class—the hereditary rulers of Midian—who are called 'kings'; while the others, the influential leaders or senators of the tribe, are termed 'elders.'

There is no farther mention of the Midianites in history for two hundred years. During that period the nation had completely recovered its ancient influence and power, and they again turned their arms against their old enemies the Israelites. For seven years they oppressed them so grievously that the people were forced to flee from the open country, and to seek an asylum in mountain fastnesses, in caves, and in fortified cities (Judg. vi. 1, 2). Midian was now at the head of a great confederacy, comprising the Amalekites and the leading tribes of Arabia, called by the sacred historian *Beni Kadm* ('children of the East,' ver. 3). In early spring the confederates assembled their vast flocks and herds, descended through the defiles of Gilead, crossed the Jordan, and overran the rich plains of central Palestine, plundering and destroying all before them—'sheep, oxen, asses,' property, the young corn, and the luxuriant pastures: 'For they came up with their cattle, and their tents, and they came as grasshoppers for multitude; for both they and their camels were without number; and they entered into the land to destroy it' (ver. 5). In their distress the Israelites cried unto the Lord, and he sent a deliverer in the person of Gideon (ver. 8-13). The invaders were concentrated on Esdraelon—their flocks covering the whole of that splendid plain, and their encampment lying along the base of 'the hill of Moreh,' now called little Hermon (ver. 33; vii. 1, 12). Gideon assembled his band of warriors at the well of Harod, or fountain of Jezreel, situated at the foot of Gilboa, and famed in after days as the scene of Saul's defeat and death (vii. 1); HAROD. The romantic incidents



of the attack, and the rout and slaughter of the Midianites, are well known. Gideon having collected the forces of Israel (ver. 23), followed the fugitives across the Jordan, up the hills of Gilead, and away over the plain into the heart of their own country. There he completely overthrew the whole host (viii. 12). Two of their 'princes' (שָׂרִי, literally 'generals') had already fallen at the fords of the Jordan, having been intercepted by Ephraim

(vii. 25); but their two 'kings' (מְלָכִי), Zebah and Zalmunna, had escaped with the remnant of their followers to Midian. These were captured by Gideon and slain in revenge for his brothers, whom they had put to death at Tabor (viii. 18-21). The power of Midian was completely broken. In a single campaign they lost their princes, the flower of their warriors, and their vast wealth. 'Thus was Midian subdued before the children of Israel, so that they lifted up their heads no more' (viii. 28). Their name as a nation appears no more in history.

The graphic narrative of the book of Judges places before us a most interesting and vivid picture of life, costume, and warfare among the wild desert tribes in those early ages; and the writer can testify that little change has taken place in them during the lapse of 3000 years. A few years ago he had an opportunity of witnessing a somewhat similar gathering of Arab tribes on the very same plain of Esdraelon, and a fierce battle fought by them on the northern slopes of Tabor (*Handbook*, p. 355). The Bedawin, from beyond Jordan—'the children of the East'—to this day cross the river periodically in early spring, pasture their immense droves of camels and flocks of sheep on the plain of Jezreel, and plunder the villages far and near. Their dress and trappings are the same as those of the Midianites—scarlet robes on the chiefs; crescent-shaped ornaments and chains of gold and silver round the necks of their horses and dromedaries; necklaces, earrings, and nose-jewels on all their women (Judg. viii. 24-26).\*

It has been seen that Jethro was priest of Midian, and belonged to that nation. Now, in Judg. i. 16 he is called a Kenite; and his people, the Kenites, are represented as entering Palestine with the Israelites and settling among them. There is a difficulty here which cannot now be solved in an entirely satisfactory manner. It seems most probable that the Kenites were a branch of the Midianites—a sub-tribe organised and led by Jethro. They may have remained in connection with their brethren so long as they were at peace with Israel; but when war broke out, and the Divine vengeance was impending over Midian, then the Kenites joined the Israelites. [KENITES.]

Isaiah makes a passing reference to Midian, but it seems probable that it is a mere poetical figure, having no reference to the existing state of the nation (lx. 6). Such also is the allusion to 'curtains of the land of Midian' by Habakkuk (iii. 7). Eusebius and Jerome describe Madian (Μαδιάν) as a city south of Arabia, on the eastern shore of

the Red Sea, in the desert of the Saracens (*Onomast.*, s. v.) This town is also mentioned by Arab geographers (Edrisi iii. 5); Abulfeda states that it lies on the shore of the Ælaniatic Gulf, five days' journey from Aila (*Arab.*, p. 77, ed. Rommel). It is doubtless the same place which Ptolemy calls *Modlava* (vi. 7), and Josephus *Μαδιανή* (*Antiq.* xii. 11. 1). It is now ruined and deserted, though retaining its old name, and thus bringing down the name of Abraham's son to modern times (see Winer, *R. W.*, s. v. *Midianiter*; Forster, *Geogr. of Arabia*, i. 339, *seq.*; Reland, *Pal.* 97, *seq.*; Stanley, *Eastern Church*, 337, *seq.*; Cellarius, *Geogr.* ii. 677.—J. L. P.

MIDRASH (מִדְרַשׁ), plural MIDRASHIM, MIDRASHOTH (מִדְרָשִׁים, מִדְרָשׁוֹת), the most ancient Jewish exposition of the Hebrew Scriptures.

1. *Title and its Signification*, etc. The term מִדְרַשׁ, which is strangely rendered in the text of the A. V. by *story* (2 Chron. xiii. 22; xxiv. 27), is the Aramaic infinitive of דְּרַשׁ, *to search into, to examine, to investigate, to explain*, and primarily denotes *the study, the exposition of Holy Scripture* in the abstract and general sense. Thus it is said, 'Not the study of it (הַמִּדְרַשׁ) but the doing of the law is the chief thing' (*Aboth*, i. 17). The study or exposition of Holy Writ (מִדְרַשׁ) was effected in earlier times through public discourses delivered on Sabbaths, festivals, and days of assembly, by the priests, Levites, elders of Israel, and prophets. During the period of the second temple, when the canonical books and the written discourses of the older prophets became unintelligible to the mass of the people who spoke Hebrew-Aramaic, these public expositions became more formal and were delivered on a larger scale by the lawyers, or Scribes (סוֹפְרִים) as they are called in the N. T., the directors of schools (רַבְּנֵי), graduated rabbins (רַבּוֹת, only with suff. רַבּוֹתֵינוּ), or learned men in general and members of societies (תַּרְבִּימִים).

2. *Design and Classification*.—The design of the *Midrash* or exposition varied according to circumstances. Sometimes the lecturer (דוֹרֵשׁ, דְּרַשָׁן) confined himself to giving a running paraphrase (מִתּוֹרֵמִן) into the vulgar Aramaic, or the other dialects of the country, of the lessons from the Law and Prophets which were read in Hebrew [HAPHTARA], thus gradually giving rise to the Chaldee, Syriac, and Greek versions, so that these *Targumim* may be regarded as being the result, or forming part of the *Midrash*. The chief design of the *Midrash*, however, was to propound the Scriptures either *legally* or *homiletically*. Hence obtained that twofold mode of exposition called the *legal* or *Halachic exegesis*, and the *homiletic* or *Hagadic exegesis*, and their respective literatures.

A. *The Legal or Halachic Exegesis*.—The object of this branch of exposition is to ascertain, by analogy, combination, or otherwise, the meaning of the Law respecting exceptional cases about which there is no direct enactment in the Mosaic code, as it was the only rule of practice in the political and religious government of the Jews under all vicissitudes of the commonwealth, and as the motto of the expositors and administrators of it was 'Turn it (*i.e.*, the inspired code) over and over again, for everything is in it and will be discovered therein' (*Aboth*, v. 22). The laws thus obtained, either by deduction from the text or introduction into it, are called *Halachoth* (הַלְכוֹת),

\* The word translated 'ornaments' שְׁהָרִים (ver. 26), signifies 'little moons' or 'crescents'; in the LXX. *μηνίσκοι*; Vulg. *lunulae*. The Midianites probably worshipped the moon, and carried these peculiar ornaments as charms. Hence, doubtless, originated the *crescent* as the standard and symbol of Mohammedanism.



sing. הלכה, from הלך, to go, the rule by which to go, the binding precept, the authoritative law, being equivalent to the Hebrew word משפטים (comp. Chaldee Paraphrase on Exod. xxi. 9), and this mode of exposition, which is chiefly confined to the Pentateuch as the legal part of the O. T., is termed *Halachic Exegesis*. These *Halachoth*

(הלכות), some of which are coeval with the enactments in the Pentateuch itself (Deut. xvii. 11), and some are the labours of the Great Synagogue or the *Sopherim*=Scribes—beginning with Ezra and terminating with Simon the Just—were for centuries transmitted orally, and hence are also called *Shematha* (שמעתי), i. e., that which was heard, or that which was received by members of the chain of tradition (שמעתי מפי השמועה). Those prohibitory laws or *Fences* (סיני, גדר, later גזירה) which the *Sopherim* were obliged to make on their own account in consequence of the new wants of the times, without being indicated in the Pentateuch, and which are called *Sopheric precepts* (דברי סופרים), and in the N. T. *Tradition of the Elders* (παράδοσις τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, Matt. xv. 2; Mark vii. 3), are distinguished from the traditional laws which are deduced from the Bible. The latter are designated *Deductions from the Law* (עקר) (ראוריתא), and are of equal authority with the Biblical precepts. The few learned men who during the period of the *Sopherim* (B.C. 450-300) wrote down some of these laws, or indicated them by certain signs (סמנים) or hints (רמזים) in their scrolls of the Pentateuch, only did so to assist their memory, and the documents are called

*Secret Scrolls* (ספרים סתרים). These marginal glosses in the MSS. of the Law became the basis of the *Massora*. Gradually, however, these *Halachoth* were fully written down, and are embodied in the following works.

i. It was not till the period of the *Tanaim* (תנאים, sing. תנאי, frequentative of the Chaldee תנה, i. q., Heb. שנה=שנא, to repeat, hence the repeaters, the readers, an honourable appellation given to those doctors who transmitted the oral law), 220 B.C.—220 A.D., that the fixing, collecting and final redaction of the *Halacha*, or this mass of juridico-political and religious practice, or doctrine of human and divine law (*humani et divini juris*), took place. The first attempt at a compilation and rubrication of it was made by Hillel I. (75 B.C.—75 A.D.), who classified and arranged the diverse laws under six *sedarim* (סדרים) or orders [HILLEL I.]. In this he was followed by 'Akiba (A.D. 20-120), and Simon III. b. Gamaliel II., who was the president of the Synedrium A.D. 140-163, and whose son R. Jehudah I. the Holy, called *Rabbi kar' ēxoxhē* (died circa 193 A.D.), completed the final redaction of the code called *Mishna*.\*

\* There is a difference of opinion about the etymology and signification of the word משנה. Some derive it from שנה, to repeat, and explain it to mean repetition, i. e., the second, or oral law (so Epiphanius, δεινέπωρος; Zunz, Gottesdienstliche Vorträge, p. 45; Steinschneider, Jewish Literature, p. 271, etc., etc.) Whilst others again submit that as the construct is משנת ר' מאיר (comp. משנת ר' מאיר, etc.), and not משנה, as Deut. xvii. 18, it must be derived from the Aramaic תנה, to explain, to unfold. Hence also מתניתין. This explanation is not only mentioned in the *Aruch*,

ii. The *Mishna*, however, like the Pentateuch, soon became the subject of discussion or study (מדרש), as many of its expositions and enactments are not only couched in obscure language, but are derived from antagonistic sources. Hence, like the divine code of the law, which it both supplements and expounds, the *Mishna* itself was expounded during the period of the *Amoraim* (אמוראים, sing. אמורא, from אמר, to say, to hold forth, to expound, hence expositors; an appellation given to the public expositors of the oral law

הלכות, recorded by the *Tanaim*), 220-540 A.D., both in Jerusalem and Babylon. The result of these expositions is the two *Talmuds*, or more properly *Gemaras*,\* viz., the Jerusalem and the Babylon. [TALMUD; EDUCATION.]

iii. Prior in point of age to the compilation of the *Mishna* is the commentary on Exodus called

*Mechilta* (מכילתא, plur. מכילתין, i. q., Heb. מדה, measure, axiom), i. e., Norm or Rule. The *Mechilta* is composed of nine Tractates (מסיכתות) subdivided into sections (פרשיות), and treats on select sections of Exodus in the following order:—The first Tract treats on Exod. xii. 1-xiii. 6, in eighteen sections; the second Tract is on xiii. 7-xiv. 31, in six sections; the third is on xv. 1-21, in ten sections; the fourth is on xv. 22-xvii. 7, in seven sections; the fifth is on xvii. 8-xviii. 27, in four sections; the sixth is on xix. 1-xx. 22, in eleven sections; the seventh is on xxi. 1-xxii. 22, in eight sections; the eighth is on xxii. 23-xxiii. 19, in two sections; and the ninth tract is on chap. xxxi. 12-17; xxxv. 1-3, in two sections. The first compilation of the *Mechilta* was most probably made under the influence of R. Ishmael b. Elisa, circa 90 A.D. [ISHMAEL B. ELISA], which accounts for its containing so many of his maxims not to be found elsewhere. It was, however, re-edited afterwards, and greatly altered (comp. Geiger, *Urschrift*, 434, ff.) It was first printed in Constantinople, 1515, then again in Venice, 1545, then with a commentary and revised text by M. Frankfurter, Amst. 1712; but the best edition is that of Landau, Vilna 1844. A Latin translation of it by Ugolini is given in his *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Sacrum*, vol. xiv., Venice 1752.

iv. Commentary on Leviticus, called *Siphra*, *Sifra* (ספרא), the Book; also *Siphra D'be Rab* (ספרא דבי רב), *Siphra* of the school of Rab, because Rab=Abba Areka, the first of the *Amoraim*, and founder of the celebrated school at Sora, of which he was president twenty-eight years, 219-247 A.D. [EDUCATION], is its author; and by some it is denominated *Boraitha shel Torath Cohanim* (בריתא של תורת כהנים), because the book of *Leviticus* which it expounds is called by the Jews the *Code of the Priests* (תורת כהנים), *Jebamoth*, 72 b.;

where וישננתם (Deut. vi. 7) is quoted to corroborate it; but is defended by Frankel (*Ueber palästinische und alexandrinische Schriftforschung*, p. 7), who also adduces the expression ותנננו from Onkelos, and is in perfect accordance with the import of its cognate terms תורה, מדרש, and תלמוד, all of which denote teaching, exposition, study.

\* For the signification of the words Talmud (תלמוד) and *Gemara* (גמרא), see the preceding note.



Rashi, on *Levit.* ix. 23). The Siphra is divided into treatises (דיבורים) which are subdivided into sections (פרשות), and these again into chapters (פרקים). The first edition of it appeared together with the *Mechilta* and *Siphri*, Constantinople 1515, then Venice 1545; and, with a very extensive commentary by Ibn Chajim, Venice 1609-11, with the commentary *Ha-Tora Veba-Mitzva*, by M. L. Malbim, Bucharest 1860. The best edition, however, is that by Schlossberg, with the commentary of Abraham b. David, and the Massoreth Ha-Talmud of Weiss, Vienna 1862. A Latin translation of it by Ugolini is given in his *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Sacrum*, vol. xiv., Venice 1752.

v. Commentary on Numbers and Deuteronomy, called *Siphre* or *Siphri* (ספרי), the *Books*, also *Siphri D'be Rab* (ספרי דבי רב), because Rab, the author of the preceding work, is also the author of this commentary, and *Vishalchu* (וישלחו), because it begins with Num. v. 2, where this word occurs. The commentary on Numbers is divided into one hundred and sixty-one chapters, and that on Deuteronomy into three hundred and fifty-seven. The *Siphre* first appeared with the *Mechilta* and *Siphra*, Constantinople 1515, Venice, 1545. The best edition of it is in two volumes, with the extensive commentary by Lichtstein, the first volume of which was published, Dyrhensfort 1810, and the second Radwill 1819. A Latin translation of it by Ugolini is given in his *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Sacrum*, vol. xv., Venice 1753.

B. *The Homiletic or Hagadic Exegesis.*—The design of this branch of the Midrash or exposition is to edify the people of Israel in their most holy faith, to encourage them to obedience, to commend to them the paths of virtue and morality, to stimulate them to all good works, and to comfort them in tribulation by setting before them the marvellous dealings of Providence with the children of man, the illustrious examples of the holy patriarchs, and the signal punishment of evil doers from bygone history—investing each character, and every event, with the halo or contumely, the poetry or the legend, which the fertile genius of the Hebrew nation and the creative power of tradition had called into existence in the course of time. This branch of exposition extends over the whole Hebrew Scriptures, whilst the *Halachic* interpretation, as we have seen, is chiefly confined to the Pentateuch, which is the civil and legal portion of the Bible. It is also called *Hagada* (הגדה; Chaldee אנדרה, from נגד, to say), said, reported, on dit, without its having any binding authority in contradistinction to the *Halacha*, which is authoritative law. When it is stated that this department of Biblical exegesis is interspersed with homiletics, the beautiful maxims and ethical sayings of illustrious men, attractive mystical expositions about angels and demons, paradise and hell, Messiah and the Prince of Darkness; poetical allegories, symbolical interpretations of all the feasts and fasts, charming parables, witty epithalamiums, touching funeral orations, amazing legends, biographical and characteristic sketches of Biblical persons and national heroes; popular narratives and historical notices of men, women, and events of bygone days; philosophical disquisitions, satirical assaults on the heathen and their rites, able defences of Judaism, etc. etc.—it will be readily understood why the Jewish nation gradually transferred to this store-

house of Biblical and national lore the name *Midrash*=the exposition, κατ' ἐξήγησιν. This branch of public and popular exposition, in which the people at large naturally felt far more interest than in the dry disquisitions about legal enactments, being thus called by them *The Midrash*, the collection of works which contain this sacred and national lore, obtained the name *Midrashim* (מדרשים), *Commentaries*, in the sense of Cæsar's *Commentaries*. Hence the term *Midrashic* or *Hagadic* exegesis so commonly used in Jewish writings, by which is meant an interpretation effected in the spirit of those national and traditional views. The following are the principal *Midrashim*, or commentaries in the more restricted sense of the word,\* which contain the ancient Hagadic expositions.

i. *Midrash Rabbah* (מדרש רבות), or simply *Rabbah* (רבנות), which is ascribed to Oshaja b. Nachmani (fl. 278, A.D.), and derives its name from the fact that this collection begins with a *Hagada* of Oshaja Rabba (רבא, of which רבות is the pl.) It contains ten *Midrashim*, which bear the respective names of—1. *Bereshith Rabba* (בראשית רבא), abbreviated from *Bereshith d'Rabbi Oshaja Rabba* (בראשית דבי אושעיא רבא), on Genesis, divided into a hundred sections (פרשות); 2. *Shemoth Rabba* (שמות רבא), on Exodus, in fifty-two sections; 3. *Vajikra Rabba* (ויקרא רבא), on Leviticus, in thirty-seven sections; 4. *Bamidbar Rabba* (במדבר רבא), on Numbers, in twenty-three sections; 5. *Debarim Rabba* (דברים רבא), on Deuteronomy, in eleven sections; 6. *Shir Ha-Shirim Rabba* (שיר השירים רבא), also called *Agadath Chasith* (אגדת חיות), because the text begins with the word *Chasith*, on the Song of Songs; 7. *Midrash Ruth Rabba* (מדרש רות רבא), on Ruth; 8. *Midrash Eicha Rabbathi* (איכה רבתי), on Lamentations; 9. *Midrash Coheleth* (מדרש קהלת), on Ecclesiastes; and 10. *Midrash Megillath Esther* (מדרש מגילת אסתר),

also called *Hagadath Megilla* (הגדת מגילה), on Esther. This entire collection was first published in Venice, 1545, it has been reprinted many times since; but the best edition of it is that published by Schrentzel with the different commentaries, two vols., Stettin 1863. Excerpts of the *Midrash* on Ruth, Esther, and Lamentations, have been published in Latin by Schnell, Altdorf. 1650. The age of the compilation of the separate *Midrashim* constituting this collection is critically and elaborately discussed by Zunz, *Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, p. 174-184, 263, ff.

ii. *Pesikta* (פסיקתא), compiled by Cahana or Kahana b. Tachlifa, who was born about 330

\* It must here be remarked that as this branch of the Midrash embraces the whole cycle of ethics, metaphysics, history, theosophy, etc., as well as Biblical exposition, it has been divided into—i. *General Hagada* or *Hagada Midrash*, in its wider sense, treating almost exclusively on morals, history, etc.; and ii. into *Special Hagada* or *Hagada Midrash*, in its narrower, and *Midrash* in its narrowed sense, occupying itself almost entirely with Biblical exposition, and making the elements of the general Hagada subservient to its purpose. It would be foreign to the design of this article were we to discuss anything more than the Midrash in its narrowest sense.



A.D., and died in 411 [EDUCATION]. This Midrash, which comprises a complete cycle of lectures on the Pericopes of the feasts and fasts [HAPHTARA], and which was lost for several centuries, has been restored by an anonymous writer about the year 846 A.D., and edited under the name *Pesikta Rabbathi* (פסיקתא רבתי), intermixing it, however, with portions from the *Midrash Yelamdenu*. In this new form the *Pesikta* was first published by Isaac b. Chajim Ha-Cohen, Prague 1655. An excellent edition, entitled *עם הנהגת פרוש*, was published in Breslau 1831. The nature and date of this Midrash are discussed in a most masterly manner by Zunz, *Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge*, 185-226, 239-251; Rapaport, *Erech Millin*, p. 171; see also the article CAHANA B. TACHLIFA in this Cyclopædia.

iii. *Midrash Tanchuma* (מדרש תנחומא), i.e., the Midrash, compiled by Tanchuma b. Abba (flour. circa 440 A.D.), also called *Midrash Yelamdenu* (מדרש ילמדנו), from the fact that eighty-two

sections begin with the formula ילמדנו, *it teaches us*, or *we are taught*. This Midrash extends over the whole Pentateuch, and consists of 140 sections. It contains extracts from the Mechilta, Siphre, Va-Ikra Rabba, Pesikta, and Boraitha de Rabbi Eliezer, and was first published after a redaction of the first Geonim period, when a great deal of it was lost, altered, and interpolated, by Joseph b. Shoshan, Constantinople 1520 (not 1528 as is stated by Etheridge, *Jerusalem and Tiberias*, p. 233); then Venice 1545; Mantua 1563; Salonica 1578; with corrections after two MSS. and additions, Verona 1595; and at different other places; but the best edition is that with the twofold commentary by Chan. Sandel b. Joseph, Vilna 1833. For a thorough analysis of this Midrash we must refer to Zunz, *Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge*, p. 226-238.

iv. *Pirke Rabbi Eliezer* (פרקי רבי אליעזר), also called *Boraitha* or *Agada de Rabbi Eliezer* (אגדה

או ברייתא דרבי אליעזר), because Eliezer b. Hyrcanus (flour. circa 70 A.D.) is its reputed author. This Midrash, which discusses the principal events recorded in the Pentateuch, consists of fifty-four sections, treating respectively on the following important subjects:—the life of R. Eliezer (secs. i. and ii.); the creation (iii.-vi.); new moon (vii.); intercalary year (viii.); the fifth day's creation (ix.); the flight of Jonah, and his abode in the fish (x.); the sixth day's creation (xi.); Adam, paradise, and the creation of the plants (xii.); the fall (xiii.); the curse (xiv.); paradise and hell (xv.); Isaac and Rebecca (xvi.); the offices to be performed to bridal pairs and mourners (xvii.); the creation (xviii.); the ten things created on the eve of the sixth creation day (xix.); the expulsion from paradise (xx.); Adam, Eve, Cain, and Abel (xxi.); the degeneracy of Cain's descendants and the Flood (xxii.); the ark and its occupants (xxiii.); the descendants of Noah, the tower of Babel (xxiv.); Sodom, Lot, and his wife (xxv.); the ten temptations of Abraham (xxvi.); his rescuing Lot (xxvii.); God's covenant with Abraham (xxviii.); his circumcision (xxix.); the sending away of Hagar and Ishmael, the condition of

the Jews in the days of Messiah (xxx.); Abraham about to sacrifice Isaac (xxxi.); Isaac bestowing the blessing on Jacob (xxxii.); the resurrection (xxxiii.); future state (xxxiv.); Jacob's dream (xxxv.); his sojourn with Laban (xxxvi.); his wrestling with the angel (xxxvii.); the selling of Joseph (xxxviii.); Jacob's sojourn in Egypt (xxxix.); God's manifestation in the bush (xl.); the giving of the Law (xli.); the exodus (xlii.); the power of repentance (xliii.); the conflict of Moses with Amalek (xliv.); the golden calf (xlv.); the tables of stone and the atonement (xlvi.); the exploit of Phineas (xlvii.); the birth of Moses and the redemption from Egypt (xlviii.); Samuel, Saul, Agag, Haman, Mordecai, Titus, Nebuchadnezzar, Ahasuerus, Vashiti, and Esther (xlix.-l.); the new creation (li.); the seven wonders of the world (lii.); the punishment of calumny, Absalom and David (liii.); and the leprosy of Miriam (liv.) This Midrash, which is chiefly written in pure and easy Hebrew, was first published in Constantinople 1514, and has since been reprinted numerous times, but the best edition is with the critical commentary

called *the Great Edifice* (בית הגדול), emended text and references to Talmud and Midrashim by Broda, Vilna 1838. A convenient edition of it has appeared in Lemberg 1858, and a Latin translation by Vorst has been published under the title *Capitula R. Eliezeris continentia imprimis succinctam historiam sacre recensionem, etc., cum vet. Rabb. Commentariis*, Leyden 1644. The composition and age of this Midrash are discussed by Zunz, *Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge*, p. 271-278.

v. Midrash on Samuel, called *מדרש שמואל* [רבנא] *Midrash Shmuel* [Rabbatha], divided into thirty-two sections (פרשות), twenty-four of which are devoted to 1 Sam. and eight to 2 Sam. It is chiefly made up of excerpts from older works, and the compiler is supposed to have lived about the beginning of the 11th century. Rashi is the first who quotes this Midrash (*Comment. on Chron. x. 13*). It was first published in Constantinople 1517, and has since been frequently reprinted with the Midrash described below. The best editions of it are the one with the twofold commentary Ez Joseph and Anaph Joseph, references to the parallel passages in the Talmud and Midrashim, etc., by Schrentzel, Stettin 1860; and the other published together with the Midrash on Proverbs and the Comment. of Isaac Cohen, Lemberg 1861.

vi. Midrash on the Psalms, called *מדרש תלים* [רבנא] *Midrash Tillim* [Rabbatha], *Hagadath Tillim* (הגדת תלים), or *Shochar Tob* (שחר טוב), after the words with which it commences. With the exceptions of seven psalms—viz., xlii., xcvi., xcvi., xcvi., cxv., cxviii., and cxxxi., this Midrash extends over the whole Psalter. As it contains extracts from the Babylonian Talmud, the Pesikta, Boraitha of R. Eliezer, Tanchuma, and Pesikta Rabbathi, it must have been compiled about the end of the 10th century, most probably in Italy. It was first published in Constantinople 1512. The portion on Ps. cxix., which extends to the first verses of letter פ, is called *Midrash Alpha*

*Betha* (מדרש אלפא ביתא), from the fact that this is an alphabetic psalm, and has been published separately, Salonica 1515. The Midrash on the Psalms has frequently been published together with the Midrash on Samuel, under the title



*Midrash Shochar Tob* (שוחר טוב), which properly belongs only to that on the Psalms.

vii. *Midrash on Proverbs*, called (מדרש משלי) [*Midrash Mishle* [*Rabbatha*], consists of a compilation of those maxims and expositions from former works which are best calculated to illustrate and explain the import of the book of Proverbs. The compiler, who lived about the middle of the 11th century, omits all the references to the original sources, discards the form of lectures, and assumes that of a commentary. The first edition of this *Midrash* appeared in Constantinople 1512-17, with the commentary *Sera Abraham* (זרע אברהם), Vilna 1834, and the commentary of Isaac Cohen, Stettin 1861.

viii. *Midrash Jalkut* (מדרש ילקוט), or *Jalkut Shimoni* (ילקוט שמעוני), i. e., the collection, or compilation of *Simeon*, who flourished in the 11th century. This *Midrash*, which extends over the whole Hebrew Scriptures, is described in the article *CARA* in this *Cyclopædia*.

3. *Method and Plan of the Midrash*.—In discussing its method and plan it must be borne in mind that the *Midrash* first developed itself in public lectures and homilies; that the ancient fragments of these discourses became afterwards literary commodities, serving frequently as the groundwork of literary productions; and that the *Midrashic* writers or compilers mixed up other matters and pieces of their own composition with the remnants of expository lectures. The ancient relics, however, are easily discernible by their dialect, diction, etc., and by the authority to whom they are ascribed. That there was a method in them, has been shown by the erudite and indefatigable Jellinek, than whom there is no greater authority on the subject. He points out the following plan as gathered from the ancient fragments.

i. The lecturer first set forth the theme of his discourse in a passage of Scripture enunciating the particular truth which he wished to unfold, and then illustrated it by a parable, and enforced it by a saying which was popular in the mouth of the people. This rule is given in the *Midrash* itself, comp. וכולהו יס לזון מוקרא, ויש להם מישל, ויש

לזון מליצה, *Midrash on the Song of Solomon*, i a.

ii. The attention of the audience was roused and the discourse was enlivened by the lecturer using a foreign word instead of a well-known expression, or by employing a Greek, Latin, Aramaic, or Persian term in addition to the Hebrew (comp. *Aruch*, s. v. אדודקי). This accounts for the striking fact that so many foreign words occur in the *Midrash* to express things for which the Hebrew has expressions, and that both Hebrew and foreign words, expressing the same idea, stand side

by side (comp. מחדר לחדר ומקטון לקטון, *Midrash Rabba on Genesis*, c. vii.; בנה טובים ובנה, *Midrash on the Song of Solomon*, i a).

iii. The lecturer increased the beauty of his discourse by trying to discover analogies between numbers and persons related to each other—e. g., between David and Solomon. Comp. *Midrash on the Song of Songs*, ibid.

iv. The lecture was also rendered more attractive by being interspersed with plays upon words which were not intended to explain or corroborate a statement, but were simply meant to create a pleasant feeling in the audience. Hence, to judge

of the frequent plays upon words by the rules of hermeneutics, is to misunderstand the aesthetics of the Hagada.

v. It was considered as ornamenting the discourse, and pleasing to the audience, when single words were reduced to their numerical value in order to put a certain point of the lecture into a clearer light. Thus, e. g., the lecturer speaking of Eliezer, Abraham's faithful servant, and being desirous to show that he alone was worth a host of servants, remarked that Eliezer (אליעזר),  $1 + 30 + 10 + 70 + 7 + 200 = 318$  is exactly as much as the three hundred and eighteen young men mentioned in Gen. xiv. 14. Comp. *Midrash Rabboth* on Gen., ch. xlii. When it is remembered that the Hebrew letters were commonly used as numbers, it will be easily understood how the audience would be rejoiced to see a word converted so dexterously into figures.

vi. To relieve the discourse of its monotony, the lecturer resolved a long word into several little words, or formed new words by taking away a letter or two from the preceding and following words in the same sentence.

‘If the *Midrash* is read with the guidance of these æsthetical canons,’ continues Dr. Jellinek, ‘we shall find in it less arbitrariness and more order. We shall, moreover, understand its method and plan, and often be put in a position to distinguish the original discourse from the literary element of a later date, as well as from interpolations. For the confirmation of our æsthetical canons, let the reader compare and analyse chapters ii., iii., and v. of *Midrash Rabboth* on Genesis’ (*Ben Chananja* iv., 383, ff.)

4. *Halachic and Hagadic rules of interpretation*.—The preceding exposition of the method and plan of the *Midrash* has prepared us to enter upon the Halachic and Hagadic rules of interpretation which were collected and systematised by Elieser b. Jose the Galilean (יוסי הגלילי), one of the principal interpreters of the Pentateuch in the 2d century of the Christian era. According to this celebrated Doctor, whose sayings are so frequently recorded in the Talmud and the Siphri, there are thirty-two rules (שלושים ושנים) whereby the Bible is to be interpreted, which are as follows:—

i. *By the superfluous use of the three particles את, גם, and או, the Scriptures indicate in a three-fold manner that something more is included in the text than the apparent declaration would seem to imply.* Thus, e. g., when it is said, Gen. xxi. 1, ‘And the Lord visited (את שרה) Sarah;’ the superfluous את, which sometimes denotes with, is used to indicate that with Sarah the Lord also visited other barren women. The second גם is used superfluously in the passage ‘take also your herds, and also (גם) your flocks’ (Exod. xii. 32), to indicate that Pharaoh also gave the Israelites sheep and oxen, in order to corroborate the declaration made in Exod. x. 25; whilst the superfluous או, 2 Kings ii. 14, ‘he also (אף) had smitten the waters,’ indicates that more wonders were shown to Elisha at the Jordan than to Elijah, as it is declared in 2 Kings ii. 9. This rule is called ריבוי, inclusion, more meant than said.

ii. *By the superfluous use of the three particles אך, רק, and כן, the Scriptures point out something which is to be excluded.* Thus, e. g., או in Gen. vii. 23, ‘And Noah only (אף) remained,’ shows that

even Noah was near death, thus indicating exclusion. The superfluous **רָק** in 'only (**רָק**) the fear of God is not in this place' (Gen. xx. 11), shows that the inhabitants were not altogether godless; whilst **מִן** in Exod. xviii. 13, 'And the people stood by Moses from (**מִן**) the morning unto the evening,' indicates that it did not last all day, but only six hours (*Sabbath*, 10 a). This rule is called **מִיעוּט**, *diminution, exclusion*.

iii. *If words denoting inclusion follow each other, several things are included.* Thus in 1 Sam. xvii. 36, 'Thy servant slew also (**גַּם** אֶת) the lion, also (**גַּם**) the bear,' three superfluous expressions follow each other, to show that he slew three other animals besides the two expressly mentioned in the text. This rule is called **רִבּוּי אַחֵר רִבּוּי**, *inclusion after inclusion*.

iv. *If words denoting exclusion follow each other, several things are excluded.* Thus in Num. xii. 2, 'hath the Lord indeed only spoken to Moses? hath he not also spoken to us?' the superfluous expressions **רָק** and **אֶךְ** which follow each other denote that the Lord spoke to Aaron and Miriam before he spoke to Moses, thus not only without the lawgiver being present to it, but before God spoke to him, and not only did he speak to Aaron, but also to Miriam, so that there is here a twofold exclusion. If two or more inclusive words follow each other, and do not admit of being explained as indicative of inclusion, they denote *exclusion*. Thus, e.g., if the first word includes the whole, whilst the second only includes a part, the first inclusion is modified and diminished by the second. If, on the contrary, two or more exclusive words follow each other, and do not admit of being explained as indicative of exclusion, they denote *inclusion*. Thus, e.g., if the first excludes four, whilst the second only excludes two, two only remain included, so that the second exclusive expression serves to include or increase. This rule is called **מִיעוּט אַחֵר מִיעוּט**, *exclusion after exclusion*, and the two exceptions are respectively denominated **אֵין רִבּוּי אַחֵר**, *inclusion after inclusion effecting diminution*, and **אֵין מִיעוּט אַחֵר מִיעוּט**, *exclusion after exclusion effecting increase* (comp. *Pessachim*, 23 a; *Ḥoma*, 43 a; *Megilla*, 23 b; *Kiddushin*, 21 b; *Baba Kama*, 45 b; *Sanhedrin*, 15 a; with *Menachoth*, 34 a).

v. *Expressed inference from the minor to the major*, called **קַל וְחומר מופרש**. An example of this rule is to be found in Jer. xii. 5, 'If thou hast run with the footmen, and they have wearied thee, [inference] then how canst thou contend with horses?'

vi. *Implied inference from the minor to the major*, called **קַל וְחומר סתום**. This is found in Ps. xv. 4, 'He sweareth to his own hurt, and changeth not,' hence how much less if he swears to his advantage (comp. *Maccoth*, 24 a).

vii. *Inference from analogy or parallels*, called **נזרה שוה**. Thus it is said of Samuel, that 'there shall no razor come upon his head' (1 Sam. i. 11), and the same language is used with respect to Samson, 'no razor shall come on his head' (Judg. xiii. 5); whereupon is based the deduction from analogy, that just as Samson was a Nazarite so also Samuel (*Nasir*, 66 a, and see rule 2 in the articles HILLEL and ISHMAEL B. ELISA of this Cyclopædia).

viii. *Building of the father* (**בִּנְיָן אֵב**) is the property of any subject which is made the starting-point, and to constitute a rule (**אֵב**, *a father*) for all similar subjects. Thus, e.g., in Exod. iii. 4, it is stated, 'God called unto him out of the midst of the bush, and said Moses, Moses;' hence it concludes, that whenever God spoke to Moses, he addressed him in the same manner. For the different modifications of this rule, see 3 and 4 in the article HILLEL, and 3 in the article ISHMAEL B. ELISA of this Cyclopædia.

ix. *Brachylogy* (**קצרה**). The Scriptures sometimes express themselves briefly, and words must be supplied. Thus, e.g., **וּתְכַל דוד**, where it ought to be **וּתְכַל נֶפֶשׁ דוד**, and *David's soul was consumed*, **נֶפֶשׁ** being omitted; again 1 Chron. xvii.

5, where **וּואֵהִיָּה מֵאוֹהֶל אֵל אוֹהֶל וּמוֹשְׁבָן**, ought to be **וּואֵהִיָּה מִתְּהַלֵּךְ מֵאוֹהֶל אֵל אוֹהֶל וּמוֹשְׁבָן לְמוֹשֶׁה**, 'and I went from tent to tent, and from tabernacle to tabernacle,' the words **מִתְּהַלֵּךְ** and **לְמוֹשֶׁה** being omitted.

x. *Repetition* (**שנוי**). The Scriptures repeat a thing in order to indicate thereby something special. Thus, it is said in Jer. vii. 4, 'Trust ye not in lying words, saying, The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord;' the last phrase is repeated three times, to indicate that though his people Israel celebrate feasts in the temple three times in the year, the Lord will not regard it because they do not amend their ways.

xi. *The separation and order of the verses* (**סדרו**) are designed to convey some explanation. Thus, verses 18 and 19 of 2 Chron. xxx. ought to be differently placed (comp. *Rashi*, in loco).

xii. *A subject often explains itself whilst it imparts information on other subjects* (**דבר שבא**).

(**ללמד ונמצא למד**). Thus, 'Its cry, it shall arise like that of a serpent' (Jer. xli. 22), indicates that the serpent must have raised a tremendous cry after the curse which the Lord pronounced against it, since we are nowhere else told that there was any occasion on which it cried; and that Egypt raises an equally loud cry—thus serving to give information upon another subject, and at the same time explaining itself (comp. *Sota*, 9 b).

xiii. *A general statement is made first, and is followed by a single remark, which is simply to particularise the general.* This rule is called **כלל**.

**שֶׁאֵהֲרִיִּן מַעֲשֵׂה וְאֵינוֹ אֵלָּא פֶּרֶשׁוֹ שֶׁל רֵאשִׁין**, and is illustrated by Gen. i. 27, where the creation of man is recorded in general terms, 'male and female created he them;' whilst ii. 7, which describes the creation of Adam, and ii. 21, which speaks of the creation of Eve, are simply the particulars of i. 27, and not another record or contradiction.

xiv. *A great and incomprehensible thing is represented by something small to render it intelligible.*

**דבר גדול שנתלה בקטן להשיבע**, and is illustrated by Deut. xxxii. 2, 'My doctrine shall drop as the rain;' where the great doctrines of revelation are compared with the less significant rain, in order to make them comprehensible to man; and by Amos iii. 8, 'When the lion roareth, who doth not fear? the Lord speaketh,' etc., where the lion is com-



pared with the Deity, to give man an intelligible idea of the power of God.

xxv. *When two Scriptures seem to contradict each other, a third Scripture will reconcile them* (שני כתובים המכחישים את זה את זה עד שיבא הכתוב השלישי ויכריע ביניהם). Thus, it is said in 2 Sam. xxiv. 9, 'There were in Israel eight hundred thousand valiant men,' in contradiction to 1 Chron. xxi. 5, where 'a thousand times thousand and a hundred thousand men, that drew the sword'—three hundred thousand more are said to have been among all Israel. The apparent contradiction is reconciled by xxvii. 1, where it is said, 'the children of Israel after their number; to wit, the chief fathers and captains of thousands and hundreds and their officers who served the king in all matters of the courses, who came in and went out, was, month by month, through all the months of the year, twenty-four thousand in each course.' From this it is evident that the number of these servants for twelve months amounted to two hundred and eighty-eight thousand, and as the chief fathers of Israel consisted of twelve thousand, we obtain the three hundred thousand who were noted in the registers of the king, and therefore are not mentioned in 2 Sam. xxiv. 9. Thus, the two apparently contradictory Scriptures are reconciled by a third Scripture. It deserves to be noticed, that this ancient interpretation is now generally followed, and that it is espoused by Dr. Davidson, *Sacred Hermeneutics*, Edinburgh 1843, p. 546, etc.

xxvi. *An expression used for the first time is explained by the passage in which it occurs* (דבר מיוחד במקומו). Thus, e.g., Hannah is the first who in her prayer addresses God as 'Lord of Hosts;' whence it is concluded that the superfluous expression *hosts* indicates that she must have argued to this effect—'Lord of the universe, thou hast erected two worlds (עצמות); if I belong to the nether world I ought to be fruitful, and if to the upper I ought to live for ever.' Hence the expression is designed for this passage (*Berachoth*, 31 b).

xxvii. *A circumstance is not fully described in the passage in which it first occurs, but is explained elsewhere* (דבר שאינו מתפרש במקומו ומתפרש במקום אחר). Thus it is stated in Gen. ii. 8, where the garden of Eden is first mentioned, that there were in it all manner of fruit; but it is not to be gathered from this passage that there was anything else in the garden; whilst from Ezek. xxviii. 13, where this passage is further explained, it is evident that there were also precious stones in Paradise.

xxviii. *A thing is named in part, but comprises the whole* (דבר שנאמר במקצת והוא נוהג בכל). Thus in Exod. xxii. 30, it is forbidden to eat flesh 'torn of beasts in the field;' and in Lev. xxii. 8, it is said, 'That which is torn he shall not eat,' here also forbidding that which is torn in the city. The use of the expression *field* in the first passage is owing to the fact that beasts are far more frequently torn in it than in the city; and the Scriptures mention the common and not the uncommon occurrences. Hence in the expression *field*, everything is comprised—city, country, forest, mountain, valley, etc.

xxix. *The respective predicates of two subjects in the same passages may refer to both alike* (דבר שנאמר בדבר אחד). Thus, 'Light is sown for the righteous, and gladness for the upright in heart'

(Ps. xcvi. 11), does not imply that the former is without gladness and the latter without light, but what is predicated of one also belongs to the other (comp. *Taanith*, 15 a).

xxx. *The predicate of a subject may not refer to it at all, but to the one next to it* (דבר שנאמר בזה ואינו ענין לו). Thus the remark, 'This to Judah' (Deut. xxxiii. 7), does not refer to Judah,

since it is said further on, 'And he said, Hear, Lord, the voice of Judah,' but to Simeon, whom Moses hereby blesses after Reuben.

xxxi. *When a subject is compared with two things, it is to receive the best attributes of both* (דבר שהוקש לשתי מדות ואתה נותן לו כח היפה שבשתיהן). Thus, 'The righteous shall flourish like the palm-tree; he shall grow up like a cedar in Lebanon' (Ps. xcii. 12)—the comparison is with the best qualities of both (comp. *Taanith*, 25 a).

xxxii. *The first clause explains by its parallelism the second, to which it refers* (דבר שהבירר מוכיח). Thus 'A gift in secret pacifieth anger,' in the first hemistich signifying the anger of God, shows that; 'and a reward in the bosom strong wrath' (Prov. xxi. 14), in the second hemistich refers to the strong wrath of God (comp. *Baba Bathra*, 9 b).

xxxiii. *The second clause in parallelism explains the first hemistich, to which it refers* (דבר שהוא מוכיח הבירר). Thus, 'The voice of the Lord shaketh the wilderness; the Lord shaketh the wilderness of Kadesh' (Ps. xxix. 8). Here *Kadesh*, though comprised in the expression wilderness of the first clause, is used in the second clause to heighten the strength of the first hemistich, by showing that the wilderness must have been shaken exceedingly, since Kadesh, the greatest wilderness, was shaken (comp. Deut. i. 16).

xxxiv. *A subject included in a general description is excepted from it to convey a special lesson* (דבר שהיה בכלל ויצא מן הכלל, ללמד על עצמו יצא). Thus, 'Joshua, the son of Nun, sent out of Shittim two men to spy secretly, saying, Go view the land, and Jericho' (Josh. ii. 1). Here Jericho is superfluous, since it is comprised in the general term *land*, but it is especially mentioned to indicate that Jericho by itself was equal in power and strength to the whole country. Hence that which is excepted teaches something special about itself.

xxxv. *A subject included in a general description is excepted from it to teach something special about another subject* (דבר שהיה בכלל ויצא מן הכלל, ללמד על אחר). Thus the command, 'Ye shall take no redemption-price for the life of a murderer who is guilty of death' (Num. xxxv. 31), is entirely superfluous, since it is included in the declaration already made, 'As he hath done, so shall it be done to him' (Lev. xxiv. 19). It is, however, mentioned especially to be a guide for other punishments, since it is concluded from it that it is only for murderers that no redemption-price is to be taken, but that satisfaction may be taken in case of one knocking out his neighbour's tooth or eye (comp. *Kethuboth*, 37 b, 38 a).

xxxvi. *Parable* (משל). Thus, 'The trees went forth on a time to anoint a king over them, and they said unto the olive-tree, Reign thou over us' (Judg. ix. 8), where it is the Israelites and not the trees who said to Othniel, son of Kenaz, Deborah



and Gideon reign over us. So also the remark, 'And they shall spread the cloth before the elders of the city' (Deut. xxii. 17), is parabolic, meaning that they should make their testimony as clear as the cloth (comp. *Kethuboth*, 46 a).

xxvii. *The preceding often explains what follows*

(מנין שדורשין מומעל בהגדה). Thus, 'And the Lord said unto Jehu, Because thou hast done well, executing that which is right in mine eyes . . . thy children of the fourth generation shall sit on the throne of Israel' (2 Kings x. 30), is to be explained by what precedes. Because Jehu destroyed four generations of the house of Ahab—viz., Omri, Ahab, Joram and his sons, as is stated (comp. ver. 13)—therefore shall four generations of his house remain on the throne.

xxviii. *Antithetic sentences often explain each other by their parallelism* (מנין שדורשין מנגד). Thus in Is. xxx. 16, 'But ye said, No; for we will flee upon horses; therefore shall ye flee, and ride upon rapid runners; therefore shall your pursuers run;' the words wherewith they have sinned are put in parallelism with the words of punishment, couched in the same language and in similar expressions.

xxix. *Explanations are obtained by reducing the letters of a word to their numerical value* (מנין שדורשין נמטריא בהגדה) *and substituting for it another word or phrase of the same value, or by*

*transposing the letters* (חלוק אוניות). For an instance of the first we must refer to the reduction

אליעזר to 318, given in the preceding section. The second part of this rule is illustrated by examples, which show that several modes of transposing the letters were resorted to. Thus ששך,

*Sheshach*, is explained by בבל, *Babel* (Jer. xxv. 26;

li. 41), כשדים by לב קמי (ibid. li. 1), by taking the letters of the alphabet in their inverse order; א, the first letter, is expressed by ת, the last letter of the alphabet; ב, the second letter, by ת, the last but one; ג by ד; ד by ה; ה by ו; ו by ז, and so on. This principle of commutation is called *Atbash* (א"ת ב"ש), from the first two specimen pairs of letters which indicate the interchange. Or the commutation is effected by bending the alphabet exactly in the middle and putting one half over the other, and the interchange is א for ל, ב for מ, ג for נ.

This mode is termed *Albam* (א"ל ב"ם), from the first two specimen pairs of letters which indicate the interchange (comp. *Nedarim*, 32 a; *Sanhedrin*, 22 a).

xxx. *An explanation is to be obtained by either dividing a word into several words, or into syllables, and transposing these syllables, or into letters and taking each letter as an initial or abbreviation of a word.* This rule is termed שדורשין נמטריקון אברהם, and is illustrated by the word אב המון גוים, the father of many nations; by כרמל being divided into כר and מל, and the latter transposed into רך, viz., soft and grindable; and by every letter of נמרט (1 Kings ii. 8) being taken as standing for a word, viz., נואף=adulterer, מואבי=Moabite, רוצח=murderer, צור=apostate, and תועבה=abhorred (comp. *Sabbath*, 105 a).

xxxi. *Words and sentences are sometimes transposed* (מוקדם שהוא מאוחר בענין). Thus י Sam.

iii. 3, 'And ere the lamp of God went out, and Samuel was lying in the temple of the Lord,' the

words ברחל יהוה, in the temple of the Lord, which are placed later in the sentence, evidently belong to יכבה, went out, since no one was allowed to sit down in the temple except the kings of the house of David, much less to lie down. So also in Ps. xxxiv., where ver. 18 must be taken up to ver. 16 (comp. *Kiddushin*, 78 b; *Baba Kama*, 106).

xxxii. *Whole sentences are sometimes transposed* (מוקדם מאוחר שהוא בפרשיות). Thus, e.g., the record, 'And he said unto him, Take me a heifer of three years old,' etc. (Gen. xv. 9, etc.), ought properly to precede chap. xiv., inasmuch as it is anterior in point of time. This reversed order is owing to the fact that the Scriptures for some reason put certain events which occurred earlier in time after later occurrences (comp. *Berachoth*, 7 b, with *Pessachim*, 6 b).

Besides these thirty-two rules, the following laws of interpretations must also be mentioned:—

i. *Deduction from juxtaposition.*—When two laws immediately follow each other, it is inferred that they are similar in consequences. Thus it is said in Exod. xxii. 18, 19, 'Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live. Whosoever lieth with a beast shall surely be put to death;' whence it is inferred that these two enactments are placed close to each other to indicate the manner of death a witch is to suffer, which the Scriptures nowhere define. Now, as he who cohabits with an animal is, according to the *Halacha* based upon Lev. xx., to be stoned to death, hence it is concluded that a witch is to die in the same manner.

ii. All repetitions of words as well as the construction of the finite verb with the infinitive, e.g., השב תשיב, העבט תעביטנו, have a peculiar signification, and must be explained. Some, however, maintain that the Bible, being written in human language, employs these repetitions (דיברה תורה כלשון בני אדם) in accordance with the *usus loquendi* (*Mishna Baba Mezia*, ii. 9; xii. 3; *Gemara*, ibid., 31; *Jerusalem Nedarim*, i. 1; *Kethuboth*, 77 b; *Berachoth*, 31 b).

iii. *Letters are to be taken from one word and joined to another or formed into new words.* Thus, ונתתם את נחלתו לשארו, then ye shall give his inheritance unto his kinsman (Num. xxvii. 11), is explained by ונתתם את נחלת שאר לו, and ye shall give the inheritance of his wife to him, i. e., the husband by taking away the ו from נחלתו and the ל from לשארו, thus obtaining the word לו; and it is deduced therefrom that a man inherits the property of his (שארו) wife (comp. *Baba Bathra*, iii. 6; *Menachoth*, 74 a). This rule is called שדורשין נמטריקון.

iv. *A word is to be explained both with the preceding and following words.* Thus ושרי אשת הנר אברהם לא ילדה לו ולה שפחה מצרית ושמה הנר and Sarai, Abraham's wife, bare him no children; and she had an handmaid, an Egyptian, whose name was Hagar (Gen. xvi. 1), is explained, and Sarai, Abraham's wife, bare no children to him and to herself (לו ולה), and then again, to him (i. e., Abraham) and to her (i. e., Sarai) there was an handmaid (לו ולה שפחה). This rule is called מוקרא נדרש לפניו ולאחריו, and is not admitted



by some (comp. *Sabbath*, 32 b; *Menachoth*, 19 a).

v. *The letters of a word are sometimes transposed.*

Thus עֲמֻלָּנוּ, *our labour* (Deut. xxv. 7), is made to mean *our children*, עֲלָמָנוּ, by transposing the מ and the ל.

vi. *Letters resembling each other in sound or appearance, or belonging to the same organ of speech, are interchanged.* Thus תורה לנו משה

עֲקָב, *Moses commanded us the law, an inheritance of the congregation of Jacob* (Deut. xxxiii. 4), is explained, *the law which Moses has given us, is the betrothed or wife* (מְאֻרָּה) of the congregation of Jacob, by changing the י in מורשה for א, and ש for ו.

The alteration produced by rules v. and vi., and which are in the Talmudic and post-Talmudic period generally introduced by the remark אֵל תִּקְרֶי כֵךְ

אֵלָּא כֵךְ, *Read not so and so, but so and so*, must not be taken for emendations of the text or various readings, but are simply another mode of obtaining an additional meaning of the text. It was argued that as the literal and limited sense of the Bible, read in the stereotyped order, could not yield sufficiently of the divine and inexhaustible mind couched in those letters, every transposition, commutation, etc., ought to be resorted to in order to obtain as much as possible of the infinite idea. Especially as every such effort yielded such a sense and a meaning as thoroughly harmonized with what might justly be expected from Holy Scripture. It was therefore regarded as probable that the Bible designed to indicate it in addition to what the regular order and reading of the words conveyed. It must also be remarked that some of these rules, especially those which involved an alteration of the text and a departure from the literal meaning, were not used in *Halachic exegesis*, and that the *Hagadic exegesis* employs many more than those we have specified. In fact, anything and everything is resorted to which can make the text speak comfort and consolation in every time of need, or connect the legends about Scriptural characters with the Biblical record.

5. *Importance of the Halachic and Hagadic exegesis.*—When it is borne in mind that the annotators and punctuators of the Hebrew text, and the translators of the ancient versions, were Jews impregnated with the theological opinions of the nation, and prosecuted their Biblical labours in harmony with these opinions, and the above-named exegetical rules, the importance of the Halachic and Hagadic exegesis to the criticism of the Hebrew text, and to a right understanding of the Greek, Chaldee, Syriac, and other versions, as well as of the quotations of the O. T. in the N. T., can hardly be overrated. If it be true—and few will question the fact—that every successive English version, either preceding or following the Reformation, reflects the peculiar notions about theology, church government, and politics of each period and every dominant party; and that even the most literal translation of modern days is, in a certain sense, a commentary of the translator; we ought to regard it as natural that the Jews, without intending to deceive, or wilfully to alter the text, should by the process of the *Midrash* introduce or indi-

cate, in their Biblical labours, the various opinions to which shifting circumstances gave rise. Let a few specimens from the Hebrew text, and the ancient versions, suffice to illustrate this Midrashic process, and its paramount importance to Biblical criticism.

i. *The Hebrew text and the Massora.*—The influence of the Halachic and Hagadic exegesis on the formation of the Hebrew text and the Massora is far greater than has hitherto been imagined, though the limits of this article only admit of a few examples. Thus, e.g., the question put by Isaiah to Hezekiah, ‘The shadow has gone forward (הִלֵּךְ) ten degrees, shall it go back ten degrees?’ (2 Kings xx. 9) as the Hebrew text has it, is not only grammatically incorrect, inasmuch as the repetition of the *ten degrees* a second time requires the article, but is at variance with the king’s reply given in ver. 10, from which it is evident that the prophet asked him whether the shadow should go forwards or backwards ten degrees, that Hezekiah chose the latter because it was more difficult and wonderful, and that the original reading was

הִלֵּךְ, instead of הָקָה; and, indeed, this reading is still preserved by the Chaldee, the Syriac, the Vulgate, etc.; is followed by Luther and the Zurich version, whence it found its way into Coverdale, the Bishop’s Bible, and has finally got into the A. V. The mystery about the origin of the present textual reading is solved when we bear in mind the Hagadic explanation of the parallel passage in Is. xxxviii. 8. Now, tradition based upon this passage tells us, that the shadow or the sun had gone ten degrees forwards at the death of Ahaz, and the day was thus shortened to two hours אֲחֻזַּת הַיּוֹם שְׁמֹנֶת בֹּרְאָה שְׁנֵי שָׁעוֹת הָיָה, *Sanhedrin*, 96 a), in order that his burial might be hasty and without royal honours, and that now these ten degrees went backward. Hence the present reading, which was effected by the trifling alteration of הִלֵּךְ into

הָקָה, i. e., ‘the shadow,’ the prophet is made to say to the king, ‘has once gone forward ten degrees’ (i. e., at the death of Ahaz); ‘shall it now go backwards ten degrees?’ Thus, the Midrash exposition of Is. xxxviii. 8 gave rise to the textual reading of 2 Kings xx. 9. For the influence of the Halachic and Hagadic exegesis on the Massora and the various readings, we must refer to Krochmal, *More Neboche Ha-Jeman*, Lemberg 1851, p. 169, ff.; and the articles KERI and KETHIV, and NETHINIM, in this Cyclopædia.

ii. *The Greek versions.*—That the Septuagint is pervaded by the Halachic and Hagadic exegesis, may almost be seen on every page of this version. A few examples must suffice. Thus, e.g., the Septuagint rendering of חַיָּה by ζῴον in Lev. xi. 47, is only to be explained when it is borne in mind that, according to the Halacha, the prohibition respecting טְרֵפָה (Exod. xxii. 30, *al.*) does not simply refer to animals torn by wild beasts, but to every animal which is sickly and maimed, though belonging to the clean animals allowed to be eaten in Lev. xi.; and that one of the sure tests whether an animal is healthy, and hence eatable, is when it bears young ones; barrenness is an infallible sign of its sickly condition (comp. *Chulin*, 24, with 58; Salomon b. Adereth, *Respons.*, xcvi.; *Torath Cohanim*, 124)—hence the Septuagint rendering,



'between those which bear young ones and [for this reason] may be eaten, and those which bear young ones and may not be eaten,' because they belong to the animals proscribed. Again, the rendering

of Josh. xiii. 22, בהרב . . . הרגו . . . בלעם, ואת בלעם, by καὶ τὸν Βαλαάμ . . . ἀπέκτειναν . . . ἐν ῥοπή, which has caused such perplexity to commentators and given rise to diverse emendations (e.g., προνομή, Oxf.; ἐν ρουφαίᾳ ἐν τροπῇ, Ald. and Complut.), is at once explicable when reference is made to the Hagada, which is quoted by Jonathan b. Uzziel's Chaldee Paraphrase of Num. xxxi. 6, and is as follows: 'Balaam flew into the air by his magic arts, and Phinehas threw him down,' so that ἐν ῥοπή means in the full (comp. also Rashi on Num. xxxi. 6).

*Symmachus*, too, cannot be understood in many of his translations without reference to the Halachic and Hagadic exegesis. Thus, the apparently

strange rendering of לֹא תֵבֶשֶׁל גִּדֵּי בַחֲלָב אִמּוֹ by οὐ σκευάσεις ξρίφον διὰ γάλακτος μητρός αὐτοῦ (Exod. xxiii. 19), becomes intelligible when it is remembered that the Halacha not only prohibits the cooking but the mixing and eating of animal meat and milk in any form (comp. *Mechilla* in loco, *Cholin*, 115). Hence the rendering of תֵּבֶשֶׁל

by σκευάσεις. The rendering of מִשֶּׁה וְיִוָּאֵל מִשֶּׁה by ὤρκισε δὲ Μωϋσῆν (Exod. i. 21), which has been thought very extraordinary and inexplicable, becomes perfectly plain when the Hagada on this passage is consulted, which tells us, that Jethro demanded of Moses to swear that he would devote to idolatry his first-begotten son by Zipporah, and that Moses consented to it; and remarks farther, לוֹ

השבע וישבע לו שנאמר ויואל משה, אין אלה אלא לשון שבועה שני ויואל שאל את העם לאמר וכתוב ויאמר נעמן הואל וקה בכרים, then said Jethro, swear, and Moses swore to him, as it is written, ויואל משה. Now אלה denotes to swear, as in 1 Sam. xiv. 24, and 2 Kings v. 23 (comp. *Mechilla*, section Jethro, beginning quoted in *Jalkut*, in loco; *Nedarim*, 65 a).

These few specimens must suffice, for, greatly important as the subject is, the limits of this article prevent us from giving illustrations of the influence which the Halachic and Hagadic exegesis exercised upon the other Greek version, as well as upon the Chaldee paraphrases, the Syriac version, the Vulgate, the Arabic, and the expositions of the early fathers.

6. *Literature*.—Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, Berlin 1832, p. 35, ff.; Hirschfeld, *Halachische Exegese*, Berlin 1840; by the same author, *Die hagadische Exegese*, Berlin 1847; Sachs, *Die religiöse Poesie der Juden in Spanien*, Berlin 1845, p. 141, ff.; Rapaport, *Erech Millin*, Prague 1852, art. *Agada*, p. 6, ff.; Frankel, *Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta*, Leipzig 1841, p. 179, ff.; by the same author, *Ueber den Einfluss der Palästinischen Exegese auf die alexandrinische Hermeneutik*, Leipzig 1851; and *Programm zur Eröffnung des jüdisch-theologischen Seminars zu Breslau*, Breslau 1854; Luzzatto, *Oheb Ger.*, Vienna 1831; Geiger, *Urschrift und Uebersetzung der Bibel*, Breslau 1857; Steinschneider, *Jewish Literature*, Longman 1857, p. 5, ff.; Ginsburg, *Historical*

and Critical Commentary on Ecclesiastes, Longman 1861, pp. 30, ff.; 455, ff.—C. D. G.

MIDWIFE. [BIRTH; ABNAIM.]

MIGDAL-EDAR (מִגְדַּל עֵדָר). In Gen. xxxv.

21, we read that Jacob, after burying Rachel beside Bethlehem, 'journeyed, and spread his tent beyond the tower of Edar,' or Migdal-edar (see EDAR). It was probably a tower built on the borders of the wilderness for the protection of the numerous flocks that were pastured there; and it may perhaps have stood on the site now occupied by the fortified *Khan* at Solomon's pools. Some suppose that the same place is alluded to in Micah iv. 8, 'And thou, O tower of the flock' (in Hebrew Migdal-edar); but the succeeding clause shows that the prophet refers to Mount Zion, which, because of its strength and the watchfulness exercised by its government over Israel, 'the flock of Jehovah' (Jer. xiii. 17), is called Migdal-edar, 'the tower of the flock' (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Bethlehem*; Delitzsch, *on Gen.*, ad loc.).—J. L. P.

MIGDAL-EL (מִגְדַּל אֵל), 'tower of God,' Μεγαλαρμ; Μαγδαλή; *Magdalen*), one of the 'fenced cities' of Naphtali, mentioned only in Josh. xix. 38. No indication of its geographical position is given, and the name Migdal was, and still is, very common in Palestine. The territory of Naphtali unquestionably included a considerable portion of the shore of the Sea of Galilee; and there is on the shore, three miles north of Tiberias, a small village with ancient ruins called *Mejdel*, the Arabic representative of Migdal (مجدل),

and now identified with the MAGDALA of the N. T. Dr. Robinson states that this is probably the same place as the Migdal-el of the O. T. (*B. R.*, ii. 397). It would seem, however, that Joshua groups the cities according to their position; and if so, Migdal-el would have come between Hammath and Chinnereth, whereas it is named after Kedesh and Hazor, and thus appears to have been situated on the north, or probably north-west, part of the tribe (Josh. xix. 35-38). Eusebius and Jerome make a strange mistake regarding it; they say 'it is now a small village nine (Jerome five) miles from Dora on the road to Ptolemais,' which nearly corresponds to the position of Athlit, the *Castellum Peregrinorum* of the Crusaders (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Magdihel*; *Handbook*, p. 369); but this is far beyond the boundaries of Naphtali. In Van de Velde's map a village called *Mejdel Selim* is placed near the northern extremity of the mountains of Naphtali, the position of which would seem to agree with that of Migdal-el. The *Mujeid* mentioned by Mr. Grove, on the bank of Wady Kerakah, appears to be too far west (Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, s. v.) This point, however, requires fuller investigation on the spot.—J. L. P.

MIGDAL-GAD (מִגְדַּל גָּד), 'tower of Gad,'

Μαγαδαλαγὰδ; Alex. Μαγδαλαγὰδ; *Magdalgad*), a town of Judah, situated in the Shephelah, or plain of Philistia, apparently to the north-west of Lachish (Josh. xv. 37-39). It is only mentioned in the one passage of Scripture, and it appears to have been unknown to Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Magdala*). In the plain of Philistia, about two miles east of Ascalon, stands the large and pros-



perous village of Mejdol, encircled by luxuriant orchards and olive groves, and fields unsurpassed in fertility. The writer discovered among the houses many traces of antiquity—large hewn stones and broken columns. There can be no doubt that it occupies an ancient site; and Van de Velde's suggestion that here stood the Migdal-gad of Joshua seems highly probable (*Memoir*, p. 334; *Travels*, ii. 177). Some three miles south-east of Mejdol is the village of *Jenin*, which may perhaps be the *Zenan* noted by Joshua in the group with Migdal-gad; and ten miles distant in the same direction are the ruins of Lachish and Eglon (*Handbk.*, pp. 272, 261).—J. L. P.

MIGDOL (מִגְדֹּל; Sept. *Μάγδαλος*, *Μάγδαλον*), a place between which and the Red Sea the Israelites were commanded to encamp on leaving Egypt (Exod. xiv. 2; Num. xxxiii. 7) [EXODUS]. The name, which means a *tower*, appears to indicate a fortified place. In Jer. xlv. 1; xlv. 14, it occurs as a city of Egypt, and it would seem to have been the last town on the Egyptian frontier, in the direction of the Red Sea; hence 'from Migdol to Syene,' in Ezek. xxix. 10; xxx. 6. In the Itinerary of Antoninus there is mention of Magdol as a town in Egypt about twelve Roman miles southward of Pelusium. It is probable that this is the Migdol of the prophets. Whether this is the Migdol of Exodus is doubted by some.

MIGRON (מִגְרֹן; 'a precipice,' *Μαγρόν*; in Is. x. 28, *Μαγρεδών*; Alex. *Μαγεδδών*; *Magron*). In describing the romantic and successful attack of Jonathan upon the Philistine host at Michmash, the sacred historian states that when it was made, 'Saul tarried in the uttermost part of Gibeah (or on the border [בְּקֵצֶה] of Gibeah), under a pomegranate-tree, which is in Migron' (1 Sam. xiv. 2); and Migron is again mentioned by Isaiah when giving the route of the Assyrian army towards Jerusalem—'He is come to Aiath, he is passed to Migron; at Michmash he hath laid up his carriages' (x. 28). These are the only passages in which the name occurs. It is not quite certain whether the writers mean by it a city or a place so called from some noted cliff, as the word might seem to imply. Be this as it may, Migron must have been situated between Michmash and Geba (written *Gibeah*, גִּבְעָה, in 1 Sam. xiv. 2; see GEBÄ), and on the south side of the deep ravine which separates them; because Saul was at Migron and the Philistines at Michmash when Jonathan crossed the ravine and surprised the camp. The words of Isaiah, when rightly understood, are not opposed to this. He represents the invader as having passed from Aiath to Migron. Then he gives an explanatory note, as it were, 'At Michmash he hath laid up his baggage,' and this occurred before he reached Migron. Having done so, he went over the passage or ravine, and encamped at Geba.

Migron, therefore, was in all probability situated on, or close to, the southern brow of the ravine now called Wady Suweinif. It was a commanding position (cf. Joseph. *Antiq.* vi. 6. 2, where it is said to be 'a high hill'), for Saul was able to see from it the commotion which followed the attack of Jonathan on the Philistine camp. The ravine is not quite half a mile in breadth from brow to brow. Migron was unknown to Eusebius and

Jerome (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Magdon*), and it has not yet been identified. The writer on two occasions examined minutely the whole region around Geba and Michmash, and westward to Ai (or *Aiath*) and Bethel, but could hear nothing of Migron (*Handbk.*, p. 214). There are several ruined villages, and many commanding cliffs there; it is impossible, however, now to identify Migron.—J. L. P.

MIKKELSEN, HANS, author of the first Danish version of the N. T., was originally mayor of Malmoe in Scania, and subsequently secretary to Christian II. of Denmark. When the king was, in 1523, obliged to flee from his dominions and take refuge in Holland, Mikkelsen accompanied him, and it was whilst there that, at the suggestion of his sovereign, he set himself to the work of translating the N. T. Driven by the bigoted jealousy of the papal party in the Netherlands from his place beside the king, he retired to Harderwick in Guelderland, where he died about the year 1532. His translation professes to be made from the Latin, but this applies only to the four gospels, in translating which he seems to have followed the version of Erasmus; for the other books he has closely followed the German version of Luther. His translation appeared in sm. 4to in 1524 (Henderson, *Dissertation on Hans Mikkelsen's Translation*, Copenhagen 1813).—W. L. A.

MILCAH (מִלְכָּה; Sept. *Μελχά*). 1. The daughter of Haran, sister of Lot, and wife of her uncle Nahor, Abraham's brother (Gen. xi. 29). Of her eight children the youngest, Bethuel, was the father of Rebekah (Gen. xxii. 22, 23; xxiv. 15). 2. The fourth daughter of Zelophehad (Num. xxvi. 33; xxvii. 1, etc.).—W. L. A.

MILCOM. [MOLOCH.]

MILE (μῖλον). This word is only mentioned in Matt. v. 41, where Christ says, 'And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain.' The mile was originally (as its derivation from *mille*, 'a thousand,' implies) a Roman measure of 1000 geometrical paces (*passus*) of five feet each, and was therefore equal to 5000 Roman feet. Taking the Roman foot at 11.6496 English inches, the Roman mile would be 1618 English yards, or 142 yards less than the English statute mile. By another calculation, in which the foot is taken at 11.62 inches, the mile would be little more than 1614 yards. The number of Roman miles in a degree of a large circle of the earth is very little more than seventy-five. The most common Latin term for the mile is *mille passuum*, or only the initials M.P.; sometimes the word *passuum* is omitted. The Roman mile contained eight Greek stadia (see Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Rom. Antiq.*, art. *Milliare*). The Greek stade hence bore the same relation to the Roman mile which the English furlong does to the English mile; and it is indeed usual with the earlier writers on Biblical geography to translate the Greek 'stade' into the English 'furlong,' in stating the measurements of Eusebius and Jerome. As the measurements of these writers are often cited in the present work, it is necessary to remember that their mile is always the Roman mile.—J. K.

MILETUS (Μίλητος), a city and seaport of Ionia in Asia Minor, about thirty-six miles south of Ephesus. St. Paul touched at this port on his

voyage from Greece to Syria, and delivered to the elders of Ephesus, who had come to meet him there, a remarkable and affecting address (Acts xx. 15-38). Miletus was a place of considerable note, and the ancient capital of Ionia and Caria. It was the birth-place of several men of renown—Thales, Timotheus, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Democritus (Pomp. Mela, i. 17; Diog. Laert. *Vit. Philosoph.* pp. 15, 88, 89, 650). Ptolemy (*Geog.* v. 2) places Miletus in Caria by the sea, and it is stated to have had four havens, one of which was capable of holding a fleet. It was noted for a famous temple of Apollo, the oracle of which is known to have been consulted so late as the fourth century (Apollodorus, *De Orig. Deor.* iii. 130). There was, however, a Christian church in the place; and in the fifth, seventh, and eighth centuries, we read of bishops of Miletus who were present at several councils (Magdeburg, *Hist. Eccles.* ii. 192; iv. 86; v. 3; vii. 254; viii. 4). The city fell to decay after its conquest by the Saracens, and is now in ruins, not far from the spot where the Meander falls into the sea. The site bears, among the Turks, the name of Melas.

Some take the Miletum where Paul left Trophimus sick (2 Tim. iv. 20) to have been in Crete, and therefore different from the above; but there seems no need for this conclusion. [The inducement to this hypothesis is the desire to escape the difficulty arising from the statement that the apostle left Trophimus at Miletus sick, whereas we find Trophimus with the apostle at the close of that journey at Jerusalem (Acts xxi. 29). But the only valid escape from this difficulty is to be found in the supposition of a journey made by the apostle after his first imprisonment at Rome [TIMOTHY, EPISTLES 10]. Miletum in the A.V. is an incorrect form for Miletus.]—J. K.

**MILK.** The Hebrew word for milk, חֶלֶב, *chalab*, is from the same root as חָלַב, *chaleb*, 'fatness,' and is properly restricted to new milk, there being a distinct term, חֶמְאָה, *chemah*, for milk when curdled. Milk, and the preparations from it, butter and cheese, are often mentioned in Scripture. Milk, in its fresh state, appears to have been used very largely among the Hebrews, as is usual among people who have much cattle, and yet make but sparing use of their flesh for food. The proportion which fresh milk held in the dietary of the Hebrews, must not, however, be measured by the comparative frequency with which the word occurs; because, in the greater number of examples, it is employed figuratively to denote great abundance, and in many instances it is used as a general term for all or any of the preparations from it.

In its figurative use, the word occurs sometimes simply as the sign of abundance (Gen. xlix. 12; Ezek. xxv. 4; Joel iii. 18, etc.); but more frequently in combination with honey—'milk and honey,' being a phrase which occurs about twenty times in Scripture. Thus a rich and fertile soil is described as a 'land flowing with milk and honey,' which, although usually said of Palestine, is also applied to other fruitful countries, as Egypt (Num. xvi. 13). This figure is by no means peculiar to the Hebrews, but is frequently met with in classical writers. A beautiful example occurs in Euripides (*Bacch.* 142). Hence its use to denote the

food of children. Milk is almost constantly employed as a symbol of the elementary parts or rudiments of doctrine (1 Cor. iii. 2; Heb. v. 12, 13); and from its purity and simplicity, it is also made to symbolize the unadulterated word of God (1 Pet. ii. 2; comp. Is. lv. 1).

In reading of milk in Scripture, the milk of cows naturally presents itself to the mind of the European reader; but in Western Asia, and especially among the pastoral and semi-pastoral people, not only cows, but goats, sheep, and camels, are made to give their milk for the sustenance of man. That this was also the case among the Hebrews may be clearly inferred even from the slight intimations which the Scriptures afford. Thus we read of 'butter of kine, and milk of sheep' (Deut. xxxii. 14); and in Prov. xxvii. 27, the emphatic intimation, 'Thou shalt have goats' milk for food,' seems to imply that this was considered the best for use in the simple state. 'Thirty milch camels' were among the cattle which Jacob presented to his brother Esau (Gen. xxxii. 15), implying the use of camels' milk.

The word for curdled milk (חֶמְאָה) is always translated 'butter' in the A. V. It seems to mean both butter and curdled milk, but most generally the latter; and the context will, in most cases, suggest the distinction, which has been neglected by our translators. It was this curdled milk, highly esteemed as a refreshment in the East, that Abraham set before the angels (Gen. xviii. 8), and which Jael gave to Sisera, instead of the water which he asked (Judg. v. 25). In this state milk acquires a slightly inebriating power, if kept long enough. Is. vii. 22, where it is rendered 'butter,' is the only text in which the word is coupled with 'honey,' and there it is a sign of scarcity, not of plenty, as when honey is coupled with fresh milk. It means that there being no fruit or grain, the remnant would have to live on milk and honey; and, perhaps, that milk itself would be so scarce, that it would be needful to use it with economy; and hence to curdle it, as fresh milk cannot be preserved for daily use. Although, however, this word properly denotes curdled milk, it seems also to be sometimes used for milk in general (Deut. xxxii. 14; Job xx. 15; Is. vii. 15).

The most striking Scriptural allusion to milk is that which forbids a kid to be seethed in its mother's milk, and its importance is attested by its being thrice repeated (Exod. xxiii. 19; xxxiv. 26; Deut. xiv. 21). There is, perhaps, no precept of Scripture which has been more variously interpreted than this, and we may state the most remarkable views respecting it:—1. That it prohibits the eating of the fœtus of the goat as a delicacy: but there is not the least evidence that the Jews were ever attached to this disgusting luxury. 2. That it forbids the kid to be killed till it is eight days old, when, it is said, it might subsist without the milk of its mother. 3. This ground is admitted by those who deduce a further reason from the fact, that a kid was not, until the eighth day, fit for sacrifice. But there appears no good reason why a kid should be described as 'in its mother's milk,' in those days, more than in any other days of the period during which it is suckled. 4. Others, therefore, maintain that the eating of a sucking kid is altogether and absolutely prohibited. But a goat suckles its kid for three months, and it is not likely that the Jews were so long forbidden



the use of it for food. No food is forbidden but as unclean, and a kid ceased to be unclean on the eighth day, when it was fit for sacrifice; and what was fit for sacrifice could not be unfit for food. 5. That the prohibition was meant to prevent the dam and kid from being slain at the same time. But this is forbidden with reference to the goat and other animals in express terms, and there seems no reason why it should be repeated in this remarkable form with reference to the goat only. 6. Others understand it literally, as a precept designed to encourage human feelings. But, as Michaelis asks, how came the Israelites to hit upon the strange whim of boiling a kid in milk, and just in the milk of its own mother? 7. Still, understanding the text literally, it is possible that this was not a common act of cookery, but an idolatrous or magical rite. Maimonides, in his *More Nevochim*, urges this opinion. He says, 'Flesh eaten with milk, or in milk, appears to me to have been prohibited, not only because it affords gross nourishment, but because it savoured of idolatry, some of the idolaters probably doing it in their worship, or at their festivals; and I am the more inclined to this opinion from observing that the law, in noticing this practice, does so twice, immediately after having spoken of the three great annual feasts (Exod. xxiii. 17, 19; xxxiv. 23, 26). 'Three times in the year all thy males shall appear before the Lord God. . . . Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk.' As if it had been said, 'When ye appear before me in your feasts, ye shall not cook your food after the manner of the idolaters, who are accustomed to this practice.' This reason appears to me of great weight, although I have not yet been able to find it in the Zabian books.' This is confirmed by an extract which Cudworth (*Discourses concerning the True Notion of the Lord's Supper*, p. 30) gives from an ancient Karaite commentary on the Pentateuch. 'It was a custom of the ancient heathen, when they had gathered in all their fruits, to take a kid, and boil it in the dam's milk, and then in a magical way to go about and besprinkle with it all their trees, and fields, and gardens, and orchards, thinking that by this means they should make them fructify, and bring forth more abundantly the following year.' Some such rite as this is supposed to be the one interdicted by the prohibition. This opinion is supported by Spencer (*De Legibus Hebr.* ii. 9, sec. 2), and has been advocated by Le Clerc, Dathe, and other able writers. It is also corroborated by the addition in the Samaritan copy, and in some degree by the Targum. The former has, 'For he who doth this is like a man who sacrificeth an abomination, and it is a trespass against the God of Jacob:.' and the latter, 'O my people, house of Israel, it is not lawful for you to boil or eat flesh and milk mixed together, lest my wrath be enkindled, and I boil your products, corn and straw, together.' 8. Michaelis, however, advances a quite new opinion of his own. He takes it for granted

that בָּשַׁל, rendered 'seethe,' may signify to roast as well as to boil, which is hardly disputable; that the kid's mother is not here limited to the real mother, but applies to any goat that has kidded; that הֵלֵךְ here denotes not *milk* but *butter*; and that the precept is not restricted to kids, but extends not only to lambs (which is generally granted), but to all other not forbidden animals. Having

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erected these props, Michaelis builds upon them the conjecture, that the motive of the precept was to endear to the Israelites the land of Canaan, which abounded in *oil*, and to make them forget their Egyptian *butter*. Moses, therefore, to prevent their having any longing desire to return to that country, enjoins them to use oil in cooking their victuals, as well as in seasoning their sacrifices (*Mosaisches Recht*, pt. iv., p. 210). This is ingenious, but it is open to objection. The postulates cannot readily be granted; and if granted, the conclusion deduced from them is scarcely just, seeing that, as Geddes remarks, 'there was no need nor temptation for the Israelites to return to Egypt on account of its butter, when they possessed a country that flowed with milk and honey' (*Critical Remarks*, p. 257).

BUTTER is not often mentioned in Scripture, and even less frequently than our version would suggest; for, as already intimated, the word חֶמְאָה, *chemah*, must sometimes be understood of curdled milk. Indeed, it may be doubted whether it denotes butter in any place besides Deut. xxxii. 14, 'butter of kine,' and Prov. xxx. 33, 'the churning of milk bringeth forth butter,' as all the other texts will apply better to curdled milk than to butter. Butter was, however, doubtless much in use among the Hebrews, and we may be sure that it was prepared in the same manner as at this day among the Arabs and Syrians. The milk is put into a large copper pan over a slow fire, and a little *leben* or sour milk (the same as the curdled milk mentioned above), or a portion of the dried entrails of a lamb, is thrown into it. The milk then separates, and is put into a goatskin bag, which is tied to one of the tent poles, and constantly moved backwards and forwards for two hours. The buttery substance then coagulates, the water is pressed out, and the butter put into another skin. In two days the butter is again placed over the fire, with the addition of a quantity of *burgoul* (wheat boiled with leaven, and dried in the sun), and allowed to boil for some time, during which it is carefully skimmed. It is then found that the *burgoul* has precipitated all the foreign substances, and that the butter remains quite clear at the top. This is the process used by the Bedouins, and it is also the one employed by the settled people of Syria and Arabia. The chief difference is, that in making butter and cheese the townspeople employ the milk of cows and buffaloes, whereas the Bedouins, who do not keep these animals, use that of sheep and goats. The butter is generally white, of the colour and consistence of lard, and is not much relished by English travellers. It is eaten with bread in large quantities by those who can afford it, not spread out thinly over the surface, as with us, but taken in mass with the separate morsels of bread.

Cheese has been noticed under its proper head.—J. K.

MILL [The Heb. has no word properly for *mill*. The term מִלּוֹחַ, the dual of the not-used מִל, means two mill-stones, and is used of a hand-mill (Is. xlvii. 2)] (Sept. μύλην). The mill for grinding corn had not wholly superseded the mortar for pounding it in the time of Moses. [MORTAR.] The mortar and the mill are named together in Num. xi. 8. But fine meal, that is, meal ground or pounded fine, is mentioned so early as the time

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of Abraham (Gen. xviii. 6): hence mills and mortars must have been previously known. The mill common among the Hebrews differed little from that which is in use to this day throughout Western Asia and Northern Africa. It consisted of two circular stones two feet in diameter, and half a foot thick. The lower is called the 'nether millstone,' פֶּלֶחַ תַּחְתִּית (Job xli. 16 [24]), and the upper the 'rider,' רֶכֶב (Judg. ix. 53; 2 Sam. xi. 21). The former was usually fixed to the floor, and had a slight elevation in the centre, or in other words, was slightly convex in the upper surface.



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The upper stone had a concavity in its under surface fitting to, or receiving, the convexity of the lower stone. There was a hole in the top, through which the corn was introduced by handfuls at a time. The upper stone had an upright stick fixed in it as a handle, by which it was made to turn upon the lower stone, and by this action the corn was ground, and came out at the edges. As there were neither public mills nor bakers, except the king's (Gen. xl. 2; Hos. vii. 4-8), each family possessed a mill; and as it was in daily use, it was made an infringement of the law for a person to take another's mill or mill-stone in pledge (Deut. xxiv. 6). On the second day, in warm climates, bread becomes dry and insipid; hence the necessity of baking every day, and hence also the daily grinding at the mills early in the morning. The operation occasions considerable noise, and its simultaneous performance in a great number of houses or tents forms one of the sounds as indicative of an active population in the East, as the sound of wheel carriages is in the cities of the West. This sound is alluded to in Scripture (Jer. xxv. 10; Rev. xviii. 22, 23). The mill was, as now, commonly turned by two persons, usually women, and these, the work being laborious, the lowest maid-servants in the house [Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, c. 34]. They sat opposite each other. One took hold of the mill-handle, and impelled it half way round; the other then seized it, and com-

pleted the revolution (Exod. xi. 5; Job xxxi. 10, 11; Is. xlvii. 2; Matt. xxiv. 41). As the labour was severe and menial, enemies taken in war were often condemned to perform it (Judg. xvi. 21; Lam. v. 13). (Jahn, *Biblische Archeol.* ix. 139). It will be seen that this mill-stone does not materially differ from the Highland *guern*, and is, indeed, an obvious resource in those remote quarters where a population is too thin or too scattered to afford remunerative employment to a miller by trade. In the East this trade is still unknown, the hand-mill being in general and exclusive use among the corn-consuming, and the mortar among the rice-consuming, nations. [BREAD.]—J. K.

MILL, DAVID, D.D., professor of Oriental languages at Utrecht, was born at Königsburg 13th April 1692, and died at Utrecht 22d May 1755. He was the author of *Dissertationes Selectae Variae S. Litt. et Antiquitatis Orientalis Capita exponentes et illustrantes*, curis secundis, Lugd. Bat. 1743—a work replete with learning, and marked by much sound discrimination.—W. L. A.

MILL, JOHN, D.D., was born at Shap in Westmoreland, about 1645, and died June 23, 1707. He entered as servitor at Queen's College, Oxford, in 1661; took his degree of B.A. in 1666; his Master's degree in 1669; and was soon afterwards chosen fellow and tutor of his college. In 1676 he became chaplain to the Bishop of Oxford (Dr. Lamplugh); and in 1681 obtained the rectory of Blechingdon, in Oxfordshire, and was made chaplain to Charles II. He was appointed principal of St. Edmund's Hall in 1685, and held the appointment till his death. Dr. Mill rendered great service to the cause of Biblical science by his edition of the Greek Testament, undertaken by the advice of Dr. Fell, Bishop of Oxford, and completed only fourteen days before his own death: 'H KAINH ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ, *Novum Testamentum Græcum, cum lectionibus variantibus MSS. Exemplarium, Versionum, Editionum SS. Patrum et Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum, et in eadem notis Studio et labore Johannis Millii S. T. P.*, Oxonii 1707, folio. Dr. Mill devoted thirty years of his life to this work, which was greatly in advance of everything of the kind which preceded it. The text is that of R. Stephens of 1550, between which, however, and the Elzevir, Dr. Davidson says it 'fluctuates.' The editor 'recognised the importance of each element of critical evidence' (Tregelles). He inserted in his notes all previously existing collections of various readings, adding to them many others as the result of his own examination of ancient sources. The various readings, said to amount to 30,000, were attacked by Dr. Whitby in his *Examen*—as if attacks could annihilate facts. Collins applied Whitby's reasonings against the Scriptures themselves, but he was triumphantly answered by Bentley in his *Phileleutherus Lipsiensis*. Kuster reprinted Mill's Testament at Rotterdam in 1710, with the readings of twelve additional MSS. [KUSTER.]—I. J.

MILLENNIUM. [ADVENT, SECOND.]

MILLET. [DOCHAN.]

MILLO (מִלּוֹ; Sept. ἀκρα). This word denotes 'fulness,' and is applied to a mound or rampart, probably as being filled up with stones or earth. The def. art. is always prefixed, 'The



Millo.' It is the name given to part of the citadel of Jerusalem, probably the rampart (2 Sam. v. 9; 1 Kings ix. 15, 24; xi. 27; 1 Chron. xi. 8; 2 Chron. xxxii. 5). In the last of these texts the Sept. has τὸ ἀνάστημα τῆς πόλεως, 'the fortification of the city of David.' Sepp places this fort at the extreme north of the city, on the site of the *Mulawieh* mosque, near the Damascus gate (*Jerusalem and the Holy Land*, pt. ii.)

MILLO, HOUSE OF (מִלּוֹ בֵּית). 1. (Sept. ὁ οἶκος Βηθμαάλω; Alex. οἶκος μαάλλων), a family or sept mentioned along with the men or chiefs of Shechem (Judg. ix. 6, 20). 2. (Sept. οἶκος Μαάλω) The place where Joash was slain (2 Kings xii. 20). This is probably the Millo of the preceding article.

#### MINCHA. [OFFERINGS.]

MINES. That the Hebrews were acquainted with methods of extracting ore from the bowels of the earth seems a legitimate inference from the fact that the hills of Palestine contained veins of copper, which might be obtained by digging (Deut. viii. 9); and from the fact that they possessed metals in such abundance as could be supplied only by means of mines. There is, however, no reference in Scripture to mining operations, unless such be found in Job xxviii. 1-11. This is a passage not free from serious difficulties as to its meaning; but it is on the whole most probable that the passage contains an allusion to mining. The taking of iron from the earth, the forming of subterranean passages and galleries, and the diverting of the waters so as to prevent their bursting in and overwhelming the works, all seem to point to operations such as those of the mines. Still the allusion is by no means certain; and even if it be admitted, it still remains doubtful whether what the speaker here describes can be applied to Palestine. [METALS.]—W. L. A.

MINISTER, one who acts as the less (from *minus* or *minor*) or inferior agent, in obedience or subservience to another, or who serves, officiates, etc., as distinguished from the master, *magister* (from *magis*), or superior. The words so translated in the O. T. are מִשְׁתָּר (Chald.), and in the N., διάκονος, λειτουργός, and ὑπηρέτης. 1. מִשְׁתָּר, 'Moses and his minister Joshua' (Exod. xxiv. 13); Sept. παρεστῆκώς αὐτῷ; Aquila and Symm. ὁ λειτουργός αὐτοῦ; comp. Exod. xxxiii. 11 (Sept. θεράπων Ἰησοῦς); Num. xi. 28; Josh. i. 1 (Sept. ὑπουργός Μωυσῆ; Alex. λειτουργός). This Hebrew word is clearly distinguished from עֲבָד, which is the more comprehensive term for servant (1 Kings x. 5), 'Solomon's servants and ministers,' where the Sept. reads παῖδων for the former, and λειτουργῶν for the latter. It is applied to Elisha as minister to Elijah, 2 Kings vi. 15 (Sept. λειτουργός); comp. 2 Kings iii. 11; 1 Kings xix. 21. Persons thus designated sometimes succeeded to the office of their principal, as did Joshua and Elisha. The word is applied to the angels, Ps. ciii. 21 (λειτουργοί); comp. Ps. civ. 4; Heb. i. 7; and see Stuart's *Comment.* in loc. Both the Hebrew and Sept. words are applied to the Jews in their capacity as a sacred nation, 'Men shall call you the ministers of our God' (Is. lxi. 6); to the priests (Jer. xxxiii. 21; Ezek. xlv. 11; xlv. 4; Joel i. 9). The Greek word is continued in the

same sense in Luke i. 23, and applied to Christian teachers, Acts xiii. 2; Rom. xv. 16; and to Christ, Heb. viii. 2; to the collectors of the Roman tribute, in consequence of the divine authority of political government, 'they are God's ministers' (λειτουργοί). It was applied by the Athenians to those who administered the public offices (λειτουργοί) at their own expense (Boeckh, *Staatshaush. der Athener*. i. 480; ii. 62; Potter's *Gr. Ant.* i.

85. 2. פִּלְהִי (Chald.), Ezra vii. 24, 'ministers' of religion, λειτουργοίς (comp. פִּלְהִי, ver. 19), though he uses the word מִשְׁתָּרִים in the same sense, ch. viii. 17. 3. The word διάκονος, 'minister,' is applied to Christian teachers, 1 Cor. iii. 5; 2 Cor. iii. 6; vi. 4; xi. 23; 1 Thess. iii. 2; to false teachers, 2 Cor. xi. 15; to Christ, Rom. xv. 8, 16; Gal. ii. 17; to heathen magistrates, Rom. xiii. 4; in all which passages it has the sense of a minister, assistant, or servant in general, as in Matt. xx. 26; but it means a particular sort of minister, 'a deacon,' in Philip. i. 1; 1 Tim. iii. 8, 12. The term διάκονοι denotes among the Greeks a higher class of servants than the δούλοι (Athen. x. 192; B. comp. Xen. *l. c.* Buttm. *Lexic.* i. 220; comp. Matt. xxii. 13, and Sept. for מִשְׁתָּר, Esth. i. 10; ii. 2; vi. 3). 4. ὑπηρέτης is applied to Christian ministers, Luke i. 2; Acts xxvi. 16; 2 Cor. iv. 1. Josephus calls Moses τὸν ὑπηρέτην Θεοῦ, *Antiq.* iii. 1. 4. Kings are so called in Wisd. vi. 4. The word denotes, in Luke iv. 20, the attendant in a synagogue who handed the volume to the reader, and returned it to its place. In Acts xiii. 5 it is applied to 'John whose surname was Mark,' in his capacity as an attendant or assistant on Barnabas and Saul. It primarily signifies an under-rower on board a galley, of the class who used the longest oars, and consequently performed the severest duty, as distinguished from the θρανίτης, the rower upon the upper bench of the three, and from the οἱ ναῦται, sailors, or the ἐπιβάται, marines (Dem. 1209, 11; 14; comp. also 1208. 20; 1214. 23; 1216. 13; Pol. i. 25. 3): hence in general a hand, agent, minister, attendant, etc.—J. F. D.

#### MINNI. [ARMENIA.]

MINNITH (מִנִּית), a town in the country of the Ammonites (Judg. xi. 33), celebrated for the excellence of its wheat, which was exported to the markets of Tyre (Ezek. xxvii. 17). It still existed in the age of Eusebius, four Roman miles from Heshbon, on the road to Philadelphia (*Onomast.* in *Μενσήθ*). The Sept. seem to have found difficulty in this name. In Judg. xi. 33 they substitute the name of the Arnon, and in Ezek. xxvii. 17 they render it by μύρον, 'myrrh.'—J. K.

MINSTREL. The English word minstrel represents the French word *ménestrel*, which is itself a diminutive of *ministre*, and is applied to the class of persons who *administered* to the amusement of their patrons by their skill in music and poetry. Chaucer uses the word *minister* in the sense of minstrel in his *Dreame* (Richardson, *sub voce*, and Du Cange, *Gloss.*) The class of minstrels had in mediæval times a social position almost akin to the bards and scalds whose *Sagas* they sung and whose inspiration they imitated at humble distance. Musical sound has been an accompaniment of religious worship in all countries. The expert player on the musical instrument has been associated with the possessor of yet higher faculties (see Wilkin-



son's *Ancient Egyptians*, chap. ii., and representations of Harpers in the tomb of Rameses III., Thebes; Müller's *Hist. of Greek Literature*, chap. xii.) The 'pleasant voice and lovely song,' and the art of 'playing well on an instrument,' were associated with the functions of prophecy (Ezek. xxxiii. 31-33). Various passages of Holy Scripture show that the skillful performance of sacred music formed a large portion of the education of the sons of the prophets; 1 Sam. x. 5—'Thou shalt meet a company (*χορος*) of prophets coming down from the high place, with a psaltery, a tabret, a pipe, and a harp *before them* [MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS; PROPHET], and they shall prophesy.' It is not certain whether the prophets were here distinct from the players on instruments, but most probably they were the same individuals as those of whom we read elsewhere, that they 'should prophesy with harps, with psalteries, and with cymbals' (1 Chron. xxv. 1); that they resembled 'the sons of Asaph, of Heman, and of Jeduthun, who should prophesy with a harp, according to the order of the king, to give thanks and to praise the Lord' (see also ver. 6, 7). In this passage the performance of sacred song and of choral music in the temple received the exalted designation of prophecy. Sacred music, 'a joyful noise unto the Lord,' and 'thanksgiving to the Lord upon an instrument of ten strings, and upon the psaltery' (Ps. lvi. 1; lxxvii. 7; xcii. 1-3; c. 1), were characteristics of close communion with God. The effect produced upon the auditors is described (1 Sam. x. 6) as being in that instance very remarkable—Saul is assured that when he hears the prophetic minstrelsy, 'the Spirit of the Lord will come upon him, he shall prophesy with them and be turned into another man.' See ver. 11, and comp. 1 Sam. xix. 20-24, the account of the prophets being instructed by Samuel, and the effect of the holy song under the influence of the Spirit of God upon Saul's messengers, and afterwards upon Saul himself. Saul is thus seen to be peculiarly accessible to the highest influences of music, and hence the advice tendered to him by his servants (1 Sam. xvi. 16), 'Seek out a man who is a cunning *player* on a harp, and it shall come to pass that when the evil spirit from God is upon thee, that he shall play with his hand and thou shalt be well.' The participial form מְנַחֵם (from נָחַם, a verb in piel, which is used of striking

the strings of a musical instrument) is here translated 'a player,' and in 2 Kings iii. 15, 'minstrel.' The effect produced on Saul will be discussed elsewhere. The custom of applying such remedy to mental disturbance may be traced in other writings. Thus Quintil. (*Instit. Orat.*, lib. ix. chap. 4) says, 'Pythagoreis moris fuit, cum somnum petenter ad lyram prius lenire mentes, ut si quid fuisset turbidiorum cogitationum componerent' (comp. Plutarch, *De Musica*, and Aristotle, *Pol.*, lib. viii. chap. 5; Apollonius Dyscolos, *de Miris*, quoted by Grotius *in loco*, *larys ἡ κατάλυσος τῆς διαβολῆς ἐκτάσεις*. See also *King Lear*, act ii. sc. v., where music is used to bring back the wandering mind of Lear). Josephus (*Antiq.* vi. 8. 2), in his account of the transaction, associates the singing of hymns by David with the harp-playing, and shows that though the tragedy of Saul's life was lightened for a while by the skillful minstrelsy of David, the raving madness soon triumphed over

the tranquillizing influence (comp. 1 Sam. xviii. 10; xix. 10). In many references of Holy Scripture the minstrel and the prophet appear to be identical, and their functions the same; but in 2 Kings iii. 15 their respective functions are clearly distinguished. The prophet Elisha needed the influence of 'the minstrel' to soothe the irritation occasioned by the aggravating alliance of Israel with Judah. Not until this was effected would the prophetic influence guide him to a sound vaticination of the duty and destiny of the allied forces. The minstrelsy was produced, according to *Procopius*, by a Levite, who sung the Psalms of David in the hearing of the prophet; if so, he was thus the means of producing that condition of mind by which the prophet was lifted above the perceptions of his senses, and the circumstances which surrounded him, into a higher region of thought, where he might by divine grace penetrate the secret purposes of God. Josephus (*Antiq.* ix., chap. iii. sec. 1) refers to the circumstance in these words—*πρὸς τὸν ψαλλόντα ἐνθεὸς γερόμενος*. Various interpretations have been offered, and reasons assigned for the demand of Elisha. Rabbi Solomon states that the Spirit of God had receded from Elisha on account of his excessive grief at the departure of Elijah, because the Spirit of God will not dwell in a gloomy soul. Ephraem Syrus suggests that he wished for the music of the minstrel to arrest the attention of the multitude. The references given above to the power and dignity of song may sufficiently explain the occurrence. The spiritual ecstasis was often bestowed without any means, but many instances are given of subordinate physical agencies being instrumental in its production (Ezek. ii. 2; iii. 24; Is. vi. 1; Acts x. 9, 10; Rev. i. 9, 10).

The word minstrel is used of the *αἰλητάς* who in Matt. ix. 23 are represented as mourning and making a noise on the death of Jairus' daughter. The custom of hiring mourners at the death of friends is seen on Etruscan amphore, tombs, and bas-reliefs (see Dennis' *Etruria*, vol. i. p. 295, ii. 344, 354, where music was considered appropriate; and Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, ii. p. 366-373). Skill in lamentation (Amos v. 16; Jer. ix. 17) was not necessarily skill in playing on the pipe or flute, but probably included that accomplishment. [MOURNING.]—H. R. R.

#### MINT. [HEDUOSMON.]

MINTERT, PETER, a minister of the gospel for many years in Heerle in Holland, but chiefly noteworthy here for his great learning as a Biblical scholar and theologian. He died about the beginning of the 18th century. His principal work was the *Lexicon Græco-Latinum in Novum Testamentum Jesu Christi; cum Præfatione J. G. Prütii*, 4to, Francof. 1728. There was no better lexicon than this of Mintert previous to the publication of Schleusner's *Novum Lexicon*. It is valuable for its numerous references to the Hebrew Scriptures and the Septuagint; and is helpful as a concordance as well as a lexicon to the student of the Greek N. T.—W. J. C.

MIRACLES. Three words are employed in the N. T. to denote, from different points of view, the supernatural works performed by Christ and his apostles—*τέρατα*, properly translated *miracles* or *wonders*; *σημεῖα*, *signs*; and *δυνάμεις*, *powers* or *mighty works*. Sometimes all three are used in



conjunction; as by St. Peter in relation to Christ (Acts ii. 22), by St. Paul in describing the signs of an apostle (2 Cor. xii. 12), and again by St. Paul in speaking of the revelation of the Man of Sin (2 Thes. ii. 9), where, however, the special character of the works is marked by the addition of the epithet 'lying wonders' (τέρας ψεύδους).<sup>\*</sup> It may be observed, however, that none of these words necessarily implies either the supernatural origin or the religious purpose of the phenomena so called: these, when implied at all, are to be gathered from the context, or inferred from the nature of the acts themselves, but are not distinctly or exclusively expressed in the signification of the name. The word *τέρας* is expressive of the astonishment produced by an extraordinary phenomenon in the mind of the spectator, but does not necessarily imply that the phenomenon itself is of a supernatural kind; and it is used in the Septuagint, like the Hebrew מֹפֶת, not only of miracles properly so called, but sometimes also of acts astonishing, but not necessarily supernatural (Deut. xxviii. 46; Is. xx. 3; Ezek. xii. 6). The word σημεῖον, even in its religious application, as denoting a sign of the presence and working of God, does not necessarily imply that the significant fact is itself supernatural, or even extraordinary; on the contrary, many of the Scripture signs, as has been pointed out by Archbishop Trench, are in themselves natural and common events, though employed by God for a special purpose. And finally, the word δύναμις, though applied in an especial sense to those mighty works by which the power of God is manifested in a more striking and remarkable manner than in the ordinary course of nature, yet is in itself applicable to the divine power in its ordinary as well as in its extraordinary exercise, and to the powers of other agents, whether natural or supernatural.

On the other hand, the modern use of the word *miracle* implies, as an essential part of its signification, that the phenomenon so called is, if not contrary to nature, at least beyond and above nature. The whole meaning of the controversy on the possibility of miracles rests on the assumption that a miracle necessarily implies something supernatural. 'A miracle,' says Hume, 'may be accurately defined, a transgression of a law of nature by a particular volition of the Deity, or by the interposition of some invisible agent.' 'A miracle,' says Bishop Butler, 'in its very notion, is relative to a course of nature, and implies somewhat different from it, considered as being so.' 'A miracle,' says Bishop Douglas, 'is an event brought about in a way contrary to the course of nature.' And recently Archbishop Trench, while justly objecting to the language which describes the miracles as *unnatural* or *against nature*, at the same time distinctly admits that they are *beyond* and *above* nature, and that 'ought which is perfectly explicable from the course of nature and history, is assuredly no miracle in the most proper sense of the word.' Citations to the

same effect might be added from many other writers, but the above are sufficient to show that, in the language of modern theology, the word *miracle* has acquired a distinct and precise implication of the supernatural—an implication which was not necessarily involved in the meaning of the names by which the same events are called in Scripture.

This diversity of language may be regarded as indicating, not indeed a different estimate of the miracles themselves, but a different state of the controversy concerning them. To doubt the possibility of supernatural powers in general, is a form of unbelief that did not enter into the minds of the earliest opponents of Christianity. To them it was a more plausible subterfuge to say, 'He casteth out devils through Beelzebub,' than to assert that a natural disease had been healed by natural means. The supernatural character of our Lord's miracles was not called in question; the doubt raised was only as to the interpretation to be put upon them, or the conclusion to be drawn from them. Hence, in the language of Scripture, the stress is laid, not on the *supernatural*, but on the *significant* character of the miracles. They are not merely wonderful or mighty works, but they are works of such a kind as to be signs and tokens of God's power, as distinguished from that of every other being—works such as no man can do except God be with him.

If the controversies of later times have brought the supernatural character of the miracles into greater prominence, it is not because the divine element is comparatively neglected, but because it is more clearly seen to be in this case identified with the supernatural. As the conception of a fixed order of nature, and of the extreme rarity of deviations from that order, became gradually established in men's minds, the exceptional character, in this respect, of the gospel-narrative necessarily acquired greater significance; and when scepticism, adapting its mode of attack to the current ideas of its age, proceeded on this ground to deny the credibility of the narrative itself, it was seen that the whole truth of the Christian revelation was really involved in the issue. To say that the miracles of Christ are credible only if they can be explained as natural events, is in effect to say that they were human acts wrought by human means, and thus to destroy their significant character as tokens of God's presence. And when to this is added the consideration that our Lord himself expressly appeals to his miracles as wrought by the finger of God, and so bearing witness that God had sent him, it becomes clear that the moral, as well as the sensible evidences of Christianity, are concerned in the decision of the question, and that our entire belief in Christ is overthrown if the supernatural character of his miracles is denied. Under these circumstances it was natural that so important a controversy concerning the nature of the thing should have its influence in modifying and fixing the meaning of the word; and that a name, which in its etymology and original use denoted merely a wonderful or astonishing work, should finally be limited to those works which are regarded as exceptions to the established course of nature. Accepting this as the proper signification of the term *miracle* in its present use, let us endeavour to ascertain with somewhat more precision the nature of the events denoted by it.

A very slight observation of the phenomena of

<sup>\*</sup> Archbishop Trench, from whom the substance of this remark is taken, also observes, that the miracles are by St. John frequently called simply *works* (ἔργα). It may be doubted, however, whether in this case the word can be properly said to be synonymous with the others. The peculiar character of the works is in this case rather implied in the context than expressed by the term.



the visible world is sufficient to indicate a division of them into two great classes—those which are produced by the action of mind, and those which are produced by the action of matter; those in which human volition is exercised, and those in which it is not. The fact that such a distinction exists is acknowledged by the universal language of mankind. It is acknowledged even in those ingenious theories which have been framed to deny or to explain it away, and whose very ingenuity testifies to the stubborn vitality of the fact of consciousness against which they are directed. Explain or evade it as we may, the fact is unquestionable, that there are some phenomena of nature which we regard as dependent on the regular action of material causes, which have been in operation from the beginning of the present state of things, and which will continue in operation so long as that state of things is permitted to last; and that there are other phenomena which we regard as dependent upon the free action of man, which may take place or not according as he wills to act or to forbear, and which, having once taken place, may or may not take place again, according to the free choice of man to bring them about or not. No amount of argument will persuade a man who has a stone in his hand, and feels that it is in his power to throw it or not as he pleases, that the throwing of that stone is as much a part of the fixed order of the universe as the alternations of day and night, or of summer and winter. The distinction in no degree depends upon the frequency or rarity of the phenomena. The aloe, which flowers once in a century, or the comet that returns after 600 years, is as much a part of the regular order of nature as the blossoming of the rose or the phases of the moon: the work which a man does every day is as much a part of his voluntary action, as that which he performs only once in his life. The difference is one of kind, not of degree: the phenomena of the one class are regarded as necessary, those of the other as contingent; the one are supposed to take place regularly by virtue of certain established laws of nature, the other are supposed to take place occasionally by the free interposition of a personal agent.

In endeavouring to apply an analogous distinction to the conception of a miracle, as compared with that of a natural phenomenon, we must be careful not to press the analogy beyond the point to which it may be fairly extended. An apparent objection meets us at the outset. It is true, it may be urged, that to have any conception of God at all we must conceive him as a person, and personality necessarily implies will and the power of free action according to that will. But the will of God is manifested in the regular order of the universe no less than in departures from that order. There is a broad and marked contrast between those necessary phenomena of the world which take place independently of man, and those contingent phenomena which are brought about by a direct interposition of human will; but no such contrast can be supposed to exist in relation to the Being on whom the whole world is dependent. If, then, all the sensible phenomena of the universe are alike manifestations of the divine will, what room, it may be asked, is there for any special interposition of that will, such as man exerts in a world which is not dependent on him, and which he can only partially control?

In answer to this objection it may be observed, first, that the distinction between the general and the special action of God's will is a distinction not relative to God, but to man; and, secondly, that it is proposed, not as an explanation of the mode in which miracles *must* or *do* take place, but only as suggesting a mode in which they *may* take place, and thus as answering the objection which denies that they *can* take place at all. For, first, the miracle is not supposed to be anything special or exceptional in the sight of God. It is as much foreseen and fore-ordained by him, is as much a part of his eternal purpose from the beginning, as the most ordinary natural occurrence; but it differs from ordinary occurrences in the manner in which it is manifested to us; and these modes of manifestation are, relatively to us, the ground of a valid distinction in our conceptions of the divine activity.

We do not see the operation of the divine mind upon the material world in itself, but only in its effects; and it is from a difference in the effects that we infer an analogous difference in the mode of causation. And, secondly, this distinction is not proposed as an argument to prove the *necessity* or the *reality* of miracles; but only to obviate a preliminary objection against their *possibility*, and thus to clear the way for an examination of their proper evidence. We may have no right to assume, as is perhaps implied in some definitions, that a miracle *is* the effect of a determination of the divine will immediately preceding; for it may be brought about in many other ways of which we have no conception: we only say that, for aught we know to the contrary, it *may* be brought about in such a way; and if it may be brought about in any way, it is not impossible. Still less have we a right to say that the normal phenomena of the world are the effect, not of the divine will, but of material forces left to their own action; for we do not know that matter ever is left to its own action, nor whether, if so left, it would possess any force at all. But we may have evidence which warrants us in saying that it has pleased God, on certain occasions, to exert his power in a manner different from that in which he exerts it in the ordinary government of the world; the difference being indicated by a diversity in the visible results. In his ordinary government he so acts as to exhibit as the result a fixed and necessary series of material causes and effects: in his extraordinary interpositions he so acts as to bring about at a particular time a particular phenomenon which does not form part of the same necessary series. And as the nearest, indeed the only, parallel to this diversity, within the field of our own experience, is that furnished by the free action of the human will, the language furnished by this analogy is the most appropriate that can be employed by us to express the processes of the infinite mind in a manner intelligible by finite minds.

In our present ignorance of the manner in which the action of the regular forces of nature is carried on, and of the means by which exceptions are brought about, it is perhaps not possible to frame any definition of a miracle which shall not be open to objections. Thætetus, in the dialogue which bears his name, being asked to give a definition of science, replies that geometry and astronomy and music are sciences, and is told by Socrates that he has given many sciences instead of one. Yet there are cases in which the many, however philosophically



defective, furnishes for practical purposes a more satisfactory account than the one. No man doubts that to raise the dead to life, to heal the sick by a word spoken at a distance, to still a tempest by rebuking it, are miracles; though he may not be able to frame a general definition which shall include under it these and all other miracles, conceivable as well as actual. The most that we can hope to do is to explain what a miracle *is not*; and, in order to do this, we must inquire what is meant by that *course of nature* to which miracles are said to be an exception.

Two kinds of natural causes come within the field of our experience; physical or necessary causes—to which class belong all the material conditions requisite to the occurrence of a sensible change; and efficient or free causes—of which the only instance directly perceived is found in the power of voluntary action possessed by ourselves as personal agents. For our present purpose, it is not necessary to enter upon the abstruse metaphysical questions connected with this subject, such as the determination of the difference between physical and mathematical necessity; the inquiries whether *action* can properly be attributed to matter; whether there is anything in the relation of a material cause to its effect analogous to *power* as exerted by conscious agents; whether material causation implies anything more than invariable sequence, etc. We shall merely assume what is implied in the conception of an uniform system of nature; that in material causation every event is determined to take place through some antecedent phenomenon, or group of phenomena, from which it invariably follows; and we shall assume also that by *natural events* are meant such as take place either through this causation or by an exercise of human will. If, therefore, any event takes place in the world which is neither the result of such a series of necessary antecedents, extending back to the beginning of the present state of things, nor produced by the will of a human agent, such an event is supernatural or miraculous.\*

\* Johnson defines a miracle in the theological sense as 'an effect above human or natural power, performed in attestation of some truth.' If we omit the latter clause, which—though it may be true as a fact of the Scripture miracles—does not appear to be essential to the notion of a miracle, this definition is perhaps as satisfactory as any that can be suggested, and might have been adopted in the text, were it not that a cavil might possibly be raised on account of the want of precision in the term *power* as applied to material agents. It might be objected that a miracle may be above the powers of material agents in their normal relations to each other, as determined by the uniform course of nature, but need not be above the powers of the same agents, supposing that by some extraordinary interposition they were placed in abnormal relations. On this account, the series of antecedents and consequents, which constitutes the course of nature, has been expressly mentioned in the text. Bishop Marsh (*Lectures on the Authenticity and Credibility of the N. T.*, lect. viii.) objects to Johnson's definition as not excluding the agency of beings superior to man, though subordinate to God. He prefers to define a miracle as 'something which cannot be performed without the special interference of God himself.' But even if we deny—as,

The want of precision in this statement is partly owing to the fact that we are unable to say at what point in the chain of antecedents the supernatural power will be exerted, nor at what subsequent point the effect will become visible. Before the establishment of a course of nature, nothing is miraculous; for a miracle, as Bishop Butler has observed, is in its very notion relative to a course of nature, and implies somewhat different from it. The introduction of any new power into nature after the settlement and during the continuance of its course, would be a miracle; but it by no means follows that the phenomenon in which the effect of that power first becomes visible may not be directly brought about by the action of material causes. If a man brings certain chemical elements into combination with each other, and thus produces an effect which, without that combination, would not have taken place, the effect itself is the immediate result of the natural action of the elements; but the operation which brought those elements together is a voluntary act, not included in the general course of nature. Now, if a being of power superior to man were to bring about a similar combination of elements beyond the reach of man's control, the result would be miraculous, but the action of the elements themselves would be according to natural law. We do not say that such is the actual manner in which miracles have taken place, but only that such an occurrence is conceivable, and that an event conceived as taking place in this way is conceived as miraculous.

Hence, when we say that a miracle is not the result of a series of necessary antecedents, we do not therefore imply that it has no physical conditions, but only that it would not have taken place without some addition to those conditions beyond what takes place in natural causation. We deny, therefore, that the antecedents are the *sufficient reason* of the miracle, in the same way and to the same extent as they are of natural events. But in saying this we do not imply that the miracle is an event without a cause. It is the effect of a supernatural cause, as ordinary events are the effects of natural causes. There is nothing incredible in the supposition of such a supernatural cause—at least to those who believe in a God who, though working in the world, is yet distinct from the world. The possibility of miracles in general (we are not speaking of the evidence for or against the actual occurrence of a particular miracle) is not more incredible than the possibility of creation at all. Those who believe that the world was created in time, do not therefore believe that God, before the creation, existed in an eternity of idleness. Personal existence is itself an activity; and if there was a personal God before the creation of the world, there was also a divine action before the creation of the world. In creating the world, therefore, God did not begin to act, but entered on a different mode of action. If a new exertion of divine power was possible then, it is equally possible at any subsequent time.

The same imperfection of our knowledge, which is a hindrance to us when we attempt to form an

perhaps, we are justified in doing—that supernatural effects ever have been produced by the agency of created spirits, still there seems no sufficient ground for denying that such effects, if *produced*, would be miracles.



exact definition of a miracle, and to explain the manner in which it may be conceived to take place, becomes rather an auxiliary when we confine ourselves to the humbler task of answering those objectors who dogmatically pronounce that miracles are impossible. To meet such objectors, it is by no means necessary that we shall be able to state the manner in which miracles *are* wrought; it is sufficient if we can point to some manner in which they *may be* wrought, without being liable to, or notwithstanding, the objections alleged against them. Before proceeding to speak of the positive evidences on which the belief in miracles properly rests, it may be well to notice a few of these objections, the purpose of which is to preclude the admission of evidence at all, on the ground of the impossibility, or utter incredibility, of the thing to be proved.

The best known and the most frequently repeated of this class of objections is that of Hume:—‘A miracle,’ he says, ‘is a violation of the laws of nature; and as a firm and unalterable experience has established these laws, the proof against a miracle, from the very nature of the fact, is as entire as any argument from experience can possibly be imagined.’ According to the view that has been taken in the preceding remarks, it cannot with any accuracy be said that a miracle is ‘a violation of the laws of nature.’ It is the effect of a supernatural cause, acting along with and in addition to the natural causes constituting the system of the world. It is produced, therefore, by a different combination of causes from that which is at work in the production of natural phenomena. The laws of nature are only general expressions of that uniform arrangement according to which the same causes invariably produce the same effect. They would be violated by the production, at different times, of different effects from the same cause; but they are not violated when different effects are produced from different causes. The experience which testifies to their uniformity tells us only what effects may be expected to follow from a repetition of the same cause; it cannot tell us what effects will follow from the introduction of a different cause. This, which is in substance the answer given to Hume by Brown, appears the most satisfactory among the various arguments by which the sceptical philosopher’s position has been assailed.

In support of this argument, however, it will be necessary to meet another objection, advanced by a philosopher of a very different spirit from Hume, but which is equally incompatible with any belief in a real miracle. ‘A miracle,’ says Schleiermacher, ‘has a positive relation, by which it extends to all that is future, and a negative relation, which in a certain sense affects all that is past. In so far as that does not follow which would have followed, according to the natural connection of the aggregate of finite causes, in so far as an effect is hindered, not by the influence of other natural counteracting causes belonging to the same series, but notwithstanding the concurrence of all effective causes to the production of the effect. Every thing, therefore, which from all past time contributed to this effect, is in a certain measure annihilated; and instead of the interpolation of a single supernatural agent into the course of nature, the whole conception of nature is destroyed. On the positive side, something takes place which is

conceived as incapable of following from the aggregate of finite causes. But, inasmuch as this event itself now becomes an actual link in the chain of nature, every future event must be other than it would have been had this one miracle not taken place.’ On this and other grounds, Schleiermacher is led to maintain that there is no real distinction between the natural and the supernatural; the miracles being only miraculous relatively to us, through our imperfect knowledge of the hidden causes in nature, by means of which they were wrought.

This objection proceeds on an assumption which is not merely unwarranted, but actually contradicted by experience. It assumes that the system of material nature is a rigid, not an elastic system; that it is one which obstinately resists the introduction of new forces, not one which is capable of adapting itself to them. We know by experience that the voluntary actions of men can be interposed among the phenomena of matter, and exercise an influence over them, so that certain results may be produced or not, according to the will of a man, without affecting the stability of the universe, or the coherence of its parts as a system. What the will of man can effect to a small extent, the will of God can surely effect to a greater extent: and this is a sufficient answer to the objection which declares the miracle to be *impossible*; though we may not be able to say with certainty whether it is actually brought to pass in this or in some other way. There may be many means, unknown to us, by which such an event may be produced; but if it can be produced in any way it is not impossible.

Another objection, urged by Spinoza, and repeated in various forms by subsequent writers, may be stated as follows:—The laws of nature are the decrees of God, and follow necessarily from the perfection of the divine nature; they must, therefore, be eternal and immutable, and must extend to all possible events. Therefore, to admit an exception to these laws, is to suppose that God’s order is broken, and that the divine work is but an imperfect expression of the divine will. This objection is perfectly intelligible in the mouth of a Pantheist, with whom *God and nature* are convertible terms, and a divine supernatural act is a self-contradiction; but it is untenable in any system which admits a personal God distinct from nature, and only partially manifested in it. In such a system, nature is not infinite, as Spinoza makes it, but finite. There is a distinction between the actual and the possible; between the visible world as a limited system, with limited laws, and the whole mind of God, embracing all possible systems as well as the present. From this point of view, nature, as actually existing, *does* express a portion, and a portion only, of the divine purpose; the miracle expresses another portion belonging to a different and more comprehensive system. But in addition to this consideration, even the actual world furnishes us with an answer to the objection. God’s order, we have too much reason to know, actually is broken. His will is not carried out. Unless we make God the author of evil, we must admit that sin is a violation of his will, a breach made in his natural order, however impossible it may be to give an account of its origin. The Pantheist evades the difficulty by denying that evil has any real existence; but to the Theist, who



admits the existence, it is conclusive evidence that, as a fact, however little we may understand how it can be, the world, as it exists, is not a perfect expression of God's law and will. The miracle, as thus viewed, belongs to a spiritual system appointed to remedy the disorders of the natural system; and against the self-complacent theory, which tells us that disorders in the natural system are impossible, we have the witness of a melancholy experience, which tells us that they are actually there. Thus viewed, the miracle is in one sense natural, in another supernatural. It is natural as forming a part of the higher or spiritual system; it is supernatural as not forming a part of the lower or material system.

The same considerations may serve to obviate another form of the same objection—a form in which it is likewise suggested by Spinoza, though developed by other writers in a form more adapted to the language of theism. We are told that it is more worthy of God to arrange a plan which shall provide by its original laws for all possible contingencies, than one which requires a special interposition to meet a special emergency. We know so little about the process of creating and governing a world, that it is difficult for us to judge what method of doing so is most worthy of God; but this whole objection proceeds on the gratuitous assumption that the plan of the world, as it exists in the counsels of God, must be identical with the plan of the world as it is contemplated by man in relation to physical laws. Doubtless the miracle, like any other event, was foreseen by God from the beginning, and formed part of his eternal purpose; but it does not therefore follow that it is included within that very limited portion of his purpose which is apprehended by man as a system of physical laws. To Omnipotence, no one event is more difficult than another; to Omniscience, no one event is more wonderful than another. The distinction between miracles and ordinary events, as has been already observed, is a distinction, not in relation to God, but in relation to man. Moreover, even from the human point of view, the miracle is not wrought for a physical, but for a moral purpose; it is not an interposition to adjust the machinery of the material world, but one to promote the spiritual welfare of mankind. The very conception of a *revealed*, as distinguished from a *natural* religion, implies a manifestation of God different in kind from that which is exhibited by the ordinary course of nature; and the question of the probability of a miraculous interposition is simply that of the probability of a revelation being given at all.

But we are sometimes told that if miracles are not impossible in theory, they are at least incredible in fact: that the antecedent improbability of a miracle taking place must always outweigh that of the testimony in its favour being false; and thus that the occurrence of a miracle, if not impossible, is at least incapable of satisfactory proof. Such is in the main the argument of Hume, which has recently been revived and assumed as an axiomatic principle by M. Renan. The fallacy of this objection consists in the circumstance that it estimates the opposed probabilities solely on empirical grounds; *i. e.*, on the more or less frequent occurrence of miraculous events as compared with false testimony. If it is ever possible that an event of comparatively rare occurrence may, in a given case

and under certain circumstances, be more credible than one of more ordinary occurrence, the entire argument falls to the ground in reference to such cases. And such a case is actually presented by the Christian miracles. The redemption of the world is an event unique in the world's history: it is therefore natural to expect that the circumstances accompanying it should be unique also. The importance of that redemption furnishes a 'distinct particular reason' for miracles, if the divine purpose can be furthered by them. Under these circumstances the antecedent probability is for the miracles, not against them, and cannot be outweighed by empirical inductions drawn from totally different data, relating to the physical, not to the religious condition of the world.

It must, however, be always remembered that abstract and general considerations like the above, though necessary to meet the unbelieving objections which are unhappily rife on this subject, do not constitute the grounds of our belief in the miracles of Scripture, especially those of Christ. The abstract argument is the stronghold of scepticism, and to deal with it at all it is necessary to meet it on its own ground. On the other hand, the strength of the Christian argument rests mainly on the special contents of the gospel-narrative, particularly as regards the character of the Saviour portrayed in it, and the distinctive nature of his miracles as connected with his character, and on the subsequent history of the Christian church. It is far easier to talk in general terms about the laws of nature and the impossibility of their violation, than to go through the actual contents of the gospels in detail, and show how it is possible that such a narrative could have been written, and how the events described in it could have influenced, as they have, the subsequent history of the world, on any other supposition than that of its being a true narrative of real events. And accordingly we find that, while the several attacks on the gospel miracles in particular, with whatever ability they may have been conducted, and whatever temporary popularity they may have obtained, seem universally destined to a speedy extinction beyond the possibility of revival, the general *à priori* objection still retains its hold on men's minds, and is revived from time to time, after repeated refutations, as often as the changing aspects of scientific progress appear to offer the opportunity of a plausible disguise of an old sophism in new drapery. The minute criticisms of Woolston and Paulus, on the details of the gospel history, are utterly dead and buried out of sight; and those of Strauss show plain indications of being doomed to the same fate, though supported for a while by a spurious alliance with a popular philosophy. And the failure which is manifest in such writers, even while they confine themselves to the merely negative task of criticising the gospel narrative, becomes still more conspicuous when they proceed to account for the origin of Christianity by positive theories of their own. The naturalistic theory of Paulus breaks down under the sheer weight of its own accumulation of cumbersome and awkward explanations; while the mythical hypothesis of Strauss is found guilty of the logical absurdity of deducing the premise from the conclusion: it assumes that men invented an imaginary life of Jesus because they believed him to be the Messiah, when the very supposition that the life is imaginary leaves the belief in the Messiah-



ship unexplained and inexplicable. On the other hand, the *à priori* reasonings of Spinoza and Hume exhibit a vitality which is certainly not due to their logical conclusiveness, but which has enabled them in various disguises to perplex the intellects and unsettle the faith of a different generation from that for which they were first written. And hence it is, that a writer who is required, by the exigencies of his own day, to consider the question of miracles from an apologetic point of view, finds himself compelled to dwell mainly on the abstract argument concerning miracles in general, rather than on the distinctive features which characterise the Christian miracles in particular. The latter are the more pleasant and the more useful theme, when the object is the edification of the believer; the former is indispensable when it is requisite to controvert the positions of the unbeliever. There is, however, one phase of the sceptical argument which may be met by considerations of the special rather than of the general kind. It has been objected that no testimony can prove a miracle as such. 'Testimony,' we are told, 'can apply only to apparent sensible facts; testimony can only prove an extraordinary and perhaps inexplicable occurrence or phenomenon; that it is due to supernatural causes is entirely dependent on the previous belief and assumptions of the parties.' Whatever may be the value of this objection as applied to a hypothetical case, in which the objector may select such occurrences and such testimonies as suit his purpose, it is singularly inapplicable to the works actually recorded as having been done by Christ and his apostles. It may, with certain exceptions, be applicable to a case in which the assertion of a supernatural cause rests solely on the testimony of the *spectator* of the fact; but it is not applicable to those in which the cause is declared by the *performer*. Let us accept, if we please, merely as a narrative of 'apparent sensible facts,' the history of the cure of the blind and dumb demoniac, or of the lame man at the Beautiful Gate; but we cannot place the same restriction upon the words of our Lord and of St. Peter, which expressly assign the supernatural cause—'If I cast out devils by the Spirit of God, then the kingdom of God is come unto you.' 'By the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth doth this man stand here before you whole.' We have here, at least, a testimony reaching to the supernatural; and if that testimony be admitted in these cases, the same cause becomes the most reasonable and probable that can be assigned to the other wonderful works performed by the same persons. For if it be admitted that our Lord exercised a supernatural power at all, there is, to use the words of Bishop Butler, 'no more presumption worth mentioning against his having exerted this miraculous power in a certain degree greater, than in a certain degree less; in one or two more instances, than in one or two fewer.'

And this brings us to the consideration on which the most important part of this controversy must ultimately rest; namely, that the true evidence on behalf of the Christian miracles is to be estimated, not by the force of testimony in general, as compared with antecedent improbability, but by the force of the peculiar testimony by which the Christian miracles are supported, as compared with the antecedent probability or improbability that a religion of such a character should have been first in-

troduced into the world by superhuman agency. The miracles of Christ, and, as the chief of them all, that great crowning miracle of his resurrection, are supported by all the testimony which they derive from his own positive declarations concerning them, taken in conjunction with the record of his life, and the subsequent history of the Christian religion. The alternative lies between accepting that testimony, as it is given, or regarding the gospels as a fiction, and the Christian faith as founded on imposture.

In adopting this argument, we do not, as is sometimes said, reason in a circle, employing the character of Christ as a testimony in favour of the miracles, and the miracles again as a testimony in favour of the character of Christ. For the character of Christ is contemplated in two distinct aspects; first, as regards his human perfectness; and secondly, as regards his superhuman mission and power. The first bears witness to the miracles, the miracles bear witness to the second. When our Lord represents himself as a human example, to be imitated by his human followers, he lays stress on those facts of his life which indicate his human goodness: 'Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart.' When, on the other hand, he represents himself as divinely commissioned for a special purpose, he appeals to the superhuman evidence of his miracles as authenticating that mission: 'The works which the Father hath given me to finish, the same works that I do, bear witness of me, that the Father hath sent me.'

It is true that the evidence of the miracles, as addressed to us, has a different aspect, and rests on different grounds, from that which belonged to them at the time when they were first performed. But this change has not diminished their force as evidences, though it has somewhat changed its direction. If we have not the advantage of seeing and hearing and questioning those who were eye-witnesses of the miracles, the deficiency is fully supplied by the additional testimony that has accrued to us, in the history of Christianity, from their day to ours. If we have stricter conceptions of physical law, and of the uniformity of nature, we have also higher evidence of the existence of a purpose worthy of the exercise of God's sovereign power over nature. If the progress of science has made many things easy of performance at the present day, which would have seemed miraculous to the men of the first century, it has also shown more clearly how inimitable and unapproachable are the miracles of Christ, in the maturity of science no less than in its infancy. And when it is objected, that 'if miracles were, in the estimation of a former age, among the chief *supports* of Christianity, they are at present among the main *difficulties* and hindrances to its acceptance,' we may fairly ask, 'What is this Christianity which might be more easily believed if it had no miracles? Is it meant that the gospel-narrative, in general, would be more easy to believe were the miracles taken out of it? The miracles are so interwoven with the narrative, that the whole texture would be destroyed by their removal. Or is it meant, that the great central fact in the apostolic preaching—the resurrection of Christ—would be more natural and credible if he who thus marvellously rose from the dead had in his lifetime exhibited no signs of a power superior to that of his fellow-men? Or is it



meant that the great distinctive doctrines of Christianity—such as those of the Trinity and the Incarnation—might be more readily accepted were there no miracles in the Scripture which contains them? We can scarcely imagine it to be seriously maintained, that it would be easier to believe that the Second Person of the Divine Trinity came on earth in the form of man, were it also asserted that, while on earth, he gave no signs of a power beyond that of ordinary men. In short, it is difficult to understand on what ground it can be maintained that the miracles are a hindrance to the belief in Christianity, except on a ground which asserts also that there is no distinctive Christianity in which to believe. It may with more truth be said, that the miraculous element, which forms so large a portion of Christianity, has its peculiar worth and service at the present day, as a protest and safeguard against two forms of unchristian thought to which an intellectual and cultivated age is liable—pantheism, the danger of a deeply speculative philosophy; and materialism, the danger of a too exclusive devotion to physical science. Both these, in different ways, tend to deify nature and the laws of nature, and to obscure the belief in a personal God distinct from and above nature; against both these, so long as the Christian religion lasts, the miracles of Christ are a perpetual witness; and in so witnessing they perform a service to religion different in kind, but not less important than that which they performed at the beginning.

The miracles of the O. T. may be included in the above argument, if we regard, as Scripture requires us to regard, the earlier dispensation as an anticipation of and preparation for the coming of Christ. Many of the events in the history of Israel as a people are typical of corresponding events in the life of the Saviour; and the earlier miraculous history is a supernatural system preparing the way for the later consummation of God's supernatural providence in the redemption of the world by Christ. Not only the occasional miracles of the O. T. history, but, as Bishop Atterbury remarks, some of the established institutions under the law—the gift of prophecy, the Shechinah, the Urim and Thummim, the Sabbatical year—are of a supernatural character, and thus manifest themselves as parts of a supernatural system, ordained for and leading to the completion of the supernatural in Christ.

A question has sometimes been raised, chiefly with a view to disparaging the value of miracles as evidences of a religion, whether it is not possible that miracles may be wrought by evil spirits in support of a false doctrine. The question, so far as it affects us at present, is rather a theme for argumentative ingenuity than an inquiry of practical importance. In relation to the Christian evidences, the only question that can practically be raised is whether the Scripture miracles—supposing them not to be pure fabrications—are real miracles wrought by divine power, or normal events occurring in the course of nature, or produced by human means. The possibility of real miracles other than divine is a question rather of curiosity than of practical value. An able discussion of this subject will be found in Farmer's Dissertation, though the author has weakened his argument by attempting too much. So far as he undertakes to show that there is no sufficient evidence that miracles actually have been wrought by evil spirits in behalf of a

false religion, his reasoning is logical and satisfactory, and his treatment of the supposed miracles of the Egyptian magicians is in this respect highly successful. But when he proceeds from the historical to the theological argument, and maintains that it is inconsistent with God's perfections that such miracles ever should be wrought, he appears to assume more than is warranted either by reason or by Scripture, and to deduce a consequence which is not required by the former, and appears difficult to reconcile with the latter. That there may be such a thing as 'the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders,' and that such working will actually be manifested before the last day in support of Antichrist, is the natural interpretation of the language of Scripture. That such a manifestation has as yet taken place is, to say the least, a conclusion not established by existing evidence. What will be the criterion of such miracles, should they hereafter be exhibited, and what amount of temptation they will be permitted to exercise over men, are questions which, with our present knowledge, it will be the wisest course not to attempt to answer.

A more practical question is that which relates to the means of distinguishing between true and false miracles, meaning by the latter term, phenomena pretended to be miraculous, but in fact either natural events or human impostures or fabrications. Various rules for distinguishing between these have been given by several authors, the best known being the four rules laid down in Leslie's 'Short and Easy Method with the Deists,' and the three given in Bishop Douglas's 'Criterion,' and to some extent the six given by Bishop Stillingfleet in Bk. ii., ch. 10 of *Origines Sacrae*; to which may be added the very acute observations of a similar kind in a work remarkably differing from a later publication by the same author, 'The Life of Apollonius Tyaneus,' by J. H. Newman, published in the 'Encyclopædia Metropolitana.' Yet the practical value of these rules, though considerable as compared with the inquiry previously noticed, is available rather for particular and temporary phases of controversy than for general and perpetual edification. A more permanent principle in relation to this question is suggested by Leslie in his remarks on the pretended miracles of Apollonius, where he shows that the assumed miracles, even if admitted, have no important connection with our belief or practice. 'But now,' he says, 'to sum up all, let us suppose to the utmost that all this said romance were true, what would this amount to? Only that Apollonius did such things. What then? What if he were so virtuous a person as that God should have given him the power to work several miracles? This would noways hurt the argument that is here brought against the Deists, because Apollonius set up no new religion, nor did he pretend that he was sent with any revelation from heaven to introduce any new sort of worship of God; so that it is of no consequence to the world whether these were true or pretended miracles; whether Apollonius was an honest man or a magician; or whether there ever was such a man or not. For he left no law or gospel behind him to be received upon the credit of those miracles which he is said to have wrought.' To this it may be added, that there is an enormous *à priori* improbability against miracles performed without any professed object, as compared with those which



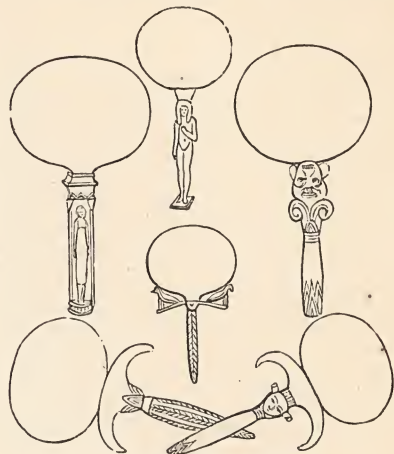
belong to a system which has exercised a good and permanent influence in the world. This improbability can only be overcome by a still more enormous mass of evidence in their favour; and until some actual case can be pointed out, in which such evidence exists, the unimportance of a reported series of miracles is a valid reason for withholding belief in them. The Scripture miracles in this respect stand alone and apart from all others, as regards the evidence of their reality combined with their significance if real.

Among works of importance written specially on the subject of the Scripture miracles, besides those which incidentally notice it in connection with a more general treatment of theology or Christian evidences, may be mentioned the following:—Fleetwood, *Essay upon Miracles*, 1701; Locke, *A Discourse of Miracles*, 1701-2; Pearce, *The Miracles of Jesus Vindicated* (in reply to Woolston), 1729; Smallbrook, *A Vindication of our Saviour's Miracles* (in reply to Woolston), 1729; Lardner, *A Vindication of three of our Blessed Saviour's Miracles* (in reply to Woolston), 1729; Sherlock, *The Trial of the Witnesses*, 1729; Douglas, *The Criterion*, 1754; Campbell, *A Dissertation on Miracles*, 1763; Farmer, *A Dissertation on Miracles*, 1771; Penrose, *A Treatise on the Evidence of the Scripture Miracles*, 1826; Le Bas, *Considerations on Miracles*, 1828; Newman, *Life of Apollonius Tyanaus*, in *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*; J. Müller, *Disputatio de Miraculorum Jesu Christi Natura et Necessitate*, Partic. I., 1839; II. 1841; Nitzsch, in *Studien und Kritiken*, 1843; Rothe, in *Studien und Kritiken*, 1858; Trench, *Notes on the Miracles of our Lord*, 6th ed., 1858; Koestlin, *De Miraculorum, quæ Christus et primi ejus discipuli fecerunt, natura et ratione*, 1860; M'Cosh, *The Supernatural in relation to the Natural*, 1862; Bushnell, *Nature and the Supernatural*, English ed., 1863.—H. L. M.

MIRIAM (מִרְיָם, bitterness; Sept. Μαριάμ; Joseph. Μαριάμ), sister of Moses and Aaron, and supposed to be the same that watched her infant brother when exposed on the Nile; in which case she was probably ten or twelve years old at the time (Exod. ii. 4, *seq.*) When the Israelites left Egypt, Miriam naturally became the leading woman among them. She is called 'a prophetess' (Exod. xv. 20). After the passage of the Red Sea, she led the music, dance, and song, with which the women celebrated their deliverance (Exod. xv. 20-22). The arrival of Moses' wife in the camp seems to have created in her an unseemly dread of losing her influence and position, and led her into complaints of and dangerous reflections upon Moses, in which Aaron joined. For this she was smitten with leprosy, and, although healed at the intercession of Moses, was excluded for seven days from the camp (Num. xii. 1; Deut. xxiv. 9). Josephus says she was the wife of Hur, and mother of Bezaleel (*Antiq.* iii. 2. 4; 6. 1). Her death took place in the first month of the fortieth year after the Exodus, at the encampment of Kadesh-barnea (Num. xx. 1), where her sepulchre was still to be seen in the time of Eusebius (*Onomast.*, s. v. Κάδδης).

MIRROR (מִרְיָה, Exod. xxxviii. 8; רִאִי, Job xxxvii. 18). In the first of these passages the mirrors in the possession of the women of the

Israelites, when they quitted Egypt, are described as being of brass; for 'the laver of brass, and the foot of it,' are made from them. In the second, the firmament is compared to 'a molten mirror.' In fact, all the mirrors used in ancient times were of metal; and as those of the Hebrew women in the wilderness were brought out of Egypt, they



355. Egyptian Metal Mirrors.

were doubtless of the same kind as those which have been found in the tombs of that country, and many of which now exist in the museums and collections of Egyptian antiquities. These are of mixed metals, chiefly copper, most carefully wrought and highly polished; and so admirably did the skill of the Egyptians succeed in the composition of metals, that this substitute for our modern looking-glass was susceptible of a lustre which has even been partially revived at the present day in some of those discovered at Thebes, though buried in the earth for so many centuries. The mirror itself was nearly round, and was inserted in a handle of wood, stone, or metal, the form of which varied according to the taste of the owner (see Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, iii. 384-386).—J. K.

MISGAB (מִשְׁגַּב, 'the high place'; Ἀμῆ; *fortis*), a name which occurs only in Jer. xlviii. 1. In pronouncing the doom of Moab, the prophet says, 'Kiriathaim is confounded and taken; *Misgab* is confounded and dismayed.' This may be a parallelism in which the word *ham-misgab*, 'the high-place' (for it has the article), is used as equivalent to, and descriptive of, Kiriathaim. So it appears to have been understood by Jerome, who translates it '*fortis*,' and others have followed him (*Critici Sacri*, ad loc.) Or it may be the name of a town so called because of its situation on the top of some hill, but whose site is unknown. Or it may be employed poetically, as it is in other parts of Scripture (Ps. cxliv. 2; Is. xxv. 12; xxxiii. 16), as a collective epithet for the fortresses of Moab.—J. L. P.

MISHAEL (מִישָׁאֵל). 1. (Sept. Μισαήλ, *Misadāh*; Alex. *Misadāh*), one of the sons of Uzziel, the uncle of Moses and Aaron (Exod. vi. 22). He, with his brother Elzaphan, was commanded by



Moses to remove the bodies of Nadab and Aohu from the camp after they had been destroyed for their presumption in offering strange fire (Lev. x. 4). 2. (Sept. *Μισαήλ*; Alex. *Μεσαήλ*), one of those who stood beside Ezra when he read the law to the people (Neh. viii. 4). 3. One of the three companions of Daniel who were cast into the burning furnace by Nebuchadnezzar, and were miraculously delivered from it (Dan. iii. 13-30). His Chaldaean name was Meshach (Dan. i. 7).—W. L. A.

# MISHAL. [MASHAL.]

MISHMA (*מִשְׁמָא*; Sept. *Μασμά*). 1. A son of Ishmael, and brother of Mibsam (Gen. xxv. 14; 1 Chron i. 30). The people called by Ptolemy (vi. 7, 21) *Μασσαιμαβελς*, who were located to the north-east of Medina, were probably descended from him. Arabic writers mention the *Beni Mishmah* (Freytag, *Hamas*, II. 1, p. 220), but nothing is known of them (Knobel, *Genes.* in loc.). 2. A son of Simeon (1 Chron. iv. 25).—W. L. A.

# MISHNAH. [TALMUD.]

MISHOR (*הַמִּישׁוֹר*; *Μισώρ*; Alex. *Μεισώρ*; also *πεδωή*; *planities* and *campestris*; A. V., *the plain*). This word is applied in Scripture to any plain or level tract of land, as in 1 Kings xx. 23, and 2 Chron. xxvi. 10; but in a number of passages it is used with the article as the proper name of the plateau of Moab; and when thus employed it is generally rendered *Μισώρ* in the Septuagint (Deut. iii. 10; Josh. xiii. 9, 16, 17, 21; Jer. xlviii. 8, 21). Dean Stanley, with his usual accurate appreciation of the graphic touches of natural scenery given in Scripture, brings out the meaning of this word: 'The smooth downs (of Moab) received a special name (Mishor), expressive of their contrast with the rough and rocky soil of the west' (*Sin. and Pal.*, p. 317); and probably, it might be added, in contrast with the wooded heights and picturesque vales of Gilead. The word comes from the root *יָשַׁר*, 'to be level or just,' and is sometimes employed in a moral sense (Ps. xlv. 6; cxliii. 10). Stanley supposes that the whole of the upland downs east of the Jordan are called Mishor, and that this fact fixes the true site of the battle of Aphek (1 Kings xx. 23, *seq.*) It seems doubtful, however, whether the word Mishor, in the description of that battle, will bear the meaning thus assigned to it. It appears to be simply put in opposition to *harim*, 'hills.' 'Their gods are gods of the hills, therefore they were stronger than we, but let us fight against them in the plain' (*mishor*). In 2 Chron. xxvi. 10, *mishor* also means 'a plain,' west of the Jordan. As a proper name, or a special appellative, it was given only to the great plateau of Moab, even as distinguished from that of Bashan (Deut. iii. 10). This plateau commences at the summit of that range of hills, or rather lofty banks, which bounds the Jordan valley, and extends in a smooth, gently undulating surface, far out into the desert of Arabia. Medeba was one of its chief cities, and hence it is twice called 'the Mishor of Medeba' (Josh. xiii. 9, 16). It formed the special subject of the awful curse pronounced by Jeremiah—'Judgment is come upon the land of *Mishor*'—*הָאֶרֶץ הַמִּישׁוֹר*; xlviii. 21). It was chiefly celebrated for its pastures; but it also contained a number of large and strong cities, the ruins of

which still dot its surface (Porter's *Damascus*, ii. 183, *seq.*)—J. L. P.

MISHPAT, a fountain in Kadesh [see *KADESH*].

MISHRAITES (*מִשְׁרָאִי*; Sept. *Ἡμασραῖται*; Alex. *Ἡμασραεῖν*), one of the families of Kirjath-jearim, which went forth from it to colonize (1 Chron. ii. 53). From them proceeded the Zareathites and the Eshtaolites; *i. e.*, the inhabitants of Zarah and Eshtaol, so that probably the Mishraites founded these towns.—W. L. A.

MISREPHOTH-MAIM (*מִשְׁרֵפּוֹת מַיִם*; *Μαρερών*; Alex. *Μαρεφώδ Μαρίν*, in Josh. xi. 8; but *Μαρερὲ Μερφωμάλμ*; Alex. *Μαρεφώδ-μαλμ*, in xiii. 6; *aque Maserepoth*), a place mentioned only by Joshua, first, in describing his victory over the Canaanites, who had arrayed themselves against him at the Waters of Merom: 'He chased them unto great Zidon, and unto *Misrephoth-maim*, and unto the valley of Mizpeh eastward' (xi. 8); and second, in defining those parts of the Land of Promise which still remained to be conquered at his death: 'All the inhabitants of the hill country, from Lebanon unto Misrephoth-maim, all the Sidonians' (xiii. 6). Its locality is not specified; but it seems to have been connected with Sidon; if not with the city itself, at least with the district of which it was the capital.

Great difference of opinion exists among critics as to the meaning of the words. The rendering of Aquila is *Μαραιφώδ ὕδατος*, and of Symmachus *Μ. θαλάσσης*. The Targum interprets *fosse aquarum*, which is generally followed by the Jewish Rabbins (Gesenius, *Thes.*, p. 1341; Keil on *Joshua*, ad loc.) Others adopt the view of the Arabic version, and suppose some place is referred to in which there were 'warm springs.' The root *שָׂרַף* signifies 'to burn,' and hence it is supposed *מִשְׁרֵפּוֹת* may mean 'burning or heated.' Others again think that reference is made to some place along the coast where sea-water was put in tanks and evaporated by the heat of the sun, so as to obtain the deposit of salt. There are such salt pans at Sidon to this day. Still another opinion is, that furnaces for the manufacture of glass are referred to (Lengerke).

An attempt has been made by Schultz and Thomson to identify Misrephoth-maim with a ruin called *Musheirefeh*, on the northern border of the plain of Akka, near Ras en-Nakûra (*The Land and the Book*, p. 215; Van de Velde, *Memoir*, 335); but this place appears to be much too far south to agree with the Biblical narrative. The site must be regarded as still unknown; and the signification of the name is mere matter of conjecture.—J. L. P.

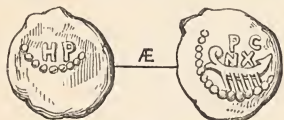
MITE (*λεπτόν*), a copper coin current in Palestine in the time of our Lord. It derived its name from a small Greek copper coin, of which at Athens seven went to the *χαλκοῦς* (Suidas, *s. vii. τάλαντον, ὀβολός*). It is mentioned by St. Mark (xii. 42), and St. Luke (xii. 59; xxi. 2). According to St. Mark (*l. c.*) it was the half of the farthing—*λεπτὰ δύο ὃ ἐστὶ κοδράντης*—'two mites which make a farthing.' The explanation *ὃ ἐστὶ κοδράντης* is omitted in the parallel passage in St. Luke (xxi. 2). These words of St. Mark have caused some disagreement as regards their correct meaning. Cave-doni (*Bibl. Num.*, vol. i., p. 76) has supposed

that St. Mark meant to say 'one *lepton* was of the value of one *quadrans*,' for had he intended to express that two of the small pieces of money were equal to a *quadrans*, then he must have written *ὁ ἑστὶ* instead of *ὁ ἑστὶ κοδράντης*; and the Vulg. has also very correctly translated *quod est*, but not *que sunt*. Another argument adduced is that the words of our Lord in the parallel passages of St. Matthew (v. 26) and St. Luke (xii. 59) prove that the *quadrans* is the same as the *lepton*. In the former passage the words are *ἑξαχάτον κοδράντην*, and in the latter *ἑξαχάτον λεπτόν*. A third argument, deemed by Cave-doni to be conclusive, assumes that the *quadrans* only weighed 30 grains, and that if the *quadrans* equalled two *lepta*, there would be coins existing at the time of our Saviour of the weight of 15.44 grains.

It is a question if the first of the arguments here brought forward is of much value, and though by some (Bland, *Annot. to N. T.*, in loc.) it has been stated that the *ὁ ἑστὶ κοδράντης* is a marginal quotation which has crept into text, and by others (Alford, *in loc.*) that it was probably an explanation for the Roman readers, it does not seem that the Greek is sufficiently incorrect to warrant our adopting Cave-doni's suggestion.

His second argument hardly merits an observation, for we might as well assume that because we say such a thing is not worth a *penny*, or not worth a *farthing*, therefore the *penny* and the *farthing* are the same coin.

His final argument is sufficiently answered by the fact that there are coins of the Ethnarch Archelaus and of the Emperor Augustus struck by the procurators weighing so low as 18 to 15 grains,



356. Coin [*λεπτόν*] of Archelaus.

Obv. HP [HPΩΔOT] within beaded circle.

Rev. PCNX [EONAPXOT] above a galley.—Æ iii.

and that by comparing them with others of the same period a result can be obtained proving the existence in Judæa of three denominations of coinage—the *semit*, the *quadrans*, and the *lepton*. There is no doubt that the *lepton* was rarely struck at the time of the evangelists, yet it must have been a common coin from the time of Alexander II. to the accession of Antigonos (B.C. 69–B.C. 40), and its circulation must long have continued in use. The extreme vicissitudes of the period may only have allowed these small copper coins to be struck. They were formerly attributed to Alexander Jannæus, but are now given to Alexander II. [MONEY.] They average in weight from 20 to 15 grains.

It may be as well to notice that Schleusner (*Lex. N. T.*, s. v. *κοδράντης*), after Fischer, considers the *quadrans* of the N. T., of which the *lepton* was the half, not to have equalled the Roman *quadrans*, but to have been the fourth of the Jewish *as*. The Jewish *as* is made to correspond with the half of the half-ounce Roman *as*, and as, according to Jewish writers, the פרוטה or פרוטה was the eighth part of the *assar*, or Jewish *as* (Buxtorf, *Lex. Talm.*, s. v. *אסיר*), and as the evangelists have understood this word פרוטה to be

the *lepton*, it follows that the *quadrans* equalled *δύο λεπτά*. This theory, however, is quite out of the question, and a comparison of the coins of Judæa with those struck at Rome, clearly proves that the *quadrans* in Judæa was the same as the *quadrans* in Rome. Moreover, as the Romans ordered that only Roman coins, weights, and measures should be used in all the provinces of the Roman empire (Dion. Cass. lii. 20), it is certain that there can have been no Jewish *as* or Jewish *quadrans*, and that all the coins issued by the Jewish princes, and under the procurators, were struck upon a Roman standard (cf. F. W. Madden, *Hist. of Jewish Coinage and of Money in O. and N. T.*, pp. 296–302).—F. W. M.

MITHCAH, one of the encampments of the Israelites. [WANDERING.]

MITHREDATH (מִתְרֶדָתְ; Sept. *Μιθραδάτης*). 1. An officer of Cyrus to whom had been entrusted the vessels of the temple, and by whom they were conveyed to Sheshbazzar (Ezra i. 8). He is described as גִּזְבָּר *gizbar*, a word which the LXX. take as a Gentile name, and represent by Γασπαρηβός, while the Vulg. renders it by *filius Gazabar*. In Ezra vii. 21, and Dan. iii. 2, 3, however, the word is used beyond doubt as a designation of office, and there in the A. V. it is rendered by *treasurer*. That this is a just rendering of the word is confirmed by 1 Esdr. ii. 11, where this Mithredath is styled *ὁ γαζοφύλαξ*. The name Mithredath is probably Persian, compounded of Mithra, the name of the sun-god, and *dat*, from *dādan*, to give, appoint, decree. Proper names with Mithra are very numerous (Pott, *Etymol. Forsch.* I. Vorr. p. 52). 2. An officer stationed at Samaria who joined with other enemies of the Jews in endeavouring to hinder the rebuilding of the temple by prejudicing the Persian king Artaxerxes against them (Ezra iv. 7).—W. L. A.

MITYLENE (Μιτυλήνη), the capital of the isle of Lesbos, in the Ægean Sea, about seven miles and a half from the opposite point on the coast of Asia Minor. It was a well-built town, but unwholesomely situated (Vitruv. *De Architect.* i. 6). It was the native place of Pittacus, Theophrastus, Theophrastus, Sappho, Alceus, and Diophanes. St. Paul touched at Mitylene in his voyage from Corinth to Judæa (Acts xx. 14). It does not appear that any Christian church was established at this place in the apostolic age. No mention is made of it in ecclesiastical history until a late period; and in the 2d century heathenism was so rife in Mitylene, that a man was annually sacrificed to Dionysius. In the 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th centuries, we, however, find bishops of Mitylene present at several councils (Magdeburg, *Hist. Eccles. Cent.* ii. 195; v. 6; vi. 6; vii. 4, 253, 254; viii. 6). Mitylene still exists, and has given its name, in the form of Mytilini, to the whole island; but it is now a place of no importance.—J. K.

MIZAR (מִצְעַר; 'the hill Mizar,' or 'the little hill'; *ἀπὸ ὅρου μικροῦ*; a *monte modico*), the name of a hill mentioned only in Ps. xlii. 6 (7). From the connection in which it occurs, it would seem to have been situated near Mount Hermon. 'O my God, my soul is cast down within me; therefore will I remember thee from the land of Jordan and of the Hermonim, from the hill Mizar.'



The ancient versions translate the word, which signifies 'little.' Nothing more is known of it. Of course it has no connection with the hill in the eastern part of the plain of Esdraelon, to which travellers have given the name of 'Little Hermon.'—J. L. P.

MIZPAH, MIZPEH (מִצְפֶּה, from the root צָפָה, 'to be bright,' and thence 'to look out;') מִצְפֶּה thus signifies 'a place of look-out,' 'a watch-tower.' It has always the article הַמִּצְפֶּה, signifying emphatically 'the watch-tower,' except in Hosea v. 1. מִצְפֶּה, *Mizpeh*, is merely another form of the same word, which is found with the article, הַמִּצְפֶּה, in Josh. xv. 38; xviii. 26; and 2 Chron. xx. 24; and without the article in Josh. xi. 8; Judg. xi. 29; 1 Sam. xxii. 3. The rendering of the word in the Septuagint and Vulgate is not uniform, nor is there uniformity in our A. V.) This name is given by the sacred writers to no less than seven different places. It may be taken for granted that there was something in the position of each of those places which gave it a title to the name; it was on the summit of a hill, or it commanded a wide view over a desert, or over a plain, or along a leading road. Every Mizpah was a station of observation, a watch-tower from which the approach of friend or foe could be seen and signalled. Several of the Mizpahs are distinguished by other names, as 'M. of Gilead;,' 'M. of Moab;,' 'the land of M.;,' 'the valley of M.'

1. MIZPAH, called also GALEED (הַמִּצְפֶּה; ἡ ὄρασις; omitted in Vulgate), one of the names given to the 'cairn' raised by Jacob and Laban as a memorial and testimony of the covenant they entered into at the time of their interview in Gilead (Gen. xxxi. 49). Details of the event have already been given in the article GILEAD. Laban gave the cairn the Chaldee name *Jegar-Sahadutha* (ver. 47), and Jacob gave it the Hebrew name *Gal-ee'd*; both signifying 'The Cairn of Witness.' It is probable that the interview took place on a commanding height, on the top of one of the hills of Gilead; and the name of the hill or peak may have been *Mizpah*, or its conspicuous position may have suggested the name to the patriarchs. Be this as it may, after the completion of the covenant and the erection of the cairn, Laban gave the place another name, and introduced another characteristic play upon that name:—'And *ham-Mizpah* ('the watch-place'), for he said, The Lord *watch* (יָצַפ) between me and thee when we are absent one from another.'

The site of this Mizpah cannot now be determined. Some have thought it identical with Mizpeh of Gilead (see below), but the incidental remarks of the sacred writers show that the places must have been far apart. Jacob was travelling southward. After leaving Mizpah he went to Mahanaim (xxxii. 2), and then crossed the river Jabbok (ver. 22) to meet Esau. Consequently Mizpah must have been some distance north of the Jabbok; whereas there is evidence to show that 'Mizpeh of Gilead' lay some miles south of that river (see below). If Mahanaim be identified with Gerasa, then Mizpah must be looked for on some hill-top north of that city. [MAHANAIM.]

2. THE LAND OF MIZPEH (אֶרֶץ הַמִּצְפֶּה; ἡ γῆ Μασσημα; Alex. εἰς τῆν (al. γῆν) Μασσημάδ (al.

Μασσημά); *terra Maspha*) is mentioned in Josh. xi. 3. Among those nations to which Jabin king of Hazar sent for assistance against the Israelites was 'the Hivite under Hermon, in the land of Mizpeh.' This land must have been close to the base of Hermon, but on what side is not stated. It seems probable that the name Mizpeh was descriptive of the land, and if so, the high *table-land* on the east of the mountain was doubtless the place referred to. Such a name could scarcely have been applied to the deep valley of the Jordan on the west side, except, indeed, some noted *Mizpeh*, or watch-tower, existed there at a remote period, and gave its name to the region round it. Keil supposes that *Jebel-el-Heish*, the southern prolongation of Hermon, is the land of Mizpeh; but this can scarcely be described as 'under Hermon' (הַחֶת (הַרְמוֹן)).

In the same chapter Joshua states that the Israelites pursued the defeated Canaanites 'unto Great Zidon, and unto Misrephoth-maim, and unto the *Valley of Mizpeh* eastward' (וְעַד-בְּקִיעַת מִצְפֶּה; εἰς τὴν πεδίον Μασσημα; *Campumque Masphe*, ver. 8). This appears to be the same place called 'the land of Mizpeh' above. The word 'eastward' has reference not to Misrephoth-maim, but to the battle-field at Merom. The confederates fled in all directions, each nation trying, as was natural, to reach its own country. The Israelites followed them. The word בְּקִיעַת, rendered 'valley,' is often, indeed generally, employed in Scripture to denote 'an extended plain' (in Greek, πεδον; Gen. xi. 2, etc.), and is thus quite applicable to the plateau at the eastern base of Hermon, which also lies eastward from the battle-field of Merom. Its Arabic equivalent, *Bukd'a* (بُقَاع),

is now, however, the proper name of Coelosyria.

3. MIZPEH (הַמִּצְפֶּה; Μασφά; *Maspha*), a town in the Shephelah, allotted to Judah, and grouped with Migdalad and Lachish (Josh. xv. 38). There cannot be a doubt that all these towns are grouped according to their geographical position, and consequently Mizpeh must be looked for in the plain of Philistia, somewhere between Mejdal [MIGDALGAD] and Um Lâkis [LACHISH]. Consequently the site suggested by Van de Velde and others (*Memoir*, p. 335), namely, Tell es-Sâfieh, is much too far north. The southern part of this great plain abounds in little tells, to any one of which the name Mizpeh would be applicable. Eusebius mentions a Mizpeh near Eleutheropolis, towards the north; but his notice is confused, and Jerome gives a somewhat different account (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Maspha*).

4. MIZPEH, also MIZPAH (הַמִּצְפֶּה and הַמִּצְפָּה; Μασσημα; Μασσημά; Μασσημα; Alex. Μασφά, etc.; *Mesphe*, *Maspha*, etc.), a town of Benjamin, grouped between Beeroth and Chephirah (Josh. xviii. 26), and satisfactorily identified by Robinson with *Nebi Samwil*, an old village occupying the most commanding peak around Jerusalem. Robinson's opinion has been opposed by Dean Stanley, Mr. Grove, and others, but the writer believes without sufficient grounds. The proofs of identity will best appear from a review of the notices given of the place.

When the horrid crime committed by the people of Gibeah was reported to the Israelites, 'the

whole congregation was gathered together as one man, from Dan even to Beersheba, with the land of Gilead, unto the Lord in *Mizpeh*' (Judg. xx. 1). The position of Mizpeh is not stated; but from the whole scope of the narrative, and especially from the descriptions of the unsuccessful attacks given in verses 19-26, it is evident Mizpeh must have been very near to Gibeah. It could not possibly have been the Mizpeh of Gilead, as some have supposed (Smith, *Dict. of Bible*, s. v.) It seems almost absurd to imagine, that the whole people of Israel, when about to demand satisfaction from the inhabitants of Gibeah, should assemble on a remote hill on the east of the Jordan. Is it not natural to conclude, in accordance with the general tenor of the story, that they assembled at the great national gathering-place close to the doomed city?

At Mizpeh the Israelites again assembled by command of Samuel. The place was now the national sanctuary (1 Sam. vii. 5); and after a solemn sacrifice the people attacked the Philistines, who had long oppressed them, and gained a signal victory (vers. 9-13). Mizpeh was then made one of Samuel's assize towns (ver. 16). Here the prophet again assembled the tribes of Israel to elect a king, and Saul was chosen (x. 17-21). The ancient and famous city of Gibeon lay in the centre of a little plain scarcely a mile north of Mizpeh; and it may perhaps have been on this very hill of Mizpeh, though called Gibeon, because in its territory, that Solomon offered his great sacrifice, and received the gift of divine wisdom [GIBEON]. Mizpeh was fortified by Asa, king of Judah, to protect his northern frontier, and the stones used were brought from Ramah, which the king of Israel had attempted to build (1 Kings xv. 22; 2 Chron. xvi. 6). Ramah stands on the top of a hill three miles north-east of Mizpeh [RAMAH]. When Jerusalem was taken by Nebuchadnezzar, and the Jews led captive to Babylon, the government of Judah was given to Gedaliah, who took up his residence at the old sanctuary of Mizpeh (2 Kings xxv. 22, 23); and this was the scene of the massacre of the satrap and his court by a band of fanatics under Ishmael (ver. 25; Jer. xl. 6-16; xli. 1-3). Mizpeh was still esteemed by the Jews as a holy place, and appears to have contained a building which was called the 'House of the Lord,' where vows were paid and incense offered, after the destruction of the temple (Jer. xli. 5, 6). Indeed, it appears that Mizpeh continued to be a sanctuary, more or less honoured by the Jews, from the time of their settlement in Palestine down to the captivity. It was one of the cities occupied after the captivity; and Nehemiah states that the men of Gibeon and Mizpah were joined in rebuilding a part of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 7; cf. vers. 15, 19).

After the close of the O. T. history, Mizpeh did not lose its sacred character. When, under the rule of the Maccabees, the Jews were oppressed by the Syrians, and Jerusalem in the hands of the enemy, we are told that 'they assembled together and came to *Massepha* (*Μασσηφά*), over against Jerusalem; for in *Massepha* was a place of prayer heretofore in Israel' (1 Maccab. iii. 46). The situation of Mizpeh is here stated to be *κατέναντι Ἱερουσαλὴμ*, 'over against,' so as to be in sight of Jerusalem. This agrees well with Neby Samwîl, which is the most prominent object around

the holy city, though a little over four miles distant.

An attempt has recently been made to identify Mizpeh with the hill *Scopus*, described by Josephus as *seven stadia* north of Jerusalem (*Bell. Jud.* v. 2. 3; Stanley, *S. and P.*, 222; Smith, *Dict. of Bible*, iii. p. 388). The similarity of the names in Greek (the LXX. in 1 Kings xv. 22 having *σκοπία*, and Josephus calling this hill *σκοπός*); the statement of Josephus that the ancient name of Scopus was *Sapha* (*Σαφά*, *Antiq.* xi. 8. 5), which is supposed to be a corruption of Mizpah; and the expression 'over against Jerusalem' used in the book of Maccabees, are the principal grounds on which this theory is made to rest. A careful examination shows that none of them have any weight. Josephus himself carefully distinguishes Mizpeh from Scopus; the former he speaks of as 'a city called *Μασφάτης*, *Masphates*, which signifies in the Hebrew *κατοικηθῆναι*' (*Antiq.* vi. 2. 1); and this is the name which he uniformly gives to it (*Antiq.* vi. 4. 4; x. 9. 1, etc.); whereas he says the ancient name of the latter (Scopus) was *Σαφά*, 'which name in the Greek signifies *σκοπή*, for from thence both Jerusalem and the sanctuary are visible' (*Antiq.* xi. 8. 5). As to the word *κατέναντι*, any scholar who visits Jerusalem and studies the narrative in 1 Maccab. iii., will admit that it is as applicable to Neby Samwîl as to Scopus. Besides, the incidental notices given by the sacred writers, by the author of the book of Maccabees, and by Josephus, show that Mizpeh was some considerable distance from Jerusalem; that it was on the northern frontier of Judah; that it was near Gibeon and not far distant from Kirjath-jearim; and all these notices seem to indicate Neby Samwîl as the most probable site. There is one passage in Jeremiah which may be regarded as decisive. Ishmael, after the massacre of the rulers of Mizpeh, set out for the country of the Ammonites, east of the Jordan. He was pursued by Johanan, and overtaken 'by the great waters that are in Gibeon' (xli. 12; cf. 2 Sam. ii. 13). The leading road from Neby Samwîl to the fords of the Jordan runs past Gibeon. If we place Mizpeh at Scopus, or anywhere east of Gibeon, this passage must be wrong. Eusebius and Jerome locate Mizpeh near Kirjath-jearim (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Massefa*; and *Reland, Pal.*, 502).

Dr. Bonar would identify Mizpeh with the little village of *Shafat*, on the northern slope of Scopus; but this site is liable to the same objections as the former; and besides, Shafat is not visible from Jerusalem (see, however, Bonar, *Land of Promise*, App. viii.) Shafat is doubtless the *Sapha* mentioned by Josephus as the ancient name of Scopus (*Antiq.* xi. 8. 5).

The peak on which the village and mosque of Neby Samwîl stand, rises about 600 feet above the plain of Gibeon, and is the most conspicuous object in the whole region, commanding a wider view than any other point in southern Palestine. The mosque is large but dilapidated, and is said to contain the tomb of the prophet Samuel; it was formerly a church, and appears to have been built by the Crusaders (Robinson, *B. R.*, i. 457-60). The houses are all constructed of old materials; and the writer observed many extensive excavations in the rock; in some places the soft limestone is hewn away, so as to leave a high natural wall; in others, deep pits or tanks have been hewn out.



The walls of many of the modern houses are formed almost entirely of the living rock (*Handbk.*, p. 225, *seq.*)

5. MIZPEH OF GILEAD (מִצְפֶּה and מִצְפָּה; *σκοπία*; *Μασσηφά*; Alex. *Μασσηφά*, etc.; *Maspha*), the great gathering-place and sanctuary of the trans-jordanic tribes. What Mizpeh of Benjamin was west of the Jordan, Mizpeh of Gilead was east. Here the Israelites assembled to oppose the Ammonites (Judg. x. 17); here Jephthah addressed the people 'before the Lord' (xi. 11); and here his daughter came out to meet him after his rash vow and signal victory (ver. 33-35). It is apparently the same place which is called *Ramath-Mizpeh* by Joshua, and which stood on the northern border of Gad (Josh. xiii. 26). Mizpeh was situated close to the frontier of the Ammonites, and apparently near their capital Rabbath (Judg. xi. 29), consequently it must have been on the south side of the Jabbok, and could not have been identical with the Mizpah where Jacob and Laban met (see above). Mizpeh of Gilead, Ramath-Mizpeh, and Ramoth-Gilead, appear to have been closely connected, if they were not different names of the same place. Ramoth-Gilead was unquestionably identical with the modern village of *Es-Salt* [RAMOTH-GILEAD]. About three miles north-west of Es-Salt is the highest peak east of the Jordan, commanding one of the widest and most interesting views in the country. Its top is broad and flat, and would form a fine gathering-place for a nation of warriors. On its northern slope is an ancient ruin called Jil'ad (جِلْعَاد = גִּלְעָד), the Arabic representative of the Hebrew Gilead. The peak is now called *Jebel Osk'a*, 'the hill of Hosea,' because upon its top is a gigantic tomb said to be that of the prophet. It is probable that this is the true site of 'Mizpeh of Gilead,' the gathering-place of the Eastern tribes (*Handbk.*, p. 309; Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria*, p. 348).

6. MIZPEH OF MOAB (מִצְפֶּה מוֹאָב; *Μασσηφάς τῆς Μωάβ*; Alex. *Μασσηφά*; *Maspha*), a place only mentioned in 1 Sam. xxii. 3. When David was persecuted by Saul he placed his parents for safety in Mizpeh of Moab, doubtless among the relatives of Ruth (cf. Ruth iv. 18-22). The site is unknown.

7. MIZPEH OF JUDAH (מִצְפֶּה הַיְּהוּדָה; A. V., 'watch-tower'; *σκοπία*; *specula*), a place mentioned in connection with the miraculous destruction of the Ammonites and Moabites who invaded Judah during the reign of Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. xx. 24). It appears to have been a noted tower or castle in the wilderness of Judah, between Tekoa and Engedi. Its site is not known.

The prophet Hosea mentions a MIZPAH (v. 1). He appears to describe in highly figurative language the way in which the whole nation of Israel had been led into idolatry, as well east of the Jordan as west: 'Judgment is toward you (O priests), because ye have been a snare on *Mizpah*, and a net spread on Tabor,' thus making these two places emblematic of the two divisions of the land. If this interpretation be correct, then Mizpah of Gilead is that referred to. In any case this Mizpah must be either that of Gilead or that of Benjamin. —J. L. P.

MIZRAIM (מִצְרַיִם), the dual of מִצְרַיִם; Sept. *Μεσ-ραϊν*, or LAND OF MIZRAIM, the name by which,

in Scripture, Egypt is generally designated. It is also the name given to one of the sons of Ham (Gen. x.) The dual form of the word has undoubtedly respect to some twofold aspect of the country; either as divided into two parts by the Nile, or as lying between two mountain ranges (Herod. ii. 8; Strabo, xvii. p. 789, 819). It is generally used to designate the whole of Egypt; but in Is. xi. 11 it is used to designate Lower Egypt as distinct from Pathros or Upper Egypt; so that it is not to this duplicity of the country that its dual form refers. The unused noun מִצְרַיִם, to which the word must be referred, means *bound, limit, region, land*; and it may be from the enclosed and bounded appearance of Egypt that the name was given to it. Fürst (*H. W. B.*, s. v.) compares Αἴγυπτος with the Sansc. āguptos *munita* as favouring this explanation. This ancient title is still preserved in Misr, the existing Arabic name of the country. [EGYPT.]—W. L. A.

MNASON (Μνάων), an 'old disciple,' with whom St. Paul lodged when at Jerusalem in A. D. 58 (Acts xxi. 16). He seems to have been a native of Cyprus, but an inhabitant of Jerusalem, like Joses and Barnabas. Some think that he was converted by Paul and Barnabas while at Cyprus (Acts xiii. 9); but the designation 'an old disciple' (ἀρχαῖος μαθητής) has more generally induced the conclusion that he was converted by Jesus himself (comp. ἐν ἀρχῇ, Acts xi. 15), and was perhaps one of the seventy.

MOAB (מוֹאָב; Sept. *Μωάβ*), son of Lot and his eldest daughter (Gen. xix. 30-38). He was born about the same time with Isaac, and became the founder of the Moabites. Of the name, which is used both of the man and the tribe, various derivations have been given—1. It is for מוֹאָב, *from father* (LXX., Targ. Jon., Joseph., Jerome, De Wette); 2. It is מוֹבָא אָב, *ingressus patris* (Hiller, Simonis); 3. מוֹ is for מַיִם, and the word means *aqua patris* (comp. Num. xxiv. 7 for the figure), i.e., *semen patris* (Rosenmüller, Gesen., Fürst); 4. It is derived from מוֹאֵב, *to desire*, the land of Moab being a desirable land (Maurer). The oldest of these is perhaps the best.—W. L. A.

MOABITES, a tribe descended from Moab the son of Lot, and consequently related to the Hebrews (Gen. xix. 37). Previous to the exodus of the latter from Egypt, the former, after expelling the original inhabitants, called אֱמִיטִים, *Emims* (Gen. xiv. 5; Deut. ii. 11), had possessed themselves of the region on the east of the Dead Sea and the Jordan, as far north as the river Jabbok. But the northern, and indeed the finest and best portion of the territory, viz., that extending from the Jabbok to the Arnon, had passed into the hands of the Amorites, who founded there one of their kingdoms, with Heshbon for its capital (Num. xxi. 26). Og had established another at Bashan. Hence at the time of the exodus the valley and river Arnon constituted the northern boundary of Moab (Num. xxi. 13; Judg. xi. 18; Joseph. *Antiq.* iv. 5. 1). As the Hebrews advanced in order to take possession of Canaan, they did not enter the proper territory of the Moabites (Deut. ii. 9; Judg. xi. 18), but conquered the kingdom of the Amorites (a Canaanitish tribe),



which had formerly belonged to Moab, whence the western part, lying along the Jordan, frequently occurs under the name of עֲרֻבוֹת מוֹאָב 'plains of Moab' (Deut. i. 5; xxix. 1). The Moabites, fearing the numbers that were marching around them, showed them at least no kindness (Deut. xxiii. 3); and their king (Balak) hired Balaam to utter prophetic curses, which, however, were converted into blessings in his mouth (Num. xxii., *seq.*) The Gadites now took possession of the northern portion of this territory, which the Amorites had wrested from the Moabites, and established themselves there; while the Reubenites settled in the southern part (Num. xxxii. 34; comp. Josh. xiii., which, however, differs somewhat in the designation of particular towns).

We see the first hostilities breaking out in the beginning of the period of the Judges, when the Hebrews had been for a long time tributary to the Moabites, but threw off their yoke under Ehud (Judg. iii. 12-30). Towards the end of this period, however, peace and friendship were restored, mutual honours were reciprocated (as the history of Ruth shows), and Moab appears often to have afforded a place of refuge to outcasts and emigrant Hebrews (Ruth i. 1; comp. 1 Sam. xxii. 3, 4; Jer. xl. 11; Is. xvi. 2). After Saul had waged successful war against them (1 Sam. xiv. 47), David made them tributary (2 Sam. viii. 2, 12; xxiii. 20). The right to levy this tribute seems to have been transferred to Israel after the division of the kingdom; for, upon the death of Ahab (about B.C. 896), they refused to pay the customary tribute of 100,000 lambs and as many rams (2 Kings i. 1; iii. 4; comp. Is. xvi. 1). Jehoram (B.C. 896), in alliance with Judah and Edom, sought indeed to bring them back to their subjection. The invading army, after having been preserved from perishing by thirst through the intervention of Elisha, defeated the Moabites and ravaged the country; but through the strange conduct of the king, in offering up in sacrifice his son [MESHA], were induced to retire without completing the object of the expedition. The Moabites deeply resented the part which the king of Judah took in this invasion, and formed a powerful confederacy with the Ammonites, Edomites, and others, who marched in great force into Judæa, and formed their camp at Engedi, where they fell out among themselves and destroyed each other, through the special interposition of Providence in favour of Jehoshaphat and his people (2 Kings iii. 4, *seq.*; comp. 2 Chron. xx. 1-30) [ELISHA; JEHOAM; JEHOSEPHAT]. Under Jehoash (B.C. 849) we see them undertake incursions into the kingdom of Israel, and carry on offensive war against it (2 Kings xiii. 20).

Though the subsequent history of Israel often mentions the Moabites, yet it is silent respecting a circumstance which, in relation to one passage, is of the greatest importance, namely, the re-conquest of the territory between the Arnon and the Jabbok, which was wrested from the Moabites by the Amorites, and afterwards of the territory possessed by the tribes of Reuben and Gad. This territory in general we see, according to Is. xvi., in the possession of the Moabites again. Even Selah, the ancient capital of the Edomites, seems likewise, from Is. xvi. 1, to have belonged to them, at least for a time. The most natural supposition is that of Reland (*Palästina*, p. 720), Paulus (*Clavis*, p. 110), and Rosenmüller (*in loc.*), that,

after the carrying away of those tribes into captivity, the Moabites occupied their territory; as it is expressly stated (Jer. xlix. 1-5) that the Amorites intruded themselves into the territory of the captive Gadites, as the Edomites did in respect to the Jews at a later period (Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* v. 79). The tribes of Reuben and Gad were not, however, as is commonly supposed, first carried away after the destruction of Samaria (B.C. 722) by Shalmaneser (2 Kings xviii. 9, 10), but, according to 1 Chron. v. 26, by Pul and Tiglathpileser certainly, and perhaps (for the account is somewhat indefinite) in the earliest campaign against Menahem, B.C. 774 (2 Kings xv. 19), and Pekah, B.C. 741 (2 Kings xv. 29). Nevertheless the singular fact remains, that here, where we should have expected every wrong done to the Israelites by Moab to be made prominent, this usurpation of their territory is not noticed. Hence we cannot wholly resist the conjecture that it was with that territory as with the territory of the Philistines, Tyrians, and Sidonians; *i. e.*, it was never permanently possessed by the Hebrew tribes, and the division of this region into many parts in the book of Joshua remained ideal (an assignment *in partibus infidelium*), without being generally realised in history. Perhaps also many of these cities were as little inhabited by the Hebrews as Tyre and Sidon, which are likewise assigned them in the book of Joshua. In like manner it may be explained why many cities (Num. xxxii. 34, *seq.*) were apportioned to the tribe of Reuben, which are afterwards ascribed (Josh. xiii.) to Gad, and *vice versa* (Reland, *Palästina*, pp. 582, 720, 735).

Still later, under Nebuchadnezzar, we see the Moabites acting as the auxiliaries of the Chaldeans (2 Kings xxiv. 2), and beholding with malicious satisfaction the destruction of a kindred people (Ezek. xxv. 8-11); yet, according to an account in Josephus (*Antiq.* x. 9. 7), Nebuchadnezzar, when on his way to Egypt, made war upon them, and subdued them, together with the Ammonites, five years after the destruction of Jerusalem. On the other hand, there is no authority in any one ancient account for that which modern historians have repeatedly copied from one another; *viz.*, that Moab was carried into exile by Nebuchadnezzar, and restored with the Hebrews under Cyrus.

That continual wars and contentions must have created a feeling of national hostility between the Hebrews and the Moabites, may be readily conceived. This feeling manifested itself on the part of the Hebrews, sometimes in bitter proverbs, sometimes in the denunciations of the prophets; on the part of the Moabites in proud boastings and expressions of contempt (Is. xvi. 6).

Among the prophecies, however, that of Balaam (Num. xxii.-xxiv.) is above all remarkable, in which this ancient prophet (who withal was not an Israelite), hired by Moab to curse, is impelled by the Divine Spirit to *bless* Israel, and to announce the future destruction of Moab by a mighty hero in Israel (Num. xxiv. 17). It is a genuine epic representation worthy of the greatest poet of any age. Nor should we overlook the song of triumph and scorn respecting Moab, suggested by Heshbon, and obscure only as to its origin (Num. xxi. 17-30). Among the later prophets, Amos (ii. 1-3) predicts their destruction in consequence of their cruelty to the king of Edom; probably with reference to the war recorded in 2 Kings iii., when the Edomites



were confederate with the Hebrews; although the particular instance of cruelty is not there specified. Zephaniah (ii. 8-10) condemns them to punishment for their scorn and contempt of Israel. Jeremiah repeats the denunciation of evil, for the most part in the words of Numbers and Isaiah (Jer. xlviii.; comp. also ix. 26; xxv. 21); and Ezekiel threatens them with punishment for their malicious joy at the overthrow of Judæa (xxv. 8-11). Moreover, the subjection of Moab finds a place in every ideal description of splendid wars and golden ages predicted for Israel (Is. xi. 14; xxv. 10; Ps. lx. 8, 'Moab is my wash-pot'; Ps. lxxxiii. 6).

After the exile, an intimate connection between the two nations had found place by means of intermarriages (Ezra ix. 1, *seq.*; Neh. xiii. 1), which, however, were dissolved by the theocratic zeal of Ezra. The last (chronologically) notice of the Moabites which occurs in Scripture is in Dan. xi. 41, which contains an obscure intimation of the escape of the Moabites from the overthrow with which neighbouring countries would be visited: but Josephus, in the history of Alexander Jannæus, mentions the cities between Arnon and Jabbok under the title of cities of Moab (*Antiq.* xiii. 15). Thenceforth their name is lost under that of the Arabians, as was also the case with Ammon and Edom. At the time of Abulfeda, Moab Proper, south of the Arnon, bore the name of Karak, from the city so called; and the territory north of the Arnon, that of Belka, which includes also the Ammonites. Since that time, the accounts of that region are uncommonly meagre; for through fear of the predatory and mischievous Arabs that people it, few of the numerous travellers in Palestine have ventured to explore it. For scanty accounts, see Büsching's *Asia*, pp. 507, 508. Seetzen, who in February and March 1806, not without danger of losing his life, undertook a tour from Damascus down to the south of the Jordan and the Dead Sea, and thence to Jerusalem, was the first to shed a new, and altogether unexpected, light upon the topography of this region. He found a multitude of places, or at least of ruins of places, still bearing the old names; and thus has set bounds to the perfectly arbitrary designations of them on the old charts. Seetzen's wish, that some other traveller might acquaint the public with the remarkable ruins of this region, especially those of Gerasa and Ammân, and then advance to the splendid ruins of Petra at Wady Mousa, is already partly accomplished, and will soon be completely so. From June to September 1812, Burckhardt made the same tour from Damascus beyond the Jordan down to Karak; whence he advanced over Wady Mousa, or the ancient Petra (which he was the first European traveller to visit), to the bay of Aila, and thence went to Cairo. The accurate details of this tour, which are contained in his *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, 1822, threw much light upon the ancient topography and present condition of the lands of Moab and Edom. The accounts of Seetzen and Burckhardt give the substance of all the information which we even yet possess concerning the land of Moab in particular, although of Edom, or rather of Petra, fuller, if not more exact accounts, have been since obtained. Most of the travellers who visited Petra after Burckhardt, passed also through the land of Moab; but it afterwards became usual to pass from Petra direct to Hebron; whence this country has escaped the

researches of many travellers whose observations have of late years enriched the topography of this region. A party of English gentlemen, Captains Irby and Mangles, Mr. Banks and Mr. Legh, passed through the land of Moab in returning from Petra in 1818; and their observations, published in their *Travels* by Irby and Mangles, and by Legh in a Supplement to Dr. Macmichael's *Journey from Moscow to Constantinople*, 1819, furnish the most valuable additions which have as yet been obtained to the information of Seetzen and Burckhardt. The northern parts of the country were visited by Mr. Buckingham, and more lately by Mr. George Robinson and by Lord Lindsay, but very little additions have been made by these travellers to our previous knowledge. The plates to Laborde's new work, *Voyage en Orient*, show that he also visited the land of Moab; but the particulars of his journey have not yet been published.

From these sources we learn that in the land of Moab, which lay to the east and south-east of Judæa, and which bordered on the east, north-east, and partly on the south of the Dead Sea, the soil is rather more diversified than that of Ammon; and, where the desert and plains of salt have not encroached upon its borders, of equal fertility. There are manifest and abundant signs of its ancient importance. 'The whole of the plains are covered with the sites of towns on every eminence or spot convenient for the construction of one; and as the land is capable of rich cultivation, there can be no doubt that the country, now so deserted, once presented a continued picture of plenty and fertility' (Irby and Mangles, p. 378). The form of fields is still visible, and there are remains of Roman highways which are in some places completely paved, 'and on which there are milestones of the times of Trajan, Marcus Aurelius, and Severus, with the numbers of the miles legible upon them. Wherever any spot is cultivated the corn is luxuriant; and the frequency, and almost, in many instances, the close vicinity of the sites of ancient towns, prove that the population of the country was formerly proportioned to its fertility' (Irby and Mangles, pp. 377, 378, 456, 460). It was in its state of highest prosperity that the prophets foretold that the cities of Moab should become desolate, without any to dwell in them; and accordingly we find, that although the sites, ruins, and names of many ancient cities of Moab can be traced, not one of them exists at the present day as tenanted by man. The argument for the inspiration of the sacred records deducible from this, among other facts of the same kind, is produced with considerable force by Dr. Keith in his work on Prophecy. Gesenius, *Comment. on Isa.* xv., xvi., *Introduct.* translated by W. S. Tyler, with *Notes* by Moses Stuart, in *Biblical Repos.* for 1836, vol. vii. pp. 107-124; Keith's *Evidence from Prophecy*, pp. 153-165; and *Land of Israel*, 279-295; *Pictorial Bible*, *Notes* to Deut. ii. 2; Is. xvi., xvii.; Jer. xlviii. See also the travels and other works cited in this article.—J. K.

MOCHA (מֹכָה) of *Palestine* or *Tiberias*, flourished circa A.D. 570. Very little is known about the personal history of this remarkable scholar, who immortalised his name by fixing and amplifying, or, as some will have it, by inventing the interlineary system of vocalization (מֶעֱמָ)



נקודת), called the *Tiberian* or *Palestinian* (נקודת), which has for centuries been commonly adopted both by Jews and Christians in the pointed editions of the Hebrew Scriptures, to the exclusion of the superlineary

system (מנוקד למעלה, טעם העליון), called the *Babylonian* or *Assyrian* (נקודת שער, נקודת אשור), which was invented or extended by Acha of Irak in the first half of the 6th century. Like his predecessor R. Acha, the author of the opposite system, R. Mocha also compiled a large and small *Massora*, in which he discusses the writing of words with or without the vowel letters (מלא, חסר), the affixing of certain accents (גנונות), accented syllables, *Dagesh* and *Raphe*, rare forms, archaic words, homonyms, etc. etc., as is evident from an ancient MS. of the Pentateuch by Firkowitsch, where the following Massoretic gloss frequently occurs, 'Rabbi Mocha writes this with and that without the vowel letters.' These Massoretic glosses he wrote in Aramaic and in the Tiberian dialect, being the language of the Palestinian Jews, in order to make his labours accessible and intelligible to the people at large. Not unfrequently, however, these Massoretic glosses are intermixed with notes written in Hebrew (comp. Pinsker, *Likute Kadmonijot*, Vienna 1860, p. 62, appendix; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. v., Magdeburg 1860, p. 552; Fürst, *Geschichte des Karäerthums*, vol. i., Leipzig 1862, pp. 15, ff.; 134, ff.)—C. D. G.

MODENA, LEON DE. [LEON.]

MODIN (מֹדִינָה; Alex. Μωδεῖν, and Μωδεῖν; *Modin*), the native city of the Maccabees. It is not mentioned in the canonical Scriptures; but it occupied a distinguished place in Jewish history during the rule of the Asmonean family. This family was of the noblest blood of the priests (1 Maccab. ii. 1; cf. 1 Chron. xxiv. 7). When Antiochus Epiphanes was cruelly persecuting the Jewish nation, Mattathias, the head of the Asmonean family, left Jerusalem and took up his residence at *Modin*. The emissaries of the tyrant visited that city and ordered the people to sacrifice to the gods. Mattathias refused, and even went so far as to kill a Jew who attempted to present a sacrifice. This was the commencement of the war against Syria, and of the rule of the Asmoneans (B.C. 167; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 6. 1 and 2; see art. MACCABEES). Mattathias died and was buried at Modin, after giving to his sons a solemn charge to uphold the law and faith of their fathers with their lives (1 Maccab. ii. 50, seq.). His warlike son Judas, after a brilliant career, fell in battle and was also buried at Modin (Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 11. 2; 1 Maccab. ix. 19); and the bones of Jonathan, who fell by treachery, were committed to the family tomb (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 6. 6). Over the graves of his father and brethren, Simon, who succeeded them as ruler of the Jews, erected a splendid mausoleum of white stone, surrounded with cloisters, and surmounted by seven pyramids, corresponding to the number of the departed. It was so high as to be visible from the sea (Joseph. *l. c.*; 1 Maccab. xiii. 25-30), and it remained standing as late as the 4th century (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Modin*). Modin was on more than one occasion the place where the Jewish patriots assembled in the hour of danger around their warlike Asmonean leaders, and, as if inspired with fresh courage by

the proximity of the illustrious dead, they marched thence to victory (1 Maccab. xvi. 1-10; 2 Maccab. xiii. 14, seq.).

The site of Modin has occasioned some controversy. No ancient writer has accurately described it, and the name appears to have perished like the mausoleum that once adorned it. Josephus calls it a village of Judea (*Bell. Jud.* i. 1. 3). An incidental remark of the author of the first book of Maccabees shows that it lay close to the plain of Philistia (xvi. 4. 5). Eusebius and Jerome appear to have known it. They state that it was situated near Diospolis, or *Lydda*, and that the mausoleum of the Maccabees still existed in their time (*Onomast.*, s. v.). We learn farther, that the town stood on a hill (1 Maccab. ii. 1). This is all that is known. A comparatively recent tradition, apparently not older than the 13th century (*Brocardus*, x.; see also Robinson, *B. R.*, ii. 7; and authorities cited there), fixes the site of Modin in the commanding peak of *Soba*, six miles west of Jerusalem, but at least *ten* from the plain, and nearly twenty from *Lydda*. This site has, consequently, no just claim to the honour. Modin appears to have been known to William of Tyre, as he mentions it as one of the ancient towns between Jerusalem and Joppa, but he does not state its position (*Hist.* viii. 1) farther than grouping it with *Noba* and *Nicopolis*, now identified with Nûba and Amwâs, at the foot of the mountains. It seems highly probable that Robinson is correct in fixing the site of Modin at the ruin called *Latron*. In the mouth of Wady 'Aly, where it opens from the mountains of Judæa into the plain, is a high conical tell, crowned with the ruins of a large fortress, and a poor village. This is *Latron*. The foundations of the fortress appear to be of the Roman age, or perhaps earlier, though the upper parts exhibit pointed arches and light architecture of a much later date. The view from the summit is commanding, and embraces the whole plain to Joppa and the Mediterranean beyond. Here may have stood the monument of the Maccabees. The road from Jerusalem to Joppa passes close by the base of the tell, and Amwâs, the ancient Nicopolis, is about a mile to the north. The name *Latron* appears to have arisen in the 16th century, from the legend which made this the birth-place of the penitent thief—'Castrum boni *Latronis*' (Robinson, *B. R.*, iii. 151; Quaresmius, ii. p. 12; *Handbk.*, p. 285; Tobler, *Dritte Wanderung*, 185, seq.; Reland, 901).—J. L. P.

MOLADAH (מֹלָדָה, 'birth'; Μωλαδᾶ, Καλαδάμ; Alex. Μωδαδᾶ; Μωλαδᾶ; *Molada*), a city grouped with Kedesb, Beersheba, and others, which were situated on the extreme south of Judah, near the borders of Edom (Josh. xv. 21-26). It was afterwards assigned with Beersheba to the tribe of Simeon (xix. 2), and was occupied by the family of Shimei (1 Chron. iv. 28). It is not again mentioned until after the captivity, when some of the returned captives of Judah settled in it (Neh. xi. 26). Reland suggests that this city is identical with *Malatha*, one of the places to which Herod Agrippa retired during his disgrace at the Roman court (Reland, *Pal.*, pp. 885, 901; Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 2). *Malatha* is said to have been in Idumea, but in the time of Josephus Idumea included a large section of southern Palestine [IDUMEA]. In the 4th century *Malatha* (Μαλάθα) was one of



the most important cities in southern Palestine, and is frequently mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome in describing the situation of other towns (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Arath, Elther, Jether*, etc.; cf. Reland, 885). According to these authors it was situated about twenty miles south of Hebron (*Celarius, Geogr.*, ii. 590). At a still later period Malatha became a Roman military station (Reland, p. 231).

About twenty geographical miles south of Hebron, on the leading road to Aila on the Red Sea, and ten miles east of Beersheba, are the ruins of an ancient fortified town, now called *el-Milh*, which Robinson rightly identifies with the Roman Malatha, and Jewish *Moladah* (*B. R.* ii. 200, *seq.*) The place is now deserted, and the houses and walls are prostrate; but there are two ancient wells which attract the Bedawin, and make el-Milh a favourite watering-place. The name *Milh*, which in Arabic signifies 'salt,' is doubtless a corruption of the Greek *Μάλας* or *Μαλάς* (Robinson, ii. 201, note; Van de Velde, *Memoir*, 335; Ritter, *Pal. und Syr.*, i. 124; *Handbk.* p. 64).—J. L. P.

MOLE. [CHOLED.]

MOLOCH, or rather MOLECH (מֹלֶךְ), always with the article, except in 1 Kings xi. 7). The Septuagint most frequently render it as an appellative, by ὁ ἀρχων or βασιλεὺς; but they also write Μολόχ, as Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, appear to have generally done. Whatever reasons there may be for doubting whether *Malchām* is a name of this god, or is merely 'their king,' in a civil sense, in Amos i. 15; Zeph. i. 5 (on which see the notes of Hitzig, *Die xii. Kleinen Propheten*), yet the context, in Jer. xlix. 1, seems to require that it should there denote this god, as indeed the Septuagint and Syriac versions have expressed it. But *Malchām*—which Movers considers to be an Aramaic pronunciation of *Malcham*, i.e., to be an appellative, 'their king,' in a theocratical sense (*Die Phönizier*, i. 358)—is evidently a name of this god (comp. 1 Kings xi. 5 and 7). [MALCHAM.]

Molech is chiefly found in the O. T. as the national god of the Ammonites, to whom children were sacrificed by fire. There is some difficulty in ascertaining at what period the Israelites became acquainted with this idolatry; yet three reasons render it probable that it was before the time of Solomon, the date usually assigned for its introduction. First, Molech appears—if not under that name, yet under the notion that we attach to it—to have been a principal god of the Phoenicians and Canaanites, whose other idolatries the Israelites confessedly adopted very early. Secondly, There are some arguments which tend to connect Molech with Baal, and, if they be tenable, the worship of Molech might be essentially as old as that of the latter. Thirdly, If we assume, as there is much apparent ground for doing, that wherever human sacrifices are mentioned in the O. T. we are to understand them to be offered to Molech—the apparent exception of the gods of Sepharvaim being only a stronger evidence of their identity with him—then the remarkable passage in Ezek. xx. 26 (cf. ver. 31) clearly shows that the Israelites sacrificed their first-born by fire, when they were *in the wilderness*.\* Moreover, those who ascribe

the Pentateuch to Moses will recognise both the early existence of the worship of this god, and the apprehension of its contagion, in that express prohibition of his bloody rites which is found in Lev. xx. 1-5. Nevertheless, it is for the first time directly stated that Solomon erected a high place for Molech on the Mount of Olives (1 Kings xi. 7); and from that period his worship continued uninterruptedly there, or in Tophet, in the valley of Hinnom, until Josiah defiled both places (2 Kings xxiii. 10, 13). Jehoahaz, however, the son and successor of Josiah, again 'did what was evil in the sight of Jehovah, according to all that his fathers had done' (2 Kings xxiii. 32). The same broad condemnation is made against the succeeding kings, Jehoikim, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah; and Ezekiel, writing during the captivity, says, 'Do you, by offering your gifts, and by making your sons pass through the fire, pollute yourselves with all your idols *until this day*, and shall I be inquired of by you?' (xx. 31). After the restoration, all traces of this idolatry disappear.

It has been attempted to explain the terms in which the act of sacrificing children is described in the O. T. so as to make them mean a mere passing between two fires, without any risk of life, for the purpose of purification. This theory—which owes its origin to a desire in some Rabbins to lessen the mass of evidence which their own history offers of the perverse idolatries of the Jews—is effectually declared untenable by such passages as Ps. cvi. 38; Jer. vii. 31; Ezek. xvi. 20; xxiii. 37; the last two of which may also be adduced to show that the victims were slaughtered before they were burned.

As the accounts of this idol and his worship found in the O. T. are very scanty, the more detailed notices which Greek and Latin writers give of the bloody rites of the Phœnician colonies acquire peculiar value. Münter has collected these testimonies with great completeness, in his *Religion der Karthager*. Many of these notices, however, only describe late developments of the primitive rites. Thus the description of the image of Molech as a brazen statue, which was heated red hot, and in the outstretched arms of which the child was laid, so that it fell down into the flaming furnace beneath—an account which is first found in Diodorus Siculus, as referring to the Carthaginian *Κρόνος*, but which was subsequently adopted by Jarchi and others—is not admitted by Movers to apply to the Molech of the O. T.

The connection between Molech and Baal—the very names, as meaning 'king' and 'lord,' being almost synonymous—is seen in comparing Jer. xxxii. 35 with xix. 5, in which both names are used as if they were interchangeable, and in which human sacrifices are ascribed to both. Another argument might be drawn from Jer. iii. 24, in which *Habbosheth*, 'shame,' is said to have devoured their flocks and herds, their sons and daughters. Now, as Bosheth is found in the names Ishbosheth and Jerubbesheth, to alternate with Baal, as if it was only a contemptuous perversion of it, it would appear that human sacrifices are here again ascribed to Baal. Further, whereas Baal is

vii. 43, might also be adduced here. But it is not clear that Molech is intended by the 'your king' of the original text; and Jarchi refers the whole verse to the *future*, instead of the past, in which he is followed by Ewald.

\* The words in Amos v. 26, as rendered by the Septuagint, and as cited from that version in Acts



the chief name under which we find the principal god of the Phœnicians in the O. T., and whereas only the two above-cited passages mention the human victims of Baal, it is remarkable that the Greek and Latin authors give abundant testimony to the human sacrifices which the Phœnicians and their colonies offered to their principal god, in whom the classical writers have almost always recognised their own *Kρόνος* and Saturn. Thus we are again brought to the difficulty, alluded to above [BAAL], of reconciling Molech as Saturn with Baal as the sun and Jupiter. In reality, however, this difficulty is in part created by our association of classical with Semitic mythology. When regarded apart from such foreign affinities, Molech and Baal may appear as the personifications of the two powers which give and destroy life, which early religions regarded as not incompatible phases of the same one God of nature.—J. N.

**MONEY.** The present article seems necessarily to fall into three distinct heads—I. *Uncoined Money*; II. *Coined Money*; and, III. *Money in N. T.* The first division treats of uncoined money in general, and of uncoined money in the O. T. In the second, the antiquity of coined money and the principal monetary systems of antiquity are briefly traced; whilst the coined money mentioned in the Bible, and the money of the Jewish high-priests and princes, is fully treated upon. The third division includes the Greek and Roman money mentioned in the N. T.

**I. UNCOINED MONEY.**—1. *Uncoined Money in General.*—In the many excavations which have been made in Egypt, Assyria, and Babylonia, no specimen of coined money has yet been discovered. Egyptian money was composed of rings of gold and silver; and in Assyria and Babylonia only clay tablets commemorating grants of money *specified by weight* have been found in considerable numbers; whilst in Phœnicia no pieces of an antiquity earlier than the Persian rule have yet come to light (Rawlinson, *Herod.*, vol. i. p. 684). Nor, indeed, is coined money found in the time of Homer, but traffic was pursued either by simple barter (*Il.* vii. 472; xxiii. 702; *Odys.* i. 430); or by means of masses of unwrought metal, like lumps of iron (*Il.* xxiii. 826; *Odys.* i. 184); or by quantities of gold and silver, especially of gold (*Il.* ix. 122, 279; xix. 247; xxiii. 269; *Odys.* iv. 129; viii. 393; ix. 202, etc.), which latter metal, called by Homer *τάλαντον χρυσοῦ*, seems to be the only one measured by weight. Before the introduction of coined money into Greece by Pheidon, king of Argos, there was a currency of *ὀβελοῖκοι*, 'spits' or 'skewers,' six of which were considered a handful (*δραχμή*). Colonel Leake thinks that they were small pyramidal pieces of *silver* (*Num. Chron.*, vol. xvii. p. 203; *Num. Hellen.*, p. 1, appendix), but it seems more probable that they were nails of *iron* or *copper*, capable of being used as spits in the Homeric fashion. This is likely, from the fact that six of them made a handful, and that they were therefore of a considerable size (Rawlinson, *Herod.*, App., bk. i. p. 688).

2. *Uncoined Money in the O. T.*—The first notice in the Bible, after the Flood, of uncoined money as a representative of property and medium of exchange, is when Abraham came up out of Egypt 'very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold'

(Gen. xiii. 2; xxiv. 35). We next find 'money' used in commerce. In the purchase of the cave of Machpelah, it is said, 'And Abraham weighed

(וַיִּשְׁקֶל) to Ephron the silver which he had named

in the audience of the sons of Heth, four hundred shekels of silver current with the merchant' (עֶבֶר לְפָחַר; LXX. *δοκίμου ἐμπόρου*, Gen. xxiii. 16).

When Jericho was taken, Achan embezzled from the spoils 200 shekels of silver, and a wedge (*Heb.* tongue) of gold (γλῶσσαν μίαν χρυσῆν) of 50 shekels weight (Josh. vii. 21). Silver as a medium of commerce may be met with among the nations of the Philistines (Gen. xx. 16; Judg. xvi. 5, 18; xvii. 2, *seq.*), the Midianites (Gen. xxxvii. 28), and the Syrians (2 Kings v. 5, 23). By the laws of Moses, men and cattle (Lev. xxvii. 3, *seq.*; Num. iii. 45, *seq.*), the possessing houses and fields (Lev. xxvii. 14, *seq.*), provisions (Deut. ii. 6, 28; xiv. 26), and all fines for offences (Exod. xxi. xxii.) were determined by the value of money. The contributions to the temple (Exod. xxx. 13; xxxviii. 26), the sacrifice of animals (Lev. v. 15), the redemption of the first-born (Num. iii. 45, *seq.*; xviii. 15, *seq.*), the payment to the seer (1 Sam. ix. 7, *seq.*)—in all these cases the value is always represented as silver. It seems probable from many passages in the Bible that a system of jewel currency or ring-money was also adopted as a medium of exchange. The case of Rebekah, to whom the servant of Abraham gave 'a golden earring of half a shekel weight, and two bracelets for her hands of ten shekels weight of gold' (Gen. xxiv. 22), proves that the ancients made their jewels of a specific weight, so as to know the value of the ornaments in employing them as money. That the Egyptians kept their bullion in jewels seems evident from the plate given by Sir Gardner Wilkinson, copied from the catacombs, where they are represented weighing rings of silver and gold; and is further corroborated by the fact of the Israelites having, at their exodus from Egypt, borrowed 'jewels of silver and jewels of gold,' and 'spoiled the Egyptians' (Exod. xii. 35, 36). According to the ancient drawings, the Egyptian ring-money was composed of perfect rings. So, too, it would appear that the money used by the children of Jacob, when they went to purchase corn in Egypt, was also an annular currency (Gen. xlii. 35). Their money is described as 'bundles of money' (LXX. *δέσμοι*), and when returned to them, was found to be 'of [full] weight' (Gen. xliiii. 21). The account of the sale of Joseph by his brethren affords another instance of the employment of jewel ornaments as a medium of exchange (Gen. xxxvii. 28); and that the Midianites carried the whole of their bullion wealth in the form of rings and jewels seems more than probable from the account in Numbers of the spoiling of the Midianites—'We have therefore brought an oblation for the Lord what every man hath gotten (*Heb.* found), of jewels of gold, chains, and bracelets, rings, earrings, and tablets, to make an atonement for our souls before the Lord. And Moses and Eleazar the priest took the gold of them, even all wrought jewels' (xxxix. 50, 51). The friends of Job, when visiting him at the end of the time of his trial, each gave him a piece of money (קִישִׁיָּה) and an earring of gold (נֶגַם זָהָב; LXX. *τετράδραχμον χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀσκή*



μou), thus suggesting the employment of a ring-currency. (For this question, see W. B. Dickinson in the *Num. Chron.*, vols. vi. to xvi., *passim.*) The *Kesitah*, which has been rendered by the interpreters as 'a lamb,' and supposed to be a coin impressed with the figure of a lamb, is evidently a piece of silver of unknown weight (Hussey, *Weights and Measures*, p. 194). Supposing that the above-quoted passages relative to a gold medium of exchange be not admitted, there is a passage recording a purchase made in gold in the time of David. The threshing-floor of Ornan was bought by David for 600 shekels of gold by weight (1 Chron. xxi. 25). Yet even this is rendered doubtful by the parallel passage mentioning the price paid as 50 shekels of silver (2 Sam. xxiv. 24).

It seems then apparent from the several authorities given above, that from the earliest time silver was used by the Hebrews as a medium of commerce, and that a fixed weight was assigned to single pieces, so as to make them suitable for the various articles presented in trade. Unless we suppose this to be the case, many of the above-quoted passages (especially Gen. xxiii. 16; cf. 2 Kings xii. 4, *seq.*) would be difficult to understand rightly. In this latter passage it is said that the priest Jehoiada 'took a chest and bored a hole in the lid of it, and set it beside the altar,' and 'the priests that kept the door put in all the money that was brought into the house of the Lord.' These passages not only presuppose pieces of metal of a definite weight, but also that they had been recognised as such, either in an unwrought form or from certain characters inscribed upon them. The system of weighing (though the Bible makes mention of a balance and weight of money in many places, Gen. xxiii. 16; Exod. xxii. 17; 2 Sam. xviii. 12; 1 Kings xx. 39; Jer. xxxii. 9, 10) is not likely to have been applied to every individual piece. In the large total of 603,550 half-shekels (Exod. xxxviii. 26), accumulated by the contribution of each Israelite, each individual half-shekel could hardly have been weighed out, nor is it probable that the scales were continually employed for all the small silver pieces which men carried about with them. For instance, that there were divisions of the standard of calculation is evident from the passage in Exod. xxx. 13, where the half-shekel is to be paid as the atonement money, and 'the rich shall not give more, and the poor shall not give less' (ver. 15). The fourth part of the shekel must also have been an actual piece, for it was all the silver that the servant of Saul had at hand to pay the seer (1 Sam. ix. 8, 9). If a quantity of pieces of various weights were carried about by men in a purse or bag, as was the custom (2 Kings v. 23; xii. 10; Gen. xlii. 35), without having their weight marked in some manner upon them, what endless trouble there must have been in buying or selling, in paying or receiving. From these facts we may safely assume that the Israelites had already, before the exile, known silver pieces of a definite weight, and used them in trade. By this is not meant coins, for they are pieces of metal struck under an authority. A curious passage is that in Ezekiel (xvi. 36), which has been supposed to speak of brass money. The Hebrew text has יָעַן תְּשַׁכֵּן, which has been rendered by the

Vulg. 'quia effusum est æs tuum,' and by the

A. V. 'because thy filthiness was poured out.' As brass was the latest metal introduced for money into Greece, it seems very unlikely that we should have brass money current at this period in Palestine. The terms רָצִי כֶסֶף (Ps. lxxviii. 30) and אֲגוֹרֹת כֶּסֶף (1 Sam. ii. 36), are merely expressive of any small denomination of money [PIECE OF SILVER].

II. COINED MONEY.—I. *Coined Money*.—There are two generally received opinions relating to who were the inventors of coining money. One, that Pheidon, king of Argos, coined both gold and silver money at Ægina at the same time when he introduced a system of weights and measures (Ephor. ap. Strab. viii. p. 376; Pollux, ix. 83; Ælian, *Var. Hist.* xii. 10; *Marm. Par.*) The date of Pheidon, according to the Parian marble, is B.C. 895, but Grote places him between 770 and 730, whilst Clinton, Böckh, and Müller, place him between 783 and 744 (Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, vol. iv., p. 419, note). The other, that the Lydians 'were the first nation to introduce the use of gold and silver coin' (Herod. i. 94). This latter assertion was also made, according to Pollux (ix. 6, 83), by Xenophanes of Colophon, and is repeated by Eustathius (ap. Dionys. Perieg. v. 840). The early coins of Ægina and Lydia have a device on one side only, the reverse being an incuse square (*quadratum incusum*). On the obverse of the Æginetan coins is a tortoise, and on those of the Lydian the head of a lion. The reverse, however, of the Æginetan coins soon shows the incuse square divided into four parts by raised lines, the fourth quarter being again divided by a diagonal bar, thus forming four compartments. Apart, however, from the history relative to these respective coinages, which decidedly is in favour of a Lydian origin (Rawlinson, *Herod.*, vol. i., App., p. 683; Grotefend, *Num. Chron.*, vol. i., p. 235) against the opinion of the late Col. Leake (*Num. Hell.*, App.), the Lydian coins seem to be ruder than those of Ægina, and it is probable that whilst the idea of impress may be assigned to Lydia, the perfecting the silver and adding a reverse type, thereby completing the art of coinage, may be given to Ægina (W. B. Dickinson, *Num. Chron.*, N. S., vol. ii., p. 128). It may be remarked that Herodotus does not speak of the coins of Lydia when a kingdom, which coins have for their type the heads of a lion and bull facing, and which in all probability belong to Croesus, but of the electrum staters of Asia Minor. The earliest coined money current in Palestine is supposed to be the Daric (see later).

2. *The Principal Monetary Systems of Antiquity*.—This subject has already been ably treated by Mr. R. S. Poole (art. NUMISMATICS, *Encyclopædia Britannica*), and in the present article it will be sufficient for our purpose to briefly mention the different talents.

i. *The Attic talent* was that employed in most Greek cities before the time of Alexander who adopted it, and from that time it became almost universal in Greek coinage. Its drachm weighed about 67.5 grains Troy, and its tetradrachm 270 grains. In practice it rarely reached this standard in coins after the Punic war; at Alexander's time its tetradrachm weighed about 264 grains.

ii. *The Æginetan talent*, which was used at as early a period as the Attic, was employed in Greece and in the islands. Its drachm has an average



maximum weight of about 96 grains, and its didrachm about 192 grains. When abolished under Alexander, this weight had fallen to about 180 for the didrachm.

iii. *The Alexandrian, or Ptolemaic talent*, which may also be called the *Earlier Phœnician*, and also *Macedonian*, as it was used in the earlier coinage of the cities of Macedon, and by the Macedonian kings before Alexander the Great, was restored during the sway of the Ptolemies into the talent of Egypt. In the former case its drachm weighs about 112 grains, and its so-called tetradrachm about 224, but they fall gradually to much lower weights. In the latter case the drachm weighs about 50 grains, and the tetradrachm about 220.

iv. *The later Phœnician, or Carthaginian talent*, was in use among the Persians and Phœnicians. It was also employed in Africa by the Carthaginians. Its drachm (or hemidrachm) weighs, according to Mr. Burdon (Thomas, *Sale Cat.*, p. 57), about 59 grains, and its tetradrachm (or didrachm) about 236.

v. *The Euboic talent* in Greek money had a didrachm of 129 grains; but its system of division, though coming very near the Attic, is evidently different. The weight of its didrachm is identical with that of the Daric, showing the Persian origin of the system (R. S. Poole, art. WEIGHTS, Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*).

The order of origin may be thus tabulated:—

Macedonian,	224	didrachm.
Æginetan,	196	„
Attic-Solonian,	135	„ Euboic, 129; Later Phœnician, 236.

3. *Coined Money mentioned in the Bible*.—The earliest mention of coined money in the Bible refers to the Persian coinage. In Ezra (ii. 69) and Nehemiah (vii. 70) the word דַּרְכֻּמִּים occurs, and in Ezra (viii. 27) and 1 Chron. (xxix. 7) the word אֲדָרְכֻּמִּים, both rendered in the LXX. by χρυσοὺς, and in the Vulg. by *solidus* and *drachma*. Many opinions have been put forward concerning the derivation of the words *Adarkon* and *Darkemon* [ADARCONIM; Smith's *Dict. of Bible*, s. v. DARIC]; but a new suggestion has, however, recently been made, which, though ingenious, will not, I think, meet with much support. Dr. Levy (*Jüd. Münzen*, p. 19, note) thinks that the root-word is דָּרַךְ, 'to stretch,' 'tread,' 'step forward,' from the forward placing of one foot, which a man does in bending the bow, and that from this word was formed a noun, דָּרַכֵּן, or with the *Aleph* prefixed אֲדָרְכֵּן, 'archer,' which is the type upon these coins, especially as the ancients called the old Persian coins *roßdrai*. That the more extended form דַּרְכֻּמִּים could have been formed from the simple דָּרַכֵּן is very possible, as the *Mem* could have been easily inserted. All however agree that by these terms the Persian coin *Daric* is meant. This coin was a gold piece current in Palestine under Cyrus and Artaxerxes Longimanus. The ordinary Daric is not of uncommon occurrence; but Levy (*l. c.*) has given a representation of a *double piece*, thereby making the ordinarily received Daric a *half-Daric*. Of the *double piece*, he says, three only are known. In this he is mistaken, as Mr. Borrell the coin-dealer has a record of no less than eight specimens

(F. W. Madden, *Hist. of Jewish Coinage*, etc., p. 272, note 4). The whole piece is not allowed by Mr. Poole in his article 'WEIGHTS' (Smith's *Dict. of Bible*), nor is a specimen of it in the British Museum.

Besides these gold pieces, a silver coin also circulated in the Persian kingdom, named the *siglos*. [See the note s. v. DRACHM, vol. i. p. 699.] Mention is probably made of this coin in the Bible in those passages which treat of the Persian times (Neh. v. 15; cf. x. 32). Of these pieces 20 went to one gold Daric (Mommsen, *Geschichte des Röm. Münzwesens*, pp. 13 and 855), which would give a ratio of gold to silver 1 to 13 (*Herod.*, iii. 95). These coins also have an archer on the obverse. As long, then, as the Jews lived under Persian domination, they made use of Persian coins, and had no struck coins of their own. In these coins also were probably paid the tributes (*Herod.*, iii. 89).

On the overthrow of the Persian monarchy in B.C. 333, by Alexander III. the Great, Palestine came under the dominion of the Greeks. During the lifetime of Alexander the country was governed by a vice-regent, and the high-priest was permitted to remain in power. Jaddua was at this time high-priest and in high favour with Alexander (*Joseph. Antiq.* xi. 8. 5). At this period only Greek coins were struck in many cities of Palestine. The coinage consisted of gold, silver, and copper. The usual gold coins were *staters*, called by Pollux Ἀλεξάνδρειοι. The silver coins mostly in circulation were tetradrachms and drachms. There are two specimens of the tetradrachms struck at Scythopolis (the ancient Bethsean), preserved in the Gotha and Paris collections. There are also tetradrachms with the initials IOH struck at Joppa, which, being a town of considerable importance, no doubt supplied Jerusalem with money. Some of his coins bear the monograms of two cities sometimes at a great distance from each other, showing evidently some commercial intercourse between them. For instance, Sycamina (Hepha), and Scythopolis (Bethsean), Ascalon, and Philadelphia (Rabbath-ammon). (Müller, *Numismatique d'Alexandre le Grand*, 1464. Pl. xx.)

Shortly after the death of Alexander the Great in B.C. 324, Palestine fell into the hands of Ptolemy I. Soter, the son of Lagus, from whom Antigonus wrested it for a short time, until, in B.C. 301, after the battle of Ipsus, it came again into his hands, and afterwards was under the government of the Ptolemies for nearly 100 years.

The same system of coinage was continued under the Seleucidæ and Lagidæ, and we find the same and other mints in Palestine. The history, from the present time to B.C. 139, will be found under ANTIOCHUS, MACCABEES, and other names, and would be out of place in an article which more especially treats only of money.

The next distinct allusion to coined money is in the Apocrypha, where permission to strike money is granted to Simon Maccabæus. This passage has raised many opinions concerning the Jewish coinage, and among the most conspicuous is that of M. de Saulcy, whose classification of Jewish coins has been generally received and adopted. It has been fully treated upon by Mr. J. Evans in the *Numismatic Chronicle* (vol. xx. p. 8, *seq.*), and by Mr. Poole in his article MONEY in Dr. Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*. Though the writer of the present



article does not adopt many of De Saulcy's theories, it will be as well to give shortly De Saulcy's classification, and to state the principal objections.

M. de Saulcy has classified Jewish coins into three epochs:—(1.) Autonomous coins struck during the reign of Alexander the Great; (2.) Coins of the Asamonean princes; (3.) Coins struck during the revolt of the Jews, including those of Simon Barcohab. M. de Saulcy classes to the 1st epoch the shekels and half-shekels of silver, and the half-shekel and quarter-shekels of copper; also the copper coins inscribed *לנאולת ציון*, with a vase similar to the shekels, and on the reverse *שבת ארבע*, 'the fourth year,' and the *lulab* between two *ethrogs* (citrons).

These coins De Saulcy has assigned to the pontificate of Jaddua, and it appears that Jaddua lived barely four years after B.C. 332. His reason for assigning them to Jaddua rests only on a doubtful historical passage in Josephus, where Alexander is said to have had an interview with this high-priest at Jerusalem. But it does not appear that Alexander granted the Jews perfect liberty, though he allowed them to live according to their own laws. It is curious, too, that no coins have been found belonging to a later date than 'the fourth year of the deliverance of Zion,' and not easy of comprehension why the liberty granted by Alexander from B.C. 332 should have lasted only *four years*, and not till the time of his death. Moreover, these shekels, had they been struck in the time of Alexander, would have been of the same weight as the tetradrachms of the Macedonian conqueror, for Alexander suppressed all weights excepting the Attic, and was not likely to have allowed Jaddua to issue a coinage different from the Attic. It appears, however, that they contain a sixth of copper mixed with the silver (Bayer, *De Num. Hebr.*, p. 66), and so do the coins of the last Syrian kings and the Parthian kings contemporary with Simon Maccabæus. Thus far we must object to M. de Saulcy's theories.

The coins of the 2d epoch, or those struck by the Asamonean princes, are mostly of copper, and all, save Antigonus, of small module. Coins are ascribed by De Saulcy to the following princes:—

Judas Maccabæus	- - -	B.C. 164-161.
Jonathan	- - -	B.C. 161-143.
John Hyrcanus	- - -	B.C. 135-106.
Judas Aristobulus and Antigonus	B.C.	106-105.
Alexander Jannæus	- - -	B.C. 105-78.
Alexandra	- - -	B.C. 78-69.
Antigonus	- - -	B.C. 40-37.

It will here be seen that to Simon Maccabæus, to whom nearly all the Jewish coins have hitherto been ascribed, no coins are assigned. The coins given by De Saulcy to Judas bear the title of high-priest, and it is not at all certain that Judas ever had this office. It is true that Josephus calls Judas 'high-priest of the nation,' and says that he was elected by the people after the death of Alcimus (*Antiq.* xii. 10. 6.); but, on the other hand, we find in the Maccabees (1 Maccab. x. 20) that Alcimus did not die till after the death of Judas, and that Alexander conferred the priesthood on Jonathan, the brother of Judas. Indeed, Josephus elsewhere states that 'the first of the sons of Asmonæus, who was high-priest, was Jonathan' (*Vit.*, sec. 1). It may be that Judas held an inferior office under Alcimus, or if elected by the people in opposition to Alcimus,

was never confirmed in his post by the Syrian kings. Many other objections can be raised, but an observation made by Mr. Poole (art. MONEY, Smith's *Dict. of Bible*) sets the matter at rest—'These small copper coins have for the main part of their reverse types a Greek symbol, the united cornu-copie, and they therefore distinctly belong to a period of Greek influence. Is it possible that Judas the Maccabee, the restorer of Jewish worship, and the sworn enemy of all heathen customs, would have struck money with a type derived from the heathen, and used by at least one of the hated family that oppressed Israel—a type connected with idolatry, and to a Jew as forbidden as any other of the representations on the coins of the Gentiles? It seems to us that this is an impossibility, and that the use of such a type points to the time when prosperity had corrupted the ruling family, and Greek usages once more were powerful in their influence. This period may be considered to commence in the reign of John Hyrcanus, whose adoption of foreign customs is evident in the naming of his sons far more than in the policy he followed.' The origin of the type of the cornu-copie will be spoken of under the coins of John Hyrcanus. The 3d epoch of De Saulcy consists of the coins of Simon Barcohab. New attributions have, however, been attempted by Dr. Levy of Breslau, in his *Jüdische Münzen*, which will be given in their proper place.

We prefer, then, adopting the theory of Bayer, Eckhel, Cavedoni, and others, that the Jewish coinage commenced under Simon Maccabæus.

In the hundred and seventieth year (B.C. 142) of the Seleucidæan era, Demetrius II., king of Syria, granted freedom to the Jewish people, 'and the yoke of the heathen was taken away from Israel,' and the people wrote in their contracts 'in the first year of Simon the high-priest, the governor and leader of the Jews'—a form which Josephus gives: 'in the first year of Simon the benefactor and ethnarch of the Jews' (*Antiq.* xiii. 6. 7). In B.C. 139 Antiochus VII. Sidetes, granted even more privileges than Demetrius; for, besides confirming all the gifts and decrees of other kings before him, he gave Simon leave 'to coin money for his country with his own stamp' (*καὶ ἐπέτρεψε αὐτῷ ποιεῖσαι νόμισμα ἴδιον νόμισμα τῇ χώρας σου*. xv. 6); and though there may not seem to be sufficient reason for supposing that Simon made use of the privilege of coining before Antiochus actually conferred it upon him, it is more than probable that he did so. It has not been hitherto observed that Antiochus VII. must have granted the privilege of coining to Simon previous to his brother, Demetrius II., being taken prisoner by Mithridates I., king of Parthia (Arsaces VI., 1 Maccab. xiv. 1), in B.C. 138, and himself obtaining the throne in B.C. 137. The grant took place in the fourth year of Simon's pontificate (B.C. 139), and his coins date from the November of that year to his death in February B.C. 135. These dates will give *three* years and a commencement of a *fourth* for the *four* years of Simon of which we possess coins. It is, however, to be remarked, that in the same year that the permission of coinage was granted to Simon, Antiochus 'brake all the covenants which he had made with him afore' (1 Maccab. xv. 27), and this may prove that Simon struck coins previous to the actual permission being conferred, and during the most prosperous period of his reign. [For this question, see F. W. Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, p. 40, note.]

We now pass to the description of the coins:—

SILVER.

1. שקל ישראל, 'shekel of Israel.' A cup or chalice; above which  $\aleph$ , i.e. (year) 1.

Rev. שקל ישראל, 'Jerusalem the Holy,' A triple lily or hyacinth.

AR 6. Rev. שקל ישראל, 'Same type and date.

AR 4. Rev. שקל ישראל, 'Same type.

AR 4. Rev. שקל ישראל, 'Same type, above which  $\aleph$  (year 2).

AR 6. Rev. שקל ישראל, 'Same type and date.

AR 6. Rev. שקל ישראל, 'Same type and date.

AR 4. Rev. שקל ישראל, 'Same type.

AR 4. Rev. שקל ישראל, 'shekel of Israel,' Same type; above which  $\aleph$  (year 3).

AR 6. Rev. שקל ישראל, 'Same type.

AR 6. De Saulcy remarks of the half-shekel of the year 3, 'Le demi-sicle de Pan III, s'il existe, n'a pas encore été retrouvé,' but two specimens of this coin are in the collection of the Rev. H. C. Reichardt of Cairo (*Num. Chron.*, N.S., vol. ii., p. 268).

AR 4. Rev. שקל ישראל, 'Same type and date.

AR 4. Rev. שקל ישראל, 'Same type.

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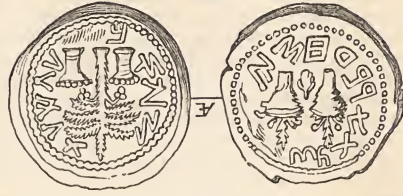
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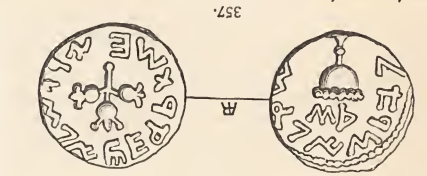


copper, are well known — The half, quarter, and sixth of the shekel, in of the fourth year.

An entire copper shekel of the fourth year has been published by the Rev. H. C. Reichardt (*Zeitschrift der Deutsch. Morg. Gesellschaft*, 1857, p. 155), and it has been suggested that it was struck in a time of extreme distress, though history makes no mention of this fact, unless the operations against Antiochus VII. Sides, caused a scarcity of money (Levy, *Jüd. Museum*, p. 45). This piece has the same types and legends as the silver shekel of the fourth year.

COPPER.

AR 6. Rev. שקל ישראל, 'shekel of Israel,' Same type; above which  $\aleph$  (year 4).



AR 4. Rev. שקל ישראל, 'Same type.

AR 4. Rev. שקל ישראל, 'Same type.

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AR 4. Rev. שקל ישראל, 'Same type.

The character upon these shekels, and all other [Weights.]

These results have been obtained by Mr. Poole and the whole question of the Jewish coin weights is fully gone into in his article 'Weights,' in Dr. Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*. Further investigations must be reserved for another article.

Average Supposed Weight.	Average Supposed Weight.
Half - 23.4 grs.	Half - 22.0 grs.
Quarter 13.0 grs.	Quarter 11.0 grs.
(Sixth) 8.8 grs.	(Sixth) 7.3 grs.
(Third) 83.3 grs.	(Third) 73.3 grs.

Copper Coins.

Silver Coins.

The two heaviest denominations of the copper quarter of a Macabean shekel [DRACHM]. The smaller coin, which has no denomination, gives an average weight of 81.3 grs. This appears to be the third of the half. The following table shows that the copper 'half' and 'quarter' are half and quarter shekels.

The weight of the so-called tetradrachm of the Ptolemaic talent exactly corresponds to the weight of the extant shekel, viz., 220 grains [Weights and Measures]. It has been inferred by Col. Leake that 'as the word *δραχμή* is employed by the LXX. synonymously with *σίκλος* for the Hebrew word shekel, that the shekel and didrachmon were of the same weight,' and 'from the fact of the half-shekel of the Pentateuch being translated by the LXX. *τὸ ἡμισυ τοῦ δραχμῶνος*, therefore the Attic and not the Greco-Egyptian didrachm was intended by them' (*Num. Hist.*, App.; *Num. Chron.*, vol. xvii., p. 206). [For full statement of Col. Leake's theory, see DIDRACHM]. The didrachm was, however, the common term employed by the Jews for the coin which was equal in weight to the shekel—the Ptolemaic didrachm. The stater of silver was a tetradrachm, and the duty to the temple being a didrachm, a *stater* was found to remark of our Lord and Simon [DIDRACHM]. The four Attic drachms (*Minig*, iii. 8. 2) is easily understood, as Josephus is speaking of four Attic drachms of his own time, and the drachm and denarius were identical, the latter being also equal to the quarter of a Macabean shekel [DRACHM].

AR 5. Rev. שקל ישראל, 'The redemption of Zion,' A cup or chalice.

AR 5. Rev. שקל ישראל, 'The redemption of Zion,' A cup or chalice.

AR 5. Rev. שקל ישראל, 'The redemption of Zion,' A cup or chalice.

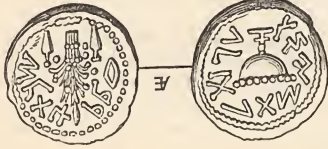
AR 5. Rev. שקל ישראל, 'The redemption of Zion,' A cup or chalice.

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Hebrew coins, stands quite by itself, yet its great similarity to its parent, the Phœnician, affords convincing proof of its origin. It existed during a period of 300 years, commencing in B.C. 139, and from that date to B.C. 40 being in constant use. It was again adopted during the revolts, and ceases only with the death of Bar-cochab in A.D. 138. Gesenius (*Geschichte der Heb. Sprache und Schrift*, p. 156, *seq.*) accounts for its late use by instancing the case of the Cufic characters on Mohammedan coins met with long after the *Nishki* was employed for writing. It also bears great resemblance to the Samaritan (see Alphabet of the Stones from Nablous, in Levy, *Jüd. Münzen*, p. 137, and F. W. Madden, *Hist. of Jewish Coinage*, plate), and it is not therefore surprising that the coin character has been called *Samaritan*, though it is beyond all doubt that the Samaritans first acquired it from the Jews, but modified it after their separation (Levy, *Jüd. Münzen*, p. 141). The use of this character, as already shown by Mr. Poole (art. MONEY, Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*), does not offer any evidence as to age, and there is no palæographic reason why these shekels and half-shekels should not be as early as the Persian period. By the discovery of De Vogüé of the coins of Eleazar the priest (see below), a new letter, *Zain*—which bears great resemblance to the Samaritan form of the same letter found in MSS.—has been added to the coin-alphabet. There are now only wanting *Teth*, *Phe*, and *Samech*.

The inscriptions upon these coins do not offer any particular peculiarities. The title of 'holy' appears to have been attached to Jerusalem at a very early time (Is. xlviii. 2; lii. 1; Dan. ix. 24; Neh. xi. 1, 18; Joel iii. 17); and the decree of Demetrius expressly states that it should be 'holy and free' (ἱερὰν καὶ ἀσυλὸν καὶ ἐλευθέραν, Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 2. 3; cf. 1 Maccab. x. 31; xv. 7). In St. Matt. it is also called the 'holy city' (Matt. iv. 5; xxvii. 53; cf. Rev. xi. 2). It is probable that the inscriptions on the shekels of Simon were employed in the same sense as those we find on the coins of the coast-cities of the Mediterranean, which had been exempted from taxes, and which adopted the titles of holy (ἱερὰ), and inviolable (ἄσυλος). The mode of writing ירושלים, instead of ירושלם on the shekels from the year two, has been supposed by Cavedoni (*Bibl. Num.*, vol. i., p. 23) to allude to the taking of the fortress of Sion from the Syrians, and that this fortress constituted a second town, and therefore necessitated the employment of a *dual* name. This theory has already been rejected by De Saulcy (*Num. Jud.*, p. 18, note).

The types of the silver shekels and half shekels have been supposed to refer to the pot of manna and Aaron's rod that budded (Exod. xvi. 33; Num. xvii. 8), though Cavedoni (*Bibl. Num.*, vol. i., p. 29) prefers considering the former as a cup or chalice belonging to the furniture of the temple, and the latter as a hyacinth or lily, according to the words of Scripture, 'I will be as dew upon Israel, and he shall bloom like a lily' (Hos. xiv. 6; cf. Is. xxvii. 6; xxxv. 1). The cup or chalice also occurs upon the sixth of the copper shekel of the fourth year. The types of the copper coins doubtless indicate the prosperity of the land (cf. 1 Maccab. xiv. 8, *seq.*)

JOHN HYRCANUS, B.C. 135–B.C. 106.—Of the

thirty years' reign of John Hyrcanus there are a considerable number of coins, but all, like those of his successors, are struck in copper. The types are quite different from the silver and copper of his predecessor Simon, and consist of a double cornucopiæ, between which is a poppy-head. The obverse bears within an olive wreath the inscription—

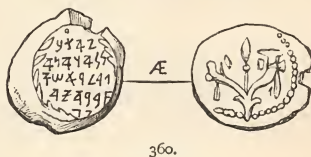
יהוחנן הכהן הגדל וחבר היהודים  
(יהונן יהוכנן or יהונן)

(John the high-priest and the confederation of the Jews).

This legend clearly shows the political relation of the Jews at Rome. John Hyrcanus only calls himself 'high-priest' *not* 'prince of the Jews'; for he did not strike the current money in absolute authority, but in unity with the 'confederation of the Jews.' Mr. Poole, following De Saulcy, has translated the word חבר as 'friend'; and Reichardt (*Num. Chron.*, N.S., vol. ii., p. 269), on the authority of the Rabbi Levita (*Thishbi*, s.v. חבר), has suggested 'doctor'; but Cavedoni (*Bibl. Num.*, vol. ii., p. 14) and Levy (*Jüd. Münzen*, p. 50, note 3), in some lengthy arguments, have clearly established that 'nation' or 'confederation' is the correct term.

Certain specimens of the coins of John Hyrcanus have a Greek A above the old Hebraic inscription. This could only relate, as De Saulcy (*Num. Jud.*, p. 99) thinks, to the alliance between John Hyrcanus and Antiochus VII. Sidetes in B.C. 134, or Alexander Zebina in B.C. 126. The A denotes the name of one of these princes. Cavedoni (*Bibl. Num.*, vol. ii., p. 17), however, connects it with a *corona aurea*, which may have been sent by Antiochus or some other Syrian ruler to John Hyrcanus. This seems very improbable. The A may perhaps denote the 'year 1.'

There is one coin of John Hyrcanus which has upon it, in addition to the usual legend, a word left unexplained by De Saulcy (*Num. Jud.*, pl. iii. 3). Ewald has seen only two letters, and suggests that the word should be רש, 'highest general'; and quotes a corresponding term in the Maccabees (1 Maccab. xiii. 42). There is, however, no doubt that the letters are ראש, 'head or prince,' as Levy



360.

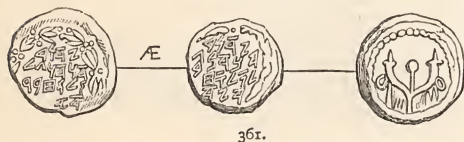
(*Jüd. Münzen*, p. 52, note) has already suggested, a fact further corroborated by a similar coin in the collection of Mr. Reichardt (*Num. Chron.*, N.S., vol. ii., p. 269).

The type of the two cornua-copiæ, which, as we have already said (see above), go far to prove that these small copper coins were not struck previous to the reign of Hyrcanus, first occurs on the Egyptian coins, and was probably adopted on the coins of the Seleucidæ on the occasion of a marriage with an Egyptian princess (R. S. Poole, art. MONEY, Dr. Smith's *Dict. of Bible*). The type on these Jewish coins seems to be an imitation of some of the coins of the kings of Syria. The two cornua-copiæ are first met with on coins of Alexander, which Mionnet (vol. v., p. 83, Nos. 730, 731) ascribes to Alex-

ander II. Zebina (B.C. 128-122), but which Cavedoni (*Bibl. Num.*, vol. ii., p. 16, note 9) thinks should rather belong to Alexander I. Balas; and they occur on a unique tetradrachm of Cleopatra, which Mr. Poole has suggested (*l. c.*) may have been adopted on her marriage with Alexander Balas, B.C. 150. This latter date is *after* the death of Judas, and in the middle of that of Jonathan, whilst Alexander II. Zebina is contemporary with Hyrcanus, who made this type a sign of his alliance with Zebina, and hence the Greek letter A may denote the name of Alexander Zebina (see above). It would indeed be singular to have the type of the two cornua-copiae on coins of the Maccabæan princes before it was adopted on those of the kings of Syria. The type is continued on the coins of the Herods and on the coins of Tiberius, struck by the procurators in A.D. 33. Almost the latest example of the double cornu-copiae on Jewish coins is on a coin of Agrippa II., struck under Domitian in A.D. 87, but Mionnet (vol. v., p. 484) gives it as occurring on a coin of Trajan struck at Tiberias. The single cornu-copiae occurs upon a coin of Agrippa II., under Domitian, with the date A.D. 94 (F. W. Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, p. 60, note 8, and p. 132).

We have assigned above a reign of 30 years to John Hyrcanus without a comment. It is, however, advisable to remark, that Josephus gives him respectively 30 (*Antiq.* xx. 10), 31 (*Antiq.* xiii. 10, 7), and 33 years of reign (*Bell. Jud.* i. 2. 8); whilst Eusebius (*Chron.*) only assigns to him a reign of 26 years. From the result of an examination of these conflicting statements we consider that 30 years is the correct time of his reign (*History of Jewish Coinage*, p. 53, note). Cavedoni (*Nuovi Studi sopra le Ant. Mon. Giud.*, p. 13) has already published a coin of John Hyrcanus with a Hebrew inscription within a wreath, and on the reverse two cornua-copiae and poppy-head; over the cornua-copiae the Greek letters L. A. (year 30).

JUDAS ARISTOBULUS, B.C. 106-105.—The coins now attributed by Cavedoni (*Bibl. Num.*, vol. ii., p. 18) and Levy (*Jüd. Münzen*, p. 54) to Judas Aristobulus (both of which names are expressly given to this son of Hyrcanus by Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 10. 1), were formerly given by De Saulcy



361.

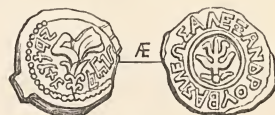
(*Num. Jud.*, p. 84) to Judas Maccabæus. Their inscription is to be read

יהודה כהן גלולא (יהודה) וחבר היהודים

'Judas, high-priest, and the confederation of the Jews.' The few coins of his reign inform us that he did not succeed in adding to himself the 'title of king,' and in governing quite independent, though Josephus (*Antiq.* xiii. 11. 1; xx. 10. 1; *Bell. Jud.* i. 3. 1) and Eusebius (*Chron.*) both state that he assumed the title of king, a title given to John Hyrcanus in the Arabic version of the Maccabees (chap. xxii. ed. Cotton) and to Alexander Jannæus by Strabo (lib. xvi. 2. 40). The types of his coins are the same as those of his predecessor. The word גלולא

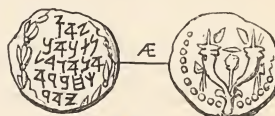
on these coins is extremely doubtful, and it is more probable that גרול is the correct form. Out of five coins examined by De Saulcy, one read גלול, three גרול, and one גרל (*Rev. Num.* 1857, p. 290). Mr. Reichardt also states that on two coins of his cabinet the adjective גרול is quite clear (*Num. Chron.*, N. S., vol. ii., p. 270). Coins of Judas, from the shortness of his reign, are very rare.

ALEXANDER JANNÆUS, B.C. 105-B.C. 78.—Of the reign of Alexander Jannæus there are a considerable number of coins. Cavedoni (*Bibl. Num.*, vol. ii., p. 12) and Levy (*Jüd. Münzen*, p. 57) attribute to him all the coins which De Saulcy (*Num. Jud.*, p. 85) has given to Jonathan Maccabæus. This attribution is further strengthened by the discovery of some double-struck coins by Mr. Poole in the British Museum, which show distinctly ANAP.T [AAEΞANAPOT] and EQΣ [BAΣIAEQΣ] under the Hebrew legend, the original type being of the class already assigned to Alexander Jannæus by De Saulcy. His coinage may be divided into two classes—those struck previous to his quarrel\* with the Pharisees, and those struck after his reconciliation. The former are bilingual, having on the obverse יהונתן הכהן



362.

'Jehonathan the king,' and on the reverse AAEE-ANAPOT BAΣIAEQΣ. A coin in the cabinet at Marseilles has *only* the Greek legend. The latter class, which has the same types as the coins of his predecessors, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, have the legend—



363.

יהונתן הכהן הגרל וחבר היהודים (ינתן),

'Jehonathan (or Jonathan) the high-priest, and the confederation of the Jews.' On one of his coins (De Saulcy, *Num. Jud.*, pl. ii. 10; F. W. Madden, *Hist. of Jewish Coinage*, p. 70) Alexander Jannæus couples his name with the Jews in general, and leaves out the word חבר, 'confederation,' showing that he wished to make the irritated people attached to him. The types of the coins of the first class, which are a half-opened flower,

\* There is a very remarkable coin in the British Museum, with a portrait on the obverse, and on the reverse a star. It perhaps belongs to Alexander Jannæus, and may have been struck during his quarrel, though there is still the possibility that it belongs to Alexander II., and was his first attempt at coinage after his escape from Rome (F. W. Madden, *Hist. of Jewish Coinage*, p. 68, note 5).



a star, anchor, etc., are doubtless copied from some coins of Antiochus VII. Sidetes (De Saulcy, *Num. Jud.*, pl. iii. 13, 14), and Antiochus VIII. Epiphanes (*Trésor de Num.*, pl. lii. 10).

ALEXANDRA, B.C. 78-69.—There is only one coin known of the nine years' reign of Alexandra, which was first published by De Saulcy (*Num. Jud.*, pl. iv. 13).

*Obv.* ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔ. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΑΣ, round an anchor.

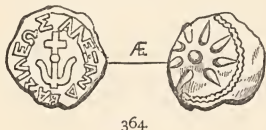
*Rev.* A star with eight rays, in the intermediate spaces of which are the traces of a Hebrew legend, of which only a ת (probably belonging to a word, מלכה, *Queen*) is visible. Æ 3.

The correctness of the attribution of the coins described above to Alexander Jannæus, is somewhat supported by the above coin of his widow, Alexandra, bearing as it does an anchor on the obverse and a similar bilingual legend.

HYRCANUS II., B.C. 69-65.—*No coins.*

ARISTOBULUS II., B.C. 65-49.—*No coins.*

ALEXANDER II., B.C. 65-49.—It has been generally supposed that there were no coins of Alexander II., the son of Aristobulus II. The internal struggles of the brothers Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, who, not choosing to abide by the decision of Pompey in favour of Hyrcanus, was sent captive to Rome with his two sons, Alexander and Antigonus, thus causing Judæa, which had risen to power through the unity of the Asmonæans, to become through their dissensions a tributary province of Rome, fully explains the reason why we possess so few coins of this period. Cavedoni (*Bibl. Num.*, vol. ii. p. 22, note) suggests that the small brass coins, published by De Saulcy (pl. iv. 9-12), and ascribed by him to Alexander Jannæus, belong to Alexander II. They may be described as follows:—



*Obv.* ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔ. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ, round an anchor.

*Rev.* A beaded circle round a star (or an anchor within a wreath). Æ 3.

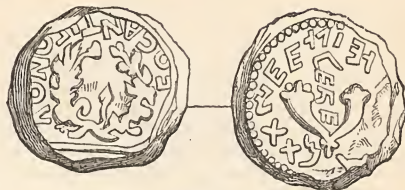
There are generally traces of letters on the reverse, which have not been deciphered, owing to the bad condition of the coins. There is, however, in the collection of the Rev. H. C. Reichardt, a coin with ΕΑ on the obverse, and on the reverse the Hebrew inscription יונתן כ, 'Jonathan the Priest.' This coin Reichardt thinks may belong to Hyrcanus II., from its style, fabric, and types, which are similar to the coins of Alexander II. But, in all probability, it belongs to Alexander II., whose Jewish name, like that of his grandfather Alexander Jannæus, might also have been 'Jonathan' or 'Jonathan.' There are also, in the collection of the Rev. H. C. Reichardt, two interesting coins with a partially legible Hebrew inscription, written round the circle on the reverse.

The only remaining word is עלזדרעש, *Alexadras*,

or עלכזדרעש, *Alexadras*, proving that Alexander II. deviated from the custom of his predecessors by placing also his Greek name in Hebrew character.

HYRCANUS II., restored B.C. 47-40.—*No coins.*

ANTIGONUS, B.C. 40-37.



*Obv.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ, round a wreath.

*Rev.* מרתיה הכהן הנל וחבר היהודים, 'Mattathias the high-priest, and the confederation of the Jews.' Two cornucopiae. Æ 5.

This legend is made up from the specimens engraved in De Saulcy (pl. v. 1-8), by M. de Vogüé (*Rev. Num.*, 1860, p. 284, note). Both De Saulcy and Levy are inclined to regard Mattathias as the Hebrew name of Antigonus, rather than as a name of the ancestor of the Asmonæan family; and it seems more probable that the Jews should have known their chiefs by Jewish names. This supports the supposition that Jonathan was the Hebrew name of Alexander. On a coin in the collection of the Rev. H. C. Reichardt, the obverse

legend reads very legibly מרתיה כהן נל חבר יה, whilst between the cornucopiae, instead of the letters הנה, there are ש, i.e., 'year 1.' Another specimen has also very plainly ש, i.e., 'year 2.' The coins of Antigonus, both in size and style, differ from those of his predecessors; and Cavedoni (*Bibl. Num.*, vol. ii. p. 25) sees a resemblance to those of the Parthian and Bactrian kings; which is likely, as Antigonus obtained his throne by the aid of the Parthians (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 13). Some specimens of the coins of Antigonus have only a single cornucopiae, perhaps to denote the half of its value. This seems to be confirmed by the weight. The coins with the double cornucopiae weigh, according to De Saulcy (*Num. Jud.*, p. 111), 14.2 grammes (209 grains) and under; those with the single cornucopiae, 7.7 grammes (118 grains) to 7 grammes (108 grains). Levy (*Jüd. Münzen*, p. 66, note 4) thinks that the coin weighing 10.7 grammes (165 grains) may be a three-quarter piece.

A curious coin in the collection of the Rev. Churchill Babington has a Greek legend on the same side as the cornucopiae. It is the smallest coin of Antigonus yet discovered (*Num. Chron.*, N. S., vol. ii. p. 64).

HEROD I., surnamed the Great.—The large extent of Herod's dominions, and the immense wealth he is said to have left to his relatives and to strangers, would lead us to infer that he must have had a very rich coinage. Josephus distinctly states that he left to his sister Salome five hundred thousand, to Cæsar ten millions, and to others five millions of coined silver (ἀργυριον ἐμισθίου, *Antiq.* xvii. 8. 1); whilst Zonaras (*Annal.* v. 16) says that Herod coined silver and gold from the vessels he took to assist the people who were suffering by famine in Syria and Judæa, a story also related by Josephus, with the exception that the words ἐλ νόμισμα are omitted (*Antiq.* xv. 9. 2). But the

coining of *gold* was interdicted in all countries subject to the Romans, and that of *silver* was only granted to some of the most important cities, as Alexandria, Antioch of Syria, etc. (Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. i. p. lxxi.) We thus find in Judæa only a *copper* coinage from the time of the taking of Jerusalem by Pompey, excepting in the time of the revolt under Eleazar, Simon, son of Gioras, etc., and the second revolt under Bar-cochab. It is probable that the sums mentioned by Josephus are much exaggerated, and the silver must have been *denarii*. The coinage of Herod is strictly Greek, and the earlier coinage of his reign seems to have been struck of three denominations, the *Τριχαλκον*, the *Διχαλκον*, and the *Χαλκοὺς*. Of the *Διχαλκον* there are at present no specimens existing in any cabinet. When the large coins ceased, the coins weighing 48 to 43 grains are the *semitis*, and those weighing 27 to 24, the *quadrans*. The specimen we here describe, which bears great resemblance in its types to the coins of Alexander Jannæus, evidently represents the *quadrans*, or *κοδράντης* of the N. T.

*Obv.* ΒΑΣΙΛ. ΗΡΩΔΑ, written round an anchor.

*Rev.* United cornu-copix, between which a caduceus. Æ 3.

None of his coins have the title ΜΕΓΑΣ, as Ewald has supposed [HERODIAN FAMILY].

HEROD ARCHELAUS.—Coins of Archelaus have the title *Ethnarch*.

The specimen here described, weighing 18 grains, doubtless represents the *λεπτόν* of the N. T. [See MITE; where a specimen is engraved.]

*Obv.* ΗΡΩ. Anchor.

*Rev.* ΕΘ (ΕΘΝΑΡΧΟΥ) in an oak wreath adorned with a gem. Æ 3.

HEROD ANTIPAS.—The coins of Herod Antipas bear the title *Tetrarch*; they are also of copper, and many of them are struck at Tiberias, a city built by Antipas in honour of the Roman emperor Tiberius (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 3). There are also coins struck by him under Caius. The following is a description of one of them:—

ΗΡΩΔΗΣ (*sic*) ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΗΣ (*sic*). Palm-branch. In *field* Λ. ΜΓ (year 43).

*Rev.* ΓΑΙΩ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ ΓΕΡΜΑΝ [ικω], written in four lines within a wreath. Æ 5.

The date upon this coin (year 43 of Antipas) corresponds to A.D. 39, the year he was banished by Caius to Lugdunum (F. W. Madden, *Hist. of Jewish Coinage*, p. 99).

HEROD PHILIP I.—Of this prince there are no coins, though those which really belong to Philip II. the Tetrarch have been assigned to him (Akerman, *Num. Ill. of N. T.*, p. 18; *Trésor de Num.*, *Num. des Rois Grecs*, p. 126). It must be remembered that he was omitted in the will of Herod I. in consequence of the discovery that his mother Mariamne was conscious of the plots of Antipater (F. W. Madden, *Hist. of Jewish Coinage*, p. 100). [HERODIAN FAMILY.]

HEROD PHILIP II.—The coins of Herod Philip II., who is only mentioned once in the N. T. (Luke iii. 1), also bear the title *tetrarch*, and have on the obverse the effigy and inscription of a Roman emperor, and on the reverse a temple, between the columns of which are dates. The head upon the obverse of these coins has usually been considered to be that of Augustus; but unfortunately the dates upon the coins preserved to us show that if the head is that of Augustus, the coins must have been

struck after this latter's death. Mionnet, however, has given one coin with the date L. ΙΣ, year 16=A.D. 12, which (if it exists) must of course have the head of Augustus. There is, however, a coin in the collection of Mr. Wigan which proves that all coins of Philip II., with dates below L. ΙΗ (year 18=A.D. 14), bear the head of Tiberius. Its description is as follows:—

*Obv.* ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ. Head of Tiberius to right, bare; before it a branch.

*Rev.* ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟΥ ΤΕΤ . . . Tetrastyle temple, between the columns L. ΑΖ (year 37=A.D. 33). Æ 4.

The effigy of the Roman emperor on these coins was a grave infraction of the Mosaic law. Perhaps this infraction took place at some distance from the centre of religion in a town chiefly inhabited by Greeks (*Trésor de Num.*, p. 126). The temple on the reverse is that built by Herod I. near Panium, and dedicated to Cæsar (Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 10. 3; *Bell. Jud.* i. 21. 13).

HEROD AGRIPPA I., A.D. 37-44.—There is only one type of the coins of Agrippa that can be considered strictly Jewish. It is found very frequently at Jerusalem, and was from that circumstance most probably struck there.

*Obv.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ. An umbrella.

*Rev.* Three ears of corn springing from one stalk; in *field* Λ. ς (year 6). Æ 4.

This type exists with dates as low as L. Θ. (year 9) (*Num. Chron.*, N. S., vol. ii. p. 272), which corresponds to A.D. 44, the year of his death. There is a coin of Agrippa I., probably struck at Cæsarea Palestine, and bearing the title ΜΕΓΑΣ. Other coins exist, struck under Caligula and Claudius.

HEROD, KING OF CHALCIS, A.D. 41-48.—The coins now assigned by Cavedoni (*Bibl. Num.*, vol. ii. p. 35) to Herod, king of Chalcis, were attributed by De Saulcy (*Num. Jud.*, p. 131, pl. vi., Nos. 10, 11, 12) to Herod I. From the fact of these coins bearing the image of a living creature—an eagle—which was contrary to the law, there is much in favour of Cavedoni's suggestion. Besides a flying eagle is also the emblem on a coin of Ptolemæus, tetrarch of Chalcidene (Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, iii., p. 264).

AGRIPPA II., A.D. 48-100.—There is an interesting coin in the cabinet of Mr. Reichardt (*Num. Chron.*, N. S., vol. ii. p. 274) bearing the head of Agrippa II., an unusual circumstance for Jewish coins (see, however, under Alexander Jannæus). The coins of Agrippa II., struck under Nero, commemorate the name of Cæsarea Philippi, which Agrippa, in A.D. 55, had changed to that of *Neronias*. There are coins of Agrippa II. struck under Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, and upon three different eras—‘that of the Chalcian era,’ that ‘of the tetrarchy of Philip being given to him,’ and that ‘of Tiberias.’ The last date of which we at present know is ET. EA. (year 35=A.D. 95). Agrippa died in A.D. 100 (see F. W. Madden, *Hist. of Jewish Coinage*, pp. 115-132).

The coins issued by the procurators from the time of Augustus to Nero do not offer sufficient peculiarities to be noticed here. There is, however, one which De Saulcy (*Num. Jud.*, p. 102) has read ΙΟΤΑΔΑ? ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ? and which has been attributed by him to Judas Aristobulus, and which Poole (art. MONEY, Dr. Smith's *Diet. of Bible*) has suggested as a ‘probable attribution,’ should be assigned to



Judas Aristobulus, and the A for Antigonus. Cavedoni (*Bibl. Num.*, vol. ii. pp. 48, 50) has, however, classed this coin to Julia Augusta—1st, because had it belonged to Judas Aristobulus the C would have been of regular shape (Σ); and 2dly, the inscription would have been in Hebrew, or at least bilingual, and not Greek alone. De Saulcy (*Rev. Num.*, 1857, p. 297) has objected to this attribution, but Levy (*Jüd. Münzen*, p. 76, note 2) considers that it rests on good grounds. The coin may be described as follows:—

*Obv.* ΙΟΤΑΙΑ ΣΕΒ. within a wreath.

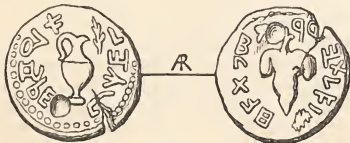
*Rev.* Two cornua-copize between which a poppy-head. Æ 3.

The types of the wreath and cornua-copize occur upon other coins of Tiberius (F. W. Madden, *Hist. of Jewish Coinage*, p. 142, 143).

The Jewish coinage has hitherto been thought to have closed with the revolt of Bar-cohab under Hadrian, and only two coins have been assigned by De Saulcy (*Num. Jüd.*, pl. x., 1, 2) to the revolt of the Jews, which ended in the capture and destruction of Jerusalem. Dr. Levy of Breslau has, however, carefully studied this latter part of the Jewish coinage, and has certainly arrived at many new and satisfactory results. The principal leaders of the first revolt are of as much importance as Bar-cohab in the second, who, according to Dr. Levy, was only an imitator of his predecessor Simon, son of Gioras.

It will not, however, be surprising if objections are raised to some of Dr. Levy's attributions, and whilst one states that the coinage of the first revolt has been too much enriched, to the loss of that of the second (Cavedoni, *Nuovi Studi*, etc., p. 28), another objects because Eleazar and Simon did not act in concert (Rose, *Smith's Dict. of Bible*, s. v. *Shekel*). The absence, too, of any coins of John of Gischala, who was also a powerful leader, is very curious. The coinage of Eleazar is, however, certain; and therefore there can be no reason why some of the other leaders should not have struck coins, and the attribution to Simon, son of Gioras, with analogous types to those of Eleazar, seems now almost proved. The attribution to Simon, son of Gamaliel, and Ananus, is not, however, so certain. Space will not permit us here to enter into any lengthy account either of the leaders or their coins, but we give as briefly as possible the results of Dr. Levy's researches, with reference for the coins to the woodcuts in our *History of Jewish Coinage*, where the whole question is thoroughly investigated.

**ELEAZAR.**—Eleazar, the son of Simon, was one of the principal leaders in the first revolt. He must be distinguished from Eleazar, the son of Ananias, of whom little or nothing is known (Joseph. *Bell. Jüd.* ii. 17. 2; 20. 4). Coins were first published and attributed to Eleazar by M. de Vogüé (*Rev. Num.* 1860, p. 260). They are of silver and copper.

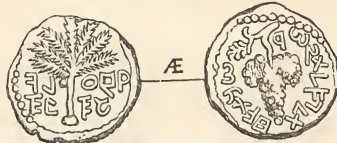


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*Obv.* אֱלֶעָזָר הַכֹּהֵן, 'Eleazar the [high] priest.' Vase, in field to right a palm-branch.

*Rev.* שְׁנַת אֶחָת לְגִאֻלַּת יִשְׂרָאֵל, 'First year of the redemption of Israel.' Cluster of grapes. AR 4.

A silver coin somewhat resembling this one had already been published by De Saulcy (*Num. Jüd.*, pl. xii. 7); but without the specimen of De Vogüé it was impossible to decipher it with accuracy. The obverse has the same legend and type as the one above described, but on the reverse there is the name שִׁמְעוֹן, 'Simon,' within a wreath. It is to be observed that both De Saulcy and De Vogüé consider this coin to be forged, in imitation of a genuine specimen, and De Vogüé considers that the forger has copied the two sides from two different coins, one of Eleazar and one of Simon, but Levy (*Jüd. Münzen*, p. 89, note 2) suggests that a coin may have existed with Eleazar's name on one side and Simon's on the other, and that genuine specimens may have been struck when these two leaders were at peace. There are also copper coins which can be attributed to Eleazar. They had been previously published by Bayer (*De Num. Hebr.*, p. 65, pl. i. 4, 5), and supposed by him to have been stamped with letters composing a secret alphabet. De Saulcy (*Num. Jüd.* pp. 167-168; cf. pl. xiii. 7), who does not read them, does not agree with this suggestion. The discovery of De Vogüé, however, shows that the obverse legend of these coins is



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רֹעֵה לֵא  
וְהַ כֹּהֵן

'Eleazar the [high] priest' written retrograde in two lines on either side of a palm-tree. The reverse legend is the same as that on the silver coins. The *Vau* in the word הַכֹּהֵן on the silver coins is remarkable, and does not occur on the copper. The importance of these coins in adding the letter *Zain* to the coin-alphabet has been already alluded to. The statements respecting them by the Rev. H. J. Rose (art. *SHEKEL*, Dr. Smith's *Dict. of Bible*, vol. iii., p. 1247) are altogether incorrect.

Levy (*Jüd. Münzen*, p. 91) also attributes to Eleazar the shekels of the first (and second year?),

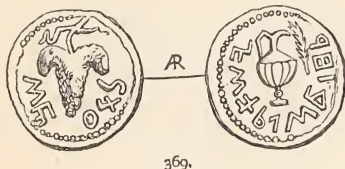


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which were given by De Saulcy (*Num. Jüd.*, pp. 188-189, pl. xi. 1, 3) to Bar-cohab. He also suggests that they may have been issued by order of the Sanhedrim (cf. Joseph. *Bell. Jüd.* ii. 20. 5) [see below]. They have upon the obverse the word יְרוּשָׁלַם, 'Jerusalem,' and the type a tetrastyle

temple. On the reverse **שנת אחת לנאלת ישראל**, the *ethrog* and *lulab*. The similar coin of the second year is held to be doubtful (De Saulcy, *Num. Jud.*, p. 159). The similarity of the reverse legends of these coins to those of Eleazar is rather in favour of their being of the time of the first revolt, for the word **לנאלת** does not occur upon any coin attributed to Simon, son of Gioras, nor upon any of the re-struck coins, which certainly belong to Bar-cohab. Moreover, the similar shekels, which, instead of **שמועון** on the obverse, have the name **ירושלם** (*Hist. of Jew. Coin.*, p. 170, 171), and a star over the temple, have the word **לחרות**. Many of these latter are certainly re-struck, and we consider them to be of Bar-cohab, especially on account of the star (see below). The word **לנאלת** also occurs on the coins bearing the title **נשיא** (*Nasi*). De Vogüé's suggestion (*Rev. Num.* 1860, p. 289), that the first-named shekels must be restored to Simon Macca-bæus, is altogether untenable.

**SIMON, son of Gioras.**—To Simon, son of Gioras, another powerful leader of the first revolt, coins have been assigned with types similar to those of Eleazar. Space does not permit us to enter fully into their description, and the coins which are assigned to this Simon by Levy are engraved in the *Hist. of Jew. Coin.*, p. 167-173. We select one as a specimen.



Obv. **שמועון**, Simon. Cluster of grapes.

Rev. (sic) **שנת אחת לנאלת ישראל**, 'second year of the deliverance of Israel.' AR 4.

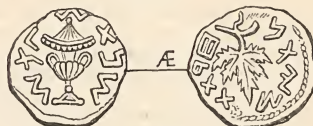
As Simon did not enter Jerusalem until the third year (Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* iv. 9. 2), some objection may be raised to classing coins to him dated 'the second year.' But he may have struck coins in Acrabatine or Hebron, or some part of Idumæa, where he had established a firm footing (Levy, *Jüd. Münzen*, p. 119); moreover, it is curious that no coins of Simon have been discovered with dates higher than 'the year two,' which fully agrees with the time of his government in Jerusalem, which did not extend more than two years, A.D. 69 and 70. The coins, then, which bear the legend

**לחרות ירושלם**, 'the deliverance of Jerusalem,' and are *without a date*, belong to the first year of his entry into Jerusalem, whilst those of his second year have the legend **לחרת ישראל** (Levy, *l.c.*)

The attribution of the shekels with the star over the temple to Simon, son of Gioras, as I have already observed, is not free from objections. (See below, under Bar-cohab).

**SIMON, son of Gamaliel.**—To Simon, son of the famous Gamaliel, the 'Beauty of the Law,' Levy has assigned all the coins with the legend **שמועון** **נשיא ישראל**, 'Simon, prince of Israel.' This Simon was, at this time, the head of the Jewish Sanhedrim, and, conformably with his position, bore the title of 'Nasi.' All the coins which have

this title are only of copper; and if we assume as correct the attribution of the shekels with **ירושלם** on the obverse to Eleazar, then 'the senate of Israel may in this respect have imitated the Roman, who reserved to themselves the copper coinage' (Levy, *Jüd. Münzen*, p. 97). To the same supreme authority are ascribed the small copper coins of the years 2 and 3 of the deliverance of Zion, which



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correspond in fabric and weight with those of Nero of the year 5, struck at Jerusalem. The inscription **ציון**, 'Zion,' on these coins is remarkable, as differing from the other coins of Nero's revolt. It occurs on the coins of Simon Macca-bæus, but not in connection with **לחרות**, which is peculiar to the period of the revolts.

**ANANUS, son of Ananus.**—Ananus, son of Ananus, was probably the high-priest who was accused before Agrippa II. of the murder of James the Just (Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 9. 2). He was considered, together with Jesus, son of Gamala, as the most esteemed of the high-priests (*Bell. Jud.* iv. 3. 9). They were both killed early in the revolt. He must not be confounded with Ananias the high-priest before whom St. Paul was tried (Acts xxiii. 3).

The copper coin assigned to Ananus by Levy has, upon the obverse, quite clearly, **שנת אחת לנאלת**, 'First year of the redemption of Israel,'

and on the reverse only single letters; two *Cheths*, a *Nun*, a *Lamed*, and perhaps a *Jod*. Could this coin belong to **הנחן בן חנן** (Hanan, son of Hanan)? This attribution must be received with great reserve; besides in our opinion the coin appears to be a badly preserved example of one of Eleazar.

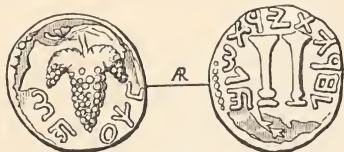
The capture of Jerusalem was marked by both Roman and Greek-imperial coins of Vespasian and Titus, the former bearing the legends **IVDAEA CAPTA**, **IVDAEA DEVICTA**, **IVDAEA NAVALIS**, and the latter **ΙΟΥΔΑΙΑΣ ΕΛΛΟΙΚΤΙΑΣ**.

**SIMON BAR-COCHAB.**—The coinage of Simon Bar-cohab consists chiefly of re-struck *denarii*, which, weighing so nearly a quarter of a shekel, could be used without any difficulty in the coinage. The conjecture that this leader bore the name of 'Simon' rests only on the authority of the coins, for all authorities call him Ben-Kosiba, Bar-Kosiba, Bar-Kochiba, or Bar-cochebas. It seems certain that the names of the leaders in the first revolt must have been well known to the Jews in the second, and especially that of Simon, son of Gioras, and it is not surprising to find the words of the first revolt, and the name of one of the principal leaders, 'Simon,' struck by Bar-cohab on *denarii* of the Cæsars. Taking into consideration the very doubtful fact whether Bar-cohab ever held possession of Jerusalem (alluded to by Euseb., *H. E.*, iv. 6; *Chron.* i.; St. Jerome, *Dan.* ix. 27; *Ezech.* xxiv. 14; Appian, *Syr.*, 50; but not mentioned by Dio Cass., lxix. 14), and that the coins bear types evidently derived from the services of the temple (such as the trumpets, lyres, vases, etc.),



which symbols could hardly have been understood in the 2d century after the destruction of the sanctuary, it seems nearly certain that he was an imitator of the coinage of Simon son of Gioras (cf. Levy, *Jüdd. Münzen*, pp. 122, 123).

The specimen here described is a quarter shekel struck over a *denarius* of Trajan.



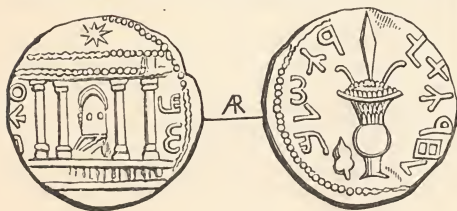
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Obv. שִׁמְעוֹן, 'Simon,' written round a cluster of grapes.

Rev. לְחֻרּוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם, 'The deliverance of Jerusalem.' Two trumpets. AR 4.

On the obverse of this coin can be seen traces of the end of the laurel wreath which surrounded the head of the emperor, and on the reverse is a hand holding a branch. The actual coin on which this was struck was issued in the 5th consulship of Trajan (A.D. 105), and has on the reverse the figure of Arabia holding a branch over a camel (see Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, vol. ii., p. 10, No. 47).

Shekels with the type of the porch of the temple and the *lulab*, and above the temple a star, etc., are



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said to exist re-struck, on tetradrachms of Antioch, of Titus, Domitian, or Trajan (Cavedoni, *Bibl. Num.*, vol. ii., p. 74). The original shekels are, as above stated, attributed by Levy to Simon, son of Gioras, but this star (cf. Num. xxiv. 17-24; and *ὡς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ φωστήρ αὐτοῖς κατελήλυθὼς*, Euseb. *Hist.* vi. 6) to our mind certainly alludes to Bar-cochab (בַּר כּוֹכָב); and are there any of these shekels existing which are *not restruck*? After the defeat of Bar-cochab, Hadrian established a new kingdom with Jerusalem for a capital, calling it *Ælia Capitolina*. A series of imperial colonial coins were there struck from the time of Hadrian (A.D. 136) to that of Herennius Etruscus and Hostilianus (A.D. 251).

The revolt of the Jews under Bar-cochab has usually been considered to be the last, but mention is made of another during the reign of Severus, after which '*Senatus Judaicum triumphum decreverat* (Spartian, in *Sev.* 16).' St. Jerome also mentions it in his Chronicle (an *V. Sev.*), '*Judaicum et samariticum bellum ortum vel resumptum*.' It cannot have been of any importance, and of it there are *no coins*.

III. MONEY IN N. T.—I. *Greek Money*.—The following Greek coins are mentioned in the N. T., *didrachm* (s. v.), *drachm* (s. v.), *lepton* (s. vv. MITE and FARTHING), and *stater* (s. v.) This last was

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the piece of money found by St. Peter in the fish to pay the tribute-money. It has been proved to have been a tetradrachm [DIDRACHM]. The word *κόλλυβιστής*, in Matt. xxi. 12, Mark xi. 15, and John ii. 15, is derived from *κόλλυβος*, which was a small coin (Cic. *In Verr. Act.* ii., lib. iii. 78; Aristoph. *Pax.* 1199, etc.) The word *κόλλυβος* also signifies 'the changing of money' (Pollux, *Onom.*, lib. iii. 9).

2. *Roman Money*.—The Roman copper money mentioned in the N. T. are the *dupondius* (*Vulg.* Luke xii. 6), the *as* (*Vulg.* Matt. x. 29) employed respectively as the Latin equivalents of *δύο ἀσσάρια* and *ἀσσάριον*, and the *quadrians* (*κοδράντης*, Matt. v. 26; Mark xii. 42) [FARTHING]. In the article FARTHING we stated that it was probably a Greek imperial coin; specimens of it are most likely the coins of Augustus and Tiberius struck at Antioch, in Syria, with S.C. on the reverse in a wreath. One of them has already been published with the countermark ΓΑΔ (Mionnet, *Suppl.*, vol. viii., p. 139), proving that these coins were current in *Gadara* of Decapolis. They weigh from 302 to 242 grains, and equal the Roman *as* of copper (*Hist. of Jew. Coin.*, p. 302).

The only silver coin mentioned in the N. T. is the *denarius* (*δηνάριον*, A. V. *penny*, Matt. xviii. 28, etc.) [DENARIUS].

All three metals are mentioned together by St. Matthew (x. 9), though in the parallel passage in St. Mark (vi. 8) only copper money (*χαλκόν*) is alluded to (see also Mark xii. 41). Copper would be the most prevalent metal current, as we have seen in the coinage of the Herodian family, which was all *copper*. The silver was most likely the tetradrachms of the chief cities of Syria and Phœnicia. The word *ἀργύριον* is also employed for 'money' (Luke ix. 3). [DRACHM; PIECE OF SILVER.] No gold coin is mentioned in the N. T.

The chief works on Jewish coins are:—Perez Bayer, *De Numis Hebræo-Samaritanis*, 1781; *Numorum Hebræo-Samaritanorum Vindicie*, 1790; Celestino Cavedoni, *Numismatica Biblica*, 1850, and Appendix to the same, 1855; both translated into German, with large additions by A. von Werlhof, under the title of *Biblische Numismatik*, vol. i., 1855; vol. ii. 1856; F. de Sauley, *Numismatique Judaique*, 1854; M. A. Levy, *Jüdische Münzen*, 1862; F. W. Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage, and of Money in the O. and N. T.*, 1864.—F. W. M.

MONEY-CHANGERS. It is mentioned by Volney, that in Syria, Egypt, and Turkey, when any considerable payments are to be made, an agent of exchange is sent for, who counts paras by thousands, rejects pieces of false money, and weighs all the sequins, either separately or together. It has hence been suggested that the 'current money with the merchant,' mentioned in Scripture (Gen. xxiii. 16), might have been such as was approved of by competent judges whose business it was to detect fraudulent money if offered in payment. The Hebrew word סוֹחֵר, *socher*, signifies one who goes about from place to place, and is supposed to answer to the native exchange-agent or money-broker of the East, now called *shroff*. It appears that there were bankers or money-changers in Judæa, who made a trade of receiving money in deposit and paying interest for it (Matt. xxv. 27). Some of them had even established

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themselves within the precincts of the temple at Jerusalem (xxi. 12), where they were in the practice of exchanging one piece of money for another. Persons who came from a distance to worship at Jerusalem would naturally bring with them the money current in their respective districts, and it might therefore be a matter of convenience for them to get this money exchanged at the door of the temple for that which was current in Jerusalem, and upon their departure to receive again that species of money which circulated in the districts to which they were journeying. These money-changers would, of course, charge a commission upon all their transactions; but from the observation of our Saviour, when he overthrew the tables of those in the temple, it may be inferred that they were not distinguished for honesty and fair dealing: 'It is written, my house shall be called the house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves' (ver. 13).

In the *Life of Aratus*, by Plutarch, there is mention of a banker of Sicyon, a city of Peloponnesus, who lived 240 years before Christ, and whose whole business consisted in exchanging one species of money for another.—G. M. B.

MONTE, ANDREAS DE (אֲנֶרְיָאס דִּי מוֹנְטִי), is the Christian name of the distinguished chief rabbi in the synagogue of Rome, who, before his conversion to Christianity, was called *R. Joseph Tzarphathi Ha-Alaphasi* (ר' יוסף צרפתי האלפסי). He was born in the early part of the 16th century at Fez, in Africa (hence his second surname *האלפסי*, of Jewish parents, who were natives of France, which is indicated by his first surname *צרפתי*, *Gallus*). He emigrated to Rome, where, after exercising the office of chief rabbi for many years, and distinguishing himself as an expounder of the Mosaic law, he embraced Christianity about the year 1552, during the pontificate of Julius III. He at once consecrated his vast knowledge of Hebrew and rabbinical literature to the elucidation of the prophecies, with a view of bringing his brethren according to the flesh into the fold of the Romish Church, and wrote—(1.) A voluminous work, entitled *מבוכת היהודים*, *The Perplexity of the Jews*, demonstrating both from the Scriptures and the ancient rabbinical writings all the doctrines of the Christian religion. Bartolucci, who found the MS. in loose sheets in the Neophyte College at Rome, carefully collated it and had it bound. He did not know that it ever was printed, whilst Fürst (*Bibliotheca Judaica*, iii. 544, s. v. *Zarfati*) states that it was published in Rome 16... 4to. However, Fabiano Fiochi, in his work called *Dialogo della Fede*, has almost entirely transcribed it, so that the Biblical student may derive all the advantages from it for christological purposes. (2.) An epistle to the various synagogues, written both in Hebrew and Italian, and entitled *אגרת שלום*, *Lettera di Pace*, dated January 12, 1581. It treats on the coming of the true Messiah, and shows from the prophecies of the O. T., as well as from the works of the ancient Rabbins, that he must have come long ago in the person of Jesus Christ, Rome 16... 4to. This learned work and the former one are very important contributions to the exposition of the Messianic prophecies, and to the understanding of the ancient Jewish views about the Messiah. Gregory XIII. appointed

De Monte in 1576 preacher to the Hebrews of Rome in the oratory of the Holy Trinity; he was afterwards made Oriental interpreter to the pope, in which capacity he translated several ecclesiastical works from the Syriac and Arabic, and died in the beginning of the 17th century (comp. Bartolucci, *Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica*, iii. 818, ff.; Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea* 1556, ff.)—C. D. G.

MONTHS. It is proposed to comprise, under this head, some observations which may be considered supplementary to the articles on the separate months, and subordinate to that on the year. For this end it is expedient to distinguish three periods in the Jewish mode of denoting dates by months: the first extending until the Babylonian captivity; the second until one or two centuries after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans; and the third from the adoption of the calendar of Rabbi Hillel the younger (*i. e.*, from about the middle of the 4th century of our era) until the present time.

In the first period the months are, as a rule, mentioned by their numerical designation only—as 'the first month,' 'the second,' etc.\* We have no explicit indication of the number of days in a month, nor of the number of months in a year: the 27th day and the 11th month being respectively the highest mentioned (Gen. viii. 14; Deut. i. 3); unless 1 Kings iv. 7 be considered to prove that the year had twelve months.† Nevertheless, as the two Hebrew terms for month—*חֹדֶשׁ*, literally *new moon*, thence *month*, from a root signifying *to be new*; and *יָרֵחַ*, *moon*, and thence *month*—afford some proof that the months were measured by the moon (comp. Ps. civ. 19); and, as the festivals of the Mosaic law bore a fixed relation to certain epochs of the agricultural year, which were fixed by nature, there is much reason to conclude that the year had twelve lunar months, and that it must have been kept parallel with the sun by

\* The only exception to this rule in the Pentateuch, occurs in the terms, 'in the month of Abib,' which are found in the A. V. This is, however, only an apparent exception, since *הָאֵבִיב*, *The Abib*, is not the proper name of the month, but means *ears of corn*, and distinguishes that month, which is elsewhere called 'the first,' as the month of ears, in reference to the ripeness of the corn (Sept. *μῆν πῶν νέων*; Vulg. *mensis novarum frugum*). The only remaining exceptions in the other books of this period occur exclusively in 1 Kings vi. and viii., where we find the second, eighth, and seventh months called *Ziv* (זִיב), *Bul* (בּוּל), and *Ethanim* (הָאֶתָנִים). In this case, two circumstances militate against the hypothesis that these names were in the current use of the people: the one being, that this is the only instance of their use; the other, that the writer has, at the same time described the three by the order of their succession (as, 'in the month Ziv, which is the second month,' etc.), just as the writers of the second period do with the confessedly foreign names, *Nisan*, etc.

† Some have attempted to show, from the sum of days assigned to the flood (Gen. vii. 11; viii. 4, 14), that the ancient Hebrew months had 30 days each, and that the antediluvian year was a solar year of 365 days, like that of the Egyptians). (See Von Bohlen, *Die Genesis*, p. 107.)



some mode of intercalation adequate to, if not identical with, the one afterwards employed.

In the second period, we find, in part, a continuation of the previous method, with somewhat more definite statements (for instance, 1 Chron. xxvii. clearly proves that the year had twelve months), and, in part, the adoption of new names for the months: but the co-existence of both these systems is not easily explained. For, whereas Zechariah, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, introduce the seven new names—Shebat, Chislew, Adar, Nisan, Elul, Tebeth, and Sivan—all the other canonical books written after the restoration do nothing more than enumerate the months, without any name, in the order of their succession. There is, moreover, another discrepancy in the usage of the writers of the former class, inasmuch as, while they all generally give the name of the month together with its ordinal adjective, Nehemiah gives the naked names alone. It is on these discrepancies that Benfey and Stern, who also give a minute statement of the particular deviations, rest one external support of their theory, that these names of the months are not Aramaic, as is commonly supposed, but Persian, and adopted during the Captivity—for which it may suffice to refer to their *Monatsnamen einiger aller Völker*, Berlin 1836. Although only the above-mentioned seven names occur in the O. T., yet there is no manner of doubt that the Jews at the same time adopted the entire twelve names, of which the following is a table:—

ניסן, Nisan.	תשרי, Tishri.
אייר, Iyar.	מרחשון, Marcheshvan.
סיון, Sivan.	כסלו, Chislew.
תמוז, Tammuz.	טבת, Tebeth.
אב, Ab.	שבט, Shebat.
אלול, Elul.	אדר, Adar.

In the same manner as the O. T. contains no indication of the mode of intercalation, when yet it is certain that some mode must have been used, so also it does not mention by what method the commencement and conclusion of every month were ascertained in either of these periods. According to the Talmud, however, it is certain that, in the second period, the commencement of the month was dated from the time when the earliest visible appearance of the new moon was announced to the Sanhedrim; that, if this happened on the 30th day of the current month, that month was considered to have ended on the preceding 29th day, and was called *deficient* (חסר) (חסר); but, if no announcement was made on the 30th day, that day was reckoned to the current month, which was in that case called *full* (מלא), and the ensuing day was at once considered to be the first of the next month. Further, as the cloudy state of the weather sometimes hindered the actual sight of the new moon, it was an established rule that no year should contain less than four, and more than eight, full months. It is generally assumed, although without express warrant, that the commencement of the month was determined in the same way in the first period; but it is very probable, and the Mosaic festivals of the new moon seem to be some evidence for it.

This is a fit occasion for discussing a question which equally concerns both periods—With which of *our* months, namely, did the first month, ‘the month of ears,’ or Nisan, most nearly coincide? We are indebted to J. D. Michaelis for discovering

the true state of this case, after the rabbinical writers had so universally established an erroneous opinion that it has not even yet disappeared from our popular books. His dissertation ‘*De Mensibus Hebræorum*’ (in his *Commentationes per annos 1763-1768 oblate*, Bremen 1769, p. 16) proceeds on the following chief arguments:—That, if the first month began with the new moon of *March*, as was commonly asserted, the climate of Palestine would not in that month permit the oblation of the sheaf of barley, which is ordered on the second day of the Paschal Feast; nor could the harvest be finished before the Feast of Weeks, which would then fall in May; nor could the Feast of Tabernacles, which was after the gathering of all fruits, accord with the month of September, because all these feasts depend on certain stages in the agricultural year, which, as he shows from the observations of travellers, solely coincide with the states of vegetation which are found, in that climate, in the months of April, June, and October. Secondly, that the Syrian calendar, which has essentially the same names for the months, makes its Nisan absolutely parallel with our April. And, lastly, that Josephus, in one place, makes Nisan equivalent to the Macedonian month Xanthicus; and, in another, mentions that, on the 14th of Nisan, the sun was in the sign of the Ram—which could not be on that day, except in April (*Antiq.* ii. 14. 6; iii. 10. 5). Michaelis concludes that the later Jews fell into this departure from their ancient order, either through some mistake in the intercalation, or because they wished to imitate the Romans, whose year began in March. Ideler says, ‘So much is certain, that, in the time of Moses, the month of ears cannot have commenced before the first days of our April, which was then the period of the vernal equinox (*Handbuch der Chronologie*, i. 490). As Nisan then began with the new moon of April, we have a scale for fixing the commencement of all the other months with reference to our calendar; and we must accordingly date their commencement one whole month later than is commonly done: allowing, of course, for the circumstance that, as the new moon varies its place in our solar months, the Jewish months will almost invariably consist of portions of two of ours.

With regard to the third period, it is not necessary to say more here than that, as the dispersion of the Jews rendered it impossible to communicate the intelligence of the visible appearance of the new moon, they were obliged to devise a systematic calculation of the duration of their months; but that they retained the above-mentioned names for the months, which are still lunar months, of the mean duration of 29 days, 12 hours, 44 seconds; and that when they were no longer able to regulate the epochs of their festivals by the agricultural year of Palestine, they came, for some such reasons as those assigned by Michaelis, to place every month earlier by one lunation than it had been in the first two periods, so that their Nisan now most nearly coincided with March. The rabbinical writers, therefore, who maintained that the ancient Nisan likewise began with the new moon of March, were mainly led into that opinion by the practice existing in their own time.—J. N.

MOON (חֹדֶשׁ, לְבָנָה, יָרֵחַ). Of these names for the moon, the first two relate to the colour of that

orb as of a pale yellow or whitish hue; and the third—properly the *new moon*—to its periodic renewal (from *חַדָּשׁ*, *to be new*; in Pihel, *to renew*).

Among the Aryan tribes the moon is named either from its function as the measurer of time (Lassen, *Indische Alterthümer*, i. 765; ii. 1118; Pott, *Etymolog. Forschungen*, i. 194), or from its luminous quality (comp. *Σελήνη*, from *σέλας*, *brightness*, and *Luna*=*Lucina*, from *lucere*). The Hebrew names include an allusion to both; the whiteness of the moon being connected with its luminosity, and its periodic renewal with its office as a measurer of time. There is a recognition of both in the account of the creation in Gen. i. 14-16; and special reference is made to the moon as a time-measurer in Ps. civ. 19. The brilliancy of the moon's light in eastern climates, and its utility to the traveller, conspired to make it an object of admiration and interest to the inhabitants of a country like Palestine. Hence the allusions to it in Hebrew poetry are frequent (Ps. viii. 3; lxxii. 5, 7; lxxxix. 37; Song vi. 10; Is. xxx. 26, etc.).

The periodic renewal of the moon naturally determines a period of time; and hence the *month* was by the Hebrews regulated by the new moon, and named *יָרֵחַ*, from *יָרָה*, *the moon*. This caused

their months to be of slightly unequal length, and led also to their adopting a lunar year. As the solar year was the proper natural year, this tended to produce confusion, especially with reference to the fixing of the yearly festivals; and to remedy this an intercalary month was periodically introduced [YEAR]. The persistent following of the moon in their reckoning became distinctive of the Jews:—‘*Gentes in computo solem sequuntur, Israelitæ lunam*’ (Sohar, in *Genes.*, fol. 238; comp. Bähr, *Symbolik des Mos. Cult.*, ii. 526; Wachner, *Antiqq. Ebr.*, ii. 34; Selden, *De Anno civ. vet. Hebr.*, c. 5).

It was a common belief among the ancients, that the moon exercised a potent effect on organic nature, both vegetable and animal. As dew was observed to be most copious in clear moonlight nights, it was natural to regard the moon as the source of dew (comp. Heyne's note on Virg., *Georg.* iii. 337), and, in general, of fertility; and as exposure to the atmosphere, especially sleeping in the open air, on such nights, may lead to serious diseases, an influence of a baneful kind on the animal body was ascribed to that luminary (Macrob., *Saturn.* vii. 16). Such beliefs still prevail in Egypt and the East, especially as to the power of the moon to produce blindness in those exposed to its rays (Carné, *Letters from the East*, i. 88). Whether the ancient Hebrews participated in such notions, does not appear from Scripture. The allusion in Deut. xxxiii. 14, to ‘the precious things put forth by the moon,’ probably refers to the moon merely as regulating the succession of the months, just as the sun regulates the year, and not to any direct influence supposed to be exerted by the moon on vegetation. So in Ps. cxxi. 6, the ‘smiting of the moon by night’ may relate merely to the unwholesome effect of exposure to the night air generally (De Wette and Hengstenberg, *in loc.*) Among the later Hebrews the belief prevailed that epileptic diseases were influenced by the moon [LUNATICS].

The moon was from an early period an object of

idoltrous worship, both immediately, as seen in the sky, and mediately, as represented by a conceived personal deity. Thus, while the Pelasgians, Teutons, Celts, and even the Carthaginians (occasionally; cf. *Polyb.* vii. 9. 2), worshipped the orb itself, nations more advanced in culture had their special moon-gods. Such was the Anaitis or Tanaïs of the Armenian tribes; the Astarte of the Phœnicians; the Ashteroth-Carnaim of the Syrians; the Sin of the Babylonians and Assyrians; the Isis, and perhaps the Neith (comp. Hitzig on *Jer.* vii. 18, in the *Exeget. Hdb. zum A. T.*), of the Egyptians; the Artemis of the Greeks; and the Diana of the Latins. In Chaldea the moon was worshipped as the queen of Heaven, and from thence this form of idolatry was transported into Judæa. The existence of moon-worship, however, must have been known to the Hebrews long before this, for we find it expressly alluded to in the book of Job (xxxi. 26, 27), and specifically denounced in the law of Moses (Deut. iv. 19; xvii. 3); but it was not till the reign of Manasseli, in the 7th century B.C., that this form of idolatry was formally introduced among the chosen people (2 Kings xxiii. 5). From this time to the captivity it probably was never at any time wholly extirpated from the land. The prophet Jeremiah frequently refers to it as a deadly and prevailing evil among the people in his day (vii. 18; vii. 2; xix. 13; xlv. 17-19, 25). From these passages we learn also something as to the rites of this worship. The moon was revered as ‘the Queen of Heaven’ (*מַלְכַּת הַשָּׁמַיִם*), an epithet which Gesenius would understand of the star Venus, but which undoubtedly refers to the moon; comp. the ‘*Siderum regina bicornis*’ of Horace, *Carm. Sac.* 35. Her worship was especially cultivated by women (for which there might be a natural reason in the monthly affection to which they are subject); and the offerings presented by them consisted of incense (2 Kings xxiii. 5), of libations or drink-offerings, and of cakes, into the composition of which oil largely entered, according to some (*Etymol. Mag.*, and Suidas, s.v. *χαύωρας*), and according to others, ingredients of a resinous character (Theodoret, on *Jer.* vii. 18). From the reference to this worship in Job. xxxi. 27, we learn also that the kissing of the hands was one of its modes. There is no evidence that the cruel and impure rites with which the worship of the Phœnician and the Assyrian moon-deities was celebrated were followed by the Hebrews.—W. L. A.

#### MOON, NEW. [NEW MOON.]

MOR (*מֹר*) is the well-known substance *myrrh*, the *μύρρα* and *μύρρα* of the Greeks. The Greek *μύρρα* and the Latin *myrrha* are no doubt derived from the Hebrew *mor*, or Arabic *مُر*, *mūr*, though some of the ancients traced them to the mythological Myrrha, daughter of Cinyras, king of Cyprus, who fled to Arabia, and was changed into this tree (Ov. *Art. Am.* i. 288). Myrrh is the exudation of a little-known tree found in Arabia, but much more extensively in Abyssinia. It formed an article of the earliest commerce, was highly esteemed by the Egyptians and Jews, as well as by the Greeks and Romans, as it still is both in the East and in Europe. The earliest notice of it occurs in Exod. xxx. 23, ‘Take thou also unto thee principal



spices, of *pure myrrh* (*morderor*) 500 shekels.' It is afterwards mentioned in Esther ii. 12, as employed in the purification of women; in Ps. xlv. 8, as a perfume; also in several passages of the Song of Solomon (iv. 6; v. 5, 13), in both which passages Rosenmüller states that in the original it is *stilicidious* or *profluent myrrh*. Under its Greek name, *σμύrna*, we find it mentioned in Matt. ii. 11, among the gifts presented by the wise men of the East to the infant Jesus—'gold, and frankincense, and myrrh.' It may be remarked as worthy of notice, that myrrh and frankincense are frequently mentioned together. In Mark xv. 23, we learn that the Roman soldiers 'gave him (Jesus) to drink wine mingled with *myrrh*; but he received it not.' The Apostle John (xix. 39) says, 'There came also Nicodemus, and brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes [AHALIM], about an hundred pound weight,' for the purpose of embalming the body of our Saviour.

The ancients generally describe myrrh as a product of Arabia; that in this they were correct is proved by Ehrenberg and Hemprich, who found a small tree in Arabia near Gison, on the borders of Arabia Felix, off which they collected pieces of myrrh, which, when brought home and analysed, was acknowledged to be genuine. It is an interesting fact that the specimens of the myrrh-plant brought by Mr. Johnson from the confines of Abyssinia seem to be of the same species. This is the *Balsamodendron Myrrha* of botanists, and



373. Balsamodendron Myrrha.

which we here figure from Nees von Esenbeck's plate of Ehrenberg's plant. By some it is supposed to be produced by another species of *Balsamodendron*, the *Amyris kataf* of Forskal, which differs little from *A. kâfal*. Belon supposed it to be produced in Syria, and says, that near Rama he met with a thorny shrub, with leaves resembling acacia, which he believed to be that producing myrrh (*Mimosa agrestis*, Spr.) Similar to this is the information of the Arabian author Abu'l Fadl, quoted by Celsius, who says, that *mur* is the Arabic name of a thorny tree resembling the

acacia, from which flows a white juice, which thickens and becomes a gum.

Several kinds of myrrh were known to the ancients, and are described by Dioscorides under the name of *Stacte*, *Gabirea*, *Troglodytica*, *Kaukalis*, *Aminasa*, *Ergasima*. So the Arab authors mention several varieties, as 1. *mur saf*, 2. *mur fortarukh*, 3. *mur jushee*; and in modern commerce we have Turkish and East Indian myrrh, and different names used to be, and are still applied to it, as red and fatty myrrh, myrrh in tears, in sorts, and myrrh in grains. In the Bible also several kinds of myrrh are enumerated, respecting which various opinions have been entertained. Thus, in Exod. xxx. 23, the words *mor-doror* have been variously translated *myrrha prima*, *electa*, *ingenue*, *excellens*, etc. *ذهرور* *dheror*,

in Arabic, according to Celsius, means an aromatic powder, and *mur dheroree*, in Arabic, like *mor-doror* in Hebrew, signifies *myrrheus pulvis*. This may be the correct meaning, but it is curious that the Arabians should apply the term *Kusb-al-zurire* to another famed aromatic, the sweet cane of Scripture. Hence there may be a connection between these similarly sounding terms. Rosenmüller says, 'Luther correctly translates the Hebrew expression, which properly denotes *spontaneously profluent myrrh*.' The same kind of myrrh is in the Song of Solomon (chap. v. 13) called *stilicidious* or *profluent myrrh* (*mor obor*), usually translated *myrrham electam et præstantissimam, transeuntem*, etc. (Cels. l. c. p. 528). Another kind of myrrh is said to be indicated by the word *Nataf*, translated *stacte*, which occurs in Exod. xxx. 34; but on this opinions have differed [NATAF].

Myrrh, it is well known, was celebrated in the most ancient times as a perfume, and a fumigator, as well as for its uses in medicine. As several kinds were included under the name of myrrh, it is probable that some may have possessed more aromatic properties than others: but the tastes and the customs of nations vary so much in different ages of the world, that it is impossible for us to estimate correctly what was most agreeable to the nations of antiquity. Myrrh was burned in their temples, and employed in embalming the bodies of the dead. Herodotus, speaking of the practice of embalming among the Egyptians, says, 'They then fill the body with powder of pure myrrh, cassia, and other perfumes, except frankincense' (ii. 86). It was offered in presents, as natural products commonly were in those days, because such as were procured from distant countries were very rare. In the same way we often hear of a rare animal or bird being presented to royalty even in the present day. The ancients prepared a *wine of myrrh*, and also an *oil of myrrh*, and it formed an ingredient in many of the most celebrated compound medicines, as the *Theriaca*, the *Mithridata*, *Manus Dei*, etc. Even in Europe it continued to recent times to enjoy the highest medicinal reputation, as it does in the East in the present day. It is no doubt useful as a moderately stimulant medicine; but Von Helmont was extravagant enough to state that it is calculated to render man immortal, if we had any means of perfectly dissolving it in the juices of the body. From the sensible properties of this drug, and from the virtues which were ascribed to it, we

may satisfactorily account for the mention of it in the several passages of Scripture which have been quoted.—J. F. R.

MORASTHITE. [MICAII.]

MORDECAI (מֹרְדֳּכַי), supposed to come from the Persian مردکی, *little man, mannikin*; or, according to others, from the idol מֹרְדַּךְ, *Mero-dach*, thus signifying a *votary of Mero-dach*. The last supposition is not unlikely, seeing that Daniel had the Chaldean name of Belteshazzar; Sept. Μαρδοχαῖος), son of Jair, of the tribe of Benjamin, descended from one of the captives transported to Babylon with Jehoiachin (Esther ii. 5). He was resident at Susa, then the metropolis of the Persian empire, and had under his care his cousin Hadessa, otherwise Esther, at the time when the fairest damsels of the land were gathered together, that from among them a fitting successor to queen Vashti might be selected for king Ahasuerus. Among them was Esther, and on her the choice fell; while, by what management we know not, her relationship to Mordecai, and her Jewish descent, remained unknown at the palace. Mordecai lost none of his influence over his cousin by her elevation, although the seclusion of the royal harem excluded him from direct intercourse with her. He seems to have held some office about the court; for we find him in daily attendance there, and it appears to have been through this employment that he became privy to a plot of two of the chamberlains against the life of the king, which through Esther he made known to the monarch. This great service was, however, suffered to pass without reward at the time. On the rise of Haman to power at court, Mordecai alone, of all the nobles and officers who crowded the royal gates, refused to manifest the customary signs of homage to the royal favourite. It would be too much to attribute this to an independence of spirit, which, however usual in Europe, is unknown in Eastern courts. Haman was an Amalekite; and Mordecai brooked not to bow himself down before one of a nation which from the earliest times had been the most devoted enemies of the Jewish people. The Orientals are tenacious of the outward marks of respect, which they hold to be due to the position they occupy; and the erect mien of Mordecai among the bending courtiers escaped not the keen eye of Haman. He noticed it, and brooded over it from day to day: he knew well the class of feelings in which it originated, and—remembering the eternal enmity vowed by the Israelites against his people, and how often their conquering sword had all but swept his nation from the face of the earth—he vowed by one great stroke to exterminate the Hebrew nation, the fate of which he believed to be in his hands. The temptation was great, and to his ill-regulated mind irresistible. He therefore procured the well-known and bloody decree from the king for the massacre of all the Israelites in the empire in one day. When this decree became known to Mordecai, he covered himself with sackcloth and ashes, and rent the air with his cries. This being made known to Esther through the servants of the harem, who now knew of their relationship, she sent Hatach, one of the royal eunuchs, to demand the cause of his grief: through

that faithful servant he made the facts known to her, urged upon her the duty of delivering her people, and encouraged her to risk the consequences of the attempt. She was found equal to the occasion. She risked her life by entering the royal presence uncalled, and having by discreet management procured a favourable opportunity, accused Haman to the king of plotting to destroy her and her people. His doom was sealed on this occasion by the means which in his agitation he took to avert it; and when one of the eunuchs present intimated that this man had prepared a gallows fifty cubits high on which to hang Mordecai, the king at once said, 'Hang him thereon.' This was, in fact, a great aggravation of his offence, for the previous night, the king, being unable to sleep, had commanded the records of his reign to be read to him; and the reader had providentially turned to the part recording the conspiracy which had been frustrated through Mordecai. The king asked what had been the reward of this mighty service, and being answered 'nothing,' he commanded that any one who happened to be in attendance without, should be called. Haman was there, having come for the very purpose of asking the king's leave to hang Mordecai upon the gallows he had prepared, and was asked what should be done to the man whom the king delighted to honour? Thinking that the king could delight to honour no one but himself, he named the highest and most public honours he could conceive, and received from the monarch the astounding answer, 'Make haste, and do even so to Mordecai that sitteth in the king's gate!' Then was Haman constrained, without a word, and with seeming cheerfulness, to repair to the man whom he hated beyond all the world, to invest him with the royal robes, and to conduct him in magnificent cavalcade through the city, proclaiming, 'Thus shall it be done to the man whom the king delighteth to honour.' After this we may well believe that the sense of justice decided the perhaps till then doubtful course of the king, when he heard of the gallows which Haman had prepared for the man by whom his own life had been preserved.

Mordecai was invested with power greater than that which Haman had lost, and the first use he made of it was, as far as possible, to neutralize or counteract the decree obtained by Haman. It could not be recalled, as the kings of Persia had no power to rescind a decree once issued; but as the altered wish of the court was known, and as the Jews were permitted to stand on their defence, they were preserved from the intended destruction, although much blood was, on the appointed day, shed even in the royal city. The Feast of Purim was instituted in memory of this deliverance, and is celebrated to this day (Esth. ix. 1-32). [PURIM.]

A Mordecai, who returned from the exile with Zerubbabel, is mentioned in Ezra ii. 2 and Neh. vii. 7; but this cannot well have been the Mordecai of Esther, as some have supposed.—J. K.

MOREH (מֹרֶה, 'a teacher'). 1. The name of an oak or grove of oaks at Shechem, in central Palestine. We read in Gen. xii. 6 that when Abraham first entered Canaan he 'passed through the land unto the place of Sichem, unto the plain of Moreh.' In Hebrew the last clause is עַד מֹרֶה, 'to the oak of Moreh;'; the Septuagint



reads ἐπὶ τῇ δρύν τῇ ὑψηλῇ; and the Vulgate *usque ad convallem illustrem*; the Targum of Onkelos has 'the plain of Moreh'; and the Samaritan 'the valley of vision.' There can be no doubt that Moreh is a proper name, probably, as in the case of another famous grove at Hebron, the name of a Canaanitish chief who originally possessed the ground (Gen. xiv. 13; MAMRE). It would seem that the oak and terebint were in ancient times greatly venerated in Palestine. Many of them were distinguished by proper names (Gen. xxxv. 8; Judg. ix. 37); under their shade altars were erected, councils held, and celebrated persons buried. To this day in various parts of Syria there are single oak trees and oak groves which are held sacred (*Handbook*, pp. 70, 436). The 'oak of Moreh' was doubtless one of these natural sanctuaries which the patriarch at once adopted. Moreh is not again mentioned until the entrance of the Israelites into Palestine. Moses then gave the people a solemn charge regarding the public reading and ratification of the law; and appointed a national assembly for that purpose to be held between Ebal and Gerizim, אֶלֶי אֶלֶי

אֶלֶי מֹרֶה, 'beside the oaks of Moreh.' The LXX. here renders as in Genesis; but the Vulgate reads *juxta vallem tendentem et intrantem procul*.

We may infer that it was at this place, which Abraham consecrated on his entrance into the land of promise, Jacob pitched his tent when he returned from Haran; and that 'the parcel of a field' which he bought from the children of Hamor included this sacred grove. Here too, centuries afterwards, the bones of Jacob's favourite son were consigned to their final resting-place. What an interesting group of sacred associations thus clusters round this spot, beside Jacob's well and Joseph's tomb, at the mouth of the vale of Shechem (Josh. xxiv. 32)!

We have no authority in Scripture for connecting in any way—geographically or historically—Moreh with Moriah (Stanley, *S. and P.*, pp. 141, 232; Robinson, *B. R.*, ii. 287, *seq.*; *Handbk.*, pp. 334, 339).

2. MOREH, *the hill of* (נֶגְעֵת־הַמֹּרֶה; Γαβαα-αμωαλ, uniting the two Hebrew words; Alex. ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Ἀβὺρ; *Collis excelsus*). The whole details of the victory of Gideon over the Midianites are described with remarkable precision. When upon the battle-field, the writer was able to see at a glance the positions occupied before the conflict by the adverse hosts, the scene of the attack, and the whole course of the rout. Gideon collected his little band by the well of Harod, on the south side of the valley of Jezreel, at the foot of Mount Gilboa. The valley is here about two miles wide, and descends eastward to the Jordan. Along its northern side runs a low, bare, gray ridge, parallel to Gilboa; it is now called by the natives Jebel ed-Duhy, and by travellers Little Hermon; but it is 'the hill of Moreh,' at whose base, in the valley, the camp of the Midianites was pitched (Judg. vii. 1). The camp probably extended from the village of Shunem on the west down to the strong city of Bethshean on the east; for we are told that 'the Midianites, and the Amalekites, and all the children of the east, lay along in the valley like grasshoppers for multitude' (ver. 12).

Moreh is not again mentioned in Scripture, yet upon its site are three places of singular interest to the Bible student. Shunem, the scene of Elisha's great miracle in restoring the dead boy to life (2 Kings iv.), is still seen at the south-western base of the hill. Nain, where Jesus wrought a similar miracle, is only some three miles distant on the north-western declivity; and Endor, where Saul had the wondrous interview with the witch, is two miles east of Nain, directly facing Mount Tabor. The height of the ridge is given by Van de Velde (from Symonds) at 1839 feet (*Memoir*, p. 178). The sides rise with an easy slope from the surrounding plain, and though bare and stony, are capable of cultivation. The top is rounded and regular, and has more verdure than Gilboa, though it is bleak when contrasted with Tabor (*Handbook*, 357, *seq.*; Robinson, *B. R.*, ii. 320, 326; Stanley, *S. and P.*, p. 141, 232, *seq.*)—J. L. P.

MORESHETH-GATH (מֹרֶשֶׁת גַּת; 'the possession of Gath,' or 'of the wine-press;' ἔως κληρονομίας Γᾶς; *ad hereditatem Geth*). The prophet Micah, in pronouncing judgment upon the land of Israel on account of sin, enumerates certain cities on which special punishment should fall; and among these are Lachish, *Moreseth-Gath*, *Mare-shah*, and *Adullam* (i. 13-15). The sites of the other three are known, and as it appears *Moreseth-Gath* lay near them, it must be looked for in the plain of Philistia, near the base of the mountains of Judah. It is probable that it had some connection with the city of Gath, and took its name, perhaps, to distinguish it from some other *Moresah*; and the context in Micah shows that *Moreseth-Gath* had been in some way under the protection of Lachish—'Therefore thou (O inhabitant of Lachish) shalt give a divorce to *Moreseth-Gath*.' The city is not again mentioned in Scripture. It must not be confounded with *Mareshah*, the site of which is known [MARESHAH]; but it probably was identical with *Moreseth*, the native place of the prophet himself. He is called 'Micah the *Morasthite*' (Mic. i. 1; Jer. xxvi. 18); and Eusebius and Jerome state that *Morasthei* (Μωραστει) was a village on the east side of Eleutheropolis (*Onomast.*, s. v.; cf. Jerome, *Proem. in Mich.*); and from the statements of subsequent writers it would appear that *Moreseth-Gath* was not far distant from Eleutheropolis (Reland, p. 902). The site, however, has not been discovered; nor was the writer able to hear any name that would appear to suggest identity with the ancient city. The Septuagint, Vulgate, and most of the ancient interpreters do not consider the word *Moreseth* as a proper name, but as connected with Gath, and signifying 'the inheritance or possession of Gath' (Theodoret, Jerome, etc., *ad loc.*)—J. L. P.

MORIAH. The name occurs twice in O. T. (Gen. xxii. 2; 2 Chron. iii. 1). In the first place it is given to the 'land,' to the 'place' of the sacrifice of Isaac; in the second, to the 'mountain' on which the temple of Solomon was built. Jewish tradition and ordinary Christian interpretation have identified these two sites. The force of the Hebrew tradition is impaired by the mythic addition, that here also Abel offered his first sacrifice, and Noah his thank-offering (see Munsterus, Fagius, and Grotius, *in loco*).

Before considering the geographical and other difficulties in the way of this identification, it is desirable to investigate the derivation of the word מֹרִיָּה. Various etymologies supplied by Jews all proceed on the supposition of the identity of the Moriah of Genesis with that on which the temple was built. The oldest, that of Onkelos and Gerundensis, was that it was derived from מֹרֶר, myrrh, as in Canticles iv. 6, 'I will go to the mountain of myrrh.' Fuller, in *Misc. Sacra*, ii. 15, maintains that the הַמֹּרֶר of Canticles was an abbreviation of הַמֹּרִיָּה, and referred to the holy mount where the great king had just erected his temple. Rabbi Solomon supposes it derived from הוֹרָא, instruction, because thence the word of the Lord went forth into all Israel. Kalisch (*Comment. on Genesis*, xxii. 2) approaches this interpretation by saying that it springs in all probability from מֹרִיָּה, 'Jehovah is my instructor,' from יָרָה, the root of the great derivative תוֹרָה. Jonathan derives it from מוֹרָא, fear or reverence, and imagines that the word was used anticipatory of the worship and fear of God there solemnized (Lightfoot, *Opera, Descriptio Templi*, vol. i. 553). Fuller (*Misc. Sacra*, ii. 15) maintains that the word represents an abbreviation of מוֹרֵאֲהוּ, *conspicietur Jehovah*, because there eventually the Son of God would appear in human flesh. Knobel insists that it is a compound of מוֹרָא, a pual form of רָאָה, to see, and יָה; and Hengstenberg (*Dissertations on Gen. of Pentateuch*, ii. 159-163, Clark's trans.), Kurtz (*Old Covenant*, i. 272), Gesenius (*Thesaurus*, p. 819), Furst (*Lex.*), all agree as to the presence in the word of the elements of the name of Jehovah. Vatke, Vater, Van Bohlen, the early opponents of the genuineness of the Pentateuch, even based a portion of their antagonism on this proof of a later date. Bishop Colenso (*Pentateuch and Joshua*, etc., pt. ii. ch. ix., x.) labours to demolish the etymology, but without much success. The existence of a proper name *Moriah* would be a proof of the existence of the name and worship of Jehovah before some of the modern documentists would find it at all satisfactory. Hengstenberg states that the word הַמֹּרִיָּה is a compound of מוֹרָא, the Hophal participle of רָאָה, to see; and means that *which is shown*, or, *the appearance of Jehovah*. Colenso objects to the sense of the interpretation, and maintains that there is no explanation of the disappearance of the characteristic radical א. Gesenius accounts for the form מֹרִיָּה, by combination of the Hophal participle of רָאָה, and the jod-compaginis common in derivatives from verbs of the form of "לָהּ". Thus מוֹרָאֵה, combined with יָה, would suffer the following change, מֹרִיָּה = מוֹרָאֵה. There is another proper name derivable from the same root, which has lost its characteristic radical א—viz., רוֹת, from רָאָה, beautiful to look upon (Ruth). But whatever may be the precise nature of the contraction, the obvious interpretation of the writer is given in ver.

8—יְהוָה יֵרָאֶה, which is the name given by Abraham to the place where Jehovah saw his agony and provided a victim in place of his son. Here it was that the proverb was originated, 'In the mountain Jehovah shall be seen.' *Moriah* was the name permanently attaching itself to the place, just as אֵן had been the abbreviation of Eve's exclamation קָנִיתִי אִישׁ; and it was used by the narrator 400 years afterwards, to describe a district, a *land*, a mountain which had always gone by that name ever since the proverb had been first uttered, amid the very circumstances he was then proceeding to describe. It would be presumptuous to assert to what extent the knowledge and worship of Jehovah was diffused, on the ground of the mere presence of the name Jehovah in this proper name; still there is nothing to shake the conclusion. It is curious that the LXX. translate the מֹרִיָּה by εἰς τὴν γῆν ὁψλην; and they also render by some similar expression the various references to the *oak or plains of MOREH*, near Sichem (Gen. xii. 6), where Hebrew text has אֵלֶּן מוֹרֶה, the LXX. reads τὴν δρῦν τὴν ὁψλην (see also Deut. xi. 30). The translation of Aquila in Gen. xxii. 2, is εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν καταφανῆ; and Symmachus has εἰς τὴν γῆν τῆς ὁπρασίας, closely resembling the *in terram visionis* of the Vulgate.

Dr. Davidson, in *Introduction to O. T.*, vol. i., conjectures that *Moreh* was the original reading, but neither Kennicott, De Rossi, nor Dr. Davidson himself in his *Printed Text of O. T.*, give any diplomatic authority for such a reading. The translations of Aquila and Symmachus may have originated with some reading resembling that in the Samaritan text, מוֹרָא, and signifying 'far seen' or 'conspicuous.' But when Josephus wrote (*Antiq.* i. 13. 2), it is quite clear that the reading in Gen. xxii. 2 and 2 Chron. iii. 1 must have been identical, as he speaks of the place of Abraham's sacrifice as τὸ ὄρος ἐφ' ᾧ τὸ ἱερὸν Δαβὶδ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑστερον ἰδρύεται. In 2 Chron. iii. 1, the LXX. do not attempt to translate the proper name הַמֹּרִיָּה, but write ἐν ὄρει τῷ Ἀμωρία. It is true that there is no reference to the original manifestation of God on this site to the Patriarch, and express mention is made of second and additional reasons for this hill being called Moriah; see 1 Chron. xxi. 16, xxii. 1; 2 Sam. xxiv. 1; 2 Chron. iii. 1. This was in perfect harmony with the law of God, that forbade the offering of burnt sacrifices in any place which the Lord had not consecrated by his visible manifestation (Hengstenberg, *Diss.*, vol. ii., 32, ff.) The geographical conditions supplied by the narrative in Genesis are not inconsistent with the Samaritan tradition (see Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, vol. iii. p. 100) that *Gerizim* was the scene of the sacrifice, and that the mountains of Gerizim and Ebal, from their neighbourhood to *Moreh*, a spot well known to Abraham, were the mountains in the land of Moriah (Colenso, pt. ii. chap. x.) They have led Dean Stanley (*S. and P.*, p. 250, ff.; *Lectures, Jewish Church*, pp. 48, 49) to decide on Gerizim as the scene of the event. His arguments are weighty but not conclusive. (1.) The distance from Beersheba to the plain of Sharon, from which Gerizim might be seen 'afar off,' corresponds with the two days' journey of Abraham; while the third day,



which would be occupied by the great event, would be sufficient for the journey to the summit and the return. The same thing, however, may be said with greater certainty of Jerusalem itself. (2.) Stanley objects that there is no spot from which the 'place' where the sacrifice was to be offered could be seen from 'afar off,' that 'the hill of Moriah is not visible at all until the traveller is *close upon it*, at the southern edge of the valley of Hinnom, from whence he looks down upon it, as on a lower eminence.' Now the narrative informs us that Abraham lifted up his eyes and saw the *place* of which the Lord had spoken to him. That 'place' was the *מִקְדָּשׁ*, or, as Gesenius translates, 'the land about Moriah,' just as *אֶרֶץ הַיְּהוּדָה* is the land about Ai. It was very possible to see from the ridge *Mar Elias* the heights about Jerusalem, if not the hill of Moriah itself; and we are expressly told that Abraham did not see the place until he was fairly within a walk of the spot, and could leave the young men and the ass while he and Isaac proceeded, personally laden with the material for the sacrifice. (3.) A formidable difficulty urged by others is, that the fortress of Zion must at that time have been occupied by the king of the Jebusites, some forerunner of Adonizedeck, or by Melchizedeck himself, and therefore Abraham must have prepared to perform this awful sacrifice under the walls of the city. To obviate the great apparent improbability of this, it may be said that sometimes the outside of fenced cities—where a deep ravine runs between the wall and the suburb—is often one of the loneliest spots in the world. The name *Moriah* is unquestionably given by the chronicler to the Temple Hill, but this passage is a solitary one. The more ordinary name even for the entire city of Jerusalem and for the holy mountain is *Mount Zion*, and various psalms and prophecies speak of the dwelling-place of Jehovah under this old and honoured name. It cannot be true that any writer of the time of Solomon composed the narrative of Abraham's sacrifice to do honour to the Temple Hill, as it was suggested by De Wette. For if that had been his intention, he would have called it *Zion* and not *Moriah*. Great stress has been laid by Bishop Colenso, and by the writer in *Smith's Dictionary*, vol. ii. 423, on the absence of other reference besides that of the *Chronicler*, to the name of Moriah as the site of the Temple Hill, and also on the impropriety of associating the name and career of Abraham so vitally with Jerusalem. In the same article, however, Jerusalem is spoken of as the city of Melchizedeck. For the shape of Moriah, its relations with Bezetha and Acra, the bridge that connected it with Zion across the valley of the Tyropeon, see Art. JERUSALEM. Notwithstanding the various and variously-motived endeavours to disturb the old Hebrew tradition, it has not been proved necessary to deny the identification of the two sites, nor to denounce the old etymology, nor cease to perceive the interesting link of connection supplied by it between the sacrifice of Isaac, the vision of God's judgment and mercy, the erection of the temple, and the offering up of God's only begotten Son.—H. R. R.

MORINUS, JOANNES (MORIN, JEAN), the author of several works of Biblical interest, was born at Blois in 1591. He was educated in the Pro-

testant faith, and studied at Leyden. In 1618 he renounced Protestantism, and entered the Congregation of the Oratory, then recently established. He held for some time the office of superior in the college of Angers; also a chaplaincy to Henrietta of France. The latter appointment was of short continuance. The remaining portion of his life was spent in Paris in the house of St. Honoré. His published works, the fruits of immense learning, were the following—*Exercitationes Ecclesiasticae in utrumque Samaritanorum Pentateuchum*, Paris 1631; *Samaritanum Pentateuchum*, in Samaritan and Hebrew letters; also a Latin version—this edition of the S. P. was included in the Paris Polyglott, 1645. *Exercitationes Biblicae de Hebraici Graecique textus Sinceritate*, Paris 1633, 4to, and greatly enlarged and improved in 1669, fol., prefaced with a life of the author by Father Constantine of the Oratory; *A Samaritan Grammar and Lexicon*; and also, *Opuscula Hebraico-Samaritana*. The main object of these various works of Morinus was the exaltation of the Samaritan and Septuagint texts above the Hebrew. Indeed, their author has been regarded as the restorer of the ancient Samaritan language. His anti-Massoretic zeal, however, was not according to knowledge, as later investigations in the same field have abundantly proved. He was attacked by Simeon de Muis, in his *Assertio Veritatis Hebraicae*, 1634, and in his *Castigatio Animadversionum Morini*, 1639. For a fuller account of the writings of Morinus, see the lectures of Bishop Marsh. He died in 1659.—W. J. C.

MORTAR (מֹרְתָה, from the unused root מָרַח, to boil up, hence a pot), first mentioned as employed by the Israelites in the wilderness (Num. xi. 8), 'the people went about and gathered it (manna), and ground it in mills, and beat it in a mortar, and baked it,' etc. In this way it was that the Jews prepared themselves food of the God-given manna. The process was a very simple one, being nothing more than the pounding of the manna between two stones. The under or lower stone was slightly hollowed for the purpose of holding the food, while the upper stone was shaped to the hand, and used as a pestle. This is believed to have been the most ancient method in preparing food from grain, and is still in use in the East, both in Arabia and in certain districts in Palestine. The Druses pound their coffee in mortars made from the trunks of oak trees (see Burckhardt's *Syria*, p. 88). Kitto's remarks on the mortar as used for pounding wheat, in his note on Prov. xxvii. 22 (Heb. there is מִכְתֵּשׁ, from כָּתַשׁ, to pound or bray), are as follows:—'We do not infer that this (*among wheat with a pestle*) implies that the wheat was pounded to meal instead of being ground, but that it was pounded to be separated from the husk. The Jews probably had no rice, but there are several passages from which we may gather that they used wheat in the same way that rice is now used—that is, boiled up in pillaus, variously prepared. In fact, we have partaken of wheat thus employed in the remote mountains, where rice could not be obtained, or only at a price which the villagers could not afford; and it is also so used among the Arabs, forming a very palatable and nutritious food. For this purpose it is necessary that, as with rice, the husk should be previously disengaged



from the grain; and if we suppose this object was attained with wheat by a similar treatment with that to which rice is now subjected, the present text may be very satisfactorily explained. There are men, and even women, who gain their bread by the labour of husking rice, which they generally perform in pairs. Their implements consist of a rude wooden mortar, formed of a block hollowed out; pestles, about five feet long, with a heavy block at the upper end, and a sieve for sifting the pounded grain. They carry these utensils to the house where their services are required, and, if men, stripped to the skin (except their drawers), and pursue their labour in a shady part of the courtyard. When two work together, they commonly stand opposite each other, and strike their pestles alternately, as blacksmiths strike their iron. Sometimes, however, one pestle alone acts, and the labourers relieve each other, the relieved person taking the easier duty of supplying the mortar, and removing and sifting the cleaned grain. From the weight of the pestle the labour of pounding is very severe, and the results of the process are but slowly produced' (*Pict. Bib.*)

Most writers and travellers concur in thinking that the mortar, as a mode of punishment, was unrecognized among the Hebrews. 'Though thou shouldst bray a fool in a mortar,' therefore, is hyperbolic. At the same time, its use among other nations as a mode of punishment might not be entirely unknown. Among other Eastern nations the mortar was employed 'to pound certain classes of criminals to death.' It has usually been resorted to in inflicting capital punishment upon persons whose sanctity or high rank forbade the *shedding of their blood*, so that the letter of the law has been observed, while its spirit was violated. It used to be considered that braying in a mortar was the only mode in which death could be inflicted upon the Grand Mufti of the Turks, and instances of its being so inflicted are on record. But this is not confined to them. Volney writes, 'the person of a pasha who acquits himself well in his office becomes inviolable, even by the Sultan, and it is no longer permitted to shed his blood. But the divan has invented a method of satisfying its vengeance upon those who are protected by this privilege, without departing from the literal interpretation of the law, by ordering them to be pounded in a mortar, or smothered in sacks, of which there have been various instances.' It is also related by Knolles, in his *History of the Turks*, that the guards of the tower who had let the prisoner Coreskie escape, some of them were impaled, and some were pounded or beaten to pieces in great mortars of iron, in which they usually pound their rice. The practice, and the ideas connected with it, may be traced farther East. In Siam, royal criminals or princes of the blood convicted of capital crimes, are put into a large caldron, and pounded to pieces *with pestles of fragrant sandal wood*, because none of the royal blood must be spilt upon the ground, it being by their religion deemed a great impiety to contaminate the sacred blood, by suffering it to mix with the earth (*Pict. Bib.* Prov. xxvii. 22; also Thomson's *The Land and the Book*, chap. viii.; Roberts' *Orient. Illustr.*, p. 368).—W. J. C.

MORTAR. (מֹרְטָר; πηλός; *cementum*; Gen. xi. 3; Exod. i. 14; Is. xli. 25; Nah. iii. 14).

2. מֹרְטָר; χῶδς; *lutum*; Lev. xiv. 42, 45. 3. מֹרְטָר; *lutum*; Ezek. xiii. 10, 11, 14, 15; xxii. derived from the Arabic, and used in the several verses noted in Ezek. in a contemptuous sense). Each Hebrew term is rendered 'mortar' in the A. V. The first (*Chomer*) is a word from the same root (חָמַר, 'boil'), as חֶמֶר, 'slime' (ἄσφαλτος, *bitumen*), as used in Gen. xi. 3, 'And they said to one another, Go to, let us make brick, and burn them thoroughly, and they had brick for stone, and slime had they for mortar.' [SLIME.] Kitto mentions 'three kinds of calcareous earth, found abundantly in the desert west of the Euphrates. The first, called *noora*, is, in present use, mixed with ashes, and employed as a coating for the lower parts of walls in baths, and other places liable to damp. Another, called by the Turks *karej*, and by the Arabs *jus*, is also found in powder mixed with indurated pieces of the same substance, and round pebbles. This forms even now the common cement of the country, and constitutes the mortar generally found in the burnt brickwork of the most ancient remains. When good, the bricks cemented by it cannot well be detached without being broken, whilst those laid in bitumen can easily be separated. The third sort, called *borak*, is a substance resembling gypsum, and is found in large lumps of an earthy appearance, which, when burned, form an excellent plaster or whitewash. Pure clay or mud is also used as a cement, but this is exclusively with the sun-dried bricks (*Pict. Bib.*, Gen. xi. 3). Besides mortar made from bitumen, from common mud and clay, mixed with straw such as they gave to cattle, chopped and beaten small, and serving the same purpose as the ox-hair which our plasterers mix with their plaster, the Hebrews had a mortar made from sand, ashes, and lime, well pounded and mixed with oil. When used as plaster to resist wet, the greatest pains were taken in tempering it. 'In the way of tempering, nothing affords a stronger manifestation of persevering and patient labour than the long-continued and repeated beatings to which the Orientals subject the plaster (of lime, ashes, and straw), which is more especially intended to resist wet, and which does most effectually answer that purpose' [PLASTER] (*Pict. Bib.*, Ezek. xiii. 10). Mortar was usually trodden with the feet, but wheels were also used. These were wrought with oxen (Volney, *Trav.* ii.; Buckhardt, *Nubia*, p. 82, 89).—W. J. C.

MORUS, SAMUEL FRIEDRICH NATHANAEL, an eminent German professor of the last century, was born Nov. 30, 1736, at Laubau, in Upper Lusatia. He entered the university of Leipzig in his nineteenth year. He became a devoted pupil of Ernesti, and under the guidance of this celebrated master of exegesis laid the foundations of his future usefulness and renown. In 1768 he was appointed professor of philosophy at Leipzig. In 1771 he was chosen to fill the chair of the Greek and Latin languages, and in 1782 he was called to fill the vacancy in the theological faculty occasioned by the death of Ernesti. He died Nov. 11, 1792. It was as a teacher rather than as a writer that the influence of Morus was chiefly felt. His works are mostly posthumous publications, issued under the editorship of men who had been his pupils, one of whom fairly esti-



mates the position of Morus when he says that the science of Hermeneutics 'ab Ernestio reformata,' was 'a Moro exculpta et dilucidius explicata.' His principal Biblical works are—1. *Dissertationes Theologicae et Philologicae*, editio altera, Lips. 1798; 2. *Super Hermeneutica N. T. Acroases Academicæ*. Editioni aptavit, præfatione et additamentis instruxit H. C. A. Eichstadt, Lips. 1797-1802, 8vo. This work may be best described as lectures upon the institutes of Ernesti. 3. *Prælectiones in Luca Evangelium*, ed. C. A. Donat Lips. 1795, 8vo. 4. *Recitationes in Evangelium Joannis*, ed. Th. J. Dindorf, Lips. 1808, 8vo. 5. *Versio et explicatio Actorum Apostolorum*, ed. G. J. Dindorf, Lips. 1794. 6. *Prælectiones in Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos; cum ejusdem versione latina, locorumque quorundam N. T. difficultiorum interpretatione*, edidit I. T. T. Holzapfel, Lips. 1794, 8vo. 7. *Acroases in Epistolas Paulinas ad Galatas et Ephesios*, Lips. 1795. 8. *Prælectiones in Jacobi et Petri epistolas*, ed. C. A. Donat, Lips. 1794. 9. *Prælectiones exegeticae in tres Joannis epistolas cum nova earundem paraphrasi Latina*, cura C. A. Hempel, Lips. 1797, 8vo. 10. *Commentarius exegetico-historicus in suam theologia Christianæ epitomen*, ed. C. A. Hempel, 2 vols., Halæ Sax. 1798, 8vo. —S. N.

#### MOSCHOLATRY, or CALF-WORSHIP.

Prominent among the characteristic sins of the Jewish people stands 'moscholatry;' in spite of the divine prohibition in the moral law, a sensuous representation of deity was constantly resorted to from the very beginning of the nation to the time of the captivity. Various forms of this idolatrous tendency appear in the sacred history. In the ephod of Gideon (Judg. viii. 27), and in the images and teraphim of the Ephraimite Micah (Judg. xvii. 5), we have what may be called the *domestic* instances; while in the golden calf of Aaron and the calves of Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, occur the *public* and *state* form of the image-worship. In this article we have only to do with the latter instances. In the moscholatry both of Aaron and of Jeroboam, a connecting link *with Egypt* is afforded us in the sacred narrative; in the case of Aaron we have not only the general fact of Egypt having been the birthplace of the sinning people, but the clear comment of Ezekiel, in xx. 6-10, on their conduct; while in the case of Jeroboam we have the fact that it was after a long residence in Egypt, in the court of Shishak, that he devised the worship we have here to consider (1 Kings xi. 40; xii. 2). In the Egyptian worship of APIS, therefore, most writers, with a remarkable unanimity, have found the original hint which suggested the Jewish calf-worship; the same unanimity, however, has not attended their speculations on the purport and extent of this *cultus*. Before we notice these speculations, it will be convenient to adduce a few ancient statements relative to the Egyptian 'calf-deity.' Herodotus (iii. 28) says, 'Apis or Epaphus is the calf of a cow which is never afterwards able to bear young. The Egyptians say that fire comes down from heaven upon the cow, which thereupon conceives Apis.' According to Plutarch (*de Is.* xx. 29), this calf Apis was supposed to be the shrine of the soul of the greatest of the Egyptian deities, Osiris, and the symbol of that god (Warburton, iv. 4; Rawlinson's *Herod.*, vol. ii. p. 423); and with this

well agrees the language of Herodotus in ii. 65, who says, 'The inhabitants of the various cities, when they have made a vow to any god, *pay it to his animals*,' etc., εὐχόμενοι τῷ θεῷ τοῦ ἂν ἦ τὸ θῆλον. Two views of opposite character are advanced as to the origin of this *cultus*; according to one, the worship of Apis was at first nothing but the simple worship of the calf, mere fetishism (Smith's *Dict. of Mythology*, art. APIS); but Herodotus (ii. 4) expressly states that 'the Egyptians (from whom the Greeks adopted the names of the twelve great gods) first erected altars, images, and temples to the gods, and also *first engraved upon stone the figures of animals*;' we gather from this, that not the adoration of the living animal, but of its picture or image, was the form of the primitive brute-worship of Egypt. This symbolical character seems to explain the language of the second commandment, 'Thou shalt not make unto thee . . . any likeness of anything in heaven above, etc., nor bow down to it, nor serve it.' And this brings us in contact with Aaron's golden calf at once. The fickle and impatient Israelites requested, in the protracted absence of their law-giver, that his brother would make them 'gods to go before them' (Exod. xxxii. 1), probably 'back again to Egypt' (Acts vii. 39, 40). Aaron gratified their impious desire by an expedient suggested by the superstition of Egypt, which was capable of, and no doubt actually received, a twofold interpretation. In his elaborate treatise (*Aaron purgatus, sive de Vitulo aureo*), Moncæus labours to show that Aaron intended his calf to be a cherubic representation of Jehovah, and not an Egyptian deity. This writer seems to us to have succeeded very well in establishing the probability that *such was Aaron's intention*; after the fabrication of the image he proclaimed a dedication festival for the next day in the remarkable words, 'To-morrow is a feast to the LORD' (Exod. xxxii. 5); but even on this milder view the sin was in direct violation of the moral law, and excited God's anger (Deut. ix. 20). But whatever be the extenuation which this theory may gain *for Aaron*, it does not reach (as it appears to us) *to the people*. The fatal compliance of their leader only encouraged them in the indulgence of their tendency to the grossest idolatry; the dedication festival itself was turned by them into a heathen revel—'The people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play,' giving themselves fully up to the most indecent ritual of pagan worship (comp. Exod. xxxii., ver. 6 with ver. 25). In the later allusions to this sad event the sacred writers treat the calf as nothing but an idol—'They made a calf in Horeb, and worshipped the molten image; thus they changed their glory into the similitude of an ox that eateth grass' (Ps. cvi. 19, 20). So the prophet Amos (v. 25, 26) reproves not only this transaction, but the entire conduct of the Israelites during their abode in the wilderness, as an unmitigated apostasy from Jehovah to heathenism—'Did ye offer unto me sacrifices and offerings for forty years, O house of Israel? Ye bare about the tabernacle of your Moloch and Chiun your images, the star of your god which ye made to yourselves;' as if the primeval sin which they had copied from Egypt only led, when time and contact with other nations enabled them, to their similar adoption of the Moabite and Syrian gods also. The Jewish writers exhibit much anxiety to exculpate the brother of Moses; some

(as the Jerusalem Targumist) pretend that Aaron yielded through fear to the frenzied crowd who had slain his colleague Hur for resisting their insane request. But Aben Ezra rejects with disdain a theory which, while rescuing Aaron from one imputation, overwhelms him with a worse. He takes somewhat the view which we have advanced, that the golden calf was not at the first designed to be an idol, but a symbol of Jehovah; that afterwards it was the people who abused it as an object of idolatrous adoration. Aben Ezra (see Cohen, *Pentateuque*, ii. 147, 148) sees in this view a reconciliation of some difficulties, and justly, as it seems to us. Identical in drift and character was the moscholatry of Jeroboam the son of Nebat. The avowed purpose of his calves at Dan and Bethel was to provide his new subjects with a substitute of divine worship which should supersede their attendance at the temple-service at Jerusalem (1 Kings xii. 26-29). Monceus designates these images, no less than Aaron's, as cherubic symbols of Jehovah. Whatever may be thought of some of his arguments,\* we have the patent fact that Holy Scripture recognizes a distinction between this image-worship of Jeroboam and the idolatry of Ahab. The Baal *cultus* of the latter was a rejection of Jehovah, whereas the ritual of Jeroboam expressly, like Aaron's, acknowledged the God 'which had brought Israel out of Egypt' (comp. Exod. xxxii. 4, and 1 Kings xii. 28, with Lev. xxii. 32, 33), and provided a feast 'like unto the feast† that is in Judah,' with other institutions resembling those of the temple (1 Kings xii. 32, 33). By and by, when Jehu had executed the judgment of God upon the family of the apostate Ahab, the divine approbation is expressed in terms which indicate the distinction,‡ which we have stated (see 2 Kings x. 28-31). In the history of Ahab himself, the sacred historian had plainly indicated the distinction in 1 Kings xvi. 31-33; but the most expressive passage is 2 Kings iii. 2, 3, where, concerning Ahab's son Jehoram, it is said, that 'he wrought evil in the sight of the LORD, but not like his father, and like his mother, for he put away the image of Baal . . . Yet he clave unto the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, which made Israel to sin.'

\* His entire treatise is given in *Critici Sacri*, ix. 4403-4530, and an excellent abridgment in *Poli Synopsis* on Exod. xxxii. 4. Monceus' work, however, received great opposition both from his own church, which prohibited it, and from Protestants. Nicolai, in his notes to Cunæus, *de Repub. Hebr.* (2. 16), says of its contents roundly, 'Quot verba tot fragmenta veritati contraria.' See, for the opposite view to that of Monceus, Moebius, *MoscholatRIA*; and G. Michael, ad Jac-Gaffard, *Curiositates*, pp. 76, 77; Bochart, *Hieroz.*, l. 11 par. i. c. xxxiv. fol. 354; Selden, *De Diis Syr.*, et Beyer, *Addimenta*; Spencer, *De Legg. Hebr.*, iii. 4.

† The intentional change of this feast from the prescribed seventh month to the eighth, is of course in keeping with the independence and wilfulness, the ἀελοειρησκέλια, of all Jeroboam's ecclesiastical ordinances.

‡ J. D. Michaelis, in his *Commentaries on the Laws of Moses*, art. 245, defines the distinction between 'the crime of worshipping other gods besides the only true God,' which he calls *Abgotterei* (idolatry) and 'the crime of image-worship' (*Bilderdienst*).

But this theory of palliation effects but little after all. Monceus calls his work *Aaron purgatus*; and he includes the calves of Jeroboam with Aaron's under cover of his extenuation; but would he add, *Jeroboam purgatus*? We suppose not. It is, in fact, a dangerous exegesis which draws distinctions or degrees in a question of sin and moral guilt. It is observable how the least flagrant, no less than the most violent, of these cases of image-worship, led to idolatry and apostasy. Not only did Aaron's calf lead on to Moloch and Chium, and Jeroboam's to Baal and Ashtaroth, but even Gideon's domestic and apparently harmless ephod soon degenerated into the gross formulary of Baal-berith (Judg. viii. 27 comp. with 33). A great deal of discussion has been indulged in as to how Moses destroyed the golden calf; both from the narrative in Exod. xxxii. 20, and his own statement in Deut. ix. 21, it seems that he adopted much ceremony to mark his indignation at the sin of his brother and the people. He took the calf, melted it in the fire to destroy its shape; then ground, or beat, or filed the gold into small pieces or dust, and threw the latter into the water of the stream which flowed from Horeb. 'This,' says Kalisch (on Exod. xxxiv. 15, 24), 'is the only possible explanation which the literal sense of the text admits; יִשְׂרָאֵל is not necessarily to consume by fire, but only to burn, to put into the flames . . . the words טָהַר and קָדַשׁ do not compel us to suppose the pieces to have been exactly so fine as powder; and as the act of drinking the water was a symbolical one, it would be pedantic to urge that the atoms which are thus produced are not small enough to amalgamate with the water. It is therefore neither necessary to recur, with Rosenmüller, to the conjecture, that the calf was by a certain chemical process, known already to the ancient Egyptians, reduced to powder, or calcined; nor to suppose here with Winer, 'the incorrect view, or at least the incorrect expressions of a writer not versed in the matter.' Moses threw the atoms into the water, as an emblem of the perfect annihilation of the calf, and he gave the Israelites that water to drink, not only to impress on them the abomination and despicable character of the image which they had made, but as a symbol of purification, to remove the object of the transgression by those very persons who had committed it (compare Num. xix.)' Not less decisive, though more tardy, was the fate of Jeroboam's moscholatry. However astutely designed by its founder, it carried the seeds of its own dissolution from the very first: In 2 Kings xvii. 22, 23, the fall of the kingdom is expressly attributed to the gods of Jeroboam,\* and the prophet Hosea had denounced ruin on them, and captivity on the nation of their votaries: 'Thy calf, O Samaria, hath cast thee off—the calf of Samaria shall be broken in pieces—it shall be also carried into

\* Multiplied fearfully at last; for 'the children of Israel built them high places in all their cities' (ver. 9); similarly in the neighbouring kingdom, the sin spread so widely, that the prophet more than once upbraided it: 'according to the number of thy cities were thy gods, O Judah' (Jer. ii. 28; xi. 13). This reminds us of Strabo's statement (xvii.) on the idolatry of various Egyptian cities; τρέφεται θήλεια βοῶς ἱερὰ, καθάπερ ἐν Μέμφει ὁ Ἄπης, ἐν ἡλίῳ δὲ πόλει ὁ Μνεῦς, οὗτοι μὲν οὖν θεοὶ νομίζονται.



Assyria for a present to king Jareb (ירב, the strife-ful or hostile king); Ephraim shall receive shame, and Israel shall be ashamed of his own counsel' (viii. 5, 6; x. 6; comp. Selden, *De Dis Syris Syn- tag.* i. 4; *Works*, by Wilkins, ii. 300).<sup>\*</sup> The memory of this sin, especially of Aaron's share in its origin, is retained sadly and bitterly by thought-ful Jews; a proverb of theirs attests somewhat strangely this sentiment, אין לך ישראל פורענות, 'No punish-ment happeneth to thee, O Israel, wherein there is not an ounce of the sin of the calf' (Moses Gerund. cited by Munster on *Exod.* xxxii.) But the Mohammedans, no less than the Jews, labour hard to explain away, or at least extenuate, the odium of this idolatry. In the Koran there are many express references to Aaron's calf; the two chief are—Sura, vii. 146-148; and Sura, xx. 81-96. See Maracci, *Alcoranus*, vol. ii., pp. 281, 445.

The word עֵינַל is the common designation of this image (*Exod.* xxxii.), which in the LXX. is rendered generally by μῶσχος, sometimes by μωσχάριον, βοῖδιον or δαμάλις. In Ps. ciii. 20, the word used is שֹׁר, *bos* vel *vitulus*. Beyer on *Sel-den*.—P. H.

MOSERA (מוֹסֶרָה, or מוֹסֶר, the ה being local; Μωσαδαῖ; Alex. Μωσαδαῖ; Mosera), one of the stations of the Israelites in the wilderness. It appears to have been situated at the base of Mount Hor, or at least not far distant from the mount; for Moses says in Deut. x. 6—the only passage in which the name occurs—that at Mosera 'Aaron died, and there he was buried.' In this passage, where the historian groups together a few facts connected with the giving of the law, and the office of high-priest, there is no contradiction to the statement in Num. xxxiii. 37, 38, where it is said that the Israelites 'pitched in Mount Hor,' and 'Aaron went up into the mount and died there.' The general name of the district in which Mount Hor stands may have been Mosera. [WILDERNESS OF WANDERING.]

A station called Moseroth (מֹסֶרוֹת, pl. of מוֹסֶר; Μαωρουθῶ; Moseroth) is mentioned in Num. xxxiii. 30, which is evidently identical with Mosera, as the same stations are named in the same relative positions with regard to both (cf. Deut. x. 6, 7; Num. xxxiii. 30-33), though the Israelites were journeying in one direction in the one case, and in an opposite in the other. It may be inferred that Mosera or Moseroth was a district adjoining Wady Mûsa, and including Mount Hor, on which the tomb of Aaron still exists.—J. L. P.

MOSES (מֹשֶׁה; Μωϋσῆς; Μωσῆς), the lawgiver of Israel, belonged to the tribe of Levi, and was a son of Amram and Jochebed (*Exod.* vi. 20). His brother Aaron and his sister Miriam, both his seniors, constituted the other members of the family. According to *Exod.* ii. 10, the name מֹשֶׁה means *drawn out of water*. Even ancient writers knew that the correctness of this interpretation could be proved by a reference to the Egyptian language (comp. Joseph. *Antiq.* ii. 9. 6; *contra Apionem*, i.

31; Philo, ii. 83, etc., ed. Mang.) In Coptic *mo* signifies *water* and *ushe*, *saved*; and with this derivation accords also the Greek form of the name, Μωϋσῆς. The name contains also an allusion to the verb מָשָׁה, *extraxit*, *he extracted*, *pulled out*.

Hence it appears that מֹשֶׁה is a significant memorial of the marvellous preservation of Moses when an infant, in spite of those Pharaonic edicts which were promulgated in order to lessen the number of the Israelites. It was the intention of Divine Providence that the great and wonderful destiny of the child should be from the first apparent: and what the Lord had done for Moses he intended also to accomplish for the whole nation of Israel.

It was an important event that the infant Moses, having been exposed near the banks of the Nile, was found there by an Egyptian princess, to whom Jewish tradition gives the name of Thermuthis (Joseph. *Antiq.* ii. 9. 5); and that, having been adopted by her, he thus obtained an education at the royal court (*Exod.* ii. 1-10). Having been taught all the wisdom of the Egyptians (*Acts* vii. 22; comp. Joseph. *Antiq.* ii. 9. 7), the natural gifts of Moses were fully developed, and he thus became in many respects better prepared for his future vocation. Though educated, however, as an Egyptian and the adopted son of the daughter of the Pharaoh, his own mother was his nurse, and to this doubtless his adherence, when he came of age, to the religion and people of his fathers is to be traced.

After Moses had grown up, he returned to his brethren, and, in spite of the degraded state of his people, manifested a sincere attachment to them. He felt deep compassion for their sufferings, and showed his indignation against their oppressors by slaying an Egyptian whom he saw ill-treating an Israelite. This doubtful act became by Divine Providence a means of advancing him farther in his preparation for his future vocation, by inducing him to escape into the Arabian desert, where he abode for a considerable period with the Midian- itish prince-priest Jethro, whose daughter Zipporah he married (*Exod.* ii. 11, *seq.*) Here, in the soli- tude of pastoral life, he was appointed to ripen gradually for his high calling, before he was unex- pectedly and suddenly sent back among his people, in order to achieve their deliverance from Egyptian bondage.

His entry upon this vocation was not in conse- quence of a mere natural resolution of Moses, whose constitutional timidity and want of courage ren- dered him disinclined for such an undertaking. An extraordinary divine operation was required to overcome his disinclination. On Mount Horeb he saw a burning thorn-bush or acacia [SHITTIM], in the flame of which he recognised a sign of the immediate presence of Deity, and a divine admo- nition induced him to resolve upon the deliverance of his people. On this occasion God revealed to Moses the full import of his covenant name [JE- HOVAH]. Thus instructed he returned into Egypt, where neither the dispirited state of the Israelites, nor the obstinate opposition and threatenings of Pharaoh, were now able to shake the man of God.

Supported by his brother Aaron, and commis- sioned by God as his chosen instrument, proving, by a series of marvellous deeds [EGYPT, PLAGUES OF], in the midst of heathenism, the God of Israel

<sup>\*</sup> In Hosea (xiii. 2) reference is made to the cus- tom of *kissing the calves*. Kissing was an act of homage in the East, done upon the hand or foot, the knees or shoulder. [ADORATION; KISS.]

to be the only true God, Moses at last overcame the opposition of the Egyptians. According to a divine decree, the people of the Lord were to quit Egypt, under the command of Moses, in a triumphant manner. The punishments of God were poured down upon the hostile people in an increasing ratio, terminating in the death of the firstborn, as a sign that all had deserved death. The formidable power of paganism, in its conflict with the theocracy, was obliged to bow before the apparently weak people of the Lord. The Egyptians paid tribute to the emigrating Israelites (Exod. xii. 35), who set out laden with the spoils of victory.

The enraged king vainly endeavoured to destroy the emigrants. Moses, firmly relying upon miraculous help from the Lord, led his people through the Red Sea into Arabia, while the host of Pharaoh perished in its waves (Exod. xii.-xv.).

After this began the most important functions of Moses as the lawgiver of the Israelites, who were destined to enter into Canaan as the people of promise, upon whom rested the ancient blessings of the patriarchs. By the instrumentality of Moses they were appointed to enter into intimate communion with God through a sacred covenant, and to be firmly bound to him by a new legislation. Moses, having victoriously repulsed the attack of the Amalekites, marched to Mount Sinai, where he signally punished the defection of his people, and gave them the law as a testimony of divine justice and mercy. From Mount Sinai they proceeded northward to the desert of Paran, and sent spies to explore the land of Canaan (Num. x.-xiii.). On this occasion broke out a violent rebellion against the lawgiver, which he, however, by divine assistance, energetically repressed (Num. xiv.-xvi.).

The Israelites frequently murmured, and were disobedient, during about forty years. In a part of the desert of Kadesh, which was called Zin, near the boundaries of the Edomites, after the sister of Moses had died, and after even the new generation had, like their fathers, proved to be obstinate and desponding, Moses fell into sin, and was on that account deprived of the privilege of introducing the people into Canaan. He was appointed to lead them only to the boundary of their country, to prepare all that was requisite for their entry into the land of promise, to admonish them impressively, and to bless them.

It was according to God's appointment that the new generation also, to whom the occupation of the country had been promised, should arrive at their goal only after having vanquished many obstacles. Even before they had reached the real boundaries of Canaan they were to be subjected to a heavy and purifying trial. It was important that a man like Moses was at the head of Israel during all these providential dispensations. His authority was a powerful preservative against despondency under heavy trials.

Having in vain attempted to pass through the territory of the Edomites, the people marched round its boundaries by a circuitous and tedious route. Two powerful kings of the Amorites, Sihon and Og, were vanquished. Moses led the people into the fields of Moab over against Jericho, to the very threshold of Canaan (Num. xx. xxi.). The oracles of Balaam became, by the instrumentality of Moses, blessings to his people, because by

them they were rendered conscious of the great importance of having the Lord on their side.

Moses happily averted the danger which threatened the Israelites on the part of Midian (Num. xxv.-xxxi.). Hence he was enabled to grant to some of the tribes permanent dwellings in a considerable tract of country situated to the east of the river Jordan (Num. xxxii.), and to give to his people a foretaste of that well-being which was in store for them.

Moses made excellent preparations for the conquest and distribution of the whole country, and took leave of his people with powerful admonitions and impressive benedictions, transferring his government to the hands of Joshua, who was not unworthy to become the successor of so great a man. With a longing but gratified look, he surveyed, from the elevated ground on the border of the Dead Sea, the beautiful country destined for his people.

Moses died in a retired spot at the age of one hundred and twenty years. He remained vigorous in mind and body to the last. His body was not buried in the promised land, and his grave remained unknown, lest it should become an object of superstitious and idolatrous worship. This honour was due, not to him, but to the Lord, who had manifested himself through the whole life of Moses. Not the body, but the word, of Moses was permanently to abide in Israel. The people of God produced no prophet greater than Moses, because by none was the Lord more glorified. Among all the men of God recorded in the O. T., Moses presents the most wonderful and imposing aspect.

The Pentateuch is the greatest monument of Moses as an author. The ninetyeth psalm also seems to be correctly ascribed to him. Of the poetical pieces in the Pentateuch, some are certainly, others probably, of his composition. To the former belong the 'songs' in Exod. xv. 1-19, and Deut. xxxii. 1-43, and the blessing on the tribes in Deut. xxxii. 1-15; to the latter the pieces in Exod. xvii. 16; Num. xxi. 14, 15, 16, 27-30. Some learned men have endeavoured to prove that he was the author of the book of Job, but their arguments are inconclusive [JOB].

Numerous traditions, as might have been expected, have been current respecting so celebrated a personage. Some of these were known to the ancient Jews, but most of them occur in later rabbinical writers (comp. Philo, *De Vita Mosis*, c. iii.; Joseph. *Antiq.* ii. 9, *seq.*; Bartolucci, *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, iv. 115, *seq.*).

The name of Moses is celebrated among the Arabs also, and is the nucleus of a mass of legends (comp. Hottinger, *Historia Orientalis*, p. 80, *seq.*; D'Herbelot, *Bib. Or.*, art. *Moses*). The Greek and Roman classics repeatedly mention Moses, but their accounts contain the authentic Biblical history in a greatly distorted form (*vide* the collection of Meier, *Judaica, seu veterum Scriptorum profanorum de Rebus Judaicis Fragmenta*, Jenæ 1832).

Concerning the life of Moses, compare also Warburton, *On the Divine Legation of Moses*; Hess, *Geschichte Mosis*, Zurich 1778, 2 vols.; Niemeyer, *Charakteristik der Bibel*, 3d vol.—  
H. A. C. H.

MOSES, LAW OF. (I.) The legislative system of the Hebrew nation is frequently called, both in



O. T. and N. T., after the name of the great HUMAN legislator. In the most ancient book of Scripture, next to the Pentateuch itself, 'the law of Moses' (תּוֹרַת מֹשֶׁה; LXX. *ὁ νόμος Μωϋσῆ*; Vulg. *Lex Moysi*) is repeatedly mentioned; Josh. viii. 31, 32; xxiii. 6. In Josh. viii. 34, LXX. has *νόμος Μωϋσῆ* also, but the Hebrew simply *הַתּוֹרָה*. The

same designation occurs in later books; see 1 Kings ii. 3; 2 Kings xiv. 6; xxiii. 25; 2 Chron. xxiii. 18; xxx. 16 [where LXX. has *ἐντολὴ Μωϋσῆ*]; Ezra iii. 2; vii. 6; Neh. viii. 1; Dan. ix. 11, 13; and (in the very last precept of the O. T.) Malachi iv. 4. In the Christian Scriptures the designation reappears; see Luke ii. 22; xxiv. 44; John vii. 23; Acts xiii. 39; xv. 5; xxviii. 23; 1 Cor. ix. 9; Heb. x. 28; in all which passages, according to the best reading, the phrase is invariably written *ὁ νόμος Μωϋσέως*, which form of the proper name also occurs in four places of the Septuagint. (2.) Another general designation of the Hebrew code, of still more frequent occurrence in O. T., refers to the DIVINE author thereof, *תּוֹרַת יְהוָה*, 'the Law of the Lord' (1 Chron. xvi. 40, and *passim*), and *תּוֹרַת אֱלֹהִים*, 'the Law of God' (Josh. xxiv. 26, and *passim*). This appellation occurs but sparingly in N. T. (see the *νόμος Κυρίου* of Luke ii. 23, 24, 39), where the absolute term *ὁ νόμος* usually designates the law of Moses.

*Introductory.*—The main purport of this article is to give a digest of the Mosaic legislation, by reviewing the *structure* of the code itself; and it will contribute much to the elucidation of our subject if we detail, as briefly as may be, the circumstances under which the law was first promulgated, and ultimately revised and settled. This sketch, however, must itself be preceded by a passing notice of the *place* which is occupied by the Mosaic economy in the order of the Divine dispensations. It is impossible not to assign to it a step in these dispensations. But whether its place be a principal or a supplemental one has been much disputed. Much stress in support of the latter view has been laid on St. Paul's expressions (the *παρορεθῆναι* of Gal. iii. 19, and the *παρεσθῆναι* of Rom. v. 20). 'The Law proper *was superadded and came in by the way*, helping on indeed most powerfully the great consummation, but doing so indirectly, and often by seeming antagonism, working rather on the negative than on the positive side' (Perowne, *Coherence of O. and N. T.*, p. 84; Faber, *On the three Dispensations*, vol. ii. p. 135; Wordsworth, *Gr. Test.* on Rom. v. 20). It seems, however, contrary to the general teaching of the N. T., and of St. Paul in particular, to reduce the law to the secondary rank of a collateral or merely by-dispensation. As a preliminary to the gospel, it is co-ordinate with the other providential stages whereby God prepared for the mission of his Son. In its MORAL enactments it recapitulated and gave precision to natural religion, for *sin*, which had entered at the fall, became *transgression* under the specific dictates of the law. In this respect the law holds a distinct place in advance of any preceding *καρπὸς* or dispensation; and this is further seen if we consider some other results of its operation. It exercises over the sinner in its highest activity a critical power, but not a mediatorial or reconciling one (see Nitzsch, *Chris-*

*tian Doctrine* [Clark], p. 224); for it upholds the inviolability of God's will without emancipating the natural will of man from his sinful bias (Rom. viii. 3); by its inflexible purport it begets the knowledge of sin (Rom. iii. 20; vii. 7, 8), and although it excites an admiration of good (Rom. vii. 22), it forces upon man the conviction of his own impotence to attain it (Rom. vii. 24; viii. 3), and so creates a longing for deliverance, and ultimately leads to him in whom it is provided (Gal. iii. 24). But 'this propædæutic office' (Dean Alford on Gal. iii. 19-24) the Law effects mainly by its RITUAL ordinances. Whatever may be thought of the parenthetic character of the Mosaic legislation in its moral aspect, it will hardly be denied that in its ritualism it is an advance towards the Gospel upon every preceding worship of which we have an account. Holy Scripture gives us scattered hints of patriarchal worship from the earliest times (*e.g.*, that of Cain and Abel, Gen. iv. 3, 4; and Heb. xi. 4; Noah's, Gen. viii. 20, 21; Abraham's, Gen. xiii. 18; xxi. 12, 13; and Heb. xi. 17-19; Isaac's, Gen. xxvi. 25; Jacob's, xxxii. 20), and beyond the limits of the chosen people we have instances of similar worship in the histories of Melchizedek, Job, Laban, Jethro, and Balaam. A great detail of particulars in the sacrificial adoration of the heathen nations is collected in Dollinger's *The Gentile and the Jew*, etc. [by Darnell], vols. i. and ii. *passim*; and in Freeman's *Principles of Divine Service*, vol. ii., part ii., pp. 73-89 (see also Smith's *Dict. of G. and R. Antig.*, s. v. SACRIFICIUM); and that this was a real, though debased, emanation from the primitive purity of patriarchal worship is ably contended for by Mr. Gladstone in the section of his *Studies on Homer*, on 'the traditive element of the Homeric Theo-mythology,' which 'theo-mythology' he had in the preceding section shown to be a true theology corrupted (see vol. ii., pp. 1-171). A careful review of the varied rites of this early worship informs us of the extent to which human invention had gone in perverting the patriarchal simplicity of religion; and illustrates the real value of the Mosaic revelation, which both restored that simplicity and superadded such precision of symbol and type as pointed more plainly than ever to the ultimate provisions of the gospel. Thus the law of Moses was an actual progress in the series of dispensations.

It was by the discipline of a crushing bondage, no less spiritually than physically debasing (Exod. xvi. 3; Num. xi. 4, 5; Josh. xxiv. 19; Ezek. xx. 5-9; xxiii. 3, 19. See Kalisch *On the Feast of the Passover* [Comment. on Exodus, p. 180]), that the chosen people were prepared for political freedom and spiritual emancipation in a theocratic unity and brotherhood. But God had provided, in his gracious providence, especial means of bringing about this result in the institution of circumcision, the passover, and the Sabbath. When they went down to the house of bondage, the land of Egypt (Exod. xx. 2), they bore with them only the *initial* sign of a covenanted people, in that circumcision which bound the *individual* alone to Jehovah (Kalisch on Exod. xx. 8); when they at last quitted it, they celebrated their exodus by the festival of the passover, the sign of a *national* devotion to the God who had delivered them (Exod. xii. 6); and what the right of circumcision did for them *once in a lifetime*, and the passover *once in a year*, the primeval institute of the Sabbath, which had

never been dropped wholly among them, accomplished with even a *weekly frequency*. This probation does not fail of its purpose. Israel gets its adoption and call from its state of slavery to be the Lord's 'first-born' (Exod. iv. 22), chosen before all other nations—to do for them what a first-born son was privileged to do for a family—to exercise priestly functions, to preserve and propagate the doctrine of God, and thus to become the teachers and prophets of the nations. Fresh from the signs and wonders of their exodus, which they had consecrated by the sacramental passover, the youthful nation is brought to the base of Mount Sinai, one of the heights of Horeb, the scene of God's first revelation to Moses, there to be inaugurated in its theocratic polity for its holy functions. It is to be observed, that as usual with God in his dealings with men, the first overtures of a covenant come from the Divine being. After his own precedents of mercy in the cases of Noah\* (Gen. vi. 18; ix. 9-17), and of Abraham (xvii. 2-8), repeated with Isaac (xxvi. 2-5), and with Jacob (xxxv. 9-12), God now expressly invites, through Moses, the liberated nation to enter with him into a gracious covenant (Exod. xix. 3-6). The people promptly accept the offer and its conditions (xix. 8). A solemn preparation during three days is made (xix. 10-15) for the interview, which Jehovah proposed to hold in clouded majesty (xix. 9). Subdued, however, as his glory was, it was too much for the terrestrial objects before which it was displayed. Old Sinai 'quaked greatly' (xix. 18); 'all the people in the camp trembled' (xix. 16); and even Moses, used as he was to the presence of God, partook of the awful feeling (I Heb. xii. 21). Amidst these sublime portents of thunders and lightnings, and trembling hearts, and surrounded with a heavenly retinue (Deut. xxxiii. 2), Jehovah spake in audible words to the 'sanctified' host, which were ranged at a specified distance around the foot of the mountain, and whose attention had been fixed by a loud trumpet sound. 'Ten words,' or utterances, are expressly mentioned as spoken by Jehovah (עֲשֵׂתֵי הַדְּבָרִים, Exod. xxxiv. 28; Deut. iv. 13; x. 4). In these lies the DECALOGUE, the essence of the theocratic legislation, the root of all the other laws. It attested the will of God to the people, and hence is called 'the Testimony' (הָעֵדוּת, see Exod. xxxi. 18; xxxii. 15; xxxiv. 29); and was the earliest document of the Covenant, and, as such, was sometimes emphatically named 'the Covenant' (הַבְּרִית, Exod. xxxiv. 28; Deut. iv. 13; and so, later, 1 Kings viii. 21; 2 Chron. vi. 11). These 'ten words' (the common synonym of *ten commandments* does not occur in the original Scriptures) were the only portion of the law which Jehovah announced himself. More, perhaps, he might have spoken, but the affrighted people entreated that Moses might be their mediator: 'Speak thou with us, and we will hear; but let not God

speak with us, lest we die' (Exod. xx. 19). Enough had been done to reveal the real existence of Jehovah, and to vindicate the greatness of his majesty. So he condescended to the weakness of his people, and ceased from his personal communications to them. But he added a caution against idolatry (xx. 22, 23), the vanity of which he bade them conclude from his own actual voice which they had heard (comp. verse 22 with Ps. cxv. 3-9; Is. xlv. 18-20). Moreover, as the nation in general had renounced its priestly access to Jehovah, an official priesthood became necessary; God accordingly at once indicated to Moses the institution of an altar, and gave to him, who (as mediator) combined in himself at the moment all functions, including the sacerdotal itself (whence it was he who afterwards consecrated Aaron and his sons, see Exod. xl. 12-16), directions respecting it (xx. 24-26). The twentieth chap. of Exodus, which contains the Divine proclamation of the Decalogue as the nucleus of the theocratic law, is followed by legislative prescriptions, throughout chapters xxi.-xxiii. 19, which comprise what is called in chap. xxiv. 7, סֵפֶר הַבְּרִית, 'the book of the covenant' (Hävernick, *Introduction*, gives a much wider sense to this 'Book of the C.:'; but Hengstenberg, *On the Pent.* [Clark], ii. 125; Kurtz, *Old Cov.* [Clark], iii. 141; Bertheau, *Die sieben Gruppen*; Knobel, *on Exodus*; Rosenmüller, *in loc.*, follow the prevalent opinion of the older commentators, which we adopt, influenced by the simple sense of the entire passage; see Corn. a Lapide and Patrick on Exod. xxiv. 7; and, more fully, Dresdius, *De libro qui liber fœderis appellatur*). This 'Book of the Covenant' contained probably the ten commandments, or words of Jehovah, (as the basis) and 'the judgments,' or statutory details of the same, found in chapters xxi.-xxiii., which God gave the people by Moses, as the terms on which they stood in the theocratic covenant with him (see this division of 'the Book,' apparently indicated in Exod. xxiv. 3, where בְּלִדְבָרֵי יְהוָה = the Decalogue, and בְּלִדְמוֹשֶׁבֶטִים = the subsequent statutes, or Decalogue reduced to a practical code).

*The Structural Character of the Law.*—In the 13th section of Dr. Forbes' work, *On the Symmetrical Structure of Scripture*, the Decalogue is submitted to a symmetrical analysis, and the significance of the number ten as the symbol of completeness is illustrated after Bähr, *Symbolik des Mos. Cultus*; and Dr. Fairbairn's *Typology of Scripture*. This, however, we can do no more than thus cursorily refer the reader to (see also Kurtz, *Old Covenant*, iii. 121, and the authorities he quotes). It is more to our purpose to accept the number ten as the basis indicated by the Divine author himself (see the above-mentioned עֲשֵׂתֵי הַדְּבָרִים of Exod. xxxiv. 28) of the structural form of his law. Ernst Bertheau, *Die Sieben Gruppen Mos. Gesetze*, has taken this basis; and, whatever may be thought of his work as a whole (Ewald speaks very favourably of it, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. 217, and accepts it as the groundwork of a still more elaborate structural division of some of the laws; Baumgarten, *Comment. zum Pentateuch*, follows it largely in his vol. ii.; while Kurtz, *Old Covenant* [Clark], iii. 138, commends the hypothesis as having

\* The covenant, however, which God made with Noah belonged to the whole human race, and not to God's theocratic kingdom on earth; accordingly it is אֱלֹהִים (*Elohim*), and not יְהוָה (*Jehovah*), who speaks in Gen. vi. and ix. Von Gerlach, *On the Pent.* [Clark], p. 62.



‘much to recommend it,’ and as displaying great acuteness on the author’s part, but relinquishes it, too summarily we think, as untenable), there is no doubt much to interest the reader in it, and especially in this early portion of the Mosaic legislation, ‘the Book of the Covenant.’ This he succeeds in showing to consist of a *group of decalogues*, which we must here be content with simply indicating. The ‘group’ contains *seven* sections, and each of these ten commandments. The first section is *the Decalogue*, κατ’ ἐξοχήν, God’s own spoken ‘words.’ This and the six other sections are contained in the following passages :—

Section I. Exod. xx. 3, 4, 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17.\*

Section II. Exod. xxi. 2, 3, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9,  
IO, II.

Section III. Exod. xxi. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 22, 26.

Section IV. Exod. xxi. 28, 33, 35; xxii. 1, 5, 6, 7, 10, 14, 16.

Section V. Exod. xxii. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26, 28, 29, 31.

Section VI. Exod. xxiii. 1, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 7, 8. [Verses 9-13 contain special and isolated precepts.]†

Section VII. Exod. xxiii. 14, 15, 15, 16, 16, 17, 18, 18, 19, 19.

'The Book of the Covenant,' which is thus distributed, suitably ends with a decade of blessings (Berthearn, pp. 72-76). These blessings our author apportions among the last fourteen verses of chapter xxiii., in the manner following:—20, 23, 25, 25, 26, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31-33. With them the first great division of the laws of Moses is concluded; but before we proceed to the subsequent laws, we have to notice the brief but highly significant history which intervenes in Exod. xxiv. We have seen with what promptitude the nation accepted God's proposal of a covenant, and the great preamble of its conditions and privileges (Exod. xix. 8). With similar alacrity and with a like formula does it now ratify the covenant itself, and receive its sequel of promises. This ratification was confirmed with solemn sacrificial rites

\* The Arabic figures which mark the verses also indicate the *beginning* of the various commandments. When the figure is repeated it must be understood that as many commandments begin in the verse as there are repetitions of the same figure: thus, in section ii. *two* commandments have their beginning in the *twice* repeated verse 3 of Exod. xxi., each indicated by the formula **ד**, 'if,'

† So Berthieu, pp. 42-48. Notwithstanding the force of the remarks by which he justifies this isolation of verses 9-13, it is difficult to agree with him in detaching the precepts they contain from the context, with which they seem naturally to cohere. We venture to substitute the following arrangement of the first 13 verses of chap. xxiii., as forming a decade of precepts in themselves, without any elimination—1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13. We must not be regarded as pledging ourselves to an absolute reception of Berthieu's hypothesis in all its details. We think his *second* group very arbitrary, and this part of his work has exposed him to most severe criticism; but we cannot but admit that after all drawbacks his general arrangement has much to recommend it.

(vers. 4, 5; comp. Homer, *Il.* iii. 297-301, and the facial rites described by Livy, *Hist.* i. 24; see also similar ceremonies suggested by Plato, *Critias*, and J. D. Michaelis's note thereon in his *Mosaisches Recht* [Smith's trans., i. 364], sec. 70), for the performance of which Moses appoints, for want of the Levitical priesthood not yet consecrated, 'young men of the children of Israel,' who were either the first-born (see Exod. xiii. 2) or select youths of special aptitude for the work with out regard to primogeniture (so, with less reason, Abarbanel, quoted by Rosenmüller; comp. xix. 22). One point of this ceremonial has a profound connection with our Lord's institution of the Eucharist (comp. ver. 8 with Matt. xxvi. 28; Mark xiv. 24; Heb. x. 22; 1 Pet. i. 2). The sacrifice was followed by a festive commemoration, by which God showed his gracious approval of the nation's acceptance of his covenant, in the presence of their future priests and seventy representatives (ver. 11). This impressive and happy ceremony ended, Moses is invited to ascend the mount for a lengthened and solitary interview with God—to receive from him additional laws, now rendered necessary by his new relation to them as their theocratic king. A suitable residence must be provided for their Divine King, who purposed to dwell among them. 'Tent-like must be the palace, as befitted the at present nomadic condition of the people. The king, too, must have his court-officials, through whom access to the royal 'presence must be arranged for his subjects. Hence the next great portion of the Mosaic law pertains to the sanctuary or tabernacle, and to the priests and their sacred garments. With directions about these the book of Exodus is wholly occupied (except in one or two *historical* chapters) from chap. xxv. to the end. God gave his servant these details on the mount, 'patterns themselves of things in the heavens' (Heb. ix. 23; comp. viii. 5), and this their heavenly original, as well as the minute care bestowed on them in the law, impresses on this part of the Mosaic code a profound importance, not only as the vehicle of elevated instruction to the Jews of old, but in its relation to the gospel. 'Christianity in fact is the pattern, of which, as already existing in the mind of God, the Mosaic scheme was a copy, impress (*τύπος*), or imitation' (Freeman, *Principles of Divine Service*, p. 151). Bertheau pursues his theory here, and sees as before decalogues of laws (*Gruppen*, 104-128). His arrangement, which, however, more than anywhere else dislocates the text of Scripture, we here set down, specifying as before the beginning of each commandment by the *verse* figures :—

Section I. Exod. xxvi. 1, 4, 6, 7, 10, 11, 14, 15, 18, 26-29; containing ten laws about the materials of the tabernacle, etc.

Section II. Exod. xxv. 10, 11, 13, 17, 18-22 ; xxx. 1, 3, 5-10 ; xxv. 31, 37-39 ; ten laws about the ark, the golden altar, and the golden candlestick.

Section III. Exod. xxv. 23, 24, 25, 25, 26, 28, 29; xxvi. 31, 36, 37; ten laws about the table of shew-bread, the vail (before the holy of holies), and the hanging (before the holy place).

Section IV. Exod. xxvii. 9-19; xxx. 18-21, 25-33, 34-38; xxvii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 4, 6-8; ten laws about the court, the laver, the anointing oil, the incense, and the brazen altar.

Section V. Exod. xxviii. 6, 13, 15, 22, 23, 26,  
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27, 31, 33, 36; ten laws about the priests' garments.

Section VI. Exod. xxix. 1, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16; ten laws about the consecration of the priests (first series).

Section VII. Exod. xxix. 19, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26, 29, 31, 35, 38-42; ten laws about consecration (second series).

The book of *Leviticus* contains further and more copious portions of the laws of Moses.

1st, *Sacrificial Laws*.—The early portion of this book is occupied with the divine directions respecting the various 'offerings.' This is a very prominent part of the Mosaic code. For the history and nature of sacrificial worship, and a description of the different kinds of sacrifice, we must refer the reader to other parts of this work [OFFERING; BURNT-OFFERING, etc.]; our object here is simply to classify these as they occur in the law. Bertheau's third group includes them all, the seven sections of which, with their respective decades of rules, are as follow:—

Section I. Lev. i. 2, 10, 14; ii. 1, 5, 7, 14; iii. 1, 6, 12; ten laws about burnt-offerings, meat-offerings, and peace-offerings.

Section II. Lev. iv. 3, 13, 22, 27; v. 1, 2, 4, 15, 17; vi. 1-7; ten laws about sin-offerings and trespass-offerings.

Section III. Lev. vi. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 18; ten laws of detail respecting the burnt-offerings and the meat-offerings.

Section IV. Lev. vi. 20, 21, 21, 22, 22, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30; ten laws about the priests' consecration offerings, and of detail about the sin-offerings.

Section V. Lev. vii. 1, 2, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10; ten laws of detail respecting the trespass-offerings.

Section VI. Lev. vii. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21; ten laws of detail about the peace-offerings.

Section VII. Lev. vii. 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33-34; ten laws of general import respecting these offerings.

The next three chapters of *Leviticus* (viii.-x.) are narrative. They describe the consecration of Aaron as high-priest by Moses, God's commissioner, and that of his sons, in which ceremonial the law is carefully carried out for the first time. Aaron's first official act was the blessing of the people, upon which Jehovah attested his pleasure at the proceedings by sending a fire to consume the offerings which had just been presented to him. But the Theocratic King was as swift in avenging the breach of his laws as prompt in blessing their observance. Whether from inexperience in their new office, or a profane presumption, which induced them to slight its prescribed duties, Nadab and Abihu, the two eldest sons of Aaron, 'offered strange fire before Jehovah, which he commanded them not, and they went out a fire from the Lord, and they died before the Lord' (x. 1, 2). This awful event led to the promulgation of one or two special laws, one of which, spoken by the Lord directly to Aaron, is of such a nature as to have suggested the supposition that the offending priests had committed their fatal error under the influence of 'wine or strong drink' (comp. ver. 9). The laws of sacrifice are followed by statutes on a kindred subject.

2d, *Laws of Uncleaness and Rites of Purification*.—There is a certain gradation traceable in the

order in which these are arranged in the book of *Leviticus*. Bertheau's fourth group embraces them all, ending with the grand expiation (the centre point of all the legal atonements) of the day of atonement. The sections run in the manner following:—

Section I. Lev. xi. 2, 9, 13, 20, 24, 27, 29, 39, 41, 43-45; ten laws about animals which are unclean and clean for food.

Section II. Lev. xii. 2; xiii. 2, 9, 18, 24, 29, 38, 40, 42, 47; ten laws about uncleanness from childbearing, and leprosy in person and dress.

Section III. Lev. xiv. 2, 4, 5, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 19, 20; ten laws about cleansing the leper [xiv. 21-32 contains ten directions supplementary to the third section].

Section IV. Lev. xiv. 34, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 46, 47, 48-53; ten laws about leprosy in houses.

Section V. Lev. xv. 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13-15; ten laws about uncleanness by issues (in men).

Section VI. Lev. xv. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24-30; ten more laws on the same subject (in women).

Section VII. Lev. xvi. 2, 3, 6, 8, 9, 11, 20, 23, 26, 27-28; ten laws respecting the great day of atonement.

[The rest of chap. xvi. is taken up with an earnest exhortation on the importance of this the most solemn of all days in the Jewish calendar. The repetition of this exhortation on the occasion of fixing the precise time of the solemnity, in Lev. xxiii. 26, gives still greater prominence to the importance of this unique day.] The fifth group of the Sinaitic legislation comes with much propriety after the laws of ceremonial uncleanness, and the methods authoritatively prescribed for its removal. It wears the appearance of extreme severity. It prominently states the holiness of Jehovah, and calls upon his subjects to copy his holiness (xix. 2). The provisions, therefore, of this group of laws, aim at securing this holy condition of the theocratic society. At first sight the contents of the group may seem heterogeneous. But, keeping in view the general purport which we have indicated, the reader will, on further examination, discover a coherence of moral design underlying the miscellaneous commandments which are contained in the next four chapters (xvii.-xx.) In arranging this group it will be seen that Bertheau postpones the 17th chap. immediately after the 19th. [For his reasons see *Grupp. Mos. Gesetz*, 206-210.]

3d, *Laws of sundry kinds enjoining Holiness*.—The sections which constitute this group, with their decalogues, are these:

Section I. Lev. xviii. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15; ten laws about unlawful marriages.

Section II. Lev. xviii. 16, 17, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 23; ten more laws on the same subject. [Verses 1-5 are a preamble, and verses 24-30 are a general sequel to the intermediate laws, in both of which the most earnest statement of moral sanctions is repeated.]

Section III. Lev. xix. 3, 3, 4, 4, 5, 9, 11, 12, 13, 13; ten laws of various import, all enjoining holiness of practice.

Section IV. Lev. xix. 14, 15, 16, 16, 17, 18, 19, 19, 20, 23-25; ten other laws of the same character and purport.

Section V. Lev. xix. 26, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35; ten similar laws.



Section VI. Lev. xvii. 3, 6, 8, 10, 13, 15; xx. 2, 6, 27, 9; ten laws of like purport.

Section VII. Lev. xx. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 21; ten laws of like purport in relation to adultery, incest, sodomy, etc. The last five verses (except the 27th, which seems to follow the 6th in sense) of chap. xx., conclude this group, with another solemn injunction, befitting the subject of this part of the law. The last words well express the intention of the Mosaic code, and this portion of it in particular: 'Ye shall be holy unto me, for I the Lord am holy, and have severed you from other people, that ye should be mine.' Then follows the last group of the laws which were given at Mount Sinai.

4th, *Sacerdotal, Festival, and Sundry Civil Laws, conclusion of the Sinaitic Code.*—This portion of the law is arranged by Bertheau after this manner:—

Section I. Lev. xxi. 1, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 17, 22; ten laws respecting the character and duties of the priests.

Section II. Lev. xxii. 2, 3, 4, 4, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14; ten laws of the disabilities of the priests for their duty, etc.

Section III. Lev. xxii. 18, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30; ten laws about offerings—their blemishes and perfections.

Section IV. Lev. xxiii. 3, 5, 8, 9, 15, 22, 24, 27, 34, 36; ten laws about the feasts—their appointed times, etc.

Section V. Lev. xxv. 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16; ten laws relating to the sabbatical year and the year of jubilee.

Section VI. Lev. xxv. 23, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35-38; ten laws about the redemption of land, and its restitution at the jubilee.

Section VII. Lev. xxv. 39, 40, 43, 44, 45, 47, 50, 51, 53, 54; ten laws about servants and slaves, both foreign and Israelite, and redemption of the latter.

Here ends the legislation of Mount Sinai; the 26th chapter, which records its termination (ver. 46), contains emphatic promises and threatenings of the Theocratic King. The Law of the Covenant, which formed the first of our groups, ended, as we saw, with a decalogue of gracious promises—but *no threatenings were added* to the nation, which had not yet declined from its obedience. Now, on the completion of the ampler laws of Sinai, and after experience of the people's waywardness, menaces of anger follow promises of blessing. The blessings, as before, are enshrined in a decalogue of promises (in verses 4, 5, 5, 6, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11-13). The threatenings, which are meant as a sanction to the five groups which have succeeded 'the Book of the Covenant,' seem to have regard to the *five times seven* sections of the commandments which constitute these groups. They accordingly fall into *five* sections themselves, and *that* in an order of gradation. (1.) Verses 14-17 menace *seven chastisements*—terror; consumption; burning ague; fruitless sowing; slaughter by the enemy; subjugation; panic flight. (2.) Verses 18-20 threaten a *sevenfold* increase of these punishments, if they prove ineffectual. (3.) Verses 21, 22, contain a like threat of '*seven times more* plagues, according to their sins.' (4.) Verses 23-26 prescribe, on the failure of former resources, Jehovah's further chastisements in a *sevenfold number*, with the sword, 'to avenge the quarrel of his covenant.' (5.) Verses 27-33 predict the extreme

'fury' of Jehovah, and its precise infliction on his rebellious subjects. 'I, even I, will chastise you *seven times* for your sins,' and the seven stages are then enumerated:—Direful famine, in which their children should be their food; the destruction of their high places; the burial of their idols beneath their own carcasses; the desolation of their cities; the desecration of their sanctuaries, with the rejection of their religious services; the desolation of their land and its occupation by the enemy; and their dispersion among the heathen, with their rough usage and utter prostration and panic there (ver. 34-39). The whole denunciation ends with a beautiful allusion to Jehovah's remembrance of the nation's primitive fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob:—'I will remember my covenant with them; I will remember the land; when they be in the land of their enemies (if then their uncircumcised hearts be humbled), I will not cast them away nor will I abhor them to destroy them utterly, and to break my covenant with them, for I am Jehovah their God.'

*Appendix to the Laws of Sinai.*—The last chapter of Leviticus contains supernumerary laws, which do not prescribe duties *obligatory* on the subjects of the Theocratic King, by reason of the covenant between them; but which rather direct such *optional* engagements as devout men might be disposed to make with God, in a higher sense than what was implied in their political relation to him. These engagements took the form of *vows*; and God gives Moses estimates of their value, at which they might be redeemed by such as made them, whether they were offerings of the person, or of cattle, or of houses, or of fields, or even of tithes. On comparing the last verse of chap. xxvi. with the last verse of chap. xxvii., we find that the latter chapter, though not a constituent part of the organic law of the covenant nation, was yet a pendant to that law, containing principles of administration which were only applicable to that nation. The remarkable feature, which we have so often observed, follows us also in the structure of these supernumerary provisions. They are contained in two decalogues. Thus, verses 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 [middle], 11, 13, constitute the first decade; and verses 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 26, 30-33, form the second.

*Arrangement of the Camp of Israel; Order of March.*—We have elsewhere called attention to the *military* character of the organisation which Moses gave his people, resembling in this respect the Servian constitution of the Romans, as described by Livy, *Hist.* i. 43 [CONGREGATION]. Full particulars of this organisation occur in the first part of the book of Numbers (chaps. i.-iv.), which also describes, in still ampler terms, the relation to the rest of the nation of the priestly tribe of Levi, and its office, wherein it was a substitute for 'all the first-born of the children of Israel' (iii. 41). The census and the marshalling of the host were effected by Moses, according to the express directions of Jehovah. In these directions Bertheau finds a decalogue, which he arranges thus:—Num. i. 1, 48; ii. 1; iii. 5, 11, 14, 44; iv. 1, 17, 21-49.

*Sundry Laws.*—Though the law, as a whole, ends with the book of Leviticus, certain enactments, in larger or smaller groups, occur in the book of Numbers, which seem to have been occasioned by the circumstances through which the nation passed after leaving Sinai. Thus, in chaps.

v. and vi. we meet with three decades of subsidiary laws, concerning—(1.) The removal of all unclean persons out of the camp, which had been just before duly arranged, and trespass-restitution; (2.) The remarkable process called ‘the trial of jealousy;’ and (3.) The law of the Nazarite vow. These are the decades:—v. 2, 2, 2, 7, 7, 8, 9, 10, 10.—v. 15, 15, 16, 17, 19, 21, 22 [end], 23, 25, 26.—vi. 2, 5, 6, 8, 11, 13, 16, 18, 19, 20.

*The Priests' Blessing.*—Aaron is described (Lev. ix. 22) as blessing the people, when the fire first descended from heaven and consumed the sacrifices; but, as it would seem, without an expressly commanded formula. So important a duty, however, was not to be left to the priest's option; so we have, in Num. vi. 22-27, a specific ordinance given, in which, for the first time, the divine idea of *Three* occurs in connection with God's name. Into the profound meaning of this trine benediction, on which the doctrine of the N. T. respecting the Divine Being sheds much light, this is not the place to inquire; on this question, we therefore are content to refer the reader to J. Conrade Hottinger's treatise, *De Benedictione sacerdotali*, ad loc., Num. vi. 24-26, reprinted in *Thes. Novus Theologico-philol.*, i. 393-400, appended to *Critici Sacri*, etc. Chapter vii. is narrative, but out of a circumstance recorded at its conclusion arise the regulations about the golden candlestick, and the consecration of the Levites, with their official duties, which are contained in chap. viii.

*A Second Passover.*—The original rules about keeping the Passover (Exod. xii.) were in many respects purely of a temporary kind, suitable to the moment only: the festival, however, was meant to be perpetual, as an important means of the perpetuity of the covenant; no wonder, then, if on the emergence of circumstances of a nominal kind, fresh regulations should be found necessary; and such, in fact, occur in Num. ix., where a *second* passover is allowed, exactly a month later than the first and great celebration, in the case of disqualified or absent persons. In this supplementary rite the same liberality to the stranger was shown as in the principal ordinance. A long section of history, including that of the unfaithful spies, and the murmurs of the disaffected people, and the fatal anger of the Lord, stretches to the end of Num. xiv., being interrupted (at the beginning of chap. x.) by a decade of regulations respecting the silver trumpets of call and summons. These ten rules occur in verses 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 8, 9, 10.

*The Decade of Temptations.*—With the assistance of Bertheau's acute and ingenious investigations, we have had abundant application of the decimal number of *perfection* to the structural form of the Law of Moses, and we have found this symmetry pervading even God's denunciations and promises in a surprising manner. It is quite in keeping with this remarkable feature that, on the commission of the crowning sin of the people in accepting the evil report of the spies, God, in the preamble of his stern sentence, adduces *ten* provocations, as constituting the full measure of their sins against him. ‘All those men have tempted me now these ten times’ (Num. xiv. 22). Nor is this simply a number emblematic in this instance of completion, for in fact the ‘temptations’ mentioned in the previous history are, as Rosenmüller (*Scholia*, in loc.) and others have observed, exactly ten: (1) At the Red Sea; (2) at Marah; (3) in

the Desert of Sin; (4) about the manna; (5) about the manna a second time (Exod. xvi. 27, 28); (6) in Rephidim; (7) at Horeb, in the matter of the golden calf—their *seventh* and greatest sin; (8) at Taberah; (9) at Kibroth-Hattaavah; (10) here at Kadesh, their *tenth* and exhaustive sin!

*The ultimate Decalogue of Laws.*—Between chap. xv. and the last chapter of the Book of Numbers lies the seventh and last of Bertheau's groups of Mosaic Laws, embedded in sections of historical narrative. With the history we have here nothing further to do than to suggest its relation to the legislation which grew out of it. The people had fallen from God in their rebellious acceptance of the spies' evil report; but the faithful Moses, firm and undaunted as ever in his mediatorial office, prevailed on the Lord to forgive their sin, and to receive them back into his covenant favour. They, however, had forfeited Canaan; only their children now were to inherit it. This reversionary provision for the next generation occasions some new laws—the command respecting the sanctification of all fruits of the ground by meat and drink-offering (Lev. xxiii. 10) is here renewed with a more precise command about the sin-offering. ‘The law was thus a pledge of the continuance of the covenant. The annexation of a peculiar law about a sin-offering of the congregation (Num. xv. 22-26) may perhaps have had its origin in the many chances of such sinnings in the wilderness, by which it might become doubtful how far the whole congregation was to be regarded as tainted with this guilt’ (Von Gerlach on the *Pentateuch*, p. 477). The sections of the last group of laws are arranged by Bertheau, as follows:—

Section I. Num. xv. 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14-16; ten more specific laws about burnt-offerings, meat, and drink-offerings. [The rest of the chapter contains single and incoherent laws about sins of ignorance and their sacrifices, sins of presumption and their punishment, and regulations about fringes for the borders of garments. Bertheau leaves these by themselves as supernumerary.]

Section II. Num. xix. 2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 10, 12, 12, 13; ten laws about the sin-offering of the red heifer, and the purification of the unclean from the touch of a dead body. [The preceding chapter contains *Aaronic* precepts respecting the rights and incomes of the priests and Levites, as if in protest against the rebellion of Korah, who had complained of such special privileges.]

Section III. Num. xix. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 22; ten laws about unclean persons and vessels, and the purification of the former.

Section IV. Num. xxviii. 2, 3, 9, 11, 16, 26; xxix. 1, 7, 12, 35-38; ten laws about the great festivals and services of God's worship, suggested apparently by the near approach of the conquest of Canaan, that the successes of the nation might not lead them to the neglect or contempt of these paramount ordinances.

Section V. Num. xxx. 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15; ten laws about especial vows; and when married and unmarried women are excused from their fulfilment.

Section VI. Num. xxxv. 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 10, 13, 13, 14, 15; ten laws respecting Levitical cities, and cities of refuge.

Section VII. Num. xxxv. 16, 17, 20, 22, 26, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34; ten laws respecting murder and



manslaughter. The last of these laws is worthy of special quotation: 'Defile not the land which ye shall inhabit, wherein I dwell; for I, the Lord, dwell among the children of Israel'—**כִּי אֲנִי יְהוָה**. **שֶׁכֶן בְּתוֹךְ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל**. Thus all these laws terminate in Jehovah, who still keeps his covenant with his people, notwithstanding the many shocks they had dealt against it. The land, which was now full to overflowing with the sins of a guilty race ripe for judgment, is, in view of that covenant, already holy and sacred for a holy nation and its Theocratic King!

The book of Numbers and the code of Israel alike end with a statute respecting female heiresses, which arose out of a case which came before Moses in the plains of Moab, shortly before his death and the invasion of Canaan.

*Repetition of the Law; Deuteronomy.*—The generation which had been delivered from Egypt had met that doom in the wilderness to which Jehovah had devoted them 'in his wrath' (Ps. xcv. 11), and their children are on the confines of Canaan ready to enter on its conquest. Moses employs the few remaining weeks of his life in the consolidation of his great legislative work. He recounts to the sons God's mercies to their fathers all through the trials of their provocation, and above all he recapitulates the laws wherewith Jehovah had organised them into a theocratic people, and urges them by every constraining motive of love and fear to obey them. This Deuteronomy is not to be regarded of course as, organically, a new code, or even as a material addition to the former legislation, in the same sense as the Sinaitic laws (contained in Bertheau's Groups ii.-vi.), and the laws of Kadesh (Bertheau's Group vii.) were organic additions to 'the Book of the Covenant' (Bertheau's Group i.) *It is rather an authoritative comment of the legislator upon his own laws*; or, to put it more correctly still, the inspired explanation of the laws of the Divine King by the accredited human agent who had been employed in their original promulgation.\* We have thus, in Deuteronomy, the *human* side of the law, as compared with the *Divine* side of the three preceding books—the subjective rather than the objective form. [DEUTERONOMY.] All the commandments, therefore, of this last book of the Pentateuch are given as injunctions of Moses, and not, as before, in the direct name of Jehovah. More of an ethical treatment of the law appears also in Deuteronomy. High moral aims are attributed to its discipline. The stern 'letter which killeth' (2 Cor. iii. 6), so manifest in the previous books, is here clothed with 'the spirit that giveth life.' Moses, the specially honoured servant of Jehovah, and the mediator

with Jehovah's people, had not been favoured with his unique opportunities of knowing God's purposes and will (Deut. xxxiv. 10) without catching an insight into that great future for which his own legal dispensation was meant to pave the way. Nor could he have concluded the labours of his grand life with more effectual advantage to his nation than by adding the book of Deuteronomy to the law, with its treasury of spiritual truth, out of which, in the progressive scheme of God's dispensations, the holy prophets were in course of time to take and expand such doctrines and precepts and promises as should gradually advance to the spirit and perfection of the gospel itself (Davison, *On Prophecy*, pp. 51, 52). This characteristic of Deuteronomy was carefully observed by the ancient fathers of the church, and St. Jerome expounds their profound observation in these words—'Deuteronomium quoque secunda lex et evangelicæ legis præfiguratio. Nonne sic habet ea quæ priora sunt, ut tamen nova sint omnia de veteribus?' as if the *repetition of the law*, signified by the title *Deuteronomy*, after all received its best sense in its prefiguring the law of the gospel, and so imparting a new aspect to the old commandments of which it treated (S. Hieronymi *Opera* [Ed. Ben. i. 276], *Epist. ad Paulin.*)

*Difference of Structure of the Deuter. Law.*—The *paranetic* character of this last book of the Pentateuch prepares us for the absence of that structural regularity which we have seen pervading the legal portions of the former books. Bertheau (*Grupp. Mos. Gesetze*, S. 312) remarks on 'the manifest difference of the method, which has no longer the classification of sections and groups; but instead thereof a long connected discourse, grounded on a more general basis. The oft-recurring *formula*, which were the legal sanction, especially the well-known **וידבר יהוה אל משה** (And the Lord spake unto Moses), have now disappeared; moreover the greatest change of the order, as well as of the form, is apparent.' It must not, however, be forgotten that the great legislator is still an inspired agent of Jehovah, and that his communications to the new race of Israel carry no less real authority than the more formal decrees which he spoke to their fathers in God's direct name. This authority has always been acknowledged by Jews and Christians, and no part of the Mosaic writings is more appealed to throughout the O. T. and in the N. T., than the book of Deuteronomy. This book bears some resemblance, as to its place in the harmony of the law, to St. John's Gospel in the evangelic harmony. It is supplementary, according to circumstances.

*Laws peculiar to Deuteronomy.*—Bearing in mind the general purpose and characteristics of this book, we are not surprised to find the lawgiver often quoting his laws inexactly; sometimes *amplifying* their original form (as in Deut. xxiv. 10-13, comp. with Exod. xxii. 26, 27; and ver. 14, 15, of the same chapter, comp. with Lev. xix. 13), almost *more rhetorically*; and at other times simply referring to the code itself in the most *compressed* manner possible (as in Deut. xxiv. 8 comp. with Lev. xiii., xiv.) But in such cases there is no essential change in the *matter* of the laws; and these cases are largely increased by other quotations in which he does not change even the *form* of the earlier laws; so that the Deuteronomic version of the law of Israel is, in a general sense at

\* St. Athanasius exactly describes the purport of Deuteronomy in the phrase *δευτεροὶ καὶ διεσφῆσσε*, 'repeats and explains'; and the designations of the Rabbinic doctors equally well express the character of the book. Some call it simply **הַתּוֹרָה**, 'iteration of the law,' after Deut. xvii. 18, which A. V. renders 'copy of the law'; others, with a more explicit meaning, in reference to a phrase used of Moses in Deut. i. 5, designate the last book of the Pentateuch **הַתּוֹרָה**, 'exposition of the law' (see more in Carozov, *Introductio in Vet. Test.*, i. 135, 136).

east, an express and authoritative corroboration of the original constitution. Other cases, however, undoubtedly exist in which the earlier legislation is altered by the later. Yet it can hardly be thought that in even these a real change has taken place. The change of circumstances from the nomade state of the wilderness to the fixed abode in Canaan, is generally enough to account for the modification (for instance, the law of Lev. xvii. 3-5, is peremptory, and admits of no exception, for it was practicable in the camp of the wilderness; but, as it would be impracticable in Canaan, it is considerably modified in Deut. xii. 15, 20, 21; although even here the principle of the original statute is completely reaffirmed; comp. Deut. xii. 5, 6, 11, 13, 14, with Lev. xvii. 3, 4, 5). Some twelve or fourteen instances of such modification have been pointed out, but they do not affect the authenticity of the legal documents in anywise. The same authority under which the lawgiver acted in making these changes, enabled him still further to adapt his code to his people's wants as permanent residents in Palestine, by the addition of certain new laws.

*King and Prophet.*—The two most remarkable additions occur in chapters xvii. and xviii. The former passage (ver. 14-20) provides for the appointment in due time of a king; and the latter (ver. 9-22) provides for the institution of the prophetic office. Thus the royal and the prophetic offices were a development of the law of Moses—himself 'king in Jeshurun,' 'the ruler and deliverer' of Israel (Deut. xxiii. 5; Acts vii. 35), and the prince and the type of 'the goodly fellowship of the prophets' (comp. Deut. xxxiv. 10, with xviii. 15). These offices, which were thus cognate in origin, began their formal course together in Samuel and Saul. The holders of them were to be viceregents of the Theocratic King to administer the laws of the Pentateuch; but not to assume legislative powers by increasing or diminishing the original code.

*Miscellaneous Additions.*—Peculiar to Deuteronomy also are the following:—1. The levirate law (xxv. 5-10); 2. The law of divorce, which our Lord expounded and restricted afterwards (xxiv. 1-4; comp. Matt. xix. 3-9); 3. The law about fugitive slaves (xxiii. 15, 16); 4. The association of priests with the supreme Judge, as commissioners for determining certain difficult cases [*'ad causas civiles quod attinet . . . non de rebus ad religionem pertinentibus.'*—*Clericus.*] (xvii. 8-13); 5. The law of the first-born's inheritance (xxi. 15-17); 6. The law which prescribes the number of stripes in flogging culprits (xxv. 2, 3); 7. The prohibition to 'muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn' (ver. 4); 8. Severe punishment prescribed against individuals and communities for the practice of idolatry (xiii.; xvii. 2-5); 9. The poor to be kindly treated in the year of release—difference in the treatment of the foreigner as to debt (xv. 1-11); 10. Groves of trees prohibited near the altar of Jehovah (xvi. 21, 22); 11. Retaliation on false witnesses (xix. 16-21); 12. Laws of the usages of war—remarkable for their humane spirit both towards the Israelite soldier and the enemy; fruit-trees to be spared before a besieged place (xx.); 14. Expiation of an uncertain murder prescribed (xxi. 1-9); 15. The privilege of a woman taken captive in war (xxi. 10-14); 16. Punishment of a rebellious son (xxi. 18-21); 17. Speedy burial

of an executed malefactor (xxi. 22, 23); 18. Against the promiscuous use of male and female dress (xxii. 5); 19. The dam not to be taken from a nest with her young (ver. 6, 7); 20. Houses to be furnished with parapets (xxii. 8); 21. Punishment of wife-slander (ver. 13-21); 22. Certain cases of unclean persons excluded from the congregation of the Lord (xxiii. 1-8); 23. The military camp of Israel is to be regarded as holy with the presence of the Lord of Hosts, and to be kept free from unclean acts and things (xxiii. 9-14); 24. The house of the Lord to be unsullied with the fee of whoredom, or the price of an unclean animal (ver. 17, 18); 25. Permitted trespass in the vineyard and the corn-field—the latter being applicable to the act of the disciples of Christ (24, 25; comp. Matt. xii. 1, etc.); 26. Punishment of the immodest woman (xxv. 11, 12); 27. The assertion of the great principle of individual responsibility (Deut. xxiv. 16). This law helps to explain the doubtful meaning of Josh. vii. 24, 25. The law of Moses was not likely to have been so soon disregarded by his successor. So that it may be concluded that Achan alone suffered without his children, under the provisions, as it would seem, of Deut. xiii. 9, 10, and xvii. 5. 28, 29. In carefully preparing this list, by a comparison of Deuteronomy with the three preceding books, we found two other statutes peculiar to Deuteronomy, which we have kept until now—one beginning and the other terminating that portion of the book which is specially legal (chap. xii.—xxvi.) The first of these strictly enjoins a *unity of place in the promised land for common worship*, and the idea runs through the legal part of Deuteronomy (comp. xii. 5, 11, 14, 18, 21, 26; xiv. 23, 24, 25; xv. 20; xvi. 2, 6, 7, 15, 16; xvii. 8-10; xviii. 6; xxvi. 2; xxxi. 11); and the last prescribes the offering of the *basket* of first-fruits at God's altar, and suggests the form of a beautiful prayer to be observed at the ceremony, ending with these words, 'Bless thy people Israel, and the land which thou hast given us, as thou swarest unto our fathers—a land that floweth with milk and honey' (xxvi. 1-15).

*Covenant of Deuteronomy.*—Solemn promises, doubtless through the mediation of Moses, of obedience on the part of the new generation, and of blessing and protection on the part of Jehovah,\* followed the conclusion of the Deuteronomic law (xxvi. 17-19). Moreover, a solemn ceremonial was ordered to be observed after the conquest of Canaan, in which tablets containing the new enactments were to be set up in a most prominent place, and sundry curses and blessings were to be pronounced on Mounts Ebal and Gerizim (chap. xxvii., xxviii.), the counterpart of those which we have seen sanctioning the legislation of Mount Sinai.

*Purport of the Law.*—Such was the law of Moses, and such the protracted history of its promulgation. The purity of the patriarchal religion was gone, and polytheism with its attendant idolatry had overspread the nations, when Jehovah called Israel to be the depositary of truth, and to be 'a holy people and a peculiar treasure to him-

\* A comparison of ver. 18-20 with ver. 10-12 of Ezek. xx., shows us that God's proposals for a covenant with the new generation of Israel were not less gracious than they had been with their fathers.



self' in the earth. The institutions which he gave them were admirably fitted to discourage idolatry, and to secure their allegiance to himself. In book I. of his most learned treatise, *De Legibus Hebr. ritualibus*, Spencer has examined the chief of these Mosaic institutions, and shown how, in pursuance of the direct teaching of the moral law, the rite of circumcision and the Sabbath, by keeping the Israelites separate in the world, were remedies so far against the world's sin of idolatry (chap. vi.); the distinctions of food had a like tendency (chap. vii.); so had the specific ordinances of time, place, and person, in the Mosaic ritual (chap. viii.); while the great festivals, with almost dramatic force, reminded the chosen people of God's historical providence over them, and associated this with the annual stages of his ever-recurring care (chap. ix.) How deeply rooted in the national heart was the impression produced by the *Passover*, to quote one instance, as a protest against the idolatry of Egypt and other Gentiles, appears from David's reflections (2 Sam. vii. 22-24). And this ritualism was supported by the direct instruction of the law, which always provided for the honour and reverence of God, and of the sacred names and services, and ministers, which had reference to him (chap. x.) The God of Israel was a holy and jealous God; his glory he would not give to another; his name must not be vainly used or blasphemed; neither must blemished offering nor unsanctified priest be employed in his service; and, as we have seen, his people must emulate his holiness—'Be ye holy, for I the Lord am holy.' But it was not the sole, if indeed it was the primary, purport of the law to educate the chosen nation. God had not forgotten his Abrahamic covenant and promises. In the patriarch's seed the nations of the earth were still to be blessed. Israel had, therefore, a wider function than to cherish the truth for himself alone; he was a steward of the divine mysteries, or rather a trustee thereof, for the good of mankind. From its revelation of God, as well as from its prescribed rites and sacrifices, it is manifest that the law kept in view a principle wider than the theocratic. At the beginning of this article we dwell on the prominent feature of the Mosaic code as a theocratic constitution. Jehovah's *regal* relation, as the political king of the nation, is everywhere apparent. But besides this, his higher character as God, the heavenly King, may be discovered underlying some of the Mosaic ordinances. The vessels of the tabernacle being of gold were suited to him as the national King; but being moreover designed for the presentation of *sacrificial* gifts, they referred to him as the Divine Being. The twelve loaves of the shewbread seemed to indicate the nation's provision for its King; but then, as they remained intact, and were consumed only by the priests of the tabernacle, they pointed to God as one who needed not human food. The tabernacle, too, as adorned with gold and costly furniture, looked like the residence of a king; but as anointed and covered with cherubim, it was really only consistent with the habitation of the most high God. Again, the priests in their beautiful apparel resembled the ministers of the nation's king; but as they ministered in holy things (*τῶν ἁγίων λειτουργοί*), their services implied no less than the divinity of the God they adored. In like manner a double aspect is

assigned to every part of the tabernacle, furniture, and service (see Spencer, *Dissertatio de Theocrat. Jud.* ad calcem libri I. tractatus *De legibus Hebr.*), a circumstance which accounts for the ascription in many passages both of *regal* and *divine* honours to Jehovah; for both characters would a pious Jew behold in him, as David did, when he said, 'Hearken unto the voice of my cry, *my King* and *my God*' (Ps. v. 2; comp. xx. 9; xlv. 4, 8, 21; lxviii. 24; lxxxix. 18; xcv. 3; xcvi. 6, 9; Is. xliii. 15; Zech. xiv. 16, 17; Mal. i. 14); for the law, which is the basis of the entire O. T., proposes Jehovah as the God of the heavens and the earth, as well as King of Israel; and the tabernacle, which was his dwelling-place, gave signs alike of his creative and of his regal power\* (*ποιητικῆς καὶ βασιλικῆς*, as Philo expresses it). But in no part of the Mosaic system did its ulterior aim appear more prominent than in the sacrificial services. In the significant variety of *these*, Israel was not only himself educated in a pious appreciation of his own relation, fallen and imperfect as he was, to a holy God, but he was the minister and upholder of a religious worship, which led by an inevitable progress to 'the bringing in of a better hope'—the institution of 'a better testament' (Heb. vii. 19, 22).

*The Excellence and the Imperfection of the Law.*—This twofold relation of the law to the present and the future gives it a paradoxical cast; and hence in the N. T.—especially in the more precise statements of St. Paul—it is spoken of in apparently contradictory terms. On the one hand, we have passages which predicate such excellence of it as becomes a revelation and transcript of Jehovah's will; on the other hand, it is charged with weakness and imperfection. 'The law,' says St. Paul [that is, the entire Mosaic system], 'is holy, and the commandment [that is each detail of the law—*ἡ ἐντολή*] holy, just, and good' (Rom. vii. 12); but in the next chapter he speaks of the law's *incapability* (*τὸ ἀδύνατον τοῦ νόμου*), ver. 3; an idea which is enlarged in Heb. vii. 18 into its *weakness* and *inefficacy* (*ἀσθενὲς καὶ ἀνωφελὲς*), and more categorically still in the next verse, into a statement that it failed in the accomplishment of its end (*οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐτέλεσεν ὁ νόμος*); or, as A. V. renders it, 'The law made nothing perfect.' The explanation of this paradox is given by St. Paul himself in a single clause, *ἡσθένει διὰ τῆς σαρκός*, in which he attributes the failure of the law not to itself or its author, but to the sinfulness of human nature (Rom. viii. 3). What the apostle here explains, in the light of the gospel, was less lucidly stated by the ancient prophets, who saw and lamented the law's perversion by their countrymen. One of the latest of them, retracing the history of his nation, says: 'I [the LORD] gave them my statutes, and shewed them my judgments, which if a man do he shall even

\* Spencer notices also a third attribute of Jehovah, much displayed in the O. T., and expressed in the title, 'The Lord of Hosts.' Whatever be the mystic force of this characteristic of Jehovah, we must here be content with remarking that this is not an essentially different relation from the political and regal one (see Spencer, *De Theocrat. Jud.*, sec. iii.); although it probably refers to a higher development of it, and to the ultimate spiritual kingdom, *as intended to emerge out of the earthly*.



live in them; but the house of Israel rebelled against me in the wilderness, they walked not in my statutes, and they despised my judgments, which if a man do, he shall even live in them; and my sabbaths they greatly polluted' (Ezek. xx. 11, 13). The intrinsic excellence, however, of the law is here vindicated in the words of the divine legislator himself, and the failure of it imputed to the wilful nation. We are, therefore, left to an appreciation of the law's intrinsic perfection, undisturbed by an inefficacy which was really not its own. Nor was this inefficacy more *final* than normal. God's work of elaborate beauty and wisdom could not be permitted to succumb in permanent weakness before the very objects it was designed to benefit. It keeps its ground to the last in the ancient dispensation. 'Prophecy,' it has been elegantly said, 'expired with the gospel on its tongue.' But it is equally true that the law—'the law of Moses, with its statutes and judgments'—had an equal share of its last solicitude (Mal. iv. 4); and one of the earliest assurances of the N. T. consistently resumes that solicitude in the words of Christ: 'Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets; I am not come to destroy [or abrogate, *καταλῦσαι*], but to fulfil: for verily I say unto you, till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled' (Matt. v. 17, 18). How stands the case then? The answer to this question demands a recapitulation of the subjects we have already adduced in this article. The law, with its great derivative of prophecy, came between the rudimental promise of the prot-evangelium, as expanded in the Abrahamic covenant, and the accomplishment thereof in the gospel. *Its divine author adopted it with admirable wisdom for the dispensational purpose of leading from one to the other.* The patriarchal society having failed to preserve the truths which had been originally communicated to it, it was necessary that these should be recovered, and a means provided for their safe custody and transmission. The family of Abraham, to whom this sacred charge was committed, having grown into a nation, God was pleased to fence it round with a special organisation, that it might be separate among the nations, and so be able to maintain its trust uninjured, and not, as heretofore, reduced to heathen perversions. For this purpose Jehovah became the King of Israel, and he inaugurated his covenant with his 'chosen,' by giving them the theocratic institutions which were to regulate their entire life—social, moral, and religious. In these institutions all intermediate sanctions of conduct and policy disappear; everything is referred at once to the Divine Sovereign—'Ye shall do my judgments and keep my ordinances, to walk therein: I am the Lord your God.' This lofty standard is in every relation of life apparent. In all departments of education the appeal is, 'Ye shall be holy unto me, for I the Lord am holy, and have severed you from other people, that ye should be mine;' and in the tenure of all property this is the underlying principle, 'The land shall not be sold for ever, *for the land is mine*; ye are strangers and sojourners with me.' Thus did the theocracy, with its apparatus of political and religious ordinances, teach the Israelite, not indeed by explicit revelation, but by irresistible inference, to connect the finite present with the infinite future in God.

Such arguments as Warburton's, however ingenious, and in given instances valuable in combating objections, are apt to cramp the subject before us. The conclusion sought to be maintained, that the Mosaic sanctions are only of a *temporal* nature, is undeniable enough to become a truism, when confined within the narrow limits of the specific question; for national legislation, as such, can (obviously) do no more than propose rewards and punishments for the present life. But this is not the entire case. The theocratic laws were designed not only for teaching political duty, but for connecting man with God in a perpetual routine of social, moral, and religious life, of which it would indeed be a violence to reason to suppose they would not infallibly suggest to the devout Israelite the assurance of *an eternal happiness provided by his Divine King*, as the sequel of his temporal obedience. No doubt the law, which so strictly guarded him, would be equally sure to suggest another train of reflections. *His own sinful nature and propensities* would become painfully evident in the light of a revelation, which drew a contrast between Jehovah's holiness and the unholiness of even his highest theocratic servants. The catalogue of disqualifications, through *unclean-ness* of priest and people alike, derived its particulars from all stages and conditions of life; and not so much from wilfulness as from inadvertencies, involuntary acts, and even inevitable blemishes and natural conditions of the person. In harmony with such reflections would be those deductions which the thoughtful Israelite must needs have drawn from the inflexible rigour of *the moral law, contrasted with his own departures from it.* These thoughts would not only create a longing for deliverance, but would impress on the mind a new view of the significance of sacrifice to his Divine King. His *Leviticus*, read in the light of his *Deuteronomy*, and the still clearer comments of the prophets, would be an infallible *gospel* to him. We cannot mistake the influence of the law on personal piety, when we read such earnest eulogies of it as are contained, for instance, in Josh. i. 8 and in Ps. cxix. And how effectually it prepared its loyal adherents for the coming of Messiah, we gather from some glimpses into private life given to us in the gospels. Two instances occur on the very threshold: 'They were both righteous before God, walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless' (Luke i. 6; see other instances mentioned above in JESUS CHRIST [vol. ii. p. 546]).\* Nor on public life was the law without its signal influence. From the nature of the case the O. T. dwells much on the delinquencies and ultimate apostasy of the Jewish nation, even thus illustrating the importance of that law whose breach brought ruin upon the chosen people (see 2 Kings xvii. 15-23). But

\* It is worthy of remark that our Lord repelled the three temptations of Satan by quotations from the book of the law, as contained in Deuteronomy (see viii. 3; vi. 16; and vi. 13; comp. with Matt. iv. 4, 7, 13). We adduce this as an instance of the devout use which was made of the law by persons of spiritual discernment. This great instance is confirmatory of the fact, which the Psalms and the didactic parts of the prophets make so patent, that holy men of old got the tone and cue of their devotion from the law of Moses.



we need not rely on negative illustration. The nation's delinquencies were often followed by repentance, and a restoration of national prosperity; and in every instance the revival of blessing was brought about by reverting to the law of Moses. Moreover, we have some bright periods in the history of Israel, during which the law was honoured, with the happiest results to the people. The most instructive contrasts also occur throughout the history, all enforcing the excellence of the theocratic code as the very means of life and prosperity to its subjects (comp. Josh. i. with Judg. ii. ; also 2 Chron. xxxiii. 7-9). The brevity of the sacred history has left us uninformed as to the regular maintenance of the Mosaic institutions by the Israelites after their occupation of Canaan; and this silence has led to the conjecture that some of them fell into desuetude, or, at best, uncertainty of administration. It seems, however, to us fairer, and more in accordance with the nature of things, to conclude that, except in specified instances of the contrary, these institutions were duly observed, according to the intention of the lawgiver. Indeed the frequent formula which ennobles the piety of the kings of Judah, 'He did that which was right in the sight of Jehovah,' may well be construed in this sense of loyalty in administering God's theocratic laws. One fact we uniformly find, that whenever the circumstances and even the government of the nation underwent any modification, the law was carefully preserved from change and neglect. The two critical epochs which bore most resemblance to revolutionary disruptions, were the secession of the ten tribes and the captivity. But the law not only survived these changes, it even acquired fresh hold on the heart of the loyal part of the nation. The effect was doubly evident. Israel, though the stronger of the two kingdoms in material resources, never recovered from the shock which Jeroboam's rejection of the law gave it; while Judah, which retained the theocratic principle, long survived her rival, and only fell at last from neglect of the very law which had proved to be the defence of her pious kings. (For the salient instances of Jehoshaphat, Joash [Jehoiada's regency], Hezekiah, and Josiah, and the prominence of the law in their administrations, see 2 Chron. xvii. 9; xxiii. 18; xxix. and xxx. ; xxiv. 14-xxv. 19.) The same recurrence to the law is observable on the return of the exiles. Nehemiah and Ezra prefaced their great work of reforming the morals of their countrymen by public reading and exposition of 'the book of the law of Moses which the Lord had commanded to Israel' (Neh. viii.). We have seen how the royal and the prophetic offices were products of the law. Kings and prophets with great propriety, therefore, were in duty bound to devote their authority to the observance of its precepts. But kings and prophets passed away, the first having forfeited their mission, the second having fulfilled it; yet the law survived in unbroken, perhaps increased, strength. The living seer was no longer present with rebuke and exhortation; but his written word was at hand, the last injunction of which would again and again come back upon men's memories—'Remember ye the law of Moses, my servant, which I commanded unto him in Horeb for all Israel, with the statutes and the judgments' (Mal. iv. 4). Post-biblical history tells how this valedictory charge animated the lofty patriotism of

the Maccabees (1 Maccab. chap. ii.), but on this we must not enlarge.

When sacred writ resumes her record, it is to reveal the melancholy fact that the wayward nation has forgotten the prophetic charge. Proud of a divine treasure of which no other race could boast, the Jewish people exulted selfishly over their advantage, which contained within itself, however, the germ of a fatal reaction. 'They were exposed to the subtle temptation of substituting formulas for life; hence arose the necessary reactions of [Pharisaic] dogmatism and [Sadducean] scepticism: hope strengthened into affirmation, doubt descending to denial. Meanwhile the fresh joy of life was sinking under the pressure of superstition; and, as the saddest symbol of the direction in which they were turning, the people of God shrank from naming him [Jehovah] who was their strength,' and (we must add) hastened to reject their Messiah, who was restoring and fulfilling their divine law, and bringing their glorious theocracy to its ultimate exaltation (Westcott, *Introduct. to the Study of the Gospels*, p. 54). We have already noticed our Lord's grand vindication of the law; amidst the universal failure he fulfilled his Messianic mission—'magnified the law, and made it honourable' (Is. xlii. 21). We are thus brought face to face with another paradox in the circumstances of the law. Christ rescued it from the dishonour which the infirmity and the wilfulness of Israel put upon it, by a life which satisfied the demands of its precepts, and a death which exhausted the significance of its types. But this very fulfilment of the law was in truth its supersession. All its purpose was effected; and it survives in the gospel, no longer, indeed, as an obligatory covenant, demanding obedience and revealing the weakness of man, but as a monument of the wisdom and goodness of God, illustrating in its sacrificial details the one efficacious offering made once for all (Heb. ix. 26; 1 Pet. iii. 18), and in its moral precepts furnishing an unchangeable rule of conduct to the Christian, who has here a transcript of that holiness of God which ever has been proposed as the standard of human perfection, equally to the primeval patriarch (Gen. vi. 9, comp. with xvii. 1), the Mosaic Israelite (Lev. xi. 44; xix. 2; xx. 7; Deut. xviii. 13), and the disciple of Christ (Matt. v. 48; Col. i. 28; 1 Pet. i. 15, 16).

*The Law in its Human Aspect; its alleged Egyptian Origin.*—Many writers on jurisprudence have illustrated the code of Moses by comparing its enactments with the laws of other nations; none more fully or ably than Michaelis, in his *Mosaisches Recht* [Smith's translation, *Commentaries on the Laws of Moses*, in 4 vols.] From his work most of the following instances are taken; they go to show that the provisions of the Mosaic law were not only superior to the institutions of the primitive nations among whom civilisation had made but little progress, but bear favourable comparison with those of an advanced state of society, and that on points of the highest juridical importance. Our instances must be few, but they shall be characteristic. a. One of the most widely-spread institutions of the ancient world was that which protected society by the avenging of blood. Not only in Hebrew Scriptures and Arab tales is this usage found, but the most polished Athenian literature is full of allusions to it; the *Eumenides* of Æschylus, notably, is based upon it (Müller's *Dissertations*,

(ii.), pp. 89-97 [edit. 2]). But nowhere can we discover any legislation like that of Moses (Num. xxxv. 31), which, by a just and wise enactment, represses the wild irregularity to which the practice of blood-revenge was naturally exposed (Michaelis, ii. 225; Müller, *Dissertations*, p. 95). [KINSMAN.] *b.* In like manner the Mosaic rules of *warfare* are humane in contrast with the customs of Egypt and Assyria, and even Greece (comp. Deut. xxi. 10-14 with the Homeric treatment of female captives—cruel and heartless as it was; see Michaelis, i. 463, 464). The harshness of war was also softened by other beautiful provisions of the law of Moses; *e.g.*, by the considerate precept of Deut. xx. 19, 20, and by the prohibition of forced service, so common in the East. On this point, how striking the contrast between the law of Deut. xx. 5-9 and the brutal oppression of Xerxes, as narrated by Herodotus ii. 210! *c.* The clemency and kindly character of the Mosaic legislation further appear in its provisions with respect to the *poor* (Deut. xv. 7-11 [ALMS]), and to the *stranger* (Lev. xix. 33, 34; Deut. x. 18, 19); and *d.* where at first sight it seems to be harsh, as in the *power of the Father over the Son* (Exod. xxi. 17; Lev. xx. 9), further inquiry reveals a security against all abuse of this power by careful judicial process (Deut. xxi. 18-21), in which respect the statute of Moses presents, as usual, a happy contrast to the unchecked power of the Roman father (Michaelis, i. 443). *e.* The mildness of the Mosaic laws of *debt* are again in notable opposition to the oppressive enactments of the Roman law (Michaelis, ii. 294). We are not shocked with the barbarity of the torture and imprisonment of the unhappy debtor, such penalties being unknown in the laws of Israel (Michaelis, ii. 311-314). Indeed, the *prison* seems to have been absolutely discountenanced by the Jewish lawgiver, except as a temporary ward (Lev. xxiv. 12), although in later times imprisonment came into use (Jer. xxxviii. 6; Ezra vii. 26), but not from Moses (Michaelis, iii. 444). *f.* Humanity was characteristic of his laws on other objects than man. Prohibition against '*cruelty to animals*' is a happy feature of some modern codes; but we do not yet outstrip Moses, as the following beautiful instances attest—instances meant to civilize man no less than protect brutes, by subduing that coarseness of feeling which is sure to accompany maltreatment of animals:—When a man saw even his enemy's beast lying under the weight of his burden, he must help him up (Exod. xxiii. 5); no ox must be muzzled while treading out the corn (Deut. xxv. 4); nor must any youngling of bullock, sheep, or goat, be parted from its dam for seven days after its birth, even for an offering to the Lord (Lev. xxii. 27); nor must the parent animal be killed with her young both in one day (ver. 28); nor must a kid be dressed in its mother's milk (a thrice-repeated precept, Exod. xxiii. 19; xxiv. 26; Deut. xiv. 21); nor must the dam be taken with her young from their nest (Deut. xxii. 6, 7). Moses further enjoined that cattle should enjoy the rest of the Sabbath-day (Exod. xx. 10; Deut. v. 14), and that even game was to have a jubilee on the Sabbatical year, and be allowed to feed in the fallow-fields unmolested (Lev. xxv. 7). *g.* Nor did this exquisite consideration stop with men and cattle; it was extended to the *trees of the field*! For three years their fruit was not to be eaten, that their strength might be reserved for later growth (Lev. xix. 23);

let the fourth year's fruit be 'holy to praise the Lord withal,' and afterwards let the tree thus strengthened and thus consecrated yield its produce without stint to its owner. But to return to human objects of legislation. The Mosaic code has been censured for its toleration of *slavery* and *polygamy* and its well-known *levirate* statute. These subjects will be found elsewhere treated in full—we mention them here in extenuation of the censure. Moses found all these institutions in full activity amongst his people. Their roots were too deep in the social soil to be extirpated. Like a wise legislator, as he was, Moses had no alternative but to tolerate these customs; but he meant to improve them, and in nothing does his code show greater prudence than in these modifications. *h.* Respecting the last-mentioned statute, we must refer to the article MARRIAGE, and to Michaelis, who traces the custom and its inconveniences, and the important modifications introduced by Moses (vol. ii., pp. 28-33). *i.* In his treatment of *Polygamy* we have a still clearer instance of the lawgiver's wisdom. The evil was too inveterate to be eradicated at once; he therefore would reduce its prevalence by every discouragement. His prohibition of eunuchs was one of these; and the law of Lev. xv. 18, by its inconvenience to the husband of many wives, could not have failed to be another. The domestic troubles arising from parental caprice and injustice incidental to this perversion of connubial life would be, moreover, greatly mitigated by the equitable statute of Deut. xxi. 15-17 (Michaelis, ii. 7-12). *k.* Of *slavery*, an evil which the efforts of Christianity have not yet effaced from society, we shall speak more fully elsewhere [SLAVERY]. We are here only concerned to notice what mitigations Moses provided to soften its rigour. Strictly speaking, Moses allowed no *Hebrew* to be reduced to the servile state: the serfs of the Bible are foreigners (Lev. xxv. 44-46). Those Hebrews whose poverty sometimes reduced them to temporary service, regained their freedom and a handsome reward at the Sabbatical year and the year of jubilee (Exod. xxi. 2; Deut. xv. 12-15; Lev. xxv. 39-43). But, besides these statutes against the perpetuity of servitude, there were others which checked oppression and counselled humanity even during the limited period of service. These merciful enactments are in admirable contrast to the laws of Greece and Rome, and even to the theories of their most high-minded philosophers. In Greece and Rome the slave took no part in the public worship of the state: at some of the holier rites his presence would have been a pollution. But the Hebrew law made its slaves members of the congregation of Jehovah; so that at all the festivals, including the very greatest—the Passover—and the rest of the Sabbath-day and the initiatory rite of Circumcision (that sacrament of man's equality before God) the Hebrew servants, and even the foreign bondmen, mingled with their masters and their masters' families in the great duties and privileges of religion. In all cases of merciful prescription for the slave, the law appeals to the Israelite to *remember his own bondage* in the land of Egypt (Deut. xvi. 10-17)—an affecting sanction, which must have spoken home to men's hearts, and which is one only of a multitude of signs of the law's consideration for its subjects. The superiority of the Mosaic code to all other legislation in ancient and modern times in the treatment of the slave is illustrated in a masterly



sketch by Mr. Goldwin Smith (*Does the Bible sanction American Slavery?* pp. 39-94); also by Michaelis, vol. ii. pp. 155-191. 1. In small points of detail, as well as in large principles, it is interesting to discover the clemency of the law. We will mention two and have done. The small rateable value of *young* slaves of the two sexes would act as a kindly obstacle to their coming into the market at all (Michaelis, ii. 168). *m.* Our last instance must be quoted in the very words of the legislator—they need no comment: ‘If thou at all take thy neighbour’s raiment to pledge, thou shalt deliver it unto him *by that the sun goeth down; for that is his covering only, it is his raiment for his skin; wherein shall he sleep?*’ and it shall come to pass, when he crieth unto me, that I will hear; for I am gracious’ (Exod. xxii. 26, 27; Deut. xxiv. 12, 13).\* We have said enough to illustrate, *in its human aspect*, the beneficent and merciful genius of the Mosaic code. It proves itself worthy of its divine author, whose voice we once more hear in our last quotation, and its spirit cannot be better formulated than in one of its own precepts, upon which the gospel founds a moiety of man’s whole duty: ‘Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself’—*אָהַבְתָּ לְרֵעֶךָ כָּמוֹךָ* (Lev.

xix. 18; comp. Matt. xxii. 39, 40. For the *legal bearing* of this beautiful precept and the vindication of its equitable relation to other laws, see Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*, iv. 292, 293. It is to be observed that the *stranger* no less than the Hebrew is included within the operation of this precept; see ver. 34 of this same chap. and Michaelis, i. 373, 374). This incomparable excellence and beauty of the Israelite laws will go far to settle a question which we must now, as briefly as may be, notice.

*How far was Moses indebted to Egypt for his Laws?*—From very early times the occasional similarity between the Mosaic institutions and those of various Gentile nations has been observed and variously accounted for. 1. Josephus (*Contra Apion*, ii. 40), with the natural pride of a Jew, said: ‘Our laws have been such as have always inspired admiration and imitation into all other men; nay, the earliest Grecian philosophers, though in appearance they observed the laws of their own countries, yet did they in their actions and their philosophic doctrines follow our legislator;’ with more to the same effect. A like opinion was held by his countryman and contemporary, Philo, who (*Life of Moses*, ii. 5) asserts that ‘the beauty and dignity of the legislation of Moses is honoured, not among the Jews, but also by all other nations.’ Josephus carries the influence of his nation further back than Moses; according to him (*Antiq. Jud.* i. 8. 2) Abraham was regarded with intense respect even by the Egyptians, who

not only derived their arithmetic and their astronomy from the patriarch, but were convinced by his reasonings to modify their ‘accustomed sacred rites.’ Origen (*Contra Celsum*, i. p. 13) sends Pythagoras for his philosophy to the Jews; Justin Martyr (*Apol.* ii. p. 92) makes Moses the teacher of Plato; while Clement of Alex. combines both statements, ascribing what was good in not only these two philosophers (*Stromat.* i. p. 342), but in Aristotle also (*Stromat.* v. p. 595) to the Hebrew Scriptures, and especially to the Mosaic law, which was the object of much admiration in the East. 2. Other writers, however, without denying the influence of Moses, impeach his originality. They observe what they deem an extreme resemblance to the religious ceremonies of the Egyptians in the Mosaic ritual; and to account for it, they suppose that the Hebrew lawgiver derived much of, at least, his ceremonial law from Egypt, learned as he was in all the wisdom of that country (Acts vii. 22). The children of Israel are thought by the maintainers of this opinion to have imbibed too much of the superstition of their house of bondage, and to have been in too low a state of intelligence to receive the moral precepts and religious doctrines suited to the worship of Jehovah, without the aid of symbolical representations. Hence the entire ritual system which Moses gave the people was nothing more than an accommodation, not indeed to the mere human weakness, but to the perverse tendencies and idolatrous prejudices of those whom he had to instruct. The apostasy of the golden calf gave proof at once of the obstinacy of these perverse habits, and of the necessity of dealing with them in such a spirit of *accommodation* as the law breathes. This low view of the Mosaic ordinances is, according to these writers, warranted by the words of God himself who (Ezek. xx. 25) speaks of ‘statutes that were not good, and judgments whereby the people should not live.’ According to Eusebius (*Præp. Evang.*, vii. 8) this opinion had its supporters in early times also. Even in the great Jewish doctor Maimonides, who is yet full of profound respect for the law of Moses, there are many traces of the hypothesis that its divine author observed the principle of *accommodation* in its structure (*More Nevochim*, iii. 32 [Buxtorf, p. 432]). It was reserved, however, for our own great writers—MARSHAM (*Chronicon Canon*); SPENCER (*De legibus Hebr. ritual.*); and WARBURTON (*Divine Legation*)—to concentrate attention on the subject by their very learned discussions. Spencer’s erudition has probably acquired for the hypothesis a reputation which will always secure to it some followers. Hengstenberg (in his *Egypt and the Books of Moses* [Clark, 1845]) has applied the results of more recent investigations in Egyptian archaeology, and asserts an Egyptian origin [or *reference* as he expresses it] for some of the most conspicuous of the Mosaic institutions, including the sacerdotal vestments, the Urim and Thummim, the Cherubim, the ‘Azazel’ of Lev. xvi., the red heifer of Num. xix., the laws about food, and the Nazarites. In this article we can only indicate, and not discuss, these opinions. They have not escaped severe examination; and there are some learned writers who have stoutly maintained the very opposite hypothesis. Witsius wrote his learned treatise, *Ægyptiaca*, to confute the doctrine of Marsham and Spencer. He is full of Josephus’ idea, that

\* A suitable illustration of the excellence of the Mosaic constitution, *in its human phase*, is adduced by M. Guizot (*Meditations on the Essence of Christianity*, pp. 208, 209), from Mr. J. Stuart Mill, and M. Salvador, to the effect that ‘the prophets,’ whom they rightly regard as an offset from the law, ‘were in church and state the equivalent to the modern liberty of the press . . . accordingly, the Jews, instead of being stationary like other Asiatics, were, next to the Greeks, the most progressive people of antiquity; and, jointly with them, have been the starting-point and main propelling agency of modern cultivation.’



there was a divine originality in the Jewish revelation; and that the heathen nations, and especially Egypt, instead of helping the Hebrew lawgiver with materials for the sacred code, rather borrowed from him. Spencer's ingenious theories and Witsius' learned refutations produced an antagonism out of which arose progress in the elucidation of some obscure points in Biblical literature. The two schools of opinion which have followed them have resorted to extreme conclusions both ways, equally difficult, indeed, for the thoughtful student to accept.\* It is difficult, on the one hand, to believe with Spencer, and still more with Marsham, that heathen superstitions could in any degree have been taken as a substratum whereon to construct a system for the express purpose of checking and destroying heathenism; nor, on the other hand, can it be denied that between the Hebrew religious rites, described in the Pentateuch, and the religious rites of certain heathen nations, a resemblance more or less obvious exists, which it is impossible to prove, or even to imagine, to have been derived from the imitation of a Hebrew ritual. To test the latter difficulty first, Marsham attributes an Egyptian origin to the rite of *circumcision*; Spencer hesitates, but does not reject Marsham's hypothesis. Witsius, to save the Biblical prestige of the institution, accounts for the allowed fact, that it was known to the ancient Egyptians, by the conjecture that Abraham, whom we have seen Josephus representing as a great instructor of the Egyptians, communicated to them this sacred rite, which he had himself received from God. Other learned men had resorted to this explanation before Witsius; Selden (*De Synedr. Vet. Hebr.* [Works, vol. i., col. 1219-1222]) gives this as his own opinion, and mentions a catena of authorities who have thought with him. 'But this explanation looks too much like a specious device for evading a difficulty to command implicit acceptance. Modern research makes it at least doubtful whether circumcision was not known to the Egyptians *'long before the birth of Abraham'* (Rawlinson's *Herodotus* [edit. i.], vol. ii., p. 171, note 5). It is observable that our Saviour himself uses very general language, which throws back the origin of circumcision to *patriarchal times*, it may be to the very primeval period; for his words will suit the Sethite or

Shemite patriarchs equally as well as the Abrahamic (John vii. 22). Now this difficulty we cannot ignore in our estimate of this question. But it is a light difficulty in comparison with the difficulty which oppresses the entire theory of Spencer. The very enunciation of it seems to involve an absurdity. To check Egyptian tendencies in Israel, Moses gives his people an imitation of certain Egyptian rites and ceremonies! It is in vain that Spencer makes the lawgiver strenuously opposed to some portions of the Egyptian ritual; for his tolerance of other portions would nullify the effect of that opposition in a nation which the hypothesis represents as wayward and indiscriminate in its prejudices! Bähr's strong censure of Spencer's theory is not too severe: 'God appears as a Jesuit, who makes use of bad means to accomplish a good end . . . . The relation of Israel to the Egyptians, and that of Moses in particular (as represented in the Pentateuch at the time of the Exodus), would rather lead us to expect an intentional shunning of everything Egyptian, especially in religious matters, instead of an imitation and a borrowing. [We may compare in this sense Lev. xviii. 3: '*After the doings of the land of Egypt, wherein ye dwell, shall ye not do,*' etc.; with Ezek. xx. 7-9]. . . . There was unquestionably the strongest inducement for Moses making the separation of Israel from Egypt as broad as possible. Everything Egyptian must be branded, and the remembrance of it by all means extirpated. But by adopting the ritual of Egypt [as Spencer makes him], Moses would have directly sanctioned what was Egyptian, and would have perpetuated the remembrance of the land of darkness and servitude' (*Symbolik*, i. 41, 42). We think this a fatal objection to the Spencerian theory. Another damaging point in it is the *uncertainty* of its very principle. At one moment we are told that the destruction of idolatry was the primary intention of the Mosaic laws; whence their tone was inflexible; or rather the Israelite mind was to be bent in a direction the very opposite to that idolatrous one which it had acquired in Egypt. But the reader is no sooner landed on this firm and satisfactory hypothesis, than he encounters another principle incompatible with it—the principle of *conciliation*. The inveterate propensities of the Israelites must not be offended; and, accordingly, they are gratified with many Egyptian customs, which they had learnt in their bondage and were unwilling to quit! A careful consideration of both sides of the question induces us to reject the positions maintained both by Spencer and by Witsius. But our rejection of their conclusions is modified by our acceptance of very much of their premises. We think that the learning of Spencer and his associates was well employed in tracing out the features of *resemblance* in the institutions of the Israelites and their neighbours; while his opponents did not lose their labour in illustrating the *originality* of those which Moses and his predecessors gave the Hebrew nation.

There is, in truth, a third theory, which has every appearance of probability according to Biblical data, and which is superseding its more partial predecessors in the acceptance of the learned. God, who sees the end from the beginning, from the very first consistently arranged his dispensations, and gave them development; until, in the fulness of time, the Christian dispensation, which was the model as well as the end of those which

\* On Witsius' side of the controversy the following may here be mentioned:—Solomon Deyling (*Observationes Sacrae*); J. F. Mayer (*De temporibus et festis Hebr.* [Ugolini, *Thes.* i. 378]); Vitrina (*Observationes Sacrae*); Dr. Woodward (*A discourse on the worship of the ancient Egyptians*—recommended as 'an able refutation' of Spencer by Bp. Watson); Shuckford (*Connection*, etc., vol. i.); Dean Graves (*Pentateuch*, pt. ii., lect. 5); Abp. Magee (*Atonement*, note lx.). Many eminent Germans have objected to Spencer's views without committing themselves to the onesided opinions of Witsius. Bähr, in his very able work, *Symbolik des Mosaischen Cultus*, has taken this independent line. See a brief notice of the subject in Dr. Fairburn's *Typology* [3d edition], vol. ii., pp. 196-221; and Macdonald's *Introduction to the Pentateuch*, vol. ii., pp. 366-400. None more eminent than themselves can be named by the side of Marsham, Spencer, and Warburton. Le Clerc (*Comment. on Pentateuch*) warmly adopted Spencer's general theory.



preceded it, explained their characteristic features no less than their typical functions. The light of Christianity, reflected upon the scattered notices of patriarchal rites in the earlier Scriptures, enables us to perceive the close relation between the Mosaic and the pre-Mosaic ordinances of divine worship, and also their typical connection with the gospel. In the Mosaic institutions we find in fact a republication, in probably a fuller and certainly a more explicit form, of the primitive ceremonial which God had given to the patriarchs. Now, we saw at the beginning of this article, where we referred to Mr. Gladstone's work on *Homer*, that in process of time the patriarchal worship was disintegrated and corrupted. Out of this disintegration arose the primeval forms of the heathen *cultus*, which in every country retained a certain likeness to its divine and uncorrupted original. This likeness, it may be presumed, would be kept up only in normal and prominent rites, while diversity would operate mainly in less important points—a presumption which is sufficient to account for all the phenomena contended for in the theories both of Spencer and his opponents. It was not the purpose of the author of the Pentateuch to narrate particulars of God's first gift of religious rites to man. He rather intimates by scattered hints the existence of a sacrificial system with its priesthood (see instances mentioned early in this article), and that by no means confined to Shem's posterity from whom sprang Abraham. A remarkable passage in Ezek. xxviii. 11-19 undoubtedly refers to the Tyrian nation as having at first possessed a holy worship—'sanctuaries,' afterwards 'defiled' (ver. 18), and as having been 'perfect in their ways,' until iniquity corrupted them (ver. 15). In this period of their primeval purity, 'full of wisdom and perfect in beauty' (ver. 12), resembling the excellence of 'Eden, the garden of the Lord' (ver. 13), they seem to have had a sacred ritual, which, in grandeur and apparatus, reminds us of the beauty of some of the Mosaic details. They had 'a minstrelsy of tabrets and pipes,' and ornaments of precious stones, singularly like those of the breastplate of Aaron, which might possibly have adorned a primitive hierarchy (ver. 13; comp. Exod. xxxix. 9, 13). Moreover, with imagery which brings back to our memory the solemnities of Sinai, they are described as having been 'set by God' upon his 'holy mountain,' and, wonderful to add, they had 'their anointed cherub,' 'which covered' perhaps another mercy-seat, and symbolised the divine presence (ver. 14). We must refer the reader for further information on this interesting allusion to a pre-Mosaic *cultus*, to an article in *The Journal of Sacred Literature* of April 1860 (on 'Sinai, Kadesh, and Mount Hor'), and another in *The Christian Remembrancer* of October in the same year (on 'the theory of the Mosaic system'). We will only here add that the Tyrians in the days of their purity, previous to their settlement in Phœnicia, probably dwelt south of Palestine, and possibly were the first to whom the Almighty vouchsafed his glorious presence upon 'the holy mountain of God,' or Horeb, that mountain which was again consecrated by the divine appearance to Moses and Israel, and yet again to Elijah; nor, indeed, would it be far-fetched to conjecture that the earliest of these revelations was not unaccompanied by some such solemnity as we have above seen inaugurating the Mosaic

legislation in after times. What else is the meaning of Ezekiel's statement: 'Thou didst walk up and down in the midst of the stones [rocks] of fire?' as if Horeb and its companions had blazed before the fires of Sinai were kindled. Calling, then, to mind the near relationship of the Tyrians and Egyptians, the former from Cush and the latter from Mizraim, both sons of Ham (Gen. x. 6), we have, in this Scriptural record of a primitive Hamite worship of God, not only a strong confirmation of the general view we have advanced above—that the patriarchal system was substantially the same as the Mosaic—but a highly credible solution of the difficulty over which Spencer and his opponents so earnestly contended. 'We can see at once how the Egyptians became possessed of such cherubic forms, ages and ages (as the monuments testify) before the Mosaic times. . . . Egypt had not invented the cherubic idea or shape. Moses was not indebted to a debasing idolatry for the form in which, under divine guidance, he cast the symbols of the divine presence. God's gracious gift of cherubic presence and forms had been perverted. It was only set in its ancient place again, when it appeared in the Mosaic system. The same may be said of the Urim and Thummim. . . . Here, too, Egypt had no doubt derived the entire idea from the ancient and pure system under which she had grown up [in company with her Tyrian kinsmen]. Moses was only instructed to reinstate the mystic jewels. . . . And this is the key to many other coincidences which have been pointed out between the Mosaic and the Egyptian religious institutions' (*Christ. Remembr.*, as above, p. 448). We are now in a position to sum up our evidence, and conclude our article.

*Conclusion.*—As we began, so we end with the assertion of God's uniformity of plan and aim in the development of his dispensations. All the earlier stages of his divine work on earth led onward to the perfection of the gospel, of which the Mosaic ritual (Heb. viii. 5) and temple-services (1 Chron. xxviii. 12, 19) were no less than *divinely-inspired sketches and patterns* (comp. the *σκά* [or etching] in the *larv*, and the *εἰκὼν* [or full picture] in the gospel of God's heavenly truth; Heb. x. 1, with the ancient dictum—'Umbra in lege; Imago in Evangelio; Veritas in cœlo'). This view gives order and simplicity to the revelations of the O. T. and N. T., and establishes their harmony and coherence against the semi-Manichæanism of the Spencerian doctrine. (For a refutation of Spencer's gloss on the important passage, Ezek. xx. 25, referred to above, it is worth while consulting Deyling's Dissertation, *De statutis non bonis*, in his *Obs. Sacr.* ii. 304-321. Moreover, while this view raises the Hebrew Scriptures to a level with the Christian, it gives us confidence in applying the details of the Mosaic system to explain the great subject of all the inspired record, the sacrificial work of Christ our Saviour. We do not say that the New Testament is defective or incomplete on this subject of paramount interest, but with St. Paul's writings before us, we cannot err in the conviction that the greatness of Christ's work cannot be adequately understood, unless we bring to its elucidation that divinely-provided commentary of the great Mosaic code, which is everywhere presupposed by our blessed Lord and his apostles, as the basis of their own instruction and doctrine.

*Appendix.*—Much has been written on the prin-

ciple of classification which should be observed in arranging a digest of the Mosaic statutes. The ordinary one, which divides them into the three heads of *moral*, *ceremonial*, and *political* laws, has been objected to, as being unsuited to the character of the Mosaic institutions, which are said to 'obliterate any such supposed separation of laws, and refer all to first principles, depending on the will of God and the nature of man' (Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, ii. 69). It is quite true, as the thoughtful writer of that portion of the dictionary observes, that 'any single ordinance might have at once a moral, a ceremonial, and a political bearing,' and we would endorse his caution here. But we fear that the logical difficulty underlies every arrangement more or less. In his own able analysis into *civil*, *criminal*, *judicial*, and *ecclesiastical* laws, we encounter at starting an instance which repeats itself at the head both of the civil and the criminal categories. Besides this objection, with which, as being inevitable, we find no fault, there is another, which renders his division, in our opinion, less suitable to the Mosaic code than the older one, which it professedly supersedes. *The ten commandments are the basis and substance of all the enactments*, whether of the Book of the Covenant, the legislation of Sinai, and the laws of Kadesh, or of the Deuteronomic edition of the code. Our structural analysis above has proved this to be the case. No digest is, to say the least, *characteristic*, which does not put the great Decalogue at its head. Philo long ago did this (*De Decalogo* [Works, by Turnebus and Hoerschel], p. 746), when he distinguished THE TEN spoken by God himself from those which were promulgated by the agency of his prophet, 'and which are all referred to those others'—τοὺς δὲ διὰ τοῦ προφήτου πάντας ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἀναφέρεισθαι. After a discussion, therefore, of the general character of the Decalogue, Philo proceeds to consider in consecutive treatises the other particular laws, as deductions from the ten successively. The *threefold* division which Moses himself makes of his laws on several prominent occasions (as at the end of the Sinaitic section, Lev. xxvi. 46, and in the recapitulation of Deuteronomy, vi. 1; vii. 11), has been sometimes supposed to justify the usual triple category; as if תורה, the whole code=הפצוה, ἐντολαί, moral

precepts; and הַקִּים, the ceremonial laws; and הַמִּשְׁפָּטִים, the judicial or political ordinances (see Scott on Deut. vi. 1); but this we fear cannot be substantiated. The triads are not expressed always in the same terms, and the interchanges which occur in their use only prove that the legal terms of the Hebrew code are synonymous\*—a result

\* The Hebrew Scriptures are extremely rich in these *legal synonyms*. 'There are in Ps. cxix. no less than eight several names by which (according to the different aspects in which it is regarded) the law of God is designated—תורה, 'law'; ערות, 'testimonies'; מצות, 'commandments'; חקים, 'statutes'; פקודים, 'precepts'; משפטים, 'judgments'; דבר, 'word'; אמרה, 'word' (see Thrupp, *Psalms*, ii. 253). How paramount a place in the teaching of the O. T., and in the thoughts of the devout Hebrews of old, the law of Moses occupied, is evidenced by this interesting fact. Other extra-synonymous terms for the law have been mentioned

which shows that God's laws are of a wide and comprehensive nature, and incapable of those sharp definitions by which men are apt to limit them. The Jewish doctors seem to have observed this, for they simply enumerate, without distinguishing them. They count 613 laws; 248 are positive or imperative in form, and 365 are negative or prohibitory. They are given in consecutive enumeration, but with some arrangement of subject-matter, in Jost's *Geschichte des Judenthums*, i. 451-466. These 613 statutes are arranged by Maimonides, in his *More Nevochim*, into these fourteen classes:

1. Fundamental articles of faith.
2. On idolatry.
3. Reformation of manners.
4. On alms, loans, and debts.
5. On injustice and rapine.
6. On theft, robbery, and false witness [pecuniary mulcts].
7. On lending, hiring, depositing, etc. [pecuniary judgments].
8. On holydays—the Sabbath and festival days.
9. On public prayer, the *Shema*, etc.
10. The sanctuary—its ministers, vessels, etc.
11. On oblations.
12. On pollutions and purifications.
13. On prohibited meats [Nazarite laws].
14. Unlawful concubinage [circumcision, etc.]

Maimonides further generalises these into (1) Precepts relating to *God and man*; (2) Precepts relating to *man and man*; but the difficulty of even this large generalisation did not escape him, for he adds, 'It may be well to remark, that even the precepts of the former class do ultimately, and after many intervening circumstances, lead to the occurrences of the latter class.' See Townley's *Maimonides*, chap. x., pp. 193-197. For a useful analysis of the law of Moses, the reader is referred to Horne's *Introduction*, vol. iv. pp. 27-30 of edit. ix., or vol. ii. pp. 590-593 of edit. x. (by Davidson); or pp. 536-539 of edit. xi. (by Ayre). This analysis, which is arranged on the principle we have recommended above, has been also reprinted in some more elementary works. It is for practical purposes very good.—P. H.

MOSES HA-COHEN. [GIKATILLA.]

MOSES HA-DARSHAN = the *Expositor* (רבינו משה הדרשן), of Narbonne, flourished A. D. 1080, and was the teacher of the celebrated R. Nathan. He is the author of the commentary on the Hebrew Scriptures, which is alternately quoted by the respective names of משה ר' פרושי ר' משה, *Expositions of R. Moses the Expositor*, הראשית רבה, the *Great Bereshith*, *Bereshith Rabba major*, and *Bereshith Rabba R. Mose Ha-Darshan*, and which has not as yet come to light. Copious and numerous fragments of it, however, are given by Rashi in his commentaries on Gen. xxxv. 8; xlvi. 7; Num. vii. 7; vii. 18-23; xi. 20, 21; xv. 14; xix. 22; xxvi. 24, 36; xxviii. 19; xxxii. 24, 42; xxxiii. 1; Deut. xxi. 14; xxvii. 24; Josh. v. 9; Ps. xl. 2; lx. 4; lxii. 12; lxvii. 17; lxxx. 6; Prov. v. 19; xxvi. 10; Job xxxvi. 1; by Raymond Martin in his *Pugio Fidei*, Paris 1651,

besides these eight, as occurring in this Psalm—the grand paraenesis of the law; such as וְרָא אֶת אֱלֹהֶיךָ, both rendered 'was' in A. V.



Leipzig 1687, both in the original Hebrew and in a Latin translation; by Porchert in his *Victoria adversus impios Hebraeos*, Paris 1520; by Joshua Lorki, or Hieronymus de Santa Fide, as he was called after embracing Christianity, in his *Hebræomastix*, Frankfurt-on-the-Maine 1602; and by Galatin in his *De Arcanis Catholica veritatis*, Basel 1550. These fragments, which are exceedingly important contributions to the history of interpretation in the middle ages, show that R. Moses strove to explain the words and the context, and that he interspersed his literal expositions with ancient *Hagadas*, as well as with the interpretations of the sages of olden days. Comp. Zunz, *Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, Berlin 1832, p. 286-293.—C. D. G.

MOSES B. JACOB. [ALBELDA, MOSES.]

MOSES B. MOCHA of Palestine or Tiberias, also called R. Moses the Punctuator (ר' משה הנקוד), flourished circa A.D. 590. He developed and amplified the interlinery system of vocalization (טעמהחתחה, מנקוד, called the Tiberian (נקוד טיברני), which has for centuries been adopted both by the synagogue and the church in all the pointed editions of the Hebrew Scriptures. Like his father, R. Moses also wrote Massoretic glosses both in the margin of the Codd. and in separate works, entitled נקוד ספרי. Comp. the articles MOCHA and VOWEL-POINTS and ACCENTS in this Cyclopædia.—C. D. G.

MOSES, THE PUNCTUATOR (ר' משה הנקוד), or the Cantor (חזן). He lived in London about the year 1230, and wrote the well-known *Treatise embodying the rules about the points and accents of the Hebrew Scriptures*, called דרכי הניקוד והגינות, or כלי הניקוד, also in the MSS. הוריית הקורא. Excerpts of this treatise, made by Jacob b. Chajim, were first printed with the Massora in the *Rabbinic Bible*, Venice 1524-25, and since in all the editions of the Rabbinic Bible. The treatise has also been published separately with a short commentary by Zebi b. Menachem, Wilna 1822; and with corrections and German notes by Frensdorff, Hanover 1847. Those who recognise the real importance of the Hebrew vowel-points and accents, will find in this unpretentious treatise a useful guide. R. Moses was thoroughly acquainted with and quotes the grammatical and exegetical writings of his predecessors, as Chajim, Rashi, Ibn Ganach, Ibn Ezra, Parchon, etc. Comp. Steinschneider, *Bibliographisches Handbuch*, Leipzig 1859, p. 95; Zunz, *Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, Berlin 1845, p. 111.—C. D. G.

MOSHEIM, JOHANN LORENZ VON, the famous ecclesiastical historian, was born at Lubeck, 9th October 1694. He began to teach philosophy in the university of Kiel when yet a young man, and with great success. In 1725 he removed to Helmstädt, where he occupied the chair of theology for twenty-two years. In 1747, on the invitation of George II. of England, he became chancellor and professor of divinity in the university of Göttingen, occupying that high position for eight years, or till his death, 9th September 1755. The best known of his very numerous works are his *De rebus Christianorum ante Constantinum Magnum*, translated into English by Vidal; and his more popular *Institutionum Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ antiquioris et re-*

*centioris*, libri iv., translated into German by Von Einem and by Schlegel; and into English, first and very imperfectly by Maclaine, and more recently, and in a far better version, by Murdock of New-haven, U.S. The Institutes are a clear, skilful, impartial, though somewhat mechanical compend, after the centurial style and arrangements of Flacius. Mosheim's interpretations of Scripture are found in his *Observationes Sacre*, Amsterdam 1721; his *Cogitationes in N. T. loc. select.*, Hannov. 1726; his *Erklärung des I. Br. an d. Corinther*, 1741, new ed. by Windheim, 1762; his *Erkl. d. beyden Br. an d. Timoth.*, 1755; and in his volumes of sermons—'Heilige Reden.' His exegesis is usually broad and learned, and betokens good sense and sound erudition. Mosheim was a liberal Lutheran, distant alike from pietism and rationalism. It may be added, in a word, that while in his Institutes his neutrality and apparent coldness have sometimes been construed into indifference, his other writings manifest glowing piety and ardent emotion.—J. E.

MOTH. [ASH.]

MOTHER. The Hebrew word for mother is אִם, *am*, and is regarded by the lexicographers as a primitive, imitating the earliest lisping of an infant: they compare it with the Greek μάμα, μάμη, μάτη; Sanscrit, *mā*, *ambā*; Copt., *mau*; English and French, *mama*; German, *amme*, (nurse), etc.

The ordinary applications of the word require no illustration; but the following points of Hebrew usage may be noticed. When the father had more than one wife, the son seems to have confined the title of 'mother' to his real mother, by which he distinguished her from the other wives of his father. Hence the source of Joseph's peculiar interest in Benjamin is indicated in Gen. xliii. 29, by his being 'his mother's son.' The other brethren were the sons of his father by other wives. Nevertheless, when this precision was not necessary, the step-mother was sometimes styled mother. Thus Jacob (Gen. xxxvii. 10) speaks of Leah as Joseph's mother, for his real mother had long been dead. The step-mother was, however, more properly distinguished from the womb-mother by the name of 'father's wife' (אִשֶּׁת אָב). The word 'mother' was also, like father, brother, sister, employed by the Hebrews in a somewhat wider sense than is usual with us. It is used of a grandmother (1 Kings xv. 10), and even of any female ancestor (Gen. iii. 20); of a benefactress (Judg. v. 7), and as expressing intimate relationship (Job xvii. 14). In Hebrew, as in English, a nation is considered as a mother, and individuals as her children (Is. i. 1; Jer. l. 12; Ezek. xix. 2; Hos. ii. 4; iv. 5); so our 'mother-country,' which is quite as good as 'father-land,' which we seem beginning to copy from the Germans. Large and important cities are also called mothers, *i. e.*, 'mother-cities,' with reference to the dependent towns and villages (2 Sam. xx. 19), or even to the inhabitants, who are called her children (Is. iii. 12; xlix. 23). 'The parting of the way, at the head of two ways' (Ezek. xxi. 21) is in the Hebrew 'the mother of the way,' because out of it the two ways arise as daughters. In Job i. 21, the earth is indicated as the common 'mother to whose bosom all mankind must return.'

The particulars relating to the position which a mother occupied among the Jews, are involved in other relations, which are referred to the general head WOMAN.—J. K.

**MOUNTAINS.** The mountains mentioned in Scripture are noticed under their different names, and a general statement with reference to the mountains of Palestine is given under that head. We have therefore in this place only to notice more fully some remarkable symbolical or figurative uses of the word in the Bible.

In Scripture the governing part of the body politic appears under symbols of different kinds. If the allegory or figurative representation is taken from the heavens, the luminaries denote the governing body; if from an animal, the head or horns; if from the earth, a mountain or fortress; and in this case the capital city or residence of the governor is taken for the supreme power. These mutually illustrate each other. For a capital city is the head of the political body: the head of an ox is the fortress of the animal; mountains are the natural fortresses of the earth; and therefore a fortress or capital city, though seated in a plain, may be called a mountain. Thus the words head, mountain, hill, city, horn, and king, are used in a manner as synonymous terms to signify a kingdom, monarchy, or republic, united under *one* government, only with this difference, that it is to be understood in different respects; for the term head represents it in respect of the capital city; mountain or hill in respect of the strength of the metropolis, which gives law to, or is above, and commands the adjacent territory. When David says, 'Lord, by thy favour thou hast made my mountain to stand strong' (Ps. xxx. 7), he means to express the stability of his kingdom.

It is according to these ideas that the kingdom of the Messiah is described under the figure of a mountain (Is. ii. 2; xi. 9; Dan. ii. 35), and its universality by its being the resort of all nations, and by its filling the whole earth. The mystic mountains in the Apocalypse denote kingdoms and states subverted to make room for the Messiah's kingdom (Rev. vi. 14; xvi. 20).

The Chaldean monarchy is described as a mountain in Jer. li. 25; Zech. iv. 7; and the Targum illustrates the idea by substituting the word 'fortress' in the former text. In this view, then, a mountain is the symbol of a kingdom, or of a capital city with its domains, or of a king, which is the same.

Mountains are frequently used to signify places of strength, of what kind soever, and to whatsoever use applied (Jer. iii. 23).

Eminences were very commonly chosen for the sites of Pagan temples: these became places of asylum, and were looked upon as the fortresses and defenders of the worshippers, by reason of the presence of the false deities in them. On this account mountains were the strongholds of Paganism, and therefore in several parts of Scripture they signify idolatrous temples and places of worship (Jer. iii. 23; Ezek. vi. 2-6; Mic. iv. 1; comp. Deut. xii. 2; Jer. ii. 20; iii. 6; Ezek. vi. 3). See Wemyss's *Clavis Symbolica*, pp. 309-316.—J. K.

**MOURNING.** This head embraces both the outward expressions of sorrow for the dead, referred to in the Scriptures, and those expressions

which were intended to exhibit repentance, etc. These subjects will be pursued according to Townsend's chronological arrangement, and since they nearly approximate, will be pursued together. Assuming the propriety of this arrangement, the earliest reference to any kind of mourning is that of Job (B. C. 2130), who being informed of the destruction of his children as the climax of his calamities, 'arose, rent his mantle, shaved his head, and fell down upon the ground and worshipped' (Job i. 20)—uttered sentiments of submission (ver. 21), and sat down among the ashes (chap. ii. 8). His friends came to him by an appointment among themselves to mourn with him and comfort him (ver. 11); they lift up their voices and wept upon a view of his altered appearance; they rent every man his mantle and sprinkled dust upon their heads towards heaven (ver. 12), and sat down with him on the ground seven days and seven nights, waiting till his grief should subside before they commenced their office as mourners. Job then bewails aloud his unhappy condition (chap. iii.) In chap. xvi. 15, 16, reference is made to the customs of sewing sackcloth upon the skin, defiling the head with dust, and suffering the face to be begrimed with weeping. Clamour in grief is referred to (xix. 7; xxx. 28): it is considered a wicked man's portion that his widows shall not weep at his death (xxvii. 15.) Upon Job's recovery from his afflictions all his relatives and acquaintances bemoan and comfort him concerning his past sufferings; which seems to have been a kind of congratulatory mourning, indulged in order to heighten the pleasures of prosperity by recalling associations of adversity (chap. xlii. 11). Indeed, the expressions of affectionate joy and grief nearly coincide. Joseph fell upon his brother Benjamin's neck and wept (Gen. xlv. 14; comp. Acts xx. 37, 38, and Gen. i. 1). However it is to be accounted for, in the course of the book of Job, nearly all the chief characteristics of eastern mourning are introduced. This will appear as we proceed. The next instance is that of Abraham, who came to mourn and weep for Sarah (B. C. 1871), words which denote a formal mourning (Gen. xxiii. 2). Days of mourning are referred to in regard to the expected death of Isaac (Gen. xxvii. 41). These appear generally to have consisted of seven, as for Saul (1 Sam. xxxi. 13; for Judith, xvi. 24; comp. Eccles. xxii. 12). Weeping appears (B. C. 1729), either as one chief expression of mourning, or as the general name for it. Hence when Deborah, Rebecca's nurse, was buried at Bethel under an oak, at this period, the tree was called Allon-bachuth, the oak of weeping (Gen. xxxv. 8). The children of Israel were heard to weep by Moses throughout their families, every man in the door of his tent (Num. xi. 10; comp. xiv. 1; xxv. 6). So numerous are the references to tears in the Scriptures as to give the impression that the Orientals had them nearly at command (comp. Ps. vi. 6). The woman washed our Lord's feet with tears (Luke vii. 38; comp. Eccles. xxxviii. 17). Weeping, with lifting up of the voice, occurs in Ruth i. 9; 1 Sam. xi. 4; 2 Sam. iii. 32; xiii. 36). Their excitableness appears otherwise; they shout for joy and howl for grief, even the ministers of the altar (Joel i. 13; Micah i. 8, etc.) Reuben rent his clothes upon finding Joseph gone (Gen. xxxvii. 29), and uttered lamentations (ver. 30). Jacob rends his



clothes, and puts sackcloth upon his loins, and mourns for his son many days; his sons and his daughters rise up to comfort him, and he gives utterance to his grief; 'thus his father wept for him' (Gen. xxxvii. 34, 35). Joseph's brothers rend their clothes (Gen. xlv. 13); and this act, as expressive of grief or horror, occurs in multitudes of passages down to the last age of the Jewish empire (Acts xiv. 14). Scarcely less numerous are the references to sackcloth on the loins as an expression of mourning; we have even lying in sackcloth (1 Kings xxi. 27), and sackcloth upon both man and beast at Nineveh (Jonah iii. 8). Joseph's brethren fell to the ground before him in token of grief (Gen. xlv. 14); and this, or lying, or sitting on the ground, was a common token of mourning (comp. Ps. xxxv. 14; 1 Sam. xxv. 24; Is. iii. 26; xlvii. 1; Ezek. xxvi. 16, etc.). The next incident in the history of the subject is the mourning for Jacob by the Egyptians, which was conducted, no doubt by professional mourners, during threescore and ten days (Gen. l. 3), called the days of mourning (ver. 4), though most likely that computation includes the process of embalming (Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, v. 454, 459). It seems to have amounted to a royal mourning, doubtless out of regard to Joseph. Herodotus states that the Egyptians mourned for a king seventy-two days. The mourning for Joseph's father was renewed by Joseph's command, with a very great and sore lamentation, upon the funeral cavalcade having arrived in Canaan, and continued seven days (ver. 10). The vehemency of that mourning seems to have surprised even the Canaanites, who in consequence named the place where it was held Abel-mizraim, or the mourning of the Egyptians (ver. 11). We learn from Diodorus that at the death of a king the Egyptian people tore their garments, every temple was closed, sacrifices were forbidden, and no festivals celebrated. A procession of two or three hundred persons wandered through the streets, throwing dust and mud upon their heads, and twice every day sung a funeral dirge in honour of the deceased. In the meantime the people abstained from baths, ointments, every luxury, and even wheat bread (i. 72, 91). The Egyptians have ever been renowned for the vociferation of their grief; 'there was a great cry in Egypt at the death of the first-born' (Exod. xii. 30). When the children of Israel (B.C. 1491) mourned under the threat of the divine displeasure, they did not put on their ornaments (Exod. xxxiii. 4; comp. Joel ii. 16; Ezek. xxiv. 17). At the giving of the law the modes of mourning were regulated by several enactments. It was forbidden the Jews to make cuttings in their flesh for the dead (Lev. xix. 28). The ancient Egyptians, according to Herodotus, did not cut themselves (ii. 61); it was a Syrian custom, as appears from the votaries of Baal (1 Kings xviii. 28); nor were the Jews allowed to make any baldness between their eyes for the dead (Deut. xiv. 1). The priests were forbidden to uncover the head in mourning (Lex. x. 6), or to rend their clothes, or to contract the ceremonial defilement involved in mourning except for their nearest kindred (Lev. xxi. 1, 4); but the high-priest was entirely forbidden to do so even for his father or his mother (ver. 11), and so was the Nazirite (Num. vi. 7). These prohibitions respecting the head and the beard (Lev. xix. 27) seem to have been restricted

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to funeral occasions, as the customs referred to were lawfully practised on other sorrowful events (comp. Ezra ix. 3; Job i. 20; Is. xxii. 12; Jer. vii. 29; Micah i. 16). Even the food eaten by mourners was considered unclean (comp. Deut. xxvi. 14, with Hos. ix. 4; Ezek. xxiv. 17). The Jews were commanded to afflict their souls on the day of atonement (Lev. xxiii. 27), and at the feast of trumpets (Num. xxix. 7). All the house of Israel mourned for Aaron thirty days (Num. xx. 29). The beautiful captive, whom the law permitted to marry, was required first to bewail her father and mother a full month, and the requisitions that she should shave her head and pare her nails have been by some considered signs of mourning (Deut. xxi. 11, 13). The Israelites wept for Moses thirty days, called the days of weeping and mourning for Moses (Deut. xxxiv. 8; B.C. 1541). Joshua and the elders of Israel put dust upon their heads at the defeat of Ai, and fasted (Josh. vii. 6), as did the eleven tribes after the defeat at Gibeah, and wept (Judg. xx. 26), as did all the Israelites at the command of Samuel, on which occasion it is said 'they drew water and poured it out before the Lord' (1 Sam. vii. 6; comp. Ps. xxii. 14). The prophet Joel commanded a fast as part of a national mourning. A fast is proclaimed to all the inhabitants or visitors at Jerusalem (Jer. xxxvi. 9; comp. Zech. vii. 5). Fasting is practised at Nineveh as part of a public humiliation (Jonah iii. 5). In our Lord's language, 'to fast' and 'to mourn' are the same thing (Matt. ix. 15). Public humiliations attended with religious assemblies and prayers (Joel ii. 16, 17); with fasts (Is. lviii. 3); see all these united (1 Maccab. iii. 44, 47, 48). The first complete description of mourning for the dead occurs in 2 Sam. iii. 31, 35, where David commands Joab and all the people that were with him to rend their clothes, gird themselves with sackcloth, and mourn for Abner; and David himself followed the bier, and they buried Abner in Hebron; and the king lifted up his voice and wept at the grave of Abner, and all the people wept, and David fasted two days, and wrote a lamentation for the deceased. Elegies were composed by the prophets on several disastrous occasions (Ezek. xxvi. 1-18; xxvii. 1-36; Amos v. 1, etc.). The incident of Jephthah's daughter (B.C. 1187) is too uncertain to afford any index to the modes of mourning at that era. It appears that she was allowed two months to bewail her virginity, with her companions, and that the Jewish women of that country went somewhere yearly to lament or celebrate her (Judg. xi. 37-40) [JEPTHATH]. In Ps. xxxv., which is ascribed to David, there is a description of the humiliations practised by the friends of the sick, in order to procure their recovery: 'When they were sick my clothing was sackcloth; I humbled my soul with fasting; I behaved as if it had been a friend or a brother; I bowed down heavily, as one that mourneth for his mother;' where different modes of mourning seem adverted to for different occasions. Samuel is honoured with a public mourning by the Israelites (1 Sam. xxv. 1), B.C. 1058. Upon the death of Saul, David wrote an elegy (2 Sam. i. 17-27). This, like that upon the death of Abner, seems to be a poetical description of the character of the departed, like the dirge for an Egyptian king. Lifting up the hands seems to have been an expression of grief (Ps. cxli. 2; Lam. i. 17; Ezra ix. 5). Messengers were sent to condole with sur-

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vivors; thus David sent such to Hanun, king of Ammon, upon the death of his father (2 Sam. x. 1, 2); 'Many of the Jews came to comfort Martha and Mary' (John xi. 19); 'A great company of

When any one died in ancient Egypt the females of his family covered their faces with mud, ran through the streets with their bosoms exposed, striking themselves, and uttering loud lamenta-



374. Mourning at Grave—Lifting up hands, etc.

women attended our Lord to the cross, bewailing and lamenting him' (Luke xxiii. 27); 'Much people' were with the widow of Nain (Luke vii. 12). Indeed, if persons met a funeral procession they were expected to join it—a custom which is thought to illustrate St. Paul's words, 'Weep with them that weep' (Rom. xii. 15). Herodotus relates that when Cambyzes bewailed his calamities, the Persians tore their garments and expressed their grief aloud (iii. 66). The next incident in historical order is the mourning of Bethsheba for Uriah (2 Sam. xi. 26). David, in deprecation of the death of his son by her, prayed to God for the child, fasted, and lay all night upon the earth. Ashes were often laid on the head in token of mourning; thus 'Tamar put ashes on her head, rent her garment, and laid her hand upon her head, and went on crying' (2 Sam. xiii. 19, 20; comp. Is. lxi. 3; 2 Esdras ix. 38). They even wallowed in ashes (Ezek. xxvii. 30). Mourning apparel is first mentioned in 2 Sam. xiv. 2, where it appears that the wearer did not anoint himself with oil (comp. Matt. vi. 17). In Egypt the common people allowed their beards to grow when mourning (Herod. ii. 36; comp. 2 Sam. xix. 24). The first reference to hired mourners occurs in Eccles. xii. 5, 'The mourners הַסוֹפְרִים go about the streets.' (The root of this word, observes Gesenius, signifies 'a mournful noise,' and he adduces Micah i. 8; Jer. xxii. 18; xxxiv. 5). They are certainly alluded to in Jer. ix. 17-20, 'the mourning women' (probably widows, comp. Ps. lxxviii. 64; Acts ix. 39) answering to the *Præfice* of the Romans (comp. Hor. *Ars Poet.* 429). Another reference to them occurs in 2 Chron. xxxv. 25; comp. Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* iii. 9. 5. The greater number of the mourners in ancient Egypt were women, as in the modern East. In the following cut (No. 375) mourners, all females, are shown casting dust upon their heads before the mummy of a man. Mourning for the dead was conducted in a tumultuous manner; they also wept and wailed greatly (Mark v. 38). Even devout men made great lamentations (Acts viii. 2).



375. Egyptian Mourners—ashes on head.

tions; they were joined as they went by neighbours and friends, and, if the deceased was of consequence, by strangers also. The men, girding their dress below their waist, ran through the town, smiting their breast, and throwing mud upon their heads (Herod. ii. 85; Diod. Sic. i. 91). The modern lamentations in Cairo seem to resemble the ancient. The mourners are said to parade the streets, crying, 'Oh, my misfortune!' 'Oh, my brother!' 'Oh, my master!' 'Oh, lord of the house!' etc. The similarity is striking between such exclamations and the following: Jephthah's, 'Alas, my daughter!' David's, 'O Absalom, my son; my son Absalom!' (2 Sam. xviii. 33). 'Alas, my brother!' (1 Kings xiii. 30). 'Ah, my brother! ah, my sister! ah, Lord, or ah, his glory' (Jer. xxii. 18). See Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, ii. 286.

Among other signs of mourning they shaved the head, and even tore off the hair (Amos viii. 10; Micah i. 16; Is. xv. 2; xxii. 12; Jer. vii. 29). Ezra plucked off the hair of his head and of his beard (Ezra ix. 3; Joseph. *Antiq.* xvi. 7. 5). The Jews went up to the house-tops to mourn (Is. xv. 2, 3; xxii. 1); and so did the Moabites (Jer.



376. Wail with Tabrets, etc.

xlvi. 37, 38; Judith viii. 5). They also made cuttings in their hands (Jer. xlviii. 37, 38); they smote upon the thigh (Jer. xxxi. 19; Ezek. xxi. 12); on the breast (Nahum ii. 7; Luke xviii. 13; xxiii. 48); they smote both hands together (Num. xxiv. 10), stamped with the foot (Ezek. vi. 11), bowed down the head (Lam. ii. 10), covered the lips (Micah iii. 7), the face (2 Sam. xix. 4), and the head (2 Sam. xv. 30), and went barefoot (2 Sam. xv. 30). Neighbours and friends provided food for the mourners (2 Sam. iii. 35; Jer. xvi. 7;



comp. Ezek. xxiv. 17); this was called 'the bread of bitterness,' 'the cup of consolation.' In later times the Jews had a custom of giving bread to the poor at funerals, and leaving it for their use at tombs, graves, etc., which resembles the Roman *visceratio* (Tobit iv. 17; Ecclus. xxx. 8). Women went to tombs to indulge their grief (John xi. 31); anniversary mournings (1 Esdras i. 22). The extravagance of mourning among the Greeks is ridi-



377. Mourning the Dead—Etruscan.

culed by Lucian (*De Luctu*), who describes them as expostulating with the dead for leaving them, etc., and other particulars similar to an Irish wake. It is difficult to ascertain the philosophy of mourning. Potter thinks that it consisted in receding as much as possible from ordinary customs and manners, in token that an extraordinary event had happened, and observes that such is the diversity of human customs that the signs of mourning in some nations coincide with those of joy in others (*Archæologia Græca*, ii. 194, 195, Lond. 1775). Although, no doubt, many modes of mourning are conventional, and originated in caprice, yet there would seem to be physical reasons for certain forms which have so widely and permanently prevailed. Shaving the head may be a dictate of nature to relieve the excited brain. Plucking the hair is well calculated to assuage the action of some particular organs, to which the sensations of the individual may be a sufficient guide. Beating the breast may relieve the heart oppressed with a tumultuous circulation. Cutting may be the effect of nature's indication of bleeding. Crying aloud certainly diverts the attention from anguish of mind or body. Tearing and rending seem to palliate nervous irritation, etc. (Carpzov, *De cinerum ap. Hebr. usu mæroris atque luctus Causa*, Rostock; Kirchmann, *De Funer. Roman.*; J. Q. Hedenus, *De Scissione Vest. Ebræis ac Gentibus usitata*, Jen. 1663; or in Ugolini, *The-saurus*, xxix.; Wichmannshausen, *De Laceratione Vestium ap. Hebr.*, Viteb.; also in Ugolini, *Thes.* xxxiii.; Wichmannshausen, *De Corpore Scissuris figurisque non cruentando*, Viteb.; J. G. Michaelis, *De Incisura super mortuos*, in *Observatt. Sacr.*)—J. F. D.

#### MOUSE. [ACHBAR.]

**MOUTH** (פֶּה). The ordinary applications of this word, common to all languages, require no explanation; but the following somewhat peculiar uses may be noted: 'Heavy-mouthed,' that is, slow of speech, and so translated in Exod. iv. 10; 'smooth mouth' (Prov. xxvi. 28), that is, a flattering mouth; so also 'a mouth of deceit' (Ps. cix. 2). The following are also remarkable phrases: 'To speak with one mouth to mouth,' that is, in person, without the intervention of an

interpreter (Num. xii. 8; comp. 1 Kings viii. 15; Jer. xxxii. 4). 'With one mouth,' that is, with one voice or consent (Josh. ix. 2; 1 Kings xxii. 13; 2 Chron. xviii. 12). 'With the whole mouth,' that is, with the utmost strength of voice (Job xix. 16; Ps. lxvi. 17). 'To put words into one's mouth,' that is, to suggest what one shall say (Exod. iv. 15; Num. xxii. 38; xxiii. 5, 12; 2 Sam. xiv. 19, etc.) 'To be in one's mouth,' is to be often spoken of, as a law, etc. (Exod. xiii. 9; comp. Ps. v. 10; xxxviii. 15). The Hebrew also says, 'upon the mouth,' where we say, and indeed our translation says, *in* or *into* the mouth (e.g., Nah. iii. 12); that which is spoken is also said to be 'upon the mouth,' where we should say 'upon the lips' (as in 2 Sam. xiii. 32). 'To lay the hand upon the mouth' is to be silent (Judg. xviii. 19; Job xxi. 5; xl. 4; comp. Prov. xxx. 32), just as we lay the finger on the mouth to enjoin silence. 'To write from the mouth of any one' is to do so from his dictation (Jer. xxxvi. 4, 27, 32; xlv. 1).

The mouth, as the organ of speech, also signifies the words that proceed out of it, which in the sacred style are the same as commands and actions, because they imply the effects of the thoughts; words and commands being the means used to communicate decrees to those who are to execute them. Instances of this abound in Scripture, in various shades of application, but few of them are preserved in translation. Thus (Gen. xlv. 21), 'according to the commandment of Pharaoh,' is in the original, 'according to the *mouth* of Pharaoh' (comp., among numerous other examples, Num. iii. 16; Job xxxix. 27; Eccles. viii. 2). Hence, for a person or thing to come out of the mouth of another is to be constituted or commanded to become an agent or minister under a superior power: this is frequent in the Revelations (Rev. xvi. 13, 14; i. 16; xl. 4, 5; xii. 15; ix. 19). The term *mouth* is not only applied to a speech or words, but to the speaker (Exod. iv. 16; Jer. xv. 19), in which sense it has a near equivalent in our expression 'mouth-piece.'—J. K.

**MOWER AND MOWINGS.** The former of these words occurs as the rendering in the A. V. of מְקַצֵּר, in Ps. cxxix. 7, which is elsewhere rendered by 'reaper;' and the latter as the rendering of מְקַצֵּר, the plural of קָצַר, a *shearing* or *cutting* (Amos vii. 1). The 'king's cuttings,' in this latter passage, probably refer to some claim of the king to the earliest grass. In Ps. lxxii. 6, however, מְקַצֵּר designates the grass after it has been mown. Hay-making, in the sense of the term with which we are familiar, formed no part of the agriculture of Palestine.—W. L. A.

**MOZAH** (מֹזָה; Sept. Ἀμαζή; Alex. Ἀμωσά; Amosa), a town of Benjamin, mentioned only in Josh. xviii. 26, and grouped with Mizpeh and Chephirah. It probably lay on the western brow of the mountains, as Chephirah has been satisfactorily identified with the ruin of Kefir [CHEPHIRAH]. Schwartz, however, has attempted to show that Mozah stood on the site of the little village of *Kolonieh*, situated about half way between Kirjath-jearim and Jerusalem; relying on a statement of the Mishna (*Succa*, iv. 5) that there was a place called Mozah *below Jerusalem* (למטה ירושלים), whither the people went for willows on the Feast



of Tabernacles. The Rabbins add that the place was also named *Kolonia* (cf. Reland, *Pal.*, p. 903). No dependence can be placed on this theory, and the site of Mozah still remains unknown.—J. L. P.

MÜHLHAUSEN. [LIPMANN.]

MULBERRY-TREE. [BACA.]

MULE. [PERED.]

MÜNSTER (SEBASTIAN), was born in 1489 at Ingelheim, in the Palatinate. At sixteen years of age he went to Tübingen, where Stapfer and Reuchlin became his teachers. He then joined the order of the Franciscans, which, however, he left on embracing Protestantism. He was elected Professor of Hebrew and Theology at the university of Heidelberg, and subsequently at that of Basle, where he died of the plague in 1552. Besides being an eminent Hebraist, he was also an excellent mathematician. Yet his erudition is hardly more praised by his contemporaries than his modesty. His tombstone bore the inscription:—*Germanorum Esdras hic Straboque conditur?* His principal works relating to Biblical literature are:—*Biblia Hebraica, cum Latina translatione, adjectis insuper e Rabbino- rum Commentariis annotationibus; Calendarium bibl. hebr., ex Hebraeorum penetralibus editum; Higgaiion, logica R. Simonis, latine versa; Institutiones Grammaticae in hebr. linguam; Grammatica Ebraea; Institutio elem. Gram. Hebr.; Aruch dictionarium Chaldaicum; Hebraica Institutiones; Grammatica Chaldaica; Lexicon Hebr.-Chald.; Diction. trilingue, lat., graec., et hebr.; una cum append. de hebraicis quibusdam vocabulis . . . qui Rabbini sunt familiares.*—E. D.

MUPPIM (מֻפִּים; Μοφίμ; *Mophim*) is mentioned in Gen. xlv. 21 as the eighth of the ten sons of the patriarch Benjamin. This name does not occur in the other passages where Jacob's family are enumerated (comp. Num. xxvi. 38-41; 1 Chron. vii. 6-12; viii. 1-5). But commentators, not without reason, have held the name to be either a corruption of the SHUPHAM of Num. xxvi. 39, son of Benjamin, and head of a *mishpachah*, or clan, of the tribe of Jacob's youngest son (which name occurs in the reduplicate form of SHEPHUPHAN in 1 Chron. viii. 5), or a second name borne by the same person. We prefer the latter supposition, that Shupham or Shephuphan was also called Muppim; for it was not unusual for the same individual to bear more than one name, to designate some historical or local circumstance in the man's life (thus, in the present instance, the Targum of Jonathan makes the subject of our article bear the name of Muppim because 'he was sold into *Muph*,' whatever that may mean). Besides, there seems no evidence of corruption of text. The Samaritan reading, the Septuagint [Alex. varies but slightly, Μοφελν], the two Targums, the Syriac and the Vulgate, all agree in giving, more or less accurately, the Hebrew name מֻפִּים. This name is not likely to have been mistaken for the *Shuphan* (or, as it ought to have been rendered, *Shephuphan*, for the original is שֶׁפְּהוּפָן) of Num. xxvi. 39, or for the *Shephuphan* (שֶׁפְּהוּפָן) of 1 Chron. viii. 5. The idea of a corrupted form of the name may have arisen from the identification of the *Shuphan* of Numbers with the *Shuphim* (שֻׁפִּים) of 1 Chron. vii. 12. The 'Shuphim and Huphim' of this verse too greatly resemble

in sight and sound the 'Muppim and Huphim' of Gen. xlv. 21, not to tempt commentators to their favourite theory of identification. It is, however, to our mind extremely doubtful whether the *Shuphan* of Numbers be the same person as the *Shuphim* of 1 Chron. vii. The latter passage makes Shuphim a descendant of Benjamin of the fourth generation (Benjamin, Bela, Iri or Ir, Shuphim), whereas from the table in Numbers Shuphan is represented directly as a son of Benjamin, as Muppim is represented in Genesis. We have elsewhere observed [BECHER], on the use of the word 'SON' in these genealogies, how it is not confined to a lineal descendant of the first succession, but includes grandsons and even remoter generations; bearing this in mind we are not perplexed at finding the 'Muppim' of Genesis and the 'Shuphan' [Shephuphan] of Numbers described as, in each case, a son of Benjamin, whereas the 'Shephuphan' of 1 Chron. viii. is given as a grandson of the patriarch. This is after the manner of these tables, and may indicate that Muppim or Shephuphan, becoming the head of a flourishing family, was raised a step in fact in the family-scale, and took the place of a deceased or obscure uncle in the organisation of the Benjamite *Mishpachoth*, or clans. It is, however, worthy of note that the Septuagint, at the very first mention of Muppim (Gen. xlv. 21), expressly makes him, not son, but grandson of Benjamin, and son of Bela; this was probably the true relationship of the man. Assuming this, we are still a generation at fault with respect to the SHUPPIM of 1 Chron. vii. We therefore prefer to conclude that this person is not identical with the subject of our article. Supposing, indeed, that Shuphim (שֻׁפִּים) and Shupham (or rather Shephuphan, שֶׁפְּהוּפָן) be variations of the self-same family-name, there is nothing unreasonable in the belief that it was borne, as the tables in their present shape assert, by members of Benjamin's posterity in two successive generations, by Shuphan the uncle and Shuphim the nephew. [SHUPPIM.] See also Simonis, *Onomasticon*, pp. 219, 361, 362.—P. H.

MURDER. The sacredness of human life, arising out of the fact that man was made in the image and likeness of God, is emphatically proclaimed in Scripture; and the malicious taking away of that life is set forth as a crime deserving the last punishment. So deeply rooted in human nature is this conviction, that from the earliest times it was held as a settled principle, that 'whoso sheddeth man's blood by man shall his blood be shed;' and to this the divine sanction was fully given (Gen. ix. 5, 6). The exacting of life for life came to be regarded as a duty devolving upon the male nearest of kin to the party slain; and with this the Mosaic legislation interfered no further, than to impose upon the exercise of it such restraints as gave opportunity of escape to those who had taken life by accident or without malicious intent. [CITIES OF REFUGE; KINSMAN.] The principle of the Mosaic law was, that human life was to be sacredly protected; its peremptory enactment was, 'Thou shalt not kill,' Exod. xx. 13; Deut. v. 17; and the penalty of death was awarded to the violator of this law (Exod. xxi. 12, 14; Lev. xxiv. 17, 21; Num. xxxv. 16-18). For the man who had committed murder there was no asylum; even the altar of God did not protect him



Arabian women of the present day, 'that when they dance or sing in their harem, they always beat the corresponding time upon this drum' (*Reiseb.* i. 181). To this mode of performance belongs the 24th Psalm, which rests altogether upon the varied representation; in like manner, also, the 20th and 21st Psalms. This was all the change it admitted; and although it is very possible that this monotonous, or rather unisonous music, might not be interesting to ears tuned to musical progressions, modulations, and cadences, there is something in it with which the Orientals are well pleased. They love it for the very reason that it is monotonous or unisonous, and from Morocco to China we meet with no other. Even the cultivated Chinese, whose civilization offers so many points of resemblance to that of the ancient Egyptians, like their own music, which consists wholly of melody, better than ours, although it is not wholly despised by them (Du Halde's *China*, iii. 216).

A music of this description could easily dispense with the compositions which mark the time by notes; and the Hebrews do not appear to have known anything of musical notation; for that the accents served that purpose is a position which yet remains to be proved. At the best the accent must have been a very imperfect instrument for this purpose, however high its antiquity.\* Europeans had not yet attained to musical notes in the 11th century; and the Orientals do not profess to have known them till the 17th. On the other hand, the word סֵלָה, *selah*, which occurs in the Psalms and Habakkuk, may very possibly be a mark for the change of time, or for repeating the melody a few tones higher, or, as some think, for an accompaniment or after-piece of entirely instrumental music.

The Hebrew music is judged to have been of a shrill character; for this would result from the nature of the instruments—harps, flutes, and cymbals—which were employed in the temple-service.

The manner of singing single songs was, it seems, ruled by that of others in the same measure, and it is usually supposed that many of the titles of the Psalms are intended to indicate the names of other songs according to which these were to be sung [PSALMS].

There is a notion somewhat widely diffused, that in their sacred services the Hebrews dispensed with real melody, and contented themselves with such cantillation as they now use in their synagogues. This seems very doubtful. On such a subject it is not safe to argue from the practice of the modern Jews; and as singing is something so exceedingly simple and natural, it is difficult to believe that in

the solemn services of their religion they stopped at the point of cantillation. [It is certain, also, that the secular music of the Hebrews must have been different from mere cantillation. We cannot suppose that the music by which David charmed Saul, by which his court and that of Solomon was regaled, by which Elisha was elevated into the prophetic ecstasy, was of this inartificial and unimpressive kind.]

The allusions to music in the Scriptures are so incidental and concise, that it will never be possible to form out of them a complete or connected view of the state of musical science among the ancient Hebrews. The little knowledge which has been realised on the subject, has been obtained chiefly through the patient labours and minute investigations of the authors named at the end of the next article.—J. K.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS (כְּלֵי נָשִׁיר, or simply כְּלִים, κλύα). It is less difficult to deter-

mine the general character of the Hebrew instruments of music, than to identify the particular instruments which are named in the Hebrew Scriptures. We see certain instruments different from our own in use among the modern Orientals, and we infer that the Hebrew instruments were probably not unlike these, because the Orientals change but little, and we recognise in them the peoples, and among them the habits and the manners described in the Bible. We see other instruments represented in great variety in the sculptures and mural tablets of the Egyptians; and we conclude that the Hebrews had something similar, on account of their long sojourn among that people. We find also many instruments presented in the sculptures of Greece and Rome, and we need not refuse to draw inferences from them, for they derived their origin from the East, and the Romans distinctly refer them to Syria (Juv. *Sat.* iii.; Liv. *Hist.* xxxix. 5). When, however, we endeavour to identify with these a particular instrument named by the Hebrews, our difficulty begins; because the Hebrew names are seldom to be recognised in those which they now bear, and because the Scripture affords us little information respecting the form of the instruments which it mentions. There are some clues, however. It is likely that the Greeks and Romans retained the names of the instruments they derived from Syria, and these names have been preserved. The Orientals also have for the most part retained the original names of things really old; and by comparing these names with the Hebrew, and then examining the instruments to which they appear to belong, shall throw some glimmerings of light on the subject.

The matter naturally arranges itself under the following heads:—

#### I. Stringed Instruments.

#### II. Wind Instruments.

#### III. Instruments of Percussion.

I.—I. At the head of the STRINGED INSTRUMENTS, we must place the כִּנּוֹר, *kinnor*, which is rendered 'harp' in the A. V. The invention and first use of this instrument are ascribed to Jubal (Gen. iv. 21); and Laban names it among the instruments which should have celebrated the departure of his son-in-law (Gen. xxxi. 27). In the first ages the *kinnor* was consecrated to joy and

\* [At the same time it is obvious to remark, that if the Hebrews were careful to provide marks to regulate declamation, the probability is that they would be still more careful to provide a notation for the regulation of their music and the preservation of their melodies. Notation, it is true, becomes chiefly necessary where harmony is aimed at; and there can be no doubt that simple melodies can be taught and preserved for an indefinite period by mere practice. Still, it seems probable that some musical notation was in use among the Hebrews; though it cannot be shown that the accents served this purpose.]



exultation; hence the frequency of its use by David and others in praise of the Divine Majesty. It is thought probable that the instrument received some improvements from David (comp. Amos vi. 5). In bringing back the ark of the covenant (1 Chron. xvi. 5), as well as afterwards, at the consecration of the temple, the *kinnor* was assigned to players of known eminence, chiefly of the family of Jeduthun (1 Chron. xxv. 3). Isaiah mentions it as used at festivals along with the *nebel*; he also describes it as carried round by Bayaderes from town to town (xxiii. 16), and as increasing by its presence the joy of vintage (xxiv. 8). When Jehoshaphat obtained his great victory over the Moabites, the triumphal entry into Jerusalem was accompanied by the *nebel* and the *kinnor* (2 Chron. xx. 27, 28). The sorrowing Jews of the captivity, far removed from their own land and the shadow of the sanctuary, hung their *kinnors* upon the willows by the waters of Babylon, and refused to sing the songs of Zion in a strange land (Ps. cxxxvii. 2). Many other passages of similar purport might be adduced in order to fix the uses of an instrument, the name of which occurs so often in the Hebrew Scriptures. They mostly indicate occasions of joy, such as jubilees and festivals. Of the instrument itself, the Scripture affords us little further information than that it was composed of the sounding parts of good wood, and furnished with strings. David made it of the berosh-wood [BEROSI]; Solomon of the more costly algum (2 Sam. vi. 5; 2 Kings x. 12); and Josephus mentions some composed of the mixed metal called electrum. He also asserts that it was furnished with ten strings, and played with a plectrum (*Antiq.* vii. 12. 3); which, however, is not understood to imply that it never had any other number of strings, or was always played with the plectrum. David certainly played it with the hand (1 Sam. xvi. 23; xviii. 10; xix. 9), and it was probably used in both ways, according to its size.

That this instrument was really a harp is now very generally denied; and Pfeiffer, Winer, and other writers on the subject, conclude that it was a kind of guitar. This is entirely grounded on somewhat uncertain etymological derivations. Thus כִּנּוֹר is in the Septuagint translated by *κithára* and *κινύρα*; and by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion always by *κithára*. Now the Greek *cithara*, it is argued, was a kind of guitar, from which the modern instrument so called, and its very name, *gittare*, *guitar*, is derived. The testimony of the Arabic is also adduced; for the name among the Arabians for instruments of the guitar kind is *tambúra*, and it happens that this is the very term by which the word *kinnor* is rendered in the Arabic version. When this kind of argument was used by Pfeiffer and others, it was not well known that the guitar was in fact an ancient Egyptian, as it is also a modern Oriental, instrument. It is frequently figured in the monuments. There is therefore little room to doubt that the guitar was known to the Hebrews, and probably in use among them. Notwithstanding this kind of evidence, the editor of the Pictorial Bible (on Ps. xliii. 4) ventured to suggest the greater probability, that the *lyre*, in some of its various kinds, was denoted by the word *kinnor*; and subsequent inquiry has tended to establish this conclusion as firmly perhaps as the nature of the subject admits. It is shown, first, that the *cithara*, which the Greek translators

appear to have had in view, was in fact originally the same as the lyre; in other words, the name *λύρα*, *lyra*, rarely occurs in the early Greek writers, that of *κithára* being far more common. But, about the time of Pindar, certain innovations were introduced, in consequence of which the lyre and *cithara* came to be used as distinctive words—the *lyre* denoting the instrument which exhibited the strings free on both sides, and the *cithara* that with the strings partly drawn over the sounding body. This latter instrument, preserving the shape of the lyre, and wholly distinct in form and arrangement from the guitar, resembling it only in this one point, should surely not be confounded with it, especially as antiquity had another instrument which more obviously belongs to the guitar species. If those who allege that the *kinnor* was a kind of guitar, mean merely that it was a species of lyre which in one point resembled a guitar, we do not differ from them; but if they allege that it had any general resemblance to the modern instrument, they remove it from the lyre class of instruments, which the authorities on which they rely will not allow. If, therefore, the word *κithára* denoted, when the Greek translators of the Bible lived, a species of lyre, which was the only lyre when the Hebrew Scriptures were written, it follows, that in using this word for the Hebrew *kinnor*, they understood and intended to convey that a lyre was signified. They also could not but know that the distinction between the *lyra* and *cithara* was of recent origin; and as the latter word had originally been a general term for the lyre, they must have felt it to be more strictly equivalent than *lyra* to the Hebrew *kinnor*. It may also be observed that all the uses of the *kinnor*, as described in Scripture, were such as were applicable to the lyre, and to the lyre only, of all the ancient instruments of music; most of them being egregiously inapplicable to the harp, and not very suitable to the guitar. And it must not be overlooked, that it is morally certain the Hebrews had the lyre, seeing that it was common

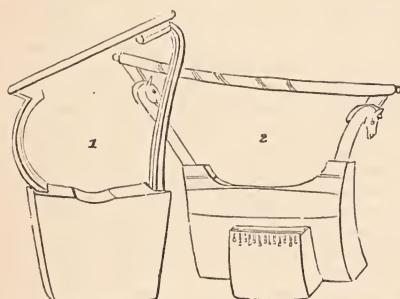


378. Egyptian figures of lyres. 1, 2, played without, and 3, 4, with the plectrum; 4, is the supposed Hebrew lyre.

among all their neighbours; and yet there is no other of their instruments but the *kinnor* with which



it can possibly be identified. The frequency of its occurrence in Scripture also corresponds with the preference given to it in most ancient writers. We are moreover inclined to place some reliance upon the Egyptian painting supposed to represent the arrival of Joseph's brethren in Egypt (No. 378, fig. 4). Here one of the men is playing on a lyre of somewhat peculiar shape; and if he be a Hebrew the instrument is undoubtedly a *kinnor*, as no other stringed instrument is mentioned till the time of David. This instrument has *seven* strings (the usual number of the lyre), which are partly drawn over the sounding body: this is the characteristic of that more ancient species of lyre called the *cithara*. The engravings 378 and 379 will give some idea of the varieties in form and strings which the lyre assumed among the Egyptians. There were probably similar differences among the Hebrews; for in concluding the *kinnor* to be the lyre, we have no wish to restrict it to any one particular instrument: we rather apprehend that it was a general term for all instruments of the lyre kind. If there was one instrument more than another on which the Hebrews were likely to pride themselves, and which should be regarded as their national instrument, it is the *kinnor*; and if they gave the figure of an instrument on any coin as a type of their nation, as the harp of Ireland, it would be this. Now the instrument which we do find on



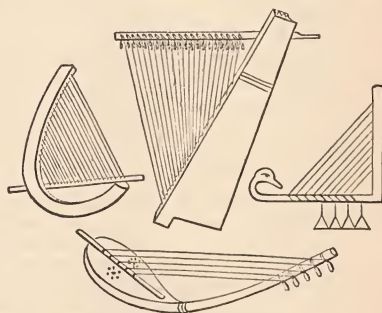
379. Egyptian Lyres. 1. In the Leyden collection; 2. In the Berlin collection.

some coins ascribed to Simon Maccabæus is no other than a lyre (No. 383, fig. 3), and there can be little doubt that it was intended to represent the instrument known among the Hebrews by the name of *kinnor*. An instrument resembling the ancient lyre is also in use among the Arabians, bearing the name of *kussir* (derived perhaps from *kithara*). There is a figure of it in Niebuhr, and he saw no other instrument in the East which he felt disposed to identify with 'the harp of David' (*Reisebesch.* i. 179).

2. נָבֶל, *nebel*, is the next instrument which requires attention. The Greek *νάβλον* (*νάβλα*, *νάβλη*, *ναύλα*, or *νάβλας*) and the Latin *nablium*, *nablium* (or *nabla*), are obviously connected with or derived from the same source as the Hebrew word, and may afford some help in our search after the instrument. The word is rendered 'psaltery' in the A. V., in imitation of the Sept. translation of the Psalms and Nehemiah, which renders it by *ψαλτήριον*, with the exception of *ψάλμος* in Ps. lxxi. 22, and *κυθάρα* in Ps. lxxxi. 2. The Septuagint in the other books in which the word occurs,

renders it by *νάβλα*, or with a different ending *νάβλον*. As to when this instrument was invented, and when it came into use among the Hebrews, nothing can be determined with certainty. The first mention of it is in the reign of Saul (1 Sam. x. 5), and from that time forward we continue to meet with it in the O. T. It is, however, not found in the 3d chapter of Daniel, where mention is made of so many instruments: whence we may infer either that it did not exist among the Babylonians, or was known among them by another name. Indeed, among the Greeks and Latins the word *nablium* is not of frequent occurrence, and is only employed by the poets, who are generally fond of borrowing foreign names. The use of the instrument prevailed particularly in the public worship of God. David's own instrument was the *kinnor*; but he neglected not the *nebel*. It was played upon by several persons in the grand procession at the removal of the ark (1 Chron. xv. 16; xvi. 5); and in the final organization of the temple music it was entrusted to the families of Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun (1 Chron. xxv. 1-7); Asaph, however, was only the overseer of the *nebelists*, as he himself played on the מְצִילַיִם, *metzillaim*. Out of the worship of God, it was employed at festivals and for luxurious purposes (Amos vi. 5). In the manufacture of this instrument a constant increase of splendour was exhibited. The first we meet with were made simply of the wood of the *berosh* (2 Sam. vi. 5; 1 Chron. xiii. 8), others of the rarer *algum* tree (1 Kings x. 12; 2 Chron. ix. 11); and some perhaps of metal (Joseph. *Antiq.* i. 8. 3), unless the last is to be understood of particular parts of the instrument.

Conjectures respecting the probable form of this instrument have been exceedingly various. Passing by the eccentric notion that the *nebel* was a kind of bagpipe, we may assume, from the evident tendency of the Scriptural intimations, and from the general bearing of other authorities, that it was composed of strings stretched over a wooden frame. This being assumed or granted, we must proceed to seek some hint concerning its shape; and we find nothing more tangible than the concurrent testimony of Jerome, Isidorus, and Cassiodorus, that it was like the Greek letter Δ inverted, ∇.

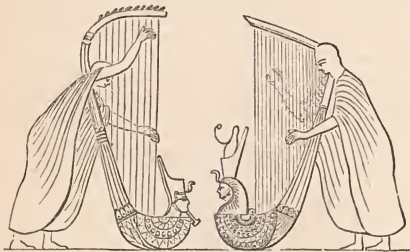


380. Egyptian triangular instruments.

The only instrument of this shape known to the older writers on the subject was the harp; which some of them (as Calmet) on this insufficient ground inferred to be the instrument intended. But since then vast additions to our knowledge of ancient musical instruments have been found in the tombs

of Egypt and the buried cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii. From these we learn two things—that the ancient harp was *not* shaped like the Greek  $\Delta$  inverted; and that there were stringed instruments, something between the harp and the lyre, which in their various forms bore a remarkable resemblance to that letter (No. 380). We feel assured that among these forms may be found the instrument which the fathers had in view, for they lived while they were still in use. They held it to be the same as the Hebrew *nebel*; and as we can, through the Egyptian monuments, trace the instrument up to early Scriptural times, this view certainly deserves considerable attention.

We are, however, far from thinking that the *nebel* was always of this shape. It appears to us to be a general name for various of the larger stringed instruments of the harp kind, and also to denote, in a more special sense, one particular sort: in other words, that the *nebel* was an instrument of a principal species, the name of which was applied to the whole genus. In fact, we have the names of several instruments which are generally conceived to be different varieties of the *nebel*. Before proceeding to these, we must express an opinion that one of these kinds, if not the principal kind, or the one most frequently denoted by the word, was the ancient harp, agreeing more or less with that represented in the Egyptian monuments. Whether the *nebel* or not, there can be little doubt that the Hebrews had such an instrument, although we may be unable to point out the precise word by which they described it. It is morally impossible that an instrument so common in Egypt, and of which the powers must have much exceeded that of any other instrument known to them, could have been neglected by a people whose stringed instruments of music were so various as those of the Hebrews. It may further be observed, that the use of this instrument as shown in the Egyptian paintings, agrees in all respects with that which the Scriptures refer to the *nebel*, so far as we can



381. Grand Egyptian harps.

gather any indications from them; and it is somewhat remarkable that the two great harps, in what is called Bruce's tomb, have respectively eleven and thirteen strings, being only one more and one less than the twelve assigned by Josephus to the *nebel*. These harps are shown in No. 381, and other varieties of the same instrument are figured in No. 382.

One of the classical traditions respecting the origin of the lyre refers it to an observation made upon the resonance of the gut-strings in the shell of a dried-up tortoise; another to a similar observation upon the twanging of a bow-string. These traditions have been deemed contradictory, from

being supposed to refer to one and the same instrument; but they are perfectly reconcilable when referred to two. The lyre, which we have already



382. Other forms of Egyptian harps.

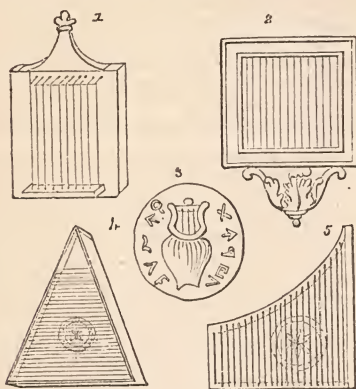
sought to connect with the Hebrew *kinnor*, might have had the tortoise origin, and the instrument we have now in view might as obviously be referred to the bow and its string. That the latter has only lately become known to us through the Egyptian monuments sufficiently accounts for this confusion, and explains why no attempt has hitherto been made (except in the *Pictorial Bible*, note on Ps. cxxxviii. 2) to place the Egyptian harp among the musical instruments of the Hebrews. We have no desire to insist on its identity with the *nebel* in particular: but it is remarkable that whereas the *nebel* is in Scripture mentioned so as to show that it always or generally formed part of a band of instruments, so the Egyptian harp is usually seen to be played in concert with other instruments. Sometimes, however, it was played alone, or as an accompaniment to the voice, and a band of seven or more choristers frequently sang to it a favourite air, beating time with their hands between each stanza (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.*, ii. 239). The principle of the bow was among the Egyptians extended to other instruments, which, from their smaller size and manner of being played, might be classed among lyres (No. 384). It is more than probable that these simple instruments were known to the Hebrews, although we are unable to discover the name by which they were called.

3. עֲסוֹר, *'asor*, occurs as an instrument in only a few places, and never but in connection with the *nebel*. This has given rise to the conjecture that the two instruments may have differed from each other only in the number of their strings, or the openings at the bottom. Hence we meet with the Sept. translation ἐν δεκαχόρδῳ, and in the Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic, words expressing an instrument of *ten* strings, which is also followed in the A. V. (Ps. xxxiii. 2; cxlv. 9). We see no reason to dissent from this conclusion. Pfeiffer was inclined to think that the *'asor* may have been the quadrangular lyre which is represented in different varieties in ancient monuments, and which has usually ten strings, though sometimes more (No. 383, figs. 1, 2).

4. גִּתִּית, *gittith*, a word which occurs in the titles to Ps. viii., lxxxi., lxxiv., and is generally supposed to denote a musical instrument. From the name it has been supposed to be an instrument which David brought from Gath; and it has been inferred from Is. xvi. 10, that it was in particular



use at the vintage season. If an instrument of music, it is remarkable that it does not occur in the list of the instruments assigned by David to the



383. Miscellaneous stringed instruments.

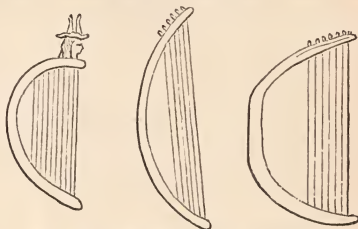
temple musicians; nor even in that list which appears in verses 2 and 3 of Ps. lxxxi., in the title of which it is found. The supposition of Gesenius, that it is a general name for a *stringed instrument*, obviates this difficulty. The Septuagint renders the title by ὑπὲρ τῶν ληνῶν, 'upon the winepress,' and Carpzov, Pfeiffer, and others, follow this, in taking the word to denote a song composed for the vintage, or for the Feast of Tabernacles (Carpzov, *Observ. Philol. super Psalmos Tres עליהנות*, Helmst. 1758; Pfeiffer, *über die Musik*, p. 32).

5. מִנְיִם, *minnim*, which occurs in Ps. xlv. 8 and cl. 4, is supposed by some to denote a stringed instrument, but it seems merely a poetical allusion to the *strings* of any instrument. Thus in Ps. xlv. 8 we would read 'Out of the ivory palaces the *strings* (i.e., concerts of music) have made thee glad;' and so in Ps. cl. 4, 'Praise him with strings (stringed instruments) and *ugabs*.'

6. שַׁבְּכָה or שַׁבְּכָה, *sabca*, an instrument rendered 'sackbut,' and which occurs only in Dan. iii. 5, 7, 10, 15. It is doubtless the same as the stringed instrument of music denominated by the Greeks σαμβύκη, *sambúkēs*, *σαμβυξ*, *zambúkē*, and by the Latins *sambuca*. It seems to have been a species of harp or lyre, and, as some think, was only a species of the *nebel*, distinguished by the number of its strings. The able writer of the musical articles in Smith's *Classical Dictionary* thinks the sambuca was the same as the Egyptian harp, which we have already conjectured to be the particular instrument designated by the name *nebel*, or one of the instruments of the class so denominated. We should have no objection to regard this harp as being represented by the *sabca* as a species of the *nebel*; but we cannot see that any proof of the conjecture is adduced, and as the word only occurs in a list of Babylonian instruments, and never among those of the Hebrews, the identification would go to show that the latter had not the harp, for which conclusion we are by no means prepared.

As the intimations which can be collected respecting the sambuca amount to this, that it was a

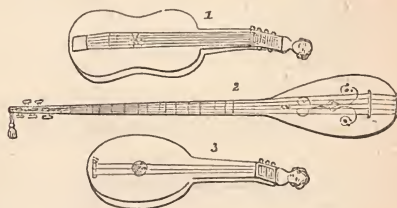
large stringed instrument of a somewhat triangular shape, it may possibly have borne some resemblance to figs. 4 and 5, No. 383, which are copied from old writers on the subject, and which bear much resemblance to instruments such as the *khanoon* and *tchenk*, which continue to be common and popular in Syria, Arabia, Egypt, and Persia, and which correspond to both these conditions.



384. Bow-shaped Egyptian instruments.

7. פְּסַנְתֵּרִין or פְּסַנְתֵּרִין, *pesanterin*, the ψαλτήριον or psaltery of the Greeks. It occurs only in Dan. iii. 7, 10, 15, where it is supposed to represent the Hebrew *nebel*. The word ψαλτήριον is, however, applied by the Greek translators so arbitrarily to instruments which have different names in Hebrew, that nothing can be built upon its use; still less are we disposed to accept the conclusion of Gesenius, that the Chaldee word is in this instance formed from the Greek. The Chaldee name, and perhaps the instrument represented by it, may be recognised in the modern سَنْطِير, *santeer*, which is of the class already referred to as represented by figs. 3, 4, No. 383.

8. מַחְלָת, *machalath*, which occurs in the titles of Ps. liii. and lxxxviii., is supposed by Gesenius and others to denote a kind of lute or guitar, which instrument others find in the *minnim* above noticed. We should not like to affirm that instruments of this kind are represented by either of these words—not that we doubt whether the Hebrews had such instruments, but because we are not satisfied that these are the precise words by which they were denoted. The prevalence in the East of instruments of this sort would alone suggest the probability that the Jews were not without them; and this probability is greatly increased by the evidence which the Egyptian paintings offer, that they were equally prevalent in ancient times in neighbouring nations. Before this evidence



385. 1. A kind of guitar. 2. Ancient lute. 3. Arabian tanbur.

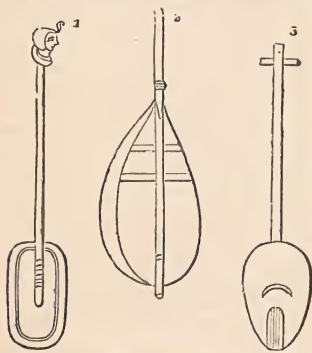
was obtained it was usual to offer figs. 1 and 3 in the preceding cut (No. 385), as affording probable examples of Hebrew instruments of this class; and fig. 3, from Niebuhr's *Travels*, as a modern Arabian

example. Objections were urged to these figures, which it would, until lately, have been difficult to answer. But now we find their prototypes among the ancient Egyptians. This will be seen from the subjoined engravings, a very cursory inspection of which will show the general resemblance of the above to the instruments represented in at least figs. 1, 3 (No. 386), or in other words, to instruments of the lute and guitar class. The Egyptian guitar consisted of two parts, a long flat neck or



386. Egyptian stringed instruments with necks.

handle, and a hollow oval body, composed wholly of wood, or covered with leather, whose upper surface was perforated with several holes to allow the sound to escape; over this body, and the whole length of the handle, extended three strings of catgut secured at the upper extremity. The length of the handle was sometimes twice, sometimes thrice that of the body, and the whole instrument seems to have measured three or four feet. It was struck with a plectrum, and the performers usually stood as they played. Both men and women used the guitar; some danced while they touched its strings (No. 386, fig. 2), supporting it on the right arm;



387. Egyptian stringed instruments with necks.

and in one instance (fig. 3) it is seen slung by a band round the neck, like the modern Spanish guitar. The others (No. 387) are variations of these instruments; in fig. 3 making a near approach to the lute. They are from actual and somewhat decayed specimens, and therefore do not exhibit the wires and other minute parts.

With all this evidence before us, we need not hesitate to conclude that the Hebrews were in possession of instruments of this kind, although

we may not venture to affirm by what name they were called.

II. WIND INSTRUMENTS.—There is, happily, less difficulty with respect to instruments of this class than with respect to stringed instruments. The most ordinary division of these is into trumpets and pipes, of which the Hebrews had both, and of various kinds.

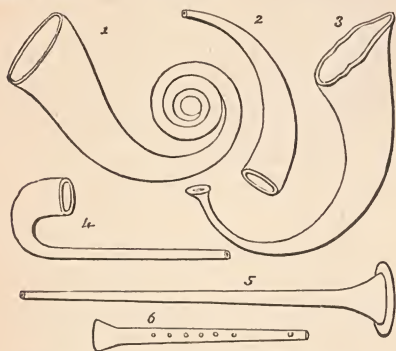
1. קֶרֶן *keren*, 'horn,' sometimes, but not often, occurs as the name of a musical instrument (Josh. vi. 5; 1 Chron. xxv. 5; Dan. iii. 5, 7, 10, 15). Of natural horns, and of instruments in the shape of horns, the antiquity and general use are evinced by every extensive collection of antiquities. It is admitted that natural horns were at first used, and that they at length came to be imitated in metal, but were still called horns. This use and application of the word are illustrated in our 'cornet.' It is generally conceived that rams' horns were the instruments used by the early Hebrews; and these are, indeed, expressly named in our own and many other versions, as the instruments used at the noted siege of Jericho (Josh. vi. 5); and the horns are those of the ram, which Josephus assigns to the soldiers of Gideon (*Antiq.* v. 6. 5; comp. Judg. vii. 16).

The former of these passages requires some remark. The text is קֶרֶן יוֹבֵל *keren jobel* or *jobel*-horn. It is admitted that *jobel* means the *jubilee*, and in that case it would be jubilee-horn; and in the other verses of the chapter where trumpets are mentioned, with the epithet *jobelim* affixed, to denote 'jubilee-trumpets.' But then the translation 'rams' horn,' in verse 5, is sought to be justified on the ground that the jubilee itself took its name from the instruments with which it was proclaimed, and as these instruments are believed to have been rams' horns, the term has so been rendered in this text. In other words, the argument stands thus:—1. The jubilee was named from the instruments by which it was proclaimed. 2. These instruments were rams' horns. 3. Therefore *jobel* means a ram. It is, however, admitted that a ram is never called *jobel* in Hebrew: and an anecdote of R. Akiba implies that it was derived from an Arabian source. 'When I was in Arabia,' he says, 'I heard them call a ram *jobel*; and the trumpet itself is called *jobel*, because made of rams' horn.' It would be better, however, to translate it 'jubilee-horn' (see below, sec. 4). The text is not necessary to show that rams' horns were in use; the general belief of the Jews on the subject, and the existence of sculptured figures of ancient instruments imitated from the horns of rams, if not actually rams' horns, bring good evidence in favour of this opinion. Bochart, and a few others, contest this conclusion, on the ground that rams' horns are not suited to the purpose, and that the Greeks and Romans used the horns of neat cattle. Neither of these positions is tenable or of much weight, and the probability seems to be that *keren* was first, in its widest acceptation, the general name for instruments of the horn kind, and also the particular name for rams' horns, or the more crooked kind of horns, and were thus distinguished from the

2. שׁוֹפָר *shophar*, which is a far more common word than *keren*, and is rendered 'trumpet' in the A. V. This word seems, first, to denote horns of the straighter kind, including, probably, those



of neat cattle, and all the instruments which were eventually made in imitation of and in improvement upon such horns. It is, however, difficult



388. 1, 2, 3, 4. Ancient horns and curved trumpets; 5. Straight trumpet; 6. Pipe.

to draw a distinction between it and the *keren*, seeing that the words are sometimes used synonymously. Thus that which is called 'a jebel-horn' in Josh. vi. 5, is in the same chapter (ver. 4, 6, 8, 13), called a jebel-horn trumpet' (*shophar*). Upon the whole, we may take the *shophar*, however distinguished from the *keren*, to have been that kind of horn or horn-shaped trumpet which was best known to the Hebrews. The name *shophar* means *bright* or *clear*, and the instrument may be conceived to have been so called from its clear and shrill sound, just as we call an instrument a 'clarion,' and speak of a musical tone as 'brilliant' or 'clear.' In the service of God this *shophar* or trumpet was only employed in making announcements, and for calling the people together in the time of the holy solemnities, of war, of rebellion, or of any other great occasion (Exod. xix. 13; Num. x. 10; Judg. iii. 27; 1 Sam. xiii. 3; 2 Chron. xv. 14; Is. xviii. 3). The strong sound of the instrument would have confounded a choir of singers, rather than have elevated their music. At feasts, and exhibitions of joy, horns and trumpets were not forgotten (2 Sam. vi. 15; 1 Chron. xvi. 42). There is no reason to conclude that the trumpet was an instrument peculiar to the Levites, as some have supposed. If that were the case we should be unable to account for the 300 trumpets with which Gideon's men were furnished (Judg. vii. 8), and for the use of trumpets in making signals by watchmen, who were not always Levites. In Matt. vi. 2, we read, 'When thou dost thine alms, do not sound a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues, and in the streets, that they may have glory of men.' This verse has excited some speculation, and many have sought to illustrate it by reference to the custom of Eastern beggars of attracting attention by means of a musical instrument—a usage which, indeed, exists in England. But here it is the donor and not the beggar who is enjoined not to sound a trumpet; and Lightfoot, after examining the matter with his usual care, confesses that he can find no trace in the whole range of Hebrew literature, of a trumpet being sounded in connection with public or private almsgiving (*Hor. Hebr.* on Matt. vi. 2). It is therefore safest to suppose the expression derived by an easy meta-

phor from the practice of using the trumpet to proclaim whatever was about to be done, in order to call attention to it and make it extensively known.

3. חֲצֹצֶרֶת, *chatzotzerah*. This was the straight trumpet, different from the *shophar*, which was more or less bent like a horn. There has been various speculation on the name; but we are disposed to assent to the conclusion of Gesenius, that it is an onomatopoetic word, imitating the broken pulse-like sound of the trumpet, like the Latin *taralantara*, which this word would more resemble if pronounced as in Arabic, *haddêderah*. Among the Israelites these trumpets were a divine regulation, Moses having been expressly directed how to make them (Num. x. 2). They were of pure beaten silver, but the particular form does not appear in Scripture. The words בְּחֲצֹצֶרֶת וּקוֹל שׁוֹפָר, 'with *chatzotzereth* and voice of the *shophar*' (Ps. xcvi. 6), brings together names which most translators confound under that of 'trumpet,' and obliges them for once, at least, to draw a distinction between the two. The A. V. here has 'with



389. Ancient Egyptian trumpets.

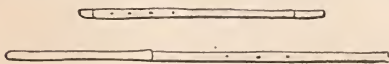
trumpets and the sound of the cornet,' which clearly intimates that the translator considered the *shophar* a kind of horn, though usually called a trumpet. The Sept. draws the distinction very nicely—ἐν σάλπιγγιν ἐλαταῖς, καὶ φωνῇ σάλπιγγος κερατίνης, 'with ductile trumpets, and the sound of horn-trumpets,' which is closely copied by the Vulgate, 'in tubis ductilibus, et voce tubæ corneæ.' The idea conveyed of the *chatzotzerah* in these translations is, that these trumpets were of wrought or ductile silver, and drawn out in length; with this some combine a reference to the signification of the word מִקְשָׁה, *mikshah*, applied to these trumpets in the original description in Num. x. 2, which they understand to mean 'turned' or 'rounded,' and hence infer that they were not merely drawn out in length but turned back upon themselves like a trombone. Some German writers, indeed, directly call the instrument a trombone, as De Wette, who, in his translation of the Psalms, renders the line under notice 'Mit trompeten, mit posauen-klang,' that is, 'with trumpets, with trombone-sound.' And Pfeiffer, pressing upon this signification, gives the figure of an Oriental instrument of this kind called the *sumara*, as a possible representative of the *chatzotzerah*. We assign little weight to all this. It seems clear that these instruments were

long trumpets of solid wrought silver; and as it appears that these are the only musical instruments undoubted representations of which are preserved, there ought to be no question on the subject. These silver trumpets are figured on the arch of Titus, among the other spoils of the Jewish Temple (Fig. 5, No. 388), and they correspond with the description which Josephus, who, as a priest, could not in this matter be mistaken, has given: 'Moses,' he says, 'invented a kind of trumpet of silver; in length it was little less than a cubit, and it was somewhat thicker than a pipe; its opening was oblong, so as to permit blowing on it with the mouth; at the lower end it had the form of a bell, like the horn,' *σάλπιγξ* (*Antiq.* iii. 12). Moses was commanded to make only two of these trumpets, because there were then but two priests, the two sons of Aaron. Afterwards far more of them were made; and Josephus ventures to say that Solomon made 200,000 of them, according to the command of Moses (*Antiq.* viii. 3). When, however, riches departed from Palestine, trumpets of baser metal were used (2 Kings xii. 13), although probably a certain number of silver were still preserved. They were used in calling the congregation together for sacrifices, and in battle (Hos. v. 8). The tone of this trumpet, or rather the noise made by blowing on it, was very variable, and is distinguished by different terms in Scripture.

4. *יובל*, *jôbél*. There has been much speculation concerning this term, which the reader may find in ample abundance in Bochart (*Hieroz.* i. 436). It seems now to be agreed that the word does not denote a separate instrument, but is an epithet applied to the trumpets with which the jubilees were proclaimed, i. e., the 'jubilee-trumpet;' and as the same trumpets were used for signals and alarms, 'the alarm-trumpet, the alarm-horn.' This name for the sound of music is supposed to be derived from Jubal, the inventor of instruments of music.

Wind instruments of softer sound next require attention. The first and principal of these is the

5. *חליל*, *chalil*, the meaning of which is *bored through*, and denotes a pipe, perforated and furnished with holes. The Sept. always renders it by *αὐλός*, a pipe or flute. There are but five places where it occurs in the O. T. (1 Sam. x. 5; 1 Kings i. 40; Is. v. 12; xxx. 29; Jer. xlviii. 36); but the Greek *αὐλός* occurs in the N. T. (Matt. ix. 23), and in the Apocryphal books (1 Maccab. iv. 54; ix. 39; Judith iii. 7). It would seem to have come rather late into use among the Hebrews, and probably had a foreign origin. The passages to which we have referred will indicate the use of this instrument or class of instruments; but of the form



390. Egyptian reed-pipes.

we can only guess by reference to those of the ancient Egyptians, which are very similar to those still in use in Western Asia. The pipe is, however, rarely introduced in the Egyptian sculptures, and does not seem to have been held in much estimation. The principal are the single and double pipes. The single pipe of the Greeks is allowed

to have been introduced from Egypt (J. Pollux, *Onom.* iv. 10; Athenæus, *Deipnos.* iv.), from which the Jews probably had theirs. It was a straight tube, without any increase at the mouth, and when played was held with both hands. It was usually of moderate length, about eighteen inches, but occasionally less, and sometimes so exceedingly long and the holes so low that the player was obliged to extend his arms to the utmost. Some had three holes, others four, and actual specimens made of common reed have been found (Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, ii. 309).



391. 1, 2, 3. Single pipes; 4. Double pipe.

The double pipe was formed with two of such tubes, of equal or unequal lengths, having a common mouth-piece, and each played with the corresponding hand. They were distinguished as the right and left pipes, and the latter, having but few holes, and emitting a deep sound, served as a bass; the other had more holes and gave a sharp sound (Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xvi. 36). This pipe is still used in Palestine. The Scottish missionary deputation overtook, among the hills of Judah, 'an Arab playing with all his might upon a shepherd's pipe, made of two reeds. This was the first time we had seen any marks of joy in the land' (*Narrative*, p. 118).

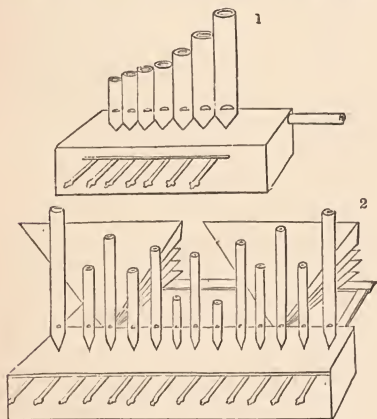
From the references which have been given, it will be seen that the pipe was, among the Jews, chiefly consecrated to joy and pleasure. So much was this the case, that in the time of Judas Maccabæus the Jews complained 'that joy was taken from Jacob, and the pipe with the harp (*κυθάρα*) ceased' (1 Maccab. iii. 45). It was particularly used to enliven the periodical journeys to Jerusalem to attend the great festivals (Is. xxx. 29); and this custom of accompanying travelling in companies with music is common in the East at this day (Harmer, *Observatt.* ii. 197; to which add Tournefort, *Voyage du Levant*, iii. 189). Athenæus (iv. 174) tells us of a plaintive pipe which was in use among the Phœnicians. This serves to illustrate Matt. ix. 23, where our Saviour, finding the flute-players with the dead daughter of the ruler, orders them away, because the damsel was not dead, and in this we also recognise the regulation of the Jews, that every one, however poor he might be, should have at least two pipes (*חלילים*) at the death of his wife (Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr. ad Matt.* ix. 23). [MOURNING.]

6. *מישרוקיתא*, *mishrokiṭhā*. This word occurs four times in Daniel (chap. iii. 5, 7, 10, 15), but nowhere else, and appears to be the Chaldean name for the flute with two reeds, of which we have already spoken. If that double pipe be not comprehended under the Hebrew *chalil*, then we



may consider that we have it here. The Sept. and Theodotion render it by *σύριγξ*, *syrix*, which is the name of the Pandæan pipe. This would imply that it had at least more than one reed; and if it really denotes the Pandæan pipe itself, the word is to be regarded as the Chaldaean name of the instrument called by the Hebrews *עוגב*, *ugab*, which was undoubtedly the *syrix*. This is the more probable from the fact that the Hebrew translator actually renders *mishrokitha* by *ugab*.

It may, however, have differed from the common *ugab*; and some writers on the subject have been disposed to regard it as similar to the instrument represented in the annexed cut (No. 392, fig. 1). This is constructed somewhat on the principle of an organ, being composed of pipes of various sizes, fitted into a kind of modern chest, open at top, and stopped at the bottom with wood covered by a skin; wind was conveyed to it from the lips by means of a pipe fixed to the chest; the pipes were of lengths musically proportioned to each other, and the melody was varied at pleasure, by stopping or unstopping the apertures at the upper extremity. We are not, however, satisfied with the evidence which makes this instrument, or the modification of it in fig. 2, to have been known to either the ancient Hebrews or the Babylonians.



392.

7. *עוגב*, *'ugab*, is the word rendered 'organ' in our version. This and the *kinnor* are the instruments whose invention is ascribed to Jubal (Gen. iv. 21), and higher antiquity cannot therefore be claimed for any instrument. There are only three other places in which it is mentioned in the O. T.; two in the book of Job (xxi. 12; xxx. 31), and one in the Psalms (cl. 4). The Targum renders the word simply by *אֲבוּבָה*, *a pipe*; the Septuagint varies, it has *κithara* in Genesis, *ψάλμος* in Job, and *ὄργανον* in the Psalms. The last is the sense which the Arabic, Syriac, Latin, English, and most other versions have adopted. The *organon* simply denotes a double or manifold pipe; and hence, in particular, the Pandæan or shepherd's pipe, which is at this day called a 'mouth-organ' among ourselves. Formerly it was called simply 'organ,' and 'mouth' has been added to distinguish it from the comparatively modern instrument which has usurped the more simple designation of 'organ.' Our translators are thus not chargeable

with the obscurity which has since arisen, for they, by the word 'organ,' intended to indicate no other instrument than this. We thus find a tolerably fair concurrence on the subject among the translations which we are accustomed to respect. The grounds of their conclusion are to be sought in the etymology of the Hebrew word; and, so far as these go, which is not very far, they tend to support it. To these probabilities the known antiquity of the Syrian *syrix* (*σύριγξ*) or Pandæan pipe may be added. The instrument is in fact so old that the profane writers do not know to whom to ascribe it. Some refer it to Pan (Virgil, *Ecl.* ii.), others to Mercury (Pind. *Od.* xii. *de Pallade*), others to Marsyas and Silenus (Atheneus, iv. 182). This antiquity corresponds with the Scriptural intimation concerning the *'ugab*, and justifies us in seeking for the *syrix* among the more ancient instruments of the Orientals, especially as it is still common in Western Asia. Niebuhr saw it in the hands of a peasant at Cairo (*Reisebesch.* i. 181); and Russell, in his *Nat. Hist. of Aleppo* (i. 155, 156), says that 'the *syrix* or Pan's pipe is still a festival instrument in Syria; it is known also in the city, but very few performers can sound it tolerably well. The higher notes are clear and pleasing, but the longer reeds are apt, like the dervise flute, to make a hissing sound, though blown by a good player. The number of reeds of which the *syrix* is composed, varies in different instruments from five to twenty-three.' The classical *syrix* is usually said to have had seven reeds (Virg. *Ecl.* ii.); but we find some in the monuments with a greater number, and the shepherd of Theocritus (*Id.* viii.) had one of nine reeds.\*

\* [That the *'ugab* in its earlier forms was as above described is most probable. But it does not follow from this that it never was brought into a more perfect state, so as to approach at least to the organ, the principle of which lies in the Pan-pipe. That the Greeks and Romans had the hydraulic organ is undoubted (Meister, *De Vel. Hydraulico*, in the *Nov. Comm. Soc. Götting.*, ii. 158; and the treatise in Ugolino, *Thes.* xxxii.); and if the Greeks and Romans had organs why not the Hebrews, a much more musical people than either of them? Certain it is that an instrument bearing this name, and described as a bag made of two elephants' skins joined together, and by fifteen smith's bellows, from which the sound escaped through twelve brazen pipes with a noise like thunder, was known to St. Jerome; and he adds concerning it, 'sic apud Hebræos de organis quæ ab Jerusalem usque ad montem Olivati et amplius sonitu audiuntur comprobatur' (*Ep. ad Dardanum*, *Opp.* iv. 99). In the Talmudic writings, mention is made of an instrument called *Magrepha* (מַגְרֵפָה), used in the temple, having ten openings (נִקְבִּים), each of which produced ten kinds of notes (זְמֵר מִיָּנִי), so that in all a hundred tones were produced (Talm. Bab. *Erachin*, fol. 10, c. 2, f. 11, c. 1, cited by Forkel, p. 138). That this was not the hydraulic organ of the Greeks, but a more perfect instrument, appears from the statement that there was

no *hydraulis* (הַדְרוּלִים) in the temple 'because its sound is mixed and confuses the melody,' or, as the words may be and probably ought to be rendered, 'because its sound is sweet and sweetens (*i.e.*, renders too dulcet for the majestic music of the

III. INSTRUMENTS OF PERCUSSION,—or such as give forth their sounds on being struck or shaken.

1. תוף, *toph*, seems to have denoted primarily the tambourine, and generally all instruments of the drum kind which were in use among the Israelites. There is not the slightest doubt about this instrument. All the translations and lexicons agree in this one point; and we have, besides, the actual evidence of existing instruments of this kind among the Arabians, bearing the same name in the forms of *doff* and *adufe*. The *toph* was known to the Jews before they quitted Syria (Gen. xxxi. 27); it is also mentioned by Job (xxi. 12), and it is the first instrument named after the exode, being that with which Miriam led the dances with which the daughters of Israel celebrated the overthrow of Pharaoh (Exod. xv. 20). It was employed by David in all the festivities of religion (2 Sam. vi. 5). Isaiah adduces it as the instrument of voluptuaries, but left in silence amid wars and desolations (Is. xxiv. 8). The occasions on which it was used were mostly joyful, and those who played upon it were generally females (Ps. lxxviii. 25), as was the case among most ancient nations, and is so at the present day in the East. It is nowhere mentioned in connection with battles or warlike transactions. The usages of the modern East might adequately illustrate all the Scriptural allusions to this instrument, but happily we have more ancient and very valuable illustration from the monuments of Egypt. In these we find that the tambourine was a favourite instrument, both on sacred and festive occasions. There were three kinds, differing, no doubt, in sound as well as form; one was circular, another square or oblong, and the third consisted of two squares separated by a bar. They were all beaten by the hand, and often used as an accompaniment to the harp and other instruments. The tambourine was usually



393. Tambourines. 1. Angular; 2. Circular.

played by females, who are represented as dancing to its sound without the accompaniment of any other instrument. The imperfect manner of representation does not allow us to see whether

temple) the melody' (מפני שקולו ערב ומעורב), אהת הנעימה, Talm. Bab. *l.c.*; Talm. Hieros. *Succa*, p. 55; comp. Athen. *Deipnos*, iv. 23). From this it seems not extravagant to conclude that the invention of the organ, as we now have it, is due to the Hebrews, and from them was adopted by the Christians (Saalschütz, *Archæol.* i. 2).]

the Egyptian tambourine had the same movable pieces of metal let into the wooden frame which we find in the tambourines of the present day. Their presence may, however, be inferred from the manner in which the tambourine is held up after being struck; and we know that the Greek instruments were furnished with balls of metal attached by short thongs to the circular rim (Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, ii. 314).

At mournings for the dead the tambourine was sometimes introduced among the Egyptians, and the 'mournful song' was accompanied by its monotonous sound. This is still a custom of the East, and probably existed among the Jews.

Whether the Israelites had drums or not does not clearly appear, and in the absence of evidence *pro* or *con* it is useless to speculate on the subject. If they had, they must be included under the general name of *toph*. The ancient Egyptians had a long drum, very similar to the tom-toms of India (No. 394, figs. 1, 3). It was about two feet or two feet and a half in length, and was beaten with the hand. The case was of wood or copper, covered at both ends with parchment or leather, and braced with cords extended diagonally over the exterior of the cylinder. It was used chiefly in war. There was another larger drum, less



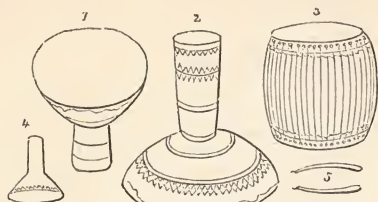
394. Ancient Egyptian drums.

unlike our own; it was about two feet and a half long by about two feet broad, and was shaped much like a sugar cask (No. 395, fig. 3). It was formed of copper, and covered at the ends with red leather, braced by cat-gut strings passing through small holes in its broad margin. This kind of drum was beaten with sticks (fig. 5). It does not appear on the monuments, but an actual specimen was found in the excavations made by D'Athanas, in 1823, and is now in the museum at Paris.

Another species of drum is represented in the Egyptian paintings, and is of the same kind which is still in use in Egypt and Arabia, under the name of the *darabooka* drum. It is made of parchment stretched over the top of a funnel-shaped case of metal, wood, or pottery (No. 395, figs. 1, 2, 4). It is beaten with the hand, and when relaxed, the parchment is braced by exposing it for a few moments to the sun, or the warmth of a fire. This kind of drum claims particular attention from its being supposed to be represented on one of the coins ascribed to Simon Maccabæus (No. 397, fig. 5). When closely examined, this instrument will appear to be the same in principle with our kettle-drum, which, indeed, has been confessedly derived from the East, where other



instruments on the same principle are not wanting. One of them (No. 397, fig. 4) is just the same as



395. Drums. 1, 2, 4. Modern Oriental; 3. Ancient Egyptian; 5. Sticks to 3.

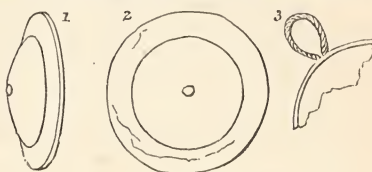
the instrument we have derived from it: others are smaller in various degrees, are of different forms, and are tapped lightly with the fingers. Such drum-tabrets were not unknown to the ancient Egyptians, as may be perceived by fig. 2, No. 394.

The *Magrapha* of which the Rabbins speak, and which stood, they say, in the temple court, and was used to call the priests to prayer, the Levites to singing, and leprous persons to their purification, and the sound of which, they venture to add, could be heard from Jerusalem to Jericho (Buxtorf, *Lex. Rabbin.*, s. v. *מגריפה*), has by some been supposed to be a species of drum. This, however, is improbable. [See note on p. 255, ante.]

2. *פִּעֲמוֹן*, *phaamon*. This name nowhere occurs but with reference to the small golden appendages to the robe of the high-priest (Exod. xxviii. 33; xxxix. 25), which all versions agree in rendering 'bells,' or 'little bells.' These bells were attached to the hem of the garment, and were separated from each other by golden knobs, shaped like pomegranates. They obviously produced their tinkling sound by striking against the golden knobs which were appended near them. There is no trace of bells among the ancient Egyptians, or in classical antiquity, and we call these such for want of a better term to describe sonorous pieces of metal used in this manner.

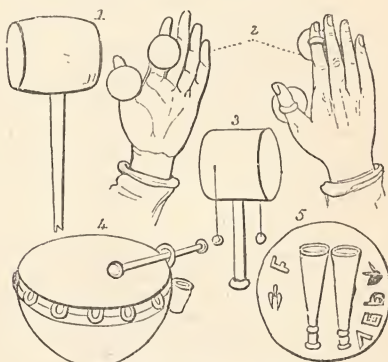
3. *מִצְלִיחִים*, *metzillatim*, *מִצְלִיחִים*, *metzillatim*. These words are translated *cymbals* in most versions, except in Zech. xiv. 20, where they are rendered 'bells'—the 'bells of the horses.' If the words, however, denote cymbals in other places, they cannot well denote a different thing here. It is true that camels, and sometimes horses, wear bells in the East at present; and it is probable that the Hebrews had something similar in the shape of small cymbal-shaped pieces of metal, suspended under the necks of the animals, and which struck against each other with the motions of the animal. The Romans attached metallic pendants of this kind, called *phalarea*, to their war-horses, in order to produce a terrific effect when shaken by the rapid motions of the animal. These were certainly not bells, but might without any violent impropriety be called cymbals, from the manner in which they struck against each other. This is the single doubtful text; in all the other texts we may conclude with reasonable certainty that cymbals, and sometimes castagnets (which are small cymbals), are intended. There is an important passage (Ps. cl. 5), 'Praise him with the clear cymbal, praise him with the resounding cymbal,' which clearly points to two

instruments under the same name, and leaves us to conclude that the Hebrews had both hand-cymbals and finger-cymbals (or castagnets), although it may not in all cases be easy to say which of the two is intended in particular texts. Cymbals figure in the grand procession at the removal of the ark (1 Chron. xiii. 8); other instances occur of their being used in the worship of God (Neh. xii. 27; Ps. cl. 5; 1 Chron. xvi. 19); and the illustrious Asaph was himself a player on the cymbal (1 Chron. xvi. 5). The sound of these instruments is very sharp and piercing, but it does not belong to fine, speaking, expressive music. Hence Paul could describe it by the word *ἀλαλᾶζον*, 'clanging' (1 Cor. xiii. 1). The Hebrew instruments were probably similar to those of the Egyptians. These were of mixed metal, apparently brass, or a compound of brass and silver, and of a form exactly resembling those of modern times, though smaller, being only seven inches or five inches and a half in diameter. The handle has disappeared from the existing specimens, but is supposed to have been of the same material, bound with leather or string, and being inserted in a small hole at the summit, to have been secured by bending back the two ends (No. 396, fig. 3). The same kind of instrument is still used by the modern inhabitants of



396. Cymbals—Egyptian.

Egypt, and from them, says Wilkinson, 'have been borrowed the very small cymbals played with the finger and thumb, which supply the place of castagnets in the *almeh* dance' (*Ancient Egypt*, iii. 255). In thus calling instruments used as castagnets 'small cymbals,' this author incidentally supports the view we have taken. The modern castagnet, introduced into Spain by the Moors, is to be referred to the same source.



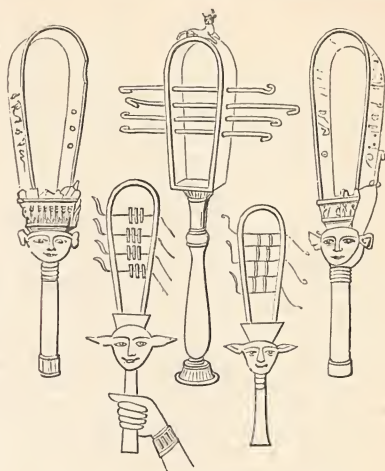
397. Instruments of Percussion. 1. Mallet used in striking suspended boards; 2. Castagnets; 3. Tabret-drum, struck by attached balls; 4. Oriental kettle-drum; 5. Supposed ancient Jewish coin representing drums.

4. *שְׁלִישִׁים*, *shalishim*. This word occurs but once, viz. in 1 Sam. xviii. 6, and is there uncertain.

tainly rendered, in the A. V., 'instruments of music,' and in the margin 'three-stringed instruments.' The word is plural, and means 'threes.' Most writers, proceeding upon this interpretation, identify it with the triangle, which Athenæus (iv. 23) alleges to have been a Syrian invention. We have no Egyptian representation of it, but that people had instruments which are not figured on the existing monuments. As this was the instrument with which the damsels of Israel came forth to meet the victorious David, the ancient translators have usually rendered the word by cymbals or castagnets, which seemed to them more proper to women. But the triangle may not the less have been suited to a military triumph, and as an accompaniment to the other instruments used on that occasion. Jerome has *sistra*, an idea which has received little attention from commentators; but if we had not preferred to find the *sistrum* under another word, we would not hesitate to accept this conclusion, founded, as it manifestly is, on the *three* transverse movable bars with which the *sistra* are usually furnished. In Barker's Bible (1595), the word is rendered by 'rebecke.'

5. מִנְעָנֵים, *menaaneim*. This is another word which occurs but once in Scripture (2 Sam. vi. 5), where our version translates it by 'cymbals,' although it has appropriated another word to that instrument. It is now more generally thought to denote the *sistrum*, and appears to be derived from נָנַע, *nua*, 'to shake,' or 'to vibrate,' corresponding to the etymology of the *sistrum* (σίστρον), from σείω. An objection has indeed been

made, that the word is mostly furnished with sacred symbols, and were chiefly used by the priests and priestesses in the ceremonies of religion, particu-



399. Sistra—various Egyptian specimens.

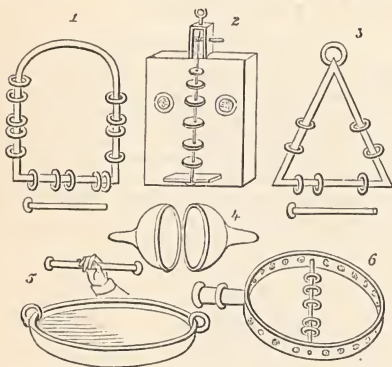
larly in those connected with the worship of Isis (Plut. *de Isid.*, c. 63; Juven. xiii. 93; Jablonsky, *Opusc.* i. 306). See Burney's and Hawkins' *Histories of Music*; Forkel, *Geschichte der Musik*; Calmet, *Dissert. sur la Musique des Hébreux*, annexed to his Commentary on the Psalms; Pfeiffer, *Ueber die Musik der Alten Hebr.*, 1779; Saalchütz, *Form der Hebr. Poesie*; *Gesch. und Würdigung d. Musik bei den Hebr.*, 1829; Harenberg, *Comm. de Re Musica Vetus.*, in *Miscell. Lips.* ix. 218, seq.; Winer, *Biblisches Real-wörterbuch*, arts. 'Musik,' 'Musikalische Instrumente,' 'Becken,' 'Harfe,' 'Tambourine,' etc.; Jahn, *Biblisches Archæologie*; Reland, *De Spotius Temp. Hieros.*; Versuch, *die Melodie u. Harmonie der Alt. Hebr.*; Schille *Haggithorim*, in Ugolini *Thesaur.* tom. xxxii.; Constant, *Traité sur la Poésie et la Musique des Hébreux*; De Wette, *Commentar. über die Psalmen*; Rosellini, *Monumenti dell' Egitto*; Wilkinson's *Anc. Egyptians*; Villoteau, *Sur la Musique des Orientaux*, in *Descript. de l'Egypte*; Lady M. W. Montague's *Letters*; Volney, *Voyage en Syrie*; Tournefort, *Voyage au Levant*; Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*; Russell's *Nat. Hist. of Aleppo*; Lane's *Modern Egyptians*.—J. K.

MUSTARD-TREE. [SINAPIS.]

MUTHLABBEN. [PSALMS.]

MYNDUS (Μύνδος), a town of Caria, between Miletus and Halicarnassus (1 Maccab. xv. 23). It is mentioned by Herodotus (v. 33), Strabo (xiv. p. 658), and Arrian (*Alex.*, i. 21), and seems to have been a place favourable for trade; which may account for the number of Jews who had settled there. Diogenes Laertius (vi. 2. 57) records a *bon mot* of Diogenes, the cynic, of which it is the theme. Seeing its huge gates, while the city itself was but small, he exclaimed, 'Men of Myndus, shut the gates, lest the city walk out of them!'—W. L. A.

MYRA (Μύρα), one of the chief towns of Lycia, in Asia Minor. It lay about a league from the



398. Instruments of Percussion. 1, 3, 6. Triangular and other rods of metal charged with rings; 2. A supposed Hebrew instrument, regarded by some as the *Menaaneim*; 4. A kind of Eastern cymbals; 5. A pan of sounding metal.

urged, that the *sistrum* was not sufficiently ancient; but this has been set at rest by the recent discoveries in Egyptian antiquities, which have revealed *sistra* belonging to the most ancient period. The *sistrum* was generally from eight to sixteen or eighteen inches in length, and entirely of bronze or brass. It was sometimes inlaid with silver, gilt, or otherwise ornamented, and being held upright was shaken, the rings moving to and fro upon the bars. The last were frequently made to imitate snakes, or simply bent at each end to secure them from slipping through the holes. Several actual specimens of these instruments have been found, and are deposited in the British, Berlin, and other



sea (in N. lat. 36° 18': E. long. 30°), upon a rising ground, at the foot of which flowed a navigable river, with an excellent harbour at its mouth (Strabo, xiv. p. 665; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxii. 8). The town now lies desolate. When Paul was on his voyage from Caesarea to Rome, he and the other prisoners were landed here, and were embarked in a ship of Alexandria bound to Rome (Acts xxvii. 5).—J. K.

MYRRH. [MOR; LOT.]

MYRTLE. [HADAS.]

MYSIA (*Μυσία*), a province occupying the north-west angle of Asia Minor, and separated from Europe only by the Propontis and Hellespont; on the south it joined Æolis, and was separated from the east from Bithynia by the river Æsopus. Latterly Æolis was included in Mysia, which was then separated from Lydia and Ionia by the river Hermus, now Sarabad or Djedis (Strabo, xii. 562; xiii. 628; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, v. 32; Ptol. *Geog.* v. 2). In ancient times the province of Mysia was celebrated for its fertility in corn and wine, and although now but poorly tilled, it is still one of the finest tracts in Asia Minor. Paul passed through this province, and embarked at its chief port, Troas, on his first voyage to Europe (Acts xvi. 7, 8; Rosenmüller, *Bibl. Geog.*, iii. 32; Winer, *Bibl. Realwörterb.* s. v. *Mysia*; Richter, *Wallfahrten*, p. 460).—J. K.

MYSTERY (*μυστήριον*). A sense is often put upon this word, as if it meant something absolutely unintelligible and incomprehensible; whereas, in every instance in which it occurs in the Sept. or N. T., it is applied to something which is *revealed*, declared, explained, spoken, or which may be known or understood. This fact will appear from the following elucidation of the passages in which it is found. First, it is sometimes used to denote the meaning of a symbolical representation, whether addressed to the mind by a parable, allegory, etc., or to the eye by a vision, etc. (Matt. xiii. 10, 11, 16; Mark iv. 11, where our Lord applies the term 'mysteries' to the *moral* truths couched under a parable, that is, to its figurative meaning; comp. also Rev. i. 12, 16, 20; xvii. 3-6). When St. Paul, speaking of marriage, says, 'this is a great mystery' (Eph. v. 32), he evidently treats the original institution of marriage as affording a figurative representation of the union betwixt Christ and the church (Campbell, *Dissertation*, p. 10, part iii. sec. 9). 2. The word is also used to denote anything whatever which is hidden or concealed, till it is explained. The Sept. uses it to express *סֵּתֶר* or *סֵּתֶר*, a secret (Dan. ii. 19, 27, 28, 29, 30, 47; iv. 6), in relation to Nebuchadnezzar's dream, which was a secret till Daniel explained it, and even from the king himself, for he had totally forgotten it (ver. 5, 9). Thus the word is used in the N. T. to denote those doctrines of Christianity, general or particular, which the Jews and the world at large did not understand, till they were revealed by Christ and his apostles, 'Great is the mystery of godliness,' *i. e.*, the Christian religion (1 Tim. iii. 16), the chief parts of which the apostle instantly proceeds to adduce—'God was manifest in the flesh, justified by the Spirit, seen of angels,' etc.—facts which had not entered into the heart of man (1 Cor. ii. 9) until God visibly accomplished them,

and revealed them to the apostles by inspiration (ver. 10). Thus, also, the gospel in general is called 'the mystery of the faith' (1 Tim. iii. 9), and 'the mystery which from the beginning of the world had been hid with God, but which was now made known through means of the church' (Eph. iii. 9); the mystery of the gospel which St. Paul desired 'to make known' (Eph. vi. 19); 'the mystery of God, and of the Father, and of Christ,' to the full apprehension or understanding of which (rather than 'the acknowledgment') he prayed that the Colossians might come (Col. ii. 2; comp. the use of the word *ἐπίγνωσις*, 1 Tim. ii. 4; 2 Tim. iii. 7); which he desired the Colossians to pray that God would enable himself and his fellow-apostles 'to speak and to make manifest' (Col. iv. 3, 4); which he calls 'the revelation of the mystery which was kept secret since the world began, but now is made manifest and known to all nations' (Rom. xvi. 25); which, he says, 'we speak' (1 Cor. ii. 7), and of which the apostles were 'stewards' (1 Cor. iv. 1). The same word is used respecting certain particular doctrines of the gospel, as, for instance, 'the partial and temporary blindness of Israel,' of which mystery 'the apostle would not have Christians ignorant' (Rom. xi. 25), and which he explains (ver. 25-32). He styles the calling of the Gentiles 'a mystery which, in other ages, was not made known unto the sons of men, as it is now revealed unto the holy apostles and prophets by the Spirit' (Eph. iii. 4-6; comp. i. 9, 10, etc.) To this class we refer the well-known phrase, 'Behold I show you a mystery' (1 Cor. xv. 51), 'we shall all be changed;' and then follows an explanation of the change (ver. 51-55). Even in the case of a man speaking in an unknown tongue, in the absence of an interpreter, and when, therefore, no man understood him, although 'by the Spirit he was speaking mysteries,' yet the Apostle supposes that the man so doing understood what himself said (1 Cor. xiv. 2-4). And in the prophetic portion of his writings 'concerning the mystery of iniquity' (2 Thess. ii. 7), he speaks of it as being ultimately 'revealed' (ver. 8). Josephus applies nearly the same phrase, *μυστήριον κακίας*, a mystery of wickedness, to Antipater's crafty conduct to ensnare and destroy his brother Alexander (*De Bell. Jud.* i. 24. 1); and to complete the proof that the word 'mystery' is used in the sense of *knowable* secrets, we add the words, 'Though I understand all mysteries' (1 Cor. xiii. 2). The Greeks used the word in the same way. Thus Menander, *μυστήριον σου μὴ κατέλθης τῷ φίλῳ*, 'Tell not your secret to a friend' (p. 274, line 671, ed. Clerici). Even when they apply the term to the greater and lesser Eleusinian mysteries, they are still mysteries into which a person might be initiated, when they would, of course, cease to be mysteries to him. The word is used in the same sense throughout the Apocrypha as in the Sept. and N. T. (Tobit xii. 7; Judith ii. 2; Ecclus. xxii. 22; xxvii. 16, 17, 21; 2 Macab. xiii. 21); it is applied to divine or sacred mysteries (Wisdom ii. 22; vi. 22), and to the ceremonies of false religions (Wisdom xiv. 15, 23).—J. F. D.

MYTH. The philosophical conception of a myth being only possible to an advanced reflective age, we are not surprised to find that no word corresponding to 'myth' occurs in the O. T., and that

*muthos* is therefore not to be found in the LXX. Even in the Apocrypha the word occurs but once (*muthos akarios*, Eccles. xx. 19, 'an unseasonable tale,' A. V.), and that in a general sense; while, in one other passage (Bar. iii. 23), *mutologoi*, 'authors of fables' (A. V.), has a somewhat doubtful meaning. This, however, is not the case in the N. T., where the word occurs five times, and always in a severely disparaging sense, and in every instance is rendered 'fables' in our version. Thus Timothy is warned against 'fables and endless genealogies, which minister questions rather than godly edifying' (1 Tim. i. 4); and against 'profane and old wives' fables' (*βεβήλους καὶ γραυδεῖς μύθους*, Id. iv. 7). These 'fables' are opposed to 'the truth,' and Titus is forbidden to give heed 'Ιουδαϊκοῖς μύθοις'. Lastly, in 2 Pet. i. 16, they are characterised as *σεσοφισμένοι*, 'cunningly devised,' and are contrasted with the sober testimony of eye-witnesses\* (cf. *πεπλασμένοι μύθοι*, Diod. Sic. i. 93). It is obvious, therefore, that in the N. T. a myth is used in its latest sense to express a story invented as the vehicle for some ethical or theological doctrine, which, in fact, has been called in later times an *ethopœia* or *philosopheme*. Yet the condemnation is *special* and not general, and cannot point with dissatisfaction to myths, which, like those of Plato, are the splendidly imaginative embodiment of some subjective truth, and which claim no credence† for themselves, but are only meant to be regarded as the vehicles of spiritual instruction. That there is nothing in *such* 'myths' to deserve reprobation, nay more, that they are a wise form of teaching, is clear from the direct quotation of mythical stories by St. Jude (ver. 9, 14), and from the use of strictly analogous modes of conveying truth (allegory, fable, parable, etc.), in other parts of the Bible, as in the writings of all the wisest of mankind. It must then have been the doctrines involved, and not the 'mythical' delivery of them, which woke the indignation of the apostles; and if, as Tertullian thought (*adv. Valent.*, iii.), and as is now generally believed, the 'myths' alluded to were the gnostic‡ mythology of the 'Æons,' of which the seeds may have been beginning to develop themselves when the pastoral epistles were written, we can easily understand how they would appear to bear the stamp of 'philosophy and vain deceit.'

No satisfactory definition of the word myth has ever been given, partly because of the manifold varieties of myths, and partly because the word has been used in several distinct senses. In Homer it is equivalent to *lógos* (Il. xviii. 253), and Eustathius remarks, that in later times it came to mean *ψευδὴς λόγος* (Il. α. p. 29), to which definition Suidas adds, that it was *λόγος ψευδής, εικονίζων τὴν ἀληθείαν*. Plutarch, less accurately, confuses it with *plausible fiction* (*λόγος ψευδής εὐκῶς ἀληθινῶς*), and in the *Etymologicum Magnum* it is made,

\* Just as in Greek *muthoi* are opposed to *ιστορία*; cf. Auson, *Prof. Carm.*, 21, 26, 'Callentes muthon plasmata et historiam.'

† See Archbishop Trench on the *Parables*, ch. ii., where he distinguishes between 'myth,' 'fable,' 'parable,' 'allegory,' etc.

‡ Theodoret, however, on Tit. i. 14, refers the 'Jewish fables' to the Mishna (*τὴν ὑπ' αὐτῶν καλ-οῦμένην δευτέρωσαν*), Alford, *ad loc.*

in its technical sense, to mean a veiled or enigmatical narration (*muthos σημαίνει δύο . . τὸν τε σκοτεινὸν λόγον . . καὶ τὸν ἀπλῶς λόγον*).

Neither the etymology nor the history of the word help us much. It is derived from *mutéo*, *doceo*, or *mutáo*, *claudio*, and Archbishop Trench thinks that it must therefore have originally meant the word shut up in the mind, or muttered with the lips (*Synon. of the N. T.*, 2d series, p. 174), though he admits that there is no trace of this in actual use; and as, at first, *muthos* merely means 'word,' we should derive it from an onomatopœia of the simplest consonantal utterance (*m*). It is not until Pindar's time (*Ol.* i. 47; *Nem.* vii. 34; vi. 1) that it is used of that which is 'mentally conceived, rather than historically true;' and in Attic prose it assumes its normal later sense of any legend or tradition of the prehistoric times. If, however, we analyze the modern use of the word, we shall find that these historical myths, or amplified legends of the remote past, generally mingled with the marvellous, do not properly represent our notion of myths any more than the well-understood philosophemes to which we previously alluded. We must learn, too, to distinguish between the myths and the rationalistic explanations thrust into them by the critical self-consciousness of a later age. If we would understand the true nature, for instance, of the Greek myths, we must discard from them the timidly rationalistic suggestions of Hekataeus, the severely common-sense views of Palæphatus, and the unsympathisingly sceptical rashness of Euëmerus, no less than the profound moral intentions which have so often been transferred to them by the speculative genius of a Bacon or a Coleridge.

A myth proper, then, is neither a philosopheme nor a legend. It is best described as a spontaneous product of the youthful imagination of mankind,—the natural\* form under which an infant race expresses its conceptions and convictions about supernatural relations and prehistoric events. It is neither fiction,† history, nor philosophy; it is a spoken poetry, an uncritical and childlike history, a sincere and self-believing romance. It does not invent, but simply imagines and repeats; it may err, but it never lies. It is a narration, generally marvellous, which no one consciously or scientifically invents, and which every one unintentionally falsifies. 'It is,' says Mr. Grote, 'the natural effusion of the unlettered, imaginative, and believing man.' It belongs to an age in which the understanding was credulous and confiding, the imagination full of vigour and vivacity, and the passions earnest and intense. Its very essence consists in the projection‡ of thoughts into the sphere of facts. It arises partly from the unconscious and gradual objectising of the subjective, or con-

\* The word *ψευδής* may be *absolutely banished* from the definition. A myth is something far higher than a mere fiction. It is only a foolish prejudice or an unfortunate ignorance which attaches to the word *myth* any notions of immorality or intentional deceit.

† I here borrow some of the excellent views of M. Ampère, *Hist. Littér. de la France*, i. 310, quoted by Mr. Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, i. 610.

‡ 'Der Grund-Trieb des Mythen das Gedachte in ein Geschehenes umzusetzen.' Creuzer, *Symbolik*, p. 99.



fusing mental processes with external realities ; and partly from investing the object with the feelings of the subject, that is, from imaginatively attributing to external nature those feelings and qualities which only exist in the percipient soul.

The myth then belongs to that period of human progress in which the mind regards 'history as all a fairy tale.' Before the increase of knowledge, the dawn of science, and the general dissemination of books, men's fancies respecting the past, and the dim conjectures of nascent philosophy, can only be preserved by these traditional semi-poetic tales ; to borrow the fine expression of Tacitus, 'fingunt simul creduntque.' So far from being startled by the marvellous and the incredible, they expected and looked for it ; while discrepancies and contradictions were accepted side by side, because the critical faculty was wholly undeveloped. 'The real and the ideal,' says Mr. Grote, 'were blended together in the primitive conception . . . the myth passed unquestioned, from the fact of its currency, and from its harmony with existing sentiments and preconceptions.'

To the intensity of a fresh imagination, and the necessary weakness of the youth of language, we can trace the origin of a vast number of myths. In those early days men looked at all things with the large open eyes of childish wonderment. The majority of phenomena which they saw and enjoyed were incapable of other than a metaphorical or poetical description ; and even if language had been more developed it would have responded less accurately to their thoughts, because they seriously transferred their own feelings and emotions to the world around them, and made themselves the measure of all things. Thus the hunter regarded the moon and stars which 'glanced rapidly along the clouded heaven' as a 'beaming goddess with her nymphs ;' and

'Sunbeams upon distant hills  
Gliding apace with shadows in their train  
Might, with small help from fancy, be transferred  
Into fleet Oreads sporting visibly.\*

And thus the manifold aspects of nature, imaginatively conceived and metaphorically described, furnished at once a large mythology ; and when these elements were combined and arranged for the purpose of illustrating early scientific or theological conceptions, and were corrupted by numberless† erroneous etymologies of words, whose true origin was forgotten, we have at once the materials for an extensive and sometimes inscrutable mythology. In the early stage of the myth, confined to the period when everything is personified,‡ it is as difficult to distinguish between what was regarded as fancy and what was believed as fact, as it is to this day in the rude and grotesque legends

\* Wordsworth, *Excursion*, Bk. iv.—a most weighty and profound passage, too long to quote in full.

† This fruitful source of myths may be seen examined in Lersch, *Sprachphilos. d. Alten*; for some modern instances, see Farrar, *Origin of Lang.*, p. 59. Mythology has even been called 'a disease of language.'

‡ The 'Istinto d' animazione,' as Vico calls it, is always found in undeveloped nations, as it is in children and savages.

of Polynesians and N. American Indians. But in a later time, when myths were preserved in writing and systematised into dogmas, the poetical imaginative faculties had often well-nigh evaporated, and that which had originally been meant as half a metaphor was prosaically hardened into a real and marvellous fact. Thus, in many myths, as they were finally preserved, we may see the mere misconceptions of a metaphor, and the guesses of a most imperfect etymology, mingling in two distinct streams with the original simple poetic tale. Any one who considers the evanescent 'tradition' of untutored Polytheism as it is displayed among modern savages, may watch, even at the present day, the *growth* and swift diffusion of myths ; but we must look into various histories of civilised people (and especially into that of Greece) to see such myths first erroneously systematised into definite narratives, to be deliberately believed—then partially and timidly rationalised—next contemptuously rejected—and finally restored to their true rank as the most interesting relics of a primitive society, and the earnest teachings of a yet unsophisticated religious philosophy.

This subject would require a volume to explain adequately, and indeed it has occupied many important volumes. All that we have here attempted, is to remove a groundless and injurious prejudice against the word. Whether or not there be any myths in the Bible, and especially in the earlier books, is a question which must be settled *purely on its own merits*. It is, however, undesirable that the mere word 'myth' should be avoided by those who undoubtedly regard some of the Biblical narratives as containing mythical elements. Even men like Bunsen and Ewald bowed to popular prejudice in shunning the word ; and of the English theologians, who rely so much on their authority, scarcely one (with the exception of Dr. Davidson) has ventured in this particular to desert their guidance. Yet the word 'myth' is far more reverent and far less objectionable than 'fable,' which some would substitute for it ; and it is, as Dr. Davidson has pointed out, far more honest than circumlocutions which mean the same thing (*Introd.* i. 146). It will be observed that we are here giving no opinion whatever as to the *fact* of the existence of Scriptural myths, but merely pleading that those Biblical critics who understand the true nature of myths, and, rightly or wrongly, believe that here and there in the Hebrew records a mythic element may be traced, should not hesitate to express their conviction by the term which is most suitable and most likely to secure for the subject a clear and fair discussion.

The following are a very few of the more important books on the subject of myths :—O. Müller, *Prolegomena zu einer Wissenschaftlichen Mythologie*, Gott. 1825 [translated by J. Leitch, Lond. 1844]. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie* ; Buttmann, *Mythologos* ; Hermann, *Ueber das Wesen und die Behandlung d. Mythologie* ; Lobeck, *Aglaophamus* ; Creuzer, *Symbolik und Mythologie der Alten Völker* ; Nitzsch, *Helden-Sage der Griechen* ; Böttiger, *Kunst Mythologie d. Griechen* ; Kavanagh, *Myths traced to their primary Source through Language*, 1856. The subject has of late years received two most important contributions in England.—Mr. Grote's *History of Greece*, vol. i., and Prof. Max Müller's *Essay on Greek Mythology*, Oxford Essays, 1856.—F. W. F.

N.

**NAAMAH** (נַעֲמָה, *pleasant*). 1. (Sept. *Noemá*.) Daughter of Lamech and Zillah, and sister of Tubal-cain (Gen. iv. 22). The family was one of inventors : and as few women are named, the Jewish commentators ascribe suitable inventions to each of them. Naamah is affirmed by them to have invented the spinning of wool and making of cloth. But the book of Genesis does not say this, and they could have no other source of information. 2. (Sept. *Naavón*, *Noomua* ; Alex. *Naaúd*, which is also the Vat. reading in 1 Kings xiv. 31.) An Ammonitess, one of the wives of Solomon, and mother of Rehoboam (1 Kings xiv. 21, 31 ; 2 Chron. xii. 13). According to the LXX. she was daughter of Ana (Hanun), the last Ammonite king (1 Kings xii. 24 answering in the Heb. text to xiv. 31).—J. K.

**NAAMAH** (נַעֲמָה, *pleasant* ; *Noemá* ; Alex. *Noemá* ; *Naama*), a town of Judah, situated in the plain or Shephelah. It appears from the way in which it is grouped by Joshua (xv. 41) that it lay north or north-east of Egion, and consequently close to the foot of the hills. It is mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome, but they do not seem to have known anything of its site (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Naama*). The town is only once mentioned in the Bible, and the site has not been identified.—J. L. P.

**NAAMAN** (נַעֲמָן, *pleasantness*). 1. (Sept. *Noemán*.) One of the descendants of Benjamin who came down with Jacob to Egypt (Gen. xli. 21). In Num. xxvi. 40, and 1 Chron. viii. 3, 4, he is represented as the son of Bela [BECHER]. From the statement in 1 Chron. viii. 6, 7, it would appear that his posterity were removed from Gela to Manahath. 2. (Sept. *Naímán* ; N. T. *Neeuán*, *Naímán* [L. T.], Luke iv. 27.) The commander of the armies of Damascene Syria, in the time of Joram, king of Israel. Through his valour and abilities Naaman held a high place in the esteem of his king Benhadad ; and although he was afflicted with leprosy, it would seem that this did not, as among the Hebrews, operate as a disqualification for public employment. Nevertheless the condition of a leper could not but have been in his high place both afflicting and painful : and when it was heard that a little Hebrew slave-girl, who waited upon Naaman's wife, had spoken of a prophet in Samaria who could cure her master of his leprosy, the faint and uncertain hope thus offered was eagerly seized ; and the general obtained permission to visit the place where this relief was to be sought. Benhadad even furnished him with a letter to his old enemy king Joram ; but as this letter merely stated that Naaman had been sent for him to cure, the king of Israel rent his clothes in astonishment and anger, suspecting that a request so impossible to grant, involved a studied insult or an intention to fix a quarrel upon him with a view to future aggressions. When tidings of this affair reached the prophet Elisha, he desired that the stranger might be sent to him. Naaman accordingly went, and his splendid train of chariots, horses, and laden camels filled the street before

the prophet's house. As a leper, Naaman could not be admitted into the house ; and Elisha did not come out to him as he expected, and as he thought civility required ; but he sent out his servant to tell him to go and dip himself seven times in the Jordan, and that his leprosy would then pass from him. He was, however, by this time so much chafed and disgusted by the apparent neglect and incivility with which he had been treated, that if his attendants had not prevailed upon him to obey the directions of the prophet, he would have returned home still a leper. But he went to the Jordan, and having bent himself seven times beneath its waters, rose from them clear from all leprous stain. His gratitude was now proportioned to his previous wrath, and he drove back to vent the feelings of his full heart to the prophet of Israel. He avowed to him his conviction that the God of Israel, through whom this marvellous deed had been wrought, was great beyond all gods ; and he declared that henceforth he would worship him only, and to that end he proposed to take with him two mules' load of the soil of Israel wherewith to set up in Damascus an altar to Jehovah. This shows he had heard that an altar of earth was necessary (Exod. xx. 24) ; and the imperfect notions which he entertained of the duties which his desire to serve Jehovah involved, were natural in an uninstructed foreigner. He had also heard that Jehovah was a very jealous God, and had forbidden any of his servants to bow themselves down before idols ; and therefore he expressed to Elisha a hope that he should be forgiven if, when his public duty required him to attend his king to the temple of Rimmon, he bowed with his master. The grateful Syrian would gladly have pressed upon Elisha gifts of high value, but the holy man resolutely refused to take anything, lest the glory redounding to God from this great act should in any degree be obscured. His servant, Gehazi, was less scrupulous, and hastened with a lie in his mouth to ask in his master's name for a portion of that which Elisha had refused. The illustrious Syrian no sooner saw the man running after his chariot, than he alighted to meet him, and happy to relieve himself in some degree under the sense of overwhelming obligation, he sent him back with more than he had ventured to ask (2 Kings v.) Nothing more is known of Naaman ; and what befel Gehazi is related under another head [GEHAZI].

The only points of difficulty in this narrative are those connected with the requests made by Naaman to Elisha, and which the prophet seems not to have refused. The request for two mules' load of earth with which to build an altar to Jehovah in Damascus, appears to have arisen from the notion that the soil of the land was proper to the God of the land, whom he proposed henceforth to worship. Jehovah's claim to be the universal God was unknown to, or misunderstood by, the neighbouring nations ; and the only question that ever came before them, was whether Jehovah, the God whom the Hebrews worshipped, was more or less powerful than the gods they worshipped. That he was infinitely more powerful was, as we take it, the point at which this man's faith rested. He was convinced, not that Jehovah was the universal God, but that 'there was no God in all the earth save only in the land of Israel'—and, therefore, he desired to worship at an altar formed of the soil



which was thus eminently honoured. It is not clear whether he intended to say absolutely that there was no God in the world save in the land of Israel, or used the phrase as a strong expression of his belief that the gods of other lands were nought as compared with him. The explanation applies in either sense. Naaman's other request for permission to bow in the house of Rimmon seems to have amounted to this. He had acknowledged indirectly that Rimmon was no god, or else a god too powerless to be henceforth the object of his worship. Yet, as a great officer of state, his duty required him to attend the king to the temple of this idol, and, as the king leaned upon his arm, to bow when the monarch bowed. To refuse this would bring disgrace upon him, and constrain him to relinquish his high place, if not his country; and for this he was not prepared. Of the views under which Elisha consented to this request, we are less able to judge. But indeed it is not clear that he did consent, or expressed any distinct opinion in the matter. His words of dismissal, 'Go in peace,' do not necessarily convey his approval of all that Naaman had asked, although in tenderness to one so well intentioned, and whom there was no opportunity of instructing further, he may have abstained from urging upon the Syrian those obligations which would have been indispensable to a subject of the Mosaic covenant.—J. K.

NAAMATHITE (נַעֲמָתִי; *Muwalos basileus*; ὁ Μωυλος; *Naamathites*). One of Job's three friends is called 'Zophar the Naamathite' (Job ii. 11; xi. 1; xx. 1; xlii. 9), which manifestly signifies that he dwelt in a place called *Naamah*. Whether this be identical with Naamah, a town situated in the plain of Judah, cannot now be determined; but the fact seems very doubtful. Job's country, Uz, was in Arabia; his other two friends, Eliphaz the *Temanite*, and Bildad the *Shuhite*, were Arabians; and hence we may conclude that *Naamah* was likewise in Arabia (Cellarius, *Geogr.* ii. 698). The theory of Bochart, adopted from the Septuagint rendering of Job ii. 11, that Zophar was a prince of the *Minæi*, is without any solid foundation (see, however, Bochart, *Opera* i. 122). We have no data upon which to identify Naamah.—J. L. P.

NAARAN (נַעֲרָן, *puerile*; Νοαράν; Alex. *Naapán*; *Noran*), a town of Ephraim, situated apparently to the east of Bethel, and near the border of the tribe. It is only mentioned in 1 Chron. vii. 28; but in Josh. xvi. 7 the same town is called *Naarath* (נַעֲרָתָה), with ה local, 'to Naarath'; omitted in the Vatican text of the Septuagint; Alex. *Naapáda*; *Naaratha*). The eastern border of Ephraim is there described as follows:—'The border went about eastward unto Taanath-shiloh, and passed by it on the east to Janohah; and it went down from Janohah to Ataroth, and to Naarath, and came to Jericho, and went out at the Jordan.' Naaran, therefore, stood in the Jordan valley north of Jericho. Eusebius describes it as 'a village of Ephraim, now *Oorath* (Ὀόραθ; Jerome *Naorath*), a village of the Jews five miles from Jericho' (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Naaratha*). Reland suggests that this is the place called *Neara* by Josephus, from which Archelaus brought water to irrigate the royal gardens in the plain of Jericho (*Antiq.* xvii. 13. 1). The Jewish rabbins also speak of a *Noaran* (נוֹעָרָן) near Jericho (Reland,

*Pal.*, p. 907). There are several large fountains at the foot of the hills, and in the deep mountain ravines north of Jericho; but no name has hitherto been discovered that would suggest identity with Naaran. The writer noticed a number of ruins in that neighbourhood; but the ancient names have passed away, doubtless because the country has for centuries been without settled inhabitants. About three miles north of Jericho is wady Nawaimeh, which Schwartz supposes to be identical with Naaran; the words, however, are radically different; and about two miles farther is the large fountain called Ras-el-'Ain, with a ruined village near it. The position of this place agrees with the notices of Naaran (Robinson, *B. R.*, i. 571, *seq.*)—J. L. P.

NAARATH. [NAARAN.]

NAAZUZ, or NAATZUTZ (נַעֲזוּץ), occurs only in two passages of Isaiah, in both of which it is translated 'thorn' in the A. V. (chap. vii. 18, 19; lv. 13). Some have translated it generally, as in the English version, by thorn, shrub, thorny shrub, or small tree. Others have attempted to define it specifically, rendering it bramble, white-thorn, etc. (Cels. *Hierobot.* ii. p. 190); but nothing certain has been determined respecting it. Celsius endeavours to trace it to the same origin as the Arabic word نَعِص, *naaz*, which he states to be the name of a plant, of which the bark is employed in tanning leather. The meaning of the term he continues, in Chaldee, is *infigere, defigere*, 'to stick into,' or 'fix,' and it is therefore supposed to refer to a prickly or thorny plant. R. Ben Melech says that commentators explain *naazuz* by the Arabic word *sidr*, which is the name of a well-known thorny bush of Eastern countries, a species of *Zizyphus*. This, Sprengel says, is the *Z. vulgaris*, found in many parts of Palestine, as well as in many of the uncultivated tracts of Eastern countries. Others suppose the species to be the *nabak* of the Arabs, which is the *Zizyphus Lotus*, and considered to be the *Lotus* of the ancients. But from the context it would appear that the plant, if a *zizyphus*, must have been a less highly esteemed variety or species. But in a wild state these are very abundant, bushy, prickly, and of little value. Belon says, 'Les hayes, pour la plus part, sont de tamarisques, œnoplia (*i. e.*, *zizyphi* species) et rhamnes.' In Freytag's Arabic Lexicon the above Arabic word *naaz* is said to be the name of a thorny tree, common in the Hedjaz, the bark of which is used in tanning hides, and from whose wood a dentifrice is prepared. This might be a species of acacia, of which many species are well known to be abundant in the dry and barren parts of Syria, Arabia, and Egypt.—J. F. R.

NABAL (נָבָל, *stupid, foolish*; Sept. Ναβάλ), a descendant of Caleb, dwelling at Maon, and having large possessions near Carmel of Judah, in the same neighbourhood. He had abundant wealth, being the possessor of 3000 sheep and 1000 goats, but his churlish and harsh character had not been softened by the prosperity with which he had been favoured. He was holding a great sheep-shearing of his numerous flocks at Carmel, which was a season of great festivity among the sheep-masters of Israel—when David sent some of his young men to request a small supply of provisions, of which

his troop was in great need. He was warranted in asking this, as, while Nabal's flocks were out in the desert, the presence of David and his men in the neighbourhood had effectually protected them from the depredations of the Arabs. But Nabal refused this application, with harsh words, reflecting coarsely upon David and his troop as a set of worthless runagates. On learning this, David was highly incensed, and set out with his band to avenge the insult. But his intention was anticipated and averted by Nabal's wife Abigail, who met him on the road with a most acceptable supply of provisions, and by her consummate tact and good sense, mollified his anger, and, indeed, caused him in the end to feel thankful that he had been prevented from the bloodshed which would have ensued. When Nabal, after recovering from the drunkenness of the feast, was informed of these circumstances, he was struck with such intense terror at the danger to which he had been exposed, that 'his heart died within him, and he became as a stone;' which seems to have been the exciting cause of a malady that carried him off about ten days after. David, not long after, evinced the favourable impression which the good sense and comeliness of Abigail had made upon him, by making her his wife, B.C. 1061 (1 Sam. xxv.) [ABIGAIL].—J. K.

#### NABATHÆANS. [NEBAIOTH.]

NABOTH (נָבוֹת, *fr'uit, produce*; Sept. Ναβο-  
θαί), an inhabitant of Jezreel, who was the possessor of a patrimonial vineyard adjoining the garden of the palace which the kings of Israel had there. King Ahab had conceived a desire to add this vineyard to his ground, to make of it 'a garden of herbs,' but found that Naboth could not, on any consideration, be induced to alienate a property which he had derived from his fathers. This gave the king so much concern, that he took to his bed and refused his food; but when his wife, the notorious Jezebel, understood the cause of his trouble, she bade him be of good cheer, for *she* would procure him the vineyard. Some time after Naboth was, at a public feast, accused of blasphemy, by an order from her under the royal seal, and, being condemned through the testimony of false witnesses, was stoned to death, according to the law, outside the town (Lev. xxiv. 16; Num. xv. 30). Coquerel (in the *Biographie Sacrée*) thinks that the children of Naboth perished with him, being perhaps put to death by the creatures of Jezebel; and his reason is, that otherwise the crime would have been useless as the children would still have been entitled to the father's heritage. But we know not that Naboth had any sons; and if he had sons, and they had been taken off, the estate might not have wanted an heir. It therefore rather seems that a usage had crept in for the property of persons convicted of treason (and blasphemy was treason in Israel) to be estreated to the crown. There are other indications of this usage. If it did not exist, the estate of Naboth could not have lapsed to the crown, even if his children had shared his fate; and if it did exist, it was not necessary that the children should be slain to secure the estate to the king.

When Ahab heard of the death of Naboth—and he must have known how that death had been accomplished, or he would not have supposed

himself a gainer by the event—he hastened to take possession. But he was speedily taught that this horrid crime had not passed without notice by the all-seeing God, and would not remain unpunished by his justice. The only tribunal to which he remained accountable, pronounced his doom through the prophet Elijah, who met him on the spot, 'In the place where dogs licked the blood of Naboth, shall dogs lick thy blood, even thine' (1 Kings xxi.)—J. K.

NACHASH (נָחָשׁ, *ḥphis*), the generic name of the serpent tribe in the O. T. Serpents may be divided generally into two very distinct sections—the first embracing all those that are provided with movable tubular fangs and poison bags in the upper jaw; all regarded as ovoviparous, and called by contraction *vipers*: they constitute not quite one-fifth of the species hitherto noticed by naturalists. The second section, much more numerous, is the *colubrine*, not so armed, but not therefore always entirely innocuous, since there may be in some cases venomous secretions capable of penetrating into the wounds made by their fixed teeth, which in all serpents are single points, and in some species increase in size as they stand back in the jaws. The greater part, if not all the innocuous species, are ovoviparous, including the largest or giant snakes, and the *pelamis* and *hydrophis*, or water-serpents, among which several are venomous. It is with the section of noxious serpents that Biblical research has most to do. The different species of serpents mentioned in Scripture are, with a few exceptions, not easily identified with existing species. [See ACHSHUB; PETHEN; SARAPH; SHEPHIPHON; TSEPHAH; TSIPH'ONI.]

Scriptural evidence attests the serpent's influence on the early destinies of mankind; and this fact may be traced in the history, the legends, and creeds of most ancient nations. It is far from being obliterated at this day among the pagan, barbarian, and savage tribes of both continents, where the most virulent and dangerous animals of the viviparous class are not uncommonly adored, but more generally respected, from motives originating in fear; and others of the ovoviparous race are suffered to abide in human dwellings, and are often supplied with food, from causes not easily determined, excepting that the serpent is ever considered to be possessed of some mysterious superhuman knowledge or power. Hence, beside real species, ideal forms, taken from the living, but combining other or additional properties, occur, at the most early periods, as metaphorical types, in fable and history, and in the hieroglyphics and religious paintings of many nations.

The asserted longevity of the serpent tribe may have suggested the representation of the harmless house-snake biting its tail as typical of eternity; and this same quality was no doubt the cause why this animal, entwined round a staff, was the symbol of health, and the distinctive attribute of the classical Æsculapius and Hygiea. There are species of this genus common to Palestine and the southern parts of continental Europe; they were domesticated in Druidical and other Pagan sanctuaries, and were employed for omens and other impositions; but the mysterious Ag or Hagstone was asserted to be produced by the venomous viper species. [For the mantic use of serpents see DIVINATION].—C. H. S.



NACHMANIDES, or NACHMANI=BEN NACHMAN, MOSES, also called by the Jews *Ramban*, רמב"ן, from the initial letters בן משה בן נחמן, נחמן, *R. Moses b. Nachman*, and by Christian writers *Moses Gerundensis*, was born at Gerona, in Catalonia, about 1195. So extraordinary was his proficiency in the Biblical and Talmudical writings, that he wrote an elaborate *Treatise on the*

*Rights of Primogeniture and Vows* (הלכות בכורות) (ונדרים) when he was scarcely fifteen years of age (1210), and composed his commentaries (הדרשים) on the greater part of the Talmud (1217-1223) before he was thirty. About the year 1262 he delivered a discourse in Saragossa, before James I., king of Aragon, and the magnates of the church and state, in defence of Judaism. This remarkable address (דרשה), which has for its text Ps. xix. 9, 'The law of the Lord is perfect,' etc., and is an important contribution to Biblical exegesis, the Christology of the O. T., and the understanding of Judaism, was first published in 1582, with the title *תורת הכימה*, 'יהיה חכימה', wherewith it commences, then at Prague 1595, and with corrections and notes by the learned and industrious Adolph Jellinek, Leipzig 1853. This is the best edition, and the references, both in this article and throughout this Cyclopædia, are to it. In 1263 he held a disputation at Barcelona with Pablo Christiani, a converted Jew, which lasted four days (July 20-24, 1263). Nachmanides published and circulated this disputation among his brethren, as Pablo Christiani and his friends gave an incorrect report of it; and the pope, Clement IV., was so incensed at it, that he wrote to James I. of Aragon, urging on his majesty to banish him from his dominions. Whereupon the septuagenarian Nachmanides had to leave (1266) his native place, his two sons, his college with numerous disciples, and his friends, and went to the Holy Land, which he reached Aug. 12, 1267. The disputation referred to was first published, with omissions and interpolations, and an exceedingly bad Latin translation, by Wagenseil, *Tela ignea Satanae*, Altorf 1681. It was then published in the collec-

tion of polemical writings entitled *מלחמת חובה*, where it is the first of the series, and is called *וכוח פולו*, הרמב"ן עם פראי פולו, *The Discussion of Ramban with Fra Paolo*, Constantinople 1710; and recently again by the erudite Steinschneider, *Nachmanidis Disputatio publica pro fide Judaica*, Berlin 1860, to which are added learned notes by the editor, and Nachmanides' exposition of Is. liii. It is to this edition that the references are made.

In Palestine Nachmanides completed and revised his stupendous Commentary on the Pentateuch, which he had begun nearly twenty years before (1249-1268). Physician by profession, thoroughly conversant not only with Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac and Arabic, but also with Greek, Latin, Spanish, etc., master of the whole cycle of Talmudic, Midrashic, and exegetical literature, and intimately acquainted with the manners, customs, and geography of the East, he frequently quotes medical works (ספרי נסינות, and ספר הרפואות), clears up medical difficulties (comp. comment. on Gen. xxx. 14; xlv. 26; xlv. 15; Lev. iii. 9; xi. 11; xii. 4; xiii. 3, 42; Num. xxi. 9), explains difficult terms by comparing the Hebrew with other languages (comment. on Gen. xlix. 12, 20; Exod. xxx. 23, 34; xxxii. 1; Lev. xi. 11; xiii. 29; xix.

20; Deut. xiii. 2, 4; xxxiii. 36), criticises Christian versions (Gen. xli. 45; Num. xi. 17), explains the customs and geography of the East (Gen. xi. 28; xxxiv. 12; xxxviii. 18, 24), gently and reverentially attacks the rationalistic views of Maimonides about miracles and revelation, and controverts and exposes, in unsparing language, Ibn Ezra's scepticism, concealed in unbelieving mystical doctrines [IBN EZRA]. Being a thorough believer in the Kabbala, Nachmanides, though explaining the obvious sense of the Bible, yet maintains that each separate letter is imbued with a spiritual and recondite potency, and forms a link in the grand chain of revelation, and that those who are initiated in the secrets of the Kabbala can, by the combination of these letters, penetrate, more than ordinary readers, into the mysteries of Holy Writ. When it is remarked, that no less than fifteen Jewish literati, of different periods, have written super-commentaries on this remarkable production, the importance of this commentary, and the influence it exercised on Biblical exegesis and the Jewish literature, will easily be comprehended. This commentary,

which is alternately denominated *באור על התורה*, or *פרש נחמני*, *סתרי תורה*, *הדרשי תורה*, *פרש*, was first published before 1480, then in Lisbon 1480, Naples 1490, Pesaro 1514, Saloniokai 1521, with the comments of Rashi, Ibn Ezra, etc., Constantinople 1522, with the Hebrew text of the Pentateuch, and the Five Megilloth, the Chaldee Paraphrase, the Comment of Rashi, and the Super-commentary of Aboab on Nachmanides, Venice 1548; and, besides many other editions, lately in the excellent Pentateuch and Five Megilloth, containing the Hebrew text, the Chaldee Paraphrases, the Commentaries of Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Rashbam, Seforno, etc., 5 vols., Vienna 1859. The references in this article and Cyclopædia are made to the two last-mentioned editions.

Nachmanides also wrote a commentary on Job (*פרוש על איוב*), which was first published in the Rabbinical Bible, Venice 1517, and is now incorporated in Frankfurter's Great Rabbinical Bible, Amsterdam 1724-27 [FRANKFURTER]. The Kabbalistic commentary on the Song of Songs, which is ascribed to him, belongs to his teacher Asariel [KABBALAH]. He died at Acco (Ptolemais) about 1270. So great was his reputation, that the Jewish nation gave him the honourable appellation of *the Pious Teacher* (הרב המאמין), and *the Great Master* (הרב הגדול). Comp. Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, col. 1947-65; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, iii. 2-8; Perles, in Frankel's *Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, viii. 81, ff.; 113, ff.; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vii., Leipzig 1863, pp. 48, ff.; 61, ff.; 87, ff.; 143, ff.; 439 ff.—C. D. G.

NACHON (נַחֲוֹן; Sept. Ναχὼρ; Alex. Ναχὼν; Vulg. *Nachon*) occurs in 2 Sam. vi. 6 as the name of the threshing-floor which in the parallel passage, in 1 Chron. xiii. 9, is called by the appellation of Chidon [CHIDON]. The Targum of Jonathan explains the word Nachon by *נַחֲוֹן*, 'a prepared place' (נַחֲוֹן being the passive part. of the Rabbinical verb *נָחַן*, *aptare, ordinare*, see Buxtorf, *Lex. Rabb.* 2627); thus regarding the threshing-floor of Perez-Uzzah as the temporary station ap-

pointed by David for the reception of the ark previous to its ultimate rest in 'the city of David.' This seems to confirm the view we have mentioned in art. CHIDON of the possible identity of the threshing-floor there called *Chidon*, and here *Nachon*, with the well-known one of Araunah the Jebusite, within the precincts of the city of his Canaanite ancestors. Origen has preserved (*Hexapla*, Migne vi. 1. 41) three readings of the LXX., 'Ὡς ἄλω Ναχώρ'—Ἄλλος, ἔως ἄλως Ἀχώρ—'Ἄλλος, ἔως τῆς ἄλως Ἐρνά τοῦ Ἰεβουσαιου. We have also a scrap of Aquila, who treats the name Nachon as an appellative, and gives it the same meaning as the Targumist, *ἔως ἄλως ἐτολμης*, q. d. *When they came to a place prepared for it*. This version is also given in the Peschito Syriac and the Arabic. Gesenius (*Lex.* by Robinson, p. 673) so far takes this view as to derive נָכוֹן from בָּנָן, *to prepare*; but thinks after all, that the words נָכוֹן (*Chidon*) and נָחַן (*Nachon*) have become confused; the first corrupted from the second, or *vice versa* (*Thes.* 683). Fürst (*Lex.* ii. 37) derives our word נָכוֹן from נָכָה, *to strike or smite*, and makes it equivalent with כִּיּוֹן in indicating the calamity which smote Uzza.—P. H.

#### NACHOR. [NAHOR.]

NADAB (נָדָב, *liberal*; Sept. Ναδάβ). 1. Eldest son of Aaron, who, with his brother Abihu, was slain for offering strange fire to the Lord [ABIHU]. 2. Son of Jeroboam, and second king of Israel. He ascended the throne upon the death of his father (B.C. 954), whose deep-laid, but criminal and dangerous policy, he followed. He was engaged in the siege of Gibbethon, a city of the Levites (of which the Philistines had obtained possession), when he was slain in the camp in a conspiracy formed against him by Baasha, one of his officers, who mounted the throne in his stead. He reigned two years (1 Kings xiv. 20; xv. 25-28). Two others of this name are mentioned (1 Chron. ii. 28; and viii. 30; ix. 36).—J. K.

NADABATHA (Ναδαθά, *Madaba*; Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 1. 4 has Ναδαθά) occurs 1 Maccab. ix. 37 as the name of the city from which the 'children of Jambī' [see JAMBI] were conducting the bride with music and great pomp when attacked and slaughtered by Jonathan and Simon, to avenge the death of their brother John. *Madaba* of the Vulgate is either a mere conjecture, or a lapse of the pen; for Medaba was the city from which the Jambites came, and to which they were conducting the bride. Nadabatha was evidently a city on the east of the Jordan, as Josephus speaks of the bride as 'the daughter of one of the illustrious men among the Arabians.' That she is called in Maccabees 'a daughter of one of the great princes of Chanaan' is in no contradiction to this, as the title 'sons of Chanaan' is given (Judith v. 3) to the Ammonites and Moabites. Besides, the impression which the entire narrative leaves on the mind is, that both Nadabatha and Medaba were on the same side of the Jordan. That Nadabatha was a city in Phœnicia is utterly impossible. The name has not as yet been identified by Robinson or other travellers with any given locality.—I. J.

NAGGE (Ναγκα, or according to some MSS. Ναγαί), one of the ancestors of our Lord (Luke iii. 25). The name corresponds to the Heb. נֶגֶג, *Nogah*, Sept. Ναγκαί, which was the name of one

of David's sons (1 Chron. iii. 7). The name may have been perpetuated in the Davidic line, not without some allusion to its meaning (*splendour*), and the belief that the promised glory of the seed of Jesse should surely come.—W. L. A.

NAHALAL, and NAHALLAL (נַחֲלָל; Ναβαδλ; Alex. Νααλώλ; *Naalol*), a town of Zebulun (Josh. xix. 15), assigned to the Levites (xxi. 35). It is grouped with Bethlehem and others apparently in the interior of the territory. Bethlehem has been identified with the hamlet of Beit Lahm, about seven miles west of Nazareth; and Nahalal could not have been far distant from it; but the exact site is unknown. In Judg. i. 30 we read, 'Neither did Zebulun drive out the inhabitants of Kitron, nor the inhabitants of *Nahalol*.' This is doubtless the same place. The Hebrew letters are the same (נַחֲלָל), only differently pointed; but the LXX.

reads Δωμανά, and in the Alex. Ἐναμμάν; the Vulgate, following the Hebrew, has *Naalol*. Eusebius, by some unaccountable oversight, states that this town, which he calls *Neila* (Νεῖλα), lies in Batanea; that is, away east of the Jordan (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Neila*). Van de Velde, following Schwartz, would identify Nahalal with the modern village and ruins of *Malâl* (*Memoir*, p. 335; cf. Schwartz, p. 172); but *Malâl* is more probably the site of the ancient *Marala*. It is true that in the *Gemara Hierosolymitana*, the reading *Mahalol* (מַחֲלוֹל) occurs in Josh. xix. 15, which doubtless suggested the theory of Schwartz (Reland, *Pal.*, p. 884). It has nothing else to support it.—J. L. P.

NAHALIEL (נַחֲלִיֵּאל, 'valley of God'; Naaliel; *Nahaliet*), a station of the Israelites mentioned only in Num. xxi. 19. The difficulties connected with the passage in which this word occurs have been already pointed out in the article MATTANEH. It seems probable, as there stated, and as is maintained by Kennicott, that the names *Mattaneh* and *Nahaliet* were intended to express figuratively some signal blessings which occurred to the Israelites at these places. They were not mere geographical names. Perhaps Nahaliet was the name applied by a thankful people to the valley in which God gave them a miraculous supply of water, and at which Israel sang the song of praise, 'Spring up, O well; sing ye to it' (ver. 17). Eusebius mentions Naaniel (Ναανήλ; Jerome, *Naaliet*; *Onomast.* s. v.), but simply as a station of the Israelites near the Arnon. It does not appear that he knew anything more of it than is recorded in Numbers. The name does not occur at all in the general itinerary given in Num. xxxiii., which thus appears to confirm the interpretation given above. Between the streams of Zurka Ma'in and Môjib (Arnon), is a streamlet in a deep wild ravine flowing into the Dead Sea. Its name is Wady Wâleh; but D'Anville, on his map, calls it *Nahaliet*, a name, Burckhardt assures us, unknown to the Arabs (*Travels*, p. 371); and for which there is no authority. One of the upper tributaries to the Môjib is Wady *Enkheilch*; and this word bears some remote resemblance to *Nahaliet*, as is stated by Mr. Grove (*Smith's Dict. of the Bible*, s. v.) We cannot place much dependence upon this suggestion; but it may serve to draw the attention of future travellers to the spot.—J. L. P.



NAHALLAL. [NAHALAL.]

NAHALOL. [NAHALAL.]

NAHASH (נָחָשׁ, *a serpent*; Sept. Νάας). 1. A person named only in 2 Sam. xvii. 25; and as he is there described as the father of Abigail and Zeruiah, who are elsewhere called the sisters of David, this must have been either another name for Jesse, or, as some suppose, of a former husband of David's mother [DAVID]. 2. King of the Ammonites, noted for the barbarous terms of capitulation which he offered to the town of Jabesh-Gilead, and for his subsequent defeat by Saul [JABESH]. It was natural that the enemy of Saul should be friendly to David; and we find that he did render to the latter, during his persecutions, some acts of kindness, which the monarch did not forget when he ascended the throne of Israel (2 Sam. x. 2; 1 Chron. xix. 2). These acts are not specified, but he probably offered the fugitive hero an asylum in his dominions.—J. K.

NAHAVENDI, BENJAMIN B. MOSES (בִּנְיָמִין בֶּן־מֹשֶׁה נְהַוֵּנְדִי), a celebrated Karaite commentator who flourished about A.D. 800, and derived his name from his native place Nahavend, in ancient Media. He not only immortalised his name by effecting a reformation and consolidation in the opinions of the Jewish sect called Karaites, and by being next in importance to Anon, the founder of this sect, but has greatly distinguished himself as an expositor of the Hebrew Scriptures. He wrote, (1.) A Commentary on the Pentateuch, in which he illustrates the Mosaic enactments by copious descriptions of the manners and customs of the East. Comp. Pinsker, *Likute Kadmoniot*, p. 72, Appendix; (2.) A Commentary on Isaiah, in which he explains away all the Messianic prophecies; comp. Jepheth *on Is.* liii.; (3.) A Commentary on Daniel. He explains the 'thousand three hundred and thirty-five days' (xii. 12), as denoting so many years, and as referring to the end of time, which he calculated would begin 1010 A.D.; comp. Pinsker, *ibid.*, p. 32, Appendix; (4.) A Commentary on the Five Megilloth, *i. e.*, Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther. In the comment on Ecclesiastes, besides giving a thoroughly grammatical and literal exposition of its contents, he also applies it, in an allegorical or spiritual sense, to the ever-shifting condition of the Jewish nation. Pinsker (*ibid.*, p. 109-111, Appendix) gives a specimen of this commentary, the MS. of which exists in the Paris library; (5.) A Book of Commandments (סֵפֶר מִצְוֹת), in which he propounds the Karaite explanation of Scripture passages in opposition to the Rabbinic expositions; (6.) סֵפֶר דִּינִים, *משאת בנימין*, *The Tribute of Benjamin*, in which he sets forth the penal and civil laws of the Mosaic code; printed at Eupatoria, 1834. Comp. Pinsker, *Likute Kadmoniot*, Vienna 1860, p. 44, ff.; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. v., Magdeburg 1860, pp. 288, ff.; 506, ff.; 518, ff.; Fürst, *Geschichte des Karäerthums*, vol. i., Leipzig 1862, pp. 71, ff.; 157, ff.; Ginsburg, *The Karaites, their History and Literature*, in the 'Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool,' 1862.—C. D. G.

NAHOR (נָחֹר, *snorting*; Sept. Ναχώρ). 1.

Son of Serug, and father of Terah, the father of

Abraham (Gen. xi. 22-25). In Luke iii. 34 the name is more correctly given as NACHOR. 2. Grandson of the preceding, being one of the sons of Terah, and brother of Abraham. Nahor espoused Milcah his niece, daughter of his eldest brother Haran (Gen. xi. 27-29). Nahor did not quit his native place, 'Ur of the Chaldees,' when the rest of the family removed to Haran (Gen. xi. 30); but it would appear that he went thither afterwards, as we eventually find his son Bethuel, and his grandson Laban, established there (Gen. xxvii. 43; xxix. 5).—J. K.

NAHSHON (נְחֹשְׁתָן, *enchanter*; Sept. Ναασ-σών, from which he is called Naason in the genealogies of Christ in Matt. i. 4; Luke iii. 32), son of Aminadab, and prince or chief of the tribe of Judah, at the time of the exode (Num. i. 7; ii. 3). The chiefs of tribes, of which Nahshon was one, took an important and leading part in the affairs of the Israelites, as described in the article TRIBES.—J. K.

NAHUM (נְחֻם; Sept. Ναούμ), one of the twelve minor prophets, and the seventh in order according to the received text. The name, if Hebrew, is probably derived from נָחַם, which in Niphal signifies *to be moved with pity, to be compassionate*, and in Pihel *to console or comfort*; and, as the latter is the more common usage of this verb, Nahum, an adjective formed from it, would mean the consoler or comforter ('Consolator,' Hieronym.). a name with which the character and tone of the prophet's writing fully harmonize. The name נָחַם occurs in Phœnician inscriptions (Gesen., *Monument. Phœn.*, p. 134 and p. 137); and in the form Νάουμος it is found in a Greek inscription given by Boeckh (*Corp. Inscript.*, lib. iv. c. 3).

Hardly anything is known of the *history* of this prophet. He describes himself as 'The Elkoshite' (הַחֶלְקִישִׁי); *i. e.*, a native of Elkosh. This, according to Jerome, was a small village (*viculus*) in Galilee, in ruins at the time he visited it, but well known to the Jews (*Præm. in Nah.*). Cyrill of Alexandria (*on Nah.* i. 1) says vaguely that it was a village somewhere certainly in Judea (πάρος σου τῆς Ἰουδαίας χώρας); but this testimony so far confirms that of Jerome that it places Elkosh in Palestine. An ancient tradition identifies it with Eltesi or Elkeben, beyond, but near to Bethabara (Dorotheus and Epiphani., *De vitis Proph.*, c. 17); but to this no weight can be attached, for the testimony is vitiated by being accompanied with the assertion, that Nahum was of the tribe of Simeon, which had no possessions on the east of the Jordan. The statement of Jerome was accepted without question until Assemani (*Bibl. Orient.*, i. p. 525; iii. i. p. 352) called attention to Alkush, a village in Assyria, ten miles north of Mosul, on the left bank of the Tigris; and many—among whom are Eichhorn (*Eintl.* iv. 390), Ewald (*Proph. D. Alt. Bund.*, i. 350), Ritter (*Erdrunde*, ix. 742), and Layard (*Nineveh and its Remains*, i. p. 233)—have since regarded this as the birth-place of Nahum. But the grounds on which this is rested are very feeble. It is certainly curious that at Alkush there should be a tomb known as that of Nahum; but this is a mere tradition, supported by no monumental evidence and of uncertain origin (Layard,

*loc. cit.*), and the probability is, that, like the grave of Jonah at Nineveh, that of Nahum at Alkush is a mere popular invention, to which the similarity of the name of the village and that of his birth-place gave rise. Besides, even supposing Alkush were the place of his tomb, it would not follow from this that it was also the place of his birth. Ewald lays stress on the prominence given to Assyria in the prophecy, and the cursory reference to Judah, as a proof that it could not have been uttered by any of the older prophets, but must have proceeded from some seer of the captivity, and as favouring the belief that Nahum was born in Assyria. But if Nahum was commissioned to prophecy concerning Nineveh, he could not avoid dwelling chiefly on Assyrian topics; and as the burden of his predictions is the overthrow which is to come upon the Assyrian power by the judgments of Jehovah, the prophecy is adapted for the comfort and encouragement of the Jews, the downfall of whose oppressors it predicts, and therefore is as much addressed to them as are the predictions of Isaiah concerning Egypt, Persia, and Babylon. What Ewald calls the cursory glance of the prophet at Judah (i. 15), is rather to be regarded as indicating the stand-point of his vision, and as the centre to which all his other utterances converge. It was to bring good tidings to Judah, tidings of peace, that he foretold the destruction of her enemies. It may be farther remarked here, that had Nahum been a prophet of the captivity, he would hardly have uttered a prediction concerning the overthrow of Nineveh without some word of consolation to his afflicted brethren, in the midst of whom he was speaking and writing. Stress is also laid by Ewald on Nahum's knowledge of Assyrian affairs, and on the occurrence in his writings of some Assyrian words. But the prophet evinces no greater acquaintance with Assyrian affairs than any intelligent person living in Palestine might easily possess; and if recent investigations have shown a harmony between the prophet's phraseology and the actual circumstances of Nineveh, this only proves, that to him belongs what is a characteristic of the whole inspired volume, that whilst its writers avoid details that would have been unintelligible to those for whom they in the first instance wrote, they are preserved from all statements which the progress of knowledge would prove to have been mistakes. The Assyrian words said to occur in Nahum's writing are only three—a small number on which to build so much. They are, הַצֶּבֶד (ii. 8); כִּנְזָר (iii. 17). Of

these the last occurs in Jer. li. 27, a sufficient proof that, whatever be its origin, it was in use in Judaea as a designation for a captain or chief [CAPTAIN]. The second may be pure Hebrew, a formative from כָּנַז, *to separate*, and having the same meaning as כִּנְזָר, *a crowned head, a prince* (Kimchi), or it may be a compound of כָּנַז and כֶּנֶן, signifying *troop* (Fürst).

The first is a proper name, perhaps the designation of the queen of Assyria, and therefore probably Assyrian; but if so, why might not it be known by a resident in Judaea, just as Pharaoh and other foreign titles were known there, or as Sultan, Shah, and Rajah are known in this country by myriads who never left its shores? On grounds so feeble as these it is not desirable to adopt an hypothesis which is opposed to one that has no improbability

attaching to it, and has come down to us, with general consent, from antiquity.

Still greater uncertainty attaches to the *time* when Nahum lived and prophesied. There is hardly a reign from that of Jehu to Zedekiah under which he has not been placed by some critics; while Eichhorn pronounces it impossible to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion on the subject. The majority of critics are in favour of making the prophet a contemporary of Hezekiah, and suppose the prophecy to have been delivered soon after the siege of Jerusalem by Sennacherib (Is. xxxvii. 36). That it cannot be placed earlier than this appears, from ii. 2, where there is an evident allusion to the deportation of the ten tribes; and that it cannot be placed much later follows from the allusions to the kingdom of Assyria as then in a prosperous state, and to Nineveh as still existing in strength and majesty—a state of things which could hardly be said to exist after the reign of Esarhaddon, the successor of Sennacherib, and which wholly terminated when Nineveh was taken by Cyaxares and Nabopolassar. Still there is nothing to fix the prophecy to the time of Hezekiah. Appeal has been made to the language of i. 11, 12; ii. 13; in the former of which passages it is supposed that the prophet alludes to the invasion of Judah by the Assyrian host, and in the latter to the mission of Rabshakeh (Is. xxxvi.) All that one can say of this is that it *may* be so; but the allusion is by no means certain, and on so slender a basis no solid conclusion can be built. If the invasion of Judah by Sennacherib be the leading theme of the prophet, it is extremely probable that he prophesied in the reign of Hezekiah; but to assume this is to assume substantially the point to be proved. An attempt has been made to fix the date of Nahum's prophecy by comparing parts of it with similar passages in the writings of Isaiah; viz., Nah. iii. 5 with Is. xlvii. 2, 3; Nah. iii. 7, 10, with Is. li. 19, ff.; Nah. ii. 1 with Is. lii. 1, 7; Nah. ii. 3 with Is. lii. 8. The resemblance between these passages, it is alleged, is so close that the one writer must have had the other before him when composing his own oracles; and as it is assumed that Nahum was the copier, and as Isaiah's writing must be placed in the latter part of the reign of Hezekiah, it is concluded that Nahum must have written towards the close of that reign or early in the following. But allowing the similarity of the passages, everything else in this argument is mere assumption, any part of which may be reversed with equal probability; and accordingly we find that while Keil and Otto Strauss hold Nahum for the borrower, Delitzsch and Nägelsbach attribute this to Isaiah. The supposed allusion to Sennacherib's invasion in i. 14 has been thought to find support from the words אֵשִׁים קִבְרֵךְ, which, joined

as the accents direct with what precedes, may be rendered, 'I will make it [the house of thy gods] thy grave,' and may be viewed as referring to the slaughter of Sennacherib in the temple of his deity (Is. xxxvii. 38). But to this much weight cannot be attached; for, on the one hand, the rendering in the A. V. is quite as likely to be the correct one as that suggested, and, on the other, it by no means follows that when a man's grave is said to be made in any place it means that in that place he is to be murdered. The allusion to No-Ammon in iii. 8 may indicate that the prophecy of Isaiah



against Egypt (xx.) had been fulfilled when Nahum wrote; but it is impossible to elicit any precise chronological datum from this. On the whole, while there is no cogent reason against our regarding the prophet as living in the time of Hezekiah and contemporary with Isaiah and Micah, the evidence for this does not seem strong enough to justify us in asserting it.

The prophecy of Nahum is directed against Nineveh and falls into three parts. The *first* (i.) contains the introduction (1-10) and the theme of the prophet's oracle (11-14). The *second* (ii.) sets forth the calamity which should come upon the Assyrian empire. And the *third* (iii.) recapitulates the reasons for the judgments that should be thus inflicted, and announces the certainty of their coming. The whole forms one continuous composition. There is no ground for the opinion which some (Huet, Kalinsky, Bertholdt) have maintained, that the three parts of the book were produced at different times.

The *genuineness* of this prophecy has never been called in question. The words in the inscription, כִּטְמָה נִינְוָה, have been subjected to suspicion by some on the ground that, as the proper commencement of the writing follows, they are probably a later addition; but, as Hävernick remarks, there is nothing unfit in the arrangement which makes the announcement of the subject precede the announcement of the author, and therefore nothing improbable in the supposition that both parts of the inscription came from the same pen—that of the author.

The style of Nahum has called forth commendations from critics of every school. Lowth says that 'none of the minor prophets seem to equal him in sublimity, ardour, and boldness of spirit,' and pronounces his 'prophecy an entire and just poem' (*Prælect.* xxi.) Eichhorn warms into eloquence as he enlarges on the varied excellences of his language and composition, and De Wette pronounces his writing classic in all respects. The language is that of the best age of Hebrew literature. A few Aramaic forms have been imputed to him—viz., נָהַג, *he sighed* (ii. 8), רוּחַ, *running*

(iii. 2), and פְּלָדוֹת, *torches* A. V., more properly (ii. 3); but the second of these occurs in the song of Deborah (Judg. v. 22), and the others are probably, like it, only archaic or unusual terms. Peculiar to Nahum also is the use of רָעַל (ii. 4), כִּבְיָקָה and בִּקְיָקָה (ii. 11), מְנוּזָר (iii. 17), יָבֵהָה (iii. 19), and the suffix forms גְּבוּרֵיהֶוּ (ii. 4), and מְלָאָה כִּכָּה (ii. 14).

*Commentaries.*—Bibliander, 1534; Ursini, 1652; Hattenreffer, 1663; Abarbanel, a Sprecher, 1703; Von Höke, 1709, 1710; Kalinsky, 1748; Agrell, 1788; Greve, 1793; Svanborg, 1806; Frähn, 1806; Kreenen, 1808; Hochmann, 1842; Otto Strauss, 1853; B. B. Edwards in *American Biblioth. Sac.*, vol. v., p. 551.—W. L. A.

NAIL (נַפֵּר; Chald. נַפֵּר), the horny covering of the extremities of the fingers or toes of certain animals. The former of these names (which occurs Deut. xxi. 12) is derived from the use of the nail in scraping or scratching (from נָפַר = טָפַר); with the same underlying idea the word is used of the stylus

or graver (Jer. xvii. 1). The latter is used not only of the nail of a man (Dan. iv. 33), but also of the claw of an animal (Dan. vii. 19).

Considerable diversity of opinion has arisen as to the meaning of the injunction regarding the captive's nails in Deut. xxi. 12. The verb in the original (עָשָׂה, 'asah'), translated 'pare' in the A. V., means simply, *to work, to make, to prepare*. In 2 Sam. xix. 24, it is used of dressing the feet and trimming the hair; and in general it may be understood, when applied to any part of the person, to indicate the using of means to make that portion such as it ought to be. This seems sufficient to exclude the notion that the captive damsel was simply to let her nails grow; for it is absurd to suppose, that the injunction to do something to her nails means she was to do nothing to them. Further, the *doing* of the nails can only mean the paring and trimming of them; there is nothing else to be done to them. This concludes in favour of the rendering in the A. V. But why, it is asked, was the damsel to trim her nails? Was this any sign of mourning, such as the shaving of the head, which was also enjoined on her? The reply to this is, that whether it was a sign of mourning or not, it was in keeping with that state of seclusion in which she was required to remain for a month; for, as Eastern women nourish the growth of their finger-nails, that greater effect may be given to the staining of them with henna, the injunction to *pare* them was virtually an injunction to abstain from one of the favourite appliances of the female toilette.—W. L. A.

NAIL. There are two Hebrew words thus translated in the A. V. יָתֵר, *yathed*; Sept. πείσsalος, which usually denotes a peg, pin, or nail, as driven into a wall (Ezek. xv. 3; Is. xxii. 25); and more especially a tent-pin driven into the earth to fasten the tent (Exod. xxvii. 19; xxxv. 18; xxxviii. 31; Judg. iv. 21, 22; Is. xxxiii. 20; liv. 2). Hence, to drive a pin, or to fasten a nail, presents among the Hebrews an image of a fixed dwelling, a firm and stable abode (Is. xxii. 23). And this image is still frequent among the Arabs, as shown by several quotations produced by Gesenius, in his *Thesaurus*, under this word. A pin or nail is also, by a further application of the metaphor, applied to a prince, on whom the care and welfare of the state depends (Zech. x. 4), where the term פִּנָּה, *corner stone*, is applied to the same person denoted by the word 'nail.' All these allusions will seem very plain, if we bear in mind the leading sense of the word, as referring to those large nails, or pins, or cramps, used in applications requiring great strength, being driven into walls, or into the ground.

2. מִסְמְרוֹת, *mismeroth*, which, with some variations of form, is applied to ordinary and ornamental nails. It always occurs in the plural, and is the word which we find in 1 Chron. xxii. 3; 2 Chron. iii. 9; Is. xli. 7; Jer. x. 4; Eccles. xii. 11). The last of these texts involves a very significant proverbial application—'The words of the wise are as nails infixed,' etc., that is, 'they sink deep into the heart of man.' The golden nails of the temple are denoted by this word.—J. K.

NAIN (נַאִין; *Naim*), a town (πόλις) mentioned only in Luke vii. 11; and the scene of one of our Lord's greatest miracles—the raising of the widow's

son to life. Nothing is there said of the situation of Nain. It could not have been far distant from Capernaum, for, after spending the day in that place, it is said—'And it came to pass *the day after*, that he went into a city called Nain.' It is somewhat remarkable that this stupendous miracle, which roused the attention of the whole country, is not referred to by any of the other evangelists; nor is Nain mentioned in any other part of Scripture. Josephus speaks of a Nain, but it was different from this, having been situated in Judæa (*Bell. Jud.* iv. 9. 5). The site of Nain is described by Jerome as being two miles south of Tabor, near Endor (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Nain*; Eusebius has twelve miles, but the error is probably that of a copyist writing  $\beta$  instead of  $\beta$ . Neither this number, however, nor that of Jerome is accurate). Phocas places it north of Tabor (see Reland, *Pal.*, p. 904).

Nain still exists, and bears its ancient name. It stands on a bleak, rocky slope, on the northern declivity of Jebel ed-Duhly (the 'hill Moreh' of Scripture, and the 'Little Hermon' of modern travellers), directly facing Tabor, from which it is four miles distant, and two and a half miles south-west of Endor. It is a small, poor hamlet, of some twenty houses, or rather huts. Round the houses, however, are pretty extensive ruins; and the writer found some traces of what appeared to be an ancient wall. The most interesting antiquities are tombs, hewn in the rock, a short distance east of the village. It was in this direction our Lord approached, and probably to one or other of those very tombs they were bearing the corpse, when he met and arrested the mournful procession (see Thomson, *Land and the Book*, p. 445; *Hand-book*, p. 358; Stanley, *S. and P.*, p. 349). The situation of Nain is extremely beautiful. At the foot of the slope on which it stands is the great plain of Esdraelon, bounded on the north by the graceful wooded hills of Galilee, over which the snow-capped summits of Hermon and Lebanon appear. Probably the name (*Nain*, or *Naim*, נעים, 'pleasant') was suggested by the beauty of the situation. The singular stories of the Rabbins regarding this, and the blessing pronounced upon Issachar, may be seen in Lightfoot (*Opera*, ii. 478). That author would identify Nain with Engannim, trusting mainly to some remarks of Josephus; but the two places were far apart (see, however, Lightfoot, *l.c.*)—J. L. P.

NAIOTH (נֵיֹוֹת, pl. of נֵיֹוֹה; Sept. *Navdθ*), a place in or near Ramah, where Samuel abode with his disciples (1 Sam. xix. 18, 19, 22, 23; xx. 1). Naioth does not appear to have been a distinct town or village; and we are willing to accept the explanation of R. Isaiah and other Jewish commentators, who state that Ramah was the name of a hill, and Naioth of the place upon it. In that case Naioth must be fixed on the same grounds which determine the site of Ramah. According to the Targ. Jon. it was the *בית הולפנא*, a *house of instruction*, i. e., the place in which the school of the prophets resided, and received their training.

NAKED. The word עָרֹם, *arom*, rendered 'naked' in our Bibles, does not in many places mean absolute nakedness. It has this meaning in such passages as Job i. 21; Eccles. v. 15; Mic.

i. 8; Amos ii. 16. But in other places it means one who is ragged or poorly clad (John xxi. 7; Is. lviii. 7), in the same sense as γυμνός in James ii. 15; which does not indeed differ from a familiar application of the word 'naked' among ourselves. A more peculiar and Oriental sense of the word is that in which it is applied to one who has laid aside his loose outer garment, and goes about in his tunic. When, therefore, Saul is described as having lain down 'naked' (1 Sam. xix. 24), we are to understand that he had laid aside his flowing outer robe, by which his rank was most indicated, and was therefore a king 'naked' or undressed; and it was thus that Isaiah went 'naked' and barefoot (Is. xx. 2; comp. John xxi. 7). The point of the expression may be the better apprehended when we mention that persons in their own houses freely lay aside their outer garment, and appear in their tunic and girdle; but this is undress, and they would count it improper to appear abroad, or to see company in their own house, without the outer robe. In fact, our use of the word 'undress' to denote not nakedness, as it would literally imply, but a dress less than that which we consider full and complete, corresponds very exactly to this signification of the word.

The metaphorical uses of the word in Scripture are too obvious to require explanation.

NAME (שֵׁם; Sept. and N. T., *ὄνομα*). As the name by which an object is designated becomes that by which it is known,\* and so gradually comes to represent or stand for the object, the word Name in Scripture is often used, where not a mere designation is intended, but the object itself as so designated, and thereby made known to us. It is in this sense that the word is used of God so frequently in the Bible, in such phrases as—the Name of Jehovah, My Name, the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, etc. By such phrases is to be understood, not any appellation by which the Divine Being, in any of His Manifestations, is designated; nor, as is often said, The Divine Being Himself, as a Personal existence; but properly, The Divine Being as revealed or made known to men. The Name of God is God as revealed. Hence the earnest desire of men to know God's name (Gen. xxxix. 29; Exod. iii. 13). Hence God is said to put his Name in a person or place (Exod. xxiii. 21; comp. xxxiii. 14 and xl. 34; Deut. xii. 5; xiv. 23), by which is meant that God is revealed in that person or place. Men are commanded to put their trust in God's name, *i. e.*, in God Himself, as revealed; the name of God is said to be 'excellent in all the earth' (Ps. viii. 2), *i. e.*, God is revealed to us gloriously in his works; men are said to be called by God's name (Jer. xiv. 9), because Jehovah is revealed to them, is in the midst of them; God saves men by his name (Ps. liv. 1), *i. e.*, by the manifestation of Himself on their behalf; and many other similar usages in the O. T. In the N. T. the phrase, name of Christ, is similarly employed. Men believe on his name (John i. 12; 1 John v. 13), are baptized for his name (Acts xix. 5), have

\* The English word *Name*, and its cognates in the Aryan languages (Sansc. *nāman*, Gr. *ὄνομα*, Lat. *nomen*, Goth. *namā*, etc.), are derived from a root, *gnā*, which signifies to *know* (Max. Müller *On the Science of Language*, sec. ser., p. 406).



life through his name (John xx. 31), are saved by his name (Acts iv. 12), are justified by his name (1 Cor. vi. 11), assemble in his name (Matt. xviii. 20), do miracles by his name (Mark xvi. 17; Acts xvi. 18), etc., where the due meaning of the statement can be obtained only by regarding the phrase as indicating the Saviour as manifested for the help and benefit of men. In the same way are we to understand the baptismal formula; men are baptised for the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, inasmuch as they are baptised with a view to obtaining the blessings which God, as the revealed Triune God, is ready to bestow [BAPTISM].—W. L. A.

NAMES, PROPER, chiefly of the O. T. It is so interesting, as well as useful, to know the original signification of proper names, that a careful investigation of their nature has many advantages. The chief use, however, which accrues from an accurate knowledge of them is, that we are by their means enabled to attain a more lively apprehension of the truth of ancient history.

Without doubt many parts of this subject are very obscure, as proper names are so often only the scattered and decayed ruins of a distant age. But as soon as we take a more animated view of all the relics that have been preserved to us, and compare them more cautiously with the customs of other nations, we are able to discern their more general and important features, at least, with reasonable certainty.

There are two chief classes of proper names, those of *men*, and those of every thing besides man, as *beasts*, *places*, and *festivals*. Those of the latter class are much more durable in their form, as man alone is always changing; they are also important for history, and it is desirable to ascertain, as far as possible, their original signification. But the proper names of the changeable races of men are in a much higher degree those in which history reflects itself in its vicissitudes; they also constitute the more numerous class. For these reasons, we confine ourselves at present to the proper names of men, as it is beyond our present scope to treat the entire subject.

The first fact that strikes us, on a general view of them all, is, that the ancient Hebrews always retained the greatest simplicity in the use of names. In reality, there is always only one single name which distinguishes a person. Where it is necessary, the name of the father is added; sometimes that of the mother instead, in case she happens to be more celebrated\* or the line of descent is traced farther back, often to the fourth generation, or even farther. Mere epithets, like 'David the king,' 'Isaiah the prophet,' always express the actual and significant dignity of a man. The instances in which a person receives two names alternately, as Jacob-Israel, Gideon-Jerubbaal (Judg. vi. ix.), are casual and rare, and are not to be ascribed to a general custom of the people. On comparing the mode in which the Arabs use proper names, we discover a striking difference. With them, every man of any importance always receives, besides his proper name, and perhaps nickname, a prænomen (*Kunje*), which might be most

fittingly called the name of compliment, or domestic name, as it denotes the man under the special relation of father, as *Abu Zaid*, 'father of Zaid,' and, in addition to these, a name of honour for the world—which, at least, has prevailed generally since the time of the Abbassides, and which usually exalts, in pompous terms, the person in relation to religion (as *Salah-eddin*, 'the welfare of religion'), or to the state (as *Saif-eddaula*, 'the sword of the state'). In this the Arabs are absolutely a modern people, and overvalue externals as much as the Europeans of the present day. How much more simple were the Hebrews during the most flourishing period of their history! For, in this respect also, the usage of names is only an evidence of the predominant customs and views of whole periods.

When we, then, consider proper names with reference to the grand distinction of times, we are able to discover in their varying use nearly the same three periods as those which mark the history of this people in all other respects. These are the three periods which are most simply defined by the three different names of the nation which prevailed in each: the *Hebrews*, as they were called in early times, gradually adopted the name of *Israelites* in the middle period, and exchanged this name, in the third, for that of *Jews*. It is a remarkable, but nevertheless true coincidence, that just as the name of the nation varies in these three periods, the colour of the names of individuals changes in like manner, according to the different tendencies characterising the times.

I. In the first period, which, for reasons adduced below, we here limit by the commencement of the Mosaic religion, we are able to see the whole process according to which names are formed among this people: the distinct character of the formation of names which was established in this primitive time, continues essentially the same in the succeeding period, while the elements of which names are formed undergo a partial change. For this reason, we may explain the laws of this formation in terms of merely general application.—Now, names are either *simple* or *compound* words, or also words which arise from either of these kinds by *derivation*.

1. The *simple* names exist in great abundance; and their signification, as to the mere word itself, is generally evident: as דין, 'judge,' מִיָּן, the Latin *dexter*, an ancient name, according to Gen.

xlvi. 10, 1 Chron. ii. 27; שָׂאֵל, 'desired,' also an ancient name according to Gen. xlv. 10, cf. xxxvi. 37; הִבֵּר, 'hero,' 1 Kings iv. 19. Thus, most of them express an honourable sense; although examples are not wanting of the direct contrary, as עֲקִישׁ, 'crooked,' 2 Sam. xxiii. 26.

With what ease, also, feminine words become names for men, is shown by cases like נָחֵר, 'vulture,' 2 Sam. iii. 7, xxi. 8; cf. Gen. xxxvi. 24; יוֹנָה, 'dove,' which are just as applicable to men as the masculine שָׂעֵל, 'fox,' 1 Chron. vii. 36.

Diminutives, which are so frequently used as proper names by the Arabs, are rare among the Hebrews; but are by no means wanting, as is proved by זִבְגָּלִין or זִבְגָּל, the name of the son of

\* The three heroic brothers, Joab, Abishai, and Asael, are always called after their mother Zeruja (1 Chron. ii. 16).

Jacob, and יִרְתֵּנִי or יִרְתֵּנִי, the name of the singer of David. All those names which are formed with a prefixed *jod* are to be considered as especially ancient, because this nominal formation became entirely obsolete in the language, and recurs almost only in proper names, as is shown not only by the well-known names יְצַחֵק, יוֹסֵף, יְהוֹדָה, יוֹסֵף, but also by a number of less common ones, as יִשְׁזַב, Num. xxvi. 24; יִרְיָב, 1 Chron. iv. 24; יִמְלֵךְ, iv. 34; יִעֲקֹב, v. 13; יִצְחָק, Exod. vi. 18; יִבְרָךְ, 2 Sam. v. 15; יִפְתָּה, Num. xiii. 6, 1 Chron. vii. 38; יִרְחָם, 1 Sam. i. 1, 1 Chron. viii. 27; and others. There is an ancient adjective-ending, that in *ām* or *om*, which has fixed itself most firmly in proper names, as יִחְזָק, 1 Chron. iv. 6; יִנָּם, Ezra ii. 48; מִרְיָם, the sister of Moses, and בְּרִשָׁם, his son; בְּמִיָּהם, 2 Sam. xix. 38, which not only exists also in the form בְּמִהוּם, Jer. xlii. 17, but in בְּמִהוּן, 2 Sam. xix. 41, according to customary changes. We are anxious not to fatigue the reader by such philological observations, but we can assure him that a deeper investigation into these apparently dead subjects will lead to the discovery of much that illustrates the ancient language and customs of the people.

2. The compound names, however, are more important for history, because they express more complete and distinct ideas than the simple names. Some of them are altogether isolated, as פִּינְחָם, properly 'serpent's mouth,' the grandson of Aaron; יִשְׁשַׁכָּר, the son of Jacob; *Oholiab* (Exod. xxxi. 6), 'father's tent,' a name resembling the Greek Patrocles. But most of them bear a general resemblance to each other, and follow in shoals certain dominant opinions and customs; and these last are what we must particularly consider here.

A great number of them owe their origin to the relations of the house, as the sense of the first word of the compound shows. Most of these have the word *abi*, 'father,' for their first member, as *Abiezer*, *Abital*, *Abigail*.<sup>\*</sup> The prevalent opinion among modern scholars<sup>†</sup> respecting this class is that they are really epithets, which have afterwards, as it were casually, become proper names; that *Abigail*, for example, is literally 'father of joy,' or 'whose father is joy,' that this means *cheerful*, and thus became a proper name; and in proof they appeal to the Arabic language, in which such periphrases with *abi* are common. In reality, however, this assumption is extremely uncertain and erroneous. The Arabic undoubtedly possesses a vast number of such names, as *Abul-Ma'ālī*, 'the father of dignities,' *i.e.*, the venerable; *Abul-husni*, 'the father of beauty,' *i.e.*, the peacock; *Abul-hussaini*, 'the father of the little fortress,'

*i.e.*, the fox, who lives in holes; *Abu-Aijūba*, 'the father of Job,' *i.e.*, the camel, because it is as patient as Job. But such names, which may be formed *ad libitum*, by hundreds, belong in Arabic rather to the artificial, often to the sportive, and generally also to the later, language, and were not possible until the Arabs had adopted the custom of always using a prenominal, or domestic name—the above-mentioned *Kunje*—in addition to the chief name. As soon as ever it became customary to give a man a double designation—his real name, and the more familiar, often sportive, domestic name—this custom was gradually transferred to other subjects, and then these in themselves extraordinary circumlocutory names arose.\* But such domestic names were never in use among the Hebrews—nay, more, such periphrastic names with all do not even occur in their poetic diction; as the only passage which could be adduced in favour of it (Job xvii. 14) is not, when taken in its true sense, at all an instance in point. To call the camel 'father of Job' is undeniably a kind of sportive name: and are we to assume that this jesting custom prevailed among the primitive Hebrews? Thus we have here another striking example of the danger attending superficial comparisons of Arabic with Hebrew; for this view never could have been formed by those who were intimately acquainted with the treasures of Arabic literature.† I believe, on the contrary, that the first member of such compounds did indeed, in the early times in which they were first formed, really denote nothing but the father of the son who is named in the second member; but that subsequently, for a particular reason, they were employed only to denote a kind of dignity. If we compare the numerous genealogical registers in the books of Chronicles, which, dry as they are, yet contain much that is instructive, we find that a man is often called the *father*, that is, the *lord*, of a town or village, as 'Ashchur the father of Teqoa,' 1 Chron. ii. 24; 'Mesha, the father of Zif,' ver. 42; 'Meon, the father of Beth-zur,' ver. 45; 'Shobal, the father of Qirjathyearim,' ver. 50, etc. In these cases the meaning cannot be doubtful, as the second member always signifies a place; but this is at the same time a genuine Hebrew custom, which will hardly be found among the other Semitic nations. As soon, then, as it had become customary to use the word 'father' to denote a kind of dignity in the family and in the nation, it was easy to prefix this short word, as a mere term of honour, to any name, by way of distinguishing the eldest or the favourite son. Several cogent arguments favour this view. First, it can almost always be proved, even from our present scanty

\* See a learned article on the *Kunje*, by Koscgarten, in the *Zeitschrift für das Morgenland*, i. 297, seq.; in which he has only neglected to insist sufficiently on the fact, that *abu* originally denoted the actual father of the son mentioned in the second member.

† We could more easily admit such a metaphorical sense in the compounds with *son*, since בֶּן is really often used in a highly metaphorical sense. Bathsheba is certainly not the daughter of a man named Shēba, 2 Sam. xi. 3. Such compound names with *son*, however, are, on the whole, rare, and are only found in some frequency in 1 Kings iv. 7, seq.

\* This *abi* was, without doubt, gradually shortened to *ab*, as is proved by אֲבִינֵר beside אֲבִינֵר, 1 Sam. xiv. 50, 2 Sam. ii. 8, and by many other examples. The further softening of this *ab* to *eb* is only possible when a *j* follows it, as אֲבִיתָר, 1 Sam. xxii. 20; אֲבִישָׁף, 1 Chron. vi. 8, 22, beside the older form אֲבִישָׁף, Exod. vi. 24.

† For instance, Gesenius in his *Thesaurus*.



documents, that the second member of such compound names was also used, by itself, as a proper name, as *Dân* beside *Abidân*, Num. i. 11; *Ezer*, 1 Chron. vii. 21, Neh. iii. 19, beside *Abiezzer*; *Asaph* beside *Abiasaph* or *Ebjasaph*; *Nadab*, Exod. vi. 23, beside *Abinadab*; *Nâam* or *Nôam*, 1 Chron. iv. 15, beside *Abinoam*; *Jathar* or *Jether*, a very common name, beside *Ebjathar*; nay, they are even found in the same family, as *Abiner* or *Abner*, the son of *Ner*, 1 Sam. xiv. 50, 2 Sam. ii. 8. Moreover, this explains how other words of relationship are prefixed in the same way; the latter member is always a word which was originally a proper name, which is only multiplied by means of these little prefixes, and in which we indeed no longer discern why *father* is the word prefixed in one instance, and *brother* that in another. *Achi*, i.e., 'brother,' is often prefixed in this manner; thus, the one was called *Râm*, 1 Chron. ii. 9, 25, 27, Ruth iv. 19; the other *Abirâm*, Num. xvi. 1; and the third *Achirâm*, Num. xxvi. 38. *Achinoam*, *Achiezer*, and others of this sort, are easily accounted for. *Chamu*, i.e., 'brother-in-law,' is rarely so used; as *Chamutal* or *Chamital*, 2 Kings xxiv. 18, Jer. lii. 1; beside *Abital*, 2 Sam. iii. 4. Under this class we may also include *אִישׁ*, 'man,' with which several names are compounded. As the Hebrews had a simple name, *Hûd* or *Hôd*, i.e., 'splendour' (cf. *Jehûdah*), 1 Chron. vii. 37, and an *Abihud*, 1 Chron. viii. 3, and *Achihud*, Num. xxxiv. 27, so also they formed an *Ischûd*, 1 Chron. vii. 18; as they had an *Abitûb* and *Achitob*, so also an *Ishtûb*, 2 Sam. x. 6; and as there was an ancient name *Chûr*, 'free,' who is mentioned in Exod. xvii. 10 as a friend of Moses, so *Ash-chûr*\* appears as a relative of the family of *Chûr*, 1 Chron. iv. 5, comp. ver. 1.

Another, but a smaller, class consists of names compounded with *עַם*, 'people,' resembling the many Greek compositions with *laos* and *ἄσος*; and just as in Greek *δημος* is placed first or last (Demosthenes, Aristodemos), so also *עַם* is at one time found in the first, and at another in the last place; only that, according to the laws of the Semitic language, the sense of one of these positions is exactly the reverse of the other. It is important, however, to remark here that in this, just as in the former class, one member is generally a word which is used by itself as a proper name; that here, therefore, instead of a reference to the

mere family, a wider regard to the whole people prevails, and an individual is considered with relation to his nation. Thus the common name *עַמִּינַדָב*, Exod. vi. 23, the German *Edelvolk*, i.e., one who belongs to the noble people, so that it answers to the Greek Aristodemos; *עַמִּיהוּד*, *Glanzvolk*, also a favourite name, which would be Phaidrodemos in Greek; on the contrary *יְהוֹרֵעַם*, 2 Sam. iii. 5, perhaps the German *Volkhart*, the Greek Demosthenes; *רַחֲבֵעַם*, *Volkbreit*; *יִרְקֵעַם*, *Volkgrün*, which occurs in 1 Chron. ii. 44 as the name of a place, but which must originally have been the name of the founder of that place. As all these compounds must be conceived to be in the state construct, so likewise we are probably to take the names *יִרְבֵּעַם*, properly 'people's increaser,' a suitable name for a prince, and *יִשְׂרָעֵם*, 'people's turner' or 'leader,' for, as was observed above, the simple names are often formed with a prefixed *jod*; and we actually find *יִשָּׁב* as a simple name, in Num. xxvi. 24, 1 Chron. vii. 1.

Most of the compound names, however, rather endeavour to express a religious sense, and therefore often contain the divine name. And here we at the same time find a new law of formation: as these compounds are intended to express a complete thought, such as the religious sentiment requires, a name may consist of an entire proposition with a verb, but of course in as brief a compass as possible; and indeed shorter compounds are made with a verb than with a passive participle, as *נָתַן אֱלֹהִים* (in the N. T. *Nathanaël*, properly 'God-gave,' i.e., whom God gave, given by God, Θεόδοτος or Θεόδωπος) sounds shorter than *נָתַן אֱלֹהִים* with the participle, which would certainly express the same sense. But as the finite verb, as also any other predicate, can just as well precede as follow, accordingly a great freedom in the position of the divine name has prevailed in this class; and this peculiarity is preserved, in the same case, in the following period: but indeed the Greeks use *Δωποθεός* as well as *Θεόδωπος*. Thus, *נָתַן אֱלֹהִים*, 1 Chron.

ii. 14, or *אֱלֹהִים נָתַן*, Jer. xxxvi. 12. The two names are then generally assigned to two different persons; nevertheless, both combinations may form names for the same person, as *עַמִּינַדָב*, 1 Chron. iii. 5, and *אֱלֵיעָם*, 2 Sam. xi. 3, belong to the same individual. Now, as compound names evidently became very general, it is not surprising that, in the infinite multiplication of names to correspond with the infinite multitude of persons, some proper names were at length formed which solely consist of two names of God himself, expressing, as it were, the ineffably holy name to which the person dedicates himself,\* as *Abiel* and *Eliab*, nay even

\* There is no doubt that this *ash*, as also *esh*, in *אֶשְׂבַּעַל*, 1 Chron. viii. 33, is an abbreviation of *esh*. No words are more liable to such gradual shortenings than proper names, especially those of longer compass. Even *Abi*, above explained, has been sometimes shortened to *i*, in consequence of its frequent use, as is shown by comparing *אִיעֹר*, which occurs twice in Num. xxvi. 30, with the *Abiezzer* of Josh. xvii. 2, Judg. vi. 11; and we must explain the few other names of this kind in the same way, such as *אִיתָמָר*, Exod. vi. 22; *אִיזָבָל*, 1 Kings xvi. 31; and *אִיקָבֹד*, 1 Sam. iv. 21. In the last passage there is an allusion to the sense *without*, which *אִי* considered *per se* may express; but the only conclusion from this is, that this sound had already, in some names, suffered that change constantly.

\* Names of this sort are found among all nations. We may briefly mention that there are persons with the Latin name *Salvator*, with the German ones *Heiland*, *Herrgott*, and that a well-known Dutch orientalist was called *Louis de Dieu*. The impious Seleucidæ took the name *Theos* for a different reason.

*Eliel*, 1 Chron. v. 24, viii. 20, 2 Chron. xxxi. 13. A very important question, however, still remains: what divine names were thus used in the earliest times until Moses? We find that *El* was then the commonest, and *Shaddai* less frequent; the latter is only found in *צור־ישׁת*, 'rock of the Almighty,' Num. i. 6, ii. 12,\* and *עמי־שׁת*, 'people of the Almighty,' ver. 12; still more rarely is *צור*, 'rock,' itself used as a divine name, as *פרה־צור*, Num. i. 10, which is almost equivalent to *פרה־אל*, 'God redeems.' If we now consider that, according to the ancient testimony in Exod. vi. 3, the name *Jahve* (*Jehovah*) was not known then, but that the only other name of God which existed, beside the common *El* and *Elohim*, was the rarer and more awful *Shaddai*, these historical traces which are discovered in proper names, accord most perfectly with that statement, and furnish a very welcome confirmation of it.

On reviewing this whole system of forming compound names, it is evident that they at length became very common, as if their sounding pomp was considered more dignified and attractive; nevertheless, their chief tendency was to express the three great and most comprehensive relations in which a man can stand: namely *Home*, *People*, and *God*. The original luxuriance of all language again gathered itself together in names, as in a fruitful soil; and accordingly there were times, even within the historical period, in which the primitive energies of all language were so busily active even in this apparently barren province, that (since all possible combinations were attempted in order to make an infinitude of names for the infinite number of persons) such names also were devised as, at first hearing, were surprising, as *אבי־הוא*, properly 'self-father,' *אלי־הוא*, 'self-god,' *αὐτὸθεός*, a name which may be old, as it is only now found in the book of Job. And if we compare this Hebrew mode of forming compound names with that of the Greeks and Arabs, as the more familiar examples, we find this remarkable result, although it harmonises with many other phenomena; namely, that it is essentially more like the Greek than the Arab mode; only that the Greeks allude more frequently, in their names, to the *people*, which is characteristic of the whole of Greek life; while the Arabs, who always had families only, but never were a nation, never allude to the *people*, and do not, in composition, possess so great freedom in the position and juncture of words.

3. Lastly, many proper names have assumed the derivative syllable *-el*, or *ai* (which appears to be only dialectically different from *-el*, and is chiefly frequent in the later periods); and we must cer-

\* That is, 'who seeks protection in the Almighty,' like *Διοκράτης*. It is desirable to confine the force of the *-el*, as much as possible, to that of a mere vowel of union, because the uniformity of the other structures of names requires it. There is no doubt, however, that in later times, as this union-vowel became lost to the common language, it was taken as the suffix of the first person, as is shown by the newly-coined poetical name, *איתי־אל*, 'With-me-is-God,' Prov. xxx. 1. But this is not the force of it originally.

tainly consider that, in some cases, this syllable may possibly form mere adjectives, and therewith simple names, as *אמת־י*, 'truemans,' from *אמת*, 'truth,' and *Barzillai*, 'Iron,' or 'Ironman,' the name of a celebrated Gileadite family, Ezra ii. 61; 2 Sam. xvii. 27; or that it is derived from a place, as *באר־י*, Hos. i. 1; 1 Chron. vii. 36, 'he of the well,' or, he of a place known as the well. But it undoubtedly very often also expresses a genealogical relation, like the Greek ending *-ides*, and presupposes a previous proper name from which it is derived; thus the name *הנרי־י*, 1 Chron. v. 14, as surely presupposes the above-mentioned *Chûr*, as the Greek Philippiades does Philippos, and as *Ketûbai*, 1 Chron. ii. 9, one of the descendants of Judah, is connected with the *Ketûb* in iv. 11.\*

Among the names of women, the oldest as well as the simplest which are found, are actually only suited for women, as *Rachel*, 'Ewe'; *Deborah*, 'Bee'; *Tamar*, 'Palm-tree'; *Hannah*, 'Favour,' the mother of Samuel. Those which express such a delicate and endearing sense as *Qeren Happak*, 'box of eye-ointment,' Job xlii. 14, and *חפצי־בה*, 'my delight is in her,' 2 Kings xxi. 1, betray that they were formed in much later times; for, although the first occurs in the book of Job, which sedulously retains all archaisms, it nevertheless belongs to the same date as the latter. It appears indeed to have been customary, at an early period, to form names for women from those of men, by means of the feminine termination; as *חנית*, 2 Sam. iii. 4, beside *חני*, Num. xxvi. 15; *מושל־מות*, i. e., *Pia*, 2 Kings xxi. 19, beside *מושלם*, *Pius*, 1 Chron. v. 13, viii. 17, and *שלמי־ת*, *Friederike*, Lev. xxiv. 11, beside *שלמה*, *Friederich*. But we must not overlook the fact that all these are instances of simple names:† no single example occurs from a compound man's name. As the same compound names, however, are sometimes used both for men and women, and as even those very names are applied to women, which could not originally have been applicable to any but men—as *Abigail*, *Achinoam*—accordingly we must assume that the plastic power of the language had already exhausted itself in this remote province, and that, for that reason, the distinction of the feminine was omitted; almost in the same way as Sanscrit and Greek adjectives of the form *εὐδαίμων*, *εὐτυχής*, are not able to distinguish the feminine in form.

II. This is the whole principle which regulates the formation of Hebrew names, both as it manifests itself in the earliest times, and as it extends

\* It is remarkable that the genealogical relation appears to be sometimes expressed by the mere *ה* of motion, as *יעקב־ה*, 1 Chron. iv. 36, which would be equivalently expressed by a German name *Zu-Jacob*; *ישׁת־ה*, *De Israel*, 1 Chron. xxv. 14, cf. ver. 2; and most distinctly in *השׁבד־ה*, 'reckoned to Dan,' Neh. viii. 4; cf. *ישׁת־ה*, in 1 Chron. xxv. 4.

† Or of those also in which the *masculine* has already dropped the second member; for *Chanani* and *Zabdi*, as is shown below, are shortened from *Chananjah*, *Zabdijah*.



into the succeeding periods, in which it receives new impulses, and undergoes modifications of colour but not of substance.

For if we inquire what new element the Mosaic period introduced into names, we find that, on the whole, it is only the influence of the new religion which manifests itself in the strongest characters, and causes extraordinary innovations. It is not in the Psalms only and other books that we discover how deeply this religion affected men; we may also infer it from the names which became current in that period. Nay, it is only these words of common life which render it evident to our senses with what a power this religion penetrated all the depths of the national mind, and how zealously every man in Israel endeavoured 'to glory in the name of Jahve,' according to the words of the prophet: Is. xlv. 5; cf. Ps. cv. 3.

As the whole national life was renovated by so influential a new religion, the mode of giving names returned to its primitive state, since not only were new names created, but entire sentences, of the shortest compass, expressing the mighty thoughts which agitated the times, were also applied as names.\* Thus, especially in the times in which the Mosaic religion exercised a more vivid influence, names were formed of entire sentences, in which some of its most affecting truths are expressed, as **יְהוֹשֻׁב־חַסֵּד**, 'mercy is recompensed,' 1 Chron. iii.

20; **אֵלֵינוּ**, 'to-Jahve-are-mine-eyes' (as if it were derived from hymns like Ps. cxiii.), 1 Chron. iv. 36, vii. 8, viii. 20; † Ezra x. 22, 27; Neh. xii. 41; **הוֹדִיָּה**, 'praise-ye-Jah' (from well-known passages of the Psalms), 1 Chron. iii. 24; Ezra ii. 40; ‡ as a name of a woman, **הַצֶּלֶל־פָּנַי**, 'Give-shadow-thou-that-seest-me' (God), 1 Chron. iv. 3. But we seem to have the words of a great prophet distributed in names of several relations, when we find the words—

**בְּדַלְתֵּי וּרְכֻמּוֹתַי עֶזֶר**

**כְּלוּתֵי הוֹתִיר מַחֲיוֹת**

i. e., 'I have given great and exalted aid,  
Have spoken oracles in abundance'

(which evidently contain a verse such as an ancient prophecy might begin with), applied to the five musical sons of Hēman—*Giddalti* (ezer), *Romamtierzer*, *Mallōti*, *Hothir*, *Machaziot*; 1 Chron. xxv. 4, cf. ver. 26, 28-31. This is really a remarkable example. We also once find, in Is. vii., a particular representation of the mode in which such names as *Shedrajshub* and *Immanuel* arose in real life.

But it was chiefly only the name of God in this religion, Jahve, which was employed in the forma-

tion of names (in the same way as the earlier divine names were); and it is shortened, when it constitutes the last member of the name, to *-jahu*, or, still more, to *-jah*, and, when it is the first member, to *Jehō-*, or *Jo-*. In this usage it occurs with infinite frequency (the older name *Shaddai* becoming obsolete, and *El* alone continuing in use), while the other member of the name often retains the same form as in the primitive times, e. g., **נְרִיָּה**, like **נֵר**, and **אֲבִינֵר**. The mother of Moses, *Jokebed*,

Exod. vi. 20, is, according to all traces, the first whose name bears evidence of the worship of this God (which is an exceedingly important testimony to the truth of the whole history, but we cannot pursue the subject farther here); and it is a beautiful incident that Moses, with his own mouth, changed the name of his most valiant warrior, *Hoshēa*, i. e., 'Help!' into *Jehoshāa*, i. e., 'God-help'; as Mohammed, in like manner, gave some of his followers names conformable to his new religion.\*

The frequency of such compositions with the name of Jahve may be estimated by the abbreviations which sometimes become customary in such names. Thus **מִיכָיְהוּ**, or **מִיכָיָהוּ** (as it is occasionally pointed), is not only shortened to **מִיכָה**, Judg. xvii. 5, 9-13, cf. ver. 1, 4; 2 Chron.

xviii. 14, cf. ver. 7-13; in which manner we are also to explain the name of the well-known minor prophet. Thus also the common name for men and women, *Abijahu* or *Abija*, is once shortened to *Abi*, 2 Kings xviii. 2.† There are, however, two cases which are not to be confounded with these casual and gradual abbreviations. First, namely, we find the rare instance that a name which has been preserved unchanged, is nevertheless occasionally formed by dropping the syllable *Jo-* or *-jah*: as it is evident that **נָתַן** has been shortened from **נַתְנִיָּה** or **יֹנָתָן**; as likewise **מֹתָן**, 2 Kings xi. 18, from **מֹתְנִיָּה**; and **זָכָר**, 1 Chron.

viii. 31, from **זִכְרִיָּה**; because names which mean 'gave,' 'gift,' 'memory,' do not by themselves produce a suitable sense, and because they never are found with *Abi-*, *Achi-*, and such additions, nor can be traced back into the primitive times. We are therefore obliged, in this case, to assume that these names have been designedly shortened, in the effort to make as many different names as possible; and, as it is not uncommon for two brothers to receive similar names, this may be the immediate cause for the formation of a name *Nathan* beside *Nethanjah*.‡ Secondly, whenever a derivative in *-i* is formed, the addition *-jah*, or

\* Similar instances occurred in England in the seventeenth century.

† In this place we find **אֵלֵינוּ**, which the Masoretes point *Elēnai*; but this would not produce any sense, and a *l* has evidently been omitted. The Sept. reads *Ἐλωαλ*, which is right.

‡ The heavier pronunciation *Hodtejah* seems to be designedly preferred to *Hodūjah*, because *Hodūjah* would easily pass over into *Hodijjah*, which would give a different sense. There is only one other similar example, **יִשְׁשִׁיָּה**, 1 Chron. xi. 46, the meaning of which is obscure.

\* Weil, in his *Leben Muhammads* (Stuttgart, 1843, p. 344), treats this subject too briefly. El-navavi discusses it more at length in the preface to his *Tahāsib elasmāi*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 15.

† In like manner, **פִּלְטִי**, 1 Sam. xxv. 44, is an abbreviation of **פִּלְטִיָּה**, 2 Sam. iii. 15.

‡ This case occurs in the same way among the Arabs (of which *Hasan* and *Husain*, the sons of Ali, are the readiest example) as among the Hebrews (cf. *Geschichte des Volks Israel*, i. 321). Instances like *Uzziel* and *Uzzi*, 1 Chron. vii. 7,

even *Jo-* at the beginning, disappears; and in this case also we find *חַנְיָה* (although it is equivalent to the patronymic *Chananiades*), beside *חַנְיָה*, as the name of his brother; 1 Chron. xxv. 4, 23, 25.

III. This is the type and fashion of the names as late as the times after the first destruction of Jerusalem. The influence of the dispersion among foreign nations may, indeed, be immediately traced in the new names which allude to the captivity, as the name of *Zerubbabel* himself, which is a contraction of *זְרֻבְבָּל*, means 'scattered to Babylon.'

Yet this foreign influence is but transient; and in the centuries immediately succeeding the Exile, in which the last books of the O. T. were written, we find, on the contrary, that the ancient mode of giving names is preserved almost unchanged.

In this respect, however, there is a total difference in the times between the close of the Old and the beginning of the N. T. For after a purely learned study of the O. T. had sprung up, and the whole nation only continued to exist in its sacred books, they delighted to give their children the ancient Scriptural names; nay, they sought out such names as had only been common in the times before Moses, and had become obsolete in the long interval: names like *Jacob*, *Joseph*, *Maria*. But while these dead names were revived and zealously sought out, the capability for forming new names became gradually weaker. And, as the love of novelty still operated, and as the people lost their independence more and more, many foreign names became favourites, and were used equally with the old Biblical names. In this manner the form of names had, by the time of the N. T., reached a state of development which nearly resembles that prevalent among ourselves.

Lastly, with regard to the Biblical names of individuals belonging to the less eminent nations with which the Israelites were surrounded—such as the Edomites, Phœnicians, Damascenes, etc.—their formation indeed is generally very like that of the Hebrew names, inasmuch as all these nations spoke a Semitic language; but the materials of which they are formed are so different, that one can almost recognise these foreign nations by their mere names. Thus names like *Hadad*, *Ben-hadad*, *Hadad-ezer*, are quite strange to the Israelites, and refer to the tribes to the east of Palestine, where a god named Hadad was worshipped.—H. v. E.

NANEA (*Navala*) occurs 2 Maccab. i. 13 as the name of the goddess to whom the temple in Elymais, which Antiochus Epiphanes attempted to plunder, was dedicated. Antiochus having heard that this temple was greatly enriched with golden shields, and breastplates, and weapons, which 'Alexander, the son of Philip,' had dedicated to the goddess, his cupidity was excited, and he sought to possess himself of all this treasure. He was, however, stoutly resisted and driven off by the priests, who raised the people *en masse* against him, and was thus baulked of his prey (1 Maccab. vi. 1-6; 2 Maccab. i. 13-15). The Persian goddess Nanea, whose name, however, is variously

written as *'Avaitis*, *'Avala*, *'Avaitis*, etc., seems to have been the moon-goddess worshipped by different nations under different names. Josephus, and also Polybius, from whom he quotes, calls her *'Apreus*, or *Diana* (*Antiq.* xii. 9. 1).

Stuart thinks that here the words of Daniel respecting Antiochus are illustrated and fulfilled: 'He will have no respect to the *delight of women*,' *חֲמֹדֵי נָשִׁים*, by which phrase he supposes the goddess of the temple of Elymais to be intended. 'This female deity,' he adds, 'under different names, was worshipped in Africa, Syria, Phœnicia, Cyprus, Greece, Rome, Babylonia, Persia, and other countries. The Mylitta (=Heb. מוֹלֶרֶת, *generatrix*) of the East was the Venus of the West, the Neith of Egypt, the Astarte of the Syrians, the Anais or Anaitis of the Armenians; all uniting in the worship of the power which represented maternal productiveness. . . . Antiochus, it seems, paid little or no regard to this idol.' Stuart then refers to the attempted plunder of the temple of this goddess, and adds that Nanea seems to him an appellation 'formed from Anaitis by vulgar pronunciation,' *Com. on Dan.* ii. 39, pp. 353, 354. Winer identifies Nanea with *Meni*, *Realwörterbuch*, art. *Meni*. The narrative in 2 Maccab. i. 13-15 differs in some particulars from that in 1 Maccab. vi. 1-6; but the sacrilege mentioned in 2 Maccab. ix. 12 must, if historical, relate to a wholly different transaction, as the scene of it is Persepolis, not Elymais.—I. J.

NAOMI (נְעֻמִי, from נָעַם, *to be pleasant*; Sept. Νωεμῖν; Alex. Νοομῆν), wife of Elimelech of Bethlehem, and mother-in-law of Ruth, in whose history hers is involved [RUTH].

NAPHISH\* (נַפִּישׁ, 'refreshment'; *Naphés*; *Ναφισάτοι*; *Naphis*), a son of Ishmael, and the name of the tribe and nation which sprang from him (Gen. xxv. 15). Naphish, in the three passages in which the name occurs, is grouped with Jetur (1 Chron. i. 31; v. 19). Jetur was unquestionably identical with the Greek *Iturea* and modern *Jedür*; a small province situated at the eastern base of Hermon, and bordering on Damascus and Bashan. The story of the conquests of the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh, east of the Jordan, given in 1 Chron. v. 18-23, throws some light on the territory then occupied by the tribe of Naphish, and upon their habits. Jetur and Naphish were then allies, and apparently dwelt together. The Israelites conquered them, and took from them 50,000 camels, 250,000 sheep, and 2000 asses. They were manifestly a pastoral people, like the great modern tribes of the Anezeah, some of which have flocks and herds equally numerous. Then, having conquered the people and captured their cattle, we are told that 'the children of the half-tribe of Manasseh dwell in the land: they increased from Bashan unto Baal-Hermon, and Senir, and unto Mount Hermon.' From this it may be concluded that the people of Naphish had a settled home situated between the range of Hermon and Bashan, that is, along the eastern declivities of the mountains. Like all nomads, and semi-nomads, how-

belong altogether to this rule; as also *fishvah* and *fishvi* (with the derivative syllable), Gen. xlv. 17. Father and son also, for the same reason, bear names of similar sound.

\* This name is written *Nephish* in 1 Chron. v. 19, though the Hebrew is the same as in the other two passages in which the word occurs.



ever, they pastured their flocks over a much wider region, running out, doubtless, across Argob and Bashan to the *Midbar*, or 'pasture land' of Arabia. The name Naphish has altogether disappeared. There is no trace of it even in the earliest Arab writers, nor in the Greek and Roman geographers. It is probable that the tribe was amalgamated with others, and thus embraced under a common name, just as subdivisions of the Anezeh are now. Ptolemy mentions an Arab tribe called *Agræi*, as inhabiting northern Arabia (*Geogr.* vi. 19). This word is doubtless a Greek corruption of *Hagar*, the name generally given by Arab writers to the descendants of Ishmael. Ptolemy places the *Agræi* between Bashan and Mesopotamia (Forster, *Geogr. of Arabia*, i. 312). After the defeat of the Naphishites by the Israelites, the former probably retired to the fastnesses of the desert, as is common at the present day with border tribes; and there they became mixed up with their more powerful brethren, and thus lost their historical individuality.—J. L. P.

NAPHTALI (נַפְתָּלִי; Νεφθαλει; Νεφθαλι; and Νεφθαλεμ; *Nephthali*), a son of Jacob by Bilhah, Rachel's maid. The origin of the name is thus explained, 'And Rachel said, With wrestlings of God have I wrestled (נִפְתַּלְתִּי אֱלֹהִים נַפְתָּלִי) with my sister; and I have prevailed; and she called his name *Naphthali*' ('my wrestling'). Both the Septuagint and Latin versions mistake the meaning, and spoil the force of this passage (Gen. xxx. 8). Onkelos and the Syriac version represent Rachel as having entreated God by prayer, and this seems to be the correct idea (see Kalisch, *ad loc.*) Naphthali was Jacob's sixth son, and Bilhah's second. We know nothing of his character or personal history, as up till the time of Jacob's blessing the twelve patriarchs his name is only mentioned in two public lists (Gen. xxxv. 25; xlv. 24). When Israel went down to Egypt Naphthali had four sons (Gen. xlv. 24; 1 Chron. vii. 13).

The blessing pronounced by Jacob upon Naphthali was very short; but the language is obscure, and its interpretation has occasioned considerable controversy. In the English version it reads thus, 'Naphthali is a hind let loose; he giveth goodly words' (Gen. xlix. 21). This is not very intelligible; but is the literal rendering of the Masoretic text. The Septuagint translates the first clause Νεφθαλει στελεχος ανεμεινον, 'Naphthali is a wide-spread tree.' The translators must either have had before them, or they must have invented, a different pointing of the Hebrew text (נִפְתָּלִי instead of נִפְתָּלִי). The former equivalent to אֵיל or אֶלֶן, signifies 'a strong tree,' *arbor robusta*; but especially an 'oak' or 'terebinth.' Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, p. 47). The second clause is made to correspond, ἐπιδοῦν ἐν τῷ γεννήματι κάλλος, 'putting forth in its fruit beauty,' or 'giving forth goodly boughs.' Here the pointing must have been different from the Masoretic. Instead of אִמְרֵי, 'words,' they read אִמְרֵי, 'shoots' or 'leaves.' This view has been substantially adopted by Bochart and many modern commentators. Bochart examines the text minutely, and translates, '*Nephthali est ut arbor succulosa, edens ramos pulchritudinis*,' id est, 'egregius et speciosus'; 'Naphthali is a spreading tree, pro-

ducing beautiful branches' (Bochart, *Opera*, ii. 895, seq.; cf. Ewald, *Geschichte*, ii. 380; Stanley, *S. and P.*, p. 355; Clarke, *ad loc.*) Doubtless this would be a literal translation if the text were pointed as shown above; but the Masoretic text will not bear it. The only reasons for the change are, that it gives a better sense, and it seems to accord more with Moses' blessing in Deut. xxxiii. 23. The great fruitfulness of the tribe would thus be indicated, and the nature of the country they were to occupy. This translation, however, is opposed to the Masoretic text, and to the interpretations of the best Jewish writers (Bochart, *l. c.*) The present reading, too, when thoughtfully considered, is as appropriate as the other. This, like the other blessings of the patriarch, was intended to shadow forth under poetic imagery the future character and history of the tribe. 'Naphthali is a hind let loose,' or 'a graceful hind'—timid and distrustful of its own powers, swift of foot to elude its enemies; but when brought to bay, fierce and strong to defend its life. These were the qualities shown by Naphthali. They left several of their cities in the hands of the Canaanites (Judg. i. 33); they had not confidence to fight alone, but when assailed they made a noble defence (Judg. v. 18), and united with others in pursuit of a flying foe (vi. 35). Their want of self-confidence was chiefly shown in the case of Barak; and then, too, they displayed in the end heroic devotion and unwearied alacrity. 'He (that is, Naphthali, the mas. הַנִּפְתָּלִי proves this)

giveth goodly words.' The tribe was to be famous for the beauty of its language. It probably possessed poets and writers whose names have not come down to us. We have one noble ode ascribed in part at least to a Naphthalite (Judg. v. 1. See Kalisch *On Gen.* xlix. 21).

During the sojourn in Egypt Naphthali increased with wonderful rapidity. Four sons went down with their father and Jacob; and at the Exodus the adult males numbered 53,400 (Num. i. 43). That number decreased considerably during the wilderness journey; for, when the census was taken at the arrival of the Israelites on the plains of Moab, the adult males of Naphthali only amounted to 45,400 (Num. xxvi. 50).

Jacob's blessing had special reference to the character and achievements of the tribe; that of Moses to the nature of their territory—'*O Naphthali, satisfied with favour, and full with the blessing of the Lord: possess thou the west and the south*' (Deut. xxx. 23). A more literal and more accurate rendering of the Hebrew would be, 'Naphthali, replete with favours, and full of the blessings of Jehovah; possess thou the sea and Darom.' The word יָם, *Yam*, which in the A. V. is translated 'west,' evidently means 'the sea;' that is, the Sea of Galilee, which lay in part within the territory of Naphthali. And the Hebrew term דָּרוֹם,

*Darom* ('a circuit,' from the root דָּוָר=Arab. دَوَّر, 'to go round;' see Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, s.v.), is most probably a proper name equivalent to *Galil* ('a circuit'), or Galilee, the name given in Josh. xx. 7, xxi. 32, and elsewhere, to a district amid the mountains of Naphthali [GALILEE], and of which Darom may have been the older appellation. 'The sea and Darom' would thus signify the region by the Lake of Galilee, and the mountains to the north of it. The rendering in the A. V.

is unintelligible. Both the LXX. and Vulgate render נַי 'the sea' (see also the Chaldee, Rabbi Salomon, Bochart, Ainsworth, Montanus, and others).

The possessions allotted to Naphtali are described in Josh. xix. 32-39. They lay at the north-eastern angle of Palestine. On the east they were bounded by the Jordan and the lakes of Merom and Galilee; on the south by Zebulun; on the west by Asher; and on the north apparently by the river Leontes. Hammath was one of its cities, and it has been satisfactorily identified with the ruins around the warm springs a mile south of Tiberias. Consequently, to Naphtali belonged nearly the whole western shore of the Sea of Galilee [HAMMATH]. Naphtali possessed a greater variety of soil, scenery, and climate, than any of the other tribes. Its northern portions are the highlands of Palestine. The sublime ravine of the Leontes separates its mountains from the chain of Lebanon, of which, however, they may be regarded as a prolongation. The scenery is here rich and beautiful. The summit of the range is broad, presenting an expanse of undulating table-land, ornamented with broad belts and irregular clumps of evergreen oak, and having here and there little upland plains, covered with verdure, and bordered with thickets of arbutus and hawthorn. In the centre of this park-like region lie the ruins of the sanctuary of the tribe, the northern city of refuge, Kedesh-Naphtali. The ridge rises gradually towards the south, and culminates at Safed, which has an elevation of nearly 3000 feet. Two other peaks, a few miles westward, are 1000 feet higher, and are the loftiest points in Western Palestine (see Van de Velde, *Memoir*, p. 177). On the western brow of the ridge the tribes of Asher and Naphtali joined, the former having allotted to it the western slopes and narrow plain of Phœnicia (Josh. xix. 24-30). On the east, the mountains of Naphtali break abruptly down in grey cliffs and wooded slopes into the rich valley of the Jordan. On the north brow of these slopes stands the massive castle of Hunin, probably the ancient Beth-Rehob; and twelve miles south of it, commanding the waters of Merom, are the ruins of Kasyûn, which may perhaps mark the site of the capital of the northern Canaanites—Hazor. The Jordan valley, though soft, and in places marshy, is extremely fertile. Here the people of Sidon established at an early period an agricultural colony to supply their city with grain and fruits. The region, or 'circuit,' around Kedesh was anciently called *Galil*, a name subsequently extended to the whole of Northern Palestine; and as a large number of foreigners settled among the mountains—descendants of the Canaanites, and others from Phœnicia and Syria—it was called 'Galilee of the Gentiles' [GALILEE].

The southern section of Naphtali was the garden of Palestine. The little plains along the shore of the Sea of Galilee, and the vales that run up into the mountains, are of unrivalled fertility. Josephus described the plain on the shore of the lake, then called Gennesaret, as an earthly paradise, where the choicest fruits grew luxuriantly, and where eternal spring reigned. His words were not much exaggerated; for now, though more a wilderness than a paradise, its surpassing richness is apparent. The shore is lined with a wide border of oleander; behind this is a tangled thicket of the lote tree;

and here and there are clumps of dwarf palms. The plain beyond, except the few spots cultivated, is covered with gigantic thistles (Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* iii. 3. 2; and 10. 8; Robinson, *B. R.*, ii. 402).

In this description of the territory of Naphtali the reader will see the best commentary on the words of Moses, 'O Naphtali, satisfied with favour, and full with the blessings of the Lord; possess thou the sea and Darom.'

Naphtali on account of its position was in a great measure isolated from the Israelitish kingdoms. Nominally subject to Samaria, it was separated from it by the plain of Esdraelon, over which so often swept the devastating hordes of the 'Children of the East,' and the powerful armies of Syria. The usual route of the Syrian expeditions was along the east base of Hermon, and across the Jordan at Jacob's bridge. The Naphtalites in their mountain fastnesses thus escaped their devastations. But whenever the enemy marched through the valley of Coele Syria, then Naphtali bore the first brunt of the onset; and its chief cities, Ijon, Abel, Kadesb, and Hazor, were the first that fell (1 Kings xv. 20; 2 Chron. xvi. 4). Naphtali also was the first tribe captured by the Assyrians under Tiglath-pileser (2 Kings xv. 29). After the captivity the Israelites again settled largely in Naphtali, and its southern section became the most densely populated district in Palestine. It became the principal scene also of our Lord's public labours. After his brethren at Nazareth rejected and sought to kill him, he 'came down' (Luke iv. 31) from the uplands and dwelt in 'Capernaum, which is upon the sea-coast, in the borders of Zabulon and Nephthalim' (Matt. iv. 13). The new capital of Galilee had recently been built by Antipas, and called after the emperor, *Tiberias*. Other towns—Magdala, Capernaum, Chorazin, the two Bethsaidas—dotted the shore, which teemed with life and industry. Vast multitudes followed Jesus wherever he went (Mark ii. 1-12; Matt. xiii. 1-23, etc.) The greater number of his beautiful parables were spoken here; and it was the scene of most of his miracles (*Handbook*, pp. 430, 431). Then the words of Isaiah were fulfilled as they are quoted and applied by Matthew (iv. 15, 16):—'The land of Zabulon, and the land of Nephthalim, the region of the sea' (that is, 'of the Sea of Galilee; the same district called 'the sea' in Deut. xxxiii. 23), Peræa (the proper name of the country beyond Jordan), *Galilee of the Gentiles* (called 'Darom' in Deut. xxxiii. 23):—the people which sat in darkness saw great light; and to them which sat in the region and shadow of death light is sprung up.'

Naphtali is now almost a desert. A mournful silence reigns along the shores of the Sea of Galilee. There are still a few populous villages among the mountains; but Safet and Tiberias are the only places of any importance within the boundaries of the tribe, and they are fast falling to ruin.

Descriptions of this region may be found in the following works:—*Handbook*, pp. 424-445; Robinson, *B. R.*, ii. 396-442; iii. 360-373; Van de Velde, i. 168-183; Stanley, 369-383.—J. L. P.

#### NAPHTALIM. [NAPHTALI.]

NAPHTHAR (נַפְתָּר). According to a legend preserved in 2 Maccab. i., the Jews on the return from Babylon found in the pit in which the sacred fire had been hidden when the temple was de-



stroyed, a viscous liquid which, when poured over the sacrifice and the wood, was kindled by the sun's rays and burnt with a strong and bright flame. To this 'thick water' Nehemiah gave the name of *Naphthar* or *Nephthar* (ver. 32-36). The similarity of the name and the quality of the substance, lead naturally to the conclusion that it was akin to, if not identical with, the naphtha of modern commerce. A difficulty arises from the statement by the writer that 'naphthar' means *purification* (καθαρισμός); but probably this arose from his connecting the name with פֶּטֶר, to let go free, or the Aram. פֶּטֶר, unleavened (see Grim, *Exeget. Hdb. z. Apocr.*, in loc.)—W. L. A.

**NAPHTUHIM** (נַפְתֻּחִים; Νεφθαίμ; *Neph-tuim*), one of the sons of Mizraim, the second son of Ham (Gen. x. 13; 1 Chron. i. 11). The name is only mentioned in the two great genealogical tables of ancient nations given in the Bible. Mizraim was unquestionably the founder of the Egyptian nation, and consequently we must look for the Naphtuhim in that country. The word *Naphtuhim* is a plural form; and we may therefore infer that the sacred writer in using it had special reference to the nation or tribe which sprung from *Naphtuh*. According to Plutarch, the Egyptians gave the name *Nephthus* (Νέφθους) to the extremities or boundaries of the country along the rocky seaboard, supposed to be under the protection of the goddess *Nephthys*, wife of Typhon. And Bochart says this name was given to one of two places.—1. To the coast of the Red Sea; or, 2. To the coast of the Mediterranean, near the western side of the Delta (Bochart, *Opera*, i. 279, seq.) He argues that the latter is the true site, and that Naphtuhim may be identified with the 'shrine of Aptuchus' (Ἀπτούχου ἱερὸν) mentioned by Ptolemy (*Id.* 283). It appears more probable, however, to identify the Naphtuhim with the city of *Naphata* or *Napata*, the capital of an ancient Ethiopian kingdom, and one of the most splendid cities in Africa (Strabo, xvii., p. 820; Pliny, *H. N.* vi. 35; Ptolemy, iv. 7). Strabo states that Napata was the royal seat of Queen Candace, a fact which may connect one of the most ancient tribes of the Old Testament with an incident in apostolic history (Acts viii. 27). The city and its territory lay upon the southern frontier of Mizraim, at the great bend of the Nile in Soudan, and having the desert of Bahiuda on the south. The ruins of the city on the banks of the river are extensive and splendid, consisting of pyramids, temples, sphinxes, and sculptures. The modern name is *Meroe* or *Merrawe*; though some geographers do not adopt this view (Ritter, *Erdkunde*, i. 591). The connection of this city with Egypt is shown by the character of its ruins. There is a temple of Osiris and another of Ammon; and there is a necropolis on whose gateway Osiris is figured receiving gifts as the god of the lower world. Two lions of red granite of beautiful workmanship were found here, and brought to England by Lord Prudhoe, now Duke of Northumberland. They are at present in the British Museum (Hoskins, *Travels*, pp. 161, 288; Layard, *Nin. and Babylon*, p. 157; Kalisch *On Genesis*, p. 265; Smith's *Dict. of G. and R. Geography*, ii. 396).—J. L. P.

**NARCISSUS** (Νάρκισσος), a person of Rome, apparently of some consequence, to the believers of

whose household St. Paul sent his greetings (Rom. xvi. 11). Some have supposed this person the same Narcissus who was the freedman and favourite of the Emperor Claudius (Suet. *Claud.* 28; Tacit. *Annal.* xii. 17); but the date of this person's death (A.D. 54-55) excludes this supposition.

**NASOR**, THE PLAIN OF (τὸ πεδῖον Νασώρ), the scene of an engagement between Jonathan Maccabæus and Demetrius (1 Maccab. xi. 67). Josephus gives the name as Ἀσώρ, and this is the reading of the Syr., Vulg., and several codices. In all probability this is the correct reading, *Νασώρ* being a mistake caused by repeating the final ν of the word preceding Ἀσώρ. As the plain was between Kadesh Naphthali and the lake of Gennesareth, there can be little doubt that it is identical with the Hazor of the canonical books.—W. L. A.

**NATAF** (נַטַף) occurs only once in Scripture, and is translated 'stacte' in the A. V. (Exod. xxx. 34, 35). *Nataf* has been variously translated—*balsam*, *liquid styrax*, *benzoin*, *costus*, *mastic*, *bdellium*. Celsius is of opinion that it means the purest kind of myrrh, called *stacte* by the Greeks [MOR]. He adduces Pliny as saying of the myrrh-trees, 'Sudant sponte stacten dictam,' and remarks, 'Ebræis נַטַף *Nathaf* est stillare'—adding, as an argument, that if you do not translate it myrrh in this place, you will exclude myrrh altogether from the sacred perfume. But Rosenmüller says, 'This, however, would not be suited for the preparation of the perfume, and it also has another Hebrew name, for it is called *mor deror*. But the Greeks also called *stakte* a species of Storax gum, which Dioscorides describes as transparent like a tear and resembling myrrh. This agrees well with the Hebrew name.' But Storax does not appear to us to be more satisfactorily proved to be *nataf* than the former. The

Arabs apply the term نَاتِف to a sweetmeat composed of sugar, flour, and butter, in equal parts, with the addition of aromatics. We have no means of determining the question more accurately.—J. F. R.

**NATHAN** (נָתַן, *given*; Sept. Ναθαν). 1. A prophet of the time of David. When that monarch conceived the idea of building a temple to Jehovah, the design and motives seemed to Nathan so good that he ventured to approve of it without the Divine authority; but the night following he received the Divine command, which prevented the king from executing this great work (2 Sam. vii. 2, seq.; 1 Chron. xvii.). Nathan does not again appear in the sacred history, till he comes forward in the name of the Lord to reprove David, and to denounce dire punishment for his frightful crime in the matter of Uriah and Bathsheba. This he does by exciting the king's indignation, and leading him to condemn himself, by reciting to him the very striking parable of the traveller and the lamb. Then, changing the voice of a suppliant for that of a judge and a commissioned prophet, he exclaims, 'Thou art the man!' and proceeds to announce the evils which were to embitter the remainder of his reign (2 Sa m. xii. 1, seq.; comp. Ps. li.) The lamentations of the repentant king drew forth some mitigation of punishment; but the troubled history of the remainder of his reign shows how completely

God's righteous doom was fulfilled. The child conceived in adultery died; but when Bathsheba's second son was born, the prophet gave him the name of Jedidiah (*beloved of Jehovah*), although he is better known by that of Solomon (2 Sam. xii. 24, 25). He recognised in this young prince the successor of David; and it was in a great measure through his interposition that the design of Adonijah to seize the crown was unsuccessful (1 Kings i. 8, *seq.*) Nathan probably died soon after the accession of Solomon, for his name does not again historically occur. It is generally supposed that Solomon was brought up under his care. His sons occupied high places in this king's court (1 Kings iv. 5). He assisted David by his counsels when he re-organised the public worship (2 Chron. xxix. 25); and he composed annals of the times in which he lived (1 Chron. xxix. 29, 2 Chron. ix. 29); but these have not been preserved to us.

2. Son of David and Bathsheba (2 Sam. v. 14; 1 Chron. iii. 5, xiv. 4). His name appears in the genealogy of our Lord given by Luke (iii. 31). Through him the mother of Jesus derived her descent from David [GENEALOGY OF J. C.] It is not certain whether the Nathan referred to in Zech. xii. 12 be this Nathan or the preceding; but he is probably this one.

3. The father or brother of one of David's mighty men (2 Sam. xxiii. 36; 1 Chron. xi. 38). In the former passage he is said to be of Zobah, in Syria, from which place David had many of his warriors. This shows that it is not Nathan the prophet who is here referred to, for he was an Israelite.

4. One of the chief men who accompanied Ezra from Babylon, on his second ascent to Jerusalem; he was sent by Ezra as one of a deputation to the Jews at Casiphia to bring up ministers for the house of the Lord (Ezra viii. 15, ff.)

#### NATHAN B. JECHIEL B. ABRAHAM,

also called *Aruch* (ערך) or *Baal Ha-Aruch* (בעל הערוך), from the fact that he is the author of the celebrated lexicon denominated *Aruch*. This distinguished lexicographer was born in Rome about 1030, where, like his ancestors before him and his descendants after him, he was held in the highest veneration for his extraordinary learning, and where he died *circa* 1106. Though busily engaged in faithfully discharging the responsible duties devolving upon him as rabbi of the Jewish community in the eternal city, and in attending to the Hebrew academy of which he was the president, R. Nathan devoted all his spare time for the greater part of his life to the writing of that important lexicon which has obtained such a world-wide celebrity. From the words in the epilogue which R. Nathan himself appended to it רינום הושלם בשלישי בתשעה עשר) לירח נווה מנבוה דרוך, בשנת דתתקמ"א ליצירה לג ואלי לחברן בית קדש תהרוו, יח"ג ואלי למניין שטרות, *this lexicon was completed on Tuesday, the nineteenth day of the month on which the temple was destroyed by the despised one* (i. e., Ab = end of July), 4861 after the creation (= A.D. 1101), 1033 after the destruction of the burnt temple, 1413 of the Seleucian era), it will be seen that he finished this lexicon A.D. 1101. The lexicon is denominated *Aruch* (ערך) from ערך, *to arrange, to set in order*) i. e., *arrangement* of the words in alphabetical order, and ex-

tends over the Mishna, both the Gemaras, the Midrashim, and all the Chaldee paraphrases of the O. T. The importance of this work both to the understanding of the ancient expositions of the Bible and to the criticism of the text of the Chaldee paraphrases can hardly be overrated, inasmuch as R. Nathan, in explaining the words, embodied the interpretations of the ancient sages guaranteed by tradition, and adopted the ancient and correct readings. So comprehensive is this lexicon, and so highly was it appreciated, that it not only superseded and buried in oblivion a lexicon also called *Aruch*, compiled by Zemach b. Paltoi, who was gaon in Pumbedita A.D. 871-890, but simply left for his future supplementors to compile and rearrange the rich materials which R. Nathan amassed. In this, however, they did not always succeed.

Our space does not admit of our tracing the *Aruch* through the various additions and modifications to which it has been subjected, both whilst in MS. and since it was first printed in the end of the 15th century. After Samuel b. Jacob Gama (flor. 1160), Abraham Saccuto, Elias Levita, Menahem de Lonsano, Buxtorf, Mussafia, David Cohen di Lara, and others, it has of late years engaged the care of several learned scholars.

M. J. Landau, wishing to avail himself of all the labours of his predecessors, published an edition of R. Nathan's *Aruch* with Mussafia's supplement, with his own notes, in five volumes, entitled מערכ' לשון, or *Rabbinisch-aramäisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zur Kenntniss des Talmuds, der Targumim und Midraschim; mit Anmerkungen für Philologie, Geschichte, Archäologie, Geographie, Natur und Kunst*, Prague 1819-24, *ibid.* 1834-35, mixing up the subsequent labours with the text of the original work, for which he has justly been censured by the recondite Rapaport. At no time, however, have all the separate departments of the *Aruch* been so learnedly and efficiently handled as in modern days by Geiger, who, in his *Lehr- und Lesebuch zur Sprache der Mishna*, Breslau 1845, and Leopold Dukes, in his *Die Sprache der Mishna, lexicographisch und grammatisch betrachtet*, Esslingen 1846, confine themselves to the language of the Mishna; by David Loewy, who takes up the Hebrew

element of the post-biblical literature in his לשון חכמים, *Wörterbuch, enthaltend hebr. Wörter und Redensarten die sich im Talmud befinden*, two parts, Prague 1845-47; by Rapaport, who treats on the history, geography, archæology, etc., in his ספר ערך

מלון, Prague 1852; and by Sachs, who devotes himself to the foreign words and the antiquities, in his *Beiträge zur Sprach- und Alterthumsforschung*, two parts, Berlin 1852-54. It only remains to be added, that a convenient edition of the *Aruch*, with the supplement of Mussafia, De Lonsano, and Berlin (only first part of his), has been published by H. Sperling, under the title *Rabbinisch-aramäisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*, etc., Lemberg 1857; where, however, with the exception of the title-page, not a single word of German occurs in the whole work, though it is denominated *German* as well; that annotations to the *Aruch*, with emendations and critical notes by Reinon Lindermann, rabbi at Berlin, have just appeared, entitled *שירי בערכין*, Berlin 1864; and that it is absolutely necessary to attend to the various changes which the *Aruch* suffered in the process of time, as well as to possess



to find and easily the passages of the O. T. quoted in support of the Messiahship of Jesus of Nazareth, and by adding them to see what legitimate construction can be put on these passages in accordance with the context in which they occur. This concordance, to which R. Nathan devoted eight years of his life (1437-1445), and in which he adopted the plan of the Latin Concordance of Aitoff, general of the order of Miniores (*circa* 1290), first appeared with an elaborate introduction (פירוש ופתיחה) in Venice 1523, then again, with the introduction <sup>181</sup> \* It was translated into Latin by Renclimm, Basel 1556, and was inserted by the Miniores, Maria de Calasio, in his four-volume concordance, Rome 1602. R. Nathan's concordance is the basis both of Buxtorff's and First's concordances. Comp. Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Heb. in Bibliotheca Bodliana*, col. 1141-1143; First, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, iii. 22; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. viii., p. 160-163, Leipzig 1864.—C. D. G.

*Nabawiyah*), a person of Cana in Galilee, who when informed by Philip that the Messiah had appeared in the person of Jesus of Nazareth, asked

'Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?' But he nevertheless accepted Philip's laconic invitation, 'Come and see!' When Jesus saw him

coming, he said, 'Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile.' Astonished to hear this from a man to whom he supposed himself altogether

unknown, he asked, 'Whence knowest thou me?' And the answer, 'Before that Philip called thee, when thou wast under the fig-tree. I saw thee,

wrought such conviction on his mind that he at once exclaimed, 'Rabbi, thou art the Son of God; thou art the King of Israel!' (John 45-51).

is clear, from the effect, that Nathanael knew by this that Jesus was supernaturally acquainted with the disposition and character of the answer he

reference to the private acts of devotion, or to the  
his disposition and character, as the answer had  
meditations which filled his mind, when under the

ing-tree in his garden. It is questioned whether Jesus had actually seen Nathanael or not with his bodily eyes. It matters not to the result; but this

form of the words employed seems to suggest that he had actually noticed him when under the fig-tree, and had then cast a look through his inward

being. Passages from the Rabbinical books might be multiplied to show that the Jews were in the habit of studying the law and meditating on re-

ligious subjects under shady trees (comp. Tholuck, *Commentar zum Johan.* i. 49). It is believed that Nathanael is the same as the apostle Bar-

tholomew. All the disciples of John the Baptist named in the first chapter of St. John became apostles; and St. John does not name Bartho-

\* How the name! נָתַן, *Natthan*, Mordecai's name came to be on the title-page is a mystery which

has not as yet been solved. That the author's name was *Isaac* Nathan is beyond the shadow of a doubt. Jacob b. Chaitim, who carried through

the press the rabbinic Bible (1524-25) in Bomberg's printing establishment, where the concordance appeared only a few months previously.

tion, as the work of R. Isaac Nathan (1759-1845). Those therefore en-

who call the author *Mordcau*.

lomew, nor the other evangelists Nathanael, in the lists of the apostles (Matt. x. 3; Mark iii. 18; Luke vi. 14); besides, the name of Bartholomew always follows that of Philip; and it would appear that Bartholomew (son of Tholmai) is no more than a surname [BARTHOLOMEW].—J. K.

**NATIONS, DISPERSION OF.** The list of the descendants of Noah (Gen. x.) is the most important document extant of primitive geography and ethnology. The list itself indicates the geographical distribution of the Noachians, and enables us to trace the origin of most of the nations of the primæval civilised world. The narrative that follows the list relates the circumstances which led to the dispersion of the Noachians, and the genealogy of the line of Shem gives chronological data for fixing the time of this event (Gen. xi.) These subjects may be noticed in an inverted order, and the Confusion of Tongues with the philological aspect of the Dispersion will be only touched upon, its full discussion being reserved for a later article [TONGUES, CONFUSION OF].

1. *Date.*—It is not stated at what time after the Flood the Dispersion occurred. In the list of Noah's descendants, it is said of one of Eber's two sons, 'the name of one [was] Peleg (פֶּלֶג, 'division'); for in his days was the earth (or 'land')

divided' (נִפְלְגָה, Gen. x. 25). It has been generally supposed that Peleg was named from the division of the primæval world among the dispersed children of Noah. In favour of this view it may be urged—1. That this is the most natural explanation of the passage; 2. That in the list Peleg is in the lowest generation but one, and the lower generation is only noticed in the case of the children or descendants of one head, Peleg's brother Joktan; and 3. That mention is made in the Song of Moses of a division of the Gentiles, and a separation of the children of Adam, 'according to the number of the children of Israel' (Deut. xxxii. 8); where, though the root of Peleg is not used, there is notice of a division, and in addition the relation to the number of the children of Israel may point to the seventy-two (12 × 6) names that occur in the list, if we exclude Noah and his three sons. On the other hand, it has been observed that Peleg might have been named from the opening of a chasm in the earth. We think, however, the usual opinion the more probable.

Before inquiring when Peleg was named, it must be observed that there is good reason for holding the name to represent a person, not as many other names in the list may, a tribe or perhaps country. In the whole list of Shem's descendants, and especially in the line of Peleg, there is no positive reason for supposing other than persons to be intended. The name Peleg is suitable to a man. Joktan is mentioned after him as if a younger brother, and his name means 'little,' or 'younger' (comp. יָקָן).

Names have always been given very early in life; but among some nations they have been often supplanted by others given at a later age. With the Hebrews and Arabs, however, the usual custom seems to have been to maintain the birth-name. That name, though often implying a pious feeling of the parents, or descriptive of some quality, was

sometimes, and especially among the Arabs of the desert, suggested by some event occurring at the time of birth. Thus a child was called Kelb, 'Dog,' because a dog barked when he was born. The Bible shows us instances of the same principle in such names as Ichabod and Benoni. It is therefore very probable that the name Peleg would have been given to a child born when the division of the earth took place.

Supposing, therefore, that Peleg was named from a division connected with the Dispersion, it is necessary to state the data for computing two intervals. It cannot of course be decided whether the division was prior or subsequent to the Dispersion. The building of the Tower may have been in rebellion against the separation necessary before the appropriation of territories. The first interval, extending from the Flood to the birth of Peleg, would give about the period during which the descendants of Noah increased; the second, from the latter event to the departure of Abraham from Haran, would enable us to compute about the time of the Dispersion before the Christian era.

The interval from the Flood to the birth of Peleg is as follows, according to the various sources:—

Sept. with second Cainan . . .	531 years.
Id. without, and Sam. . . . .	401 „
Heb. . . . .	101 „

The interval from the birth of Peleg to the departure of Abraham from Haran is as follows:—

Sept. and Sam. . . . .	616 years.
Heb. . . . .	266 „

If, however, Ussher's supposition that Terah was 130 years old at the birth of Abraham be accepted, we must raise these numbers respectively to 676 and 326.

Let us now examine the data for the two intervals. If, with the majority of critics, we omit the second Cainan, we have to decide between the intervals 401 and 101, from the Flood to the birth of Peleg. Taking the shortest possible generations, and the largest possible increase of population, the latter interval is far too short. Even if we admit the possibility of a distinct non-Adamite population, we cannot suppose that the offspring of three pairs could in a century have formed the nuclei of nations or even tribes. But here a reasonable objection may be made, that the Septuagint (Cainan being rejected) gives no more generations than the Hebrew, so that in taking its longer interval, there is little or no gain, as we could not suppose that in the general population there were more than two generations in addition, while according to the Hebrew there could have been one. The reply to this is that we derive our only measure for the early patriarchal period from the stated lengths of generations, and that it is not unreasonable to suppose that the genealogy is broken, though a succession, and that a known period of years is divided between the remaining links. We prefer the Septuagint numbers on various grounds, and here, as elsewhere, we find them to agree with the seeming requirements of history.

With reference to the second interval, it must be remarked, that when Abraham entered Palestine and visited Egypt, we read of a settled population governed by kings, and subject to the attacks of distant enemies, the same condition as



that of later centuries. There were already in Palestine dwellers in cities and nomads, and the cities appear to have been abundant. Here again we prefer the longer interval, which, indeed, being accepted in one case must also be accepted in the other, although an independent reason is satisfactory as a confirmation.

The date of Abraham's departure from Haran is thus variously fixed by different chronologers:—

Hales . . . . .	2078
Jackson . . . . .	2023
Ussher . . . . .	1921
Petavius . . . . .	1961

The difference between the two extreme dates is therefore far less considerable than the difference between the lengths assigned to the two intervals preceding Abraham's departure from Haran. The theory which places the Exodus about B.C. 1320 would necessitate a lowering of these dates by 330 years or less, but some, if not most, of those who hold this theory suppose the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt to have lasted 430 years instead of 215, though they shorten the interval before the sojourn, and therefore there is a general agreement that Abraham left Haran between 2100 and 1900. It would occupy too much space were we here to state our reasons for preferring Hales's date, which we should correct by four years, to B.C. 2082. From this we should reckon the birth of Peleg B.C. 2698, or, accepting Ussher's supposition in the case of Terah's age at the birth of Abraham, B.C. 2758.

This result is in harmony with the evidence of the chronology of heathen nations. That of the Egyptians has been supposed by some to reach to a far higher date, but a study of the monuments in the country has convinced us, that the theories which place the beginning of the Egyptian monarchy at a date a thousand years before that we have supposed to be the most probable for the Dispersion, are not tenable. The evidence of the monuments does not allow the lapse of vast chasms of time between the great flourishing dynasties, those of the early Memphite monuments, the 12th, and the 18th. The most probable date of the accession of Menes, the first king, is in the 28th century B.C. The monuments of Babylonia and Assyria have not afforded any date anterior to the 23d century B.C. The monuments of no other nations give evidence of an antiquity approaching to this.

2. *Circumstances of the Dispersion.*—The narrative of the Dispersion begins with the remarkable statement:—'Now the whole earth was of one language, and of one speech. And it came to pass, as they journeyed from [or 'in'] the east, that they found a plain in the land of Shinar; and they dwelt there' (Gen. xi. 1, 2). The expressions 'language' (lip) and 'speech' (words) are too precise to be understood as indicating an agreement in purpose. The journeying together shows that the time spoken of was before the Noachians had ceased to be a single nation, and perhaps when they formed but a great tribe, and were journeying after the manner of the Arabs across the plains watered by the Tigris and Euphrates. Shinar cannot be doubted to be Babylonia. The name is indeed, perhaps, traceable in Mesopotamia in the modern Sinjâr, and it is noticeable that the ancient Egyptian transcription of Shinar is SANKAR.T, this k correspond-

ing to the Hebrew ש, as though the y had been pronounced like the Arabic ع. But there is no

evidence that the Hebrews called any country except Babylonia 'the land of Shinar.' The direction of the journey, if it be indicated as 'from the east,' probably would only mark the previous halting-place of the Noachians, not the place at which they first began to repeople the earth. The narrative then relates the attempt to build a city and a tower in order to prevent the scattering of mankind, and the punishment of the builders by the confusion of their language and their being scattered abroad from the unfinished city Babel, or Confusion. Leaving the subject of the Confusion of Tongues for later discussion [TONGUES, CONFUSION OF], we must observe the general agreement of profane historians as to the antiquity of Babylon, and the reminiscence of the Tower in the towers of the Babylonian temples. The Pyramids of Egypt and those of Mexico should be compared to these towers; and, in the case of the former, on account of their extreme antiquity, the comparison is very important.

The exact character of the scattering is difficult to infer. The cause, according to the ordinary explanation of the narrative, was the Confusion of Tongues, but some have supposed the latter to have been the consequence of the Dispersion. It is remarkable that, in the tenth chapter of Genesis, a division of the Gentiles is spoken of, as though the territories of existing nations of another stock had been portioned out among the children of Noah. It is said, after the enumeration of the sons of Japheth:—'By these the isles of the nations were divided in their lands; [every] man according to his tongue, according to their families, in their nations' (ver. 5); and at the close of the whole enumeration: 'These are the families of the sons of Noah, according to their generations, in their nations, and by these were the nations divided in the earth after the flood' (ver. 32). With these passages must be compared that in the Song of Moses, already noticed: 'When the Most High gave nations for a possession, when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of peoples according to [or perhaps, prospectively, 'even to'] the number of the children of Israel' (Deut. xxxii. 8).

There is perhaps no distinct reference to the building of the Tower, and the Dispersion, in the traditions of any heathen nation. The Greek story of the giants who piled mountains one upon another to reach Olympus, is perhaps the most probable trace. Unlike the case of the Flood, there is no clear evidence that the Dispersion made a strong impression upon the minds of those who witnessed and shared in it. This would indicate that it was unaccompanied by any great outward manifestation of God's anger, and was the immediate consequence of such difficulties as would arise from the sudden division of mankind into tribes speaking different languages or dialects.

3. *The List of the Descendants of Noah.*—The subject we have now reached—the examination of the list of Genesis x., with the view of fixing the geographical places and ethnological characteristics of the Noachians—forms the most important section of this article. It will be necessary to lay down some principles for comparing the list with foreign evidence, which may prevent our hazarding any of those arbitrary conjectures which have need-

lessly and most inconveniently increased the literature of the subject.

A. Mere similarity, or even identity of name, is not a sure guide. So remarkable a name as Hazarmaveth can scarcely be mistaken when we find it in Hadramäwt. Such a name would not be repeated, and the Hadramäwt we discover in Arabia cannot be doubted to indicate the settlement of Joktan's son Hazarmaveth; but this is an exceptional case. When the similarity of Dodanim to Dodona, or its various reading, Rodanim to Rhodes, is considered to be a sufficient proof of identity, all criticism is set at defiance. Let us look, therefore, for some sound method of identification.

B. The list is, in one aspect, a kind of geographical table: many names in its descents are found in later places of Scripture as geographical terms designating nations, or at least important tribes. Therefore—

a. We must not look for a name in that of a town. There is an exception, probably not the only one, in the case of Sidon, the city of the Sidonians, who were doubtless a Canaanite tribe, but to trace names in general in those of towns is very hazardous.

b. The tracing of a nation or tribe to a name in the list is of little value, unless neighbouring or kindred nations, or nations otherwise markedly connected with it, can also be traced to the same part of the list.

C. Preference must always be given to the oldest documents in seeking for identifications. Next to the O. T., the Egyptian, Assyrian, and Babylonian monuments must be cited. In each set of documents, the notices nearest in point of time are always likely to be the best commentators; for it must be remembered that migrations and deportations are less likely to affect evidence the earlier it is.

D. Although the list is geographical, its form is genealogical; and it does sometimes, and may frequently, state or convey the name of the founder of a nation or tribe.

a. We must not attempt to identify a founder's name in the traditions of nations, except where it is distinctly there mentioned as such.

b. As before, we must not be satisfied unless the identification is supported by the geographical position of the founder's nation, or its ethnological character, or else by some marked characteristics, connecting it with other names identified in the same part of the list.

E. In citing non-Semitic names, we must be careful to determine the principles upon which they could be compared with Semitic names.

We may first take the names of Noah's sons, which would probably be traceable as those of founders.

Shem is always mentioned first of the three sons of Noah when their names occur together, the order being Shem, Ham, and Japheth. In Gen. x. 21 he is called 'the elder brother of Japheth,' which the A. V. incorrectly translates 'the brother of Japheth the elder,' where a comma after 'Japheth' gives the correct sense. In the list of that chapter, notwithstanding the occurrence of the usual order in ver. 1, the sons of Japheth are first mentioned, then those of Ham, and lastly those of Shem, the order being inverted. It has been supposed that Shem was put at the close of the list that the comparatively foreign subject of the other descendants of Noah might not form a digression in the history

of the Shemites and their Hebrew branch. The Japhethites may have been put at the head of the list as the most widely spread, and so the most distant; and for a like reason the Hamites may have preceded the Shemites, the order being that of the extent of colonization. Or, again, the order may be geographical, from west to east, in accordance with the western, central, and eastern positions of the three great stocks. We shall see that the details favour the last view.

Shem (שֵׁם) signifies 'name, good name, fame;'; Ham (חָם), 'hot, warm;'; Japheth (יָפֶֿתֿ), 'spread,' from פָּתַח. The names are probably prophetic of the future renown of the Shemites, of the hot land of the Hamites, and the great spread of the Japhethites. The prophecy of Noah (Gen. ix. 25, 26, 27) indicates the appropriateness of Japheth's name to his future; and a prophetic sense of the names of his brethren may therefore be conjectured. But there is no distinct allusion to any such sense in their cases. It might be thought that the appropriateness of Shem's name as illustrious, could be traced in the prediction that his should be the believing stock, but there is no indication whatever of any moral significance in the name of Ham. We can now examine the names individually.

1. *Shem*.—There is no trace of any single nation or country named after Shem, probably because the Shemites, by an instinct afterwards remarkable in their descendants, early separated into distinct tribes, though not migrating very far. This was the case with the Israelites; and with the Arabs the same process is still in constant operation.

2. *Ham*.—The name of Ham has been connected with an appellation of Egypt in Hebrew, only occurring in three passages in the poetical books—'the land of Ham' (Ps. lxxviii. 51; cv. 23; cvi. 22), and with the most usual ancient Egyptian name of the country, KEM, 'the black (land).' The former term we cannot doubt to contain the patriarch's name. Is the latter identical with it? The significations of Ham and KEM are sufficiently near. Ham may be reasonably derived from חָם, 'he or it was warm,' and compared with חָם, 'he or it was black,' and the

Arabic حَم, of the same signification as the last,

and حَمَا, 'black fetid mud' (*Kámoos*), or 'black mud' (*Sihdk*) MS.) KEM cannot be taken for an Egyptian transcription of Ham, but it could be a word of cognate origin (cf. KAR, 'a circle,' חוּל, 'he or it turned, turned round;'; KARR, 'a furnace,' חָרָה, 'it burned;'; KNA, 'to bend,' הִנָּה, 'he or it bowed down, inclined'). There can therefore be no reasonable doubt that the Egyptian name of the country is identical with the Hebrew name of the patriarch. Are they of separate origin? We must either suppose this, or that 'the land of Ham' became changed to 'Ham-land,' or 'black land.' The genius of the Egyptian language would account for such a change, which seems not improbable. That Ham should have given his name to a country might be accounted for by the supposition that, except the Canaanites, the Hamites penetrated into Africa, and at first established themselves in Egypt.



3. *Japheth*.—It is impossible not to see the name of Japheth in the Greek Iapetus the Titan, son of Uranus and Ge, and the supposed ancestor of the human race; for, as we shall see, the Greeks, or at least those of the Hellenic stock, are classed among the Japhethites in the list of Genesis. We can now examine the names of the descendants of Noah's sons.

## THE JAPHETHITES.

- |             |             |              |
|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| i. Japheth. | 1. Gomer.   | a. Ashkenaz. |
|             |             | b. Riphath.  |
|             |             | c. Togarmah. |
|             | 2. Magog.   |              |
|             | 3. Madai.   |              |
|             | 4. Javan.   | a. Elishah.  |
|             |             | b. Tarshish. |
|             |             | c. Kittim.   |
|             |             | d. Dodanim.  |
|             | 5. Tubal.   |              |
|             | 6. Meshech. |              |
|             | 7. Tiras.   |              |

1. Gomer.—This name occurs in but one later place in connection with geography, as that of a nation or tribe allied with Magog, and is there mentioned immediately before Togarmah, distinguished as northern (Ezek. xxxviii. 6). It has been therefore supposed to point to a remote northern nation, Scythic, or perhaps European. Two great Gentile names have been compared, the Cimmerians of the Tauric Chersonese, who invaded the west of Asia Minor early in the 7th century B.C., and the Cimbri and Cymry, whose ethnic and nominal identity cannot be doubted. Considering the migratory character of the Cimmerians and Cimbri, it is reasonable to suppose that they had the same origin. In the cuneiform inscriptions of Darius Hystaspis, Gimiri occurs as the Semitic equivalent of the Arian name *Saka* (Σάκαι). (Sir H. Rawlinson in Rawlinson's *Hdt.*, vol. iii. p. 183, note 1.)

a. Ashkenaz.—In a single later mention Ashkenaz occurs, in a confederacy against Babylon, with Ararat, Minni, and Madai (Jer. li. 27, 28). It was therefore a nation in the direction of Armenia.

b. Riphath, written in 1 Chron. i. 6. Diphath, does not occur elsewhere in Scripture. It has been compared with the Rhipæan Mountains of Greek geography; but the statement of Josephus, commenting on this list, that the Paphlagonians were anciently called Rhiphatheans, is more worthy of notice (*Antiq.* i. 6. 1).

c. Togarmah is mentioned in Ezekiel among the traders with Tyre, after Tarshish, Javan, Tubal, and Meshech, all Japhethites, and before Dedan, here probably the country of which the inhabitants, called Dodanim, are classed among the sons of the Japhethite Javan (Ezek. xxvii. 12-15); and, in a later place, 'the house of Togarmah, of the north quarters,' follows Gomer in the list of the army of Gog, prince of Magog (xxxviii. 6). These particulars point to a northern people not remote from Greece. Togarmah traded with Tyre 'with horses and horsemen, and mules' (xxvii. 14), whence we may suppose these traffickers came by land. All the indications agree very well with the opinion that Togarmah may be connected with the Armenians.

2. Magog is elsewhere mentioned by Ezekiel only, first among the countries ruled by Gog, and especially associated with Rosh, Meshech, and Tubal

(Ezek. xxxviii. 2, 3), and apparently spoken of as dwelling 'in the isles' (xxxix. 6). The term 'isles' certainly must not be taken necessarily to indicate islands, but it is apparently limited to maritime, transmarine, and very remote regions (Ges., *Lex.*, s. v. 'N'). It has been generally held that Magog, used for a nation, is applied to the Scythians of the Greeks, though perhaps in a restricted sense. Certainly, in the time of Ezekiel, the Scythians who invaded western Asia were the most powerful nation of the country to which the confederacy mentioned by the prophet may reasonably be assigned; and the agreement of Josephus (*Antiq.* i. 6. 1) and Jerome (*Quest. in Gen.* x. 2) in the identification is not to be overlooked.

3. Madai, always later applied to the country Media, very appropriately follows Magog, if the latter, when used geographically, indicates the Scythian neighbours of the Medes. Madai, like other names afterwards employed for a country rather than a people, may originally have been a man's name (cf. *Mizraim*, infra).

4. Javan.—Except where applied to an Arabian place or tribe (Ezek. xxvii. 19; and perhaps Joel iii. 6), this is, in all later places, the name of the Greeks, or at least the Hellenic Greeks. The Persians, like the Hebrews, called all the Greeks Ionians.

a. Elishah, at the head of the descendants of Javan, is to be looked for in Hellenic geography. It is mentioned in Ezekiel as trading with Tyre, 'Blue and purple, from the isles of Elishah, was that which covered thee' (xxvii. 7). The name has been compared with Elis, Hellas, and the Æolians. Etymologically the first and third are equally probable, but other circumstances seem almost decisive in favour of the latter. The coast of the Æolian settlements in Asia Minor produced purple, and the name of so important a division of the Hellenic nation would suit better than that of a city which never was rich and powerful enough to be classed with Sidon, Tyre, or Carthage.

b. Tarshish is in later Biblical history the name of a great mart, or, as some hold, of two. The famous Tarshish, supposing there were two, was one of the most important commercial cities of the period of the kings, second only, if second, to Tyre. It was accessible from the coast of Palestine, but its trade was carried on in large ships, 'ships of Tarshish,' which implies a distant voyage from Palestine. It brought to Tyre 'silver, iron, tin, and lead' (Ezek. xxvii. 12). These products seem to point incontestibly to a Spanish emporium, and the majority of modern commentators agree in fixing on the celebrated Tartessus, said to have been founded by the Phœnicians, and with which the Phœnicians traded. In some places Tarshish seems to be evidently a country.

c. Kittim.—This gentile noun, usually written Chittim in the A. V., is generally connected with Citium of Cyprus. Other indications of Scripture seem not unfavourable to this identification, which would make the Kittim or Chittim a sea-faring population of Cyprus.

d. Dodanim, closely connected in the table by construction as well as in form, with Kittim—'Elishah and Tarshish, Kittim and Dodanim' (Gen. x. 4)—was a maritime or insular people. Ezekiel says of Tyre, 'The men of Dedan [were] thy merchants; many isles [were] the merchandise of thine hand: they brought thee [for] a present

horns of ivory and ebony' (xxvii. 15). The reading in the list as given in 1 Chron. (i. 7), is Rodanim, a form which is probably the true one, as supported by the LXX. and Samaritan versions. The LXX. identifies this people with the Rhodians in all instances, including that in Ezekiel. In the prophet's time Rhodes was a great seat of Phœnician commerce, and at the site of Camirus, one of its three important cities before Rhodes the city was founded, many objects of Phœnician style have been discovered. It may be added that ivory is one of the materials of its antiquities. The identification, considering the probable place of the Kittim, is very likely.

5. Tubal, and 6. Meshech, are in later places mentioned together (Ezek. xxvii. 13; xxxviii. 2, 3; xxxix. 1), and were evidently northern nations (xxxix. 2). They have been traced in the Moschi and Tibareni mentioned together by Herodotus (iii. 94; vii. 78), and as Muskai and Tuplai, in the Assyrian inscriptions (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, i., p. 535), which inhabited the northern coast of Asia Minor towards the Caucasus.

6. Tiras, last in the list of the sons of Japheth, has not been satisfactorily identified. The best comparison is perhaps with the Tyrrhenians or Tyrsenians, as then all the chief territories of Japhethite civilization would seem to have been indicated—Armenia, Asia Minor, Thrace, the Asiatic Islands, European Greece, Italy, and Spain.

#### THE HAMITES.

- |         |             |               |               |
|---------|-------------|---------------|---------------|
| i. Ham. | 1. Cush.    | a. Seba.      |               |
|         |             | b. Havilah.   |               |
|         |             | c. Sabtah.    |               |
|         |             | d. Raamah.    | a. Sheba.     |
|         |             |               | b. Dedan.     |
|         |             | e. Sabtechah. |               |
|         |             | f. Nimrod.    |               |
|         | 2. Mizraim. | a. Ludim.     |               |
|         |             | b. Ananiam.   |               |
|         |             | c. Lehabim.   |               |
|         |             | d. Naphtuhim. |               |
|         |             | e. Pathrusim. |               |
|         |             | f. Casluhim.  | a. Philistim. |
|         |             | g. Caphtorim. |               |
|         | 3. Phut.    |               |               |
|         | 4. Canaan.  | a. Sidon.     |               |
|         |             | b. Heth.      |               |
|         |             | c. Jebusite.  |               |
|         |             | d. Amorite.   |               |
|         |             | e. Girgasite. |               |
|         |             | f. Hivite.    |               |
|         |             | g. Arkite.    |               |
|         |             | h. Sinite.    |               |
|         |             | i. Arvadite.  |               |
|         |             | j. Zemarite.  |               |
|         |             | k. Hamathite. |               |

1. Cush is immediately recognised in KEESH, the ancient Egyptian name of Ethiopia above Egypt. With this identification all geographical mentions in Scripture, except that in the account of Paradise (Gen. ii. 13), agree. The latter may refer to a primeval Cush, but an Asiatic settlement is positively indicated in the history of Nimrod, and we shall see that the settlements of the Cushites extended from African Ethiopia to Babylon, through Arabia.

a. Seba is connected by Isaiah with Egypt and Cush (xliii. 3; xlv. 14), and the statement of Jo-

sephus that the island and city of Meroë bore this name is therefore to be noticed. In the ancient Egyptian geographical lists, SAHABA and SABARA occur among names of tribes or places belonging to Ethiopia (Brugsch, *Geogr. Inschr.* ii., p. 9, tav. xii., k. l.).

b. Havilah.—The identification of Havilah is difficult, as the name recurs in the list of the sons of Joktan; and in Biblical geography, except only in the description of Eden, it is found in Arabia alone. If the two stocks intermixed, and thus bore a common name, a single localization would be sufficient.

c. Sabtah can only be doubtfully traced in Arabian geography.

d. Raamah, in the LXX., 'Ρεγμᾶ, is well traced in the Πέγμα of Ptol. (vi. 7), and Πῆγμα of Steph. Byz. (s.v.), a city of Arabia on the Persian Gulf.

a. Sheba, and b. Dedan, bear the same names as two descendants of Keturah (Gen. xxv. 3), from which it has been reasonably supposed that we have here an indication of a mixture of Cushite and Abrahamite Arabs, like that of Cushite and Joktanite Arabs inferred in the case of the two Havilahs. It is to be remarked that the name of Dedan has been conjecturally traced in the modern name of the island of Dádan, on the east coast of Arabia, and that of Sheba in the ruins of an ancient city called Sebà, in the neighbouring island of Awál (E. S. Poole in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, s.vv. *Dedan*, *Sheba*).

e. Sabtechah is not identified.

f. Nimrod is generally thought to have been a remoter descendant of Cush than son, and this the usage of Hebrew genealogies may be held to sanction. He is the first and only known instance in the list of the leader of a dynasty rather than the parent of a nation or tribe. His name is followed by a parenthetical passage relating to his power and the establishment and extension of his kingdom. It is probable that this narrative is introduced to mark the commencement of the first Noachian monarchy. It may be compared to the notices of inventions in the account of Cain's descendants (Gen. iv. 20-22). The name of Nimrod is probably Semitic, from נִמְרֹד, 'he was rebellious.'

It occurs in ancient Egyptian, in the form NAMURET, in the family of the 22d dynasty, which was certainly, at least in part, of foreign origin. The like names SHESHENK, USARKEN, TEKERUT, appear to be Semitic.

2. Mizraim, literally 'the two Mazors,' is the common name of Egypt in the Bible; the singular, Mazor, being rarely used. It has been thought to be a purely geographical name, from its having a dual form, but it has been discovered in ancient Egyptian as the name of a Hittite or kindred chief, B. C. cir. 1300, contemporary with Rameses II., written in hieroglyphics MATREEMA, where the MA is known to express the Hebrew dual, as in MAHANMA for Mahanaim. That it should be used at so early a time as a proper name of a man, suggests that the fact that Egypt was so called may be due to a Noachian's name having had a dual form, not to the division of the country into two regions. If, however, we suppose that in Gen. x. Mizraim indicates the country, then we might infer that Ham's son was probably called Mazor. It is remarkable that Mazor appears to be equivalent to Ham: as we have seen, the meaning of the latter is evidently 'hot' or 'black,' perhaps both, and a



cognate word is used in Arabic for 'black mud'; among the meanings of **مصر**, the Arabic equivalent

of Mazar, the Kámoos gives 'red earth or mud.' Thus Ham and Mazar or Mizraim would especially apply to darkness of skin or earth; and, since both were used geographically to designate the 'black land,' as cultivated Egypt always was from the blackness of its alluvial soil, it is not surprising that the idea of earth came to be included in one of the significations of each. If Mizraim be purely geographical in the list, then we might perhaps suppose that it was derived from Mazar as a Semitic equivalent of Ham. It is certainly remarkable that all the descendants of Mizraim are mentioned as tribes in the plurals of gentile nouns.

a. Ludim, perhaps mentioned in passages of the prophets as Lud or Ludim (Is. lxvi. 19; Jer. xlv. 9; Ezek. xxvii. 10; xxxviii. 5; xxx. 4, 5), where, however, the Shemite Lud may be intended. There would be no doubt that in at least one of these passages (Ezek. xxx. 4, 5), where Egypt and, as far as they are identified, African nations or countries are spoken of, the Ludim are those of the Mizraite stock, were it not possible that under the term Ludim, or Lydian, the Ionian and Carian mercenaries of the Pharaohs may be indicated.

b. Anamim, a nation as yet not identified.

c. Lehabim, no doubt the same as the Lubim or Libyans mentioned in later places of Scripture as allies or mercenaries contributing to the armies of the Pharaohs, and supporting or dependent on Egypt as a race in very close relations. They correspond to the REBU or LEBU of the Egyptian inscriptions, western neighbours of Egypt, conquered by the kings of the 19th and 20th dynasties.

d. Naphtuhim strikingly resembles the Coptic name of the westernmost part of Lower Egypt, the territory of the city Mareia, probably the older Mareotic Nome, **Ⲣⲓⲕⲁⲓⲁⲩ** or **Ⲣⲓⲕⲁⲓⲁⲩⲁ**, a plural form commencing with the definite article **Ⲣⲓ**.

e. Pathrusim, a tribe of which the territory, 'the country of Pathros,' is mentioned in later places. The latter has been compared to the Egyptian Pathyrite or Phaturite Nome; in Coptic **ⲡⲁⲩⲩⲧⲟⲩⲣⲏⲥ**, **ⲡⲁⲩⲡⲏⲩⲟⲩⲣⲏⲥ**, in ancient Egyptian PA-HAT-HER, the chief objection to which identification is, that the geographical importance of the name seems scarcely sufficient.

f. Casluhim, not as yet identified.

g. Caphtorim, and the land of Caphtor, have given rise to much discussion. We have proposed as the equivalent of Caphtor, the ancient Egyptian name of Coptos, **KEBTU**, **KEBTA**, **KEB-HER**, probably pronounced Kubit, Kabt, Kebt-hor, the Coptic **ⲕⲉⲓⲩⲧⲁ**, **ⲕⲉⲓⲩⲧⲟ**, **ⲕⲉⲓⲩⲧⲱ**,

**ⲕⲉⲓⲩⲧⲱ**, Gr. **Κόπτος**, Arab. **كُفْت** Kuft, and ventured to compare **ⲁⲓⲩⲩⲡⲧⲟⲩⲥ** with **ⲕⲉⲓⲩⲧⲱ** (Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, art. *Caphtor*). It must be remembered that the city Coptos, or its nome, has given its name to the whole nation of Egyptians, who were known as Copts by the Arabs at the time of the conquest. But good reasons have been urged in favour of Cyprus, especially the circumstance of the Philistine migration.

a. Philistim.—The Philistines are here said to have come forth from the Casluhim; elsewhere they are called Caphtorim, and said to have come out of Caphtor. It is not allowable to read that the Philistim and Caphtorim came from the Casluhim. Perhaps there is a transposition in the text. The origin of the Philistines from a Mizraite stock is a very important fact for the explanation of the list.

3. Phut.—In later places, Put or Phut occurs as the name of an African country or nation, closely connected with Egypt, like the Lubim. It may be compared to those geographical names in the ancient Egyptian inscriptions, in which the element **PET**, 'the bow,' occurs. Nubia was called 'the bow-land' **TU-PET**, where is usual to read **TU-KENS**, but the bow has not the sound **KENS** elsewhere; and it is probable that a part of Nubia was called KENS, and that the bow was written as a determinative symbol to show that KENS was included in 'the bow-land;' but the question is full of difficulties.

4. Canaan in Gen. ix. (18, 22, 25, 26, 27) is distinctly mentioned as the son of Ham. It is more likely that his name means the 'degraded,' 'the subdued' man, than 'the lowlander,' though both senses are possible.

a. Sidon, 'the first-born' of Canaan, like Heth, immediately following, is a proper name, whereas all the remaining names are gentile nouns in the singular. Sidon is thought to signify 'the fishing-place,' so that the name of the place would seem here to be put for that of the founder, 'the fisherman,' **ⲁⲓⲓⲁⲟⲩ** of Sanchoniathon or Philo of Byblus. But it must be noticed that the next name Heth is treated in later places as that of a man. The position of the Sidonians, like that of most of the Canaanite tribes, needs not to be described.

b. Heth, ancestor of the 'Children of Heth,' or Hittites, a very important nation of Palestine and Syria. There are indications in Scripture of Hittites out of Palestine, and the ancient Egyptians warred with the **KHETA** in the valley of the Orontes, whose names show that they spoke a Semitic language. The Egyptian monumental representations show their armies to have been composed of men apparently of two races, the one Shemite in type, the other beardless, and resembling the Tatar type [**HITTITES**].

c. The Jebusite, d. Amorite, e. Girgasite (properly Girgashite), f. Hivite, all inhabitants of Palestine, but the Amorite, like the Hittite nation, seems to have had a wider extension, for the territory in which stood **KETESH**, the great stronghold of the **KHETA** on the Orontes, is called in Egyptian 'the land of **AMAR**' (Brugsch, *Geogr. Inschr.*, ii. pp. 21, 22, tav. xviii. 44, 47).

g. The Arkite, compared with the Phœnician town of Arca.

h. The Sinite, not satisfactorily identified. Perhaps one of their settlements may be traced in Sin or Pelusium.

i. The Arvadite, no doubt the people of Aradus. The derivation from **ⲓⲁⲩⲱ**, with the sense 'wandering,' 'place of fugitives,' is in accordance with the tradition referred to by Strabo, who says that Aradus was built by Sidonian fugitives (xvi. 2, 13, 14). Aradus was a Phœnician city.

j. The Zemarite, conjecturally traced in the town Simyra, which has nothing to recommend it but its neighbourhood to Arca and Aradus.

h. The Hamathite, well known to have been seated in Upper Syria, where Hamath, on the Orontes, was long a capital of an important kingdom.

## THE SHEMITES.

## i. Shem.

1. Elam.

2. Asshur.

3. Arphaxad.

a. Salah. a. Eber. a. Peleg.

b. Joktan.

a. Almodad.

b. Sheleph.

c. Hazarmaveth.

d. Jerah.

e. Hadoram.

f. Uzal.

g. Diklah.

h. Obal.

i. Abimael.

j. Sheba.

k. Ophir.

l. Havilah.

m. Jobab.

4. Lud.

5. Aram.

a. Uz.

b. Hul.

c. Gether.

d. Mash.

1. Elam, when used geographically, held to correspond to Susiana, not to Persia Proper.

2. Asshur, afterwards the Assyrian nation. In the cuneiform inscriptions Asshur is the chief object of worship of the kings.

3. Arphaxad, probably well traced in the province Arrapachitis.

a. Salah seems to be only a genealogical link. In the Shemite family the list is clearly something more than ethnological and geographical; it is of the nature of a pedigree, at least so far as it deals with the ancestry of Abraham.

a. Eber.—It is impossible here to discuss the difficult question whether to this patriarch the name of the Hebrews owed its origin. The argument based on the mention in this list that Shem was 'the father of all the children of Eber' (x. 21), seems to us almost unanswerable on the affirmative side.

a. Peleg seems, like Salah, to be but a genealogical link.

b. Joktan is perhaps only a similar link: his descendants form an important series.

a. Almodad, supposed to be traceable in Arabian names.

b. Sheleph, traced in El-Yemen.

c. Hazarmaveth, identical in name with the great region of Hadramäwt in southern Arabia.

d. Jerah, not certainly identified, and e. Hadoram, not traced.

f. Uzal, the same name as Awzál, the ancient name of San'á, capital of El-Yemen.

g. Diklah, h. Obal, i. Abimael, not traced.

j. Sheba is the same name as the Arabic Sebà, the old kingdom of El-Yemen. The mentions in the Bible of the kingdom of Sheba point towards Arabia, and the Arab indication thus fixes the position of Joktanite Sheba in the south.

k. Ophir, perhaps traced in southern Arabia.

l. Havilah, as already remarked under the head

of the Cushite Havilah, may indicate a mixture of Cushite and Joktanite settlers in Arabia.

m. Jobab, not certainly identified.

4. Lud has been compared to Lydus, the traditional ancestor of the Lydians. The Shemite character of the Lydian civilization is confirmatory of this view. The Egyptian monuments of the empire mention a powerful Asiatic people of Shemite type, apparently living not far from Mesopotamia, called RUTEN or LUDEN. It is possible that the Lydians may have migrated into Asia Minor after the time of the Egyptian empire, or that there may have been two Lydian settlements. It is not clear whether the Lud or Ludim of later places of Scripture were of this stock, or the same as the Mizraite Ludim, as already remarked.

5. Aram is, in later places, the geographical designation of Syria, though the term is not of the same extent as our Syria. We read of Aram-naharaim, 'Aram of the two rivers,' either Mesopotamia, according to the general opinion, or the country of the Orontes and Leontes, of Padan-Aram, perhaps a part of the same tract, or another name for it, and also of Aram-Zobah, Aram-Beth-rehob, Aram-Maachah, and Aram-Dammeseck, or Syria of Damascus, all kingdoms in the country Aram.

a. Uz. Mention is made of 'the land of Uz' in the Book of Job, where other indications seem to point to the north of Arabia.

b. Hul and c. Gether are not identified; d. Mash is but conjecturally traced in Mesene, in Lower Babylonia, or Mons Masius, at the north of Mesopotamia.

We may now tabulate our results, adding certain other information to aid us in drawing general inferences. The classification of races and languages, so far as it concerns the identifications, must be first stated.

## RACES.

## I. Caucasian Race.

## Varieties.

1. White (as Greek).

2. Tawny (Arab).

3. Brown (Abyssinian).

II. Lower Nilotic Race.  
(Egyptian).III. Nigritian Race.  
(Negro).IV. Tatar Race.  
(Chinese).

## LANGUAGES.

I. Semitic Family.  
(as Hebrew.)II. Iranian Family.  
(Greek.)

## III. Barbaric Class.

## Families.

1. Egyptian.

2. Nigritian.

3. Tatar.

In the table which follows, the first column gives those names from Gen. x. for which there are highly-probable geographical identifications; the second column states these identifications; the third contains ethnological evidence from Egyptian (Eg.), Assyrian (As.), or other sources; the fourth exhibits the like philological evidence.



Name.	Identification.	Race.	Language.
Ham	Egypt ?	Lower Nilotic	Barbaric, Egyptian
Gomer	Cimbri	Caucasian	Iranian
Madai	Media	Caucasian	Iranian
Javan	Greeks	Caucasian, white	Iranian
Tubal	Tibareni		
Meshech	Moschi		
Cush	Ethiopia	Nigritian ?	Barbaric, Nigritian ?
Seba	Meroë		
Raamah	Regma (E. Arabia)		
Nimrod	King of Babylonia and Assyria		
Mizraim	Egypt	Lower Nilotic	Barbaric, Egyptian
Lehabim	Libyans	Caucasian, white (Eg.)	
Naphtuhim	Egypt ?		
Philistim	Philistines	Lower Nilotic ? (Eg.)	
Canaan	Palestine and Syria	Caucasian (Eg.)	Semitic
Sidon	Sidon		Semitic
Heth	Hittites	Caucasian and Tatar ? (Eg.)	Semitic
Jebusite	Palestine and Syria		
Amorite			
Girgasite			
Hivite			Semitic
Arkite			
Arvadite			
Hamathite			
Elam	Susiana	Caucasian (As.)	
Asshur	Assyria	Caucasian (As.)	Semitic
Arphaxad	Arrapachitis		
Eber	Hebrews ?	Caucasian, tawny	Semitic
Sheleph	Southern Arabia		
Hazarmaveth		Caucasian, tawny and brown	Semitic
Uzal			
Sheba			
Lud	Lydia ?	Caucasian	
Aram	Syria	Caucasian	Semitic

From this evidence we may draw the following inferences on several important points :—

*Order of Names.*—The Japhethites seem to be placed first, as the most distant nations. In the list of the Hamites, the southern and therefore most distant Cushites are arranged from west to east, Seba (Meroë) being followed by Raamah (in Arabia), and the series closing with Nimrod, who ruled in Babylonia and Assyria. North of Cush is Mizraim, in the enumeration of whose tribes the western Lehabim (Libyans) are followed after an interval by the easternmost Philistim, apparently the only Mizraites of Palestine. The list of the Canaanites begins with Sidon, the Phœnicians of the sea-coast north of the Philistines; then mentions under Heth the Hittites, perhaps on account of their southern settlement, and going northwards enumerates tribes near Lebanon, closing with the Syrian Hamathites. The Shemite tribes begin in the east, extending regularly from Susiana to Arabia, and then ascending to Syria. Lud may be an exception, but as we have seen the Lydians may primevally have been settled near Syria; otherwise Lud may be mentioned between the Arabs and Aram as an outlying Shemite tribe, to be spoken of before the enumeration of those nearest Palestine.

*Race.*—All the names identified with a high degree of probability are, with six exceptions, of Caucasian nations. The exceptions are : three cer-

tainly of the Lower Nilotic race, which is intermediate between the Caucasian and Nigritian races, showing strong traits of both, a fourth probably of the same race, and two others which require more particular investigation. Cush, in ancient Egyptian, applies to Nigritians; for the race of KESH is represented on the Egyptian monuments as of the most marked Nigritian type : the kings and other royal personages of Meroë, and the Ethiopians of rank under them, are, however, represented on their monuments as similar to the Lower Nilotic race. This suggests that Cush may indicate a country mainly peopled by Nigritians, yet with a governing mixed race. The remaining exception is the case of the Hittites, who are represented on the Egyptian monuments as of two types—the one Caucasian, the other apparently Tatar. This may show that two different races were ruled by those Hittite kings with whom the Pharaohs warred, as Og the king of Bashan was a Rephaite, not an Amorite.

*Language.*—The languages are all Iranian or Semitic, with three exceptions. Egyptian, occurring twice in our table, has a monosyllabic barbaric vocabulary, with an amalgamate Semitic grammar. Here, therefore, as in race, there is a departure from the unmixed type. To Cush we have conjecturally assigned a barbaric Nigritian language, because the names of Ethiopian tribes conquered by the Egyptians, and of Ethiopian sovereigns of later times, are not readily traceable to either an Egypt-

ian or a Semitic source; but we cannot say certainly that a Semitic element is wholly wanting in the languages to which these words belong.

The order indicates that the intention of the list is partly geographical. In the detail of each division the settlements of races are probably indicated rather in the order of position than of ancestral relationship, though the principle of relationship is never departed from as far as we can see.

The list of Gen. x. contains certain statements which may now be examined, in order to infer the date to which the document refers. It is said, 'Afterward were the families of the Canaanites spread abroad' (x. 18); which may indicate the formation of the great Hittite settlement in the valley of the Orontes, or other like extensions. In any case, it points to an event, or series of events, almost certainly prior to the establishment of the Israelites in Palestine. So, too, the definition of the otherwise unknown Resen, as 'the great city' (Gen. x. 12), indicates a period anterior to that of the kings who ruled at Asshur (Kal'ah Sherghât) and Calah (Nemrood), the earliest of whom is placed about B.C. 1270. At the time of the Egyptian empire the capital appears to have been Nineveh, and the date of the list would therefore be anterior to that time, or, at least, to the reign of Thothmes III., to whom it was tributary about 1450 B.C. It would appear, therefore, that the list was either written or put into its present form not long after, or at the time of Moses, if not earlier; and that it refers to a yet earlier period—that of the first spread of the Noachians.

The nations omitted in the list must now be noticed, so far as they seem to be of a like high antiquity. In Deut. ii. there is mention of several tribes or nations which had been destroyed by other tribes or nations which reached Palestine or its neighbourhood before the Israelite occupation. Certain of these are called Rephaim; others not. The particulars are as follows, as far as they relate to our present subject:—

1. Emim, Rephaim, succeeded by Moabites (Deut. ii. 9-11).
2. Horim, succeeded by Edomites (ver. 12, 22).
3. Zamzumim, elsewhere called Zuzim (Gen. xiv. 5), Rephaim, succeeded by Ammonites (Deut. ii. 19-21).
4. Avim, succeeded by Caphtorim, that is, Philistines (ver. 23).
5. Anakim, here mentioned as Rephaim (ver. 10, 21), still occupying the south of Palestine at the time when the Israelites entered it.

The Avim were probably also a Rephaite nation, for as late as David's time giants were found among the Philistines. Elsewhere in Palestine the Israelites seem to have found, besides 'the three sons of Anak,' or the Anakim of Hebron, Og, the king of Bashan, who 'remained of the remnant of Rephaim' (ii. 11), a man of gigantic stature. The position of these Rephaim is that of a few powerful chiefs among the Canaanites and Philistines, representing tribes destroyed by Hebrews, the only exceptional case being that of the Philistines, if, as we suppose, the Avim were Rephaim, for in that case the former must have first attacked, but ultimately changed their policy, and abstained from annihilating the older population.

At an earlier time we find a very different condition of the country. The powerful confederacy of which Chedorlaomer was chief, attacked and con-

quered, besides the kings of the cities of the plain, the Rephaim, Zuzim, Emim, Horim, Amalekites, and Amorites. Here the Canaanites occupy a very inferior position in the south and east of Palestine, but one Canaanite nation being mentioned, and besides undoubted Rephaites, the Horim probably of the same stock, and the ancient and pedigreeless nation of Amalek.

We thus find an indication of an old population of Palestine distinct from both Canaanites and Hebrews, and especially remarkable for their great height. That they were in race still more remote from their successors than has usually been held, has been argued from the Anakim's being spoken of as 'of the Nephilim' (Num. xiv. 33), the term applied to the giants before the Flood, where it is said, 'The Nephilim were in the earth in those days' (Gen. vi. 4). On this subject, compare *The Genesis of the Earth and of Man*, 2d ed., pp. 80-82, and 284, 285, where it is maintained that the Nephilim were a pre-Adamite race.

In conclusion, the list of Noah's descendants in Gen. x. gives the most valuable information as to the primeval civilized world; this information being fullest in reference to the countries of which Palestine or Syria was the centre. It satisfactorily accounts for the common characteristics of the Caucasian race, but apparently does not treat of the other great stocks, and, so far as its evidence goes, we have no certainty that they were descended from Noah.—R. S. P.

#### NAVIGATION. [SHIP.]

NAZARENE (Ναζαρηνός, Ναζωραῖος), an epithet frequently applied to Jesus Christ to indicate his connection with Nazareth. To this place his parents took him on their return from Egypt (Matt. ii. 23), in which St. Matthew finds the fulfilment of an ancient oracle, 'that he should be called a Nazarene.' [NAZARETH; QUOTATIONS.] At Nazareth 'he was brought up' (Luke iv. 16; comp. ii. 51); and his connection with this place was so well known that he came to be commonly designated Jesus the Nazarene, or, as the A. V. gives it, Jesus of Nazareth. This appellation is given to him by his own disciples and followers (Luke xxiv. 19; John i. 45; Acts ii. 22; iii. 6; iv. 10; vi. 14; xxvi. 9); by the people of the Jews (Mark x. 47; Luke xviii. 37); by the servants of the high-priest (Matt. xxvi. 71; Mark xiv. 67); by the soldiers who arrested him (John xviii. 5, 7); and by Pilate in the inscription on the cross (John xix. 19). It is also given to him by the unclean spirit whom he cast out in the synagogue at Capernaum (Mark i. 24; Luke iv. 34); and it is used by our Lord himself after his ascension (Acts xxii. 8). From the first the term carried in it a latent reproach according to Jewish prejudices (John i. 46; comp. vii. 41, ff.); and afterwards it was applied to the followers of Jesus Christ by the Jews as a designation of contumely and scorn (Hieronym. *De locc. Hebb.*, Opp. iii. 183; *Comm. in Esai.* xlix.; Epiphani. *Haer.* xxix. 9). This began in the first age of the church, as we learn from Acts xxiv. 5, where the Christians are stigmatised by the Jews as 'the heresy of the Nazarenes.'—W. L. A.

NAZARETH (in the *T. R.* Ναζαρέτ, and *Naẓarēt*; in MSS. sometimes Ναζαράδ, Ναζαρά, and Ναζαράτ; *Nazareth*), a town of Galilee (πόλις τῆς Γαλιλαίας) chiefly celebrated as the residence







W. A. G. 1840

As the sun sets

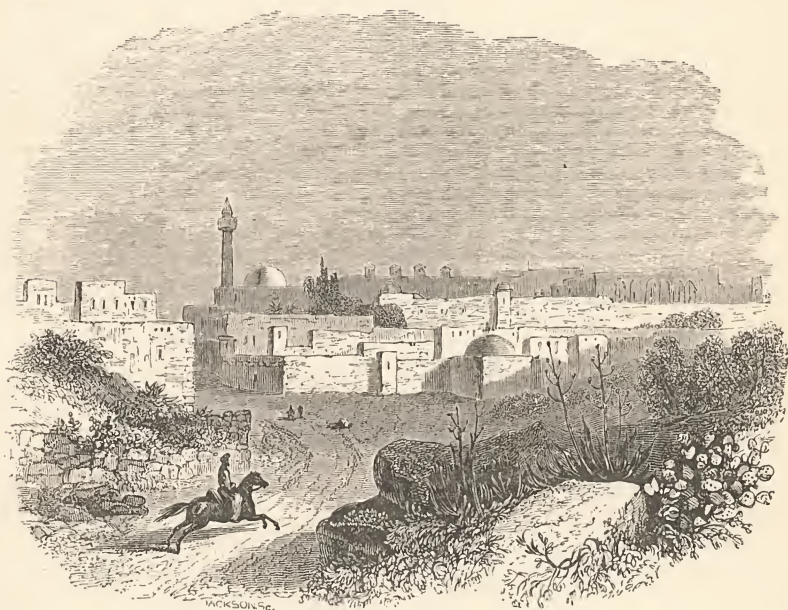




of our Lord's parents, and the home of his youth (Matt. ii. 23; Luke i. 26; ii. 39, 51). It is a singular fact that the first mention of this town is in connection with the advent of the Messiah, as related by Luke the evangelist (i. 26). The name occurs nowhere in the O. T., nor in any writer before the birth of Christ, nor is it found in any classic author.

The name Nazareth demands the attention of the Biblical scholar on account of the statement of the evangelist, 'And he came and dwelt in a city called Nazareth (Ναζαρέτ); that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets, He shall be called a Nazarene' (Ναζωραῖος; Matt. ii. 23). This passage is confessedly difficult, and has formed the basis of determined attacks upon the

inspiration of Scripture from the earliest ages. Various interpretations have been given. The words here cited are not found in any part of the sacred Scriptures. Some say that by 'the prophets' are meant, not the authors of the O. T., but a lower grade of prophetic interpreters, who deduced this meaning from their words. Others affirm that Matthew refers to some traditional saying (τὸ ρηθὲν), and not to any written text. Others, again, state that some portions of the canonical Scriptures have perished, and this passage among them (see Jerome, Chrysostom, and Theophylact, *in loc.*; *Critici Sacri*). These explanations will not satisfy the critical scholar. The phrase οἱ προφῆται is used here and elsewhere in the gospels, as a proper name, to denote



400. Nazareth.

one of the three great sections into which the Jews divided the O. T. (Matt. v. 17, 18; Luke xvi. 29; xxiv. 44); but the very generality of the reference is enough to show that this is no citation from any one of the sacred writers, but a summary of the symbolic or spiritual meaning of several. It ought to be remembered that the allusions to the Messiah in the O. T. are of three kinds, directly prophetic, typical, and symbolical. We are justified, therefore, as Bishop Ellicott says, 'in assigning to the word Ναζωραῖος all the meanings legitimately belonging to it, by derivation or otherwise, which are concurrent with the declarations of the prophets in reference to our Lord. We may therefore trace this prophetic declaration, (a) principally and primarily, in all the passages which refer to the Messiah under the title of the *Branch* (נֶצֶחַ) of the root of Jesse (Is. xi. 1; Jer. xxiii. 5; xxxiii. 15; Zech. vi. 12); (b) in the references to the circumstances of lowliness and obscurity under which that growth was to take place (cf. Is. liii.

2); and perhaps further (c) in the prophetic notices of a contempt and rejection such as seems to have been the common and, as it would seem in many respects, deserved portion of the inhabitant of rude and ill-reputed Nazareth' (*Lectures on the Life of our Lord*, p. 81, note. See also the subject fully discussed in Mill, *On the Mythical Int. of the Gospels*, pp. 334, seq.)

The whole history of Nazareth clusters round one event, known throughout the Christian world as the ANNUNCIATION. Before that event its name was unknown; but since, it has become a household word throughout Christendom, linked in holy alliance with Bethlehem and Jerusalem. From this event comes all its traditional glory. Splendid structures have been built to commemorate it. Thousands of pilgrimages have been made in honour of it. But to the thoughtful Christian, Nazareth—the home of Christ's boyhood, the scene of his domestic relations, his private life, his mental development, his prayers and communion with the Father, his early labours—possesses a far



greater charm, a far more intense interest, than the miraculous event of the Annunciation could ever of itself have conferred. Yet there is little said about Nazareth in the gospels; and the references to its site and features are only incidental. They are worthy of note, however. 'The angel Gabriel was sent from God unto a city of Galilee, named Nazareth, to a virgin . . . and the virgin's name was Mary' (Luke i. 26, 27). 'From Galilee, out of Nazareth,' Joseph and Mary went to Bethlehem to be taxed (Luke ii. 4). After the return of the holy family from Egypt, 'they returned into Galilee, to their own city, Nazareth' (Luke ii. 39; Matt. ii. 23). After the visit to the temple at the age of twelve, Jesus went down with his parents to Nazareth, 'and was subject unto them' (Luke ii. 51). When entering on his public life, 'Jesus came from Nazareth of Galilee, and was baptized of John in Jordan' (Mark i. 9; Matt. iii. 13). Nazareth was now no longer his home. Yet he returned to it. 'He came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up' (Luke iv. 16). The reception he met with shows only too plainly the general character of the Nazarenes, and that there was some foundation for Nathanael's question, 'Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?' (John i. 46). His fellow-townsmen not only rejected him, they sought to murder him; then he left Nazareth, and took up his residence in Capernaum, which was henceforth called 'his own city' (Luke iv. 16-31; Matt. iv. 13-16; ix. 1). Again he visited his native town, and taught in the synagogue with such clearness and power that all were astonished. Still they said in derision, 'Is not this the carpenter's son? . . . whence, then, hath this man all these things? And they were offended at him' (Matt. xiii. 54-58; Mark vi. 1-6). We hear no more of Nazareth in sacred history, and its traditional history is not worth recording. It attracted no notice till the establishment of Christianity in the time of Constantine; nor does it seem to have been visited by a single pilgrim till about the 6th century (Epiphanius, *adv. Hæres.*, i., pp. 128, 136; Reland, *Pal.*, p. 905). In the 7th century it contained two churches—one built over the fountain; the other over the house of Mary, now occupied by the Latin convent (Arculf, in *Early Travels in Pal.*, Wright, p. 9; Reland, *l.c.*) During the Crusades, its great church was rebuilt and richly endowed, and the town was made the seat of a bishop (*Will. Tyr.*, ix. 13; xxii. 16; *Jac. de Vitriac.*, 56; see Reland, p. 906; Robinson, *B. R.*, ii. 341, *seq.*; *Handbook*, pp. 360-362).

Nazareth has never been lost sight of since the days of our Lord, and its name remains unchanged to the present day. There can be no question, therefore, as to its site. Eusebius and Jerome describe it as fifteen miles eastward from Legio (now Lejjûn), and near Mount Tabor. Jerome calls it 'a little village' (*viculus*; *Onomast.* s. v.) It stands in an upland vale amid the hills of Galilee, two miles from the plain of Esdraelon, and six west of Tabor. The vale, or basin, is a mile long by about a quarter broad. On one side there are a few gardens enclosed with hedges of cactus; here and there are clumps of olives scattered over it; all the rest is covered with corn-fields and luxuriant pastures. A girdle of rounded hills encircles it, shutting out all view of the world beyond, and giving that air of quiet, peaceful seclusion, which constitutes its chief charm, and its peculiar

adaptation to the early history of our Lord. The hills have a rugged aspect, the white limestone cropping up everywhere in jagged points, and bold bluffs, and bare crowns; but the bushes and aromatic shrubs, and especially the brilliant wild flowers that spring up from the scanty soil, and from the clefts and crannies of the rocks, take away from the bleakness of the landscape, and give it, in early spring, a pleasing and picturesque appearance. The narrow rugged glens that branch off in all directions among the hills, seem as if made for meditation. The hill on the north-west of the vale overtops all the others, rising to a height of some 400 feet above the village; and is crowned by a white-domed tomb. Its side is steep, furrowed by ravines, and broken by ledges of bare rock. On its lower declivities, partly in the ravines, partly on the shelving base, and partly on the sides and tops of the rugged ledges, stand the houses of Nazareth—plain, neat, substantial stone buildings. This is the hill on which the evangelist tells us 'the city was built' (Luke iv. 29); and there is more than one cliff along its side that might have served the purposes of the fanatical populace when they led him unto a brow of the hill (*ἔως ὀφίους τοῦ ὄρους*), that they might cast him down headlong. The town was built on 'the hill,' not 'on the brow;' and the cliff from which they attempted to cast Jesus (*ὥστε κατακρημνίσαι αὐτόν*) was above, not below the town (*Handbook*, p. 359; Stanley, *S. and P.*, p. 359; Robinson, *B. R.*, ii. 335). Monkish traditions have assigned another locality, two miles distant, to this incident; but tradition does not agree with the gospel narrative.

One of the most interesting spots about Nazareth is the fountain—there is but one—a short distance east of the village. Over the trough that receives the water is an arched recess, and around it are some venerable olives. A few yards above it is the Greek church of the Annunciation, within whose walls is the source or spring at which, according to the *Protevangelion* (ix. 7), the angel Gabriel appeared to Mary. Independent of the tradition, the fountain may justly claim the title of 'Holy Place.' It is now, and must have been in all ages, a favourite resort of the youth of Nazareth.

Nazareth has a population of about 4000 souls, the vast majority being Christians. The men have a look of sturdy independence. They are better dressed and better mannered than the peasants of Palestine usually are; and the females are justly celebrated for their grace and beauty. The houses are all of stone, and look clean and comfortable; but the streets are narrow and filthy. The principal building is the Latin convent, containing the church, built, says tradition, over the spot from whence the *Santa Casa* of Loretto took flight 600 years ago for the more peaceful soil of Italy (Stanley, *S. and P.*, p. 439). The scene of the *Annunciation* is pointed out in a grotto beneath the altar. Several other traditional 'holy places' are shown in and around Nazareth, including the alleged Mount of Precipitation, two miles distant, and overhanging the plain of Esdraelon. These have no historic basis, and a description of them would therefore be out of place in this article (see *Handbook*, *l.c.*; Stanley, pp. 357, 437-444; Bonar, *Land of Promise*, pp. 397-403; *Quaresmius* ii., p. 834; Robinson, *B. R.*, ii. 333-343).—J. L. P.



NAZARITE, more properly NAZIRITE (נִזִּיר)

נִזִּיר, fem. נִזִּירָה, Sept. *ναῖρατος, εὐδόμενος*, *ἀνέμνος*, Vulg. *Nazaræus*), one, not of the order, who bound himself or herself by a vow of abstinence and purity, either temporarily or for the whole life.

1. *Name and its signification.*—The etymology and signification of נִזִּיר are matter of dispute. The more general opinion is that נִזִּיר is from נָזַר, *to be separated*, Niph. *to separate oneself, to abstain*, and denotes *one separated*, i.e., for the service of God. But against this derivation it is urged that (1.) It is impossible to explain in a natural manner many passages in which the word נִזִּיר is used on the theory that its primary meaning is *separation, abstinence, consecration*. Thus, e.g., the vine is called נִזִּיר (Lev. xxv. 5, 11), the very word which denotes *Nazarite*; and, on the supposition that it denotes *to be separated*, it is very difficult to say why this term is applied to vines alone, and why it is not also used of the produce of trees or the field; and (2.) The word נִזִּיר unquestionably denotes *diadem, crown* (Gen. xlix. 26; Exod. xxix. 6; xxxix. 30; Lev. viii. 9; xxi. 12; 2 Sam. i. 10; 2 Kings xi. 12; 2 Chron. xxiii. 11; Zech. ix. 16, *al.*) Now, if we admit that the idea of *crown* is the primary and not the secondary one, and accordingly take נִזִּיר (passive participle) to denote *the crowned one*, the meaning which it is admitted to have in the very first passage in which it is employed (Gen. xlix. 26, with Deut. xxxiii. 16; Lam. iv. 7, 8), all the difficulties vanish. The Nazarite is *the crowned one*, because, as we are told in Num. vi. 7, he has 'the crown of God upon his head'

(נִזִּיר אֱלֹהֵיוּ עַל רֹאשׁוֹ), evidently referring to his distinguishing badge of the freely growing and profuse mass of hair, which was considered an ornament (2 Sam. xiv. 25, 26), and which he was not allowed to cut off (Num. vi. 5), because therein his vow chiefly consisted (Judg. xii. 5); and this is confirmed by Num. vi. 9, where it said, 'if he defiled (נִזִּיר רֹאשׁוֹ) his head diadem he is to shave his head.' Hence also the signification of נִזִּיר, *ornamental hair, long hair* (Jer. vii. 29 with Num. vi. 19). Whilst the vine again, laden with fruit, is called *Nazarite*, or more probably *Nazir* נִזִּיר, i.e., *the crowned* (Lev. xxv. 5, 11); because in its uncult state, when its head is covered with grapes and foliage, it is as much adorned with a diadem as the head of the Nazarite with the abundant hair, just as we call the foliage of a tree its crown. Besides the vine hills rising in the different parts of Palestine, and resembling heads covered with hair, may have suggested this figure to the Oriental mind, since the summits of mountains are called their *heads* (רֹאשׁ) in Hebrew (Gen. viii. 5; Exod. xvii. 9, 10; xix. 20; Amos i. 2), and the foliage is not unfrequently compared to the hair or wool (צֹמֶת) of animals (Ezek. xvii. 3, 22; xxxi. 3, 10, 14; Saalschütz, *Das Mosaische Recht.*, 158).

2. *What constituted a Nazarite.*—The special vow whereby one bound himself to be a *Nazarite* (נִזִּיר) involved the following three things:—He is to—*i.* Abstain from wine and strong drink—or as Onkelos, who renders *בין ויין ושכר*—and the ancient Jewish canons will have it, from old and new wine—vinegar made of wine or strong drink; liquor of grapes; grapes either moist or dried; and, in fact, from every production of

the vine—even from the very stones and skin of the vine. According to the Jewish canons, however, 'strong drink made of dates, or such like, is lawful for the Nazarite' (Maimonides, *Hilchoth Neziruth*, v. 1). *ii.* Refrain from cutting the hair off his head during the whole period of his Nazariteship. And, *iii.* Avoid every contact with the dead, even if his parents, or brothers, or sisters were to die during his Nazariteship. If he was accidentally defiled by death suddenly occurring on his premises, he was obliged to observe the legal purification of seven days (comp. Num. xix. 14); cut off his hair on the seventh day—which in this case was not burnt but buried (*Mishna Temura*, vi. 4; and Maimonides, *in loco*); bring on the eighth day two turtle-doves or two young pigeons to the priest—one for a sin-offering and the other for a burnt-offering; hallow his head, offer a lamb of the first year as a trespass-offering, renew his vow, and begin again his Nazariteship, as the days which had passed since the commencement of his vow were lost through this interruption (Num. vi. 1-12). As the Mosaic law says nothing about the formality of the Nazarite vow, and as all other declarations were binding wherever and whenever made (Deut. xxiii. 24), we must accept the ancient Jewish canons that the vow was made in private, and that it was binding even if a man or woman simply said, 'Behold, I am a Nazarite!' (הִרִינִי נִזִּיר), or repeated, 'I also become one,' when hearing any one else make this declaration (*Mishna, Nazir*, i. 3; iii. 1; iv. 1). A father could make a vow for his son before he was thirteen years of age, but not a mother for hers (Num. xxx. 8; *Sota*, iii. 8; *Nazir*, iii. 6). A man had the power to disannul his wife's vow (*Nazir*, iv. 1; Maimonides, *Hilchoth Neziruth*, ii. 17), but not his slave's, and in case he did prohibit him to perform it, he was bound to fulfil it as soon as he was set at liberty (*Nazir*, ix. 1). Men and women who, after taking the Nazarite vow, cut their hair or plucked it off with their hands, or defiled themselves by wilfully coming in contact with dead bodies, or partook of wine, received forty stripes (*Nazir*, iv. 3; Maimonides, *Hilchoth Nazir*, v. 2, 6, 8, 11). So rigid were the regulations, that the Nazarite was not allowed to comb his hair lest some of it might be torn out, but he was permitted to smooth it with his hands (*Nazir*, vi. 3).

3. *Accomplishment of the Nazarite vow, and the offerings connected therewith.*—When the time of his Nazariteship was accomplished, the Nazarite had to present himself before the door of the sanctuary with three sacrifices, corresponding to the three prohibitions of Nazaritism—*i.* A he-lamb of the first year for a burnt-offering; *ii.* a ewe-lamb also of the first year for a sin-offering; and *iii.* a ram for a peace-offering. With the latter 'he had to bring six tenth-deals and two-thirds of a tenth-deal of flour, from which were baked twenty cakes, viz., ten unleavened cakes and ten unleavened wafers. These twenty cakes were anointed with a fourth part of a log of oil, as fixed by a law of Moses from Sinai, and were all brought in one vessel' (Maimonides, *Hilchoth Neziruth*, viii. 1). Besides these extraordinary cakes and wafers, he had to bring the ordinary meat-offering and drink-offering appointed for all sacrifices (comp. Num. xxviii.). These three sacrifices were designed both as an atonement for the sins which the Nazarite unconsciously committed during his Nazariteship and as an expression of thanksgiving to him by



whose grace he had happily fulfilled the time of his vow. After the priest had offered these sacrifices—sin-offering first, burnt-offering second, and peace-offering third (Maimonides, *Hilchoth Nezirut*, viii. 2)—the Nazarite cut off his head-crown (כֹּרֶת נֶזִיר) —i.e., the hair which was his Nazarite pledge—at the door, threw it into the fire under the peace-offering, or, as the ancient Jewish canons have it, under the caldron in which the peace-offering was being boiled (*Mishna, Nazir*, vi. 8). Whereupon 'the priest took the boiled shoulder of the ram, one of the ten unleavened cakes from the basket, and one of the unleavened wafers, laid them on the Nazarite's hand, put his hands under those of the owner, and waved it all before the Lord' (*Mishna, Nazir*, vi. 9). The fat was then salted and burned upon the altar, whilst the breast and the fore-leg were eaten by the priests after the fat was burned; the cake, too, which was waved, and the boiled shoulder, were eaten by the priests, but the remaining bread and the meat were eaten by the owners' (Maimonides, *Hilchoth Maase Ha-Corbanoth*, ix. 9-11). Besides these sacrifices which were ordained, the Nazarite also brought a free-will offering proportioned to his circumstances (Num. vi. 13-21). In the time of the temple there was a Nazarite chamber in the woman's court in the south-east corner, where the Nazarites boiled their peace-offerings, cut off the hair of their heads, and cast it into the fire under the caldron. They were, however, also allowed to cut off their hair in the country. 'But whether the Nazarite cut it in the country or in the sanctuary, he was obliged to have the hair cast under the caldron, and was not allowed to do it before the appointed time for opening the door of the court, as it is written, 'the door of the tent' (Num. vi. 8); which does not mean that he is to cut off his hair *before* or *at* the door, for that would be treating the sanctuary with contempt' (*Mishna, Middoth*, ii. 5; *Nazir*, vi. 8; Maimonides, *Hilchoth Nezirut*, viii. 3). The assertion, therefore, of Dr. Howson (*Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, i. 499), Mr. S. Clark (*Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*, s. v. *Nazarite*), and others, that the vow recorded in Acts xviii. 18 cannot be regarded as a regular Nazarite vow, because it is said that Paul 'shaved his head in Cenchrea,' and because it 'was not cut off at the door of the temple where the sacrifices were offered, as was required by the law of the Nazarite,' is at variance with the practice of the Jews in the days of our Saviour. One could also take upon himself one of the obligations of a Nazarite, and then send his sacrifices through a Nazarite, as may be seen from the following remark: 'He who said, 'Lo, I take upon myself the shaving of a Nazarite,' is bound to bring the offerings of shavings for cleanliness, and may offer them through any Nazarite he pleases. Or if he says, 'I take upon myself half the offerings of a Nazarite,' or 'I take upon myself half the shaving of a Nazarite,' he has only to bring half the sacrifices, and can send them through any Nazarite he likes, and that Nazarite pays those offerings from his own' (Maimonides, *Hilchoth Nezirut*, viii. 18). This circumstance, which evidently arose from the fact that the offerings required from a full Nazarite were beyond the means of the pious poor, and which made it also an act of piety for a rich man to pay the necessary expenses, and thus enable his poorer brethren to complete their vow (Joseph. *Antiq.* xix. 6. 1), explains Acts

xxi. 23, 24, 26, where we find that St. Paul could only take upon himself a part of the vow, then proceed with the poor Nazarites to the temple to offer through them, and thus make them discharge his charges about the sacrifices.

4. *Duration of the Nazarite vow.*—The Mishna says nothing about the duration of the vow, but leaves every one who takes it to fix his own. The administrators of the Mosaic law were obliged to specify a certain number of days as the lowest for Naziriteship, since it not unfrequently happened that some took the vow without mentioning any definite time whatever, whilst others, if they could take it for a few days, would vow too often, and thereby diminish its solemn character. Hence the Jewish canons determined that 'if any one says, I will be a Nazarite, without mentioning expressly how long, he cannot be a Nazarite less than thirty days; and even if he says, I take upon myself to be a Nazarite with an exceedingly great Naziriteship, it is not to be more than thirty days, because he expressed no time. If he mentions less than thirty days, e.g., if he says I am a Nazarite for one day, or ten days, or twenty days, he is nevertheless a Nazarite for thirty days, for there is no Naziriteship for less than thirty days. This is a law transmitted by tradition. But if he mentions a time more than thirty days, e.g., if he says thirty-one days, or forty, or a hundred days, or a hundred years, he must be a Nazarite during the said period, neither less nor more' (Maimonides, *Hilchoth Nezirut*, iii. 1-3; *Mishna, Nazir*, i. 3, iii. 1, vi. 3; Joseph. *Wars*, ii. 15. 1). The ancient expositors connect the fixing of the indefinite vow at thirty days, with the words, 'he shall be holy' (קֹדֶשׁ יִהְיֶה) (Num. vi. 5), by the exegetical rule called *Gematria* (סְתֵם נִזְרוֹת שְׁלֹשִׁים יוֹם שְׁנֵאִמֵּר קֹדֶשׁ יִהְיֶה, יהיה בנזמטריא שלשים) where יהיה (10 + 5 + 10 + 5 = 30) amounts to thirty (comp. *Siphri*, in loco). It will be seen from this that there were some who took the Nazarite vow for life. These are called נִזְרֵי עוֹלָם, *perpetual Nazarites*, in contradistinction to those who took the vow for a limited period, and are therefore called נִזְרֵי יָמִים, *Nazarites for a certain number of days*, or נִזְרֵי זְמַן קָצוֹב, *Nazarites for a short time*. The Bible mentions three *Nazarites for life*—Samson, Samuel, and John the Baptist. Fathers, and mothers with the consent of their husbands, could devote their prospective children to perpetual Naziritism (1 Sam. i. 11, with *Mishna, Nazir*, ix. 5), in which case the mother abstained during her pregnancy from wine and strong drink, and unclean things (Judg. xiii. 4; Luke i. 15). These life-long Nazarites were afterwards divided into two classes, viz., נִזְרֵי עוֹלָם, *ordinary perpetual Nazarites*, and נִזְרֵי שְׂמֹשֶׁן, *Samson-Nazarites*, and the distinction between the two was that the former were allowed to diminish their hair when it became too heavy, if they were willing to bring the three appointed sacrifices, and were obliged to bring a sacrifice in case they became defiled; whilst the latter were not allowed to diminish their hair, however heavy, but were not required to bring a sacrifice in case they became defiled (*Mishna, Nazir*, i. 2), because Samson brought no sacrifice after he was defiled by contact with the jaw-bone of a dead ass (Judg. xv. 16). Of course, any one who wished to become a *Samson-Nazarite* had distinctly to say so (הֲרִינִי כְּשֹׂמֶשֶׁן) when he took the vow.

5. *Origin and import of Nazaritism.*—That Nazaritism existed in the patriarchal age, and that the Mosaic law simply regulated it, and brought it into harmony with the other divine institutions, is evident from the wording of the enactment in Num. vi. 1, etc., and is now generally admitted. Since it was resorted to like prayers by pious people in cases of sickness (Joseph. *Wars*, ii. 15), or when starting on a long journey (*Mishna*, *Nazir*, i. 6), or when wishing for children (*ibid.* ii. 7, ix. 10), as a mode of approaching God, and of conciliating the divine favour, the Mosaic law has made Nazaritism a consecration to the Lord (קִרְשׁ יְהוָה) in the highest sense, and after the loftiest model of priestly piety, as may be seen from the following striking parallels:—*i.* Like the priest, the Nazarite was prohibited taking wine and strong drink, and with this difference, that whilst the former had only to abstain from intoxicating liquors when ministering in the sanctuary, the latter had to abstain during the whole of his Nazariteship from every production of the vine (Lev. x. 8, 9, with Num. vi. 3, 4); *ii.* like the priest, the Nazarite had to avoid defilement from the dead, only with this difference, that whilst an exception was made for the former, in case of his nearest and dearest relations, no exception whatever was tolerated for the latter (Lev. xxi. 1-3, with Num. vi. 6, 12), so that in this respect the Nazarite was even put on an equality with the high-priest himself (Lev. xxi. 11, with Num. vi. 7); and, *iii.*, like the high-priest, who was distinguished by (נֹר הַקִּרְשִׁי) a *holy diadem* (Exod. xxix. 6, xxxix.

30; Lev. viii. 9), the Nazarite had (נֹר אֱלֹהֵי עַל הָרֹאשׁ) the crown of God upon his head (Num. vi. 7), the very term employed for the sacerdotal crown (comp. *Mishna*, *Nazir*, vii. 1; Maimonides, *More Nebuchim*, iii. 48; and especially Abravanel, *Comment. on Num.* vi.)

6. *Literature.*—The most ancient notices of Nazaritism are given in the *Mishna Tract Nazir*; in the important commentary on Numbers and Deuteronomy, called *Siphri*, on Num. vi.—a description of this ancient work is given in the article MIDRASH of this Cyclopædia; by Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chesaka*, *Hilchoth Nezirut*, vol. iii. p. 34, ff.; Rashi, Rashbam, Ibn Ezra, and Abravanel on Num. vi.; Spencer, *De Legibus Hebræorum*, lib. iii., cap. vi., sec. 1; Michaelis, *Commentaries on the Laws of Moses*, Book iii. sec. 145, vol. ii. p. 284, etc., English translation; Bähr, *Symbolik des Mosaischen Cultus*, vol. i. p. 364, vol. ii. p. 416, ff., 430, ff.; Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. p. 516, ff.; by the same author, *Die Alterthümer des Volkes Israel*, p. 96, ff.; Keil, *Handbuch der biblischen Archæologie*, vol. i. p. 322, 2d ed.; and for the connection of Nazaritism with Essenism, see Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. iii., 2d ed., Leipzig 1863, p. 80, ff.—C. D. G.

NEAH (נֶעָה; 'the shaking'; Alex. 'Ἀνωά; omitted in the Vat. Cod.; *Noa*), a town on the eastern border of Zebulun, mentioned only in Josh. xix. 13. It was situated between the valley of Jiphthah-el and Japhia. Japhia has been identified with the modern Yafa, two miles south-west of Nazareth, and Jiphthah-el is Wady Abilfn, ten miles north-west; consequently Neah must be looked for in that district. Its site has not been discovered, and it appears to have been unknown

to Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Anua*). Three miles north-west of Nazareth is a little village, manifestly an ancient site, called 'Ain. Its position would answer well to Neah, and the names have some radical affinity (נֶעָה; عَيْن).

It is probable that the Arabic 'Ain is just a corruption of the Hebrew Neah, occasioned by the familiarity of the people with the former word.—J. L. P.

NEAPOLIS (Νεάπολις, 'new city'; *Neapolis*), a city of Greece, celebrated as the first place in Europe visited by the Apostle Paul. After traversing Asia Minor in his missionary tour, 'he came down to Troas; and thence, in obedience to a heavenly injunction, he sailed for Macedonia, and Luke thus describes the voyage:—'Loosing from Troas, we came with a straight course to Samothracia, and the next day to Neapolis' (Acts xvi. 11). Samothracia is an island in the northern part of the Archipelago, opposite the coast of Troas. Forty miles west of it is another island called Thasos; and on the north-west of the latter the coast of the mainland recedes, forming a wide and beautiful bay, in the centre of which is a small rocky promontory having a harbour on each side (Purdy, *Sailing Directory*, p. 152); this is the site of *Neapolis*. It is now occupied by a Turkish village called *Kavala*, which gives its name to the bay (Leake, *Travels*, iii. 180). Paul did not remain here, but proceeded at once to Philippi. Along the shore behind Neapolis is a steep ridge, a branch of the Pangæus range. Across this runs an ancient paved road, commencing at the town, and ascending through a defile formed by cliffs close to the beach. After gaining the summit, it descends into a wide and rich plain, in which lie the ruins of Philippi, ten miles from Neapolis. This was the road taken by Paul. From the top of the pass the view is magnificent. Below lie the ruins of the town with its double harbour, and the whole bay is spread out beyond. In front of it is the island of Thasos, with the high top of Samothrace appearing on the horizon on the left; while away in the distance on the south is seen the lofty summit of Mount Athos (Clarke's *Travels*, ch. xiii.) At a later period Paul again visited Neapolis, though the name is not mentioned. After a three months' residence in Greece, Luke informs us, 'We sailed away from Philippi after the days of unleavened bread, and came unto them to Troas in five days' (Acts xx. 6). Philippi was an inland town, but Neapolis was its port, and when Paul sailed from it he was said to have sailed from Philippi; just as one sailing from the Pyæus is said to sail from Athens. His second voyage was a long one, for it took five days to do what had been previously done in two.

The town of Neapolis was within the bounds of the province of Thrace (Pliny, *H. N.*, iv. 18); but the emperor Vespasian attached it to Macedonia (Suetonius, *Vesp.* 8); and hence, while Pliny locates it in Thrace, Ptolemy (iii. 13) and Strabo (vii. 330) assign it to Macedonia. During the great battle of Philippi, the fleet of Brutus and Cassius lay in the bay of Neapolis (Appian, *De Bel. Civil.* iv. 106), which Appian states was nine miles distant from their camp at Philippi; and this statement, taken in conjunction with the indications of the ancient Itineraries (see *Itineraria*, ed. Wessel,



pp. 603, 640, 321), is sufficient to prove the identity of Neapolis and Kavala, notwithstanding the arguments of Cousinéry (*Voyage dans la Macédoine*).

The remains of Neapolis are extensive; the most important being an aqueduct nearly ten miles in length, constructed to bring water from the distant hills. There are also numbers of columns and hewn stones, partly lying among rubbish in the suburbs, and partly built up in the modern houses. Several inscriptions have also been found, and sculptured stones and marble sarcophagi (Clarke's *Travels*, ch. xii.; *Bibliotheca Sacra*, October 1860; Conybeare and Howson, *Life of St. Paul*, i. 309, seq.) The modern town or village is said to contain about 5000 inhabitants.

2. *Neapolis* was the name given during the Roman age to the ancient city of Shechem. The change appears to have taken place during the reign of Vespasian, as upon the coins of that reign we first find the inscription, '*Flavia Neapolis*,' the former title taken from Flavius Vespasian (Eckhel, *Doctr. Numm.*, iii. 433). Josephus generally calls the city Sichem; but he has Neapolis in *Bell. Jud.* iv. 8. 1; and the words of Epiphanius afford sufficient proof of the identity of Sichem and Neapolis—'Ἐν Σικίμοις, τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ἐν τῇ νυνὶ Νεαπόλει (*Adv. Hær.* iii., p. 1055; see Reland, *Pal.*, p. 1004). For a description and history of this city, see SHECHEM.

3. An ancient episcopal city of Arabia, whose bishops were present at the councils of Chalcedon and Constantinople. The writer discovered an inscription at the ruined town of *Suleim*, at the western base of Jebel Hauran, near the ancient Kenath, which shows that Suleim is the episcopal *Neapolis* (Porter's *Damascus*, ii. 85; Reland, *Pal.*, p. 217; S. Paulo, *Geogr. Sac.*, p. 296).—J. L. P.

NEBAIOTH (נְבִיאוֹת; Nabaiōth; *Nabajoth*), the eldest son of Ishmael (Gen. xxv. 13), and the founder of the first of the twelve Ishmaelitic tribes (ver. 16). We are told that the Ishmaelites inhabited the country 'from Havilah to Shur,' which includes the whole peninsula of Arabia lying between the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf on the one side, and the Red Sea on the other (ver. 18; see Kalisch on *Gen.*, pp. 379, 484). In this region, therefore, the descendants of Nebaioth dwelt. They occupied the most distinguished place among their brethren, for when Esau married Mahalath, the daughter of Ishmael, the sacred historian distinguishes her as the sister of Nebaioth (xxviii. 9; xxxvi. 3). At that remote age most of the tribes inhabiting Syria and Arabia were nomad or semi-nomad. Both the climate and soil of Arabia, in which Ishmael and his sons settled, rendered this mode of life necessary. Their chief wealth consisted in flocks and herds. Owing to the total want of rain during the long summer, and the extreme scarcity of water, the herbage dries up, and shepherds must move their flocks to other regions. But while all the great tribes were thus compelled to migrate, it would seem that they possessed strongholds and fortified enclosures in certain favoured spots, where some members of each tribe always remained, and where, probably, they deposited their heavy stores and valuables. This is the case with some of the great Arab tribes at the present day. After enumerating the sons of Ishmael, Moses says, 'These are the sons of

Ishmael, and these their names, *by their towns and by their castles*' (xxv. 16). The word rendered 'towns' (חֲצֵרֵיהֶם) is derived from a root (חָצַר) which signifies 'to enclose,' and is applied usually in the Bible to the towns of a pastoral people, as contradistinguished from those (עִיר, pl. עָרִים) of an agricultural or commercial people. And the 'castles' (טִירוֹת) were 'circular enclosures,' formed by a strong though rude fence, within which tents might be pitched, and flocks kept, in times of danger. It would appear, therefore, that all the Ishmaelite tribes adapted themselves in habits and occupation to the nature of the country in which they settled;—roaming with their flocks and herds over the great pasture-lands of Arabia, and establishing permanent stations wherever practicable (see 1 Chron. v. 10, 19-21). The territory at first occupied by Nebaioth appears to have been on the south-east of Palestine, in and around the mountains of Edom. There Esau met and became allied with them. As their numbers and their flocks increased, they were forced to wander more into the south and east so as to secure pasture; and they were brought into connection with their brethren the children of Kedar, with whom Isaiah associates them (lx. 7). It is somewhat remarkable that this celebrated Arab tribe is so seldom mentioned in the Bible. Three times the name occurs in Genesis, once in the genealogies of Chronicles (i. 29), and once in Isaiah; after his age we hear no more of them in Scripture.

After the close of the O. T. canon, both Jewish and heathen writers frequently mention an Arabian tribe called *Nabatei*, or *Nabatheans* (Ναβαταῖοι), as the most influential and numerous of all the tribes of that country. Josephus says regarding the descendants of Ishmael, 'These inhabited all the country from the Euphrates to the Red Sea, and called it *Nabatenē*' (Ναβατηνή; *Antiq.* i. 13. 4). He regards the Nabatei as descendants of Nebaioth. And Jerome affirms that Nebaioth gave his name to all the region from the Euphrates to the Red Sea (*Comm. in Gen.* xxv. 13). But the identity of the *Nabatheans* or *Nabatei*, and the descendants of Nebaioth, has recently been called in question chiefly by Quatremère (*Mémoire sur les Nabatéens*), and Professor Chwolson of St. Petersburg (*Die Ssabier*). These celebrated Oriental scholars have prosecuted their researches among the remains of very early Arabian and Babylonian literature. They have proved the existence of a tribe called *Nabat* (نَبَط), inhabiting in ancient times the country between the Tigris and Euphrates, and afterwards scattered through the Arabian peninsula; they infer, from fragments of their literature and statements of Arab authors, that they were Arameans, and not Ishmaelites. To some of their treatises Professor Chwolson assigns a very high antiquity, dating them as far back as 2400 B.C.; but other eminent scholars consider them to be not earlier than the first century of our era. In fact, little importance can be attached to Chwolson's dates and theories (see, however, *Ueber die Ueberreste der Alt-Babylonischen Literatur*, 1859). It is doubtless true that a tribe called Nabat existed at a comparatively early period in Mesopotamia; but may they not have been a branch of the family of Nebaioth? May they not have migrated thither, as sections of the great tribes of Arabia are wont to do now—for

instance, the *Shummar*, whose home is Jebel Shummar, in Central Arabia, where they have villages and settlements; but large sections of the tribe have long been naturalised among the rich pastures of Mesopotamia. In fact, there are few of the great Arabian tribes which do not pay periodical visits to the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, and which have not branches established there. So it probably was with the tribe of Nebaioth. They visited Mesopotamia, attracted by the water and pasture; then some of them settled there; then from close intercourse with the learned Chaldeans, they may have acquired a taste for their literature, and may have in part adopted their language and their habits of life; and at length when driven out of Central Asia by the rising power of the Assyrians, Medes, and Persians, they carried these back among their brethren in Arabia. Such, at least, is a probable solution of a difficult question. There can be no doubt that the descendants of Nebaioth settled originally in and around Edom; that in the time of Isaiah they were an influential tribe living in Western Arabia beside the children of Kedar; that the *Nabatheans* occupied the same region in the time of the Maccabees (1 Maccab. v. 24, *seq.*, *cir.* B.C. 161; cf. 1 Maccab. ix. 33-37; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 8. 3); and that Josephus considered these Nabatheans to be the descendants of Ishmael. From these facts it may be fairly inferred that the *Nabatheans* of the classic authors, the tribe *Nebaioth* of the sacred authors, and the *Beni Nabat* of the Arabs, were identical (Forster, *Geogr. of Arabia*, i. 209, *seq.*; Kalisch *on Gen.*, p. 481; Jerome, *Comment. en Isaiam*, cap. lx. 7).

It would appear that the descendants of Esau, having at first sought an alliance with the Ishmaelites among the mountains of Edom, afterwards succeeded in forcing them to leave their strongholds and migrate to the deserts of Arabia. After a long interval the Ishmaelites returned, and, having expelled the Edomites (or *Idumeans*), took possession of their ancient country. The date of this conquest is unknown; but it was probably about the time of the second captivity; for then the Persians were all-powerful in Central Asia, and would naturally drive back the Arab tribes that had settled there (cf. Diodor. Sic., ii. 48); and then also we know that the Idumeans, as if driven from their own mountains, settled in Southern Palestine. But be this as it may, we learn that, about B.C. 312, Antigonos, one of the successors of Alexander the Great, sent an army against the Nabatheans of Petra; the city was taken and plundered, in the absence of the men, who were at the time attending a great fair in another locality; on the retreat of the army, however, with their booty, they were attacked and cut to pieces by the Nabatheans. Another expedition was sent, but was unsuccessful (Diod. Sic., xix. 104-110). At this period the Nabatheans, like their forefathers, were rich in flocks and herds; they were also, like the Ishmaelites in the time of Jacob, the carriers of spices and merchandise between Arabia and Egypt; and for the protection of their wealth and the furtherance of their commerce, they had erected strong cities in the interior of their country Edom, and on the shores of the *Ælanitic Gulf*. Idumea Proper, or Edom, now became the centre of their influence and power. They gradually advanced in civilisation

and commercial enterprise until nearly the whole traffic of Western Asia was in their hands (Diod. ii. 48-50; iii. 42, 43). From their capital, Petra, caravan roads radiated in all directions—eastward to the Persian Gulf and Mesopotamia; northward to Perœa, Damascus, and Palmyra; westward to Palestine and Phœnicia; and southward to the seaports on the *Ælanitic Gulf* and Red Sea, and to Egypt (see *Tabula Peutingeriana*; *Tab. Theodosiana*; Strabo, xvi., pp. 778-780; Forster, *Geogr. of Arabia*, i. 222). When a new route for commerce between the East and the West was opened through Egypt, the Nabatheans became its determined opponents. They built war galleys and plundered the merchant fleets in the Red Sea; and they also attacked and pillaged such caravans as ventured to convey the spices of Arabia, and the merchandise of Persia and Syria, by any other way than their own (Diod. Sic., iii. 43; Strabo, xvi., p. 777; Arrian, *Periplus*).

During the height of their power the country of the Nabatheans embraced the whole of Edom, the eastern shore of the *Ælanitic Gulf* and the Red Sea to the parallel of the city of Medineh, the desert plain of Arabia to the mountains of Nejd; while on the north-west and north it was bounded by Palestine and Bashan (Strabo, xvi. 767, 777, 779; 1 Maccab. v. 25-28; ix. 35; Diod. Sic., ii. 48; Epiphan., *adv. Hæres.*, p. 142). It is true Josephus and Jerome state that the Nabatheans occupied the whole country between Egypt and the Euphrates; but by Nabatheans they seem to have meant all the descendants of Ishmael (cf. Reland, *Pal.*, p. 90; Kalisch *on Gen.*, p. 482). It is not known at what time the Nabatheans gave up the patriarchal form of government and elected a king. The first mention of a king is about B.C. 166, in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Maccab. v. 8). All their kings appear to have been called either *Aretas* or *Obodas*, and the kingdom was known among classic writers as the 'Kingdom of Arabia,' sometimes taking the addition *Petræa*, apparently from the capital city Petra. Alexander Jannæus was defeated by Obodas, king of Arabia (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 13. 5); and a few years later Antiochus Dionysius of Syria was killed in battle against the Arabians, and *Aretas* their king seized Damascus (xiii. 15. 1, 2; *Bell. Jud.* iv. 7, 8). The kings of Arabia are often mentioned in connection with the conquest and occupation of the province of Syria by the Romans (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 5. 1; xv. 6. 2; xvi. 7. 8). A few years before the Christian era a Roman expedition under the command of *Ælius Gallus*, was sent into Arabia. The Nabathean king, Obodas, received him with professions of friendship, and appointed his minister *Syllæus* to guide the army. By his treachery it was conducted through arid deserts until it was almost destroyed by thirst and disease (Strabo, xvi., p. 780). Herod Antipas married a daughter of Aretas king of the Nabatheans (Matt. xiv. 3, 4); and it appears to have been the same Aretas who captured Damascus, and governed it by an ethnarch at the time of Paul's conversion (Acts ix. 25; 2 Cor. xi. 32). The kingdom of the Nabatheans was overthrown in A.D. 105 by Cornelius Palma, governor of Syria, and was annexed to the Roman empire (Dio. Cass., 68. 14; Eutrop. viii. 2. 9). Their commercial enterprise and wealth soon afterwards began to decline; and when the fierce followers of



Mohammed overran Western Asia, the cities of the Nabatheans were ruined, their country laid waste, and the remnant of the people in all probability resumed the nomad life of their ancestors, and were mixed up with the tribes of the desert (IDUMEA; PETRA; ARETAS; see Vincent's *Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients*, ii. 272, seq.; Ritter, *Pal. und Syr.*, i. 68-82; Robinson, *B. R.*, ii. 158-166; Ritter, *Gesch. des Petr. Arab.*; Quatremère, *Memoire sur les Nabat.*)

The splendid rock temples and tombs of Petra, which have now for half a century attracted the attention and called forth the admiration of Eastern travellers, were the works of the Nabatheans; and show that they surpassed all other Arab tribes in refinement as much as they did in commercial enterprise (Burckhardt's *Travels in Syria*, pref. vii., seq., pp. 421-434; Laborde, *Mt. Sinai and Petra*, pp. 150-217; Bartlett, *Forty Days in the Desert*, pp. 107-145; *Handbook for Syria and Palestine*, pp. 43-58).

For the later history and physical geography of the region once occupied by the Nabatheans, see the article IDUMEA; and for fuller details, the authorities mentioned above.—J. L. P.

NEBALLAT (נְבָלָט, perhaps=נְבֹלָט, 'folly in secret'; omitted in LXX.; *Neballat*), a town occupied by the Benjamites after the captivity, mentioned only in Neh. xi. 34. It is grouped with Lod, the Lydda of the N. T., and was consequently situated in the plain of Sharon. No subsequent writer, sacred or classical, refers to the place; but about four miles north-east of Lydda is a village with some few traces of antiquity in and around it, called *Beit Nebâla* (بيت نبالا, 'the house of Nebâla'), which, as Dr. Robinson has suggested, may be identified with the ancient Neballat (*B. R.*, ii. 232; Van de Velde, *Memoir*, p. 336).—J. L. P.

NEBO (נְבוֹ; Sept. Ναβῶ), a Chaldean and Assyrian idol mentioned in Is. xlvi. 1, and Jer. xlviii. 1, and supposed to preside over learning and eloquence; hence described as the 'far-hearing,' and 'he who instructs.' He corresponds with the Latin Mercury, the Greek Hermes, and the Thoth of the Egyptians. He was likewise worshipped by the Sabians in Arabia (Norberg, *Onomast.* p. 95). Gesenius traces the name in נְבִיא, *prophet*, an interpreter of the divine will. The divine worship paid to this idol by the Chaldeans and Assyrians is attested by many compound proper names of which it forms part, as *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Nebuzardan*, *Nebuhashban*; besides others mentioned in classical writers,—*Nabonedus*, *Nabonassar*, *Naburianus*, *Nabonabus*, *Nabopolassar*. (See Gesenius and Henderson on Is. xlvi. 1, and Sir H. Rawlinson in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, i. 637-640.)—J. K.

NEBO, MOUNT (הַר־נְבוֹ; ὄρος Ναβῶ; *Mons Nebo*). This celebrated mountain is mentioned only three times in Scripture, and as each is topographically important it may be well to cite the passages. In the general itinerary given in Num. xxxiii. 47, it is said, 'They removed from Almondibalthaim, and pitched in the mountains of Abarim, before Nebo' (לְפָנֵי נְבוֹ, 'in the face of Nebo'). It is not quite clear from this passage whether the writer means the mountain or the town of Nebo;

but a comparison with Deut. xxxii. 49 shows that it is most probably the former. In this passage is recorded the divine command to Moses, 'Get thee

up into this mountain Abarim, Mount Nebo (הַר־נְבוֹ, (הַעֲבְרִים הַזֶּה הַר־נְבוֹ), which is in the land of

Moab, which is over against Jericho' (עַל־פְּנֵי יִרְחֹ). Three points are here established—1. Abarim was the name of a range or group of hills, of which Nebo was a peak; 2. Nebo was in the land of Moab, and consequently east of the Jordan; 3. The peak was opposite to and in view of (such is the obvious meaning of the Hebrew

עַל־פְּנֵי as here used) Jericho. The next passage is Deut. xxxiv. 1, 'And Moses went up from the plains of Moab unto the mountain of Nebo, to the top of Pisgah, that is over against Jericho.' It is not quite certain whether *Pisgah* is here a proper name, or, as rendered in the margin and in some of the later Targums, 'hill' or 'peak'—'Moses went up to the mountain of Nebo, the top of the hill' (רֹאשׁ הַהַר הַזֶּה). If it be a proper name, then it seems to have been equivalent to Abarim, and to have denoted a range or group, of which Nebo was one summit (PISGAH).

It is evident from these notices that Mount Nebo commanded a wide view over Palestine, both east and west of the Jordan. Josephus, speaking of the death of Moses, says of Abarim, 'It is a very high mountain, situated over against Jericho (ἵερὸς ὄρος ἀντικρὺς), and one that affords to such as are upon it a prospect of the greatest part of the excellent land of Canaan' (*Antiq.* iv. 8. 48). Eusebius says that Nebo is a mountain 'over the Jordan opposite (ἀπέναντι) Jericho in Moab . . . and until this day it is shown in the sixth mile west of Heshbon' (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Naban*). In another place he locates it between Heshbon and Livias (s. v. *Abarim*), and states that the mountains are still called Abarim, and are near Mount Phogor. Livias lay in the plain on the east bank of the Jordan, and the site of Heshbon is well known. According to Eusebius and Jerome, therefore, Mount Nebo must be some peak on the brow of the mountain range, near the place where Wady Heshbon breaks down from the lofty plateau of Moab; and this agrees with the statements of the sacred writer. There is not in that region any very prominent peak which the eye of an observer could identify as Nebo. On the south bank of Wady Heshbân, and about seven miles west of the ruins of the town, the writer noticed some projecting points of the range—not perhaps higher than others near them, but shooting out further westward so as to command the Jordan valley and western Palestine more than the others. Some one of these may have been the Nebo on which the lawgiver died, though it is now impossible to identify the exact spot. There is no evidence that Nebo was the highest peak of the range; and travellers and geographers searching for such a peak have been misled as to the true locality. Thus Burckhardt, when on his way from Heshbon to Kerak, in passing Jebel Attarus says, 'this is the highest point in the neighbourhood and seems to be the mount Nebo of Scripture' (*Travels in Syria*, p. 370; cf. Seetzen, *Reise*, i. 408; Irby and Mangles, p. 464). But Attarus is not opposite Jericho, nor is it visible from it. It lies much too far south to be identified with Nebo. Even Robinson was not

altogether free from this wrong impression of the altitude and isolation of Nebo, for he remarks, 'During the whole time we were on the coast of the Dead Sea, on the Jordan, and in or near the plains of Jericho, we were much interested in looking out among the eastern mountains for Mount Nebo. . . But our search was in vain; for although we passed in such a direction as to see the mountains over against Jericho from every quarter, yet there seems to be none standing so out from the rest, or so marked, as to be recognised as the Nebo of Scriptures' (*B. R.*, i. 569; so also Stanley, *S. and P.*, p. 294). In fact there are only two conspicuous peaks in the mountain range east of the Jordan—*Attarus*, and *Jildad* near es-Salt—and neither of these can be Nebo; the former is too far south, the latter too far north.

The name Nebo Gesenius derives from the root נבא, 'to project'; and hence נבו would signify 'a projection.' This would seem to favour the identity of one of these projecting bluffs south of Wady Heshbân (*Thesaurus*, p. 841). Others trace the name to the heathen deity *Nebo*, and suppose that there was an ancient high place on the peak where that deity was worshipped (Stanley, p. 294). Of this there is no proof. (For fuller information, see Ritter, *Pal. und Syr.*, ii. 1176, *seq.*, 1186, *seq.*; *Handbook*, 299; Drew, *Scripture Lands*, p. 96; Reland, *Pal.*, pp. 342, 496).—J. L. P.

NEBO (נבו; Naḅaû, *Nabo*), a city of the Gadites east of the Jordan, grouped with Heshbon, Elealah, and Baal-meon (Num. xxxii. 3, 38), and therefore situated on the Mishor, or plateau of Moab. The other three towns have been identified; they lie within a few miles of each other at the head of Wady Heshbân; and it may be inferred that Nebo was not far distant. Some three or four miles west of Heshbon, on the southern brow of the wady, are traces of ancient ruins, which may perhaps mark the site of this old city, though the name appears to be lost. Nebo was rebuilt by the Gadites; but it would seem from 1 Chron. v. 8 that both it and Baal-meon were inhabited by a Reubenite family; or perhaps that family held the country up to the borders of Nebo and Baal-meon. At a later period it was captured by the Moabites, and the prophet Isaiah joins it with Dibon and Medeba, in the curse pronounced upon that land (xv. 2). Jeremiah likewise predicts its destruction as one of the cities of Moab (xlviii. 1, 22). Eusebius and Jerome mention this city, and locate it eight miles south of Heshbon; stating that in their day it was deserted though still retaining its old name (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Nabo*). They confound it, however, with Kenath, a city of Argob in Bashan, which was captured by Nobah the Manassite, and called *Nobah*. That city, as has been shown (KENATH), was situated in the mountains near the eastern boundary of Bashan. There was no connection whatever between Nobah the Manassite, and Nebo a city of Moab. It does not appear from the sacred writers whether the mountain and city of Nebo were near each other; according to Eusebius they must have been some ten miles apart, for he places the former six miles *west*, and the latter eight miles *south* of Heshbon. Moses joins Nebo and Baal-meon, and Isaiah joins Nebo and Medeba (Deut. xxxii. 38; Is. xv. 2). Now Baal-meon is two miles south, and Medeba four miles south-east of Heshbon; it may therefore be

concluded that Nebo was in the same locality, and thus not far distant from the mountain of the same name.

2. In Ezra ii. 29, in the list of those who returned from the captivity in Babylon, we read, '*The children of Nebo*, fifty and two.' That Nebo was a town and not a man, is evident from the context; and it would seem that the town was situated in the tribe of Benjamin; as before it are Ramah, Gaba, Michmas, Bethel, and Ai, and after it Lod and Ono—all of which were towns of Benjamin. With the exception of the similar lists in chap. x. 43, and Neh. vii. 33, the name does not occur elsewhere. Nebo may have been an obscure village of Benjamin; or it may have risen to importance before the captivity; or some colony of Benjamites may have crossed the Jordan at an early period and settled in Nebo of Moab, and on their return from Babylon may have called their new residence by the name of the town they had occupied. Be this as it may, there is now a small village called *Beit Nâbah* in the plain of Sharon, at the foot of the hills of Benjamin, a few miles west of Beth-horon, which is doubtless identical with the Nebo of Ezra. This appears to be the place referred to by Jerome as *Nobe* or *Anob* (*Epist. ad Eustoch.*, *Opera*, i. 690, ed. Migne; *Onomast.*, s. v. *Anob*). But it became celebrated in the time of the Crusades as the site of *Castellum Arnaldi*, built by the Patriarch of Jerusalem to defend the road to the holy city (Will. Tyr. xiv. 8). It was afterwards visited by Richard of England in A. D. 1192 (Robinson, *B. R.*, ii. 254; *Handbook*, p. 286). Though this village was twice seen by Dr. Robinson, and recognised as the *Nobe* of Jerome and the crusades, yet he does not appear to have identified it with the Nebo of Benjamin.—J. L. P.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR (נְבוֹכַדְנֶצַּר), Kings, Chronicles, and Daniel; Jer. xxvii.; xxviii.; xxxiv. 1; xxxix. 1; Ezek. xxvi. 7; and Ezra v. 12; written also נְבוֹכַדְנֶצַּר, NEBUCHADREZZAR, generally in Jeremiah, and in Ezek. xxx. 18) was the name of the Chaldean monarch of Babylon by whom Judah was conquered, and the Jews led into their seventy years' captivity. In the Septuagint version he is called Ναβουχοδονόσορ; by Berosus (ap. Josephum), Ναβουχοδονόσορος; by Abydenus (ap. Eusebium, *Præp. Evang.*), Ναβο-δρόσορος; and by Strabo, the only writer among the Greeks by whom he is named (xv. 687), Ναβο-κοδρόσορος. This name, Nabuchodonosor, has passed from the Septuagint into the Latin Vulgate, and into the authorised English version of the books of Judith and Tobit. The name Nebuchadnezzar has been commonly explained to signify the *treasure of Nebo*, but according to Lorschbach (*Archiv. f. Morgenl. Literatur*), it signifies *Nebo, the prince of gods*; Pers. نبوخذ نصر; see also Norberg's *Onomasticon Cod. Nasar.*, p. 95, *seq.*, and Gesenius in *Isai.* iv. 344, 366. [According to the native orthography, the name is *Nabukd-ariutzur*, and is said to mean *Nebo is the protector against misfortune*. In the *Behistun Inscr.*, it appears in Pers. as *Nabukudrachara*, which is nearer the original than any of the Greek forms.]

The only notices which we have of this monarch in the canonical writings are found in the books of



Kings, Chronicles, Daniel, and Ezra, and in the allusions of the prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

From 2 Kings xxiii. 29, and 2 Chron. xxxv. 20, we gather that in the reign of Josiah (B.C. 610), Pharaoh-Necho, king of Egypt, having approached by sea the coast of Syria, made a friendly application to King Josiah to be allowed a passage through his territories to the dominions of the Assyrian monarch, with whom he was then at war. 'I come not against thee this day, but against the house wherewith I have war; for God (Elohim) commanded me to make haste,' etc. (2 Chron. xxxv. 20, 21). The design of Pharaoh-Necho was to seize upon Carchemish (Circesium or Cercusium), a strong post on the Euphrates; but Josiah, who was tributary to the Babylonian monarch, opposed his progress at Megiddo, where he was defeated and mortally wounded [JOSIAH]. Necho marched upon Jerusalem, when the Jews became tributary to the king of Egypt. Upon this, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon (2 Kings xxiv. 1; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6, where this monarch's name is for the first time introduced), invaded Judah, retook Carchemish, with the territory which had been wrested from him by Necho, seized upon Jehoiakim, the vassal of Pharaoh-Necho, and reduced him to submission (B.C. 607). This invasion took place, according to Jer. xxvi. 1, xlv. 1, in the fourth year of Jehoiachin, but according to Daniel i. 12, in the third. In order to reconcile this apparent contradiction, it has been generally maintained that the first year of Nebuchadnezzar fell partly in the third and partly in the fourth year of Jehoiakim [CAPTIVITIES; DANIEL]. Jehoiachin was at first loaded with chains, in order to be led captive to Babylon, but was eventually restored by Nebuchadnezzar to his throne, on condition of paying an annual tribute. Nebuchadnezzar carried off part of the ornaments of the Temple, together with several hostages of distinguished rank, among whom were the youths Daniel and his three friends Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael (Dan. i.). These were educated at court in the language and sciences of the Chaldeans, where they subsequently filled offices of distinction. The sacred vessels were transferred by Nebuchadnezzar to his temple at Babylon (Is. xxxix.; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6, 7); [BABYLON].

After the conquest of Judea, Nebuchadnezzar turned his attention towards the Egyptians, whom he drove out of Syria, taking possession of all the land between the Euphrates and the *river* (2 Kings xxiv. 7); which some suppose to mean the Nile, but others a small river in the desert, which was reckoned the boundary between Palestine and Egypt (Prideaux's *Connection*).

The fate of Jerusalem was now rapidly approaching its consummation. After three years of fidelity, Jehoiachin renounced his allegiance to Babylon, and renewed his alliance with Necho, when Nebuchadnezzar sent incursions of Ammonites, Moabites and Syrians, together with Chaldeans, to harass him. At length, in the eleventh year of his reign, he was made prisoner, and slain (Jer. xxii.) [JEHOIAKIM]. He was succeeded by his son Jehoiachin, who, after three months' reign, surrendered himself with his family to Nebuchadnezzar, who had come in person to besiege Jerusalem, in the eighth year of his reign (2 Kings xxiv. 10-12) [JEHOIACHIN]. Upon this occasion all the most distinguished inhabitants, including the artificers, were led captive [CAPTIVITIES].

Among the captives, who amounted to no less than 50,000, were Ezekiel (Ezek. i. 1) and Mordecai [ESTHER]. The golden vessels of Solomon were now removed, with the royal treasures, and Mattaniah, the brother of Jehoiachin, placed on the throne by Nebuchadnezzar, who gave him the name of Zedekiah, and bound him by an oath not to enter into an alliance with Egypt. Zedekiah, however, in the ninth year of his reign, formed an alliance with Pharaoh-Hophra, the successor of Necho. Hophra, coming to the assistance of Zedekiah, was driven back into Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar, who finally captured Jerusalem in the eleventh year of Zedekiah's reign (B.C. 588) [ZEDEKIAH]. The Temple, and the whole city, with its towers and walls, were all razed to the ground by Nebuzaradan, Nebuchadnezzar's lieutenant, and the principal remaining inhabitants put to death by Nebuchadnezzar at Riblah. Jeremiah was, however, spared, and Gedaliah appointed governor. He was shortly after murdered by Ishmael, a member of the royal family, who was himself soon obliged to take refuge among the Ammonites. Many of the remaining Jews fled into Egypt, accompanied by Jeremiah; those who remained were soon after expatriated by Nebuchadnezzar, who depopulated the whole country.

He next undertook the siege of Tyre [TYRE], and after its destruction proceeded to Egypt, now distracted by internal commotions, and devastated or made himself master of the whole country from Migdol to Syene (according to the reading of the LXX., Ezek. xxix. 10; xxx. 6), transferring many of the inhabitants to the territory beyond the Euphrates.

We have referred to the captivity of the prophet Daniel, and have to turn to the book which bears his name for the history of this prophet, who, from an exile, was destined to become the great protector of his nation. In the second year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, Daniel, who was found superior in wisdom to the Chaldean magi, was enabled not only to interpret, but to reveal a dream of Nebuchadnezzar's, the very subject of which that monarch had forgotten [DREAMS]. This was the dream of the statue consisting of four different metals, which Daniel interpreted of four successive monarchies, the last of which was to be the reign of the Messiah. Daniel was elevated to be first minister of state, and his three friends were made governors of provinces. The history of these events (Dan. ii. 4, 8, 9) is written in the Chaldee language, together with the narrative which immediately follows (ch. iii.), of the golden statue erected by Nebuchadnezzar in the plain of Dura, for refusing to worship which, Daniel's three friends were thrown into a furnace, but miraculously preserved. The fourth chapter, also written in Chaldee, contains the singular history of the judgment inflicted on Nebuchadnezzar as a punishment for his pride, and which is narrated in the form of a royal proclamation from the monarch himself, giving an account to his people of his affliction and recovery. This affliction had been, by the monarch's account, predicted by Daniel a year before, in the interpretation of his fearful dream of the tree in the midst of the earth. While walking in his palace, and admiring his magnificent works, he uttered, in the plenitude of his pride, the remarkable words recorded in ver. 30, 'Is not this great Babylon that I have built for the house of the kingdom, by the



might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?' He had scarce uttered the words, when a voice from heaven proclaimed to him that his kingdom was departed from him; that he should be for seven *times* (generally supposed to mean years, although some reduce the period to fourteen months; Jahn, *Introd.*) driven from the habitations of men to dwell among the beasts of the field, and made to eat grass as an ox, until he learned 'that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will.' The sentence was immediately fulfilled, and Nebuchadnezzar continued in this melancholy state during the predicted period, at the end of which he was restored to the use of his understanding (ver. 36). We have no account in Scripture of any of the actions of this monarch's life after the period of his recovery, but the first year of the reign of his successor Evil-merodach is represented as having taken place in the thirty-seventh year of Jehoiachin, answering to B.C. 562 (2 Kings xxv. 27).

We have now to consider the light which profane history has thrown on the events of these times.

The canon of Ptolemy the mathematician, who flourished about the commencement of the Christian era, consists of a catalogue, arranged in chronological order, of the kings of Babylon, commencing with Nabonassar, who reigned B.C. 747, and ending with Nabonned, B.C. 556. According to this catalogue, Nabopolassar (*Ναβονπολσάρης*), who died B.C. 625, was succeeded by Nabocolassar (*Ναβocolσάρης*), B.C. 605. This Nabocolassar is therefore presumed to be the Nebuchadnezzar of Scripture (for the canon of Ptolemy, see *Table Chronologique des Règnes*, etc., par l'Abbé Halmy, Paris 1819). Nabopolassar, the father of Nabocolassar, is supposed to have been the first Chaldean monarch of Babylon, and to have disunited it from the Assyrian empire, of which it had hitherto formed a part (Jahn's *Hebrew Commonwealth*). According to a fragment of Alexander Polyhistor, reported by Syncellus in his *Chronographia*, it was this sovereign who destroyed the city of Nineveh, B.C. 612, which, according to Eusebius (*Chron.*, p. 46), he effected in conjunction with Astyages, the eldest son of Cyaxares, king of the Medes (see also Tobit xiv. 15, where the latter is named Assuerus). The following extract, preserved by Josephus, from the lost Chaldean history of Berosus, priest of the temple of Bel (B.C. 268), will be found to throw considerable light on the Scripture narrative: 'When his father Nabuchodonosor heard that the governor whom he had set over Egypt and the places about Coele-Syria and Phœnicia, had revolted from him, while he was not himself able any longer to undergo hardships, he committed to his son Nabuchodonosor, who was still but a youth, some parts of his army, and sent them against them. So when Nabuchodonosor had given him battle, and fought with the rebel, he overcame him, and reduced the country from under his subjection and made it a branch of his own kingdom. But about that time it happened that his father Nabuchodonosor fell ill, and ended his life in the city of Babylon, when he had reigned twenty-one years; and when he was made sensible that his father Nabuchodonosor was dead—having settled the affairs of Egypt and the other countries, and also those that concerned the captive Jews, and the Phœnicians, Syrians, and

Egyptians, and having committed the conveyance of them to Babylon to certain of his friends—he hastily crossed the desert, with a few companions, into Babylon. So he took upon him the management of public affairs, and of the kingdom which had been kept for him by one of the chief Chaldeans, and he received the entire dominions of his father, and appointed, that when the captives came, they should be placed in colonies in the most proper places of Babylonia' (*Antiq. x. 11. 1*).

It will be observed that both Nebuchadnezzar (styled by some *the Great*) and his father are here equally named Nabuchodonosor, but, in the citation of the same narrative from Berosus by Josephus (*Cont. Apion.*, i. 19), the father of Nebuchadnezzar is called Nabolassar (*Ναβολσάρης*), corresponding nearly with the Nabopolassar of Ptolemy: which has induced some to suppose the name Nabuchodonosor in the former citation to be an error of transcription. Some foundation has thus been afforded for considering Nebuchadnezzar as a general name for Babylonian sovereigns (Prideaux, *Connect.*); this, however, is considered by Whiston as a groundless mistake (Whiston's *Josephus*, note on chap. xi.) It is by no means improbable that the similarity of the two names may have led to their being sometimes confounded. The conqueror of Nineveh is also called by the name of Nabuchodonosor in Tobit xiv. 15 (in the Greek, for the Latin ends with ver. 14), and is on this account styled by some, *Nebuchadnezzar the First*, a designation first applied to him by Rabbi David Gans, under the age of the world, 3285. Alber considers (*Inst. Herm. V. T.*, vol. ii. chap. xv.) that the Nabuchodonosor of Judith was not one of the legitimate sovereigns who flourished before the Persian domination, but that both he and Arphaxad were governors of provinces, who had rebelled against the Persians, and assumed those names, and that the pretended Nebuchadnezzar, or *Nebuchadnezzar the Third*, was reduced to order upon the failure of his expedition under Holofernes. By this rather hazardous conjecture, whereby he further maintains, in contradiction to Bellarmine (*De Verb. Dei*), that the book of Judith refers to a period posterior to the exile, he endeavours to prove that the history of Judith is historically true, in opposition to Jahn, who regards it as a fiction [JUDITH].

According to Ptolemy's canon, the reign of Nabocolassar is made to commence two years later than that of the Nebuchadnezzar of Scripture. Many attempts have been made to reconcile this discrepancy, but the solution generally received assumes that the first capture of Jerusalem (Dan. i. 1) took place during the last years of the reign of Nabopolassar, in the expedition mentioned by Berosus (*ut supra*), and that the canon of Ptolemy dates the commencement of his reign from the death of his father, when he became sole king of Babylon (De Wette's *Introd.*, sec. 253, note).

Although Herodotus does not name Nebuchadnezzar, he is supposed by some to allude to the expedition of Pharaoh-Necho against Babylon, when he observes that 'Necho, after an engagement at Magdolos in Egypt, took Kadytis, a great city of Syria.' It is conjectured that he may have confounded Migdol, in Egypt, with Megiddo, and that Kadytis was the same with Jerusalem (El Kaddosh, 'the holy city'). (Jahn's *Hebrew Commonwealth*.) [All authorities, however, agree with



the Bible in making Nebuchadnezzar's reign extend to forty-three years; comp. Berosus ap. Joseph. *cont. Ap.* i. 20; Polyhistor ap. Euseb. *Chron.* i. 53; Ptol. *Mag. Syntax.*, v. 14; 2 Kings xxiv. 12; xxv. 7; Jer. lii. 31). The latest date found on any of the clay tablets belonging to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar is the forty-second year of his reign, which falls in with the supposition that his reign terminated soon after (Rawlinson, *Bampton Lecture*, p. 161).]

We learn from a continuation of the extract from Berosus already cited, that Nebuchadnezzar almost rebuilt the city of Babylon with the spoils of his expedition, and magnificently adorned the temple of Bel, together with other temples, and built a splendid palace, which he beautified with wooded terraces, and those hanging gardens which were considered one of the wonders of the world [BABYLON]. To him are also attributed those stupendous canals described by Herodotus, who himself visited Babylon about B.C. 430, and whose descriptions are fully corroborated by the statements of Philostratus, Quintus Curtius, Arrian, and Didorus Siculus, by none of whom, however, is this monarch mentioned. Josephus adds, that Magasthenes, in his fourth book, refers to the same subject, and thereby endeavours to show that he exceeded Hercules, and conquered a great part of Africa and Spain. Strabo adds, that 'Sesostris, king of Egypt, and Tearcon, king of Ethiopia, extended their expedition as far as Europe, but that Navokodrosor, who is venerated by the Chaldeans more than Hercules by the Greeks . . . . marched through Spain to Greece and Pontus.' According to the canon of Ptolemy (with which Josephus agrees, *c. Apion.* i. 20), Nebuchadnezzar reigned forty-three years, when he was succeeded by Ilouaroudamos, the Evil-Merodach of Scripture.

The difficulties attending the nature of the disease and recovery of Nebuchadnezzar have not escaped the notice of commentators in ancient as well as modern times. The impression made by them on the acute mind of Origen, led him to conclude that the account of Nebuchadnezzar's metamorphosis was merely a representation of the fall of Lucifer. Besides this, which is not likely to meet with many supporters, there have been no less than five different opinions in reference to this subject. Bodin (in *Demonol.*) maintains that Nebuchadnezzar underwent an actual metamorphosis of soul and body, a similar instance of which is given by Cluvier (*Append. ad Epitom. Hist.*) on the testimony of an eye-witness. Tertullian (*De Penit.*) confines the transformation to the body only, but without loss of reason, of which kind of metamorphosis St. Augustine (*De Civ. Dei*, xviii. 18) reports some instances said to have taken place in Italy, to which he himself attaches little credit; but Gaspard Peucer asserts that the transformation of men into wolves was very common in Livonia. Some Jewish Rabbins have asserted that the soul of Nebuchadnezzar, by a real transmigration, changed places with that of an ox (Medina, *De rectâ in Deum fid.*); while others have supposed not a real, but an apparent or docetic change, of which there is a case recorded in the life of St. Macarius, the parents of a young woman having been persuaded that their daughter had been transformed into a mare. The most generally received opinion, however, is, that Nebuchadnezzar laboured under that species of hypochondriacal monomania

which leads the patient to fancy himself changed into an animal or other substance, the habits of which he adopts. Jerome probably leaned to this opinion (in *Dan.* iv. 4). To this disease of the imagination physicians have given the name of Lycanthropy, Zoanthropy, or Insania Canina [DISEASES OF THE JEWS]. In *Dan.* iv. 15 (iv. 12, according to the Latin) there seems an allusion to some species of insanity in the expression, 'even with a band of iron and brass' (*alligetur vinculo ferreo et aëro*, Vulg.); and the loss and return of reason is very clearly intimated in ver. 34, 'mine understanding returned to me, and I blessed the Most High.' Virgil (*Æclog.* 6) refers to this kind of madness in the case of the daughters of Proetus, who fancied themselves oxen, and made the plains resound with their bellowings:

Implerunt falsis mugitibus agros.

And a somewhat similar kind of insanity is described by Mr. Drummond Hay (*Western Barbary*, 1844, p. 65) as produced by the use of an intoxicating herb among the Gisorows, or Moorish fanatics. (See Heinroth, *Seelenst.* i. 65; Ader, *De ægrotis in Evang.*, p. 31, etc.; Meade, *Med. Sac.*; Muller, *De Nebuchadnezz. μεταμορφώσει*; Pusey, *Daniel the Prophet*, p. 425, ff., etc.)

The idea of an allegory has been revived in modern times, especially by De Wette (*Einleitung*, p. 257), who considers the accounts in Daniel too improbable, if literally understood, although he admits that they may have been founded on historical traditions. He considers the whole of the narrative in Daniel as referring to Antiochus Epiphanes, who he asserts is also signified by Belshazzar. In reference to the subject before us his translator adds, that 'Antiochus Epiphanes was called with perfect propriety *Epimanes*, or, the mad, which may have given the author a hint to represent the old and idealized monarch of his nation as bereft of reason, and reduced to the form and character of a beast. Here the historical fact is idealized, and an exquisite piece of sarcasm on the folly and brutality of Antiochus is produced' (*Dan.* iv. 14, 22-24, 29, 31, 32, 34). But the truth of this inference, however ingenious the arguments in its favour, depends altogether on the alleged spuriousness of the book of Daniel, whose genuineness is attested by the citations of the N. T. writers, and by the author of the 1st book of Maccabees, who was acquainted with the book of Daniel, even in the version of the Sept. (*Macc.* i. 54, comp. with *Dan.* ii. 27; and ii. 59 with *Dan.* iii. and vi.) [DANIEL.] De Wette can only avoid the force of this evidence by denying the authority of the N. T. writers in a case of the kind. He adds that it is a biased assumption of Hengstenberg to maintain that 1 Maccab. was originally written in Greek (*allein dass es ursprünglich griechisch . . . sei, ist eine partielle Annahme*) not Hebrew, as De Wette's English translator has it, and in the time of John Hyrcanus (B. C. 134-105), as according to him (De Wette) it appears from 1 Maccab. xvi. 23, 24, to have been written much latter [MACCABEES].

Some have fancied that there was an allusion to the disease of Nebuchadnezzar in the passage of Berosus quoted by Josephus (*Cont. Apion.*, i. 20). Ναβουχοδονόσορος μὲν οὖν μετὰ τὸ ἄρξασθαι τοῦ προειρημένου τέλους, ἐμπέσων εἰς ἄρρωστίαν, μετῃλλάξατο τὸν βίον. [See Hengstenberg, *Beitr.*



i. 105, ff.] There is another remarkable passage respecting him in Abydenus (ap. Eusebium, *Præpar. Evang.* ix. 41), where, having cited the passage from Megasthenes already referred to, he adds, upon the authority of the same writer, a speech of Nabuchodonosor, wherein, having been struck by some god, he foretold the destruction of Babylon by a 'Persian mule,' assisted by a Mede, the former boast of Assyria, after which he suddenly vanished. A reference has been supposed to exist in these words to Nebuchadnezzar's madness and consequent disappearance, but there is at most, as De Wette observes, only a traditional connection between them. Jahn (*Hebrew Commonwealth*) conceives the whole to be a tradition made up from his prophetic dreams, his insanity . . . and from Daniel's explanation of the well-known handwriting in the banqueting-hall of Belshazzar.

Objections have been made by Sir Thomas Browne and others to the proportions of Nebuchadnezzar's golden statue (Dan. iii.), said to have been 60 cubits, or 90 feet high, and only 6 cubits in breadth; for it is evident that the statue of a man ten times higher than its breadth exceeds all natural symmetry. Jahn (*Introd.*) supposes that this form might have a more august appearance, or have been retained from a rude antiquity. Some consider that the height of 90 feet included the

pedestal. Hengstenberg supposes that **נְבֻכַדְנֶצַּר** may mean an *obelisk*, as well as a statue, in which case the proportions would be symmetrical. Diodorus Siculus (lib. ii.) informs us that one of the images of massy gold found by Xerxes in the Temple of Bel, measured 40 feet in height, which would have been fairly proportioned to a breadth of 6 feet, measured at the shoulders. Prideaux supposes that this may have been the identical statue erected by Nebuchadnezzar, which, however, Jahn conceives was more probably only gilt, as a statue of gold could scarcely have been safe from robbers in the plain of Dura; but this conjecture of Jahn's seems by no means necessary (Pusey, *L. C.*, p. 441).—W. W.

NEBUSHASBAN (נְבוּשַׁשְׁבַן; Jer. xxxix. 13),

a follower of Nebu. Pers. **نیوششان**, the name of one of the Babylonian officers sent by Nebuzar-adan to take Jeremiah out of prison. He held the office of Rabsaris, or chief of the eunuchs.—W. W.

NEBUZAR-ADAN (נְבוּזַרְאֲדָן; Sept. *Nabou-ḡarôdân*, 1 Kings xxv. 8; Jer. xxxix. 9; xl. 1; lii. 12, etc.) The name of the captain of Nebuchadnezzar's guard, by whom the ruin of Jerusalem was completed. Gesenius translates this *Mercurii Dux Dominus*, deriving it from **נְבוּ**, **זַר** = **זַר**; but Fürst thinks a non-Semitic etymology must be sought for it, and suggests that it may be a compound of **זַר** = Skr. *gira*, *chief*, *captain*, Pers. *sar*, and **אֲדָן**, Skr. *dāna*, *cutter off*; so that Zar-Adan would have the same meaning as **רַב טַבַּחִים**, *chief of the executioners*, the title which this person bore, and which appears sometimes as his only designation (comp. 2 Kings xxv. 10, 12, 15); with Nebu prefixed for the consecration of the name. [CAPTAIN].—W. L. A.

NECHO (נֶכְחוֹ; Sept. *Nεχαώ*; Herodotus, *Nekós*), an Egyptian king, son and successor (according to Herodotus, ii. 158) of Psammetichus, and contemporary of the Jewish king Josias (B.C. 610). The wars and success of Necho, in Syria, are recorded by sacred as well as profane writers, affording an instance of agreement between them which the historical, and especially the Biblical student, would be glad to find of more frequent occurrence. Studious of military renown, and the furtherance of commerce, Necho, on ascending the throne of Egypt, applied himself to re-organize the army, and to equip a powerful fleet. In order to promote his purposes, he courted the Greeks, to whose troops he gave a post next to his Egyptians. He fitted out a fleet in the Mediterranean, and another in the Red Sea. Having engaged some expert Phœnician sailors, he sent them on a voyage of discovery along the coast of Africa. 'They were ordered (says Herod., iv. 42. 3) to start from the Arabian Gulf, and come round through the pillars of Hercules (the straits of Gibraltar) into the North Sea, and so return to Egypt. Sailing, therefore, down the gulf, they passed into the Southern Ocean, and when autumn arrived, they laid up their ships, and sowed the land. Here they remained till harvest time, when, having reaped the corn, they continued their voyage. In this manner they occupied two years, and the third having brought them by the pillars of Hercules to Egypt, they related what to me appears incredible, that they had the sun on their right hand; and by this means was the form of Africa first known.' Similar expeditions round Africa were performed by other people (Herod., *ut supra*; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* ii. 67; Arrian, *Rer. Ind.* ad fin.) The honour, however, of being the first to equip an expedition for the purpose of circumnavigating Africa belongs to Pharaoh-Necho, who thereby ascertained the peninsular form of that continent, twenty-one centuries before the Cape of Good Hope was seen by Diaz, or doubled by Vasco de Gama. The assertion by Herodotus, that the sun (when rising) was on the right hand of these Egyptian navigators, though incredible to him, is satisfactory to his modern readers, who are indebted to his doubts for proof of a fact which might otherwise have been called in question.

Before entering on this voyage of discovery, Necho had commenced re-opening the canal from the Nile to the Red Sea, which had been cut many years before by Sesostris or Rameses the Great. The work, however, if we may believe Herodotus, was abandoned, an oracle warning the Egyptian monarch that he was labouring for the barbarian (Herod. ii. 158).

Necho also turned his attention to the Egyptian conquests already made in Asia; and, fearing lest the growing power of the Babylonians should endanger the territories acquired by the arms of his victorious predecessors, he determined to check their progress, and to attack the enemy on his own frontier. With this view he collected a powerful army, and entering Palestine, followed the route along the sea-coast of Judæa, intending to besiege the town of Carchemish on the Euphrates. But Josiah, king of Judah, offended at the passage of the Egyptian army through his territories, resolved to impede, if unable to prevent, their march, Necho sent messengers to induce him to desist.



assuring him that he had no hostile intentions against Judæa, 'but against the house wherewith I have war; for God commanded me to make haste.' This conciliatory message was of no avail. Josiah posted himself in the valley of Megiddo, and prepared to oppose the Egyptians. Megiddo was a city in the tribe of Manasseh, between forty and fifty miles to the north of Jerusalem, and within three hours of the coast. It is called by Herodotus Magdolos. In this valley the feeble forces of the Jewish king, having attacked Necho, were routed with great slaughter. Josiah being wounded in the neck with an arrow, ordered his attendants to take him from the field. Escaping from the heavy shower of arrows with which their broken ranks were overwhelmed, they removed him from the chariot in which he had been wounded, and placing him in a 'second one that he had,' they conveyed him to Jerusalem, where he died (2 Kings xxiii. 29, *seq.*; 2 Chron. xxxv. 20, *seq.*)

Intent upon his original project, Necho did not stop to revenge himself upon the Jews, but continued his march to the Euphrates. Three months had scarcely elapsed, when, returning from the capture of Carchemish and the defeat of the Chaldeans, he learned that, though Josiah had left an elder son, Jehoahaz had caused himself to be proclaimed king on the death of his father, without soliciting Necho to sanction his taking the crown. Incensed at this, he ordered Jehoahaz to meet him 'at Riblah, in the land of Hamath;' and having deposed him, and condemned the land to pay a heavy tribute, he carried him a prisoner to Jerusalem. On arriving there, Necho made Eliakim, the eldest son, king, changing his name to Jehoiakim; and taking the silver and gold which had been levied upon the Jewish nation, he returned to Egypt with the captive Jehoahaz, who there terminated his short and unfortunate career. Herodotus says that Necho, after having routed the Syrians (the Jews) at Magdolos, took Cadytis, a large city of Syria, in Palestine, which, he adds, is very little less than Sardis (ii. 159, iii. 5). By Cadytis there is scarcely a doubt he meant Jerusalem; the word is only a Greek form of the ancient, as well as the modern, name of that city. It is, however, to be regretted that the mural sculptures of Egypt present no commemoration of these triumphs on the part of Necho; the sole record of him which they give being the name of Necho, found among the hieroglyphics in the great hall of Karnak. His oval also occurs on vases, and some small objects of Egyptian art.

Pleased with his success, the Egyptian monarch dedicated the dress he wore to the Deity who was supposed to have given him the victory. He did not long enjoy the advantages he had obtained. In the fourth year after his expedition, being alarmed at the increasing power of the Babylonians, he again marched into Syria, and advanced to the Euphrates. The Babylonians were prepared for his approach. Nebuchadnezzar completely routed his army, recovered the town of Carchemish, and, pushing his conquests through Palestine, took from Necho all the territory belonging to the Pharaohs, from the Euphrates to the southern extremity of Syria (2 Kings xxiv. 7; Jer. xli. 2; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9; 2 Kings xxiv. 8). Nebuchadnezzar deposed Jehoachin, who had succeeded his father, and carried the warriors and treasures away to

Babylon; a short time previous to which Necho died, and was succeeded by Psammetichus II. (Wilkinson's *Anc. Egyptians*, vol. i. 157, *seq.*)

According to Manetho (Euseb. *Chron. Armen.*, i. 219), Necho was the sixth king in the twenty-sixth dynasty, successor of Psammetichus, and as there had been another of the same name, he was properly Necho the Second. The period of his reign was, according to Manetho, six, according to Herodotus sixteen, years (consult Gesenius, *Isaiah*, i. 596)—J. R. B.

NECHOSHETH (נְחֹשֶׁת; Χαλκός), frequently translated in the A. V. *brass*, more properly means *copper*, usually in a wrought state, and sometimes also in the state of bronze. Copper is commonly found in pyrites, quartz, or spar, in veins; hence Job says 'Nechosheth is molten [or fused] out of the stone' (xxviii. 2). It is very hard, elastic, and durable; and on this account in early times it was used for most purposes for which iron came afterwards to be used (Hesiod, *Op. et Dies*, 150; Lucret. *De Rer. Nat.* v. 1287). In Scripture it is mentioned as employed for armour and weapons (1 Sam. xvii. 5, 6, 38; 2 Sam. xxii. 35; Ps. xviii. 35 [where the A. V. gives incorrectly *steel*; as also Job xx. 24]; 1 Kings xiv. 27; for taches or hooks (Exod. xxvi. 11; xxxvi. 18); for covering the altar (Exod. xxvii. 2); for pillars and their ornaments (1 Kings vii. 13-21); for vessels, both large and small (2 Kings xxv. 13; 1 Chron. xviii. 8); for mirrors (Exod. xxxviii. 8; comp. Job xxxvii. 18); and for various utensils (2 Chron. iv. 16). It is also used for articles made of copper or bronze; as chains or fetters (Judg. xvi. 21; 2 Sam. iii. 34; 2 Kings xxv. 7; Jer. xxxix. 7; Lam. iii. 7). As compared with gold and silver it was esteemed vile, and so became metaphorically the designation of a vile person (Jer. vi. 28). It is also metaphorically used to designate that which is strong (Ps. cvii. 16; Jer. i. 18; xv. 20). A peculiar usage of the word occurs Ezek. xvi. 36, of which different interpretations have been given. Gesenius understands by it *money*, like the Latin *aes*; but there is no evidence that the Hebrews used copper money, and besides it seems to give a feeble turn to the passage to understand the word so here. Hävernick thinks the allusion is to the gifts which the harlot had bestowed (ver. 33), having become worthless; they were of silver or gold, but they should be poured out as base copper; an interpretation which seems somewhat fanciful and far fetched. Fürst understands by it the *puerilia muliebria*, and supposes the meaning of 'Thy shame shall be poured forth' to be the same as that of תְּנוּנֹת נִשְׁפָּךְ in ver. 15, viz., thy whoredoms shall be profuse, and without restraint. He arrives at this, however, by making נְחֹשֶׁת mean bottom or lower part (for which Ezek. xxiv. 11, to which he refers, gives no authority), and so the lower part of the trunk, the pudenda. This is quite gratuitous, and not less so is it to make the words 'Thy shame was poured forth,' mean, 'Thy whoredom was carried on.' May not *Nechosheth* be used here simply as a designation of what is worthless, and the meaning be that her worthless favours were profusely bestowed?—W. L. A.

NECHOTH (נְכֹוֹת). This word occurs twice in the book of Genesis, and no doubt indicates a product of Syria, for in one case we find it carried



into Egypt as an article of commerce, and in another sent as a present into the same country. It occurs in the same passages as *ladanum*, which is translated *myrrh* in the A. V. Many of the same general observations will therefore apply to both [LOTH]. Nechoth has unfortunately been rendered *spicery*. This it is not likely to have meant, at least in the present sense of the term, for such commodities were not likely to be transported into Egypt from Gilead, though many eastern products were, no doubt, carried north by caravans into Asia Minor, up the Euphrates, and by Palmyra into Syria. In the present case, however, all the articles mentioned seem to be products indigenous in Syria. But it is necessary to attend strictly to the original names, for we are apt to be misled by the English translation. Thus, in Gen. xxxvii. 25, we read, 'Behold, a company of Ishmaelites came from Gilead with their camels, bearing *spicery* (*nechoth*), and balm (*tzeri*), and myrrh (*loth*), going to carry it down to Egypt.' To these men Joseph was sold by his brethren, when they were feeding their flocks at Dothan, supposed to be a few miles to the north of Sebaste, or Samaria. It is curious that Jacob, when desiring a present to be taken to the ruler of Egypt, enumerates nearly the same articles (Gen. xliii. 11), 'Carry down the man a present, a little balm (*tzeri*), and a little honey (*debash*), *spices* (*nechoth*) and myrrh (*loth*);' 'Sumite de laudatissimis hujus terræ fructibus in vasis vestris,' as Bochart explains it. (See the several words.)

Bochart (*Hieroicozon*, ii. lib. iv. c. 12) enters into a learned exposition of the meaning of *necoth*, of which Dr. Harris has given an abridged view in his article on spices. Bochart shows that the true import of *necoth* has always been considered uncertain, for it is rendered *wax* by the paraphrast Jonathan, in the Arabic version of Erpenius, and in Beresith Rabba (sec. 91, near the end). Others interpret it very differently. The Septuagint renders it *θυμιαμα*, *perfume*, Aquila *storax*, the Syrian version *resin*, the Samaritan *balsam*, one Arabic version *khurnoob* or *carob*, another *sumugha* (or gum), Kimchi *a desirable thing*, Rabbi Selomo *a collection of several aromatics*. Bochart himself considers it to mean *storax*, and gives six reasons in support of his opinion, but none of them appears of much weight. *Storax*, no doubt, was a natural product of Syria, and an indigenous product seems to be implied; and Jerome (Gen. xliii. 11) follows Aquila in rendering it *styrax*. Rosenmüller, in his *Bibl. Bot.*, p. 165, Eng. transl., adopts *tragacanth* as the meaning of *necoth*, without expressing any doubt on the subject; stating that 'The Arabic word (نكة or نكة *neka* or *nek'at*), which is

analogous to the Hebrew, denotes that gum which is obtained from the tragacanth, or, as it is commonly called, by way of contraction, *traganth* shrub, and which grows on Mount Lebanon, in the Isle of Candia, and also in Southern Europe.' We have not been able to find any word similar to *necoth*, indicating the tragacanth, which, in our own MS. *Materia Medica*, is given under the Arabic name of *kilad*, sometimes pronounced *kithad*; and, indeed, it may be found under the same name in Avicenna and other Arabic authors. Tragacanth is an exudation from several species of the genus *Astragalus*, and subdivision *tragacantha*, which is produced in Crete, but chiefly in Northern

Persia and in Koordistan. In the latter province, Dr. Dickson of Tripoli saw large quantities of it collected from plants, of which he preserved specimens, and gave them to Mr. Brant, British consul at Erzeroum, by whom they were sent to Dr. Lindley. One of these, yielding the best tragacanth, proved to be *A. gummifer* of Labillardière. It was found by him on Mount Lebanon, where he ascertained that tragacanth was collected by the shepherds. It might therefore have been conveyed by Ishmaelites from Gilead to Egypt. It has in its favour, that it is a produce of the remote parts of Syria, is described by ancient authors, as Theophrastus, Dioscorides, etc., and has always been highly esteemed as a gum in Eastern countries: it was, therefore, very likely to be an article of commerce to Egypt in ancient times. In Richardson's

*Arabic Dictionary* we find نكدة *nakdt*, translated as meaning the best part of corn (or dates) when sifted or cleaned; also *nukayet*, the choicest part of anything cleaned, but sometimes also the refuse. —J. F. R.

NEEDLEWORK. This is the rendering given in the A. V. to the Heb. רִקְמָה (Judg. v. 30; Ps. xlv. 15), and also to רִקְם (Exod. xxvi. 36; xxvii. 16; xxviii. 39; xxxvi. 37; xxxviii. 18), though this latter, being the participle of the verb רִקַּם, ought rather to have been translated *needleworker*. Elsewhere the noun is translated 'broidered work' (Ezek. xvi. 10, 13, 18, etc.). Derived from רִקַּם, which signifies to variegate, deck with colours, adorn with versicoloured figures, there can be no doubt that the word designates an article decorated with variety of colours; but whether this was done with the needle or in the loom remains somewhat uncertain. The LXX. give their verdict for the former (ῥή ποικίλα τοῦ βαφιδευτοῦ, Exod. xxvii. 16; xxxviii. 23); and so do the Talmudists and the Rabbins. Josephus, on the other hand, asserts that the variety of colours in the curtain of the tabernacle was produced in the loom (φολυκος βαφαῖς συγκεκραμένοις, *Antiq.* iii. 6. 4). This is favoured also by the use of the verb in Ps. cxxxix. 15, where the reference is to the structure of a fabric, not to the adorning of it after it is formed. Gesenius takes the other view, and contends that רִשָּׁב denotes the act of the *plumarius*, or weaver of divers colours, while רִקַּם is properly that of the worker with the needle. In support of this is urged the affinity of רִקַּם to the Arab. رِقْم, a word which

appears in the Span. *recamar*, and the Ital. *ricamar*, to embroider with the needle. But the Arab. word simply means, to produce a fabric with stripes, whether that be done by the needle or in the loom ('striis signavit, seu strias intexit panno,' Freytag, *Lex.* s. v.); so that nothing decisive can be inferred from it; and the use of רִקַּם and רִשָּׁב in Scripture by no means authorises the distinction which Gesenius makes. Thus, *ex. gr.*, רִקְמָה is used in the dual of a fabric variegated on both sides (Judg. v. 30), which cannot refer to colours added by stitching on pieces of cloth, and is more likely to refer to colours woven in than to embroidery done by the needle; it is also used of the varicoloured sails of the Egyptians (Ezek. xxvii. 16), which were 'covered with fanciful figures, flowers, and other devices, with squares in cheques,



and rich borders worked in various colours' (Wilkinson, *Egyptians in the time of the Pharaohs*, p. 113). The Hebrews learned the art of weaving from the Egyptians (Joseph. *Antiq.*, bk. iii. 7. 2), and as the art of embroidering with the needle was also common in Egypt, there is every probability that they acquired that also. Without, therefore, insisting upon a precision and a certainty for which we do not possess materials, we may admit *needlework* as ranking among the arts practised by the Hebrews.—W. L. A.

NEGEB (נֶגֶב; A. V., 'the south,' 'the south country'; ἡ ἐρημος; γῆ πρὸς λίβα, etc.; *Meradies*). There are in the Bible several words which are usually translated in our A. V. as appellatives, but which the sacred writers appear to have employed, at least in many cases, as geographical proper names;—such as ARABAH, usually rendered 'plain,' but in most cases the name of the Jordan valley; MISHOR, 'the plain,' the proper name of the table-land of Moab; SHEPHELAH, 'the vale' or 'valley,' the geographical name of the plain of Philistia. To these may be added the name NEGEB, which is often employed by the sacred writers in a topographical sense, indicating not 'the south' abstractly, but, like Shephelah and Arabah, a specific region or province. Thus in Gen. xii. 9, 'And Abram journeyed (from Bethel), going on still *toward the south*' (הַנֶּגֶב), 'to the Negeb'; and afterwards we read, 'And Abram went up out of Egypt . . . *into the south*' (הַנֶּגֶב), 'to the Negeb'; chap. xiii. 1. And of Isaac it is said, 'He dwelt *in the south country*' (בְּאֶרֶץ הַנֶּגֶב), 'in the country of Negeb,' xxiv. 62). Still more plainly does the word appear as a proper name in Deut. i. 7, where four topographical names are used together, 'Take your journey, and go to the mount of the Amorites, and unto all nigh thereunto, *in the plain, in the hills, and in the vale, and in the south*,' which ought to be rendered 'in Arabah, and in the mountain (that is, of Judah, 'the hill country' of the N. T.), and in Shephelah, and in Negeb.' (See also Num. xiii. 17, 29; xxi. 1; Deut. xxiv. 3; Josh. x. 40, xii. 8, xv. 21; Judg. i. 9; 1 Sam. xxx. 1; Jer. xvii. 26, etc.)

The Negeb is distinguished by several names taken from the tribes that inhabited it, or the country to which it was attached. Thus there is the *Negeb of the Cherethites* or Philistines (1 Sam. xxx. 14); *Negeb of the Kenites*, *Negeb of the Jerahmeelites*, and *Negeb of Judah* (1 Sam. xxvii. 10); the *Negeb of Caleb* (xxx. 14). At the time of the Exodus it was chiefly inhabited by the Amalekites (Num. xiii. 29). These statements, with various other incidental notices, while they do not mark the precise boundaries of the territory, yet clearly point out its position and extent. On the north it was bounded by the Shephelah and the mountains of Judah. A line drawn from Wady Sheriah eastward to Khuweilifeh, and then to Maon, and from thence south-east to the extremity of the Dead Sea, would pretty accurately mark its northern border. On the east it bordered on the Arabah as far south as the parallel of Kadesh. Its southern border cannot now be defined; but it did not reach either to the peninsula of Sinai or to Egypt. (See an interesting little work by the Rev. E. Wilton, entitled, *The Negeb, or South Country of Scripture*, pp. 1-22.)

The physical geography of the Negeb is different

from that of any part of Palestine. It consists of wide rolling downs, mostly bare and desolate, burned up in summer by the unclouded sun, but covered in winter and spring with grass and green herbs, affording excellent pasturage for sheep, goats, and camels. In some places along the foot of the mountains, and in the beds of broad valleys, the soil is capable of cultivation. The whole region is arid. Springs and wells are few and far between; perennial streams are unknown; but the country is intersected by deep and rocky wadys (Heb. אַפְסִיקִים), down whose beds torrents flow after heavy rain; hence the allusion of the Psalmist, 'Turn again our captivity, O Lord, as the streams in the *Negeb*' (cxvi. 4).

It is hoped that this explanation of an important geographical term will serve to throw light on many passages of Scripture, such as Jer. xxxii. 44; xxxiii. 13; Zech. vii. 7; Gen. xiii. 1, etc. For fuller information, see the work already mentioned, which, though inaccurate on many points of detail, yet contains a large mass of useful matter.—J. L. P.

NEGINAH, NEGINOTH. [PSALMS.]

NEGROPONTI. [IKRITI.]

NEHELOMITE (נְחֻלְמִי, Sept. Αἰλαμῖτης), a patronymic of Shemaiah the false prophet (Jer. xxix. 24, 31, 32); whence derived is uncertain, but probably a family name. Some suppose an allusion under it to Deut. xiii. 2 [1], 4, where the false prophet is called 'a dreamer of dreams' חֹלֶם חֲלוֹם, *cholem chalom*); but this is very improbable.—†.

NEHEMIAH (נְחֵמְיָה, *comforted of Jehovah*; Sept. Νεεμίας). Three persons of this name occur in Scripture; one, the son of Azbuk (Neh. iii. 16), respecting whom no more is known than that he was ruler in Beth-zur, and took a prominent part in repairing the wall of Jerusalem [BETH-ZUR]. Another is mentioned (Ezra ii. 2; Neh. vii. 7) among those who accompanied Zerubbabel on the first return from captivity. Nothing further is known of this man, though some writers (see Carpzov, *Introd. ad Lib. Bib. Vtd. Testamenti*, Pt. i. 340, *seq.*) hold him, without valid reasons, to be the same with the well-known Jewish patriot

NEHEMIAH, whose genealogy is unknown, except that he was the son of Hachaliah (Neh. i. 1), and brother of Hanani (Neh. vii. 2; comp. Neh. i. 2). Some think he was of priestly descent, because his name appears at the head of a list of priests in Neh. x. 1-8; but it is obvious, from Neh. ix. 38, that he stands there as a prince, and not as a priest—that he heads the list because he was head of the nation. The Vulgate, in 2 Maccab. i. 21, calls him 'sacerdos Nehemias'; but this is a false version of the Greek, which has ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἱερεῖς Νεεμίας, and not ὁ ἱερεὺς, which the Latin would require. The Syriac agrees with the Greek. Others with much probability infer, from his station at the Persian court and the high commission he received, that he was, like Zerubbabel, of the tribe of Judah and of the house of David (Carpzov, *Introductio*, etc., Pt. i. 339).

While Nehemiah was cupbearer in the royal palace at Shushan, in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, or 444 years B.C. [ARTAXERXES], he learned the mournful and desolate

condition of the returned colony in Judæa. This filled him with such deep and prayerful concern for his country, that his sad countenance revealed to the king his 'sorrow of heart'; which induced the monarch to ascertain the cause, and also to vouchsafe the remedy, by sending him, with full powers, to rebuild the wall of Jerusalem, and 'to seek the welfare of the children of Israel.' Being furnished with this high commission, and enjoying the protection of a military escort (ch. ii. 9), Nehemiah reached Jerusalem in the year B.C. 444, and remained there till B.C. 432, being actively engaged for twelve years in promoting the public good (ch. v. 14). The principal work which he then accomplished was the rebuilding, or rather the repairing, of the city wall, which was done 'in fifty and two days' (ch. vi. 15), notwithstanding many discouragements and difficulties, caused chiefly by Sanballat, a Moabite of Horonaim, and Tobiah, an Ammonite, who seem to have been leading men in the rival and unfriendly colony of Samaria (ch. iv. 1-3; ch. iii. 33-35 in *Heb.* text). These men, with their allies among the Arabians, Ammonites, and Ashdodites (ch. iv. 7; ch. iv. 1 in *Heb.*), sought to hinder the re-fortifying of Jerusalem, first by scoffing at the attempt; then by threatening to attack the workmen—which Nehemiah averted by 'setting a watch against them day and night,' and arming the whole people, so that 'every one with one of his hands wrought in the work, and with the other hand held a weapon' (ch. iv. 7-18; ch. iv. 1-13 in *Heb.*); and finally, when scoffs and threats had failed, by using various stratagems to weaken Nehemiah's authority, and even to take his life (ch. vi. 1-14). But in the midst of these dangers from without, our patriot encountered troubles and hindrances from his own people, arising out of the general distress, which was aggravated by the cruel exactions and oppression of their nobles and rulers (ch. v. 1-5). These popular grievances were promptly redressed on the earnest and solemn remonstrance of Nehemiah, who had himself set a striking example of retrenchment and generosity in his high office (ch. v. 6-19). It appears also (ch. vi. 17-19) that some of the chief men in Jerusalem were at that time in conspiracy with Tobiah against Nehemiah. The wall was thus built in 'troublous times' (Dan. ix. 25); and its completion was most joyously celebrated by a solemn dedication under Nehemiah's direction (ch. xii. 27-43).

Having succeeded in fortifying the city, our reformer turned his attention to other measures in order to secure its good government and prosperity. He appointed some necessary officers (ch. vii. 1-3; also ch. xii. 44-47), and excited among the people more interest and zeal in religion by the public reading and exposition of the law (ch. viii. 1-12), by the unequalled celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles (ch. viii. 13-18), and by the observance of a national fast, when the sins of the people and the iniquities of their fathers were publicly and most strikingly confessed (ch. ix.), and when also a solemn covenant was made by all ranks and classes 'to walk in God's law,' by avoiding intermarriages with the heathen, by strictly observing the Sabbath, and by contributing to the support of the temple-service (ch. x.) But the inhabitants of the city were as yet too few to defend it and to ensure its prosperity; and hence Nehemiah brought one out of every ten in the country to take up his abode in

the ancient capital, which then presented so few inducements to the settler, that 'the people blessed all the men that willingly offered themselves to dwell at Jerusalem' (ch. vii. 4; also ch. xi. 1-19).

In these important public proceedings, which appear all to have happened in the first year of his government, Nehemiah enjoyed the assistance of Ezra, who is named on several occasions as taking a prominent part in conducting affairs (ch. viii. 1, 9, 13; xii. 36). Ezra had gone up to Jerusalem thirteen years before according to some, or thirty-three years according to others; but on either reckoning, without supposing unusual longevity, he might well have lived to be Nehemiah's fellow-labourer [EZRA]. These contemporaries are alike eminent among the benefactors of the Jewish people—alike patriotic and zealous, though not uniform in character, or the same in operation. In the character of Ezra we find no indication of the self-complacency which forms a marked feature in that of Nehemiah. The former, in accordance with his priestly calling, laboured chiefly in promoting the interests of religion, but the latter had most to do with the general affairs of government; the one was in charge of the temple, the other of the state.

Nehemiah, at the close of his successful administration, 'from the twentieth year even to the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes the king' (ch. v. 14), returned to Babylon in the year B.C. 432, and resumed, as some think, his duties as royal cup-bearer.

He returned, however, after a while, to Jerusalem, where his services became again requisite, in consequence of abuses that had crept in during his absence. His stay at the court of Artaxerxes was not very long (certainly not above nine years); 'for after certain days he obtained leave of the king and came to Jerusalem' (ch. xiii. 6, 7). The

phrase 'after certain days' (לְקֵץ יָמִים, *at the end of days*) is indeed quite vague, and hence many take it, as in our common biblical chronology, for the space of one year, while others, on the contrary, reckon it a period of about twenty years, and so consider the return to have happened about B.C. 410 (Prideaux, i. 520; Jahn, *Einleitung ins A. Test.*, ii. 288; Winer, *Real-wörterbuch*). But the former reckoning appears too short, for it is exceedingly improbable that affairs could fall into such confusion had Nehemiah been absent only one year; and the latter, though it has much in its favour, is too long, for it makes Nehemiah return *after* the death of the very king from whom he obtained leave to go back. Artaxerxes Longimanus died in B.C. 423, having reigned forty-one years; and hence Nehemiah's return to Jerusalem cannot be dated *later* than B.C. 423, which allows only nine years for his stay at Babylon. If, then, we date his return about B.C. 424, we at once bring it within the reign of Artaxerxes, and allow time enough for abuses to creep in during his absence, or at least for the particular abuse which is expressly named (ch. xiii. 4-9) as having actually arisen (Hävernick, *Einleitung ins A. Test.*, ii. 324).

After his return to the government of Judæa, Nehemiah enforced the separation of all the mixed multitude from Israel (ch. xiii. 1-3); and accordingly expelled Tobiah the Ammonite from the chamber which the high-priest, Eliashib, had prepared for him in the temple (ch. xiii. 4-9).



Better arrangements were also made for the support of the temple-service (ch. xiii. 10-14), and for the rigid observance of the Sabbath (ch. xiii. 15-22). One of the last acts of his government was an effort to put an end to mixed marriages, which led him to 'chase' away a son of Joiada the high-priest, because he was son-in-law to Sanballat the Heronite (ch. xiii. 23-29). The duration of this second administration cannot be determined: only it is evident that Joiada was high-priest during that period. Now Joiada, according to some chronologists, succeeded his father Eliashib in the year B.C. 413; and hence we may gather that Nehemiah's second rule lasted at least ten years, namely, from B.C. 424 to 413. It is not unlikely that he remained at his post till about the year B.C. 405, towards the close of the reign of Darius Nothus, who is generally supposed to be 'Darius the Persian,' mentioned in ch. xii. 22 [DARIUS]. At this time Nehemiah would be between sixty and seventy years old, if we suppose him (as most do) to have been only between twenty and thirty when he first went to Jerusalem. That he lived to be an old man is thus quite probable from the sacred history; and this is expressly declared by Josephus, who (*Antiq.* xi. 5. 6) states that he died at an advanced age (*ἐἰς γῆρας ἀφικόμενος*). Of the place and year of his death nothing is known.

Besides the account in Josephus, there are some notices of Nehemiah in the Apocrypha. The Son of Sirach (ch. xlix. 13) mentions him with great honour as the rebuilder of the city walls; and in 2 Maccab. i. 19-36, he is said to have discovered the holy fire that had been concealed by Jeremiah the prophet, at the destruction of the temple, which is clearly a mere legend. In 2 Maccab. ii. 13, he is said to have formed a library, and collected the books of the kings and prophets, and of David; and hence some think it probable that he was concerned in forming the canon of Hebrew Scriptures—which is quite credible [CANON].

Two titles are given to Nehemiah, expressive of his office. One is *נְהִימְיָהּ*, *pechah* (ch. xii. 26), which is translated 'governor.' It is considered a Persian word, meaning *friend* or *assistant* of a king, and of the same origin as *pasha*, still used for the governor of a Turkish province. The other is *תִּרְשָׁתָא*, *tirshatha*, in ch. viii. 9, which might also be translated 'governor,' as it comes probably from a Persian word, meaning *severe* or *stern*, and hence applicable to a ruler; or perhaps from a Zend root meaning to *command*. But in Neh. vii. 65, 70, this title denotes not Nehemiah, but Zerubbabel, as is evident from Ezra ii. 63-70.—B. D.

NEHEMIAH, BOOK OF. This, which bears the title *נְהִימְיָהּ*, *Nehemiah's Words*, was anciently connected with Ezra, as if it formed part of the same work (Eichhorn, *Einleitung*, ii. 627). This connection is still indicated by its first word, *וַיְהִי*, 'And it came to pass.' It arose, doubtless, from the fact that Nehemiah is a sort of continuation of Ezra [EZRA]. From this circumstance some ancient writers were led to call this book the 2d book of Ezra, and even to regard that learned scribe as the author of it (Carpzov, *Introductio*, etc., p. 336). There can, however, be no reasonable doubt that it proceeded from Nehemiah, for its style and spirit, except in one portion, are wholly unlike Ezra's. Here we find no Chaldee documents, as in Ezra, though we might expect

some from ch. ii. 7, 8, 9, and ch. vi. 5; and here also the writer discovers a species of egotism never manifested by Ezra (Neh. v. 14-19; Eichhorn, *Einleitung ins A. Test.*, ii. 619).

The canonical character of Nehemiah's work is established by very ancient testimony. It should be noticed, however, that this book is not expressly named by Melito of Sardis (A.D. 170) in his account of the sacred writings; but this creates no difficulty, since he does mention Ezra, of which Nehemiah was then considered but a part (Eichhorn, *Einleitung*, ii. 627).

The contents of the book have been specified above in the biography of the author. The work can scarcely be called a history of Nehemiah and his times. It is rather a collection of notices of some important transactions that happened during the first year of his government, with a few scraps from his later history. The contents appear to be arranged in chronological order, with the exception perhaps of ch. xii. 27-43, where the account of the dedication of the wall seems out of its proper place: we might expect it rather after ch. vii. 1-4, where the completion of the wall is mentioned.

As to the date of the book, it is not likely that it came from Nehemiah's hand till near the close of his life. Certainly it could not have been all written before the expulsion of the priest, recorded in ch. xiii. 23-29, which took place about the year B.C. 413.

While the book as a whole may be considered to have come from Nehemiah, it consists in part of compilation. He doubtless wrote the greater part himself, but some portions were evidently taken from other works, and some indicate a date later than his day. It is allowed by all that he is, in the strictest sense, the author of the narrative from ch. i. to ch. vii. 5 (Hävernick, *Einleitung*, ii. 304). The account in ch. vii. 6-73 is avowedly compiled, for he says in ver. 5, 'I found a register,' etc. This register we actually find also in Ezra ii. 1-70: hence it might be thought that our author borrowed this part from Ezra; but it is more likely that they both copied from public documents, such as 'the book of the chronicles' (*דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים*), mentioned in Neh. xii. 23. Had Nehemiah taken his list from Ezra, we might expect agreement, if not identity, in the contents; whereas the two registers present an amazing number of discrepancies, which cannot now be reconciled, though some try to account for them by supposing that they were taken from public records that were discordant. Others, however, think it possible that these discrepancies arose from the errors of transcribers.

Chapters viii.-x. were probably not written by Nehemiah, since the narrative respecting him is in the third person (ch. viii. 9; x. 1), and not in the first, as usual (ch. ii. 9-20). Hävernick, indeed (*Einleitung*, ii. 305-308), makes it appear, from the contents and style, that Ezra was the writer of this portion. The remaining chapters (xi.-xiii.) also exhibit some marks of compilation (ch. xii. 26, 47); but there are, on the contrary, clear proofs of Nehemiah's own authorship in ch. xii. 27-43, and in ch. xiii. 6-31; and hence Hävernick thinks (*Einleitung*, ii. 315-319) he wrote the whole except ch. xii. 1-26, which was probably added by a later writer, who took it from 'the book of the chronicles,' mentioned in ver. 23.

The mention of Jaddua as a high-priest, in ch. xii. 11, 22, has occasioned much perplexity. This

Jaddua appears to have been in office in B.C. 332, when Alexander the Great came to Jerusalem (Joseph. *Antiq.* xi. 8): how then could he be named by Nehemiah? The common, and perhaps the fairest, escape from this difficulty, is to regard the naming of Jaddua as an addition by a later hand. Yet it is just credible that Nehemiah wrote it, if we bear in mind that he lived to be an old man, so as possibly to see the year B.C. 370; and if we further suppose that Jaddua had at that time entered on his office, so that he filled it for about forty years, *i.e.*, till B.C. 332. In support of this conjecture, see especially Hävernick's *Einleitung*, ii. 320-324.

The exegetical helps for the explanation of this book are chiefly, Poli *Synopsis*; Jo. Clerici *Comm. in Lib. Historicis V. T.*, Amst. 1708; Maurer, *Comment. Crit. Grammat. in V. T.*, vol. i., Lips. 1833; Strigelii *Scholia in Nehem.*, Lips. 1575; Rambach, *Annotationes in Librum Nehemiae*; and Bertheau, *Exeget. Handbuch*, xvii.—B. D.

### NEHILOTH. [PSALMS.]

NEHUSHTA (נְהֻשְׁתָּא, *brass*; Sept. Νέσθα), the mother of king Jehoiachin (2 Kings xxiv. 8).

NEHUSHTAN (נְהֻשְׁתָּן; Sept. Νέσθαν; Alex. Νέσθον); the name given to the serpent of brass which Moses made in the wilderness, and which, preserved as a memorial of God's grace and power, became in later ages an object of idolatrous worship; on which account it was destroyed by king Hezekiah (2 Kings xviii. 4). It is disputed whether the name was given by Hezekiah in contempt, or was the name by which the idolatrous Israelites designated it as the object of their worship. Those who take the former view suppose that Hezekiah, to disabuse the minds of the people of the superstitious reverence with which they regarded the serpent, called it *Nehushtan*, *i.e.*, a piece of brass ('Quo impensius id colebatur, eo magis depreitendum putavit; quasi diceret: *Aes est, praedecra nihil.*' Grot.) Both the LXX. and the Vulg. follow this rendering; and so the passage is explained by Kimchi, Münster, Vatablus, and others, and Archbishop Whately has made the passage so explained the basis of one of his admirable essays (*Errors of Romanism*, Ess. I.) The other view, according to which *Nehushtan* = the brazen God (*Erzgott*, Ewald; *Eherner Götze*, Zunz) was the name by which the Israelites worshipped the idol, is followed by the Targumist, the Peshito Syr., and by the great majority of interpreters. The original will bear either rendering; but as it was hardly worth while to record so formally the name by which a destroyed idol was known, the former is perhaps on general grounds to be preferred.—W. L. A.

NEÏEL (נְעִיֵל, perhaps = נְעִיֵל, 'treasure of God;') 'Ναήλ, Alex. 'Ανείλ; *Nehiel*, a place mentioned only in Josh. xix. 27 as one of the landmarks on the border of Asher. It stood upon the east border of the tribe, and between Beth-emek and Cabul. Cabul is the modern Kabûl, eight miles east of Akka; Beth-emek is unknown, but Jephthah-el, which was the next place to it on the south, has been identified with Wady Abilîn; and therefore Neïel must be looked for between Wady Abilîn and Kabûl. The site has not yet been

discovered (*Handbook*, p. 377; Robinson, *B. R.*, iii. 103). The name Neïel does not occur in any classic or ecclesiastical writer.—J. L. P.

NEKEB (הַנֶּקֶב, 'the cavern;') Ναβόκ; Alex. Νακέβ; *Naceb*). The Hebrew text favours the opinion that this word should be united with the preceding. אַדָּמִי הַנֶּקֶב is 'Adami-Nekeb,' or 'Adami-the-Cavern;,' the Greek makes them two distinct names, but Jerome renders *Adami quæ est Naceb* (see Reland, *Pal.*, p. 545). The Jewish Rabbins agree with the Septuagint, and in the Talmud they give a list of the old cities of Naphtali with their (then) modern names (Reland, *Pal.*, p. 716). The modern name of *Nekeb* they give as *Tzaidatha* (צִידָתָה), which is now unknown.

Nekeb, or Adami-Nekeb, was a town on the border of Naphtali, apparently on the northern border, for Zaanannim, with which it is joined, was near Kedesh (Judg. iv. 11). Probably it lay near the brow of the mountains overlooking the plain of Dan. No name has been discovered in that region which would suggest identity with this old city.—J. L. P.

NEMALAH (נְמָלָה; Sept. Μύμηξ; Vulg. *Formica*; fifth order of insects; *Hymenoptera*, Linn. occurs Prov. vi. 6; xxx. 25). Ants have only latterly become the subjects of accurate observation. The investigations of Latreille, Gould, Geer, Huber, and Kirby and Spence, have dissipated many erroneous notions respecting them and revealed much interesting information concerning their domestic polity, language, migrations, affections, passions, virtues, wars, diversions, etc. The following facts are selected as relevant to Scriptural illustration. Ants dwell together in societies; and although they have 'no guide, overseer, or ruler,' yet they have all one soul, and are animated by one object—their own welfare, and the welfare of each other. Each individual strenuously pursues his own peculiar duties; and regards (except in the case of females), and is regarded by, every other member of the republic with equal respect and affection. They devote the utmost attention to their young. The egg is cleaned and licked, and gradually expands under this treatment, till the worm is hatched, which is then tended and fed with the most affectionate care. They continue their assiduity to the pupa, or chrysalis, which is the third transformation. They heap up the pupæ, which greatly resemble so many grains of wheat, or rather rice, by hundreds in their spacious lodges, watch them in an attitude of defence, carry them out to enjoy the radiance of the sun, and remove them to different situations in the nest, according to the required degree of temperature; open the pupa, and at the precise moment of the transformation, disenthral the new-born insect of its habiliments.

The most prevalent and inexcusable error, however, respecting ants, has been the belief that they hoard up grains of corn, chiefly wheat, for their supply during winter, having first bitten out the germ to prevent it from growing in their nests. The learned Bochart has collected an immense array of the most eminent authors and naturalists of antiquity (Jewish, Greek, Roman, and Arabian), who all gravely propound this assertion. Notwithstanding that this notion has been completely ex-



ploded during the last hundred years, with regard to European ants, the belief of it constitutes to this hour one of our popular errors. Even Solomon himself, whose renowned attainments in natural history included the knowledge of insects (1 Kings iv. 33), has been inconsiderately supposed to have sanctioned the same opinion in the two passages in his writings which refer to the ant. The mistake has no doubt arisen from the great similarity, both in shape, size, and colour, before mentioned, of the pupa or chrysalis of the ant to a grain of corn, and from the ants being observed to carry them about, and to open the cuticle to let out the enclosed insect. It is now also ascertained beyond a doubt that no European ants, hitherto properly examined, feed on *corn*, or *any other* kind of grain. Bonnet found that, however long they had been kept without food, they would not touch corn. Nor do they attack the roots or stems of corn, nor any other vegetable matter. Nor has any species of ant been yet found with food of *any kind* laid up in its nest. The truth is, that ants are chiefly carnivorous, preying indiscriminately on all the soft parts of other insects, and especially the viscera; also upon worms, whether dead or alive, and small birds or animals. If unable to drag their booty to the nest, they make an abundant meal upon it, and, like the bee, disgorge it, upon their return home, for the use of their companions; and they appear able to retain at pleasure the nutritious juices unchanged for a considerable time. Ants are also extremely fond of saccharine matter, which they obtain from the exudation of trees, or from ripe fruits, etc.; but their favourite food is the saccharine exudation from the body of the aphides, or plant-lice. These creatures are the *milch kine* of the ants. By a remarkable coincidence, which M. Huber justly considers too much to be ascribed to chance, the aphides and the ants become torpid at the same degree of cold (27 deg. Fahr.), and revive together at the same degree of warmth. He says, 'I am not acquainted with any ants to whom the art of obtaining from the pucerons (aphides) their subsistence is unknown. We might even venture to affirm that these insects are made for their use' (Huber, *Natural History of Ants*, p. 210, etc.)

It is highly probable that the exotic ants subsist by similar means. The accounts given us of the termites, or ants, inhabiting the hottest climates, clearly show that they are carnivorous. In the *Introduction to Entomology*, by Kirby and Spence, some diffidence is expressed (ii. 46) respecting the inference that *no* exotic ants have magazines of provisions, till their habits shall have been 'more accurately explored.' Still, are we not in possession of sufficient data to form a strong presumption in regard to the ants of *Palestine*, to which Solomon of course alludes in his writings? The ants of the Holy Land certainly have to encounter a degree of *cold* quite as severe as ever occurs in England (*Physical Hist. of Palestine*, 210, 216). Is it not highly probable that the ants at such times become *torpid*, and need no magazine of provisions? And since we learn from the same authority (p. 31) that there are intervals, even in the depth of winter, when the sun shines, and there is no wind, when it is perfectly warm, sometimes almost hot, in the open air, may not the ants of Palestine and their food revive together at such times, as is the case in our own

country, where ants may often be seen pursuing their avocations over the snow? With regard to Solomon's words respecting the ant, Kirby and Spence are of opinion 'that if they are properly considered it will be found that the interpretation which seems to favour the ancient error respecting ants has been fathered upon them rather than fairly deduced from them. He does not affirm that the ant, which he proposes to the sluggard as an example, laid up in her magazine stores of grain against winter, but that, with considerable prudence and foresight, she makes use of *proper seasons* to collect a supply of provisions sufficient for her purposes. There is not a word in them implying that she stores up grain or other provisions. She prepares her bread and gathers her food (namely, such food as is suited to her) in summer and harvest (that is, when it is most plentiful), and thus shows her wisdom and prudence by using the advantages offered to her.' A brief examination of the passages (Prov. vi. 6; xxx. 25), with reference to their context, will serve to confirm these observations. In the preceding verses, Solomon has cautioned his readers against incurring dangerous responsibilities on behalf of another. Should this have inadvertently been done, he advises the surety to give no *sleep to his eyes*, nor *slumber to his eyelids* till he has delivered himself from his rash engagement. He then adds, 'Go to the ant, thou sluggard, consider her ways, and be wise: which having no guide, overseer, or ruler, provideth her meat in the summer, and gathereth her food in the harvest.' The sense is thus ably given by Dr. Hammond: '*As in the matter just mentioned the least delay is pernicious, so in all things else sluggishness, or negligence of those things which concern us most nearly, should ever be avoided; and if we need any instructor on this head, we may go to one of the least and meanest of creatures.*' The *moral*, then, intended in Solomon's allusion to the ant, is simply to avail one's-self of the *favourable time without delay*. The description which follows, of the sluggard sleeping, evidently *during the day*, the proper season of activity, and of the consequences of his vice, agrees with this interpretation. The other passage (xxx. 25), probably by a different writer, also considers the ant simply as the symbol of *diligence*.

The peculiar use of the terms summer and harvest, among the Jews, may have contributed to the erroneous interpretation. The Jews had no word to signify spring or autumn. They spoke only of summer and winter: by the former they designated the *whole* of the more *genial* time of the year, and by the latter the whole of the less favourable. Hence Solomon uses summer and harvest as synonymous terms (Prov. x. 5; xxvi. 1: see also Jer. viii. 20; Matt. xxiv. 32). In the same way the Romans employed *estas* and *messis*, and the Greeks *θέρος* and *θερίζω*.—J. F. D.

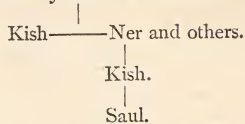
NEPHTOAH, WATERS OF (נֶפְתוֹאֵה), 'Waters of Opening'; נֶפְתוֹאֵה; *Nephthoa*), a fountain, and apparently a streamlet issuing from it (or perhaps a watering-place for cattle), on the border of Judah. Its position is described with considerable minuteness. From the valley of Hinnom the border was drawn to the top of the hill on the west, that is, in the direction of the Convent of the Cross; and the border was drawn from the top of the hill *unto*

the fountain of the water of Nephtoah, and thence to Kirjath-jearim (Josh. xv. 8, 9). A similar description of the southern border of Benjamin is given in Josh. xviii. 14-16; and the name is not again mentioned in Scripture. Its site appears to have been unknown to Jerome and Eusebius, as they simply mention it as a fountain in the tribe of Benjamin. From the above passages it might be inferred that the Waters of Nephtoah lay somewhere in or near a direct line between Jerusalem and Kirjath-jearim, but there is another passage which must considerably modify that conclusion. We read in 1 Sam. x. 2 that Rachel's sepulchre lay near the border of Benjamin, and it is nearly three miles south of the valley of Hinnom. Consequently, from the top of the hill on the west of Hinnom the border must have turned southward, and we must look for the Waters of Nephtoah on the south or south-west of Jerusalem. Recent geographers have pretty generally agreed to identify Nephtoah with *Ain Lifta*, a fountain near the village of that name, two and a half miles north-west of Jerusalem (Barclay, *City of the Great King*, p. 544; Tobler, *Dritte Wanderung*, p. 202; cf. *Topographie*, 343, seq.; Stewart, *Tent and Khan*, p. 349). This, however, cannot be reconciled with the statement of Samuel, which these writers appear to have overlooked. About a mile and a half from Jerusalem, on the road to Rachel's tomb, and close to the convent of Mar Elyas, is an old well, which some have identified with Nephtoah (*Narrative of Mission to Jews*, June 13). It is, however, a mere well. A much more probable site is *Ain Yalo*, in Wady el-Werd, three miles south-west of the city. It is a small fountain, whose waters flow into a large pool, and are drawn off to irrigate some gardens. Its water is esteemed at Jerusalem, whither it is conveyed in skins on the backs of donkeys (*Handbook*, p. 232; Robinson, *B. R.*, iii. 265). In front of the fountain are some ruins. There is another larger and much more beautiful fountain a mile farther down the valley, called *Ain Hanīyeh*, said by tradition to be the fountain in which Philip baptised the eunuch (*Handbook*, l. c.; Barclay, p. 548). It is ornamented with a niched facade and Corinthian pilasters.—J. L. P.

NER (נֶר; Sept. Νήρ), the grandfather of king Saul. The accounts which are given of the relationship of this individual are, at first sight, somewhat discrepant; but it is not impossible to reconcile them. According to 1 Sam. xiv. 50, 51, he was the son of Abiel and the father of Abner, the brother of Kish the father of Saul. But in 1 Sam. ix. 1, Kish, the father of Saul, is made the son of Abiel. This, however, may be got over by regarding *son* here as meaning *grandson*, according to the lax use of the Heb. נֶר. When we turn to Chronicles, we find (viii. 33) the same order of succession Ner,—Kish,—Saul; only that another Kish appears as a *brother* of Ner (30), and their father is described as Abi-Gibeon, the father of Gibeon, *i. e.*, the stem-father of the Gibeonites, or the proprietor of Gibeon. But in 1 Chron. ix. 33-39, we have the name of Ner's father given as Jehiel; in other respects the genealogy agrees with viii. 29-33. We may regard Abiel and Jehiel as names of the same person who was also by title Abi-Gideon; and there seems no reason why there should not have been two in his family of the name

of Kish—one his son, and the other his grandson. The family-tree, then, stood thus:—

Abiel or Jehiel Abi Gideon.



From Abiel the genealogy ascended through Zeror, Aphiah or Abiah, and Bechorath or Bechor, to Benjamin (1 Sam. ix. 1; 1 Chron. vii. 6-8), from whom Saul was thus seventh in descent.—W. L. A.

NERD or NARD (נֶרְדִּים) is mentioned in three places in the Song of Solomon, and by Mark and John in the N. T., under the name of *nardos*. Both are translated in the A. V. by the word *spikenard*, which indicates a far-famed perfume of the East, that has often engaged the attention of critics, but the plant which yields it has only been ascertained in very recent times.



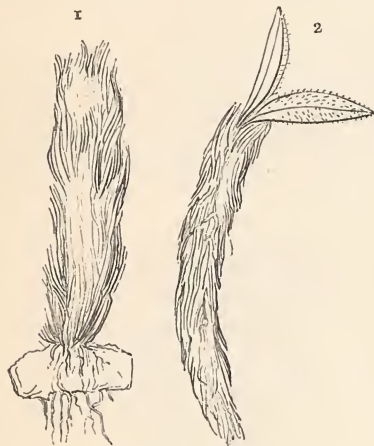
401. *Nardostachys jatamansi*.

That the *nerd* of Scripture was a perfume is evident from the passages in which it occurs. In Cant. i. 12, iv. 14, we find it mentioned along with many of the most valued aromatics which were known to the ancients, and all of which, with the exception perhaps of saffron, must have been obtained by foreign commerce from distant countries, as Persia, the east coast of Africa, Ceylon, the north-west and the south-east of India, and in the present instance even from the remote Himalayan mountains. Such substances must necessarily have been costly when the means of communication were defective, and the gains of the successful merchant proportionally great. That the *nard* or *nardus* was of great value we learn from the N. T. (Mark xiv. 3; John xii. 3, 5).



Before proceeding to identify the plant yielding nard, we may refer to the knowledge which the ancients had of this ointment. Horace, at a period nearly contemporary, 'promises to Virgil a whole cadus (about thirty-six quarts) of wine, for a small onyx-box full of spikenard' (Rosenmüller, p. 168).

The composition of this ointment is given by Dioscorides, in lib. i. c. 77, *περὶ νάρδιον μύρον*, where it is described as being made with nut oil, and having as ingredients malabathrum, schœnus, costus, amomum, nardus, myrrha, and balsamum; that is, almost all the most valued perfumes of antiquity.



402. Spikenard from a druggist's in London.

The nard, *νάρδος*, was known in very early times, and is noticed by Theophrastus and by Hippocrates. Dioscorides, indeed, describes three kinds of nard. Of the first, called *νάρδος* (*nardos*) simply, there were two varieties, the one Syrian, the other Indian. The former is so called, not because it is produced in Syria, but because the mountains in which it is produced extend on one side towards Syria, and on the other towards India. This may refer to the Hindoo Khoosh, and to the extensive signification of the name Syria in ancient times, or to so many Indian products finding their way in those ages into Europe across Syria. These were brought there either by the caravan route from north-west India, or up the Persian Gulf and Euphrates. It is evident, from the passages quoted, that nard could not have been a produce of Syria, or its value would not have been so great either among the Romans or the Jews. The other variety is called Gangitis, from the Ganges, being found on a mountain round which it flows. It is described as having many spikes from one root. Hence it, no doubt, came to be called *νάρδοςταχυς*; and from the word *stachys* being rendered by the word *spike*, it has been translated spikenard. The second kind is by Dioscorides, called Celtic Nard (*νάρδος κελτική*), and the third kind mountain nard (*νάρδος ὄρεω*). If we consult the authors subsequent to Dioscorides—as Galen, Pliny, Oribasius, Ætius, and Paulus Ægineta—we shall easily be able to trace these different kinds to the time of the Arabs. As the author of this article has already said (*v. infra*), on consulting Avicenna, we are

referred from *narden* to *sunbul*, pronounced *sumbul*, and in the Latin translation from *nardum* to *spica*, under which the Roman, the mountain, the Indian, and Syrian kinds are mentioned. So in Persian works on *Materia Medica*, chiefly translations from the Arabic, we have the different kinds of *sunbul* mentioned; as—1. *Sunbul hindee*. 2. *Sunbul roomie*, called also *sunbul ukletee* and *narden ukletee*, evidently the above Celtic nard, said also to be called *sunbul italion*, that is, the nard which grows in Italy. 3. *Sunbul jibullee*, or mountain nard. The first, however, is the only one with which we are at present concerned. The synonyms given to it in these Persian works are,—Arabic, *sunbul at teeb*, or fragrant nard; Greek, *narden*; Latin, *nardoo*; and Hindee, *balchur* and *jatamansae*.

Sir William Jones (*Asiat. Res.* ii. 416, 8vo) was the first to ascertain that the above Hindee and Sanscrit synonyms referred to the true spikenard, and that the Arabs described it as being like the tail of an ermine. The next step was of course to attempt to get the plant which produced the drug. This he was not successful in doing, because he had not access to the Himalayan mountains, and a wrong plant was sent him, which is that figured and described by Dr. Roxburgh (*Asiat. Res.* iv. 97, 438). The author of this article, when in charge of the East India Company's botanic garden at Seharunpore, in 30° of N. latitude, about 30 miles from the foot of the Himalayan mountains, being favourably situated for the purpose, made inquiries on the subject. He there learnt that *jatamansi*, better known in India by the name *balchur*, was yearly brought down in considerable quantities, as an article of commerce, to the plains of India, from such mountains as Shalma, Kedar Kanta, and others, at the foot of which flow the Ganges and Jumna rivers. Having obtained some of the fresh brought-down roots, he planted them, both in the botanic garden at Seharunpore and in a nursery at Mussooree, in the Himalaya, attached to the garden. The plants produced are figured in his *Illustrations of Himalayan Botany*, t. 54, and a reduced figure is given in the accompanying woodcut (No. 401). The plant produced was found to belong to the natural family of *Valerianææ*, and has been named *nardostachys jatamansi* by De Candolle, and formerly *patrinia jatamansi*, by Mr. Dow, from plants sent home by Dr. Wallich from Gossamtham, a mountain of Nepal (*Penny Cyclopædia*, art. Spikenard; and Royle, *Illustr. Himal. Botany*, p. 242).

Hence there can be no doubt that the *jatamansi* of the Hindoos is the *sunbul hindee* of the Arabs, which they compare to the tail of an ermine. This would almost be sufficient to identify the drug: the appearance to which it refers may be seen even in the woodcut (402, fig. 1), but very conspicuously in the specimens of the drug which the author has deposited in the Museum of *Materia Medica* in King's College. This is produced in consequence of the woody fibres of the leaf and its footstalk not being decomposed in the cold and comparatively dry climate where they are produced, but remain and form a protection to the plant from the severity of the cold. There can be as little doubt that the Arabs refer to the descriptions of Dioscorides; and both they, and the Christian physicians who assisted them in making translations, had ample opportunities, from their profession and their local

situation, of becoming well acquainted with things as well as words. There is as little reason to doubt that the *vápōs* of Dioscorides is that of the other Greek authors, and this will carry us into ancient times. As many Indian products found their way into Egypt and Palestine, and are mentioned in Scripture—indeed in the very passage with nard we have calamus, cinnamon, and aloes (*ahalim*)—there is no reason why spikenard from the Himalayas could not as easily have been procured. The only difficulty appears to arise from the term *vápōs* having occasionally been used in a general sense, and therefore there is sometimes confusion between the nard and the sweet cane [KANEH BOSEM], another Indian product. Some difference of opinion exists respecting the fragrance of the *jalamansi*: it may be sufficient to state that it continues to be highly esteemed in Eastern countries in the present day, where fragrant essences are still procured from it, as the *unguentum nardinum* was of old.—J. F. R.

NEREUS (Νηρεός), a Christian at Rome to whom, with his sister, St. Paul sends his salutation (Rom. xvi. 15). The name may be of Hebrew origin, נר or נרי; or it may be, as Grotius suggests, from the Sabine *Nerio*, a word according to Aulus Gellius signifying 'virtus et fortitudo' (*N. A.*, xiii. 22), and with which *Nero* and *Verienes* the wife of Mars stand allied. Of this Nereus nothing is known. One of the same name appears in the Roman martyrology, who is said to have been baptised by St. Peter, and Estius (*in loc.*) suggests that 'perhaps' this may be he; but this confutes itself, for as St. Peter did not visit Rome till a period after the writing of the epistle to the Romans (if he ever visited it at all), the Nereus baptised by him cannot be the Nereus saluted by St. Paul.—W. L. A.

NERGAL (נרגל; Sept. 'Εργέλ), a deity of the Cuthites in the Assyrian empire (2 Kings xvii. 30), corresponding to Ares or Mars in the Hellenic and Latin mythology. His astrological symbol was the planet Mars, which still bears among the Zabians or Mendaeanes the name of نرگ, *Nerig*; and on

the Assyrian monuments he is probably represented by the man-lion, sometimes also by the natural lion. He was the God of war and hunting, especially of the latter, as Nin was the god especially of war but also of hunting. The titles by which he is designated are, king of battle, storm-ruler, champion of the gods, strong begetter, tutelary god of Babylonia, and god of the chase. From him the Assyrian monarchs boasted that they derived their descent. It has been conjectured that he represents the deified hero Nimrod, who was probably worshipped under different titles. None of the minor deities of Assyria was held in equal reverence with Nergal. He is associated in inscriptions and sculptures with Nin as the tutelary deity of the race, life, and home of the Assyrian kings. Few temples, however, appear to have been raised to him. The city Cutha, or Tiggaba, is constantly called his city in the inscriptions; so that when the men of Cuth were removed to Samaria, it was natural they should carry with them Nergal their tutelary deity. Various derivations of the name have been suggested. First traces it to נרג, *to break in pieces*, with ל added; Gesenius identi-

fies it with the Zabian *Nerig*, the *l* being appended as the mark of a diminutive, which was a sign of endearment; Von Bohlen compares the Sanscrit *Nrighal*, *man-destroyer*; and Rawlinson says the name 'is evidently compounded of the two Hamitic roots—*air*, a man, and *gula*, great; so that he is *the great man*, or *the great hero*' (*Ancient Monarchies*, i. 171; ii. 256. See also Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, i. 631).—W. L. A.

NERGAL-SHAREZER (נרגל-שרעצר; Pers. *Nergal*, *prince of fire*; Sept. Μαργασαζαρ; Alex. Νηργελ-σασαζαρ). 1. A military chieftain under Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. xxxix. 3). 2. The chief of the magi (Rab-mag) under the same king, and present in the same expedition (Jer. xxxix. 3, 13). There is reason to believe that the latter is the *Nergal-shar-uzur* of the Babylonian inscriptions, who is there styled *Rabu-emga*, or *Rab-mag*; and who is identified with *Neriglissar*, who murdered Evil Merodach, and succeeded him as king of Babylon. He reigned between three and four years. A palace built by him has been discovered at Babylon.

NERI (Νηρι), the son of Melchi, and father of Salathiel in our Lord's genealogy (Luke iii. 27). [GENEALOGY OF J. C.; SALATHIEL.]

NESHER (נֶשֶׁר). This term is used in Scripture to designate birds both of the eagle and of the vulture genus. It is derived from a root signifying to tear with the beak (נָשַׁר; Arab. نسر, whence منسر, *mansir*, a bird of prey), and might therefore be used of birds of prey generally. It is used chiefly of the eagle generically (Exod. xix. 4; Deut. xxxii. 11; 2 Sam. i. 23; Job ix. 26; xxxix. 27; Prov. xxiii. 5, etc.); but in cases where the Neshar is distinguished from others of the genus *aquila*, as in Lev. xi. 15; Deut. xiv. 12, it is probably the golden eagle that is intended.

'The EAGLE, in zoology, forms a family of several genera of birds of prey, mostly distinguished for their size, courage, powers of flight, and arms for attack. The bill is strong, and bent into a plain pointed hook, without the notch in the inner curve which characterises falcons; the nostrils are covered with a naked cere or skin, of a yellow or a blue colour; the eyes are lateral, sunken, or placed beneath an overhanging brow; the head and neck covered with abundance of longish, narrow-pointed feathers; the chest broad, and the legs and thighs exceedingly stout and sinewy. Eagles, properly so called, constitute the genus *Aquila*, and have the tarsi feathered down to the toes; they are clothed in general with brownish and rust-coloured feathers, and the tail is black, grey, or deep brown. Sea-eagles (genus *Haliaeetus*) have the tarsi or legs half bare and covered with horny scales; not unusually the head, back, and tail more or less white. The larger species of both measure, from head to tip of tail, 3 feet 6 inches or more, and spread their wings above 7 feet 6 inches; but these are proportionably broad to their length: for it is the third quill feather which is the longest; as if the Creator intended to restrain within bounds their rapidity of flight, while by their breadth the power of continuing on the wing is little or not at all impeded. The claws of the fore and hind toe are particularly strong and sharp; in the sea-eagles they form more than half



a circle, and in length measure from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to  $1\frac{3}{4}$  of an inch. These majestic birds have their abode in Europe, on the shores of the Mediterranean, in Syria, and Arabia, wherever there are vast woody mountains and lofty cliffs: they occupy each a single district, always by pairs, excepting on the coasts, where the sea-eagle and the osprey (*Pandion haliaetus*) may be found not remote from the region possessed by the rough-legged eagles—the first because it seeks to subsist on the industry of the second, and does not interfere with the prey of the third. It is in this last genus, most generally re-

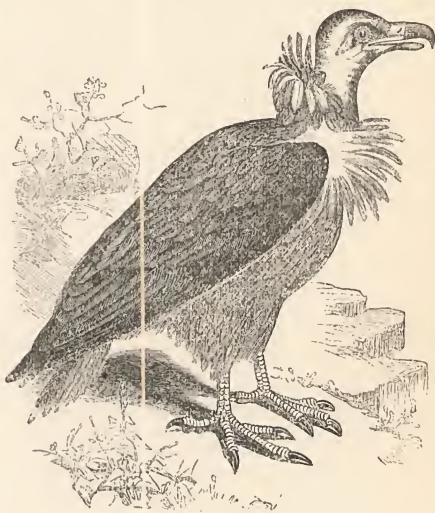
403. *Aquila heliaca*.

presented by the golden eagle (*aquila chrysaetos*), that the most powerful and largest birds are found. That species in its more juvenile plumage, known as the ring-tailed eagle, the imperial eagle, or mogilnick (*aq. heliaca*), and the booted eagle (*aq. pinnata*) is found in Syria; and at least one species of the sea-eagles (the *hal. ossifragus*, *albicilla*, or *albicaudus*) frequents the coasts, and is even of stronger wing than the others. These build usually in the cliffs of Phœnicia, while the others are more commonly domiciliated within the mountains. According to their strength and habits the former subsist on antelopes, hares, hyrax, bustard, stork, tortoises, and serpents; and the latter usually on fish; both pursue the catta (*pteroles*), partridge, and lizard. The osprey alone being migratory retires to Southern Arabia in winter. None, excepting the last-mentioned, are so exclusively averse to carrion as is commonly asserted: from choice or necessity they all, but in particular the sea-eagles, occasionally feed upon carcasses of horses, etc.; and it is well known in the East that they follow armies for that purpose. Hence the allusions in Job and Matt. xxiv. 28, though vultures may be included, are perfectly correct. So again are those which refer to the eagle's eyrie, fixed in the most elevated cliffs. The swiftness of this bird, stooping among a flock of wild geese, with the rushing sound of a whirlwind, we have witnessed; and all know its towering flight, suspended on its broad wings among the clouds with little motion or effort. Thus the predictions, in which terrible nations coming from afar are assimilated to eagles, have a poetical and

absolute truth, since there are species, like the golden, which really inhabit the whole circumference of the earth, and the nations alluded to bore eagles' wings for standards, and for ornaments on their shields, helmets, and shoulders. In the northern half of Asia, and among all the Turkish races, this practice is not entirely abandoned at this day, and eagle ensigns were constantly the companions of the dragons. China, India, Bactria, Persia, Egypt, the successors of Alexander, the Etruscans, the Romans, the Celtæ, and the Arabs, had eagle signs of carved work, of metal, or the skins of birds, stuffed, and set up as if they were living. These, named *איל, אֵרֹבִס*, aquila, eryx, simurg, humma or humaion, karakoosh (the birds of victory of different nations and periods of antiquity), were always symbolical of rapid irresistible conquest. A black eagle was the ensign of Kalid, general of Mohammed, at the battle of Ainsadin, and the carved eagle still seen on the walls of the citadel of Cairo, set up by Karakoosh, the vizir of Salah-ed-deen, to commemorate his own name and administration, indicates a species not here enumerated. *Aq. heliaca*, here figured, is the species most common in Syria, and is distinguished from the others by a spot of white feathers on each shoulder.—C. H. S.

The VULTURE seems to be referred to in Micah i. 16, where baldness is ascribed to the *Nesher*; the bird here referred to is probably the *Vultur barbatus* of zoology. It is not so certain that the vulture is referred to where allusion is made (as in Job xxxix. 30; Prov. xxxvi. 17) to the bird as feeding on carrion; for though the eagle usually kills its own food, it does not invariably refuse to feed on dead bodies (comp. Matt. xxiv. 28).

The Vulture has a large and strong bill, straight

404. *V. fulvus*.

at the base, convex and rounded at the point; the nostrils are naked, rounded, and obliquely pierced; the head and neck are bare of feathers, but covered with a short down, with a collar of long soft feathers at the base of the neck. They feed almost exclusively on carrion, but occasionally make inroads

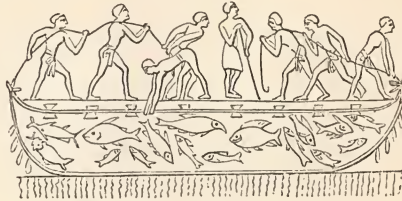
on flocks. They are unable, however, to carry off in their talons what they kill, as do eagles. Their flight, though slow, is powerful and long sustained. Their flesh is so disgusting that even the scavenger-ants leave it untouched.

Two species belong to the old world, the *V. cinereus*, and the *V. fulvus*. Both are found spread over northern Africa and southern Europe, and both may have been known in Palestine.—W. L. A.

NET. There are in Scripture several words denoting different kinds of nets, and this, with the frequency of images derived from them, shows that nets were much in use among the Hebrews for fishing, hunting, and fowling. Indeed, for the two latter purposes, nets were formerly used to an extent of which now, since the invention of fire-arms, a notion can scarcely be formed. 1. **חֶרֶם** *cherem*, which denotes a net for either fishing or fowling. It is derived from a word signifying 'to shut up,' and the idea is, therefore, founded on its shutting in the prey. It occurs in Hab. i. 16, 17; Ezek. xxvi. 5, 14; xlvii. 10, etc. In Zech. xiv. 11 and Mal. iii. 24 it is used in the sense of *destruction* or *curse*. In Eccles. vii. 26, it is applied by an apt metaphor to female entanglements. 2. **מִכְכָּר** *mikmor* or *machmor*, which occurs only in Ps. cxli. 10, Is. li. 20, where it denotes a hunter's net; but a longer word, from the same source, **מִכְמוֹרֶת** *mikmoreth*, denotes the net of fishermen in the only passages in which it is found (Is. xix. 8; Hab. i. 15, 16). In these cases we find, by tracing the words to their source, that the idea is founded upon the plaiting, braiding, or interweaving of the net-work. 3. **שֶׁבַכָּה** *sebaka*, which designates an actual hunting-net in Job xviii. 6; but elsewhere it is applied to net-work or lattice-work, especially around the capitals of columns (1 Kings vii. 18, 20, 41, 42; 2 Kings xxv. 17; 2 Chron. iv. 12, 13; Jer. lii. 22, 23); and also before a window or balcony (2 Kings i. 2). In the N. T. no other net than that for fishing alone is mentioned. The word which describes it (**ἰκτυόω**) is usually confined to fishing-nets by classical writers, although sometimes applied to the nets of hunters. Another word to describe a net, **ἀμφίβληστρον**, occurs in Matt. iv. 18; Mark i. 16, which, like *cherem* above, is founded on the idea of enfolding or shutting in the prey.

We have no positive information concerning the nets of the Hebrews, and can only suppose that they were not materially different from those of the ancient Egyptians, concerning which we now possess very good information. Indeed, the nets of Egypt, the fishers who used them, and the fish caught by them, are more than once mentioned in Scripture (Is. xix. 8). The usual fishing-net among this people was of a long form, like the common drag-net, with wooden floats on the upper, and leads on the lower side. It was sometimes let down from a boat, but those who pulled it usually stood on the shore, and landed the fish on a shelving bank. This mode, however, was more adapted to river than to lake fishing; and hence, in all the detailed examples of fishing in the N. T., the net is cast from and drawn into boats, excepting in one case where the draft being too great to take into the boat, the fishers dragged the net after their boats to the shore (John xxi. 6, 8). Sometimes use was made of a smaller net for catching fish in shallow

water, furnished with a pole on either side, to which it was attached; and the fisherman, holding one of the poles in either hand, thrust it below the surface of the water, and awaited the moment when a shoal of fish passed over it. [FISH.]



405.

It is interesting to observe that the fishermen in the boat, excepting the master (No. 405), are almost naked, as are also those who have occasion to wade in the water in hauling the net to the shore (No. 406). Such seems also to have been the practice



406.

among the Hebrew fishermen; for Peter, when he left the boat to hasten on shore to his risen Lord, 'girt his fisher's coat unto him, for he was naked' (John xxi. 7); although, in this case, the word 'naked' must be understood with some latitude. [NAKED.]

Nets were also used in taking birds, to an extent of which we can scarcely form an adequate conception. A clap-net was usually employed. This was of different kinds, that shown in the cut (No. 408), being the most common. It consisted of two sides or frames, over which the net-work was spread; at one end was a short net, which they fastened to a bush, or a cluster of reeds, and at the other was one of considerable length, which, as soon as the birds were seen feeding in the area within, was pulled by the fowlers, causing the instantaneous collapse of the two sides (No. 407). Sir J. G. Wilkinson (*Ancient Egyptians*, iii. 45) says the nets are very



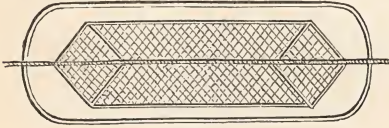
407.

similar to those used in Europe at the present day, but probably larger, and requiring a greater number of persons to manage them, than our own; which, however, may be ascribed to an imperfection in the contrivance for closing them. [FOWLING.]

In hunting, a space of considerable size was sometimes enclosed with nets, into which the animals were driven by beaters. The spots thus



enclosed were usually in the vicinity of the water brooks to which they were in the habit of repairing in the morning and evening; and having awaited the time when they went to drink, the hunters disposed their nets, occupied proper positions for observing them unseen, and gradually closed in upon them. The usages of the Egyptians, and, so far as can be ascertained, of other Oriental nations, in this respect, correspond with the intimations of



408.

Julius Pollux (*Onomast.* v. 4), who states that two kinds of nets were employed in this mode of hunting. One, a long net, called by the Greeks *δίκτυς*, was furnished with several ropes, and was supported on forked poles, varying in length to correspond with the inequalities of the ground over which it extended. The others were smaller nets, called *ἐνδδία*, for stopping gaps. These practices are obviously alluded to in such passages as Job xix. 6; Ps. cxl. 5; Is. li. 20.—J. K.

NETER (נֶתֶר; Sept. and Symmachus, *νίτρον*; Vulg. *nitrum*; English version 'nitre') occurs in Prov. xxv. 20; Jer. ii. 22; where the substance in question is described as effervescing with vinegar, and as being used in washing; neither of which particulars applies to what is now, by a misappropriation of this ancient name, called 'nitre,' and which in modern usage means the saltpetre of commerce, but they both apply to the *natron*, or true *nitrum* of the ancients. The similarity of the names which is observable in this case is considered by Gesenius of great weight in a production of the East, the name of which usually passed with the article itself into Greece. Both Greek and Roman writers describe *natron* by the words given in the Sept. and Vulgate. Jerome, in his note on Prov. xxv. 20, considers this to be the substance intended. Natron, though found in many parts of the East, has ever been one of the distinguishing natural productions of Egypt. Strabo mentions two places in that country, beyond Momemphis, where it was found in great abundance, and says that those districts were in consequence called the nitritic nomes or provinces (*Geog.* xvii. p. 1139, Oxon. 1807), to which Pliny refers by the name Nitritis (*Hist. Nat.* v. 9), and describes the natural and manufactured nitrum of Egypt (xxxv. 10). This substance, according to Herodotus, was used by the Egyptians in the process of embalming (ii. 76, 77). The principal natron lakes now found in Egypt, six in number, are situate in a barren valley about thirty miles westward of the Delta, where it both floats as a whitish scum upon the water, and is found deposited at the bottom in a thick incrustation, after the water is evaporated by the heat of summer. It is a natural mineral alkali, composed of the carbonate, sulphate, and muriate of soda, derived from the soil of that region. Forskal says that it is known by the name *اُطرون*, *atrun*, or *نُطرون*, *natrun*, that it effervesces with vinegar, and is used as soap in washing linen, and by the bakers as yeast, and in

cookery to assist in boiling meat, etc. (*Flora Aegyptiaco-Arabica*, Hauniae 1775, pp. 45, 46). Combined with oil it makes a harder and firmer soap than the vegetable alkali [BORITH]. The application of the name nitre to saltpetre seems accounted for by the fact that the knowledge of natron, the true nitre, was lost for many centuries in this country, till revived by the Hon. R. Boyle, who says he 'had had some of it brought to him from Egypt' (*Memoirs for a History of Mineral Waters*, Lond. 1684-85, p. 86). See an interesting paper in which this is stated, in the *Philosophical Transactions*, abridged, 1809, vol. xiii. p. 216, etc.; and for a full description of the modern merchandise, uses, etc., of the natron of Egypt, see Sonini's *Travels*, Paris, vol. i. ch. xix.; Andréossi's *Memoire sur la Vallée des Lacs de Natron Decade Egyptienne*, No. iv., vol. ii.; Beckman's *Beyträge zur Geschichte der Erfindungen*, th. iv. p. 15, ff.; J. D. Michaelis, *De Nitro Hebraeor.* in *Comment. Societ. Regal. Praelect.*, pt. i. p. 166; and *Supplém. ad Lex. Hebraic.*, p. 1704; Shaw's *Travels*, 2d ed. p. 479.—J. F. D.

NETHANEEL (נְתַנְיֵאל; Sept. *Nathanaël*). Ten persons of this name are mentioned in the O. T. (Num. i. 3; ii. 5; vii. 18, 23; x. 15; i Chron. ii. 14; i. 24; xxiv. 6; xxvi. 4; 2 Chron. xvii. 7; xxxv. 9; Ezra x. 22; Neh. xii. 21, 36; but of none of them is anything known beyond what is mentioned in the passages where they are named.

NETHANIAH (נְתַנְיָהוּ and נְתַנְיָהוּ; Sept. *Nathanael*). 1. The son of Elishama and father of Ishmael who murdered Gadaliah (2 Kings xxv. 23 [Cod. Alex. *Μιθθαβας*]; Jer. xl. 8, 14, 15; xli. *saepe*). 2. One of the four sons of Asaph, and chief of the fifth of the twenty-four courses among which the temple-service was distributed (1 Chron. xxv. 2, 12). 3. One of the Levites selected to accompany the princes sent by king Jehoshaphat to teach the people the law (2 Chron. xvii. 8). 4. The father of Jehudi (Jer. xxxv. 14).

NETHINIM (נֶתִינִים) is the name given in the post-exile books of the Hebrew Scriptures to the hereditary temple-servants who were given to the Levites to do the subordinate and menial work.

1. *Name and its signification*.—The name נֶתִינִים, which is the plural of נֶתִי, feminine נֶתִיָּה, passive participle of נָתַן, *to give, to set apart, to devote*, properly denotes *the given, the devoted, i. e., to do the menial work of the sanctuary for the Levites*, and, like other terms of office, has become the appellative of that class of men who were thus given as hereditary temple-servants to assist the Levites. Hence they are called *τερόδουλοι* by Josephus (*Antiq.* xi. 5, 6), whilst the Vulg. (*Nathinaei*), the Chaldee (נְתִינִין), Luther (*Nethinim*), the Zurich Bible, Coverdale, Matthew's Bible, the Geneva Version, the Bishops' Bible, and the A. V., uniformly retain the original in all the seventeen passages in which it occurs, only that the A. V., following the example of the preceding English versions, incorrectly adds the plural termination *s* (*Nethinims*) to the Hebrew נֶתִי, which is already plural, as it does in cherubims. The Sept., however, is inconsistent both in its spelling and rendering of it. Thus, in nine places out of the seventeen it has *οι Ναθωλυ*, Alex. *Naθwelu* (Ezra ii. 70; vii. 7, 24; viii. 20 (wice); Neh. iii. 26; vii. 46, 73;

x. 28); in three *ol Naṣwaṭoi* (Ezra ii. 43 [Alex., *Naṣwṭu* Vat.]; Neh. xi. 3, 21); in two *ol Naṣawēlu* [Vat. *Naṣawlu*] (Ezra ii. 58; Neh. vii. 60); in one *Naṣawēlu*\* (Ezra viii. 17); in another it takes בִּיתֵי הַנְּתִינִים for one word, and substitutes for it בְּתֵי הַנְּתִינִים (Neh. iii. 31); and in another place again it translates נְתִינִים by *oi dedōménoi* (1 Chron. ix. 2). Theodoret's explanation of נְתִינִים, δόσις Ἰαῶν, του-ρέσσι, τοῦ ὄντος Θεοῦ (*Quest. in. i. Paralip.*), which is also that of Bochart, '*dedititios appellavit, quod se sponte dededissent*' (*Phaleg*, lib. ii. cap. i. Opp. vol. i., p. 67, ed. Lugduni 1692), is both contrary to the grammatical meaning of the word, which, as *passive participle*, can only be *those given*, and not *who voluntarily gave themselves*, and at variance with facts.

2. *Origin and Duties of the Nethinim.*—It is the unanimous voice both of Jewish tradition (comp. *Jebamoth*, 78 b; *Midrash Yalkut on Josh.* ix. 27) and the best Jewish commentators (comp. Rashi and Ibn Ezra on Ezra ii. 43; Kimchi on *Josh.* ix. 20), that the Gibeonites whom Joshua consigned for ever to be the hewers of wood and the drawers of water, *i. e.*, the perpetual menial servants (לְבִית אֱלֹהֵי) of the sanctuary (*Josh.* ix. 21-27), are the original caste denominated *Nethinim* in the post-exile period; and there is no valid reason for rejecting this ancient tradition. As these Gibeonites or sanctuary-slaves were greatly diminished by the bloody persecutions of Saul, and in the massacre at Nob (2 Sam. xxii. 1-19), and moreover, as the reorganisation and extension of the sanctuary-service effected by the royal Psalmist both rendered the work of the Levites very laborious and demanded an increase of the existing staff of menial servants, 'David and the princes [after him] gave (נָתַן) the *Nethinim* (or *these given ones*, הַנְּתִינִים) for the service of the Levites' (Ezra viii. 20). From the ancient practice of consigning aliens and captives of war to do both the menial work of the people at large and of the priests and Levites (*Num.* xxxi. 25-47; *Deut.* xxix. 10), which also obtained among the Syrians, Phœnicians, the Greeks, and other nations of antiquity, and which still obtains among the Arabs, who devote slaves to the service of the Kaaba at Mecca, and to the sepulchre of the prophet at Medina (Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, i. 288, etc.; ii. 166, etc., 174, 181), there can be little doubt that the thinned ranks were recruited by David and the other princes from the captives taken in battle. Indeed, their foreign names given in the catalogue of those who returned from Babylon (Ezra ii. 43-58) fully confirm this view. As this newly-increased and reorganised staff, founded upon the remnant of the aboriginal Gibeonites, was now formally and *exclusively given* by David to the Levites (Ezra viii. 20), just as the Levites themselves, by the command of God, were given to the priests (*Num.* viii. 19; xviii. 2-6), their primitive name was no more applicable to them, because the new accession, constituting the majority, were no Gibeonites, and because they were no more the servants of the sanctuary at large, but were a *gift* to the Levites. It was for this reason that they were henceforth called *Nethinim* (נְתִינִים), *the given ones*, *i. e.*, to the Levites, the very expression used

with regard to the Levites when they in their turn were given to the priests. [LEVITES.] Being thus given to them, the *Nethinim* had to relieve the Levites of every menial and laborious work connected with the sanctuary. They had to draw and carry the water, hew and fetch the wood, and attend to everything which the Levites ordered them to do. And because they were so entirely at the disposal of the Levites, therefore the Bible prescribes no special duties for the *Nethinim*.

3. *Number of the Nethinim, their Locality, Revenues, and Social Position.*—Though their number is nowhere given up to the time of the Babylonish captivity, yet the fact that the aboriginal *Hieroduli*, *i. e.*, the Gibeonites, consisted of the population of five cities when the service of the sanctuary was not so imposing, makes it pretty certain that the *Nethinim* with whom David and the other princes replenished the thinned ranks at the time when the temple-worship required a large staff of menial servants, must have counted their thousands. As a matter of convenience, they most probably lived within the precincts and in the immediate neighbourhood of the Temple, and must have been supported by the contributions of the people. We have more decided information about them in the post-exile records. Only 612 *Nethinim* returned from Babylon—392 with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 58; Neh. vii. 60), and 220 with Ezra (Ezra viii. 20), under the leadership of Ziha and Gispa (Neh. xi. 21), who, as their foreign names indicate, were of their own body. But even this small number had to be coaxed in order to get them to return from exile, as is evident from Ezra viii. 17, where they are addressed as *brethren* of Iddo, a chief of the Levites.\* Some of them lived in Ophel, which they helped to rebuild (*Neh.* iii. 26; xi. 26), because of its proximity to the Temple; while others, as in the pre-exile period, dwelt with the Levites in their own cities (Ezra ii. 70). Belonging to the Temple, they, like the other sacred ministers, were exempted from taxation by the Persian satraps (Ezra vii. 24), and were maintained from the Temple treasury, and (מַעֲשֵׂר שְׁנִי) the second tithes (*Jebamoth*, 80

\* It is evident from the whole context (Ezra viii. 15-19), which speaks of securing Iddo's interests to procure Levites as well as *Nethinim*, that he was not a *Nathin*, but a distinguished *Levite* who had great influence both among his own Levitical brethren and the *Nethinim* who were under his control. It is for this reason that Ezra is so careful about the wording of the message sent to him; and that he designates the *Nethinim* in this message the *brethren* of this distinguished *Levite* (Ezra viii. 17), thereby to conciliate their favour. After their return, however, from the exile, when the *Nethinim* took their original low position, the redactors of the Hebrew Scriptures thought it incompatible with the menial condition of this caste to characterise them as the brethren of Iddo the chief of the Levites. Hence the alterations of אֶדּוֹ וְאֶחָיו הַנְּתִינִים into אֶדּוֹ וְאֶחָיו הַלְוִיִּם, 'Iddo and his brother (or, as some will have, 'and *Achiv*,' see Ibn Ezra *in loco*) the Levites,' as נְתִינִים properly means; comp. *Num.* viii. 19, xviii. 6. We have thus another illustration of the influence which the theological notions of the Jews had upon the Hebrew text [MIDRASH].

\* In the art. IDDO, 'Aṣawēlu is inserted by mistake as the Sept. equivalent of אֶדּוֹ in Ezra viii. 17. It evidently stands for הַנְּתִינִים.



b; *Jerusalem Maaser Sheni*, v. 15; *Jerusalem Sota*, ix. 11; comp. Herzfeld, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, i. 138-140). Though they conformed to the Jewish religion (Exod. xii. 48; Deut. xxix. 11; Josh. ix. 9; Neh. x. 28), they occupied a very low position, and were even ranged below the *Mamzer* (מוֹצֵר), or illegal offspring, as may be seen from the following order of precedence given in the Mishna: 'a priest is before a Levi, a Levi before an Israelite, an Israelite before a *Mamzer*, a *Mamzer* before a *Nathin*, a *Nathin* before a proselyte, and a proselyte before a manumitted slave' (*Horajoth*, iii. 8). The *Nethinim* were restricted to intermarriage among themselves, and if a Jew or Jewess married one of them, though all the valid ceremonies were performed, the issue shared in all the degrading disqualifications of the *Nethinim* (*Mishna Kiddushin*, iii. 12, iv. 1; *Jebamoth*, ii. 4), and they were even excluded from the privileges of being exempt from military service, allotted to newly married people and to those who were faint-hearted (Deut. xx. 7, 8, with *Mishna Sota*, viii. 3-6). If a woman was suspected of being deflowered by any one, or if she had an illegitimate child, it was ascribed to a *Nathin*, and the offspring took the degraded position of the *Nathin*, notwithstanding the assertion of the mother that the father of the child was a priest, unless she could adduce proof to support her own assertion (*Mishna Kethuboth* i. 8, 9); and if a court of justice (בֵּית דִּין) gave a decision, and one of the members of the court was found to be a *Nathin*, the judgment was invalid, inasmuch as he was not regarded as a legal member of the congregation (עֵד) specified in Lev. iv. 13; Num. xxxv. 24 (*Mishna Horajoth*, iii. 1). The opinion of Plumptre (*Smith's Biblical Dictionary*, s. v. *Nethinim*), that the festival of wood-carrying may have been designed to relieve the *Nethinim*, is at variance with the origin of the festival [WOOD-CARRYING, FESTIVAL OF].—C. D. G.

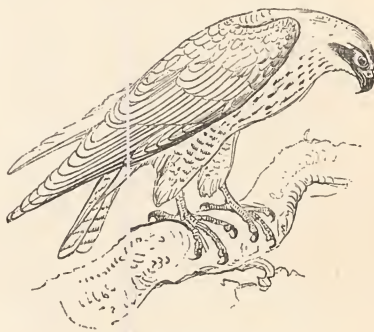
NETOPHAH (נֶטֶפָח), 'a dropping'; *Netwphá*; Ἀνωφά; Alex. Νεφωτά, and Ἀντοφά; *Netupha*), a town mentioned in the lists given by Ezra (ii. 22) and Nehemiah (vii. 26) of those who returned from the captivity. It is grouped between Bethlehem and Anathoth, and apparently it was closely connected with the former (1 Chron. ii. 54). The name of the town itself occurs only in these two passages; but the Gentile noun *Netophathite* (נֶטֶפָתִי); *Netwphatites*, *Netwphathites*; Alex. Νεωφθαίτης, etc.; *Netophathites*) is used several times by the sacred writers. Two of David's mighty men were *Netophathites* (2 Sam. xxiii. 28, 29; cf. 1 Chron. xi. 30). In 1 Chron. ix. 14-16 we read of certain Levites there named that they dwelt 'in the villages of the *Netophathites*,' which would seem to suggest that there was more than one village of the same name—probably a small district in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem (cf. Neh. xii. 28). The *Netophathites* seem to have been a warlike race, for one of the great military leaders of the Jews, during the rule of the Persian satrap Gedaliah at Mizpah, was Seraiah the son of Tanhumeth the *Netophathite* (2 Kings xxv. 23; Jer. xl. 8). All, therefore, that can now be ascertained regarding this ancient village or district is, that it belonged to Judah, was situated near Bethlehem, and was occupied, in part at least, by a family of Levites. It is not

mentioned by classic or ecclesiastical writers. Mr. Grove (*Smith's Dict. of the Bible*, s. v.) has suggested its identity with the *Antibeh* of Van de Velde's map, and the *Um Taba* of Tobler (*Dritte Wanderung*, p. 80), a half-ruined village a mile and a half north-east of Bethlehem. The site agrees with the notices of the sacred writers, and the name bears some remote resemblance to *Netophah*. There is a large and ancient village called *Beit Netti* fifteen miles south-west of Jerusalem, on the brow of the valley of Elah; it is too far from Bethlehem to be identified with *Netophah*, though the names are radically identical, yet it is probably the *Beth Netopha* of the Rabbins (see Reland, pp. 650, 909; Robinson, ii. 17).—J. L. P.

NETOPHATHI (Neh. xii. 28). [NETOPHAH.]

NETOPHATHITE. [NETOPHAH.]

NETS (נֶזֶם; Sept. ἵεπαξ; Vulg. *accipiter*, an unclean bird; A. V. HAWK; Lev. xi. 16; Deut. xiv. 15; Job xxix. 26). The English name is an altered form of the old word *fawk* or *falk*, and in natural history represents several genera of raptorial birds; as does the Arabic *nas*, and, no doubt, also the Hebrew *netz*. Western Asia and Lower Egypt, and consequently the intermediate territory of Syria and Palestine, are the habitation or transitory residence of a considerable number of species of the order *Raptores*, which, even including the shortest-winged, have great powers of flight, are remarkably enterprising, live to a great age, are migratory, or followers upon birds of passage, or remain in a region so abundantly stocked with pigeon and turtle-dove as Palestine, and affording such a variety of ground to hunt their particular prey—abounding as it does in mountain and forest, plain, desert, marsh, river, and sea-coast. We shall here enumerate, so far as our information will permit, the *Falconidae* of this region, exclusive of those mentioned in other articles [OZNIYAH; NESHER; DAAH].



409 Peregrine Falcon.

Falcons, or the 'noble' birds of prey used for hawking, have for many ages been objects of great interest, and still continue to be bought at high prices. They are consequently imported from distant countries, as central Asia, Iceland, Barbary, etc. Their love of liberty often renders them irreclaimable when once on the wing; and their powers and boldness, independent of circumstances, and the extent of range which the long-winged species in particular can take, are exemplified by their

presence in every quarter of the globe. The *Falco communis*, or Peregrine falcon, is so generally diffused as to occur even in New Holland and South America. As a type of the genus, we may add that it has the two foremost quill-feathers of almost equal length, and that when the wings are closed they nearly reach the end of the tail. On each side of the crooked point of the bill there is an angle or prominent tooth, and from the nostrils backwards a black streak passes beneath the eye and forms a patch on each side of the throat, giving the bird and its congeners a whiskered and menacing aspect.

Next we may place *Falco Arocris* of Sir J. G. Wilkinson, the sacred hawk of Egypt. This, if it be not in reality the same as, or a mere variety of, the Peregrine, should have retained the ancient epithet of *Hierax*, and the hawkers' name of *Sacre*, derived from the Arabic *Sagr*, which evidently applies to it. This bird has the same moultachio marks, and from them the old name *Gernonia*, which in base Latinity indicates whiskers, may have been derived. Innumerable representations of it occur in Egyptian monuments, since, in the character of *Horhat*, or bird of victory, it overshadows kings and heroes, like the *Garuda*, *Simurg*, and the *Huuma* bird of Eastern Asia; but it is also an emblem of Re, the Sun, and numerous other divinities; for an account of which we refer to Sir J. G. Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, 2d Series.

The Hobby, *Falco subbuteo*, is no doubt a second or third species of sacred hawk, having similar *germonia*. Both this bird and the tractable Merlin, *Falco axalon*, are used in the falconry of the inferior Moslem landowners of Asiatic Turkey.

Besides these the Kestrel, *Falco tinnunculus*, occurs in Syria, and *Falco tinnunculoides*, or lesser Kestrel, in Egypt; and it is probable that both species visit these two territories according to the seasons.

To the 'noble' birds we may add the Gersfalcon, *Falco gyrfalco*, which is one-third larger than the Peregrine: it is imported from Tartary and sold at Constantinople, Aleppo, and Damascus. The great birds fly at antelopes, bustards, cranes, etc.; and of the genus *Astur*, with shorter wings than true falcons, the Goshawk, *Falco palumbarius*, and the Falcon Gentil, *Falco gentilis*, are either imported, or taken in their nests, and used to fly at lower and aquatic game. It is among the above that the seven species of hunting hawks enumerated by Dr. Russell must be sought; though from the circumstance that the Arabic names of the birds alone were known to him, it is difficult to assign their scientific denominations; but the following identification is tolerably evident—1. *Al-Huz* or *Baraban* is the Gersfalcon; 2. *Al-Saphy*, the Peregrine; 3. *Al-Shaheen*, the Doctor himself asserts to be the Falcon Gentil; 4. *Al-Zygranuz*, the Goshawk. One of the remaining species is, no doubt, the Merlin; and the last, *Al-Bashak*, is the crested Buzzard, *Falco Bacha*, which is most abundant in Africa, and the principal enemy of the Shaphan (Hyrax). The smaller and less powerful hawks of the genus *Nisus* are mostly in use on account of the sport they afford being less fatiguing, as they are employed to fly at pigeons, partridges, quails, Pterocles, Katta, and other species of Ganga. There are various other raptorial birds, not here enumerated, found in Syria, Arabia, and Egypt.

We have at this moment before us coloured representations of three such, copied from the painted sculptures of ancient Egypt; and in conformity with the common laws of animated nature, the Nile cannot be without a variety of species feeding on the produce of its waters and its visitors; but the above enumeration will be found, we trust, sufficient for our present purpose.—C. H. S.

#### NETTLE. [CHARUL; KIMMOSH.]

NEWCOME, WM., D.D., Archbishop of Armagh, was the son of a clergyman at Abington, in Berkshire, where he was born in 1729. Educated at the grammar school of his native town, he soon passed thence to Oxford, where he became fellow and tutor of Hertford College, having C. J. Fox as one of his pupils. In 1765 he proceeded D.D., and, in the capacity of chaplain, accompanied his patron, the Earl of Hertford, when he went as Lord-Lieutenant to Ireland. Here he was soon made Bishop of Dromore, but was successively translated to Ossory, to Waterford, and finally to Armagh in 1795. He died in 1800. He was characterised by affability, candour, moderation, and liberality of sentiment. A diligent biblical student, he became the author of several works on biblical and theological subjects, much more esteemed formerly than now. The principal are:—

1. *An Harmony of the Gospels, in which the original text is disposed after Le Clerc's general manner, with such various readings at the foot of the page as have received Wetstein's sanction, etc. Observations subjoined, tending to settle the time and place of every transaction, etc., and to reconcile seeming inconsistencies*, London 1778, folio. This work involved him in a controversy with Dr. Priestly as to the duration of our Lord's ministry, Priestly contending for one, Newcome for three years.
2. *An Attempt towards an Improved Version, a Metrical Arrangement, and an Exposition of the Twelve Minor Prophets*, London 1785, 4to.
3. *An Attempt towards an Improved Version, a Metrical Arrangement, etc., of the prophet Ezekiel*, Dublin 1788, 4to. 'Both the translation and the notes proceed to a large extent on the vicious principle . . . of getting rid of difficulties in the sense by proposed emendations of the text.' 'Would correct the Heb. text from the Septuagint'—Fairbairn.
4. *An Historical View of the English Biblical Translations; the Expedience of revising by authority our present Translation, and the Means of executing such a Revision*, Dublin 1792, 8vo.
5. *An Attempt towards revising our English Translation of the Greek Scriptures, or the New Covenant of Jesus Christ, and towards illustrating the sense by philological and explanatory Notes*, 1796, 2 vols. royal 8vo. Although bearing the above date, this work was not published till some time after the author's death. It was professedly made the basis of the unscholarly and worthless production published by the Unitarians under the dignified title of 'The New Testament in an IMPROVED VERSION,' etc.—I. J.

NEW MOON, FEAST OF THE (רֵאשׁ חֹדֶשׁ), or simply חֹדֶשׁ, Sept. *νεομηνία, νοομηνία*; Vulg. *Calendæ*), like the Sabbath and other festivals, has been celebrated among the Jews and other nations from the remotest antiquity.



### 1. Celebration and Sanctity of this Festival.—

All that the Mosaic code says about this festival is contained in the two passages enjoining that two young bullocks, a ram and seven lambs of the first year as a burnt-offering, with the appropriate meat-offerings and drink-offerings, and a kid as a sin-offering, are to be offered on every new moon in addition to the ordinary daily sacrifice, and that the trumpets are to be blown at the offering of these special sacrifices, just as on the days of rejoicing and solemn festivals (Num. x. 10; xxviii. 11-15). It is, however, evident from the writings of the prophets, and from post-exile documents, that the new moon was an important national festival. It is placed by the side of the Sabbath (Is. i. 13; Ezek. xlvi. 1; Hos. ii. 3), and was a day on which the people neither traded nor engaged in any handicraft-work (Amos viii. 5), but had social gatherings and feasts (1 Sam. xx. 5-24), resorted for public instruction either to the Temple (Is. i. 13, lxvi. 23; Ezek. xlvi. 1, 3), or to the houses of the prophets and other men of God (2 Kings iv. 23); and no national or private fasts were permitted to take place, so as not to mar the festivities of the day (Judith viii. 6; *Mishna Taanith*, ii. 10). The *Hallel* was chanted in the Temple by the Levites whilst the special sacrifices were being offered [*HALLEL*]; and to this day the Jews celebrate new moon as a minor festival. The day previous to it, *i.e.*, 29th of the month, which is called *ראש חודש*, *New Moon Eve*, *ה' פרוצטאג* (Judg. viii. 6), is kept by the orthodox Jews, in consequence of the remark in the *Mishna* (*Shebaoth*, i. 4, 5), as the *minor day of atonement*, and is devoted to fasting, repentance, and prayer, both for forgiveness of the sins committed during the expiring month, and for a happy new month. It is for this reason denominated *יום כטן*, since they say that, just as the great day of atonement is appointed for the forgiveness of sins committed during the year, this minor day of atonement is ordained for the remission of sins committed during each month. They resort to the synagogue, put on the fringed wrapper or *Tallith* [*FRINGED GARMENT*] and the phylacteries; whereupon the leader of the service recites Ps. cii., offers a penitential prayer (*יום זה*), after which he recites Ps. viii., the prayer called *Ashre* (*אשרי*), and the *half Kadi'sh*. The scroll of the Law (*ספר תורה*) is then taken out of the ark, and *ויחל*, or Exod. xxxii. 11-15, xxxiv. 1-10, with the *Haphtara*, Is. lv. 6, lvi. 1-8, are read, being the appointed lesson for fasts [*HAPHTARA*], after which other appointed penitential prayers, together with the ordinary daily afternoon service, conclude the vespers and the fast, when the Feast of the New Moon is proclaimed, which, like all the feasts and fasts, begins on the previous evening. On the morning of the new moon, they resort to the synagogues in festive garments, offer the usual morning prayer (*שחרית*), inserting, however, Num. xxviii. 11-15 in the recital of the daily sacrifices, and the prayer *יעלה ויבוא* in the eighteen benedictions. The phylacteries which are worn at the ordinary daily morning service are then put off, and the *Hallel*, with its appropriate benediction, given in the article *HALLEL* of this Cyclopædia, is recited, all the congregation standing; after which, the scroll of the Law (*ספר תורה*) is taken out of the ark, and Num. xxviii. 1-15 is read in four sections;

the first section (*i.e.*, ver. 1-3) being assigned to the priest; the second (ver. 3-5) to the Levite; the third (ver. 6-10) to an Israelite; and the fourth (ver. 11-15) to any one. If new moon happens on a Sabbath, two scrolls of the Law are taken out of the ark, from the first of which the ordinary Sabbath lesson is read, and from the other Num. xxviii. 9-15, or *Maphtir*; and if it happens on a Sunday, 1 Sam. xx. 18-42 is read as the *Haphtara* instead of the ordinary lesson from the prophets [*HAPHTARA*]. Unlike their brethren in the time of the prophets (Amos viii. 5), the Jews of the present day work and trade on New Moon.

### 2. Mode of ascertaining, fixing, and consecrating the New Moon.—

As the festivals, according to the Mosaic law, are always to be celebrated on the same day of the month, it was incumbent upon the spiritual guides of the nation to fix the commencement of the month, which was determined by the appearance of the new moon. Hence the authorities at Jerusalem, from the remotest times, ordered messengers to occupy the commanding heights around the metropolis, on the 30th day of the month, to watch the sky, who, as soon as they observed the moon, hastened to communicate it to the synod; and, for the sake of speed, were even allowed, during the existence of the Temple, to travel on the Sabbath and profane the sacred day (*Mishna Rosh Ha-Shana*, i. 4). These authorities also ordained that, with the exception of gamblers with dice, usurers, those who breed and tame pigeons to entice others, those who trade in the produce of the Sabbatical year, women and slaves, any one who noticed the new moon, is to give evidence before the Sanhedrim, even if he were sick and had to be carried to Jerusalem in a bed (*Rosh Ha-Shana*, i. 8, 9). These witnesses had to assemble in a large court, called *Beth Jazek* (*בית יעוק*), specially appointed for it, where they were carefully examined and feasted, so as to induce them to come; and when the authorities were satisfied with the evidence, the president pronounced the word *מוקדש*, *i.e.*, it is sanctified; whereupon all the bystanders had to repeat it twice after him, it is sanctified! it is sanctified! and the day was declared New Moon (*Mishna Rosh Ha-Shana*, ii. 5, 7). On beholding the new moon from his own house, every Israelite had to offer the following benediction: 'Blessed be He who renews the months! Blessed be He by whose word the heavens were created, and by the breath of whose mouth all the hosts thereof were formed! He appointed them a law and time, that they should not overstep their course. They rejoice and are glad to perform the will of their Creator. Author of truth, their operations are truth! He spoke to the moon, Be thou renewed, and be the beautiful diadem (*i.e.*, the hope) of man (*i.e.*, Israel), who shall one day be quickened again like the moon (*i.e.*, at the coming of Messiah), and praise their Creator for his glorious kingdom. Blessed be He who renewed the moons' (*Sanhedrim*, 42 a). Of such importance was this prayer regarded, that it is asserted, 'Whoso pronounceth the benediction of the New Moon in its proper time, is as if he had been holding converse with the Shechina' (*לחמברך על החדש בזמנו כאלו*) *מקבל פני שכינה* (*ibid.*). To this prayer was afterwards added, 'A good sign, good fortune be to all Israel! (to be repeated three times). Blessed



be thy Creator! Blessed be thy Possessor! Blessed be thy Maker! (repeated three times). As I leap towards thee but cannot touch thee, so may my enemies not be able to injure me (said leapingly three times). May fear and anguish seize them. Through the greatness of thine arm they must be as still as a stone; they must be as still as a stone through the greatness of thine arm. Fear and anguish shall seize them. Amen, Selah, Halle-lujah. Peace, peace, peace be with you' (*Sopherim*, ii. 2). This prayer, which, during the period of the second Temple was offered up by every Israelite as soon as he beheld the new moon, is still offered up every month by all orthodox Jews, with some additions by the Rabbins and the Kabbalists of the middle ages, and is called in the Jewish ritual קידוש לבנה, *Consecration of the New Moon*.

3. *Origin of this Festival*.—That the Mosaic law did not institute this festival, but already found it among the people, and simply regulated it, is evident both from the fact that the time of its commencement is nowhere stated, and from the words in which the sacrifices are spoken of ('and on your new moons ye shall offer,' etc., Num. xxviii. 11, etc.), which presuppose its existence and popularity. Several causes co-operated in giving rise to this festival. The periodical changes of the moon, renewing itself in four quarters of 7½ days each, and then assuming a new phase, as well as the fact that the reappearance in the nocturnal sky of ancient cities and villages—the inhabitants of which were consigned to utter darkness, great dangers, and 'the terrors by night,' during its absence, since they had no artificial means of lighting their roads, combined together to inspire the nations of antiquity, both with awe and gratitude when reflecting on these wonderful phenomena, and beholding the great blessings of the new moon. This is the reason why different nations, from the remotest periods, consecrated the day or the evening which commences this renewal of the moon to the deity who ordained such wonders; just as the first and the beginning of every thing were devoted to the author of all our blessings.

4. *Literature*.—Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chesaka, Hichoth Kiddush Ha-Chodesh*. This tractate has been translated into Latin, both by De Veil, Paris 1669, Amsterdam 1701; and by Witter, Jena 1703; Abravanel, *Dissert. de Principio anni et consecratione Novilunii*; Hebrew and Latin appended by Buxtorf to his translation of *The Cosri*, Basel 1659, p. 431, ff.; Knobel, *Commentary on Exodus and Leviticus in the Kurzgefast. exegetische Handbuch zum A. T.*, vol. xii., Leipzig 1858, p. 531, ff., where a vast amount of classical information is brought together to shew that this festival existed among many heathen nations of antiquity; and the article HILLEL of this Cyclopædia.—C. D. G.

#### NEW TESTAMENT. [TESTAMENT.]

NEWTON, THOMAS, D.D., Bishop of Bristol, was born in 1704, and died in 1782. The son of a tradesman in Litchfield, Staffordshire, he was partly educated at the local grammar school, and partly at Westminster, from which he went to Trinity College, Cambridge. For some years he was a city preacher, but in 1744 he was presented by Pulteney, Earl of Bath, to the living of Mary-le-Bone. He was afterwards lecturer at St. George's, Hanover Square, prebendary of Westminster, and

dean of Salisbury; and was, in 1762, made bishop of Bristol. He was not a man of much intellectual power or biblical scholarship. The only work of his which claims notice here is:—*Dissertations on the prophecies which have been remarkably fulfilled, and are, at this time, fulfilling in the world*, London 1759, 1766, 3 vols. 8vo. This work was long popular, and has been often republished. By a certain class, who lag behind their age, it is still read and admired. It may, however, be occasionally consulted with advantage.—I. J.

NEW YEAR, or FEAST OF TRUMPETS (זכרון תרועה, יום תרועה, ראש השנה), though not one of the three great festivals on which the male population appeared before the Lord in Jerusalem, is nevertheless one of the first among the principal holydays, and as such has been celebrated by the Israelites since the giving of the Law, and is observed to the present day.

1. *Name and its signification, and the import of this festival*.—In the two passages where the institution of it occurs, this festival is called זכרון תרועה, *remembrance blowing*, i. e., of trumpets (Levit. xxiii. 24; Sept. *μνησμονιστον σαλπιγγων*, Vulg. *sabbatum memoriale clangentibus tubis*), and יום תרועה, *the day of blowing*, i. e., the trumpets (Num. xxix. i.; Sept. *ἡμέρα σημαστας*; Vulg. *dies clangoris et tubarum*). To understand this indefinite appellation, we must examine the import of this festival. As the first of *Tishri*, on which this festival occurs, besides being the new moon, is the beginning of that month wherein the festivals most distinguished, both for holiness and joy, are celebrated [FESTIVALS], it had to be connected in an especial manner with the import of the month itself. Hence, as Maimonides observes, it was made, as it were, a stepping-stone to, and a preparation for, the great day of atonement (נאלי).

ליום הצום, *ליום הצום*, הוא הצעה פתיחה ליום הצום (*More Nebuchim*, iii. 43). This is not only indicated by the particle אף (Lev. xxiii. 27), which forms the transition from the feast of new year to the day of atonement, but has been so understood by the unanimous voice of the Jewish church, which from time immemorial has observed the ten intervening days between these two festivals as *days of penitence*, and calls them 'the ten days of repentance, or humiliation' (עשרת ימי תשובה, comp. *Talmud, Rosh Ha-Shana*, 18 a; Maimonides, *ibid*; *Orach Chajim*, secs. 582, 602, 603). Being preparatory to it, the festival of the new year had to draw the attention of the Israelites to the design of the day of atonement, by summoning and stirring them up to it. As it is ordained that whenever all Israel are to be summoned to general action—e.g., either to a convocation, journey, war, or an assault—the priests are to blow silver trumpets made especially for this purpose (Num. x. 1-10), and that these trumpets are especially to be blown at every sacred work in order to summon the people on festivals and new moons to participate in the sacrifices (*ibid*. v. 10); the festival of the new year, which is designed to summon the Israelites to the most holy of all works, and to prepare them for the great day of atonement, had to be furnished with the sign of this summons in an especial manner. Thus the blowing of the trumpets, which was a secondary thing on other festivals, became the



chief and distinguishing feature of this festival. Hence its name, *יום תרועה*, the day on which the trumpets were especially blown; or, the day on which the blowing was peculiarly characteristic (Num. xxix. 1). Moreover, as this blowing of the trumpets is a summons to the Israelites to enter upon the work of sanctification, it is accounted to them as a merit in the sight of God, and the inspired word promises them for it a special remembrance before the Lord (והיו לכם לזכרון לפני אלהיכם). Num. x. 10) and divine help for this holy life (ונזכרתם).

לפני יהוה אלהיכם ונושעתם *ibid.* v. 9). Hence this festival is also called *זכרון תרועה*, the remembrance blowing (Lev. xxiii. 24), i.e., the day on which the blowing of the trumpets, by its summoning the Israelites to effect their reconciliation with God, makes them to be remembered before the Lord, and secures for them divine aid for the holy work before them. The synagogue, however, takes the word *זכרון* more in the sense of *reminding* God of the merits of and his covenant with the patriarchs, and for this reason has appointed Gen. xxi. 1-34; xxii. 1-24, recording the birth and sacrifice of Isaac, as lessons for this festival (comp. Rashi on Lev. xxiii. 24, and the article HAPHTARA in this Cyclopædia). That this festival occurs on the day commencing the civil new year, which from time immemorial has been on the first of the seventh month, called *Tishri*, is not only evident from Exod. xii. 1; xxiii. 16; xxiv. 22; Joseph. *Antiq.* i. 3, 3; but from the fact that both the Sabbatical year and jubilee commenced in this month (comp. Lev. xxv. 9, 10; and the articles FESTIVALS and JUBILEE in this Cyclopædia).<sup>\*</sup> The universal practice of the Jewish nation, who regard and celebrate it as the *Festival of the New*

*Year's Day*, is therefore rightly supported by Christian scholars; and the name *New Year* (ראש השנה), by which this festival is almost universally spoken of in the Jewish literature, is far more expressive than the vague appellation, *Fest of Trumpets*.

2. *The manner in which this Festival was and still is celebrated.*—Like the Sabbath, this festival is to be a day of rest, on which all trade and handicraft works were stopped (Lev. xxiii. 24, 25). As the new year also is the new moon, a threefold sacrifice was offered on this festival—viz., the ordinary daily sacrifice, which was offered first; then the appointed new moon sacrifice [NEW MOON, FEAST OF THE]; and last of all followed the sacrifice of this festival, which consisted of a young bullock, a ram, and seven lambs of the first year, with the usual meat-offerings, and a kid for a sin-offering (Num. xxix. 1-6); and which, with the exception of there being one young bullock for a burnt-offering instead of two, was simply a repetition of the monthly offering. All the time that the drink-offering and burnt-offering were offered, the Levites engaged in soul-stirring vocal and instrumental music, singing the eighty-first and other Psalms; whilst the priests at stated intervals broke forth with awful peals of the trumpets. After the offering up of the sacrifices, the service was concluded by the priests, who pronounced the benediction (Num. vi. 23-27), which the people received in a prostrate position before the Lord. Hereupon the congregation, after prostrating themselves a second time in the court, resorted to the adjoining synagogues, where the appointed lessons from the Law and Prophets were read, consisting of Gen. xxi. 1-34; Num. xxix. 1-6; 1 Sam. i. 1-ii. 10; Gen. xxii. 1-24; Num. xxix. 1-6; Jer. xxxii. 2-20 [HAPHTARA]. Psalms were recited and the festival prayers were offered, beseeching the Lord to pardon the sins of the past year, and to grant to the people a happy new year, which concluded the morning service. The families then resorted to their respective homes, partook, as on other festivals, of a social and joyous repast, and in the evening again went to the Temple to witness the offering of the evening sacrifice, and the incense, and to see the lighting of the candlestick, with which the festival concluded, all wishing each other, 'May you be written down for a happy new year'.

(לשנה טובה תכתב), or, 'May the Creator decree for you a happy new year' (בורא יגזור לשנה טובה); to which it is replied, 'And you likewise' (וגם אתה). This wish or prayer to be inscribed on this day in the book of life arises from the fact that the Jews believe that the feast of the new year is the annual day of judgment, on which all the deeds of man are weighed, whether they be good or evil, the destinies of every individual and every nation are fixed for the ensuing year, and the death and life of every one is determined, as well as the manner of death (*Mishna Rosh Ha-Shana*, i. 2; *Talmud*, in loco). Hence the names *Day of Judgment* (יום הדין) and *Awful Days* (ימי נוראים), by which this festival is sometimes called. It is a remarkable fact that all the ancient astronomers of the different nations have given the figure of an aged man of stern aspect, holding a pair of scales in his right hand and an open book in his left, as the sign of the zodiac for this month, thus expressing the religious idea of this festival.

<sup>\*</sup> Some of the ancients believed that God created the world in *Tishri*, as may be seen from the following discussion in the Talmud:—'R. Eleazar submits the world was created in the month *Tishri* [i.e., the autumnal equinox], because it is said, 'Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed and fruit trees' (Gen. i. 11), and it is only in the month *Tishri* that the earth produces herbs and trees full of fruit. . . . R. Joshua again submits the world was created in the month *Nissan* [i.e., the vernal equinox], because it is said, 'And the earth brought forth grass, herbs yielding seed after their kind, and trees growing fruit' (Gen. i. 12); and it is only in *Nissan* that we find the earth full of herbs and the trees exhibiting fruit' (*Rosh Ha-Shana*, 10 b, ff.) But although there is this difference of opinion as to whether the creation took place at the autumnal equinox, when the germ of future life is forming itself in the bosom of the earth, thus beginning with the formation of the germ; or whether it took place at the vernal equinox, when life and vegetation are in full development, thus coming into existence with the full bloom of spring; yet all the Rabbins agree that the extremes of heat and cold, or summer and winter, are not adapted for production, and date the new year from *Tishri*, or the autumnal equinox, which contains the germ to be developed in the following year, in conformity with the rule laid down in the Scriptures for computing time, according to which, periods are dated from the evening (Gen. i. 5; Levit. xxiii. 32, *al.*), thus commencing with the germ, as it were, of the coming day.

With the exception of the sacrifices which cannot be offered in consequence of the destruction of the Temple, and a few modifications which have been introduced through the shifting circumstances of the nation, the Jewish ritual for the new year continues to the present day to be essentially the same as it was in the days of Christ. The service comprises prayers of a threefold kind as described in the Mishna, which are as follows:—*i.* A series of texts are recited bearing on the supreme rule of God, consisting of, *a*, אבות till כנגדאברהם; *b*, מזהיה אלה נבור till מזהיה אלה נבור; *c*, קדשת השם, beginning from where the last leaves off till האל הקדוש. After these prayers have been offered, in which the speedy approach of the *kingdom* of God is invoked, when all mankind shall possess the true knowledge of their Creator, and unite in the worship of their supreme Benefactor, and which are called מלכות, of *homage*, a prayer is recited celebrating the holiness of the day (אתה בחרתנו), after which the trumpet is blown. *ii.* Then follow prayers acknowledging the omniscience, providence, and supremacy of the Creator, and beseeching him to remember his creatures in pity, and temper his judgment with mercy, which are called זכרונות, of *Remembrance*, and after which the trumpet is again blown; and *iii.* Prayers celebrating that future jubilee when all men will be free from the bondage of error, and acquire perfection in the knowledge of their God, which are called שופרות, of *Sounding the Trumpet*, and after which the trumpet is blown a third time. The service is then concluded with the recital of the עבודה הודאה and ברכת כהנים, or the three last blessings of the *Amida* or *Mussaph*, מודים, רצה, and שים שלום (*Rosh Ha-Shana*, iv. 5). Before the destruction of the Temple the trumpets were blown all day by the priests in Jerusalem, from sunrise to sunset, but since the downfall of the city it has been ordained that the trumpet is to be blown in every city during the synagogal service, and that every Israelite is obliged to hear its sound. Though the Bible says nothing about the kind of trumpet to be used on this occasion, yet it is certain that 'the cornet used in the Temple on the feast of new year was,' as the Mishna declares, 'a straight horn of a chamois [a kind of antelope, or wild goat], the mouth-piece of which was covered with gold' (*Rosh Ha-Shana*, iii. 3), and the Jews to the present day use a ram's horn, to remind God on this occasion of the ram which he sent to be sacrificed instead of Isaac, and of the covenant made with the patriarchs; for which reason also Gen. xxii. 1-24, recording the sacrifice of Isaac, forms the lesson of this festival. The horns of oxen or calves are unlawful (*Rosh Ha-Shana*, iii. 2), as the use of them would remind God of Israel's sin in making the golden calf, which is also the reason why the Jews in the present day no more gild the mouth-piece of the trumpet. Before sounding the trumpet, which is of this shape, the rabbi pro-



410. New Year's Trumpet.

nounces the following benediction: 'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who

hast sanctified us with thy commandments, and enjoined us to hear the sound of the trumpet! Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hast preserved us alive, sustained us, and safely brought us to this season!' To which the whole congregation responds 'Amen!' The greatest importance is attached to the blowing of the trumpet, as its sound is believed to confound Satan, who on this day of judgment appears before God's tribunal to accuse the children of Israel (*Rosh Ha-Shana*, 16). This explains the otherwise inexplicable rendering of Num. xxix. 1 in the Chaldee paraphrase of Jonathan b. Uzziel, יום

יבבא יהי לכן למערבבא סטנא דאתי למקטנא

לכן בקל יבבותכו, *it shall be a day of blowing to confound Satan, who comes to accuse you, with the sound of your trumpets.* After *Mincha*, or the afternoon service, they go to a river or stream, which they generally prefer to be out of town, and to

have fish, and recite a prayer called תשליו, which consists of the following passages of Scripture: Micah vii. 18-20; Ps. cxviii. 5-9; xxxiii.; and with the earnest recitation of Is. xi. 9, shake their garments over the water. Four reasons are assigned for this service—*i.* It is to pray to God to be as fruitful as the fish. *ii.* To commemorate the sacrifice of Isaac, which, according to an old tradition, Abraham made on this day, in spite of the wiles of Satan, who sought to prevent the patriarch from obeying the Lord, by causing a mighty stream to arise on Abraham's journey to Mount Moriah, which would have drowned both the father and the son but for the prayers of faithful Abraham. *iii.* To be reminded by the sight of the fish that we are as suddenly deprived of our life as these fish are caught in the net (Eccl. ix. 12), and thereby be admonished to repentance. And *iv.* To learn from the fish constantly to direct our eyes upwards.

3. *Literature.*—*Mishna*, *Rosh Ha-Shana*; and the *Gemara* on this Tractate; *Siphra* on Lev. xxiii. 23-25; Num. xxix. 1; *Abravanel*, *Commentary* on *Exod.* xii. 1, ff.; *Lev.* xxiii. 23-25; *Num.* xxix. 1; The Jewish Ritual, entitled *Derech Ha-Chajim*, Vienna 1859, p. 258, ff.; *Machsor* for *Rosh Ha-Shana*; Meyer, *De Temporis Sacris et Festis Diebus Hebraeorum*, 1755, p. 300, ff.—C. D. G.

NEZIB (נְצִיב; Νασιβ; Alex. Νεσιβ; *Nesib*), a town of Judah, mentioned only in Josh. xv. 43. The name is in a group situated along the southern declivities of the mountains, between the mountain proper and the Negeb. Some of the cities in this group were given to Simeon (xix. 7). It is mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome, who state that it was then called Nasib (Νασιβ), and lay in the *ninth* (Jerome, *seventh*) mile from Eleutheropolis, towards Hebron (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Nesib*). There can be no difficulty in identifying it, therefore, with the ruins of *Beit Nusb* (بيت نصيب), situated on a rising ground to the left of the road leading from Beit Jebrin (Eleutheropolis) to Hebron. Its position agrees exactly with the incidental notices in Joshua, and the measurement of Jerome. It is neither in the mountain nor in the plain; but in the low hilly ground which connects the two (Robinson, *B. A.*, ii. 221). The ruins are of considerable extent. The most important are a massive tower sixty feet square, the masonry of which



appears to be of the Jewish type. Near it are the foundations of another great fabric; and the site is strewn with broken columns and large building stones. The writer visited it in 1857, and he has been somewhat surprised to see that Tobler describes it as 'an insignificant cupola with a few ruins. If the old name Nezeb did not cling to the place, one would never suspect it to be an ancient site' (*Dritte Wanderung*, p. 150). Tobler's examination must have been very cursory, or he would have noticed the massive foundations (*Handbook*, p. 280).—J. L. P.

NIBHAZ (נִבְחָז), a deity of the Avites, which they introduced into Samaria (2 Kings xvii, 31). In the T. R. of the LXX. this name is omitted, and instead of it stands Ἐβλαζῆρ, which is either the name of another deity of the Avites or another name for Nibhaz. In the Cod. Alex. the reading is τῆν Ἀβασῆρ καὶ τῆν Ναβᾶς, κ.τ.λ., which favours the former supposition. The termination -αῖερ is אֵסֶר, *eser*, so common in Assyrian proper names. Of Nibhaz nothing certain is known. The Zabians gave the name נִבְזָ, *Nebaz*, to the demon of darkness (Norberg, *Onom. Cod. Adami*, 99, ff.); but there is no ground for connecting this with the idol of the Avites now before us. The Talmudists say that Nibhaz means *dog*, connecting it probably with נִבְחָ, *to bark* (*Talm. Hieros., Avoda Sarah*, iii. fol. 42 b; *Talm. Bab., Sanhedr.*, fol. 63. 2); Jarchi (*in loc.*) and Abendana (*Michlol Sophi*, ad h. l.) expressly say that 'Nibhaz is the image of a dog'; and Abarbanel (*in Proph. priores*, ad h. l.) says, 'The Avites make Nibhan' [so some Codd. read נִבְחָן], 'by which is intended the dog that barks with strength.' By many this has been treated as a mere utterance of Jewish ignorance and prejudice, chiefly on the ground that the dog was amongst the ancient Orientals an object of abomination and not of worship, and that no traces exist of any idol under this shape having been worshipped in Syria or Assyria. But there can be no doubt that the Egyptians worshipped the dog (Strabo, xvii., p. 812; Joseph. *Cont. Apion.*, ii. 7; Juv. *Sat.*, xv. 8, etc.); and that 'Anubis the barker' (comp. Virg. *Aen.*, viii. 698; Ovid. *Met.* ix. 689; Propert. *Eleg.*, iii. 9. [iv. x.] 41) was represented by the Greeks and Romans as a dog-faced man (Diodor. Sic., i. 87; Apul. *Asin. Aur.* xi.; Lucan, *Bell. Civ.* viii. 831).<sup>\*</sup> Nor is the assertion

<sup>\*</sup> Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson says that it is the jackal, and not the dog, whose head appears on Anubis (*Anc. Eg.*, sec. ser., i. 440; ii. 141). If it is so, the error of the ancients in making Anubis dog-headed is not very serious, as the dog and the jackal belong to the same genus. Sir G. Wilkinson himself admits that the resemblance between the jackal and the Egyptian fox-dog is so close that unless the exact character of the former be preserved, it may be confounded with the latter (ii. 143). If the statement of Strabo (xvii., p. 558), that Anubis was worshipped at Cynopolis, be correct, it would appear that the Egyptians themselves did not persistently make the distinction. In a representation of Anubis, given in the *Abhandlungen der Hist. Phil. Klasse der Kön. Preuss. Akad. aus J.* 1820-21, Taf. 6, fig. 52, he appears driving a leash of animals that have very much the appearance of dogs, and whose heads are the counterpart of his own

that the dog was held in abhorrence by all Orientals borne out by facts; for among the Arabs and Persians it was not so (Pococke, *ad Abul. Faraj. Spec. Hist. Arab.*, p. 82; Hyde, *de Relig. Vett. Persar.*, c. xxxv., p. 540); and among various peoples, dogs were held sacred to the gods, and nourished in the temples (Aelian, *Hist. Anim.*, ix. 5 and 20). It is said that formerly, about three hours from Beyroot, on the road to Tripoli, there stood a colossal figure of a dog, which was revered by the people around as a guardian to announce coming danger, and from which the neighbouring stream has received the name of *Nahr-Kelb*, *Dog-River* (Maundrell, p. 412, in *Early Travels in Palestine*, Bohn 1848). Nothing resembling a dog-headed deity has been discovered on the Assyrian monuments; but 'the dog is frequent on the later sculptures; and has been found modelled in clay, and also represented in relief on a clay tablet' (Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.*, i. 294); and a dog-headed deity would certainly not be more incongruous than the hawk-headed figure at Khorsabad (by some, but erroneously, supposed to represent Nisroch), or the evil genii with lions' heads and apes' ears at Koyunjik (Rawlinson, i. 265, 266). On the subject of this article, see Beyer, *Additt. ad Seldeni de Diis Syris*, p. 321, Amst. 1680; Iken, *Diss. Phil. Theol.*, Diss. xi.—W. L. A.

NIBSIHAN (נִבְשִׁיחַן, 'soft soil,' from root בָּשַׁן; Ναφλαζών; Alex. Νεβσάν; *Nebstan*), one of the cities in the wilderness (נִבְשִׁיחַן) of Judah, and apparently situated near Engedi. It is only mentioned in Josh. xv. 62. The site was unknown to Eusebius and Jerome, who merely name it as belonging to the tribe of Judah (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Nepsam*), and it has not yet been discovered.—J. L. P.

NICANOR (Νικάνωρ). 1. The 'Son of Patroclus' (2 Maccab. viii. 9), a general under Antiochus Epiphanes and Demetrius I., who took a prominent part in the wars waged by the Syrians against the Jews, to whom he 'bore a deadly hate.' Under Antiochus, he had been master of the royal elephants (ἐλεφαντάρχη), but was appointed governor of Judæa by Demetrius (2 Maccab. xiv. 12), whose trusted friend he was, and who had accompanied him when he escaped from Rome (*Polyb.* 3, 21; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 10. 4). Nicanor being one of the generals chosen by Lysias when he invaded Judæa, B.C. 166 (1 Maccab. iii. 38), by the proclamation of the sale of Jewish captives, at ninety for a talent, brought multitudes of slave-merchants to his camp (1 Maccab. iii. 41; 2 Maccab. viii. 10, 11; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 7. 3. 4). He was, however, most signally disappointed in his expectations; for, in common with his companions-in-arms, he suffered a most disgraceful defeat from Judas Maccabæus, and was compelled to escape in the disguise of a slave to Antioch, where he declared that the Jews had God for their 'defender,' and that they were 'invulnerable' (ἀτρώτους), 'because they followed the laws appointed by Him.'

Four years later, entrusted with a large army by Demetrius, he had orders 'not to spare' the nation of the Jews. According to 2 Maccab. xiv., he at first made peace with Judas Maccabæus, 'whom he loved from his heart'; but, accused by Alcimus to Demetrius, he was compelled to break all his engagements with the Maccabæan chief, and ordered

to send him prisoner to Antioch. But, according to 1 Maccab. vii. 26-32, and Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 10. 4, Nicanor attempted, at first, by pretence of friendship, to get Judas into his hands. Raphall unites both accounts, regarding the treachery of Nicanor as subsequent to the angry orders he received from Demetrius. Judas, however, discovered the treachery in time, and escaped. Open hostilities immediately commenced, when Nicanor was defeated with the loss of 5000 men, and took refuge in the fortress 'which was in the city of David' (1 Maccab. vii. 31, 32; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 10. 4). Josephus, indeed, as the text now stands, represents Judas as sustaining a defeat, and fleeing to the 'citadel which was in Jerusalem.' But there is evidently an error in the text here, as it contradicts the context, which shows that the citadel at Jerusalem was then in the hands of the Syrians.

Nicanor, on coming down from the citadel, and meeting the priests, blasphemed God, and threatened to destroy their temple unless they delivered up Judas, a thing they could not do, even if they were disposed. Departing from Jerusalem, and joined by a fresh army out of Syria, he encamped at Beth-horon. Judas also pitched his camp at the village of Adasa, thirty furlongs off. At length they joined battle, when, Nicanor having fallen among the first, the Syrians were beaten, routed, and slaughtered in their flight. Finding Nicanor on the battle-field, the Jews cut off his head and his right arm, which he 'had stretched out so proudly,' and hung them up at Jerusalem. His tongue also they cut out and minced, and threw to the birds. The day of the victory, the 13th of Adar, being that before 'Mardocheus' day,' they set apart as a season of annual solemnity (B.C. 161) (1 Maccab. vii. 43-49; 2 Maccab. xv. 26-36; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 10. 5; see also Winer's *R. W. B.*; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 10. 5; see also Winer's *R. W. B.*; Raphall's *Post. Bib. Hist. of the Jews*, chaps. 4 and 6; Jahn's *Heb. Commemorations*, secs. 96, 97, 98).

2. One of the seven first deacons, Acts vi. 5. Tradition represents him as having suffered martyrdom at the same time with Stephen. Dorotheus makes him one of the seventy disciples (Winer, *R. W. B.*)—I. J.

NICODEMUS (Νικόδημος), a Pharisee and member of the Sanhedrim, who was impressed by what he had heard concerning Jesus; but being unwilling, on account of his station, to commit himself without greater surety than he possessed, repaired by night to the house in which Christ dwelt, and held with him that important discourse which occupies the third chapter of John's Gospel. The effect which was then produced upon his mind may be collected from the fact that subsequently, at one of the sittings of the venerable body to which he belonged, he ventured to let fall a few words in favour of Jesus, whose proceedings were then in question (John vii. 50); and that he took part with his colleague, Joseph of Arimathea, in rendering the last honours to the body of the crucified Redeemer (John xix. 39). Nothing further is known of Nicodemus from Scripture. Tradition, however, adds that after he had thus openly declared himself a follower of Jesus, and had been baptised by Peter, he was displaced from his office, and expelled from Jerusalem (Phot. *Biblioth. Cod.*, p. 171). It is added that he found refuge in a country-house of his cousin Gamaliel, and remained there till his death. Some have been disposed to identify

Nicodemus with a rich and pious person of the same name (but originally called Bonai), mentioned in the Talmud, whose family eventually sank into great poverty (Otho, *Lex. Rabbin.*, p. 459). All this is, however, very uncertain, and what is stated in the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus is unsafe, and in some parts manifestly untrue. Too strong an appreciation of the world's good opinion seems to have been the failing of Nicodemus, although Niemeyer (*Charakt.* i. 113) has lately made a strong effort to clear him from this imputation. We do not lay much stress upon what he ventured to say in the Sanhedrim; for he suffered himself to be easily put down, and did not come forward with any bold avowal of his belief. Winer calls attention to the fact, that although he took part in the sepulchral rites of Jesus, he did not join Joseph in his application to Pilate for the body of his crucified Lord; and justly remarks that such characters usually require a strong external impulse to bring them boldly forward, which impulse was probably in this case supplied by the resurrection of Jesus (*Real-W. B.*, s.v.)—J. K.

NICOLAITANS (Νικολαῖται). This word occurs twice in the N. T. (Rev. ii. 6, 15). In the former passage the conduct of the Nicolaitans, τὰ ἔργα τῶν Νικολαϊτῶν, is condemned; in the latter, the angel of the church in Pergamus is censured because certain members of his church held their doctrine, τὴν διδασχὴν τῶν Νικολαϊτῶν. Irenæus, the earliest Christian author who mentions them, says simply (*Contra Hæres.*, i. 26), 'It very clearly appears, from the Apocalypse, that the Nicolaitans held fornication, and the eating of idol-sacrifices, to be things indifferent, and therefore permitted to Christians.' In short, Irenæus evidently knew nothing of the Nicolaitans, except what he gathered from the text of the Apocalypse; as, indeed, the concluding words of his short notice suggest: 'Quapropter dixit et de iis sermo: Sed hoc habes quod odisti opera Nicolaitarum, quæ et ego odi,' unless it be his statement that Nicolas, one of the seven deacons (Acts vi.), was the founder of the sect. The practices of these heretics were the more reprehensible, as being not only opposed to the whole spirit and morality of the Gospel, but a violation of an express decree of the Apostles and Elders, issued in relation to this matter (Acts xv.) As time rolled on, however, the information regarding Nicolas and his proceedings seems continually to have increased, till Epiphanius, at length, furnishes us with a full-blown account of the manner in which the proselyte of Antioch founded the sect which was supposed to bear his name. Nicolas, such is the story of Epiphanius (*Advers. Hæres.*, i. 25, p. 76, edit. Petav.), had a beautiful wife, and, following the counsels of perfection, he separated himself from her; but not being able to persevere in his resolution, he returned to her again (as a dog to his vomit, ὡς κῖνον ἐπὶ τὸν ἴδιον ἐμετον); and not only so, but justified his conduct by licentious principles, which laid the foundation of the sect of the Nicolaitans.

Against this account (in which Tertullian, Hilary, Gregory of Nyssa, and several other fathers, substantially concur) we may object—(1) That the custom of men putting away their wives for the attainment of a supposed higher sanctity evidently belongs to a later period, when the monastic ideas produced these and similar practices. Such an



occurrence was natural enough in the age of Clement of Alexandria and of Tertullian—that is, towards the conclusion of the second century; but we cannot believe it could have happened in the Apostolic age. (2) It is not conceivable that his taking back his wife, even if he had, on those grounds, separated himself from her, would then be regarded as an immorality, much less as an enormous crime, especially considering what St. Paul had said on the subject (1 Cor. vii. 3-6). (3) Epiphanius, after stating that Nicolas lapsed into the greatest enormities, informs us that *all the Gnostics* derived their origin from him; a statement which throws an air of ridicule over all he has told us on this subject, and proves how little his authority in the matter is worth.

Clement of Alexandria has preserved a different version of the story (*Strom.* iii. 4, p. 522, edit. Potter), which Eusebius copies from him (*Hist. Eccles.*, iii. 29), and which is repeated by Augustine and other ancient writers. 'The apostles,' they say, 'reprehended Nicolas for jealousy of his wife, who was beautiful; whereupon Nicolas produced her, and said, Any one might marry her who pleased. In this affair the deacon let fall the expression, *ὅτι παραχρήσασθαι τῇ σαρκὶ δεῖ*, 'that we should abuse the flesh;' which, though employed in a good sense by him, was perverted to a bad one by those who would gain to their licentiousness the sanction of a respectable name, and who from hence styled themselves Nicolaitans.' Who can believe that a sect should take its rise and its name from a casual expression by a man whose obvious sense and whose conduct were opposed to the peculiarities of the sect? Neither can we think the conjecture of Grotius (*Annot. in Apocalyps.*, ii. 6) at all probable: 'Mihi veterum testimonia conferenti, media placet sententia, quæ hæc est: Nicolaum accusatum *ζηλοτυπίας*, quod, uxorem pulchram habens, usitata illa inter Christianos utriusque sexus pacis oscula non satis ferret, in contrarium cucurrisse, et exemplo Laconum ac Catonis uxoris suæ usuram permisisse aliis, plane quasi in eo quod marito et uxore volentibus fieret non peccaretur, etc.' For it is hard to conceive that a custom which was universal could excite any jealousy; and yet more so that a man imbued with the doctrines of the Apostles, as Nicolas was, should seek to turn aside their displeasure by imitating the matrimonial enormities of Spartans or of Cato.

It is evident from the fathers, that the Nicolaitans with whom they were acquainted were Gnostics; since they impute to them the distinctive tenets and practices of the Gnostics. But in the short allusion in Rev. ii. 6, 15, there is nothing to identify the tenets or conduct alluded to with Gnosticism, even supposing that Gnosticism, properly so called, existed in the Apostolic age, which, to say the least, has not been proved to be the case. So that the conjecture mentioned by Mosheim, and which Tertullian appears to favour, may be regarded as probable, that the Nicolaitans mentioned in Revelation had erroneously been confounded with a party of Gnostics formed at a later period by one Nicolas.

The ingenious conjecture of Cocceius—which Vitringa, Michaelis, and others adopt—that by Nicolaitans (Rev. ii. 6, 15) the same class of persons is intended whom St. Peter (2 Ep. ii. 15) describes as *ἐξακολουθήσαντες τῇ ὁδῷ τοῦ Βαλαάμ*,

*followers of the way of Balaam*; and that their name, Nicolaitans, is merely a Greek translation of their Hebrew designation, the noun *Νικόλαος* (from *νικάω* and *λαός*) being a literal version of *בְּלַעַם*, that is, *עַם בְּלַעַם*, is worthy of consideration. The

custom of translating names, which prevailed so extensively in modern Europe, was undoubtedly practised also among the Jews, as the example in Acts ix. 36 (to which others might be added) shows. Accordingly, the Arabic version, published by Erpenius, renders the words *τὰ ἔργα τῶν Νικολαϊτῶν*, *the works of the Shuaibites*, the Arabic *Shuaib* being apparently the name for Balaam. The only objection which occurs to us against this very ingenious and probable supposition, arises from the circumstance that, in the passage, Rev. ii. 14, 15, both 'they that hold the doctrine of Balaam,' and 'the Nicolaitans,' are specified, and are distinguished from each other: 'So hast thou also,' *οὕτως ἔχεις καὶ σὺ*, the Nicolaitans, as well as the Balaamites, mentioned in the previous verse. So that whatever general agreement there might be between those two classes of heretics—and their collocation in the passage before us seems to imply that there was such agreement—it appears equally evident that some distinction also must have separated them the one from the other.—R. L.

NICOLAS (Νικόλαος), a proselyte of Antioch, and one of the seven deacons (Acts vi. 5). Nothing further is known of him; but a large body of unsafe tradition has been connected with his name, under the supposition that he was the founder of the heresy of the Nicolaitans, stigmatised in Rev. ii. 6, 15. (See the preceding article.)

NICOPOLIS (Νικόπολις, 'City of Victory'; *Nicopolis*), a city only mentioned once by the sacred writers. In the epistle to Titus, iii. 12, the apostle Paul says, 'When I shall send Artemas unto thee, or Tychicus, be diligent to come unto me to *Nicopolis*; for I have determined there to winter.' It does not appear where Paul was when he wrote these words, nor is there any direct evidence to show what Nicopolis is meant. The postscript to the epistle says it was written 'from Nicopolis of Macedonia;' but it is of a comparatively late date, and is of no critical value. The language quoted above shows plainly enough that Paul was not at Nicopolis when he wrote the words, but was on his way thither; though Winer and others take it for granted that he wrote from the city (*R. Woerterbuch*, ii. 153). It is of importance, as tending to fix the site of the Nicopolis here referred to, to trace the apostle's route. This, however, cannot be done with absolute certainty. Conybeare and Howson (with whom Alford substantially agrees, *Prolegom. Past. Epist.* vii.) say, 'We learn from an incidental notice elsewhere, that the route he pursued was from Ephesus to Miletus (2 Tim. iv. 20), and thence to Corinth, where he left Erastus;' thence he proceeded to Nicopolis. It is assumed that the Nicopolis spoken of is the city of that name in Epirus (*Life and Epist. of St. Paul*, ii. 481, 1st ed.). There were several other cities also called Nicopolis, some of which were small and of little note, so that they cannot possibly have been referred to here. Two, however, may be mentioned. 1. Nicopolis in Thrace on the river Nessus, and hence termed by Ptolemy *Νικόπολις ἡ περὶ Νέσσου* (*Geogr.* iii. 11); Chrysostom and



Theodoret supposed this to be the place intended by Paul. It was a small unimportant town. 2. Nicopolis in Cilicia, supposed by Schrader to be the place, to suit his theory that the apostle was on his way to Jerusalem (Schrader, *Paulus*, i. 118).

There can be little doubt that the apostle in this passage refers to Nicopolis of Epirus. It was an important city; its position rendered it a good centre from which to perform evangelistic work throughout the adjoining provinces; and from it too he might make excursions to those churches in Illyricum which he perhaps founded at an earlier period (*Conybeare and Howson*, ii. 128, 192, 481). This city was founded by Augustus in commemoration of the battle of Actium, and stood upon the place where his land-forces encamped before that battle. From the mainland of Epirus, on the north, a promontory projects some five miles in the line of the shore, and is there separated by a channel half a mile wide from the opposite coast. This channel forms the entrance of the Gulf of Ambracius, which lies within the promontory. The naval battle was fought at the mouth of the gulf, and where Actium, from which it took its name, and where Antony's camp was stationed, stood on the point forming the south side of the channel. The promontory is connected with the mainland by a narrow isthmus. Upon it Augustus encamped, his tent standing upon a height, from which he could command both the gulf and the sea. After the victory he enclosed the place where his tent was pitched, dedicated it to Neptune, and founded on the isthmus the city of *Nicopolis* (Dion Cas., li.; Strabo, vii., p. 324), and made it a Roman colony. It was not more than some thirty years old when visited by the apostle, and yet it was then the chief city of western Greece. It would appear that Paul was not permitted to spend the winter at Nicopolis as he had intended. The Christians were hated by the Roman authorities; Paul was regarded as their leader, and he was arrested by the *Duumviri* of this city and sent to Rome for trial, on the charge of having instigated the burning of the capital (*Conybeare and Howson*, ii. 482). Nicopolis is thus interesting as the last scene of the great apostle's labours.

The prosperity of Nicopolis was of short duration. It had fallen to ruin, but was restored by the Emperor Julian. After being destroyed by the Goths, it was again restored by Justinian, and continued for a time the capital of Epirus (Mamertin. *Julian*, 9; Procopius, *Bel. Goth.*, iv. 22; Smith, *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geog.*, s. v.) During the middle ages, the new town of Prevesa was built at the point of the promontory, and Nicopolis was deserted.

The remains of the city still visible show its former extent and importance. They cover a large portion of the isthmus. Wordsworth thus describes the site:—'A lofty wall spans a desolate plain; to the north of it rises, on a distant hill, the shattered *scena* of a theatre; and to the west the extended, though broken, line of an aqueduct connects the distant mountains with the main subject of the picture—the city itself' (Wordsworth's *Greece*, pp. 229, *seq.*) There are also the ruins of a mediæval castle, a quadrangular structure of brick, and a small theatre, on the low marshy plain on which the city chiefly stood, and which is now dreary and desolate (*Journal of R. G. S.*, iii., p. 92, *seq.*; Leake, *Northern Greece*, i., p. 185, *seq.*;

Cellarius, *Geogr.* i., 1089). The name given to the ruins is *Palcoprevesa*, 'Old Prevesa.'—J. L. P.

#### NIGER. [SIMEON.]

NIGHT (לַיְלָה, or לַיְלָה, probably from לָגַל, *to roll, to sink, the sinking of the day, solis occasus*). The general division of the night among the Hebrews has been described under DAY; and it only remains to indicate a few marked applications of the word. The term of human life is usually called a day in Scripture; but in one passage it is called *night*, to be followed soon by day, 'the day is at hand' (Rom. viii. 12). Being a time of darkness, the image and shadow of death, in which the beasts of prey go forth to devour, it was made a symbol of a season of adversity and trouble, in which men prey upon each other, and the strong tyrannize over the weak (Is. xxi. 12; Zech. xiv. 6, 7; comp. Rev. xxi. 23; xxii. 5). Hence continued day, or the absence of night, implies a constant state of quiet and happiness, undisturbed by the vicissitudes of peace and war. Night is also put, as in our own language, for a time of ignorance and helplessness (Mic. iii. 6). In John ix. 4 night represents death, a necessary result of the correlative usage which makes life a day.—J. K.

#### NIGHTHAWK. [TACHMAS.]

#### NILE. [EGYPT.]

NIMRAH (נִמְרָה, 'pure water'; נַאֲרָה; *Nemra*). After the Israelites had conquered the country east of the Jordan, the tribes of Reuben and Gad asked permission from Moses to settle there, because they 'had a very great multitude of cattle, and they saw the land of Jazer, and the land of Gilead, that, behold, the place was a place for cattle.' They mentioned a number of towns in it, and among them was *Nimrah* (Num. xxxii. 3). These towns appear, from the way in which they are grouped, to have been all near the place of the Israelite encampment in the plain of Moab. It is manifestly the same city which is afterwards mentioned as having been rebuilt by the Gadites, and which is called *Beth-nimrah* (ver. 36, 'בֵּית נִי', 'the house of N. '; נַאֲרָה; *Bethnemra*). The word *Beth* is very often prefixed in Hebrew and Arabic to names of places. The prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah, in pronouncing a curse upon Moab, say, 'the waters of Nimrim shall be desolate' (Is. xv. 6; Jer. xlviii. 34; מֵי נִמְרִים; נִמְרִים; *Nemrim*); and they group *Nimrim* with some of the same places mentioned in connection with it by Moses, as Heshbon and Elealeh; there can be no doubt, therefore, that the same town is referred to. Various interpretations of these words have been given. Aurivillius explains *Nimrim* as an appellative, signifying, as in Arabic, 'limpid water' (*Dissertationes*). Grotius takes מֵי in the sense of 'pastures,' which it will not bear. Light-foot suggests that 'hot springs' are meant. Bochart derives the name from נִמְרָה, 'a panther,' of which *Nimrim* might be the plural, and *Nimrah* the feminine form. This is possible; and it is worthy of note that the name *Nimer* and *Nimreh* occur in several localities east of the Jordan (*Hand-book*, pp. 509, 519, 520). The researches of travellers, however, show both the site of the ancient *Nimrah*, and the meaning of Isaiah's words.



The statements of Eusebius and Jerome regarding this city are confused and contradictory. In the *Onomasticon* (s. v. *Nemra*), Eusebius says of *Nebra* that it is 'a city of Reuben in Gilead, now a large village in *Katanaea* (ἐν τῇ Καταναίᾳ), called *Abara*.' There must be a corruption of the text here; for Jerome writes the name *Nemra*, and says it is still a large village, but does not give its locality. Of *Nemrim* (Eusebius, *Nεκρημῖς*), both state that it is now a village called *Benamerium*, north of Zoar. But under *Bethamnaram* (Eusebius, *Βηθραμράμ*), which they identify with Nimrah, they say that 'it is to this day the village of *Bethamnaris* in the fifth mile north of Libias.' All these notices may have been originally intended for the same place, and the corruption of the text has created the confusion (Reland, pp. 649, 650).

About two miles east of the Jordan, near the road from Jericho to es-Salt, are the ruins of *Nimrim*, on the banks of a wady of the same name. The ruins are now desolate, but near them are copious springs and marshy ground. There can be little doubt that this is the site of Nimrah, or Beth-Nimrah, which Joshua locates in the valley (xiii. 27); and that these springs are 'the Waters of Nimrim' on which Isaiah pronounced the curse' (*Handbook*, p. 308; Robinson, *B. R.*, i. 551; Burckhardt, *Syria*, pp. 355, 391).—J. L. P.

#### NIMRIM, WATERS OF. [NIMRAIL.]

NIMROD (נִמְרוֹד; Sept. *Νεβρώδης*; Josephus, *Νεβρώδης*), a son of Cush, the eldest son of Ham (Gen. x. 8-10). Five sons of Cush are enumerated in verse 7 in the more usual manner of this chapter; but a change of phrase introduces Nimrod. This difference may indicate that while, in relation to the other five, the names have a national and geographical reference, this appellation is exclusively personal. It is strictly an abstract noun, signifying *contempt, rebellion, apostasy, impiety*: but 'it is not to be thought surprising, and it is a thing which takes place in all languages, that a noun which, in respect of its form, is properly an *abstract*, becomes in the use of speech a *concrete*; and conversely' (Gesenius, *Lehrgebäude*, p. 483). But such concretes usually carry a strengthened idea of the abstract, a kind of impersonation of the quality. Therefore Nimrod denotes intensively, *the extremely impious rebel*. Hence we conceive that it was not his original proper name, but was affixed to him afterwards, perhaps even after his death, as a characteristic appellative.

If we assume that the earlier part of the book of Genesis consists of several independent and complete compositions, of the highest antiquity and authority, marked by some differences of style, and having clear indications of commencement in each instance, a reason presents itself for the citation of a proverbial phrase in ch. x. 9. The single instance of minute circumstantiality, in so brief a relation, seems to imply that the writer lived near the age of Nimrod, while his history was still a matter of traditional notoriety, and the comparison of any hero with him was a familiar form of speech. If we place ourselves in such a point of time—suppose the age succeeding Nimrod, which might be the third century after the Deluge—we may see how naturally the origination of a common phrase would rise in the writer's mind; and that a motive of usefulness would be suggested with it. But both these ideas involve that of nearness to the time;

a period in which the country traditions were yet fresh, and an elucidation of them would be acceptable and consonant to general feeling. An apparently just reason thus accrues for the insertion of this little and insulated portion of personal history in the midst of a tablet of the descent of nations. A close translation of the whole passage is this: 'And Cush begat Nimrod: he began

[החל, opened a course of action, led the way] to being a hero in the earth [or in the land]: he was a hero at the chase in the presence of Jehovah; on which account the saying is, Like Nimrod, the hero of the chase, in the presence of Jehovah. And the chief [city] of his dominion was Babel; and [he founded] Ezek and Akkad, and Kalneh, in the land of Shinar.'

The common rendering, 'a mighty hunter,' is doubtless equivalent to this literal translation. The adjunct, 'in the presence of Jehovah,' occurs many times in the Hebrew Scriptures, and it generally conveys the idea of *favour* and *approbation*, as we in our language employ the word *countenance*. Hence some have supposed that here the expression is used in a *good* sense, and denotes that, by the special aid and blessing of God's providence, the bravery and skill of this hero were remarkably successful, in attacking and destroying the ferocious animals which had greatly multiplied. The Jewish commentator Abarbanel, with other Rabbinical writers, 'interpret those words favourably, saying that Nimrod was qualified by a peculiar dexterity and strength for the chase, and that he offered to God [portions] of the prey that he took; and several of the moderns are of opinion that this passage is not to be understood of his tyrannical oppressions, or of hunting of men, but of beasts' (*Ancient Univ. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 276, 8vo ed.) Hence they have contended that we have no reason for regarding Nimrod as any other than a benefactor to his country, and, in that view, a man acceptable and well-pleasing to Jehovah.

But the general opinion is, that no moral approbation is implied, but only that, by his extraordinary possession of prowess, the gift of God, as is every natural talent, he became thus distinguished in clearing the country of wild beasts; and that these exploits led him to make aggressions upon men. Interpreters, with scarcely an exception, from the Septuagint and the Targums down to our own times, understand the whole case thus: that Nimrod was a man of vast bodily strength, and eminent for courage and skill in the arts of hunting down and capturing or killing the dangerous animals, which probably were both very numerous, and frequently of enormous size; that, by these recommendations, he made himself the favourite of bold and enterprising young men, who readily joined his hunting expeditions; that hence he took encouragement to break the patriarchal union of venerable and peaceful subordination, to set himself up as a military chieftain, assailing and subduing men, training his adherents into formidable troops, by their aid subduing the inhabitants of Shinar and its neighbouring districts; and that, for consolidating and retaining his power, now become a despotism, he employed his subjects in building forts, which became towns and cities, that which was afterwards called Babel being the principal. Combining this with the contents of chapter xi., we infer that Nimrod either was an original party in the daring



impiety of building the tower, or subsequently joined himself to those who had begun it. The former fact is positively affirmed by Josephus; but it is not probable that he could have any other evidence than that of the general interpretation of his countrymen. The late Mr. Rich, not thirty years ago, in the extensive plain where lie buried the ruins of Babylon, discovered the very remarkable mound with remains of buildings on its summit (of which see the figure in the article BABEL, of this work), which even now bears the name of *Birs Nimrod*: and this may well be regarded as some confirmation of the common opinion. The precise meaning of the word *Birs* is said to be unknown; which seems to be a proof of high antiquity. There is only one other passage of the O. T. in which Nimrod is mentioned, Micah v. 6, 'the land of Nimrod.' But it is not quite indubitable that these words refer to Babylon, though they may very properly be so construed; for it is possible, and agreeable to frequent usage, to take them as put in apposition with the preceding object of the action, 'the land of Assyria.' The repetition of the demonstrative particle **הַזֶּה** adds something to the former of the two constructions, yet not decisively.

Two different translations of verse 11 have been proposed. The translation which Bochart and many other high authorities have sanctioned is, 'From that land he [Nimrod] went forth to Asshur, and builded Nineveh and Rehoboth city, and Calah, and Resen between Nineveh and Calah, that the great city.' As of the three last-named places we can find scarcely a vestige, or rather none at all, in the Scriptures or in profane authors, we seem to have here a proof of an antiquity far higher than the age of Moses—thus strengthening the idea of a collection, above mentioned. The annexed clause, 'That [or this] the great city' (we decline supplying the verb *is* or *was*, as we can have no authority for determining the tense) is most evidently, according to the use of the pronoun, to be referred to Resen, and not, as some have supposed, to the remoter object, Nineveh.

The writer of this article must acknowledge that he thinks the other rendering, which takes Asshur for the name of the son of Shem (verse 22), the more probable. His reasons are—(1.) The internal probability as arising from a remark made in the beginning of this article, that the whole chapter carries in itself moral evidence of having been written while many of the facts remained in the traditional memory of tribes and nations: thus this passage would give authentic confirmation to a matter of current belief. (2.) Had Asshur not been the nominative to the verb, but the name of the country, propriety would have required a preposition separate or prefixed, or the **הַזֶּה** *directive* or *local* to be subjoined; as we find it in ch. xxv. 18—'in the going [*i. e.*, on the road] to Asshur,' *Asshura* (see ample and elucidatory proof of this usage in Ewald's *Gram.*, Nicholson's transl., sec. 420, and in Nordheimer's *Gram.*, vol. i. sec. 642). We are aware of the objection, that this *He directive* is sometimes omitted; but, we reply, such omission is uncommon, and an instance cannot be found easily, if at all, of the omission when any importance attaches to the idea of local direction (see abundant examples in Noldius's *Particul. Hebr.*, p. 217). (3.) The translation for which we plead is the plain and natural one, the most obvious to both writer and reader; whereas the other is artificial

and obscure: which would not therefore be likely to be adopted by a writer, such as this is, of extreme simplicity and straightforwardness. (4.) All the ancient versions, except the Targum of Onkelos (to which unquestionably great deference is due), adopt this construction.

The objections to this are—(1.) That it is out of place, and unnatural, to bring in any mention of another family, and that a circumstance which would have found its proper position in verse 22. To this objection we reply, that there are two links of association which would dictate the anticipative mention, the idea of building towns, which has this only place in the whole enumeration of descents from Noah's sons; and the fact that a son of Shem, having for some reason (probable, though we can only conjecture it) settled with his tribe among the Hamites, was, either by prospects of superior advantage, or by the jealousy and annoyance of Nimrod, induced to colonise another district. (2.) That, thus taken, the proposition comes naturally as the correlate of verse 10; the one laying down the commencement and chief seat of Nimrod's dominion, namely Babel and its dependencies, and the other subjoining a secondary and subordinate annexation. To this we reply, that it is quite hypothetical, and that the flow of thought and connection is plain and natural upon the other interpretation. (3.) That, in Micah v. 6, Assyria is called 'the land of Nimrod.' The doubtfulness of this interpretation we have already shown. (4.) The learned Mr. Bochart even claims support from the lost writings of Ctesias, as cited by Diodorus the Sicilian; and he might have added Justin's *Epitome of Trogon*. Ctesias lived later than B.C. 400, and wrote histories of Assyria and Persia, of which some fragments, or rather abstracts, are in the collections of Photius. He professed to have derived his materials from ancient authorities in the respective countries; but he is declared by his contemporary Aristotle to be unworthy of any credit, by Plutarch to be frequently a liar, by Aulus Gellius to be a dealer in fables; and he is characterised by Joseph Scaliger as a petty and absurd writer, full of errors and direct falsehoods, and utterly worthless as an historical authority. Yet the utmost that can be derived from Ctesias is, that Ninus was the first king of the Assyrians, that he built Nineveh, calling it after his own name [suppose *Nin Nava*, 'town of Nin'], and that, after his death, his widow Semiramis founded, and carried to a great extent of magnificence, the city of Babylon. How precarious these premises are to support the conclusion, the studious reader will judge.

Mr. Bryant has discussed this question at large, and he gives the result thus: 'The chief objection made by these writers [Bochart, and Hyde in his *De Reliq. Veterum Persarum*, etc.] to the common acceptance of the passage arises from this, that Asshur, they say, is here mentioned out of his place, which is the most frivolous and ill-grounded allegation that could be thought of. Nothing is more common with the sacred writers, in giving a list of people, than to introduce some little history of particular persons, as they mentioned them. The person here spoken of is Nimrod, of the line of Ham, who is mentioned as an extraordinary character. As he trespassed upon Asshur, and forced him to leave the land of Shinaar, his history is so blended with that of Asshur, that one could not



be mentioned without the other. What is said is so far from being introduced out of its place, that nothing could come in more naturally, or with greater propriety. It was impossible to omit it without rendering the history defective. Nimrod was a bold and powerful man. He seized upon Babylon, and forced Asshur to leave that country; who went out of the land, and built Nineveh and other cities. This is the amount of it: and what can be more natural and proper?' (*Anc. Mythol.* vi. 192).

Concerning the subsequent life of Nimrod, the Scriptures give not the slightest information, nor even ground for conjecture. But, after seventeen or more centuries, a dubious and supposititious narrative got into credit, of which the earliest promoter that we know was Ctesias, but which, variously amplified, has been repeated by many compilers of ancient history down to our own times. Rollin, Shuckford, and Prideaux, seem to have given it a measure of credit. It is briefly to this effect:—Some make Nimrod to be Belus, and consider Nin (for *os* and *us* are only the Greek and Latin grammatical terminations) to have been his son; others identify Nimrod and Ninus. It is further narrated that Ninus, in confederacy with Aric, an Arabian sovereign, in seventeen years, spread his conquests over Mesopotamia, Media, and a large part of Armenia and other countries; that he married Semiramis, a warlike companion and continuatrix of his conquests, and the builder of Babylon; that their son Ninyas succeeded, and was followed by more than thirty sovereigns of the same family, he and all the rest being effeminate voluptuaries; that their indolent and licentious characters transmitted nothing to posterity; that the crown descended in this unworthy line one thousand three hundred and sixty years; that the last king of Assyria was Sardanapalus, proverbial for his luxury and dissipation; that his Median viceroy, Arbaces, with Belesis, a priest of Babylon, rebelled against him, took his capital Nineveh and destroyed it, according to the horrid practice of ancient conquerors, those pests of the earth, while the miserable Sardanapalus perished with his attendants by setting fire to his palace, in the ninth century before the Christian era.

That some portion of true history lies intermingled with error or fable in this legend, especially the concluding part of it, is probable. Mr. Bryant is of opinion that there are a few scattered notices of the Assyrians and their confederates and opponents in Eupolemus and other authors, of whom fragments are preserved by Eusebius; and in an obscure passage of Diodorus. To a part of this series, presenting a previous subjugation of some Canaanitish, of course Hamite nations, to the Assyrians, a revolt, and a reduction to the former vassalage, Mr. Bryant thinks that the very remarkable passage, Gen. xiv. 1-10, refers; and he supports his argument in an able manner by a variety of ethnological coincidences (*Anc. Mythol.*, vol. vi., pp. 195-208). But whatever we know with certainty of an Assyrian monarchy commences with Pul, about B.C. 760; and we have then the succession in Tiglath-pileser, Shalmaneser, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon. Under this last it is probable that the Assyrian kingdom was absorbed by the Chaldeo-Babylonian.

As a great part of the ancient mythology and idolatry arose from the histories of chiefs and sages,

decorated with allegorical fables, it is by no means improbable that the life and actions of Nimrod gave occasion to stories of this kind. Hence, some have supposed him to have been signified by the Indian Bacchus, deriving that name from *Bar-Chus*, 'son of Cush'; and, it is probable, by the Persian giant *Gibber* (answering to the Hebrew *Gibbor*, 'mighty man,' 'hero,' in Gen. x. 8, 9): and by the Greek *Orion*, whose fame as a 'mighty hunter' is celebrated by Homer, in the *Odyssey*, xi. 571-74. The Persian and the Grecian fables are both represented by the well-known and magnificent constellation.—J. P. S.

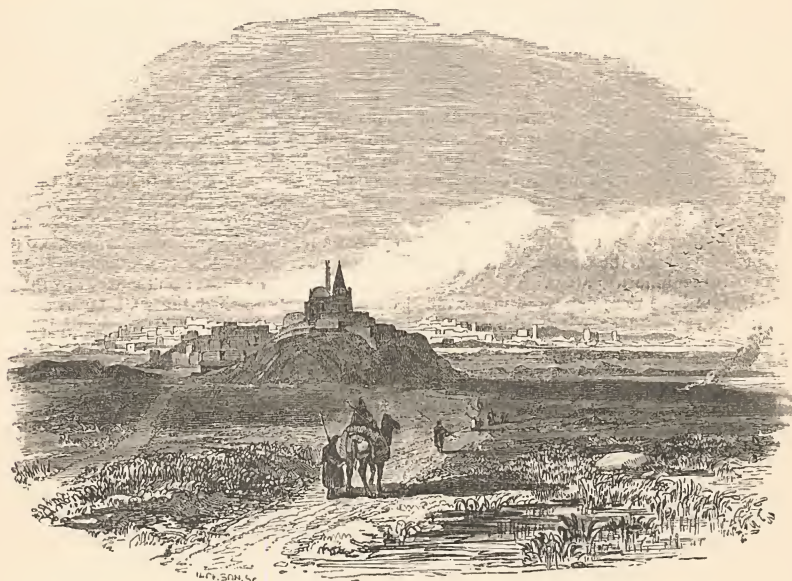
NINEVEH, Heb. נִינְוֶה; Arab. نَيْنوى; As-

syr. ܢܝܢܘܝܝܐ or ܢܝܢܘܝܐ. Till within about twenty years ago, all that was known of ancient Nineveh was comprised in the scattered allusions and prophecies alluding to it in the Bible, and the casual and fragmentary notices of Assyrian history in Diodorus Siculus, Eusebius, Berosus, and others. As these latter consisted chiefly of the names of kings in genealogical order, and lists which were hardly consistent with themselves, the real amount of our knowledge of the subject was very insignificant, and by many the traditions which existed with respect to Nineveh were regarded as almost fabulous. But within the present generation, unexpected light has been thrown upon a dark period in the history of the world by the discoveries of Mr. Layard, his excavations in Mesopotamia, and the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions. The earliest mention of Nineveh is in the 10th chapter of Genesis, the solitary record of primitive ethnology, where it is named among the cities built by Asshur or by Nimrod, according as we render the words, the others being Rehoboth, Calah, and Resen. Of these, Calah is identified with the modern Nimrūd, but Rehoboth and Resen are unidentified, although Selamiyah has been suggested for both. Mr. Fergusson believes that Calah is to be identified with Kalah Sherghat, Resen with Nimrūd, and Nineveh with Koyunjik, as he observes this corresponds best with the arrangement in Genesis, 'Resen between Calah and Nineveh.' For, otherwise, if Nimrūd is Calah, there is no place which can represent Resen (*Nineveh and Persepolis restored*, 67). It must be confessed that the relative position of these places agrees best with this identification. There are three great mounds or groups of ruins along the course of the Tigris. The most northern is on the eastern bank, opposite to Mosul. This is Koyunjik, which, according to tradition, represents Nineveh. About thirty miles further south, near the junction of the Tigris and the greater Zab, the ancient Lycus, is Nimrūd, and forty miles still further, on the opposite or right side of the river, we have Kalah Sherghat.

There is an allusion to the kingdom of Asshur in the rhapsodies of Balaam, Num. xxiv. 22, 24, and in Ps. lxxxiii. 9; but the name of the city Nineveh does not meet us till the time of Jonah, when it appears as the scene of his wonderful mission. In the reign of Menahem, *cir.* 770, Pul, the king of Assyria, came against Israel, and Tiglath Pileser in that of Pekah. 'The vision of Nahum the Elkoshite,' (*Eng. Bible*, 713) is wholly occupied with the burden of Nineveh. In Isaiah, Nineveh is mentioned as the residence of Sennacherib, and it was probably

the scene of his death. Zephaniah, *cir.* 630, devotes a few words to Nineveh, and from the way he alludes to it, we may almost imagine that he was an eye-witness of its fall. In the prophecies of Jeremiah, Assyria and Nineveh have ceased to be objects of notice. There is no mention of either in his catalogue of 'all the nations,' ch. xxv. The kingdom of the Chaldeans has taken their place, and so also with Habakkuk. It is no longer Assyria but Chaldea that is the subject of his threatened woes. In a sublime chapter of Ezekiel—the 31st—the 'Assyrian' is held up as an example of Divine vengeance already executed; so that it is easy to discover approximately the corresponding period of Jewish history and prophecy at which the destruction of the empire must have taken place. It occurred in the reign of Josiah, *cir.* 625.

The fall of Nineveh, like its rise and history, is very much enveloped in obscurity. But the account of Ctesias, preserved in *Didorus Siculus*, ii. 27, 28, has been thought to be substantially correct. It may, however, be observed that Mr. Rawlinson, in his latest work, *The Ancient Monarchies*, vol. i., 521, says that it 'seems undeserving of a place in history.' According to that account, Cyaxares, the Median monarch, aided by the Babylonians under Nabopolassar, laid siege to the city. His first efforts were in vain. He was more than once repulsed and obliged to take refuge in the mountains of the Zagros range; but, receiving reinforcements, he succeeded in routing the Assyrian army, and driving them to shut themselves up within the walls. He then attempted to reduce the city by blockade, but was unsuccessful for two years, till



411. Nineveh.

his efforts were unexpectedly assisted by an extraordinary rise of the Tigris, which swept away a part of the walls, and rendered it possible for the Medes to enter. The Assyrian monarch, Saracus, in despair, burnt himself in his palace. With the ruthless barbarity of the times, the conquerors gave the whole city over to the flames, and razed its former magnificence to the ground. The cities dependent on Nineveh, and in its neighbourhood, appeared to have incurred a like fate, and the excavations shewed that the principal agent in their destruction had been fire. Calcined sculptured alabaster, charcoal and charred wood buried in masses of brick and earth, slabs and statues split with heat, were objects continually encountered by Mr. Layard and his fellow-labourers at Khorsabad, Nimrúd, and Koyunjik.

With the ruin of the city fell the empire, and its fall was universal and complete. In the time of Herodotus, the memory of its fame was living—200 years afterwards; but there was no vestige of Nineveh. Xenophon, who passed over its site,

does not mention the name, but speaks only of *two* cities, which he describes as deserted, Larisas and Mespila, conjecturally identified by Mr. Layard, ii. 248, with Nimrúd and Koyunjik. The Persians never restored it, and it is a singular fact that no inscriptions in the Persian cuneiform character have been discovered in the Ninevite ruins. For this reason, the historians of Alexander, with one exception (Arrian, 42-3), make no allusion to the city. By Ctesias, except in one fragment, and by Diodorus, it is even placed on the Euphrates. Strabo appears to regard it as no longer existing. Speaking of a period towards the close of the reign of Nero, Tacitus mentions its capture by Meherdates, and calls it Ninos (*Ann.* 12, 13); and coins of Trajan and Maximin exist with the legend, Colonia Niniva Claudiopolis, which seems to show that Claudius had founded a colony there. Many Roman remains also are found among the rubbish which covers the Assyrian palaces. And a final reminiscence meets us, but it is only a name, in the battle of Nineveh, A.D. 627, in which Heraclius,



the emperor of the east, triumphed over the armies of the Persian Chosroes (Milman's *Gibbon*, iv. 322).

The dimensions of the city, as given by Diodorus Siculus, were 150 stadia on the long sides of the quadrangle, and 90 on the others, making a square of 480, variously computed as equivalent to 32 (*Gibbon*, ch. 46, n. 101), 60, or 74 miles. Strabo says it was larger than Babylon, and Diodorus asserts that the walls were 100 feet high, broad enough for three chariots abreast, and flanked with 1500 towers, each of the height of 200 feet. Scripture calls it 'an exceeding great city of three days' journey,' and Layard remarks, ii. 247, 'If we take the four great mounds of Nimrūd, Koyunjik, Khorsabad, and Karamles, as the corners of a square, it will be found that its four sides correspond pretty accurately with the 480 stadia or 60 miles of the geographer, which make the three days' journey of the prophet. Within this space there are many large mounds, including the principal ruins in Assyria, such as Karakush, Baasheikha, Baazani, Hussein, Tel-Yara, etc. etc., and the face of the country is strewn with the remains of pottery, bricks, and other fragments.'

In 1841, M. Botta, who was French consul at Mosul at that time, commenced the work of excavation at Koyunjik, but meeting with little success, he changed the place of his labours to Khorsabad. He had not been long at work there before he was rewarded by the discovery of various slabs and sculptures, and, after some months' labour, had succeeded in laying bare the greater part of the ground-plan of a magnificent palace. The antiquities secured by him here were deposited in the museum of the Louvre, and constitute the national collection of Assyrian monuments in France. The principal mound at Khorsabad is susceptible of a twofold division. The upper portion is about 650 feet square and 30 feet in height; the lower, which is connected with it, is about 1350 by 300. At one corner there is a low pyramidal elevation, which may possibly be the remains of a watch-tower or may mark the site of a royal tomb. The whole quadrangle is little more than a mile square, and contains no other ruin of importance. Botta's discoveries were followed by those of Layard at Nimrūd, where similar ruins were laid bare. These were, however, of higher antiquity and of more importance, and were evidently assignable to different epochs. The present condition of Nimrūd is as follows:—In the N.W. corner of a walled enclosure of 2331 yards by 2095, in the widest part, is a mound of 700 yards by 400; surmounted by a conical elevation or pyramid, about 140 feet high. At the foot of the great mound, and west of this quadrangle, the stream of the Tigris once flowed; now it is a mile and a half distant. The remains of not less than fifty-eight towers, at nearly equal distances, are discernible in the northern wall, but not more than fifty can be traced in the eastern. The parts which were not naturally protected by the river, were artificially defended by a deep moat or ditch. In the principal mound, Layard found the remains of distinct buildings, which had evidently been erected by different kings, and in one instance materials had been taken from one building to be employed in the erection of another. In some cases, the destruction had manifestly been the work of fire; in others, the remains had been suddenly covered by the falling in of the upper stories; in the former, the

sculptures were calcined as at Khorsabad; in the other, they were perfectly preserved with all their original sharpness and delicacy of detail. Many of the chambers were panelled with slabs, on which nothing but the same inscription was engraved over and over again; others were lined with sculptures in bas-relief. The pyramidal mound was the remains of a square edifice, solidly built of sun-dried bricks, and faced with large stones, which were carefully squared and bevelled to the height of 20 feet, but above that faced with kiln-burnt bricks. Inside of it was discovered a vaulted gallery, which had probably served the purpose of a royal sepulchre, but was found empty. It was 100 feet long, 12 high, and 6 broad. Excavations were also carried on by Layard at the ruins opposite to Mosul, which consist of two principal mounds, Koyunjik and Nebbi Yunus, or the tomb of the *prophet Jonah*. On the sides, and at the foot of the latter, fronting the river, there is an Arab village, and the top is covered with the graves of Mohammedans, who have been buried around the hallowed spot. The two mounds form part of the west or river side of a continuous series of mounds or fortifications which enclose an irregular quadrangle of unequal sides. Koyunjik measures about 866 yards by 300; Nebbi Yunus, 566 by 400. They are connected by the remains of part of the western wall of the inclosure, which is 4530 yards in entire length. The northern wall is 2330 yards; the eastern one, which forms a curve, is 5300; while the southern one is scarcely 1000. On the north, it was defended by a moat; on the west, by the Tigris, which formerly washed the wall, but is now three-quarters of a mile distant from Koyunjik, though it still approaches the N.W. corner of the enclosure; and on the south, by a ditch or rampart. The eastern side was, at the same time, both the most exposed and the most fortified. The quadrangle is divided into two nearly equal parts by the river Khauser, which winds round the base of Koyunjik. Before entering the enclosure, it runs about a mile and a quarter parallel to the wall, and near it, so as to form a natural defence. On the further side of the Khauser, a low ridge of conglomerate rock was heightened artificially, so as to form a strong outer rampart; and on the south of the point where the Khauser enters the quadrangle, the fortifications were extensive and complete. There were two deep ditches, which were fed by the stream, and ramparts of earth were thrown up for protection. An outer and larger moat, 200 feet wide, was cut out in the rock, ran along the east, and joined another ditch on the south; while, facing the open country, there was a rampart, still nearly 100 feet high, which extended almost the whole length of the quadrangle, and is probably the wall spoken of by Diodorus Siculus. It was constructed chiefly of the earth and rubbish which were removed to make the ditch, and no remains of stone facings to it have been found. In many places the towers, which were for fortification, may still be traced, and it is thought that the gateways were arched. One was discovered in the centre of the northern wall, and another in the inner east wall. The former consisted of two halls, 70 feet by 23, which opened on the plain, and on the interior of the inclosure, by means of gateways, which were flanked by colossal man-headed bulls and winged human figures. The ruts of chariot-wheels could still be traced on the

limestone slabs which formed the pavement. This gateway was buried beneath an immense amount of rubbish, and it is supposed, from this fact, that a lofty tower rose above it, which was probably destroyed by fire.

The ruins at Koyunjik, although similar in character to those at Nimrúd and Khorsabad, belong to edifices of greater extent and magnificence than are to be found at either place. The dimensions of the principal courts exceed those of any other Assyrian buildings. No less than seventy-one chambers were uncovered, which are panelled with bas-reliefs for an extent of nearly two miles, and twenty-seven entrances were excavated, which were flanked by colossal winged bulls or lion-sphinxes, although little more than half was explored.

The most ancient of the excavated edifices is the north-west palace of Nimrúd, which was rebuilt or founded by Asshur-dan-pal, conjecturally the Sardanapalus of the Greeks, whose reign may be placed approximately at 950-920 B.C. The central palace was built by the son of this man Shalmanubar, and rebuilt by his grandson Pul, the husband of Semiramis, who also founded a third. The next in order of date is that at Khorsabad, founded by Sargon about 725. The great palace at Koyunjik was founded by Sennacherib *cir.* 700 B.C. So also was that at Shereef Khan, five miles and a half north of Koyunjik, and the one at Nebbi Yunus. This last appears to have been finished by Esarhaddon, who added another building at Nimrúd, and seems to have employed for this purpose materials taken from the palaces reared by other kings. The son of Esarhaddon either completed or enlarged the palace of his grandfather at Koyunjik, and added to that at Shereef Khan. The south-east palace at Nimrúd is also attributed to him.

The name of Nineveh is met with on Egyptian monuments of Thothmes III., *cir.* 1400 B.C., a king of the 18th dynasty, by some supposed to have been Joseph's Pharaoh. The early capital of the Assyrian empire appears to have been Kalah Sherghat. Sennacherib has been thought to have been the first to remove the seat of government from thence to Nineveh, which he raised from a state of ruin and almost rebuilt. It may be remarked, that if Nineveh was confined within the limits specified above, which are marked by the sites of the principal ruins, the vast space thus enclosed was probably occupied with suburbs—gardens, parks, temples, and the like; in this respect resembling Ispahan, Damascus, and other modern cities of the east. But whatever its extent really was, there can have been no walls like those described by Diodorus, or traces of them would surely have been found. It must, however, be borne in mind that the houses of the poorer part of the nation, being probably built of clay bricks and chopped straw dried in the sun, would rapidly decay, whereas the masonry of sun-dried brick, when properly protected and buried, as it is in the Assyrian remains, would defy the ravages of time; thus the walls of the Nineveh palaces in many places were found to be as perfect as ever. Large quantities of cedar wood were found in some of the ruins, at Nimrúd for example, which at once illustrates and gives life to the prophetic words of Zephaniah: 'He shall uncover the cedar work.' It seems, also, that with the Assyrians both palace and temple were combined in one edifice. No

separate buildings, set apart for temples, as in Greece, have been discovered; no traces of windows have been detected, and the rooms must either have been lighted from above, or through the doors only, as is the case at the present day in Mosul and Baghdad, where, in order to avoid the heat, as little light is admitted as possible. Curtains probably were hung before the apertures, and a device resorted to similar to the modern *talar* described and illustrated by Mr. Fergusson in the work quoted above, p. 130. The importance of Assyria in the ancient world must have been very great, and its influence is discernible even now. The Persians derived their religion and their architecture from the Assyrians, and there is no doubt that the Greeks borrowed their Ionic order from them also through Asia Minor and Ionia. The ornaments on Ionic monuments in Greece are often-times purely Assyrian.

*Prophecy.*—Allusion has already been made to the fulfilment of one part of Zephaniah's prophecy respecting Nineveh. The remainder of it is no less striking when we consider the present condition of the ruins which mark the site of the ancient city,—'He will stretch out his hand against the north and destroy Assyria; and will make Nineveh a desolation, and dry like a wilderness. And flocks shall lie down in the midst of her, all the beasts of the nations: both the cormorant and the bittern shall lodge in the upper lintels of it; their voice shall sing in the windows; desolation shall be in the thresholds. . . . This is the rejoicing city that dwelt carelessly, that said in her heart, I am, and there is none beside me: how is she become a desolation, a place for beasts to lie down in! every one that passeth by her shall hiss and wag his hand' (ii. 13, 14, 15). Nahum may perhaps allude to the way in which Nineveh was destroyed, as described above, in i. 8—'With an overrunning flood he will make an utter end of the place thereof;' and ii. 6, 'The gates of the rivers shall be opened, and the palace shall be dissolved.' He refers to the final and complete character of the coming destruction, i. 9, 'He will make an utter end: affliction shall not rise up the second time;' and 14, 'The Lord hath given a commandment concerning thee that no more of thy name be sown;' and iii. 19, 'There is no healing of thy bruise; thy wound is grievous.' From i. 10, it appears that security and its attendant evils of drunkenness and luxury had stupified the Ninevites when the city was taken,—'While they be folded together as thorns, and while they are drunken as drunkards, they shall be devoured as stubble fully dry;' and so from ver. 12, 'Though they be quiet, and likewise many, yet thus shall they be cut down, when he shall pass through;' and again, iii. 11, 'Thou also shalt be drunken: thou shalt be hid, thou also shalt seek strength because of the enemy.' The total abolition of the idol-worship of the accursed city is spoken of, i. 14, 'Out of the house of thy gods will I cut off the graven image, and the molten image; I will make thy grave; for thou art vile.' With reference to ii. 3, 'The shield of his mighty men is made red, the valiant men are in scarlet.' Layard remarks that the shields and raiment of the warriors are usually painted red in the sculptures, but it is possible that it may refer also to their being dyed with gore. 'Nineveh is of old like a pool of water' (ii. 8), has been interpreted of the moats and dams that



abounded in the district; but then there seems to be no antithesis in 'yet shall they flee away.' May it not be rather, with an allusion indeed to the physical position of the place, a metaphor descriptive of the moral condition of its inhabitants, ordinarily and habitually settled on their lees—stagnant, inert, sluggish, and secure; but yet when the time of destruction comes, so overborne by terror that, though they cry 'Stand, stand,' yet 'none' shall heed or 'look back'? The vast riches and spoil taken in the capture of the city are mentioned ii. 9: 'Take ye the spoil of silver, take the spoil of gold; for there is none end of the store and glory out of all the pleasant furniture;' and the result is that 'she is empty, and void, and waste.' It is singular, in illustration of this, that scarcely any fragments of gold and silver were found in the ruins. That the agency of fire should be conspicuous in the overthrow of the city is predicted in iii. 13, 15: 'The fire shall devour thy bars;' 'There shall the fire devour thee.' And finally, that Nineveh should not fall without a struggle—though when despair came upon them 'the people in the midst of her should be women' (iii. 13)—is intimated ii. 3, 4, 5: 'The chariots shall be with flaming torches in the day of his preparation. . . . The chariots shall rage in the streets, they shall justle one another in the broad ways: they shall seem like torches, they shall run like the lightnings. He shall recount his worthies. . . the defence shall be prepared;' and iii. 14: 'Draw thee waters for the siege, fortify thy strongholds: go into clay, and tread the mortar, make strong the brick-kiln.' Mr. Rawlinson (*Ancient Monarchies*, ii. 279) thinks that the expression 'well-favoured harlot' refers to the licentious practices of Assyrian worship, but he observes at the same time that 'the religious emblems of the Assyrians are almost always free from that character of grossness which in the classical works of art so often offend modern delicacy.'

The parabolic description of the Assyrian in Ezek. xxxi. is supposed by the same writer to refer most appropriately to the time of Asshur-bani-pal, the son and successor of Esarhaddon; and the epithet of 'the bloody city' bestowed by Nahum on Nineveh answers fitly to the character which the sculptures would seem to attribute to him in common with other Assyrian monarchs (vol. ii. 504). The subject of the illustration supplied to Scripture by the manners and customs of the Assyrians and their history, is so largely treated in the recent work of Mr. Rawlinson (vols. i. and ii.), that we cannot do better than refer the reader to that work. He will find it well-nigh exhausted there. Other sources of information on the general subject of this article, are the two works of Mr. Layard, *Nineveh and Nineveh and Babylon*; the various essays and papers in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. i.; Botta's Letters in *Journal Asiatique*; Sir H. Rawlinson in *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*; and the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, July 1855; Felix Jones, *Topography of Nineveh*, *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1855; the papers of Dr. Hincks in *Royal Irish Academy*, and *Journal of Sacred Literature*; and Mr. Fergusson's *Palaces of Nineveh and Persopolis restored*.—S. L.

NISAN (נִסָּן), the first month of the Hebrew civil year. The name, if Semitic, might be traced to נִץ, *netz*, 'a flower,' and would hence mean 'flower-month,' like the Floreal of republican

France. As, however, this is a later name, posterior to the Captivity (Neh. ii. 1; Esther iii. 7), of the month which was originally called אֲבִיב, *Abib*, Gesenius is inclined to follow Benfey in seeking a Persian origin for the word, and finds it in the Zend *Navaçan*, 'new day,' made up of *nav*, 'new,' and *açan*, equivalent to the Sanscrit *ahan*, 'day.' Abib, by which name this month is called in the Pentateuch (Exod. xiii. 4; xxiii. 15; Deut. xvi. 1), means an ear of grain, a green ear; and hence 'the month Abib,' is 'the month of green ears.' It thus denoted the condition of the barley in the climate of Egypt and Palestine in this month. Nisan, otherwise Abib, began with the new moon of April, or according to the Rabbins, of March [MONTH].—J. K.

NISBET, ALEXANDER, minister of the Gospel at Irvine—a town which has been fortunate enough to enjoy the pastoral labours of other Scotch expositors, such as Dickson and Hutcheson. Nisbet was noted among his contemporaries for 'his rare skill in the Oriental languages, especially the Hebrew.' He published in 1658 *A brief exposition of the First and Second Epistles general of Peter*. Succinct and sententious in its character, it is at the same time solid and useful. In 1694, a posthumous work appeared, under the title, *An exposition with practical observations upon the book of Ecclesiastes*. The latter is regarded as the more important of his works, and is worthy of consultation, as lucid and judicious. The argument of each chapter is drawn up at length and with some care. Some attention is given to the precise meaning of the more important Hebrew terms used by the sacred writer. His whole tone is devout and practical, such as we might expect from one who, according to the recommendation prefixed to it by Ralph Rogers and J. Spalding, 'by assiduous study of the Scriptures, did so travail 'in birth towards the forming of Christ in his hearers that he may be said to have died in child-bearing to Christ.'—W. H. G.

NISROCH (נִסְרוֹךְ), an idol of the Ninevites (2 Kings xix. 37; Is. xxxvii. 38). The word is supposed to mean 'great eagle,' from נִשֵּׁר, *Arab.*

نَسْر, *eagle*, and the syllable *och*, *ach*, which in Persian is intensive. This bird was held in peculiar veneration by the ancient Persians; and was likewise worshipped by the Arabs before the time of Mohammed (Jurieu, *Hist. des Dogmes*, iv. 4. ch. 11; Creuzer, *Symbolik*, i. 723; Gesen. *Thesaur.*, p. 892, where also may be seen several derivations proposed by Von Bohlen from the Sanscrit and Zend). [As no trace of this deity is found except in these passages (Selden, *De Diis Syris*, Synt. ii. c. 10), it has been suggested that probably there is some mistake, that 'Nisroch is not a genuine reading' (Sir H. Rawlinson, *Herod.* i. 590). On the Assyrian monuments there appears an eagle-headed, or rather hawk-headed, figure, which has by some been supposed to represent Nisroch, but this figure is that of a subordinate agent, a genius rather than one of the supreme gods (Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.*, ii. 265). The name is given variously by the LXX. In Kings they give Μεσεράχ or Μεσοράχ, Alex. Ἐσθράχ; in Isaiah, Νασαράχ Alex. Ἀσαράχ.]

NISSEL, JOHANN GEORGE, a native of the Palatinate, who settled in Holland, and devoted

himself to the prosecution of Oriental learning. He prepared and printed at his own expense, and with his own types, an edition of the Hebrew Bible, which appeared in 1659, and again in 1662, with the title *Sacra Biblia Hebraica ex optimis editionibus diligenter expressa, et forma, literis, versuumque distinctione commendata*, Lugd. Bat. Svo. The second edition has a preface signed by Heidan, Cocceius, and Hoornbeek, in which the edition is commended in very high terms. Few more beautifully printed editions of the Hebrew Scriptures have appeared; and it presents with great accuracy the text of the best editions. This edition has also the peculiarity of having the Megilloth between the Thorah and the Nebiim Rishonim, as in the Bomberg Bibles. The text is divided into verses, with Latin headings to the chapters. Nissel edited also some portions of the Scriptures in Ethiopic, but not, it is said, very accurately.—W. L. A.

#### NITRE. [NETER.]

NO (נֹ). The manner in which this ancient city is mentioned in the several passages of the Bible is deserving of the notice of the student of Scripture geography. The first passage in which it occurs is Jer. xlv. 25, 'I will punish the multitude of No'; אֲנִי אֶפְרָא אֶת-רַבְּבוֹתַי נֹ, literally 'the Amon of No' (τὸν Ἀμμὼν τὸν ὑπὸν αὐτῆς; *super tumultum Alexandriae*), where the reference seems to be rather to the Egyptian deity *Amon*, who was worshipped at No, than to the people of that city (which would make אֲנִי אֶפְרָא אֶת-רַבְּבוֹתַי נֹ, 'multitude'). The next passage is Ezek. xxx. 14, 15, 16: 'I will execute judgments in No' (אֲנִי אֶפְרָא אֶת-רַבְּבוֹתַי נֹ; ἐν Διοσπόλει; *in Alexandria*); 'I will cut off the multitude of No' (אֲנִי אֶפְרָא אֶת-רַבְּבוֹתַי נֹ; τὸ πλῆθος Μέρφως; *Multitudinem Alexandriae*); 'No shall be rent asunder' (אֲנִי; ἐν Διοσπόλει; *Alexandria*). The different rendering in the Septuagint here is remarkable. Memphis was identical with the *Noph* of the Bible. The Hebrew word rendered 'multitude' in ver. 15 is different from that in Jeremiah; perhaps it may be a corruption of *Amon*. *Diospolis* was the Greek equivalent of *No-Amon*, and identical with *Thebes*. The last passage is Nahum iii. 8, and is very important, not merely as giving the full name of the city, but also describing its position. It is thus rendered in the A. V.: 'Art thou better than populous No, that was situate among the rivers, that had waters round about it, whose rampart was the sea, and her wall was from the sea?' 'Populous No' is in Hebrew אֲנִי אֶפְרָא אֶת-רַבְּבוֹתַי נֹ, *No-Amon* (LXX. *μερίδα Ἀμμὼν*; \* *Alexandria populatorum*), that is, 'No of Amon,' in which Amon was the supreme deity, and of which he was protector.

Various opinions have been entertained as to the site of this city. That it was in Egypt all admit. The Septuagint identifies it with *Diospolis*; but there were two places of this name—one in Lower Egypt, near the sea, and encompassed by the

marshes of the Delta (Strabo, xviii. p. 802); and with this Champollion and others identify No (*l'Egypte*, ii. 131; Winer, *R. W.*, ii. 160); the other was *Thebes*, in Upper Egypt, which is probably the place really referred to in the Septuagint. For No, Jerome in the Vulgate reads *Alexandria* (as also the Chaldee, the Rabbins, and Drusius); but the town of Alexandria was not in existence in the time of Jeremiah; and yet it appears from the words of Nahum (*l.c.*) that No had been already destroyed in his day (see Bochart, *Opera*, i. 6).

There can be little doubt that *No-Amon*, which Nahum compares with Nineveh, is identical with the great city of Thebes. The objection that Thebes is far from the sea, and does not therefore agree with the description of Nahum, cannot stand the test of critical examination. The sea referred to is the river Nile, which to the present day is usually termed in Egypt *el-Bahr*, 'the sea.' The Nile flows through the midst of Thebes (Bochart, *Opera*, i. 7; Robinson, *B. R.*, i. 20, and 582). [THEBES.]—J. L. P.

NOAH, the second father of the human race, was the son of the second Lamech, the grandson of Methuselah, and the tenth in descent from Adam through Seth.

The father of Noah must not be confounded with the Lamech who was the fourth in descent from Cain. There is another instance of the same name in each line, Enoch; but the periods of each of the two couples must have been very different, though we cannot exactly compare them, for the history does not give the years of life in the line of Cain. The two Lamechs, however, have one remarkable circumstance in common; to each of them a fragment of inartificial poetry is attached as his own composition. That of the Cainitic Lamech is in Gen. iv. 23, 24. That of the Sethite now comes before us in ch. v. 28, 29:—'Lamech lived 182 years, and then begat a son, and he called his name Noah, saying—

This shall comfort us  
From our labour,  
And from the sorrowful toils of our hands;  
From the ground,  
Which Jehovah hath cursed.'

The allusion is undoubtedly to the penal consequences of the fall in earthly toils and sufferings, and to the hope of a Deliverer excited by the promise made to Eve. That this expectation was grounded upon a divine communication we infer from the importance attached to it, and the confidence of its expression. See this subject well argued in Bishop Sherlock's *Use and Intent of Prophecy*, Disc. iv.

That the conduct of Noah corresponded to the faith and hope of his father we have no reason to doubt. The brevity of the history satisfies not human curiosity. He was born six hundred years before the Deluge. We may reasonably suppose that through that period he maintained the character given of him:—'Noah found favour in the eyes of the Lord. Noah was a just man, and perfect in his generations. Noah walked with God (ch. vi. 8, 9). These words declare his piety, sincerity, and integrity; that he maintained habitual communion with the Father of Mercies, by the exercises of devotion; and that he was an inspired instrument of conveying the will of God to mankind. The wickedness of the human race

\* Critics are not agreed as to the meaning of the word *No*; but it would seem from this passage that the translators of the LXX., who were themselves resident in Egypt, regarded it as equivalent to the Egyptian *ΠΟΖ*, that is, *σχῶνος*, 'a measuring-line,' and then = *μερῖς*, 'a part or portion' (see Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, p. 835).



had long called upon the wisdom and justice of God for some signal display of his displeasure, as a measure of righteous government and an example to future ages. For a long time, probably many centuries, the better part of men, the descendants of Seth, had kept themselves from society with the families of the Cainite race. The former class had become designated as 'the sons of God,' faithful and obedient: the latter were called by a term evidently designed to form an appellation of the contrary import, 'daughters of men,' of impious and licentious men [ELOHIM]. These women possessed beauty and blandishments, by which they won the affections of unwary men, and intermarriages upon a great scale took place. As is usual in such alliances, the worst part gained the ascendancy. The offspring became more depraved than the parents, and a universal corruption of minds and morals took place. Many of them became 'giants, the mighty men of old, men of

renown' (נְפִלִים *nephilim*), apostates (as the word implies), heroes, warriors, plunderers, 'filling the earth with violence' [GIANTS]. God mercifully afforded a respite of one hundred and twenty years (ch. vi. 3; 1 Pet. iii. 20; 2 Pet. ii. 5), during which Noah sought to work salutary impressions upon their minds, and to bring them to repentance. Thus he was 'a preacher of righteousness,' exercising faith in the testimony of God, moved with holy reverence, obeying the divine commands, and, by the contrast of his conduct, condemning the world (Heb. xi. 7); and probably he had, during a long previous period, laboured in that benevolent and pious work.

At last the threatening was fulfilled. All human kind perished in the waters, except this eminently favoured and righteous man, with his three sons (born about a hundred years before) and the four wives [DELUGE].

At the appointed time this terrible state of the earth ceased, and a new surface was disclosed for the occupation and industry of the delivered family. In some places that surface would be washed bare to the naked rock; in others, sand would be deposited, which would be long uncultivable; but by far the larger portion would be covered with rich soil. With agriculture and its allied arts, the antediluvians must have been well acquainted [ADAM]. The four men, in the vigour of their mental faculties and bodily strength, according to the then existing scale of human life, would be at no loss for the profitable application of their powers. Immediately after the desolating judgment, the merciful Jehovah gave intimations of his acceptance of the sacrifice and thanksgivings of Noah and his family, and of his gracious purposes revealed in the form of a solemn covenant, for the continual benefit of them and their posterity. The beautiful phenomenon of the rainbow was put to a new and significant use. As infallibly certain as is the production of a rainbow under certain conditions of the atmosphere, so certain and sure of fulfilment are the promises of Jehovah. The act of grace is announced in the condescending language which was best adapted to the earliest condition of human thought [ANTHROPOMORPHISM]. 'The Lord smelled a sweet odour; and the Lord said to his heart, I will not add to inflict a malediction further upon the ground on account of man' (Gen. viii. 21). 'That old curse,' says Bishop Sherlock,

'was fully executed and accomplished in the flood. In consequence of which discharge from the curse, a NEW blessing is immediately pronounced upon the earth' (*Use and Int.*, p. 89). Noah and his children would labour the more assiduously from the consolation and hope thus inspired. Accordingly, in a subsequent part of the narrative, we read, 'And Noah began, a man of the ground' (ch. ix. 20), *i.e.*, set diligently to his welcome labour, the sorrow being mitigated, the prospect encouraging, and the assurance of success given by divine promise. The simple phrase comprehends the continuity of action, the formation and prosecution of habit. It is added, 'And he planted a vineyard.' Dr. Dereser thinks that the two members of the sentence should be connected, producing this translation, 'And Noah, in his field-work, commenced the planting of a vineyard.' The narrative makes it evident that the occurrence next mentioned, the invention of wine-making, must have been some years after the cessation of the flood; for not Ham himself, but Canaan his son, is the first and emphatic object of the prophetic curse. We cannot, with reason, assume less than fifteen or eighteen years. We are thus led to the idea that agricultural processes were improved, and produce augmented in variety and in quality. The vine had existed before the flood, and Noah could not be unacquainted with it; but not till now had grapes been grown of such size, sweetness, and abundance of juice, as to strike out the thought of expressing that juice, and reserving it in a vessel for future use. Noah, we think it probable, knew not that, in a few days, it would ferment and acquire new and surprising properties. Innocently and without suspicion he drank of the alluring beverage, as if it had been water from the spring. The consequence is recorded in the characteristic simplicity of style which affirms neither censure nor apology. We regard that consequence as not a sinful intoxication, both from what was probably the occasional cause, and from the immediate agency of the Spirit of God in communicating prophecy. The latter, indeed, is not an impregnable ground; for bad men might receive gifts of inspiration, as Balaam and Judas; but Noah was eminently a righteous and perfect man, and it is inconceivable that a miraculous influence of God should be granted in immediate contiguity with a sinful action.

That prophetic denunciation is the last recorded fact of the life of Noah, though he lived through the subsequent period of 350 years. It is a prophecy of the most remarkable character, having been delivered in the infancy of mankind; in its undeniable fulfilment reaching through more than 4000 years down to our own time; and being even now in a visible course of fulfilment. It seems more strictly correct in philology, and more in accordance with fact, to render it as a prophecy, than as precatory of malediction and blessing. We give it in the closest version.

'Accursed Canaan!

A slave of slaves he will be to his brethren.

Blessed Jehovah, God of Shem!

And Canaan will be slave to him.

God will make Japheth to spread abroad,

And he will inhabit the tents of Shem,

And Canaan will be slave to him.'

The first part of this prediction implies that, in some way, the conduct of Canaan was more of-



fensive than even that of his father Ham. The English reader will perceive the peculiar allusion or alliteration of the third member, when he is informed that the name Japheth comes from a verb, the radical idea of which is *opening, widening, expansion*. In two ways one might imitate it: by translating both the words, or by coining a verb; thus, 1, God will enlarge the enlarger; or, 2, God will japhethize Japheth. The whole paragraph, short as it is, contains a *germ* which, like the acorn to the oak, comprehends the spirit of the respective histories of the three great branches of mankind. The next chapter presents to us the incipient unfolding of the prophecy. [NATIONS, DISPERSION OF.]

'God will give to Japheth an abundant posterity, which will spread itself into different regions, and will dwell among the posterity of Shem; and Canaan's posterity will be compelled to be slaves to that of Japheth. The following chapter shows how this chapter has been fulfilled. The descendants of Japheth peopled Europe, the northern parts of Asia, Asia Minor, Media, Iberia, Armenia, the countries between the Black Sea and the Caspian, Great Tartary, India, China, the European settlements in America, and probably America itself. They also inhabit in part the more southerly parts of Asia, mingling freely with the posterity of Shem, who chiefly peopled those regions. On the other hand, Africa, which was peopled by the descendants of Canaan and [other sons of] Ham, was conquered and brought under the yoke by the Romans, descendants of Japheth.' [This applies only to the Carthaginians and settlers in other districts along the north coast of Africa, which had been peopled by the Phenicians and other Canaanitish tribes. We have not the shadow of authority for deriving the negro tribes, or any of the nations of Medial and South Africa, from Canaan.] 'Down to our own times Africa has been to all other nations the source of the supply of slaves' (Dereser, in the Roman Catholic *Germ. Transl. of the Bible*, by him, Brentano, and Scholz, 17 vols. Francf. 1820-33).

It is an old tradition of the Rabbinical Jews, on which they lay great stress, that at this juncture Noah delivered to his children seven precepts, to be enjoined upon all their descendants. These prohibit—1, idolatry; 2, irreverence to the Deity; 3, homicide; 4, unchastity; 5, fraud and plundering; the 6th enjoins government and obedience; and the 7th forbids to eat any part of an animal still living. Mr. Selden has largely illustrated these precepts, and regards them as a concise tablet of the Law of Nature (*De Jure Nat. et Gent. juxta Disciplin. Ebraeorum*), which excellent work of 900 pages is taken up in commenting upon them. Though we have no positive evidence of their having been formally enjoined by the great patriarch, we can have no great reason for rejecting such an hypothesis.

After this event, we have, in the Scriptures, no further account of Noah, than that 'all his days were nine hundred and fifty years; and he died.' That he had no more children is evident from the nature of the case, notwithstanding the antediluvian longevity, from the impossibility of his having a second wife without horrid incest, which surely no man of sound mind can impute to him, and from the absence of the constant clause of ch. v., which would naturally have come after the 28th verse of

ch. ix., 'and begat sons and daughters.' Mr. Shuckford regards this absence of any mention of Noah, as 'a strong intimation that he neither came with the travellers to Shinaar, nor was settled in Armenia or Mesopotamia, or any of the adjacent countries. He was alive a great while after the confusion of Babel, for he lived 350 years after the flood; and surely, if he had come to Babel, or lived in any of the nations into which mankind were dispersed from thence, a person of such eminence could not at once sink to nothing, and be no more mentioned than if he had not been at all' (*Connect.* i. 99). But it must be confessed that the argument from silence, however strong it may appear in this case, is not decisive. The narratives of the Bible are not to be judged of by the common and just rules of writing history. Those narratives are not, properly speaking, a history, but are a collection of such anecdotes and detached facts as the Spirit of holiness and wisdom determined to be the most practically proper for the religious and moral instruction of all sorts of men. The Bible was written for children and poor peasants, as well as for scholars and philosophers. That learned and judicious author supposes that Noah migrated far into the East, and that the Chinese mean no other than him when their traditions assign Fohi as their first king, having no father, *i.e.*, none recorded in their legends; to whom also they attribute several actions and circumstances which appear to be derived by disguise from the real facts recorded in our sacred book of Genesis. One in particular is in connection with a universal deluge; and this is mentioned also by Sir William Jones, who says, 'the great progenitor of the Chinese is named by them Fohi,' and that 'the earth's being wholly covered with water just preceded the appearance of Fohi on the mountains of Chin' (*Works*, iii. 151-55). It may be very rationally conceived that Noah remained long in the neighbourhood of his descent from the ark; and that, at last, weighty reasons might induce him, with a sufficient number of associates, grandchildren and great-grandchildren, who would be born in some 80 or 100 years, to migrate far to the East.

Sir William Jones, also, is evidently inclined to think the seventh Menu of the Hindoos, connected in their ancient books with a universal deluge, to be no other than a legendary representation of Noah. The very name is, indeed, identical, *Me Nuh*, the *M* being a common Oriental prefix, and *Nuh* is Noah without the points.

As the flood affected equally the common ancestry of mankind, all nations that have not sunk into the lowest barbarism would be likely to preserve the memory of the chief person connected with it; and it would be a natural fallacy that every people should attach to itself a principal interest in that catastrophe, and regard that chief person as the founder of their own nation and belonging to their own locality. Hence we can well account for the traditions of so many peoples upon this capital fact of ancient history, and the chief person in it;—the *Xisuthrus* of the Chaldeans, with whom is associated a remarkable number of precise circumstances, corresponding to the Mosaic narrative (Alex. Polyhist. in the *Chronicle of Eusebius*, so happily recovered by Mr. Zohrab, in the Armenian version, and published by him in 1818); the Phrygian *Noë* of the celebrated Apamean medal, which, besides Noah and his wife with an



ark, presents a raven, and a dove with an olive branch in its mouth (figured in Bryant's *Anc. Myth.* vol. iii.); the *Manes* of the Lydians (Mr. W. J. Hamilton's *Asia Min.* iii. 383); the *Deucalion* of the Syrians and the Greeks, of whose deluge the account given by Lucian is a copy almost exactly circumstantial of that in the book of Genesis (*Dea Syria*; Luciani *Opp.* iii. 457, ed. Reitz; Bryant, iii. 28); the many coincidences in the Greek mythology in respect of Saturn, Janus, and Bacchus; the traditions of the aboriginal Americans, as stated by Clavigero, in his *History of Mexico*; and many others.—J. P. S.

NOB (נֹב, perhaps from rad. נָבַה, 'to be high,' and it may thus signify 'a high place;' *Νοῦβα*; Alex. *Νοβά*, *Νοβὰς*, and *Νόβ*; *Nobe*, *Nob*). When David fled from the court of Saul at Gibeah, we are told that 'he came to *Nob*, to Ahimelech the priest' (1 Sam. xxi. 1). It appears from the narrative that the tabernacle and the ark of the covenant were then located in that city, for David got part of the shewbread which was kept before the Lord (ver. 4; cf. Exod. xxv. 30; Luke xxiv. 5-9). David's visit was fatal to *Nob*. Doeg the Edomite, Saul's shepherd, had seen him there, and informed his master. Ahimelech was summoned before the mad king, and sentence pronounced upon him, 'Thou shalt surely die, Ahimelech, thou and all thy father's house.' Not an Israelite, however, would raise a hand against the priests of the Lord; and Doeg, the stranger spy, became the tyrant's executioner. He 'slew on that day fourscore and five persons who did wear a linen ephod, and *Nob*, the city of the priests, smote he with the edge of the sword, both men and women, children and sucklings, and oxen, and asses, and sheep' (1 Sam. xxii. 9-19). The position of *Nob* is incidentally indicated in this narrative. It lay south of Gibeah, for David was on his way to Philistia when he called at *Nob* (1 Sam. xxi. 10); the narrative shows, too, that it was close to Gibeah. Its position is still more definitely fixed by another remarkable passage—Isaiah's description of the advance of the Assyrians on Jerusalem. The several stages in the march are given with minute accuracy—Ai, Michmash, Geba, Ramah, Gibeah, Anathoth. Then the prophet concludes, 'Yet shall he remain at *Nob* that night: he shall shake his hand against the mount of the daughter of Zion, the hill of Jerusalem' (x. 28-32). *Nob* was thus within sight of Jerusalem, and not far distant from Anathoth. It was occupied after the captivity by Benjamin, and is grouped with Anathoth (Neh. xi. 32).

Eusebius and Jerome strangely confound *Nob* with *Nobah*, a city in the east of Bashan (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Nabbe*); though Jerome in another place (*Epitaph. Paula, Opera*, i. 696, ed. Migne) locates the town on the plain of Sharon, somewhere between Antipatris and Nicopolis, a theory which is almost as wild as the former. He doubtless refers to the present *Noba*. The name of *Nob* has long since disappeared, and its site has been unknown for perhaps two thousand years. Von Raumer and Kiepert would identify *Nob* with the little village of *Isawiyeh*, situated to the right of the road which leads from Jerusalem to Anathoth; but *Isawiyeh* is in a deep glen, hidden from the holy city by the ridge of Olivet, whereas *Nob* was in sight of Jerusalem (V. Raumer, p. 195; Van de Velde, *Memoir*, p. 337). Robinson thought *Nob*

must have stood somewhere on the ridge of Olivet or Scopus, and there he searched, but in vain, for any trace of an ancient site (*B. R.*, i. 464). The writer of this article, during his last visit to Jerusalem, made the discovery of *Nob* a special subject of research. He visited Anathoth and Gibeah, and minutely examined the country between these places and the holy city. He believes his researches were successful. Less than a mile south of Tuleil el-Fûl, the site of Gibeah, is a conical rocky tell, separated from the former by a valley. On the summit and sides of this tell are traces of a small but very ancient town—cisterns cut in the rock; large hewn stones; portions of the rocky sides levelled and hewn away; and on the south-east the remains of a small tower. From the summit there is a wide view. *Mount Zion is distinctly seen*, though Moriah is hid by an intervening ridge. The position, south of Gibeah, and not far from Anathoth; the elevation, commanding a view of Zion, against which Isaiah represents the Assyrian as 'shaking his hand'; the ancient remains—all convinced the writer that this is the site of the long-lost *Nob* (*Handbook*, p. 324).—J. L. P.

NOBAH (נֹבָה, 'a barking'; *Ναβαύ*; *Ναβὰς*; *Ναβδν*; *Ναβαί*; Alex. *Ναβέσ*; *Nobe*), a Manassite warrior, who attacked and captured the city of Kenath, in Bashan, 'and called it *Nobah* after his own name' (Num. xxxii. 42). It is most probably the same place which is mentioned in the book of Judges (viii. 11) in describing Gideon's pursuit of the princes of Midian:—'And Gideon went up by the way of them that dwell in tents, on the east of *Nobah* and Jogbehah, and smote the host: for the host was secure.' If this be so, then Gideon must have followed the Midianites into the great plain east of Jebel Haurân. The remarks of Eusebius and Jerome on this name are very confused. In one place (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Nabbe*) they confound it with the sacerdotal city *Nob*; while in another they seem at least to confound it with Nebo of Moab (s. v. *Nabo*), and locate it eight miles south of Heshbon. Both these views are entirely opposed to the topography of the sacred writers. That *Nobah* was the name given to the ancient Kenath cannot be doubted; the new name, however, did not survive the Israelitish rule in that region. It appears never to have superseded the old among the aborigines, and on the retirement of the Israelites the latter was resumed. The evidence is conclusive to identify *Kenath* with the modern *Kunawat*. [KENATH].—J. L. P.

NOBLEMAN. The word so rendered in Jo'hn iv. 46 is βασιλικός, which has somewhat various significations. It may mean: 1. *a rege oriundus*, descended from a king. 2. *ὕπνρητης τοῦ βασιλέως*, one belonging to the court. 3. *στρατιώτης βασιλέως*, a soldier of the king, in which latter sense it often occurs in Josephus. The second signification seems, however, to be the prevalent one; and the Greek interpreters are also favourably inclined towards it. Münster found it likewise in inscriptions. The Syriac has here, 'a royal servant'; the Ethiopic, 'a royal house-servant.' This person was, therefore, probably of the court of Herod Antipas, who reigned over Galilee and Peraea (Tholuck, *Commentar. zum Johan.* iv. 46).—J. K.

NOD (נֹד; Sept. *Ναδ*), the land to which Cain withdrew, and in which he appears to have

settled (Gen. iv. 16). While the site of Paradise itself remains undetermined, it is useless to seek for that of the land of Nod. This land, wherever it was, could not have had a name till Cain went to it; and it was doubtless called Nod (which signifies *flight, wandering*), from the circumstance that Cain fled to it.

NODAB (נֹדָב, 'nobility'; Ναδαβαῖος; *Nodab*).

We read in 1 Chron. v. 19 that the Reubenites, Gadites, and Manassites, 'made war with the Hagarites, with Jetur, and Nephish, and *Nodab*, conquered them, captured immense booty, and the 'children of the half tribe of Manasseh dwelt in the land' (ver. 23). It appears that the land thus acquired lay on the east side of Hermon, bordering on the plain of Bashan. The name Nodab is not elsewhere mentioned. They are called Hagarenes, and must consequently have been descended from Ishmael, though they are not enumerated among the tribes in Gen. xxv. Calmet (after Jerome, *Quaest. Heb. in Lib. 1 Paralip.*) has suggested that Nodab is another name for Kedemah, and this appears to derive some probability from the fact that the list in Genesis mentions in order 'Jetur, Naphish, and *Kedemah*;' while in Chronicles we have 'Jetur, Nephish, and *Nodab*.' Forster, who adopts this view, advances another argument in its favour. He says, 'This Ishmaelite tribe, agreeable to a very general Arab usage, being designated, in the one instance by its *patronymic*, in the other by its *nom de guerre*. For, 1. The signification of the word *Nodab*, in the Arabic idiom, is 'the vibration of a spear;' 2. The natives of the coast of the Persian Gulf, in the vicinity of Kadema, were famous for the manufacture of spears; and, 3. Nodab is expressly mentioned by the author of the Kamouz, a writer of the 15th century, as a then existing Arab tribe' (*Geogr. of Arabia*, i. 314, *seq.*). This reasoning is scarcely conclusive; but there is at least some probability in the theory. If Kedemah and Nodab were not identical, then Nodab must have been a sub-tribe of Ishmaelites who had united themselves to Jetur and Nephish. When conquered by the Israelites it is probable the greater part of them retreated into the desert of Arabia, where the great nation of *Agraci*, or Hagarites, are located by the Greek and Roman geographers. [HAGARITES; ISHMAEL; JETUR.] No Arab tribe of Arabia, so far as the writer can discover, now bears the name Nodab. —J. L. P.

NOESSELT, JOHANN ANG., D.D., and professor of theology at Halle, was born there 2d May 1734, and died 11th March 1807. His contributions to Biblical literature are principally contained in two small volumes of *Opuscula ad interpretationem S.S.*, Hal. 1785-87. A third volume appeared in 1817, containing some dissertations pertaining to church history. Nösselt was inclined to rationalism, but his *Opuscula* contain many valuable observations, and much sound exegesis. —W. L. A.

NOLDE, CHRISTIAN, professor of theology at Copenhagen, was born at Hoyby, in Sweden, in 1626, and died 22d August 1633. He is the author of *Concordantiae Particularum Ebraeo-Chaldaicarum in quibus partium indeclin., quae occurrunt in fontibus, natura et sensuum varietas ostenditur*, etc., 4to, Hafn. 1679, of which a second and im-

proved edition by J. G. Tympe appeared at Jena in 1734. This is one of the books which are all but indispensable to the student of the O. T. Neither Buxtorf nor First in their concordances take note of the particles. Nolde has not only supplied this deficiency, but has also made his work a valuable lexicon of the particles, and has discussed exegetically many passages of Scripture. —W. L. A.

NOPH. [MEMPHIS.]

NOPHAH (נֹפַח, 'blast'; in the Sept. this word is rendered *προεξέκαυσαν*, 'they kindled,' as if pointed נֹפַח; but the Vulg. rightly makes it a proper name, *Nophe*). In sketching the history of the conquest of Moab by the Amorites, Moses quotes a fragment of a triumphal ode, apparently composed on the occasion by some Amorite poet, the last words of which are, 'Heshbon is perished even into Dibon, and we have wasted them even unto *Nophah*, which reacheth unto Medeba' (Num. xxi. 30). Nophah is not elsewhere mentioned, and the whole passage is obscure, and has been variously interpreted by critics (see a summary of the interpretations in Barrett's *Synopsis of Criticisms*, and Poole's *Synopsis Crit.*) The Hebrew phrase which follows Nophah (אִשֶּׁר עַד־מֵדְבָּא) may signify—(1), 'which *extendeth* to Medeba,' describing the extent of Nophah's territory; (2), or, 'and to Medeba,' showing the extent of the destruction, without reference to Nophah; (3), or, 'which *belongeth* to Medeba,' as if showing that Nophah was a town or place dependent on Medeba; (4), or, 'which is at Medeba.' Still another interpretation is given by the Septuagint, and to some extent sanctioned by the Masoretic mark above the נ in אִשֶּׁר, showing that its authenticity was doubted; and if it be removed the word אִשֶּׁר will signify 'fire,' as rendered in the Greek *πῦρ*; and the translation will be 'fire (hath raged) unto Medeba' (Rosenmüller, *ad loc.*)

Be the right interpretation what it may, it appears that Nophah was a town of Moab, situated between Heshbon and Medeba. The site has not been identified. We have no grounds for assuming its identity with Nobah of Bashan, as suggested by Gesenius (*Thesaurus*, p. 896). —J. L. P.

NOPHECH (נֹפֶךְ), a precious stone, named in Exod. xxviii. 18; xxxix. 11; Ezek. xxvii. 16; xxviii. 13; in all which places it is rendered 'Emerald' in the A. V. The Sept. and Josephus render it by *ἀνθραξ*, or carbuncle. This name, denoting a live coal, the ancients gave to several glowing red stones resembling live coals (*a similitudine ignium appellati*, Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxii. 25; comp. Theophrast. *De Lapid.* 18), particularly rubies and garnets. The most valued of the carbuncles seems, however, to have been the Oriental garnet, a transparent red stone, with a violet shade, and strong vitreous lustre. It was engraved upon (Theophrast., 31), and was probably not so hard as the ruby, which, indeed, is the most beautiful and costly of the precious stones of a red colour, but is so hard that it cannot easily be subjected to the graving-tool. The Hebrew *nophech*, in the breast-plate of the high-priest, was certainly an engraved stone; and there is no evidence that the ancients could engrave the ruby, although this has in modern times been accomplished. Upon the whole, the particular kind of stone denoted by the



Hebrew word must be regarded as uncertain (Rosenmüller, *Biblical Mineralogy*, pp. 32, 33; Winer's *Real-wörterbuch*, art. 'Edelsteine'; Brauns, *De Vest. Sacerdot.*, p. 523; Bellermand, *Ueber die Urim, u. Thummim*, p. 43).—J. K.

NORDHEIMER, ISAAC, was born of Jewish parents, in 1809, at Memelsdorf, a village not far from Erlangen. He received the rudiments of his education at a Jewish school of his native place, and having acquired that proficiency in Jewish learning which fitted him to become a rabbi, he, in 1828, entered himself at the Gymnasium of Würzburg, to acquire a knowledge of classical literature, theology, and philosophy, in accordance with the demands made in the present day of a Jewish public teacher. After remaining two years in the gymnasium, he was transferred (1830) to the University of Würzburg, which he left in 1832, and went to complete his studies at the metropolitan university at Munich, where he took his degree as Doctor of Philosophy in the autumn of 1834, and afterwards sustained, *pro forma*, the public examination required of Jewish theologians. Through the persuasion of two American pupils, who took private lessons of him in 1832, Nordheimer left his home in 1835 for America, and arrived in New York in the summer of the same year. He soon received from the university of that city the nominal appointment of professor of Arabic and other Oriental languages, and acting professor of Hebrew, and at once began his career as author. He wrote (1.) *A Critical Grammar of the Hebrew Language*, vol. i., New York 1838; 2d ed., with additions and improvements, *ibid.* 1842; (2.) *A Grammatical Analysis of Select Portions of Scripture or a Christomathy*, 1838; (3.) *The Philosophy of Ecclesiastes, being an Introduction to the Book of Ecclesiastes*, Biblical Repository, July 1838; (4.) *The Hebrew Syntax*, being the second volume of his Hebrew Grammar, 1841; 2d ed., 1842; besides several articles in the Biblical Repository. This laborious student, who made such valuable contributions to the better understanding of the language of the O. T., died Thursday, Nov. 3, 1842, at the age of thirty-three. Dr. Nordheimer also left the following works in MS.: (1.) *A Chaldee and Syriac Grammar*, in German; (2.) *Arabic Grammar*, in German; (3.) *A larger Arabic Grammar*, in English; (4.) *A translation and exposition of the Book of Ecclesiastes*, in German; (5.) *Hebrew Concordance*, incomplete; (6.) *Philological Memoranda*, etc. etc.; (Robinson, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1843, p. 379-390).—C. D. G.

NORTH (צָפֹן; Sept. βορρᾶς; Vulg. *Septentrio*, etc.) The Shemite, in speaking of the quarters of the heavens and of the earth, supposes his face turned towards the east, so that the east is before him, the west behind, the south on the right hand, and the north on the left. Hence the words which signify east, west, north, and south, signify also that which is before, behind, on the right hand, and on the left. Thus Aquila renders the words, 'the north and the south' (Ps. lxxxix. 12), βορρᾶν καὶ δεξιάν, 'the north and the right hand.' The Hebrew word translated north occurs in the five following senses: 1. It denotes a quarter of the heavens; 2. of the earth; 3. a north aspect or direction; 4. it is the conventional name for certain countries irrespectively of their true geo-

graphical situation; and, 5. it indicates the north wind. 1. It denotes a particular quarter of the heavens; thus, 'fair weather cometh out of the north' (Job xxxvii. 22); literally, 'gold cometh,' which Gesenius understands figuratively, as meaning the golden splendour (of the firmament), and compares Zech. iv. 12, 'gold-coloured oil.' The Sept. somewhat favours this idea—ἀπὸ βορρᾶ νέφη χρυσαυγούνα, 'the cloud having the lustre of gold,' which perhaps corresponds with the χρυσοπὸς αἰθήρ, the gilded æther or sky, of an old Greek tragedian, quoted by Grotius. The same Hebrew word seems used poetically for the whole heaven in the following passage: 'He stretcheth out the north' (literally the concealed, dark place), (like τὸς ἰόφον, in Homer) over the empty place' (Job xxvi. 7; Sept. ἐπ' οὐδέν). Hence the meaning probably is, that the north wind clears the sky of clouds; which agrees with the fact in Palestine, to which Solomon thus alludes, 'The north wind driveth away rain' (Prov. xxv. 23). Homer styles it αἰὼρη-γενέτης, 'producing clear weather' (*Il.* xv. 171; *Od.* v. 296). Josephus calls it αἰθριώτατος, 'that wind which most produces clear weather' (*Antiq.* xv. 9. 6); and Hesychius, ἐπιδέξιος, or 'auspicious'; and see the remarkable rendering of the Sept. in Prov. xxvii. 16. In the words, 'cold weather cometh out of the north' (Job xxxvii. 9), the word rendered 'north' is צָפֹן, *mezarim*, which Gesenius understands to mean literally 'the scattering,' and to be a poetical term for the north winds, which scatter the clouds and bring severe cold. He, therefore, with Cocceius and Schultens, approves of Kimchi's rendering of the phrase by 'venti flantes et dispergentes.' By some a northern star is here understood: the Vulgate has *arcturus*; the Sept. ἀρκυρήνια (perhaps to be read ἀρκῦρε, or ἀρκυρόπος); while others, as Aben Ezra, and after him Michaelis, regard *Mezarim* in this text as the same with the constellation denoted elsewhere by *mazzaroth* (Job xxxviii. 22), and *mazzaloth* (2 Kings xxiii. 5).

The word צָפֹן occurs also in the same sense in the following passages: 'the wind turneth about to the north' (Eccles. i. 6); 'a whirlwind, out of the north' (Ezek. i. 4). 2. It means a quarter of the earth (Ps. cvii. 3; Is. xliii. 6; Ezek. xx. 47; xxxii. 30; comp. Luke xiii. 29). 3. It occurs in the sense of a northern aspect or direction, etc.; thus, 'looking north' (1 Kings vii. 25; 1 Chron. ix. 24; Num. xxxiv. 7); on 'the north side' (Ps. xlviii. 2; Ezek. viii. 14; xl. 44; comp. Rev. xxi. 13). 4. It seems used as the conventional name for certain countries, irrespectively of their true geographical situation—namely, Babylonia, Chaldaea, Assyria, and Media—which are constantly represented as being to the north of Judaea, though some of them lay rather to the east of Palestine. Thus Assyria is called the north (Zeph. ii. 13), and Babylonia (Jer. i. 14; xli. 6, 10, 20, 24; Ezek. xxvi. 7; Judith xvi. 4). The origin of this use of the word is supposed to be found in the fact that the kings of most of these countries, avoiding the deserts, used to invade Judaea chiefly on the north side, by way of Damascus and Syria. Thus also, the kings of the north that were 'near,' may mean the kings of Syria, and 'those that are afar off,' the Hyrcanians and Bactrians, etc., who are reckoned by Xenophon among the peoples that were subjected or oppressed by the king of Babylon, and perhaps others besides of the neighbour-



ing nations that were compelled to submit to the Babylonish yoke (Jer. xxv. 26). By 'the princes of the north' (Ezek. xxxii. 30), some understand the Tyrians and their allies (ch. xxvi. 16), joined here with the Zidonians, their neighbours. 'The families of the north' (Jer. i. 15) are inferior kings, who were allies or tributaries to the Babylonian empire (comp. xxxiv. 1; i. 41; li. 27). 'The families of the north' (Jer. xxv. 9) may mean a still inferior class of people, or nations dependent on Babylon. 5. The Hebrew word is applied to the north wind. In Prov. xxvii. 16, the impossibility of concealing the qualities of a contentious wife is illustrated by comparing it to an attempt to bind the north wind, צפדרוה. The invocation of Solomon (Cant. iv. 16), 'Awake, O north, and come, thou south, blow upon my garden that the spices may flow out,' and which has occasioned much perplexity to illustrators, seems well explained by Rosenmüller, as simply alluding to the effects of winds from opposite quarters, in dispersing the fragrance of aromatic shrubs (ver. 13, 14) far and wide, in all directions. A fine description of the effects of the north wind, in winter, occurs in Ecclus. xliii. 20; which truly agrees with the 'horrifer Boreas' of Ovid (*Met.* i. 65), and in which reference is made to the coincident effects of the north wind and of fire (v. 21; comp. v. 3, 4), like the 'Boreæ penetrabile frigus adurit' of Virgil (*Georg.* i. 93); or Milton's description,

— 'The parching air

Burns fierce, and cold performs the effects of fire.'

*Paradise Lost*, ii. 595.

Josephus states that the north wind in the neighbourhood of Joppa was called by those who sailed there Μελαμβόρεος, 'the black north wind,' and certainly his description of its effects, on one occasion, off that coast, is appalling (*De Bell. Jud.* iii. 9. 3).—J. F. D.

NORZI, JEDIDJA SALOMON DI, B. ABRAHAM, was born in Mantua about 1560, and derived his family name (ר' נורצי) from the fact that his parents resided in Norzi or Norica, a small town in the district of Spoleto. He studied under Samuel Cases, and, through his great piety and profound learning, was elected to the co-rabbinate, first with Luliano Shalom Cases, who died in 1630, then with Eliezer Cases, and, from 1634 up to the time of his death, was co-rabbi with Jacob Chajim Cases. As early as 1588 Norzi was favourably known among his literary co-religionists through a work on the jurisprudence of the Hebrews (שאלות ותשובות), which was published in Mantua 1597. The work, however, to which he devoted the whole of his life, and through which he immortalized his name, is the critical and Massoretic commentary on the entire Hebrew scriptures. To render his critical labours as complete as possible, and to edit the Hebrew text in as perfect a condition as solid learning and conscientious industry could make it, Norzi left no resources untouched. He searched through the Midrashim, the Talmud, and the whole cycle of rabbinic literature, for various readings. He consulted all the Massoretic works, both published and unpublished; he collated all the MSS. to which he could get access, amongst which was the MS. from Toledo of the year 1277, now Cod. de Rossi 782; he compared all the best printed editions, and

availed himself of the learning and critical labours of his predecessors and friends, especially of the

MS. work called מסרת סיג לתורה, *the Massora, the Hedge of the Law*, by Meier b. Todros Abulfia of Borgos,\* and of the co-operation of his friend Menacham di Lonzano of Palestine,† who also furnished Norzi with important MSS. from his own library; and though he lived to finish the work to which he consecrated his life, having completed it in 1626, and called it גדר פרץ, *The Repairer of the Breach*, after Is. lviii. 12, he did not live to see the fruit of his labours printed, as he died about 1630. His work remained in MS. for about 112 years. The commentary was then edited by Raphael Chajim Basila, and published for the first time, with Hebrew text, under the altered title מנחת ש"י, *a Gift Offering, The Oblation of Solomon Jedidja* (the name of Norzi, ש"י, being an

abbreviation of ישלמה ירדיה), Mantua, 1742-44 in four parts and 2 vols. 4to. Basila, the learned editor, added some notes, and also appended a list of 900 variations. A second edition appeared in Vienna, 1816. The commentary on the Pentateuch alone, with the Hebrew text, appeared in Dobrovna 1804; on the Prophets and the Hagiographa, with the Hebrew text, Vilna circa 1820. Norzi also wrote a treatise on the accents, entitled מאמר המאריך, which he quotes in his commentary on Gen. i. 11; Num. xi. 15; i Sam. xv. 6; Esth. i. 6; ii. 8; Is. xxxviii. 2; Eccles. ii. 7; and a treatise on the letters

בגד כפת, called כללי בגד כפת, which he quotes in the Comment. on Gen. i. 11, but which have not as yet come to light. Comp. Steinschneider, *Catalogus Lib. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleyana*, col. 2376-77; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, vol. iii. p. 39, 40.—C. D. G.

#### NOSE-JEWEL. [WOMAN.]

NOVICE, or NEOPHYTE (*Νεόφυτος*), one newly converted (literally *newly planted*), not yet matured in Christian experience (1 Tim. iii. 6). The ancient Greek interpreters explain it by 'new-baptised,'

\* Meier b. Todros Abulfia, who is called *Todrosus* by some Christian writers, died March

29, 1244. His work, מסרת סיג לתורה, which is a valuable Massoretic lexicon, arranged in alphabetical order, according to the roots, was first published in Florence 1750; then again, Berlin 1761.

† Menachem de Lonzano is the author of the collection of treatises entitled שתי ידות, *The Two Hands* (first published, Venice 1618), comprising, among others, an essay on the Massora, the criticism of the text of the Pentateuch, the fixing of correct readings, etc., called אור תורה, *The Light of the Law*, and a supplement to Nathan's Lexicon, entitled מעריך [NATHAN B. JECHIEL]. He was originally of Palestine, emigrated to Italy when advanced in years, and was senior contemporary of Norzi, to whom he rendered personal assistance in his Biblical researches (comp. Jost, *Geschichte des Judenthums*, iii. p. 224). Dr. Davidson's remark, therefore, about the age of Lonzano and his connection with Norzi, as well as his statement about the date of the publication of Todrosius', i.e., Meier b. Todros Abulfia's work, *The Massora, the Hedge of the Law (A Treatise on Biblical Criticism*, Edinburgh 1854, p. 151, 152), are not correct.



νεοβάπτιστος, 'proselyte,' *προσήλυτος*, etc. The word continued to be in use in the early church; but it gradually acquired a meaning somewhat different from that which it bore under the Apostles, when 'newly converted' and 'newly baptised' described, in fact, the same condition, the converted being at once baptised. For when, in subsequent years, the church felt it prudent to put converts under a course of instruction before admitting them to baptism and the full privileges of Christian brotherhood, the term *Νεόφυτοι*, *Novitii*, Novices, was sometimes applied to them, although more usually distinguished by the general term of Catechumens.—J. K.

NUMBER. How far the ancient Hebrews were acquainted with arithmetic or the science of number, we possess no authentic information. Neither do we know, with certainty, what sort of numerical characters they used, or if any, in the earlier period of their history. We may, however, form a probable conjecture. 'The Hebrews,' says Gesenius, 'have no numerical cyphers like ours, but employ consonants to designate numbers. This usage, however, belongs not to the O. T. itself. We can trace it no farther back than the coins in the time of the Maccabees (about 150 B. C.) But, at a later period, all chapters and verses of the O. T. came to be marked or numbered in this way; in like manner as enumeration was designated by the Greeks [who borrowed it from the Phœnicians]. (a) The alphabet from *א* to *ז*, designates the units 1-9. (b) From *ח* to *ט*, tens; from *י* to *ק*, some of the hundreds, viz., 100-400. The hundreds 500-900, some designate by the final letters *ק*, *מ*, *נ*, *ס*, *ע*; others by adding to *ק* (= 400) the other letters that designate the additional numbers which are needed, *ex. gr.* *קפ*, *i. e.* 400 + 100 = 500. In composite numbers, the larger stand first, *ex. gr.* *ס"א* = 11, *ס"ב* = 12, etc. The number 15 is *ט"ו* = 9 + 6, because the regular designation would be *טז*, which, being one of the names of God [rather being the unutterable name *יהוה*], the Jews could not employ. Thousands are designated by the unit letters, with two points above them, *ex. gr.* *ש"ס*, 1000, etc.—(Rödiger's *Ger. Heb. Gram.*, by Stuart, 20).

It is probable, however, that this mode of expressing numbers was once employed in the Hebrew Bible, although not found there now; and it may have been employed long before the Maccabean era (see Kalisch *Heb. Gram.*, vii., sec. 1, 7 a; Winer, *Zahlen*), although we are unable to trace it farther back; and may have been ultimately abandoned, as numbers so designated were so very liable to be corrupted by a thousand accidents. Certainly, this mode of expressing numbers, if we suppose it was at one time employed (especially if we keep in mind the frequent transcription of the sacred books) will serve, in a good measure, to account for the striking numerical discrepancies now found in all MSS. of the Hebrew Bible. Let our readers refer to the article CHRONICLES for illustration of this point. A few other instances, however, may be adduced: the Hebrew text in 1 Sam. 6, 19, has 50,070. The Syriac and Arabic have 5070, which also seems much too large a number. Three MSS. of Kennicott, and two others, have 70, which seems the correct reading. It has been supposed that at first *ל* = 70 stood in the text, and that some copyist found in another copy *ל* = 50,000,

and either wrote it in the margin or took it into the text of his MSS. The letters *ל* and *נ* might be the more easily confounded on account of the two points over *נ* like the two upper hands of *ל* (Davidson's *Bib. Crit.*, 2d ed., 404, etc.) In 2 Sam. xv. 7, for 40 years the Syriac, Arabic, and Vulgate—sixtine edition—have 4. It is true two MSS. of Kennicott have 40 days (*ibid.*, p. 429). The similarity of several Hebrew letters to each other, as *א* to *ב*, *ב* to *ג*, *ג* to *ד*, *ד* to *ה*, *ה* to *ו*, would very easily lead to their being confounded, and sometimes occasion not only discrepancy, but even such enormous exaggeration of numbers as often appears, especially in the books of Chronicles.

We must now refer to a peculiar use of certain numbers occurring throughout the Bible.

This usage is not peculiar to the Scriptures. It, or something similar, is found in profane writers, in philosophical systems, as *ex. gr.*, that of Pythagoras, with whom unity possessed so much importance (Lewes' *Biog. Hist. of Phil.*, 2d ed., p. 24); and in the Kabbalistic speculations of the later Jews. (See KABBALAH.) We refer to the frequent recurrence of the numbers, 3, 4, 7, 10, 40, 70, 100, 1000; to which may be added 12 with its square = 144. Only a selection of examples can be adduced.

(a). *Three* occurs very frequently. Thus, three men appeared to Abraham (Gen. xviii. 2); Moses was hid three months (Exod. ii. 2); the Jews were bound to appear before God three times in the year (Exod. xxiii. 14); the priestly blessing was threefold (Num. vi. 23, 24); the doxology of the Seraphim was threefold (Is. vi. 3); Daniel prays three times a day (Dan. vi. 10); the vision was repeated to Peter three times (Acts x. 16); God is described in a threefold form as the source of blessing (Rev. i. 4); and there are three witnesses to the truth (1 John v. 7). (For the abundant use of *three* in the Apocalypse, see Stuart's *Com.*, p. 102, Eng. ed.)

(b). As to the use of *four*, we have the four rivers of Paradise (Gen. ii. 10); four sore judgments on Jerusalem (Ezek. xiv. 21); four living creatures (Ezek. i. 5; also Rev. iv. 6); the four winds (Ezek. xxxvii. 9; Dan. vii. 2); the four beasts (Dan. vii. 17); four notable horns (Dan. viii. 8); again, four horns and four workmen (Zech. i. 18-21); four chariots (Zech. vi. 1, etc.); four angels and four corners of the earth (Rev. vii. 1).

(c). *Seven* is a favourite number with the writers of the O. and N. T. At the outset, we have the six days of creation completed by a seventh (Gen. ii.); Noah took clean beasts into the ark by sevens (Gen. vii. 2, 3); Noah waited seven days between each sending forth of the raven and the dove (Gen. viii. 8-12); seven Sabbaths were to intervene between the offering of the first-fruits and the day of Pentecost (Lev. xxiii. 15, etc.); the day of atonement was on the seventh day of the tenth month (Lev. xxiii. 27); the passover and feast of tabernacles lasted each seven days (Num. xxviii. 24, 25; Lev. xxiii. 41); the blood of propitiation was to be sprinkled seven times (Lev. xvi. 14, 15); and the golden candlestick had seven lamps (Exod. xxv. 37). In the N. T. we have seven spirits before the throne (Rev. i. 4); seven candlesticks, seven stars, seven angels, and seven churches (Rev. i. 16, 20); seven lamps of fire

(Rev. iv. 5); seven eyes and seven horns of the Lamb (Rev. v. 6); seven seals (Rev. v. 1); seven angels with seven trumpets (Rev. viii. 2); seven vials (Rev. xv. 7), etc.

(d). *Ten* occurs frequently, but not so frequently as the preceding, nor in the same marked way, viz., ten plagues of Egypt; ten commandments; ten mighty men (Eccles. vii. 19); ten virgins (Matt. xxv. 1); ten pieces of silver (Luke xv. 8); ten pounds (Luke xix. 13); ten horns of the dragon (Rev. xii. 3). In the O. T., the tenth of the produce of the land was assigned to the Levites, and the tenth of that to the priests.

(e). *Forty* appears pretty often. Moses was forty days and nights in the mount (Exod. xxiv. 18); Israel wandered forty years in the desert (Num. xiv. 33); Elijah went forty days and nights to Horeb (1 Kings xix. 8); Jesus fasted forty days in the wilderness (Matt. iv. 1).

(f). *Seventy* occurs in some very marked instances. Seventy souls out of the loins of Jacob (Exod. i. 5); seventy elders of Israel (Exod. xxiv. 1); Abimelech's seventy brethren (Judg. ix. 56); Ahab's seventy sons (2 Kings x. 1); Tyre forgotten seventy years (Is. xxiii. 15); seventy years' captivity in Babylon (Jer. xxv. 11); Daniel's seventy weeks (Dan. ix. 24); seventy disciples (Luke x. 1); seventy times seven (Gen. iv. 24; Matt. xviii. 22).

(g). Instances of *one hundred* are as follow:—one hundred cubits, the length of the court of the tabernacle (Exod. xxvii. 18); one hundred stripes (Prov. xvii. 10); one hundred years old (Is. lxv. 20); one hundred sheep (Matt. xviii. 20); one hundred measures (Luke xvi. 6, 7).

(h). *One thousand* occurs often. One thousand pieces of silver (Gen. xx. 16); of every tribe, one thousand (Num. xxxi. 4, 5); one thousand times (Deut. i. 11); one thousand generations (Deut. vii. 9); one of a thousand (Job ix. 3; xxxiii. 23); one thousand hills (Ps. l. 10); one thousand years (Eccles. vi. 6; 2 Pet. iii. 8; Rev. xx. 2, etc.); etc.

(i). *Twelve* is found in many instances. Twelve princes of Ishmael (Gen. xvii. 20; xxv. 16); twelve sons of Jacob (Gen. xxxv. 22); twelve tribes (Gen. xlix. 28); twelve wells of water at Elim (Exod. xv. 27); twelve pillars (Exod. xxiv. 4); twelve precious stones (Exod. xxviii. 21; xxxix. 14); twelve apostles (Luke vi. 13); twelve thousand sealed of each tribe of Israel (Rev. vii. 5); a crown of twelve stars (Rev. xii. 1); the heavenly city had twelve gates, twelve angelic porters, and twelve foundations (Rev. xxi. 12, 14, 21); the Tree of Life bare twelve manner of fruit (Rev. xxii. 2); We may add that 144,000 comes into notice (Rev. vii. 4; xiv. 1) only as the sum of the 12 times 12,000, the number of the sealed of each of the tribes of Israel, and therefore, as the signature of the perfected church of God, the length of whose wall was 144 cubits, the square of twelve, the signature of the church under the old dispensation and the new.

A few other numbers are also used pretty frequently, but with no very marked prominence; *ex. gr.*, five and six, usually as numbers of convenience, although the latter occurs sometimes in connection with *seven*, with the idea of multiplicity, yet non-completeness; the full or complete idea being conveyed by *seven*; *ex. gr.*, 'six troubles, yea seven' (Job v. 19); 'six things the Lord hates, yea seven' (Prov. vi. 16), etc. *Two* is also

used to denote *competency*, or *sufficiency*; *e. g.*, two or three witnesses, Deut. xvii. 6; John v. 30; two olive trees and two golden pipes (Zech. iv. 3, 11); and the two witnesses of the Apocalypse (xi. 3).

Of the various numbers quoted above, there can be little question that some must be regarded as representative or round numbers, being used where it is desired to put a definite number for an indefinite, or to express a large number; *ex. gr.*, 10, 40, 70, 100, 1000. In later times the Jews have attached great importance to ten. Examples of this are given by Otho; *ex. gr.*, 'A synagogue is not constituted except there be ten persons at least present'; 'where ten sit and read the law, the Divinity rests among them.' 'The denary number,' says Fagius, 'is certainly almost sacred to the Hebrews; hence they circumcise no child, confirm no marriages, give no writing of divorcement, nor do they offer some of the more solemn kinds of prayers, unless ten persons are present' (Othonis *Lex. Rab. Phil.*, Art. *Numerus*). Why the Jews came so to regard this number it is hard to say, but certainly they did not derive the custom from the O. T. The frequent use of the number naturally took its rise from the fingers of the human hands,  $5 + 5 = 10$ .

But, having set off some of the above numbers in the way indicated, there remain others which cannot be thus disposed of. As to four, it is so obviously the signature of the world, with its four cardinal points, that the meaning of the number is apparent everywhere it occurs. The significance of three and seven is not so obvious, while their origin is much more obscure. Both these numbers have a very extended use among profane as well as sacred writers (see Stuart's *Com. on the Apocalypse*, Excursus ii.) Bähr supposes that three has obtained this wide-spread use, because, possessing a beginning, and middle, and end, and being non-divisible, it is the first number which expresses perfect composite unity; and was therefore adopted as a symbol of the Godhead. Stuart regards it as a symbol of the all-perfect and infinite One, 'who is, and was, and is to come,' but derives it from 'some leading and striking features of the universe'—its threefoldness in a variety of aspects, which therefore naturally became a symbol of the Divine Being. It is difficult to decide this point; but it is to be remembered, that if three be the symbol of Deity, it is also the symbol of the very opposite. Thus, we have the three great enemies of God—the Dragon, the Beast, and the False Prophet; and the three unclean spirits, like frogs, proceeding out of their mouth (Rev. xvi. 13). But here, no doubt, the design is, to exhibit these in opposition to the sacred Trinity—the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

*Seven*, as the number of perfection, is regarded by Stuart, Hengstenberg, and others, as a combination of four and three, the signatures of the universe and of God, and therefore signifying the union of God and his creatures. It is thus all-comprehensive and complete. To this we demur, as we do to the derivation of twelve, the signature of the church, from  $3 \times 4 = 12$ , and of 10 from 7 and 3, which last involves an absurdity. More naturally does seven spring from the six creative days completed by the day of rest. Hence, too, the universal use of the number. We may add here, that three and a half, being half the perfect number



seven, is the signature of *incompleteness* and *imperfection*, and therefore possesses striking significance as used to denote the duration of the persecutions of the church, both in Daniel and the Apocalypse.

We must finally notice 'the number of the Beast,' = 666 (Rev. xiii. 17, 18).<sup>\*</sup> The Beast is the world-power in its hostility to the kingdom of God. The number of the name is plainly the number made up by the numerical power of the letters composing the name added together. But here the proposed interpretations are multitudinous. That suggested by Irenæus (*C. H.*, l. v., c. 29, 30), followed by many protestant interpreters—among the rest, but very sceptically, by Alford—is one of the (but not *the*) oldest, viz., *λατρεω*=Latin, *i.e.*, beast, or kingdom—λ 30, α 1, ρ 300, ε 5, ι 10, ν 50, ο 70, ς 200=666. Some have suggested *ἀποστράτης*, with reference to Julian; Bossuet, *Diocles Augustus*; Hengstenberg, *Adonikam*, because it is said (Ezra ii. 13), the sons of Adonikam were 666 (see *Com.* in loco); Benary קסך, or, dropping the final nun in Nero, to suit the *Var. Lec.*, giving therefore either 666 or 616. This interpretation is favoured by Stuart. Bengel refers the 666 to the number of years the Beast was to exercise his dominion; but that surely is not the number of his name (see Stuart's *Com.* on the *Apoc.*, Ex. iv.; and for the full literature of the subject, Rabett's *Λατρεω*, and Thom's *Number of the Beast*). The enigma seems as yet unsolved. On the subject of number generally, see Stuart's *Com.* on the *Apoc.*, Introd., sec. 7 and Excursus ii.; Winer, *R. W. B.*, *Zahlen*.—I. J.

NUMBERS is the appellation given to the fourth book of Moses, which in the Septuagint is called *Ἀριθμοί*, and in the Hebrew canon במדבר *be-midbar*, 'in the desert.'

CONTENTS.—This book embraces more especially the continuation of the Sinaitic legislation, the march through the wilderness, the rejection of a whole generation, and the commencement of the conquest of Canaan. Thus we see that it treats on very different subjects, and on this account it has frequently been attempted to resolve it into separate fragments and documents, and to represent it as being composed of the most heterogeneous materials. We will endeavour to refute this opinion, by furnishing an accurate survey of its contents, and by describing the internal connection of its component parts, so that the organisation of the book may be clearly understood.

The sum and substance of the law having been stated in the preceding books, that of Numbers commences with the arrangements requisite for preserving good order in the camp of the Israelites. The people are numbered for the express purpose of separating the Levites from those Israelites who had to bear arms, and of thus introducing into practice the law concerning the first-born, for whom the tribe of Levi became a substitute. For this reason the people are not merely numbered, but also classed according to their descent; the order which each tribe should occupy in the camp is defined; and the Levites are introduced into their respective functions (ch. i.-iv.)

The camp, having been consecrated, was to be kept pure according to the law of Levitical cleans-

ings; consequently all persons were excluded from it who were afflicted with leprosy, who had become unclean by a flux, and who had touched a corpse (ch. v. 1-4).

Thus, after civil and sacerdotal life had been brought into a definite form, other laws based upon this form came into force, especially those laws which regulated the authority of the priests in civil affairs (ch. v. 5; vi. 27). These regulations conclude with the beautiful form of benediction which indicates the blessing to be expected from the true observance of the preceding directions. The people are impressed with this fact; the hearts of the Israelites are willing to offer the required gifts, and to entrust them to the Levites.

Jehovah is faithful to his promise, and gloriously reveals himself to his people (ch. vii.) Before the Levites enter upon the discharge of their sacred functions, the law concerning the lamps to be lighted in the sanctuary is significantly repeated (ch. viii.) These lamps symbolize the communication of the Holy Spirit, and bring to the recollection of the nation the blessings of theocracy to be derived from setting apart the tribe of Levi, which had recently been separated from the rest of the people.

Then follows a description of the celebration of the Passover, preparatory to the departure of the people from Mount Sinai (ch. ix. 1-14). Some regulations are connected with the celebration of the Passover, and the whole miraculous guidance of the people is described (ch. ix. 15-x.)

Thus the entrance of Israel into the Holy Land seemed to be fully prepared; and it was of great importance to show how they were prevented from entering it. Accurate details are therefore given of the spirit which pervaded the nation; a spirit which, in spite of the forbearance of God, manifested itself in daring rebellions against the divine authority (ch. xi. and xii.)

Now comes the turning-point of the history. Everything seems externally prepared for the conquest of the country, when it appears that the nation are not yet internally ripe for the performance of so important an act (ch. xiii., xiv.)

In immediate connection with this are some laws which were given in the desert; the intention of which was to recal to the recollection of the rejected race, which had been justly condemned to suffer severe punishment, that nevertheless they had not ceased to be the people of the covenant, and the depository of divine revelation (comp. ch. xv. 2, 13-16, 22, 23, 37, *seq.*) In this respect the facts mentioned in ch. xv. 32-36, and ch. xvi., are also of great importance. They show, on the one hand, the continuance of an evil disposition in the people, and, on the other, the majesty of God watching over his holy law.

The contents of ch. xv.-xix. are of a similar character. The facts there recorded relate to a period of thirty-eight years. The conciseness with which they are stated significantly indicates the strictly legal and theocratical principles of the Mosaic legislation. The period of Israel's rejection is characterised by the circumstance, that the historian is almost silent respecting it, as being a period not strictly belonging to theocratical history. During this period the striking deeds of God, his miracles and signs, the more prominent operations of his grace, and his peculiar blessings, cease. The rejection of the nation consisted in this suspension

<sup>\*</sup> The *Var. Lec.*, which gives 616, is commonly, and on sufficient grounds, rejected.

of the divine operations. During this period God, as it were, ignored his people. Consequently, the historian also almost ignores the rebellious race. But the period in which the divine promises were to be fulfilled again forms a prominent portion of the history. The termination of the penal period is the commencement of the most important era in the Mosaic history. It brings the legislation to a splendid conclusion. The most glorious facts here follow each other in close succession; facts which were intended clearly to demonstrate that the chosen people entered into the land of promise, not by their own power and might, but that this land was given into their hands by the God of promise.

Miriam was already dead; and the forty years of wandering in the wilderness were accomplished. Israel was again in sight of the Holy Land on the borders of Edom. Then Moses and Aaron also sinned; soon after, Aaron died, and was succeeded by Eleazar. Israel sent ambassadors to the king of Edom to obtain permission to pass through his territory, but was haughtily refused (ch. xx.) Everything seemed to be prepared by preceding events already recorded. The dying off of the real emigrants from Egypt might be expected, after the divine decree that this should come to pass had been mentioned; the unbelief of Moses arose from the protracted duration of the time of punishment, which at length broke his courage; the spirit of Edom arose in overbearing animosity, because it seemed that Jehovah had forsaken his people. It was appointed that Israel should undergo all this in order that they might grow strong in the Lord. Their strength was soon proved against Arad. They vowed to devote all the cities of the Canaanites to Jehovah, who gave them the victory. They were directed to avoid the boundaries of Edom, and to have Canaan alone in view. The people murmured, and the significant symbol of the serpent was erected before them, reminding them of their ancient sin, and how it had been healed and overcome by Jehovah. In all this Israel is constantly directed to Canaan. They march courageously to the boundaries of the Amorites, singing praises to Jehovah, and, by the power of the Lord, defeat the kings of Heshbon and Bashan (ch. xxi.)

In the plains of Moab still greater glory awaits the chosen people. The pagan prophet of Mesopotamia, being hired by the king of the Moabites, is overpowered by Jehovah, so that he is compelled to bless Israel instead of cursing them; and also directs them to the ancient blessings granted to the patriarchs. The bitterest enemies of the theocracy are here most deeply humbled, being themselves compelled to contribute to the glory of Jehovah (ch. xxii.-xxiv.) Not the God, but the people of Israel, were dishonoured through the devices of Balaam.

The subsequent account concerning the idolatry into which the people were led, forms a striking contrast with the preceding chapters, and evinces the impotence of the Israelites, whose first attack, therefore, was to be directed against their seducers. This was to be the beginning of the conquest of Canaan, which was essentially a combat against idolatry, and the victory of the kingdom of God over paganism. The conquered country was granted to separate tribes, and for this purpose the people were once more numbered, and Joshua appointed their leader.

Jehovah reserves his own rights in the distribution of the country, and Israel is directed not to forget the sacrifices to the Lord, the sabbaths, festivals, and vows; the ordinances concerning which are here briefly repeated, inculcated, and completed.

The people shall certainly gain the victory, but only in strict communion with Jehovah. Thus begins the combat against Midian, according to the directions of the law, and forming as it were a prototype of the later combats of Israel against pagan powers (ch. xxv.-xxxi.)

This was the last external work of Moses. Henceforth his eye is directed only to the internal affairs of his people. An entrance has been effected into the country, and the conquered territory is divided among two tribes and a half-tribe (ch. xxxii.)

Moses reminds the people of Jehovah's guidance in the wilderness, and of the manner in which the whole land was to be conquered. He commands the destruction of the Canaanites and of their idolatry. He appoints to what extent the land is to be conquered, and in what manner it should be divided; also the towns to be granted to the Levites, and the cities of refuge. He establishes also the statute, which was of great importance for the preservation of landed property, that an heiress should marry only within her own tribe (ch. xxxiii.-xxxvi.)

There have frequently been raised strong doubts against the historical credibility of the book of Numbers, although it is impressed with indubitable marks of the age to which it refers, and of perfect authenticity. The numerical statements in ch. i.-iv. are such that they repel every suspicion of forgery. There could apparently be no motive for any fabrication of this description. The numbering of the people is in perfect harmony with Exod. xxxviii. 26. The amount is here stated in round numbers, because a general survey only was required. When requisite, the more exact numbers are also added (ch. iii. 39, 43). A later *falsarius*, or forger, would certainly have affected to possess the most exact knowledge of those circumstances, and consequently would have given, not round, but particularly definite numbers.

The account of the setting apart of the tribe of Levi has been especially urged as bearing the marks of fiction; but this account is strongly confirmed by the distribution of the cities of the Levites (Num. xxxv. ; Josh. xxi.) This distribution is an undeniable fact, and the existence of these Levitical towns may be appealed to as a document proving that the Levites were really set apart. Our opponents have vainly endeavoured to find contradictions, for instance, in the system of tithing (Num. xviii.), which, they say, is not mentioned in Deuteronomy, where the tithes are applied to different purposes (Deut. xii. 6, 7, 17-19 ; xiv. 22, *seq.* ; xxvi. 12-15). But there were two sorts of tithes; one appointed for the maintenance of the Levites, and the other to defray the expenses of public banquets, of which the Levites also partook on account of their position in society (comp. Neh. xiii. 10 ; Tobit i. 7).

It has also been asserted that the book of Numbers contradicts itself in ch. iv. 2, 3, and ch. viii. 24, with respect to the proper age of Levites for doing duty. But the first of these passages speaks about carrying the tabernacle, and the second about performing sacred functions in the



tabernacle. To carry the tabernacle was heavier work, and required an age of thirty years. The functions within the tabernacle were comparatively easy, for which an age of twenty-five years was deemed sufficient.

The opinions of those writers who deem that the book of Numbers had a mythical character, are in contradiction with passages like x. 26, *seq.*, where Chobab is requested by Moses to aid the march through the wilderness. Such passages were written by a conscientious reporter, whose object was to state facts, who did not confine himself merely to the relation of miracles, and who does not conceal the natural occurrences which preceded the marvellous events in ch. xi. *seq.* How are our opponents able to reconcile these facts? Here again they require the aid of a new hypothesis, and speak of fragments loosely connected.

The author of the book of Numbers proves himself to be intimately acquainted with Egypt. The productions mentioned in ch. xi. 5 are, according to the most accurate investigations, really those which in that country chiefly served for food.

In ch. xiii., xxii., we find a notice concerning Zoan (Tanis), which indicates an exact knowledge of Egyptian history, as well in the author as in his readers. In ch. xvii. 2, where the writing of a name on a stick is mentioned, we find an allusion characteristic of Egyptian customs (compare Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, i. p. 388).

The history of the rebellion of the sons of Korah (xvi. 17) has certainly some colouring of the marvellous, but it nevertheless bears the stamp of truth. It is absurd to suppose that a poet who wrote ch. xvii. 6, *seq.*, in order to magnify the priestly dignity, should have represented the Levites themselves as the chief authors of these criminal proceedings. This circumstance is the more important, because the descendants of Korah (Num. xxvi. 11) became afterwards one of the most distinguished Levitical families. In this position we find them as early as the times of David; so that it is inconceivable how anybody should have entertained the idea of inventing a crime to be charged upon one of the ancestors of this illustrious family.

Many vestiges of antiquity are found in ch. xxi. The whole chapter, indeed, bears a characteristically antique impress, which manifests itself in all those ancient poems which are here communicated only in fragments, so far as was required for the illustration of the narrative. Even such critical sceptics as De Wette consider these poems to be relics of the Mosaic period. But they are so closely connected with history, as to be unintelligible without a knowledge of the facts to which they refer.

Narratives like the history of Balaam (xxii., xxiv.) furnish also numerous proofs of their high antiquity. These confirmations are of the greatest importance, on account of the many marvellous and enigmatical points of the narrative. Compare, for instance, the geographical statements, which are uncommonly accurate, in ch. xxii. 1, 36, 39; xxiii. 14, 15, 27, 28. See Hengstenberg's *Geschichte Bileams*, Berlin 1842, p. 221, *seq.*

The nations particularly mentioned in Balaam's prophecy—the Amalekites, Edomites, Moabites, and Kenites—belong to the Mosaic period. In ch. xxiv. 7, it is stated that the king of Israel would be greater than Agag; and it can be proved that

Agag was a standing title of the Amalekite princes, and that, consequently, there is no necessity to refer this declaration to that king Agag whom Saul vanquished. The Kenites, at a later period, disappeared entirely from history. A prophet from Mesopotamia was likely to make particular mention of Assur (ch. xxiv. 22). There is also a remarkable prediction, that persons sailing from the coast of Chittim should subdue Assur and Eber (ch. xxiv. 23). The inhabitants of the west should vanquish the dwellers in the east. The writers who consider the predictions of Balaam to be *vaticinia post eventum*, bring us down to so late a period as the Grecian age, in which the whole passage could have been inserted only under the supposition of most arbitrary dealings with history. The truth of the Biblical narrative here asserts its power. There occur similar accounts, in which it is strikingly evident that they proceeded from the hands of an author contemporary with the events; for instance, ch. xxxii., in which the distribution of the trans-Jordanic territory is recorded. Even the account, which has so frequently been attacked, concerning the Havoth-jair, the small towns, or rather tent villages of Jair (xxxii. 41, 42; compare Judg. x. 4, and Deut. iii. 14),—even this account, we say, is fully justified by a closer examination.

The list of stations in ch. xxxiii. is an important document, which could not have originated in a poetical imagination. This list contains a survey of the whole route of the Israelites, and mentions individual places only in case the Israelites abode there for a considerable period. It is not the production of a diligent compiler, but rather the original work of an author well versed in the circumstances of that period. A later author would certainly have avoided the appearance of some contradictions, such as that in Num. xxxiii. 30, 31, comp. with Deut. x. 6. This contradiction may best be removed, by observing that the book of Numbers speaks of the expedition of the Israelites in the second year of their wanderings, and the book of Deuteronomy, of their expedition in the fortieth year. The list of stations contains also important historical notices; those, for instance, in ch. xxxiii. 4, 9, 14, 38. These notices demonstrate the accurate historical information of the author.

We still dwell for a moment on the consideration of the great fact, which is the basis of the narrative of the whole book—namely, the sojourn of the Israelites during forty years in the wilderness. The manner in which the narrator states this fact, we have mentioned above. A view so strictly theocratical, and a description so purely objective, are most befitting the lawgiver himself. Modern criticism has chiefly taken offence at the statement that Jehovah had announced all this as a punishment to be inflicted upon the people. This, they say, is incomprehensible. However, the fact stands firm, that the Israelites really abode forty years in the wilderness. This fact is proved in the Scriptures by many other testimonies. Hence arises the question, how this protracted abode was occasioned, and what induced Moses to postpone or give up the conquest of Canaan. De Wette says that such resignation, in giving up a plan to which one has devoted the full half of a life, is not human. Göthe asserted, that by such a representation the picture of Moses is entirely disfigured. All this renders the problem of our opponents the more difficult. De Wette says, 'Who knows what happened in

that long period?' This question would amount to a confession of our entire ignorance concerning what was most important, and what is the real turning-point of the history of Israel, and would make an enormous and most striking gap in universal history. It is incredible that no tradition should have been preserved, in which was told to posterity what was here most important, even if it should only have been in a very disfigured form. It is incredible that what was most important should have been passed by, and that there should have been communicated only what was comparatively insignificant. If this were the case, the traditions of Israel would form a perfectly isolated phenomenon. Thus the history of Israel itself would be something incomprehensible. Either the history is inconceivable, or the astounding fact is, indeed, a truth. And so it is. The resignation of Moses, and the sojourn of the people in the wilderness, can be explained only by assuming an extraordinary divine intervention. A merely natural interpretation is here completely futile. The problem can only be solved by assuming that the whole proceeded from the command of God, which is unconditionally obeyed by his servant, and to which even the rebellious people must bow, because they have amply experienced that without God they can do nothing.

For the works relative to Numbers, see the article PENTATEUCH.—H. A. C. H.

NUN (נֹן; in Syr. and Arab., *a fish*), the father of Joshua, who is hence constantly called Joshua ben-Nun, 'Joshua, the son of Nun.' Nothing is known of the person who bore this name. The Sept. constantly uses the form *Navi*, which appears to have arisen from an error of an earlier copyist (NATH for NATN). From the forms *Naβh* and *Naβi*, found in some MSS., it would seem that later transcribers supposed this *Navi* to be the pronunciation of the Hebrew נָבִי. It is from this error of the Sept. that some of our old versions have 'Joshua the son of Naue.'—J. K.

NURSE (מִינִיקָה, part. in Hiph. of נָקָה, *to suckle*; Sept. and N. T. τροφός; Aq. τιθηνός, Gen. xxiv. 59: אֵמֶת; Sept. τιθηνός). The custom was for Hebrew women to suckle their own children; but sometimes, as when the mother had died, or was feeble in health, or was careful to preserve her personal charms, this duty was devolved upon a servant (1 Kings xi. 2; 2 Maccab. i. 20, τιθηνός). From being nurse she sometimes became the curatrix of those she had nursed, especially when they were infirm (2 Sam. iv. 4), and in some cases seems to have become permanently attached to their person (Gen. xxiv. 58). That nurses were also employed in Egyptian families may be inferred from Exod. ii. 7. As among other nations (comp. the case of Eurycleia in the family of Odysseus, Hom. *Od.* ii. 361, etc.; Caieta the nurse of Æneas, Virg. *Æn.* vii. 1-5; the nurse in the family of Medea, Eurip. *Med.* 48, etc.; the nurse of Phædra, Eurip. *Hippol.* 17, ff., etc.), the position of nurse in the Hebrew households was one of honour and esteem (Gen. xxv. 8). The title 'nurse' is also given to a foster-mother (Ruth iv. 16; Is. xlix. 23; A. V. 'nursing mothers'). The masc. 'nursing father' (אֵמֶת, τιθηνός) is also used of those who undertook the care and education of children not their own (Num. xi. 12; 2 Kings x. 1; Is. xlix. 23).—W. L. A.

NUTS. [BOTNIM; EGOZ.]

NYMPHAS (Νυμφᾶς), a Christian at Laodicea, in whose house a portion of the believers were wont to assemble as an ecclesia or church (Col. iv. 15). There is no need for supposing with Grotius and others that *all* the Christians in Laodicea belonged to this society (the context, indeed, implies the contrary); nor is there any ground for the opinion of Chrysostom that the ecclesia consisted of the family of Nymphas. The congregation of believers in private houses for regular worship and service was not uncommon in the primitive age (comp. Rom. xvi. 5; 1 Cor. xvi. 19; Philem. 2). Lachmann follows the Cod. Vat. (B) in reading *αὐτῆς*, thus taking Nymphas for a female; but this reading is not supported by any other authority, except that of one minuscule codex (67\*), which generally agrees with Cod. B. This and the received reading *αὐτοῦ*, which Tischendorf retains, are probably corrections, arising from the difficulty presented by the plural; a difficulty, however, which may easily be got over by understanding the words of Nymphas and his family (*constructio κατὰ σύνεσιν*, comp. Kühner, *Gr. Gr.*, sec. 419 b), or *αὐτῶν* may refer to the ἀδελφοί.—W. L. A.

O.

OAK. [ALAH; ALLON.]

OATH, an appeal to God or to authorities recognised by the respective adjurers, or to anything esteemed sacred, in attestation of an assertion or in confirmation of a given promise or a duty undertaken.

1. *Signification of the name, and classification of*

*Oaths.*—The two words אֵלֶּה שְׁבוּעָה used in the Hebrew Scriptures to express *oath* or *swearing*, are by no means synonymous. They denote two different modes of swearing, or rather two classes of oaths. Thus אֵלֶּה (from אָלַל, *to lament, to wail, to express woe*), properly means *the invocation of woe upon one's-self*, and shows that the mode of swearing which it describes was connected with an invocation of divine vengeance on the party, if the asseveration made were not true. Whilst שְׁבוּעָה (from שָׁבַע, *seven*) literally signifies *to seven one's-self, to produce seven, i.e.*, to make a declaration confirmed by seven victims, or before seven witnesses, because, as Ibn Ezra (comp. צִהּוֹת, p. 41 a), who is followed by most modern expositors and lexicographers, rightly remarks, seven animals were used in ancient times when mutual promises were given and when alliances were effected (Gen. xxi. 28-30). This is moreover confirmed by the practice of the ancient Arabians, who, in pledging their faith, drew blood by an incision made in their hands, and smeared it on seven stones (*Herod.* iii. 8). The primary distinction, therefore, between the two oaths is, that in the case of the former an imprecation was used, whilst in the latter no imprecation was employed. Hence in Num. v. 21, where an oath with an imprecation is described, the phrase שְׁבוּעַת הָאֵלֶּה is used, and the formula of imprecation is forthwith given.



2. *Occasions when, and the manner in which Oaths were taken.*—From time immemorial, the Hebrews used oaths both in private intercourse and public transactions. In private intercourse, or on extra-judicial occasions, oaths were taken or demanded when promises were made (2 Sam. xv. 21; xix. 23), or exacted (Gen. xxiv. 2-4, l. 5, 25; Josh. ii. 12-21; vi. 26; ix. 15; Ezra x. 5); when covenants were concluded (Gen. xxxi. 53; 2 Kings xi. 4; 1 Maccab. vii. 15; Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. i. 2); when a solemn asseveration was made (Gen. xiv. 22; Judg. xxi. 1-7; 1 Sam. xiv. 39, 44; xix. 6); and when allegiance to God, fealty to a sovereign, or obedience from an inferior to a superior, was professed (1 Kings xviii. 10; 2 Kings xi. 17; 1 Chron. xi. 3; xxix. 24; 2 Chron. xv. 14, 15; xxxvi. 13; Eccles. viii. 2; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 1; xv. 10. 4). Public or judicial oaths are demanded by the Mosaic law on the four following occasions:—*i.* When goods, deposited with any one, are stolen or destroyed, the depositary is to take an oath that he is not guilty in the loss, and the proprietor is bound to accept it without restitution (Exod. xxii. 10, 11; 1 Kings viii. 31; 2 Chron. vi. 22). *ii.* When one is suspected of having found or otherwise come into possession of lost property, he is to take an oath, and thereby clear himself of the charge (Lev. vi. 3). *iii.* When a wife is suspected of incontinence, she is required to clear herself by an oath (Num. v. 19-22); and *iv.* When a theft is committed, or an injury sustained, and the offender remains undetected, a judicial oath is to be imposed upon the whole community, or every one is adjured to make known the criminal, and if any one knows the culprit and refuses to make him known after hearing this public adjuration, he bears the guilt (Lev. v. 1; Judg. xvii. 2; Prov. xxix. 24).

As to the forms of oaths and the manner in which they were taken, the Jews appealed to God with or without an imprecation in such phrases as 'God do so, and more also if,' etc. (1 Sam. xiv. 44); 'As the Lord liveth' (1 Sam. xiv. 39; xix. 6; 2 Sam. xv. 21; 1 Kings xviii. 10); 'As the Lord liveth, and as thy soul liveth' (1 Sam. xx. 3); 'The Lord be between thee and me for ever' (1 Sam. xx. 23); 'The God of Abraham judge between us' (Gen. xxxi. 53). The Jews also swore 'By Heaven,' 'By the Earth,' 'By the Sun,' 'By Jerusalem,' 'By the Temple' (*Mishna, Shebuoth*, iv. 2; Matt. v. 34; xxiii. 16; *Berachoth*, 55; *Kiddushin*, 71 a; Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chesaka, Hilchoth Shebuoth*, xii.); 'by the Angels' (Joseph. *Wars*, ii. 16. 4); by the lives of distinguished persons (Gen. xlii. 15; 1 Sam. i. 26; xvii. 55; 2 Sam. xi. 11; xiv. 19). The external manners observed when taking an oath are as follows:—Originally an oath of a covenant was taken by solemnly sacrificing seven animals, or it was attested by seven witnesses or pledges, consisting either of so many animals presented to the contracting party, or of memorials erected to testify to the act, as is indicated by one of the Hebrew names for oath (*שבועה*), which properly denotes seven, and by the verb to swear (*נשבע*), which means to seven, to produce seven (comp. Gen. xxi. 28-31; Knobel, *Comment. on Gen. in loco*). Another primitive custom which obtained in the patriarchal age, was that the one who took the oath, 'put his hand under the thigh' of the adjurer (Gen. xxiv. 2; xlvii. 29). This practice evidently arose from the fact that the gen-

tal member, which is meant by the euphemic expression 'thigh' (*ירך*), was regarded as the most sacred part of the body, being the symbol of union in the tenderest relation of matrimonial life, and the seat whence all issue proceeds, and the perpetuity so much coveted by the ancients (comp. the phrase *ירך* 'ירצה', Gen. xlv. 26; Exod. i. 5; Judg. viii. 30). Hence this creative organ became the symbol of the Creator, and the object of worship among all nations of antiquity (comp. Ezek. xvi. 17; St. Jerome, *Comment. in Hos.* iv.; Nork, *Etymologisch-symbolisch-mythologisches Real-Wörterbuch*, s. v. *Phalluscultus*; Pauly, *Real-Encyclopädie d. classischen Alterthumswissenschaft*, s. v. *Phallus*); and it is for this reason that God claimed it as the sign of the covenant between Himself and his chosen people in the rite of circumcision. Nothing, therefore, could render the oath more solemn in those days than touching the symbol of creation, the sign of the covenant, and the source of that issue who may, at any future period, avenge the breaking of a compact made with their progenitor. To this effect is the explanation of the Midrash, the Chaldee paraphrase of Jonathan b. Uzziel, Rashi, and the oldest Jewish expositors, though it simply specifies the covenant of circumcision. Further from the point is the opinion of Ibn Ezra, followed by Rosenmüller and others, that it is used as a symbol of submission on the part of the servant to his master. 'It appears to me more probable,' says Ibn Ezra, 'that it was the custom of those days for a servant to place his hand on his master's thigh; and the meaning of the phrase is: Now if thou art under my subjection, put thy hand on my thigh. The master sat with [the servant's] hand on his thigh, as if saying, Behold my hand is in subjection to thee to execute thy will. And this custom still obtains in India' (*Comment. on Gen.* xxiv. 2). More unnatural is the explanation of Grotius, that Eliezer put his hand on Abraham's thigh, where the sword was hanging (Ps. xlv. 3), as much as to say, 'If I falsify my word, may I perish by thy sword;' or that of Michaelis, that it alludes to a supposed custom of pressing blood from the hand by putting it under the thigh. The more general custom, however, was to lift up the right hand towards heaven, pointing to the throne of Him who is invoked as witness to the truth, and avenger of falsehood (Gen. xiv. 22; Deut. xxxii. 40; Dan. xii. 7; Rev. x. 5, 6). Hence the phrase, 'to lift up the hand,' came to denote to swear, to take an oath, and is even applied to the Deity (Exod. vi. 8; Ps. cvi. 26; Ezek. xx. 5). These practices chiefly refer to oaths taken in private intercourse, or on extra-judicial occasions. The manner in which a judicial oath was taken is thus described in the Jewish codes: 'The oath-taker held the scroll of the Law in his arms, stood up and swore either by the name of God or by any one of his attributes,

with or without an imprecation (*בשבועה או בנאלה*), uttering it either by himself or repeating it after the judge, and this judicial oath, according to the enactment of our Rabbins, had to be taken in the Hebrew language. If he pronounced the oath by himself, and without an imprecation, he said, 'I swear by Jehovah the God of Israel, or by Him who is merciful, or by Him who is compassionate, that I owe nothing to this man;' and if with an imprecation, he said, 'Behold I am accused of Jehovah, or of Him who is merciful, if I possess



anything belonging to this man.' And if the judges spoke the oath, they said to him: 'We adjure thee by Jehovah, the God of Israel, or by Him who is merciful, that thou hast nothing which belongs to that man.' To which he replied 'Amen!' Or they said: 'Behold A the son of so and so is accused of Jehovah the God of Israel, or of Him who is merciful, if he has any money in his possession and does not confess it to the owner;' and he responded, 'Amen!' (Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chezaka, Hilchoth Shebuoth*, xi. 8-10). Instead of holding the Law, the oath-taker was also allowed to touch the phylacteries (Maimonides, *ibid.*) This simple response, *Amen* (אָמֵן), or *Thou hast said it* (σὺ εἶπας), which was all that was required to constitute an oath in case any one was adjured (Num. v. 19; *Mishna Shebuoth*, iii. 11; iv. 3), explains the reply of our Saviour (Matt. xxvi. 63, 64).

3. *Import and sanctity of an Oath.*—The only oath enacted in the Mosaic code is a clearance oath, i. e., the prosecutor is not to be put on his oath to prove the guilt of the accused, but the defendant is to swear and thereby clear himself of the charge or suspicion (Exod. xxii. 11; Lev. v. 1; vi. 3; Num. v. 19-22). Hence the great care exercised in inculcating the sanctity of oaths, and the heavy punishment for perjury or frivolous swearing (Exod. xx. 7; Lev. xix. 12; Deut. xix. 16-19; Ps. xv. 4; Jer. v. 2; vii. 9; Ezek. xvi. 59; Hos. x. 4; Zech. viii. 17; *Mishna Shebuoth*, iii. 11; iv. 3). Hence the Jewish canons enacted that when the demand of the prosecutor is very trifling, the defendant's simple denial is sufficient, and he cannot be compelled to take the judicial oath to clear himself (*Mishna Shebuoth*, vi. 1-3). For the same reason it is enacted that when the complainant is deaf and dumb, silly, or a minor, the defendant need not take the oath, because such people, not being able to appreciate the solemnity of the oath, may multiply swearing on too trivial grounds; and that a minor is not to be asked to take an oath (*Shebuoth*, vi. 4). Women, though forbidden to bear witness on oath (Deut. xix. 17 with *Mishna Shebuoth*, iv. 1), may take the clearance oath (*Mishna, ibid.*, v. 1). If one simply says to another, 'I adjure thee,' the oath is valid; but if any one swears by heaven, earth, Jerusalem, or any other creature, the oath is invalid (*Mishna, Shebuoth*, iv. 13). As this oath could be taken with impunity, it became very common among the Jews, who thought that because it involved nothing it meant nothing. Hence the remarks of our Saviour (Matt. v. 34-36; xxiii. 16-22). If any one swears frivolously, which is defined by the Jewish canons as follows: if he swears that something is different to what it is known to be, *ex. gr.*, if he says that a stone pillar is gold, that a woman is a man; or if it is about anything impossible, that he saw a camel flying in the air; or if any one says to witnesses, 'Come and give testimony to what you have seen,' and they say, 'We swear that we will not bear witness' (Lev. v. 1); or if one swears to transgress a commandment, *ex. gr.*, not to make a tabernacle, or not to put on phylacteries: this is a frivolous oath, for which, if taken deliberately, the man must be scourged (*Mishna, Shebuoth*, iii. 8). So great was the sanctity with which the pious Jews, prior to the days of Christ, regarded an oath, that they discountenanced swearing altogether (comp. Ecclus. xxiii. 11, etc.; and especially Philo, *de decem oraculis*, sec. xvii., Opp. tom. ii., p. 194, etc., ed. Mangey). The Phari-

sees took great care to abstain from oaths as much as possible (comp. *Shebuoth*, 39 b; *Gittin*, 35 a; *Midrash Rabba* on Num. xxii.), whilst the Essenes laid it down as a principle not to swear at all, but to say yea yea, and nay nay. How firmly and conscientiously they adhered to it, may be seen from the fact that Herod, who, on ascending the throne had exacted an oath of allegiance from all the rest of the Jews, was obliged to absolve the Essenes from it (comp. Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 10. 4; Ginsburg, *The Essenes, their History and Doctrines*, Longman 1864, p. 34). Whether our Saviour's prohibition of swearing (Matt. v. 33-37) refers to the same total abstinence from all judicial oaths, or to profane and careless oaths, is a matter of dispute.

4. *Literature.*—The Mishna, *Tractate Shebuoth*; Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chezaka, Hilchoth Shebuoth*, vol. iii., p. 1, ff.; Lightfoot, *Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations on Matt.* v. 33; Frankel, *Die Eidesleistung der Juden in theologischer und historischer Beziehung*, 2d ed., Breslau 1847; by the same author, *Der gerichtliche Beweis nach Mosaisch-talmudischen Rechte*, Berlin 1846, p. 304, ff.; Saalschütz, *Das Mosaische Recht*, Berlin 1853, p. 608, ff.; Ewald, *Die Alterthümer des Volkes Israel*, Göttingen 1854, p. 15, ff.—C. D. G.

OBADIAH (עֲבַדְיָהוּ and עֲבַדְיָה, *servant of Jehovah*), the name of several persons mentioned in Scripture.

1. (Sept. Ὀβδίου.) One of the minor prophets. Of his history nothing certain is known. Some have inferred, from ver. 20th of his prophecy, that he lived and wrote while Jerusalem was under the power of the Chaldeans, and after the deportation of its inhabitants to Babylon, and that he was probably himself one of the exiles; but this inference rests on an assumption which, as will be seen afterwards, is questionable. The attempts to identify him with one or other of the persons of the same name mentioned in Scripture are mere unfounded conjectures. Entirely baseless also is the suggestion of Augusti (*Einleit.* sec. 225), that עֲבַדְיָה, in the title of this prophecy, is an appellative = *a servant of Jehovah* or 'some pious person;' for the word is never so used, and all the ancient versions give it as a proper name; nor is there any ground for the assertion of Abarbanel, that he was an Idumæan who, on becoming a proselyte to Judaism, took the name of servant or worshipper of Jehovah (*Praef. in Ezech.*, p. 153, col. 4; see also Jarchi on ver. 1. of the Prophecy).

Obadiah's prophecy stands the fourth in order among the minor prophets in the Hebrew, and the fifth in the LXX. It is very short, but there is no reason to regard it (with Eichhorn and others) as only a fragment of a longer writing. It is a compact and complete composition, and has no appearance of having been detached from another work. De Wette suggests that it was probably called forth by the exultation of the Edomites over the fall of Jerusalem; but Hengstenberg (*Gesch. Bileams*, p. 253), Hävernick (*Einleit.* ii. 321), and Caspari (*Der Proph. Obadja*), whilst admitting that the prophecy relates to the time of the captivity, would assign an earlier date to its composition; placing that in the reign of Uzziah, and regarding the reference to the Chaldean invasion as prophetic. This is a medium position between that of those who assign an early date to the composition



as Hoffmann (*Weissagung und Erfüllung*, i. 201), who makes Obadiah the oldest of the prophets and the contemporary of king Joram; and that of those who assign to it a post-exilic date. For this medium date there is much to be said. That the prophecy was written before the taking of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, seems probable from the language of warning addressed to the Edomites (12-14), not to exult over the fall of that city, a strain which would have been inappropriate if the city had already been captured and their exultation passed. Again, certain passages in this prophecy so closely resemble passages in the prophecies of Jeremiah (comp. Obad. 1, 3, 8, 9, 11, 16 with Jer. xlix. 7-22), that one of these prophets must have seen and quoted from the writing of the other. Now, in favour of the originality and priority of Obadiah, it may be urged—1. That in Obadiah the prophecy against Edom forms a complete and rounded whole, while the similar passages in Jeremiah are less connected, and have the appearance of detached quotations. 2. Whilst in the passages of Jeremiah relating to Edom, which are not to be found in Obadiah, there are many expressions peculiar to the former; in those which are common to both there are none such, which gives to the passages in Jeremiah the aspect of being borrowed. 3. The variations of expression in the passages compared indicate on the part of Jeremiah the operation of a correcting hand, as *ex. gr.*, in the substitution of the easier שְׂמַעְתִּי (Jer. xlix. 14) for the more difficult שְׂמַעְתִּי (Obad. 1), and the absence of the explanatory הַתְּקַבֵּץ of Jeremiah from the passage in Obadiah; and in the substitution of the paraphrastic expression מְרוֹם גְּבוּעָה by Jeremiah (ver. 16) for the less easily construed words מְרוֹם שְׂבָתוֹ of Obadiah (ver. 3), etc. 4. The analogy of other prophecies of Jeremiah against foreign nations, which are generally based on the utterances of other prophets. These considerations render it probable that Jeremiah had the prophecy of Obadiah before him when he wrote the passages referred to; in which case Obadiah must have been anterior to him. The position of the book of Obadiah, also, in the canon, between that of Amos and that of Jonah, gives a traditional evidence of his being the contemporary of these prophets. His style, moreover, is more that of the older than of the later prophets, a point which Ewald virtually admits when he resorts to the utterly unsupported conjecture of an early lost prophecy, which both Obadiah and Jeremiah have quoted (*Prophet.*, i. 399). And, in fine, there is nothing in the prophecy of Obadiah which betrays a later date than that of king Uziah; for to adduce the allusion to the destruction of Jerusalem in ver. 20, is simply, after the usual fashion of those who would impugn the predictive character of the ancient prophetic utterances, to reason in a circle, proving the late date of the prophecy by the assertion that it was written after the event, and proving that it was written after the event by the assertion of the late date of the prophecy. It may be added that whilst Obadiah seems to have borrowed some of his expressions from Joel and Amos (comp. Joel i. 15; iii. 3, 5, 17, with Obad. 11, 15; Amos ix. 2 with Obad. 4, and Amos ix. 12 with Obad. 19), and even from the early prophecy of Balaam (comp. ver. 18, 19, with

Num. xxiv. 18, 19; and ver. 4 with Num. xxiv. 21), there is no trace of quotation from or allusion to any later writer. This affords strong confirmation of the date above assigned to his writing.

The prophecy consists of three parts. In the first (1-9), the certainty of Edom's overthrow is asserted; in the second (10-16), the cause of this, in Edom's enmity and violence to his brother Jacob, is set forth; and in the third (17-21), the establishment of the kingdom of God, and its triumph over all opposition, is announced. In the concluding words: 'And the kingdom shall be Jehovah's,' we have the dominant idea of the book, the key-note of the prophet's song. And the assertion of this is made with peculiar force in contrast with the overthrow of Edom, because that people, though allied to Israel by natural ties, were among its bitterest and most inveterate enemies.

The style of Obadiah is animated, and his elocution rapid. He deals much in appeal and interrogation. The language is pure and idiomatic, and his utterances often highly poetic (Jahn, *Introd. in Libb. Sac. V. F.*, p. 400; Eichhorn, *Einl.*, ins *A. T.*, iii., sec. 569; De Wette, *Einl.*, sec. 235; Hävernick, *Einl.*, ii., sec. 241).

*Commentaries.*—Rainolds, 1613, 1864; Pfeiffer, Viteb. 1666, 1670; Schroer, Bresl. 1766; Schnurrer, Tüb. 1787, and in his *Dissert. Phil. Crit.*, Goth. 1790; Venema, in *Verschuir's Opuscula*, Ultraj. 1810; Hendewerk, 1836; Hitzig, 1838; Caspari, 1842; Henderson, 1845; Pusey, 1861.—W. L. A.

2. (Sept. Ἀβδίου) The governor of king Ahab's household, and high in the confidence of his master, notwithstanding his aversion to the idolatries which the court patronized. In the persecution raised by Jezebel, Obadiah hid one hundred of the Lord's prophets in caves, and supplied them secretly with nourishment during the famine. It was this person, when sent out to explore the country in the vain search of pasture unconsumed by the drought, whom Elijah encountered when about to show himself to Ahab, and who was reluctantly prevailed upon to conduct the prophet to his master (1 Kings xviii. 4-16). B.C. 906.

3. (Ἀβδία.) One of the heroes of the tribe of Gad, who joined David at Ziklag (1 Chron. xii. 9).

4. One of the nobles whom Jehoshaphat sent to teach in the cities of Judah (2 Chron. xvii. 7).

5. (Ἀβδίας.) One of the Levites who presided over the restoration of the temple under Josiah (2 Chron. xxxiv. 12).

6. (Ἀβδία.) The head of a party, consisting of 218 males, with females and children in proportion, who returned with Ezra from Babylon (Ezra viii. 9).

7. (Ἀβδία.) One of the priests who sealed the written covenant which Nehemiah caused the people to enter into (Neh. x. 5).

Other persons of this name occur in 1 Chron. iii. 21; vii. 3; viii. 38; ix. 16, 44; xxvii. 19; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 12.

OBAL (עובל, 'stripped'; Εὐάλ; *Ebal*), the seventh son of Joktan, and founder of one of the nomad tribes, the aboriginal inhabitants of Arabia (Gen. x. 28). In the Samaritan Pentateuch the name is written עִיבָל, as it is also in the genealogical list given in 1 Chron. (i. 22, omitted in Vat.; Alex. Γεμάν; *Hebal*). Bochart identifies Obal

with the *Abalites* or *Avalites* of classic geographers (Pliny, vi. 29; Ptolemy, iv. 7), who dwelt beside a gulf of the same name on the eastern coast of Africa, near the Straits of Bab el-Mandeb (Bochart, *Geogr. Sac.*, ii. 23; *Opera*, i. 123). They were a commercial people, largely employed in carrying the wares and products of Africa across the Red Sea to the cities on the Arabian coast, and returning with spices, which they conveyed to Diospolis and Lower Egypt (see Bochart, *l. c.*, and authorities quoted by him). There is certainly some resemblance in name between the Hebrew *Obal* and the classic *Abalites*. It is well known also that some tribes originally resident in Arabia have migrated to Africa. More than this, however, cannot be said in favour of Bochart's view, which is also adopted by Forster (*Geogr. of Arabia*, i. 148). This theory is much more probable than that which would identify Obal with GEBAL of Edom, the *Gobolitis* of Josephus (*Antiq.* ii. 1. 2). The two names are radically different (עובל and גבל), the latter being given to a district because it was 'mountainous' (Gesenius, *Thez.*, p. 981; Winer, *R. W.*, s. v.)—J. L. P.

OBED (עֹבֵד, *servant*; Sept. 'Ωβήδ, 'Ιωβήδ, 'Ωβήθ), son of Boaz and Ruth, and father of Jesse the father of David, according to the apparently incomplete genealogical list (Ruth iv. 17; 1 Chron. ii. 12). The name occurs in the genealogies of Matthew (i. 5) and Luke (iii. 32). Other persons of this name are mentioned 1 Chron. ii. 37, 38; xi. 47; xxvi. 7; 2 Chron. xxiii. 1.

OBED-EDOM (עֹבֵד אֶדֹם, *servant of Edom*; Sept. 'Αβεδδαρά in Sam.; 'Αβδεδδου in Chron.), a Levite in whose premises, and under whose care, the ark was deposited when the death of Uzzah caused David to apprehend danger in taking it further. It remained here three months, during which the family of Obed-edom so signally prospered, that the king was encouraged to resume his first intention, which he then happily carried into effect (2 Sam. vi. 10-12). Whether the Obed-edom who is mentioned 1 Chron. xvi. 38 as one of the guardians of the ark is the same as the above is not certain, but the strong probability is that he is so (comp. 1 Chron. xv. 24; xxvi. 5, with 2 Sam. vi. 11). The family of Obed-edom remained in the service of the Temple, and are found as guardians of its treasures in the reign of Amaziah (2 Chron. xxv. 24).

OBIL (אֹבִיל; Sept. 'Αβλας), an Ishmaelite, or Arab, doubtless of the nomad tribes, who had charge of the royal camels in the time of David—an exceedingly fit employment for an Arab (1 Chron. xxvii. 30). As *Abāl* means in Arabic 'a keeper of camels,' Bochart (*Hieroz.* ii. 2) reasonably infers that the person had his name from his office, which has always been a very common circumstance in the East.—J. K.

OBLATION. [OFFERING.]

OBOH (אֹבוּ, perhaps 'bottles,' from אֹב; 'Ωβω; *Oboth*), a station of the Israelites in the wilderness east of Moab. It was the first place in which they encamped after the setting up of the brazen serpent (Num. xxi. 10). It appears from the general itinerary in Num. xxxiii. 44, that Oboth

was only a single march distant from the border of Moab, for it is said 'they departed from Oboth, and pitched in Ijeabarim, in the border of Moab.' The site is unknown, and the region is unexplored.—J. L. P.

OCHIM (אֹחִים, pl. of אֹחַ), a species of animal classed with wild beasts of the desert, and described as haunting ruins (Is. xiii. 21, A. V. 'doleful creatures'). Various identifications have been suggested, such as *cats*, *weasels*, *apes*, etc.; but the view most generally entertained is that a species of owl is intended. The name is onomatopoeic from the interjection אֹחַ, and denotes some creature that makes a woful howling or screeching noise. This sound is very characteristic of the cry of the owl, which is somewhat like *augh-o*.—W. L. A.

ODED (עֹדֵד, *erecting*; Sept. 'Οδῆδ; Alex. 'Αδδδ). 1. Father of Azariah the prophet, who was commissioned to meet and encourage Asa on his return from defeating the Ethiopians (2 Chron. xv. 1-8). It curiously happens that the address which, at the commencement, is ascribed to Azariah, the son of Oded, is at the end ascribed to Oded himself (xv. 8). But this is supposed to have been a slip of copyists, and the versions read the latter verse like the former.

2. The prophet who remonstrated against the detention as captives of the persons whom the army of king Pekah had brought prisoners from Judah, and at whose suggestion they were handsomely treated, and conducted back with all tenderness and care to their own country (2 Chron. xxviii. 9).

ODEM (אֹדֶם; Sept. σάρδιον), one of the precious stones in the breastplate of the high-priest (Exod. xxviii. 17; xxxix. 10), and also mentioned in Ezek. xxviii. 13. In all these places it is rendered 'sardius' in the A. V., following the Septuagint and Josephus (*De Bell. Jud.* v. 5. 7), who, however, in *Antiq.* iii. 7. 6, makes it the sardonix (σαρδόνιξ). The sardius is the stone now called the carnelian, from its colour (*a carne*), which resembles that of raw flesh. The Hebrew name is derived from a root which signifies being red. The sardius or carnelian is of the flint family, and is a kind of chalcedony. The more vivid the red in this stone, the higher is the estimation in which it is held. It was anciently, as now, more frequently engraved on than any other stone. The ancients called it sardius, because Sardis in Lydia was the place where they first became acquainted with it; but the sardius of Babylon was considered of greater value (Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxvii. 7). The Hebrews probably obtained the carnelian from Arabia. In Yemen there is found a very fine dark-red carnelian, which is called *el-Akik* (Niebuhr, *Beschreib.*, p. 142). The Arabs wear it on the finger, on the arm above the elbow, and in the belt before the abdomen. It is supposed to stop hemorrhage when laid on a fresh wound.—J. K.

OECOLAMPADIUS, JOHANNES, was born at Weinsberg, a small town in the north of Wirtemberg, in 1482. His proper name was *Hussgen* or *Heussgen* (a diminutive from *Haus*, a house); not, as is generally stated, *Hausschein*, which seems to have been only a retranslation of Oecolampadius (Ullmann, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1845, p. 155, ff.) His early education he received at Heilbron, from



which he passed to the University of Bologna to study law; but his health failing him there, and his inclinations not favouring the pursuit of legal studies, he removed to Heidelberg, where he studied theology and the humanities. At a later period, he went to Tübingen, where he read Hesiod with Melancthon; thence he went to Stuttgart, where he prosecuted the study of Greek under Reuchlin; he then returned to Heidelberg, and there commenced the study of Hebrew under the tuition of a converted Jew named Adriani; and at length, stored with the treasures of learning he had acquired, he returned to his native town, and entered on clerical duties there. Not long after, he was invited to Basle, to be preacher in the minster, and there he assisted Erasmus in preparing his edition of the Greek N. T. He left Basle in 1518, having taken his degree as doctor, and became preacher at Augsburg. Whilst there, he surprised his friends by becoming a monk in April 1520; but as his leanings were strongly towards the Reformation party, it was not long before he found his position in the cloister uncongenial, and regretted the step he had taken. In February 1522, he made his escape from the bonds under which he had brought himself, and, after residing for some time at Heidelberg and other places, he returned to Basle, October 1522. Here the rest of his life was spent. Having been appointed a teacher in the University, he set himself to expound the prophecies of Isaiah, and his efforts in this direction were so successful, that not only multitudes of students crowded to his prelections, but many of the clergy and citizens were found amongst his hearers. Having now openly joined the reformers, he, in 1525, became pastor of one of the churches in Basle, and this gave him the opportunity of carrying forward the work of the Reformation, by abolishing the Romish ceremonies in his church, and instructing the people in the doctrines of the gospel. After a protracted conflict with the supporters of the old system, Oecolampadius remained master of the field; and the Reformation was established in Basle. He did not long survive his triumph. As the morning of the 24th of November 1531 dawned, he passed away, with the words 'Lord Jesus help me,' on his lips.

His contributions to Biblical literature are numerous. Besides editing and translating Theophylact on the Gospels, and several of the Homilies of Chrysostom and other patristic writings, he issued commentaries, more or less full, on Genesis, Job, Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, most of the minor prophets, Matthew, John, and the Epistle to the Hebrews. His philological attainments, and his knowledge of the Fathers, contributed to give to his exegetical labours a high value.—W. L. A.

OECUMENIUS, Bishop of Triceca in Thessaly, flourished in the close of the 10th century. He is chiefly known by his exegetical works on the Acts, the epistles of Paul, and the Catholic epistles. With Oecumenius originated the *Catenæ* [CATENÆ]; his commentaries are chiefly composed of extracts from the writings of the Fathers, with a few remarks of his own. 'The various explanations are linked together without regard to their agreement or contrariety, by such words as 'another' (ἄλλο), 'otherwise' (ἄλλως), 'and otherwise' (καὶ ἄλλως); and sometimes they amount to ten in one

place. The reader is generally left to choose for himself, for Oecumenius seldom prefers one to another. The method of interpretation is grammatical? (Davidson, *Hermeneutics*, p. 169). It is noticeable that he does not read 1 John v. 7; and that he reads θεός and not ὁς, 1 Tim. iii. 16. *Oecumenii Comm. in Acta App., in omnes Pauli Epp., in Epp. Cathol. omnes cum Arethæ Ennarai. in Apoc. Gr.*, Veronæ 1532, fol.; *cum Hentenii interp. lat.* ed. Fed. Morelli, Par. 1630-31, 2 vols. fol. See also Cramer, *Catenæ Græcorum Patrum in N. T.*, 8 vols. 8vo, Oxon. 1844.—W. L. A.

OFFERING. This word, as well as the German *Opfer*, like the Hebrew *Korban*, comprehends every sort of gift or sacrifice presented unto God.

I. Before entering minutely into the subject of this article, there are several words of general import and common use in the Bible relating to it, which require to be noticed:—

1. קָרַבַּן (from קָרַב, to approach, Hiph. to cause to approach, to bring near), LXX. δῶρον, θυσία, N. T. κορβάν, ὃ ἐστὶν δῶρον (Mark vii. 11) = something brought near unto God, an offering, bloody or unbloody, burnt wholly or in part; and hence, a gift presented unto God.

2. כִּנְהָה (from the obsolete root כָּנָה, donare), LXX. δῶρον, θυσία, ξένιον, προσφορά, σμειδάλis, θυσίασμα, a gift, a present (Gen. xxxii. 14), tribute (2 Sam. viii. 2, 6), sacrifice (Is. i. 13; Gen. iv. 4, 5). It is used, however, in an appropriated sense, of the meat-offering, of which more anon.

3. זָבַח (from זָבַח, to slay, to slaughter), LXX. σφάγιον, θυσία, θυσιάσμα, ὀλοκαύτωμα, a slaughter; then the slaying of animals in religious worship, the victim slain, a sacrifice. Opposed to bloodless offerings (1 Sam. ii. 29), and distinguished from burnt-offerings (Ps. xl. 7), it usually denotes a sacrifice partially consumed in the fire (Exod. x. 25; Lev. xvii. 8); but is sometimes used in a figurative sense (Ps. iv. 6; li. 19).

4. Θυσία (in N. T.), (from θύω, to slay), is used to denote animal sacrifices (Heb. vii. 27); the sacrifice of Christ (Heb. ix. 26; Eph. v. 3), and the spiritual sacrifices of the Christian priesthood (Rom. xii. 1; 1 Pet. ii. 5).

5. Προσφορά (from Προσφέρω, to bring near, offer, present), a gift, linked with alms (Acts xxiv. 17); an offering, as distinguished from a bloody offering (Eph. v. 3), the consecration of the Gentiles to God (Rom. xv. 16); animal sacrifices (Acts xxi. 26; Heb. x. 18); the sacrifice of Christ (Eph. v. 3).

II. Of living creatures, the Hebrews 'offered only these five kinds: bullocks, sheep, goats, turtles, pigeons. Their offering of other things were: tithe, first-fruits, flour, wine, oil, frankincense, salt' (Lightf. *Temp. Serv.* ch. viii.) The animals chosen were such as were the most useful, easily obtained, and fit for food; the birds, the gentlest of the gregarious and solitary kinds (Philo, *de An. ad Sac. ad.*) All must be without blemish or defect (Lev. xxii. 17-25); the most perfect of its kind. As to age, they must neither be too old nor too young (Outram, *Dis.* i. 9). No animal should be under eight days old (Exod. xxii. 30; Lev. xxii. 27); an animal of a year old is often specifically enjoined (Num. xxix. 29; Lev. ix. 3). According to Rabbinical tradition, a bullock should not be over three years old; that age was prescribed for

the victims offered by Abraham on one solemn occasion (Gen. xv. 9). A bullock of seven years old (Judg. vi. 25) is an exceptional case, having reference to the duration of the Midianitish oppression (Kurtz, sec. 34), and therefore not opposed to the Rabbinical tradition. The law, while making certain sacrifices imperative, and appointing the times for their presentation, left full scope for free-will offerings (Lev. vii. 16; xix. 5). In reference to animal sacrifices, the presentation, imposition of hands, and slaughtering, were common to them all. The offerer brought the victim to the door of the Tabernacle, and there, by solemn imposition of hands, presented it unto God as an atonement for his sin, or as a thank-offering for mercies received (Lev. i. 3, 4; iii. 1, 2; iv. 4). 'The person presenting the offering showed thereby,' says Kurtz, 'that he felt, and desired to put in practice, the wish, the need, or the obligation, to renew, to fortify, and give life, by means of such an offering, to his fellowship with his God, who revealed himself to him there.' The imposition of hands, according to the old Rabbinical and Patristic view, was expressive of the transfer of sin and guilt from the person sacrificing to the animal sacrificed. *Consecration*, according to others, is the meaning of the rite. *Solemn designation* to the appointed purpose seems the most natural and likely idea.

The Rabbins, according to Lightfoot, divided their sacrifices of living creatures into two kinds:

קדשים קדשים, the most holy, and קדשים קלים, those of inferior value. The former were: burnt, sin, and trespass-offerings, and the peace-offerings of the whole congregation; the latter, peace offerings of particular persons; paschal-lambs, firstlings, and tenths (Z. S., ch. viii.) But, for our purpose, a more simple and rational classification of sacrifices is preferable—namely, bloody and unbloody; a classification at once comprehensive and convenient.

I. BLOODY OFFERINGS, or sacrifices proper. These we shall notice in the order of their *importance*, which is also their natural, but not their historical order. There were four distinct sorts; distinct, yet related; so related as all to convey one idea in common, and so distinct, as each to convey an idea peculiar to itself. Again, 'they may be divided into those whose end is the re-establishment of the state of grace; and those which were offered by him who was in a state of grace. The first class consists of sin-offerings and trespass-offerings; the second, of burnt-offerings and peace-offerings, to which may be added the bloodless-offerings' (Hengstenberg).

1. חֲטָאת (in Ps. xlvii. 7, חֲטָאָה), (fr. חָטָא, *aberravit a scopo* jacular, 2, *peccavit*, 3, *reus factus est alicujus rei*; Pi. *luit peccatum*, Ges. *Thes.* 464, 65), LXX. ἁμαρτία, ἐξῆλασμός, ἄγνισμός, *sin*, then an offering for sin, i.e., that by which sin is atoned, so that it may be pardoned. The word was chosen for the sake of emphasis. The offering was, says Hengstenberg, an embodiment of the sin of the offerer, or rather the victim bore his sin, was made sin for him, like the *Great Victim* of human guilt, the great sin-offering which atoned for the sin of the world (2 Cor. v. 21). *Atonement* or *propitiation* is the main idea conveyed by the sin-offering; and hence, in this kind of sacrifice, the *sprinkling of blood* occupied such a prominent place. The animals used in the *Chatath* were: a young bullock for the high-priest (Lev. iv. 3), the representative

of the nation; the same for the whole congregation, 'including the entire priesthood' (Lev. iv. 13, 14); a he-goat for the 'prince of the congregation' (Lev. iv. 23); a she-goat for one of the people (Lev. iv. 28, 32; v. 6); or, in case of poverty, a dove or a young pigeon (Lev. v. 7), or even a bloodless-offering consisting of the 'tenth of an ephah of fine flour' (Lev. v. 11, 12). This graduation of victims, according to the theocratic position of the offerers, was peculiar to the sin-offering, which therefore bore more of an individual character than the other sacrifices, and was probably meant to hint, that the higher the individual in theocratic rank, 'the greater the moral guilt involved in his offence.'

The blood of the *Chatath*, for the prince or one of the people, was simply put on the horns of the altar (Lev. iv. 7, 25); but the blood of that for the high-priest or the whole congregation was taken by the high-priest into the holy place, and sprinkled seven times before the Lord, towards *עֵל*, the *parocheth*, פָּרֹכֶת, or veil, and a portion of it put on the horns of the altar of incense (Lev. iv. 5, 6, etc.) The blood not so used was poured out at the foot of the altar. On the great day of atonement (which see) the expiation made by the sin-offering reached its highest point, when the blood was brought into the most holy place by the high-priest, and sprinkled towards and upon the *Chaporeth* or Mercy Seat (Lev. xvi.), the type of the entrance of our Great High-Priest into heaven itself, not with the blood of goats or of calves, but with his own blood, thus 'obtaining eternal redemption for us' (Heb. ix. 12; see Alford's *Note*).

Of the sin-offering, the '*fat*' alone, i.e., the *best*, according to Hebrew modes of viewing things, was burnt upon the altar (Lev. iv. 8-10; xxvi. 35), in sign of consecration to God, a gift to Jehovah, 'purified by the fire of divine holiness.' The rest of the flesh was either eaten by the priests and their sons (their wives and their daughters were excluded) in the holy place (Lev. vi. 25, 26; x. 16-20); or, in case the blood had been brought into the holy place, burned in a clean place without the camp (Lev. iv. 21); as being 'too holy to be eaten even by the priests.' In the act of immolation, the victim 'died to sin' (see Rom. vi. 7, 10), and became pure as before, and even more sacred. This burning had no symbolical signification, but was designed to prevent putrefaction and profanation. So holy was the flesh of the *Chatath*, that whatsoever touched it was forfeited to the sanctuary (Lev. vi. 27); the garment sprinkled with its blood had to be washed in the holy place; the earthen vessel in which it was sodden broken, or the brazen vessel scoured and rinsed (Lev. vi. 28, 29). The priestly feast upon the sin-offering was a symbol of fellowship with God in his house, as his servants and friends, according to the words:—'We shall be satisfied with the goodness of thy house, even of thy holy temple' (Ps. lxxv. 4). The sacrifice which atones for sin towards God, becomes food for his people; it is at once the source of pardon and of life.

The sins for which the *Chatath* was offered, were *sins of ignorance*, i. e., all such as did not involve wilful and obstinate rebellion against God (Lev. iv. 2, 22, 27), for which there was no sacrifice provided, but the punishment of death ordained.

\* Kurtz.



2. אָשָׁם (fr. אָשָׁף, *deliquit, culpam contraxit*; 2. *culpam sustinuit, culpæ pœnas dedit*), *asham*, LXX. *πλημέλεια, ἀγνοία* (1.) culpa, quam quis contraxit, (2.) id quo, quis culpam contraxit, (3.) sacrificium pro delicto (Ges. *Thes.* 160); *trespass-offering*. The law of the *asham* is found Lev. v. 14; vi. 1-8; vii. 1-7. There is a striking resemblance between the sin and the trespass-offering, both as to the sins for which they were offered, and the ritual of both; so that it has been found difficult to point out their essential difference. The victim appointed for the trespass-offering was a female lamb or kid, or a ram without blemish (Lev. v. 6, 15, 17; vi. 6), which was to be valued by the priest, and to be accompanied by a compensation for the wrong done (Lev. v. 15-19). The blood of the trespass-offering was to be sprinkled, the fat burned on the altar, and the flesh eaten by the priests in the holy place (Lev. vii. 1-7). The sins requiring an *asham* are distinctly named—a trespass committed in holy things; dishonesty and falsehood in a trust; robbery conjoined with deceit; dishonesty and falsehood in respect to a thing found (Lev. v. 15; vi. 1-4).

‘The valuation of the ram by the priest was something altogether peculiar to this kind of sacrifice, and does not occur anywhere else’ (Kurtz). The ram was presented as a compensation for the robbery of God involved in sin; and ‘was accompanied by a material compensation to the injured

person for the wrong that had been done by the *מעל*, *Mahal*, or offence, to the amount of one-fifth of its worth’ (Kurtz, sec. 121). ‘But as the object was principally to give outward representation to an idea, to naturalise in the church the view of sin as a robbery of God, the trespass-offering and the recompense-offering were expressly provided for a limited number of cases, such as specially awakened the desire to offer a compensation’ (Hengstenberg). Hence, as Kurtz says: ‘The idea of the trespass-offering must be defined as relating to the violation of the rights and claims of others, or, as we might put it, to some kinds of robbery committed upon others, not merely in material possessions and property, which it would be possible to restore, but in rightful and obligatory services, based upon agreement or covenant, the neglect of which, from their very nature, could not be compensated afterwards. . . . This also expresses the point of difference from the *sin-offering*, which was connected with all such sins as could not be regarded as robbery ‘of God or man’ (K., sec. 102). Originally and primarily, a *sin-offering* was appointed for the transgression of the commandments of Jehovah; but in the further development of the laws in question, all such breaches of the commandments of

God as would be looked on in the light of a *מעל*, *Mahal*, were excepted from this rule, and a different kind of sacrifice—viz., the trespass-offering—appointed. This appears, therefore, as a subordinate species of *sin-offering*, modified in a peculiar manner’ (*ib.*) It is unnecessary, therefore, to notice the various opinions which have been broached respecting the difference between the sin and the trespass-offering, utterly baseless as most of them are. The difficulty in which the subject has been involved, has arisen, no doubt, in part at least, by taking Lev. v. 1-13 as the introduction to the laws of the trespass-offering, instead of regard-

ing it as the conclusion of the laws relating to the *sin-offering* (see Kurtz, secs. 103, 104). The *sin-offering* holds up sin as *guilt* needing *expiation*; the trespass-offering, as *robbery* demanding *compensation*.

3. עֹלָה (fr. עָלָה, *ascendit*), id *quod ascendit*, h. e. *ardet et fumat, holocaustum, Victima, quæ tota igne absumpta ascendit, non tantum oblatio* (Fürst, *Concord.*, 825); a *burnt-offering*; also called כָּלִיל, whole, entire, perfect, *i. e.*, wholly burnt, in contrast with those sacrifices, portions only of which were burnt on the altar. This was the distinguishing feature of the burnt-offering, which was the type or symbol of entire consecration to God; and which, therefore, comes in most fittingly after the sin and trespass-offering (see BURNT-OFFERING).

4. שָׁלֵם (fr. שָׁלַם, or שָׁלַם, *integer fuit, inde, incolumis, Sospes, salvus fuit*; denom. from שָׁלוֹם, *to be at peace*; Hiph. *to make peace with any one*), peace, concord, ‘*amica et pacata conditio*’, then, a peace-offering. But the word occurs only once in the singular denoting a peace-offering, viz.,

Amos v. 22. The usual form is שְׁלָמִים, *θυσια σωτηριου ελρηκυκτον* (Joseph. *Antiq.* iii. 3. 1) *χαριστήριος θυσια, hostia pacificorum*; ‘hoc est, tale sacrificium quod ad pacem et amicitiam cum Deo colendam et testificandam offerretur, sive in usum publicum, sive privatarum rerum respectu’ (Ges. *Thes.*, 1422).

The *Shalem*, peace or thank offering, might be either of the herd or of the flock, male or female. The priest sprinkled the blood upon the altar round about, and burned the fat of the inwards along with the kidneys upon the altar (Lev. iii.). With the peace-offerings were offered unleavened cakes mingled with oil, and unleavened wafers (רֻקִּים), thin cakes; Ges. *placenta tenues*, anointed with oil, and cakes of fine flour, fried, mingled with oil, and leavened bread (Lev. vii. 12, 13). The breast of the offering, waved as a wave-offering before the Lord; and the shoulder, heaved as a heave-offering before the Lord, were the portion of the priests (Lev. vii. 31-34); but the rest of the flesh was to be eaten by the offerer before the Lord (Lev. vii. 15; xxii. 30).

The peace-offering may be divided, according to Lev. vii. 11, etc., into three species—(1.) זֶבַח הַתְּנוּחָה, *i. e.*, praise-offering; (2.) זֶבַח נִדָּר, votive-offering; and (3.) זֶבַח נְדָבָה, free-will offering (Kurtz, sec. 126). ‘A state of peace and friendship with God was the basis and sine qua non to the presentation of a *Shalem*; and the design of the presentation, from which its name was derived, was the *realization and establishment, verification and enjoyment* of the existing relation of peace, friendship, fellowship, and blessedness’ (Kurtz, sec. 125). The name, therefore, indicates the distinctive quality of the sacrifice, and the *meal* was its distinctive feature, which, together with the name, clearly expressed the state of peace which existed, and the fellowship which was enjoyed. The peace-offering, therefore, stood in most significant relationship to the preceding offerings. The *sin-offering*, with the trespass-offering, which were closely related, came first,

making expiation for sin; the burnt-offering followed; for when sin is atoned, the way is opened for self-consecration to God; and that is rightly and beautifully followed by sacrifices of peace and joy, giving expression at once to the feelings experienced and the peace with God which exists. The order of these sacrifices here indicated was followed in the consecration of Aaron and his sons (Lev. viii.); and on the eighth day after, the same kind of offering, in the same order, was offered for the people and visibly accepted by God,—fire coming out from before the Lord, and consuming upon the altar the burnt-offering and the fat (Lev. ix.).

A peculiar custom connected with the peace-offering was the *heaving* and *waving* of the portions set apart for the priests (Lev. vii. 30, 32, 34; viii. 25). They were both forms of consecration; the former pointing to God in the heavens, the latter to God as ruling upon the earth and filling it with his presence. (But see Kurtz, sec. 133-138.)

Were peace-offerings ever *supplicatory*? It seems they were, as they were sometimes offered in seasons of sorrow, *ex. gr.*, 2 Sam. xxiv. 25; Judg. xx. 26; xxi. 14. The key to the understanding of this is furnished by Hengstenberg: 'to give thanks for grace already received is a refined way of begging for more.' As prayer is founded on the divine promise, it 'may be expressed in the way of anticipated thanks.'

The sacrifice of the red heifer (Num. xix. 1-10) is altogether unique, and requires distinct notice. A heifer, or young cow, perfectly red, and free from every blemish, and which had never borne the yoke—*i.e.*, in the full vigour of life—of which the red colour was the symbol—life unimpaired by labour—was to be selected by the children of Israel, and brought to Eleazar the priest. She was then to be conducted without the camp and slaughtered there, as a thing peculiarly unclean. The blood was then to be sprinkled by the priest seven times towards the tabernacle of the congregation, to make expiation for the whole people whose sacrifice the heifer was. The entire body was then burned with 'cedar wood,' the symbol of the imperishable, and 'hyssop,' the symbol of purification, and 'scarlet'—wool dyed with coccus, a brilliant scarlet dye—the symbol of the fullness of life; and the ashes carefully collected and preserved, to be mingled with running water—another symbol of life—as occasion might demand, for sprinkling and purifying the unclean through contact with a dead body. The water so prepared was called *מֵי נִדֵּה* = *aqua impuritatis*, not as mean-

ing impure water, but for the removal of impurity; as the sin-offering does not mean an offering loaded with sin, but intended to expiate sin. The red heifer was, in fact, a sin-offering of a peculiar kind. The proofs are: it is called a *חַטָּאת*, *chatath* (v. 9, 17), and its blood was sprinkled before the tabernacle. The whole transaction was a type of Christ cast forth without the gates, as a thing utterly unclean, nevertheless from whom proceeds a living, powerful influence, to 'purify the conscience from dead works to serve the living God.' (See Kurtz, sec. 217, etc.)

The door of the tabernacle was the place appointed by God for the killing of the animals offered in sacrifice (Lev. i. 3; ii. 2; iv. 4). Such was the law, a law stringently enforced even in relation to animals slaughtered for ordinary consump-

tion, while the Israelites wandered in the desert (Lev. xvii.) This law held good of the Temple when it succeeded the tabernacle, where God recorded his name\* (Deut. xii. 11-15). Yet this rule was often transgressed, not only with impunity, but with divine sanctions—*ex. gr.*, at Bochim (Judg. ii. 5); in Ophrah, by Gideon (Judg. vi. 26); at Zorah, by Manoah (Judg. xiii. 19); at Gilgal, when Saul was made king (1 Sam. xi. 15); by David, at Gibeah, when bringing the ark from the house of Obed-edom (2 Sam. vi. 13);—but here the presence of the ark obviated the irregularity;—by Elijah, on Mount Carmel (1 Kings xviii. 30-39). Before the erection of the temple 'high places' were much resorted to by the people for sacrifice (2 Sam. vi. 13); nor was the practice afterwards wholly discontinued. The people ever showed a strong propensity to sacrifice on them (1 Kings iii. 2; 2 Kings xvii. 22; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 17).

II. UNBLOODY OFFERINGS. These were—1. The *מִנְחָה*, *mincha* proper, usually rendered in the A. V. 'meat-offering.' Of this, three leading descriptions are mentioned: (1.) Fine flour *סֹלֶת*, accompanied by oil and frankincense (Lev. ii. 1); (2) Unleavened cakes of fine flour, accompanied with oil, prepared in the oven, *תַּנּוּר* (ver. 4); or in a pan, *מַחֲבֵת*, or flat iron plate (vers. 5, 6), or in a *כִּרְיֹשֶׁת*, frying-pan, or rather pot, or kettle (ver. 7); (3.) Parched corn of the first-fruits with oil (ver. 14). Every meat-offering was to be seasoned with salt (ver. 13). Part of it was burned on the altar, and the rest was the priests' (vers. 9, 10). The meat-offering itself was the symbol of good works, our best offering unto God, after the consecration of ourselves; *oil*, the symbol of the Holy Spirit, by which all really good works are influenced and pervaded; *salt*, the emblem of incorruption, durability, and fidelity; and *frankincense*, significant of the acceptability of the whole unto God. The *mincha* usually accompanied and was subsidiary to the sin and burnt offerings. Unbloody offerings, presented alone, resembling the *mincha*, were not meat-offerings, but substitutes for other offerings, *ex. gr.*, for the sin-offering (Lev. v. 11). The quantity of material in the *mincha* was graduated according to the victims offered as a burnt-offering, *ex. gr.*, a tenth-deal of fine flour for a lamb, two tenth-deals for a ram, and three tenth-deals for a bullock (Num. xv. 4, 5, 6, 9).

A meat-offering of a peculiar and exceptional kind was that appointed to accompany the trial for jealousy, consisting of the tenth of an ephah of *barley* meal, without either oil or frankincense (Num. v. 15); corresponding thus with the humbled condition of the suspected wife.

2. The drink-offering, or *נֶסֶךְ* *nesek* (from *נָסַךְ*, to *pour out*), LXX. *σπονδή*. This is only mentioned in Exod. xxix. 40, 41; Lev. xxiii. 13; xviii. 37, as an accompaniment of other offerings; and in Exod. xxx. 9, is forbidden to be offered upon the altar of incense in the holy place; but not till Num. xv. 1-12, is it formally described.

\* This law was intended to prevent secret idolatry, which might be practised under the veil of obedience to the law; and to secure the union of the tribes, by bringing them often together for a national and religious object.



Here it is ordered to be graduated according to the value of the victim (as in the case of the meat-offering): the fourth, the third, the half, of a hin of wine (vers. 4, 7, 10). The vessels used for the drink-offering are mentioned Num. iv. 7. The reason the *neseq* was not described at an earlier period was, that the offering of it was not intended for Israel's desert-state, when wine was not procurable, but to be deferred till the settlement of the tribes in Canaan; for the law respecting it is prefaced thus: 'when ye be come into the land of your habitations.' What was done with the wine of the drink-offering we are not expressly told, but we infer that it was *all* poured out, as the name imports, and as the priests were not allowed to drink wine when they went into the tabernacle (Lev. x. 9). Where it was poured out is not stated. In the Wisdom of Sirach, the high-priest is represented as pouring it out *eis theμέλια θυσιαστηρίου* (l. 15). Josephus says it was poured out, *περὶ τὸν Βώμον* (*Antiq.* iii. 9. 4). There can be little doubt that it was poured out—not at the foot of the altar, as the blood not used was poured, simply to get rid of it, or to signify the pouring out of life, but—*upon the sacrifice*, as it lay upon the altar, and therefore, according to Josephus, about the altar. The nature of the offering itself, presented like the *mincha*, as the food of the great King,—'wine that cheereth both God and man'—shuts up to this. And Paul's reference to the *neseq* in his memorable words: *εἰ καὶ σπένδομαι ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ*, etc., 'yea, should I be poured out as a libation *upon the sacrifice* and service of your faith,' confirms this view.

3. *The Incense-Offering.* [INCENSE.]

4. *The First-fruits.* [FIRST-FRUIT.]

5. *Firstlings.* [FIRST-BORN.]

6. *Tithes.* [TITHES.]

7. Money and materials for the erection of the tabernacle and temple, and for the repair of the latter. [TABERNACLE AND TEMPLE.] These were all *Korbanim* = gifts or offerings, presented unto God, and acceptable to him when offered with a willing mind.

*Oil* and *Salt* have not been separately mentioned, as they were never offered separately, but only as the accompaniments of other offerings. Salt was indispensable. 'Thou shalt offer salt with all thy offerings' (Lev. ii. 13).

III. THE HISTORY OF SACRIFICIAL WORSHIP demands some notice.

1. In the ANTE-MOSAIC PERIOD our materials for such an history are scanty. The first instance of sacrifice on record is that of Cain and Abel (Gen. iv. 3-5). Cain presented some of the fruits of the ground, Abel some of the firstlings of his flock and of the fat (חֵלֶב) thereof, an offering unto the Lord. Each is called a *Mincha* (מִנְחָה) = gift; but Abel's was a bloody, Cain's an unbloody offering. To what class of sacrifice Abel's offering belonged we are not informed. Most probably it was a burnt-offering. If so, we can understand how God's acceptance of it may have been expressed, viz., by fire from the Lord (Lev. ix. 24; Judg. vi. 21; 1 Kings xviii. 38; 2 Chron. vii. 1). There is no evidence in favour of a sin-offering. The מִנְחָה of verse 7 is not a sin-offering—although Faber and Magee, and others, contend for this meaning—but *sin*:—'If thou doest well,' i.e., as Abel,

'shalt thou not be accepted?' as well as he; 'but if thou doest not well, sin,' like a ravenous beast of prey, 'croucheth at the door,' ready to spring on thee and devour thee. 'And to thee is its desire,'—it desires thee for its victim, 'but thou mayest rule over it' (see Kalisch, *in loco*). Taking *Chalath* as a sin-offering in this place, converts the words into a direct encouragement of sin.

Until the time of Noah, we have no other instance of sacrifice; but Noah, after the flood, 'offered of every clean beast and of every clean fowl, a burnt-offering unto the Lord' (Gen. viii. 20), and God was well pleased (21). Abraham constantly built altars, but only on one occasion are we told what victims he offered, viz.—Gen. xv. 9, a heifer, a she-goat, and a ram, each three years old, a turtle-dove, and a young pigeon; and these constituted a burnt-offering (17). The virtual sacrifice of Isaac is wholly exceptional [ISAAC]; but it is a 'burnt-offering' which was indicated and designed (Gen. xxii. 2, 3, 6, 7). Jacob ratified his covenant with Laban by sacrifice:—'Sacrificed a זֶבַח on the mount,'

which seems to indicate a *peace-offering* (Gen. xxxi. 54). So in Exod. x. 21, which belongs to this period, Moses says to Pharaoh: 'Thou must give us sacrifices and burnt-offerings,' זֶבַחִים וְעֹלֹת, 'that we may offer them to Jehovah,' where the *zevachim*, as distinguished from the *'oloth*, seem to denote peace-offerings. So in Exod. xviii. 12, Jethro took a burnt-offering and זֶבַחִים, sacrifices. The book

of Job, which relates to patriarchal times, or rather to an extra-Israelitish sphere, presents us with the spectacle of that patriarch himself offering burnt-offerings for the sins of his children; and his three friends doing the same for their own sins, in not speaking of God the thing that was right (Job i. 5; xlii. 8). Thus it appears that in the ante-Mosaic period, only peace-offerings and burnt-offerings were sacrificed, but that to the latter an expiatory value was attached; i.e., it partook of the nature of a *sin-offering*. It must be added, that the drink-offering existed during this period, for we read that Jacob set up a pillar at Bethel, and 'poured a drink-offering, נֶסֶךְ, upon it,' as well as oil (Gen. xxxv. 14; see xxviii. 18).

The *Passover*, coming in between the ante-Mosaic and the Mosaic period, was of a wholly unique character, uniting the features of all the other sacrifices of the period it introduced; *ex. gr.*, the sprinkling of blood, as in the case of the sin-offering (Exod. xii. 7, 13); the roasting of the flesh ('roast with fire'), giving it the resemblance of the burnt-offering (8); and the feast upon the flesh, as in the peace-offering (8, 9). In this first observance of the *Passover*, the ancient priestly character of the heads of families comes into notice—a character henceforth to be restricted to the family of Aaron. [PASSOVER.]

2. The *Mosaic period* properly begins with the great sacrificial occasion recorded Exod. xxiv. 3-8, when Israel entered formally into covenant relationship with God, and 'offered burnt-offerings and sacrificed peace-offerings of oxen unto the Lord,' and Moses 'sprinkled the blood' upon the altar, the book of the covenant, and the people, saying, 'Behold the blood of the covenant which the Lord hath made with you concerning these words,' i. e., of the law which he had read to them, and to which they had professed adhesion

(see Heb. ix. 19). The offerings ordained by Moses were,—daily, weekly, monthly, and yearly.

1. *Daily* (morning and evening), the burnt-offering, meat-offering, and drink-offering, were presented (Exod. xxix. 38-42; Num. xxviii. 3-8), to which must be added the incense (Exod. xxx. 7, 8).

2. *Weekly*, which was a double burnt-offering and meat-offering (Num. xxviii. 9, 10), with the drink-offering and incense. To these the shew-bread must be added, which may be regarded as a species of meat-offering (Lev. xxiv. 5, 9). See SHEW-BREAD.

3. *Monthly*; a burnt-offering of two young bullocks, one ram, seven lambs, with a meat offering of three tenth-deals of fine flour, mingled with oil, for each bullock; two tenth-deals for the ram; and one tenth-deal for each lamb; and a drink-offering of half an hin of wine for each bullock; one-third for the ram; and one-fourth for each lamb; and a kid of the goats for a sin-offering, with its appropriate drink-offering (Num. xxviii. 11-15).

4. *Yearly*; at the Passover, Feast of Tabernacles, Pentecost, Feast of Trumpets, and on the great Day of Atonement; all of which see in their places.

To these were added sacrifices and offerings for special occasions:—

(1.) At the purification of women, Lev. xii. See PURIFICATION.

(2.) At the cleansing of lepers, Lev. xiv. 1-32. See LEPROSY.

(3.) At the completion of the Nazaritic vow, Num. vi. 9-21. See NAZARITE.

(4.) At the trial for jealousy, Num. v. 11-31. No sacrifice involving the shedding of blood was offered on this occasion, for if the woman was innocent, none was needed; if guilty, none could be accepted; for the suspected crime, if proved, was one for which no expiation was provided.

The Mosaic law allowed full scope for the offering of sacrifices to any amount by private individuals,—free-will offerings.

3. *The Post-Mosaic Period.*—Sacrifices in post-Mosaic times were but a continuation of the preceding. On special occasions, however, there were sacrifices offered on a large scale, *ex. gr.*, at the dedication of the temple by Solomon (1 Kings viii. 63); by Jehoiada after the death of Athaliah (2 Chron. xxiii. 18); and by Hezekiah at the restoration of the temple worship (2 Chron. xxx. 22-24); to which may be added the great passover kept by Josiah (2 Chron. xxxv. 11-19).

It is, however, fair to observe that, until the time of David, there had been much irregularity in the observance of the enactments of the law; and that during the period which elapsed between the ban laid upon Israel for their rebellion in the desert and their entering the promised land, there was an almost total suspension of sacrificial worship. To this dismal period, when Israel was under the ban of God, the prophet Amos refers (v. 25, 26): 'Did ye offer unto me sacrifices and offerings in the wilderness forty years, O house of Israel? Yea, ye bore the shrine of your king, and Chiun of your images, the star of your god which ye made for yourselves.' The sin charged upon Israel is, not mingling the service of Jehovah with the worship of idols, but abandoning the former for the latter, when they wandered as a horde of covenant-breakers in the wilderness, melting away under the

anathema of Jehovah. This view is sustained by Acts vii. 42, 43, where Stephen quotes the above words of Amos in proof of his own statement: 'God turned and gave them up to worship the host of heaven.' This cessation of sacrificial worship, judicially brought to pass as a punishment for their sin, accorded with their dismal reprobate condition at the time.

IV. The ORIGIN of sacrifice demands a few words. Divines are divided in opinion on this question; some (the orthodox generally) maintaining their *divine*, others their *human*, origin. Of this latter class, some think that the first kind of offerings consisted of vegetables and fruits, which degenerated at length into animal sacrifices; while others hold that sacrifices took their rise in the consciousness of sin and the felt need of an atonement existing in the human heart; and that, so originating, they, by and by, received the approbation of God, and were adopted into his worship. This view approaches to the very threshold of the orthodox belief. Great stress is laid by the first class of divines referred to, especially, upon those passages in the Psalms and the Prophets, where strong disapprobation of animal sacrifices seems to be expressed. But the reply is very simple: God had no delight in sacrifices for their own sake; and when brought as a substitute for obedience and piety, they were utterly abominable to him (Ps. l. 9, 14, 15; Is. i. 11-13); that when God brought his people out of Egypt, he specially and primarily enforced obedience, the ritual occupying a secondary place in his view (Jer. vii. 21, 22); that it is not the multiplication of external offerings which Jehovah requires, but true godliness, manifesting itself in the forms of justice, mercy, and humble communion with God (Micah vi. 6-8); the very soul of sacrifice being the spirit of obedience, self-surrender, and love. 'Hath the Lord as great delight in sacrifice as in obeying the voice of the Lord? Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams' (1 Sam. xv. 22). In one passage David says—'Thou desirest not sacrifice,' etc., in reference to the fact, that the law had provided none for his sin (Ps. li. 16); but at the same time refers to sacrifice as being pleasing to God when expressive of, and embodying righteousness (19). Psalm xl. 6-8 demands a different interpretation, being simply prophetic, and looking forward to the abolition of animal sacrifices by the sacrifice of the Messiah (Heb. x. 5-10).

The argument for the divine origin of sacrifice may be stated thus. (a) Sacrifice has existed almost universally among men, which seems to indicate one source. (b) It has had such a wide-spread existence, although naturally repugnant to human feelings, viewed as the expression of worship towards God. To slaughter and shed the blood of an innocent creature as an act pleasing to the Divine Being, placating his wrath and conciliating his favour, seems absurd and profane. Such an act would rather appear to be displeasing and hateful to him. Once granting the divine origin of the rite of sacrifice, its fearful perversion is easily understood. (c) The adoption of the sacrificial rite into the worship of God by his command seems strongly in favour of its origin in his own appointment or suggestion. It is so hard to think otherwise, that the fact seems decisive. (d) Then the first sacrifice we read of was acceptable to God, which would scarcely have been the case had it originated



in the mere feeling or fancy of the worshipper. The non-acceptance of Cain's fruit-offering leads to the same conclusion. True, the main reasons of the different treatment of the brothers lay in their different dispositions; but did not this difference of disposition cause the difference in their offerings? (c) In Heb. xi. 4, Abel is said to have offered a *fuller* sacrifice (*πλεονα θυσιαν*) than Cain, because he offered *in faith*. His faith led him to offer the fuller sacrifice ascribed to him. But faith implies a divine revelation on the subject, or a divine warrant for the act; otherwise, there could have been no place for faith. However pious the intention, he would have acted on a mere peradventure, or baseless confidence, not certainly 'by faith.' For these and other reasons we regard the rite of sacrifice to have been of divine origin.

V. It remains now to inquire into the CONNECTION BETWEEN THE SACRIFICES OF THE O. T. AND THE GREAT SACRIFICE OF THE NEW. Sacrifice was a divine institute. It occupied a prominent place in the Mosaic law; yet it was not valued by God for its own sake. It was therefore designed to subserve some high ulterior purpose. Besides being, in part, a symbol of self-consecration to God, and of praise and prayer, it served to keep alive in the heart a sense of sin and of its damnable nature; to indicate the need of an atonement; to familiarise in the congregation of God the ideas of vicarious suffering, propitiation, and compensation due for the injury done by sin to God and his law. Sacrifice did also serve to remove various disabilities from the worshipper, and restore him, on various occasions, to his theocratic standing which he had forfeited by legal defilement or sin. Its powerlessness to take away sin was evinced by its repetition (Heb. x. 1, etc.). Its full significance, therefore, is not perceived till it is viewed in its TYPICAL reference to Christ, who came to 'put away sin by the sacrifice of himself.' This reference is distinctly unfolded in the N. T., especially in the Epistle to the Hebrews. The sin-offering, particularly, typified Christ, 'who was made sin, *ἀμαρτία*, for us' (2 Cor. v. 21); 'who bare our sins in his own body on the tree' (1 Pet. ii. 24); and who, having done so, appears 'holy, harmless, undefiled, and separate from sinners' (Heb. vii. 26); whose 'flesh is meat indeed,'—food for the holy priesthood (John vi. 55, 56). The trespass-offering typified Christ, who 'restored that which he took not away' (Ps. lxxix. 5), making compensation for the injury done by sin to God and his law. The burnt-offering had its fullest significance illustrated in Him, whose life was one continuous act of self-consecration to God, culminating, only, in his death. The peace-offering finds its full significance in Him who made peace through the blood of his cross, when God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself; for while the death of Jesus was, in one aspect of it, a sin-offering condemning (Rom. viii. 3) and atoning for sin, in another aspect it was the expression of heaven's purposes of peace and good-will towards men. The fifty-third chapter of Isaiah is the bridge between the sacrifices of the law and the sacrifice of Christ; the Epistle to the Hebrews, the full exposition of the nature, relations, and bearings of both. (Outram's *Two Dissertations on Sacrifices*, translated by Allen; Magee's *Discourses and Dissertations on Atonement and Sacrifice*; Lightfoot's *Temple Service*, ch. 8; Othonis, *Lex. Rab. Phil.*, art. *Sacrificia*; Jahn's *Hebrew Antiquities*, ch. v., sec.

273, etc.; Hengstenberg's *Sacrifices of Holy Scripture*, appended to his Com. on Eccles. in the For. Theol. Lib.; Kurtz, *Sacrificial Worship of the O. Test.*; Tholuck's *Dissertation on the O. T. in the New*; Winer's *Realwörterbuch*, *Opfer*; Dr. J. P. Smith's *Sacrifice and Priesthood of Christ*. For a full list of German works on the subject, see Kurtz.)—I. J.

OFFICER. This is the rendering in the A. V. of several Hebrew and Greek terms. 1. כֹּהֵן

(Gen. xxxvii. 36; xxxix. 1; xl. 2). The word usually designates a eunuch; and probably it ought always to be so understood. It is no valid objection to this that Potiphar had a wife; for eunuchs are not strangers to the sexual passion, and sometimes live in matrimony (Eccles. xx. 4; Mishna, Tr. *Jebamoth*, viii. 4; Juv. *Sat.* i. 22; Ter. *Eun.* iv. 3. 23; Chardin, *Voyages*, III. 397). 2. נֹטָר

part. of נָטַר, to cut, to grave, properly a *writer*;

Sept. γραμματεὺς, and, from the use of writing in judicial administration, a *magistrate* or *prefect*.

It is used of the officers who were set over the Israelites in Egypt (Exod. v. 6-19); of the officers who were appointed along with the elders to administer the public affairs of the Israelites (Num. xi. 16; Deut. xx. 5, 8, 9; xxix. 10; xxxi. 28; Josh. i. 10; iii. 2; viii. 33, etc.); of magistrates in the cities and towns of Palestine (Deut. xvi. 18; Sept. γραμματοεισαγγελεῖς; 1 Chron. xxiii. 4; xxvi. 29; 2 Chron. xix. 11; Prov. vi. 7 [A. V. *overseer*], etc.); and apparently also of a military chief (2 Chron. xxvi. 11 [A. V. *ruler*]). 3. נָצִיב

part. Niph. of נָצַב, to set or place, a *prefect* or

*director* (1 Kings iv. 5, 7; v. 30 [A. V. 16], ix. 23, etc.); and נָצִיב (1 Kings iv. 7, 19). 4.

רַב (Esth. i. 8; Dan. i. 3 [A. V. *master*]; Sept.

οὐκνόμενος. 5. פֶּקִיד from פָּקַד, to visit, Hiph. to

set over, an *overseer* or *magistrate* (Gen. xli. 34, Sept. τοπάρχας; Judg. ix. 28, Sept. ἐπισκοπος;

Esth. ii. 3, Sept. κωμάρχας; 2 Chron. xxiv. 11, Sept. προστάτης); and פֶּקִידָה, properly *office*, but

used collectively for a *body of officers* (Is. lx. 17; Sept. ἀρχοντας; also 2 Chron. xxiv. 11 [A. V.

*office*]; Sept. προστάτας). 6. עֲשֵׂי הַמְּלָכָה

'those who did the business,' marg. A. V., Sept. γραμματεῖς (Esth. ix. 3).

In the N. T. the words translated 'officer' are ὑπηρέτης and πράκτωρ. The former is a word of general signification, denoting one who renders service of any kind; it is used with the rendering 'officer' in the A. V. of a functionary whose duty it was to apprehend offenders, or to exact legal penalties from those who had incurred them (Matt. v. 25 [for which Luke uses πράκτωρ, xii. 58]; John vii. 32, 46; xviii. 3, 12; Acts v. 22). Josephus uses the word ὑπηρέτης of an officer two of whom being Levites were attached to each magistrate (*Antiq.* iv. 8. 14); but it is probable that these were rather clerks or assessors of the court than servants of the class above described. The πράκτωρ was properly the exactor of the penalty assigned by the judge, and so the word is correctly used by Luke (xii. 58). There were at Athens officers bearing this name, whose business it was to enact legal fines and forfeits (Hermann,

*Polit. Antiq. of Greece*, 151; cf. Kuinoel, *in loc.*, Luc. xii. 58). The officers (*οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν χρεῶν, οἱ ἐπὶ τ. χ.*) of king Demetrius mentioned 1 Macc. x. 41; xii. 45 [A. V. 'that have any charge']; xiii. 37, were tax-collectors appointed for a special service.—W. L. A.

OG (עוג, *giant*; Sept. Ὠγ), an Amoritish king of Bashan (Num. xxi. 33; xxxii. 33; Deut. iv. 47; xxxi. 4). In form he was a giant, so that his bedstead [or rather sarcophagus] was preserved as a memorial of his huge stature (Deut. iii. 11; Josh. xiii. 12). He was defeated by the Israelites under Moses (Num. xxi. 33; Deut. i. 4; iii. 3); and his country, which contained many walled cities (Deut. iii. 4-10), was assigned to the tribe of Manasseh (Deut. iii. 13; Josh. xiii. 30) [AMORITES; BASHAN; GIANTS; REPHAIM].

OIL, OINTMENT (שמן, from שָׁמַן, *to become fat*; יָצַתַר, from צָהַר, *to shine*; מִרְקָהֶת רֶקַח, from רֶקַח, *to season, to perfume*; מִשְׁחָה, from מָשַׁח, *to anoint*, properly *unction* or *anointing* [Exod. xxx. 25, 'make oil of holy anointing'=holy anointing oil]; Sept. ἔλαιον, μύρον, χρῆσμα, χρῆσις πύργης), was far more extensively used among the ancient Hebrews than in our northern climate. The use of oil is equally general throughout Western Asia at the present time, as it was in primitive ages. Oil was much used instead of butter and animal fat, at meals and in various preparations of food (see FOOD, and comp. Ezek. xvi. 13). In such uses oil, when fresh and sweet, is more agreeable than animal fat. The Orientals think so; and Europeans soon acquire the same preference. Oil was also in many cases taken as a meat-offering (Lev. v. 11; Num. v. 15); and it was then mixed with the meal of oblation (Exod. xxix. 40; Lev. ii. 4; vi. 21; vii. 12; Num. vi. 15) [OFFERING]. The rite of sprinkling with oil, as a libation, does not occur in the law, but seems to be alluded to in Micah vi. 7.

The application of oil to the person has been described in the article ANOINTING. Whether for luxury or ceremony, the head and beard were the parts usually anointed (Deut. xxviii. 40; 2 Sam. xiv. 2; Ps. xxiii. 5; xcii. 11; civ. 15; Luke vii. 46); and this use of oil became at length proverbially common among the Israelites (Prov. xxi. 17).

The employment of oil for burning has been illustrated in the article LAMPS. It is only necessary to add, that for this, and indeed for most other purposes, olive-oil was considered the best, and was therefore used in the lamps of the tabernacle. The custom of anointing the diseased and the dead has been noticed in the article ANOINTING; and for the use and composition of fragrant oils and ointments, see PERFUMES.

The numerous olive-plantations in Palestine made olive-oil one of the chief and one of the most lucrative products of the country: it supplied an article of extensive and profitable traffic with the Tyrians (Ezek. xxvii. 17; comp. 1 Kings v. 11); and presents of the finer sorts of olive-oil were deemed suitable for kings. There is in fact no other kind of oil distinctly mentioned in Scripture; and the best, middling, and inferior oils appear to have been merely different qualities of olive-oil. The berries of the olive-tree were sometimes plucked, or carefully shaken off by the

hand, before they were ripe (Deut. xxiv. 20; Is. xvii. 6; xxiv. 13). If while they were yet green, instead of being thrown into the press, they were only beaten or squeezed, they yielded the best kind of oil. It was called *Ophacinum*, or the oil of unripe olives, and also 'beaten' or 'fresh oil' (Exod. xxvii. 20). There were presses of a peculiar kind for preparing oil called שֶׁמֶן גֶּת, *gath-shemen* (whence the name Gethsemane, or 'oil-press,' Matt. xxvi. 36; John xviii. 1), in which the oil was trodden out by the feet (Micah vi. 15). The first expression of the oil was better than the second, and the second than the third. Ripe olives yielded the least valuable kind of oil, but the quantity was more abundant. The best sort of oil was prepared with fragrant spices, and was used in anointing; the inferior sorts were used with food and for lamps.

OIL TREE. [ETZ-SHEMEN.]

OLD TESTAMENT. [TESTAMENT.]

OLIVE-TREE. [ZAIT.]

OLIVE-TREE, WILD. [AGRIELAIA.]

OLIVES, MOUNT OF, and OLIVET (הַר הַזַּיִתִּים; LXX. and N. T., τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαίων; but in Luke xix. 29, τὸ ὄρος τὸ καλούμενον ἐλαῖον; and Acts i. 12, ἐλαῖνος [*Olivet*]; *mons olivæum*), the well-known hill, or rather ridge, on the east side of Jerusalem, separated from the city by the Kidron valley.

The name 'Mount of Olives' occurs only once in the O. T. (Zech. xiv. 4); but the hill is clearly alluded to in five other passages. In 2 Sam. xv. 30 we read that David, in fleeing from Jerusalem during Absalom's rebellion, 'went up by the ascent of the Olives' (בְּמַעְלֵה הַזַּיִתִּים), unquestionably the western side of the mount, up which he had to go 'toward the way of the wilderness' (ver. 23). In 1 Kings xi. 7 it is recorded that Solomon built 'an high place for Chemosh in the hill that is before

Jerusalem.' This is an accurate description of the position of Olivet—facing the holy city, visible from every part of it. The same hill is called in 2 Kings xxiii. 13, 'The Mount of Corruption' (הַר הַמְּשָׁחִיתָה), doubtless from the idolatrous rites established by Solomon and practised there. In Neh. viii. 15 Olivet is called emphatically 'the Mount' (הַהָר)—'Go forth into the mount, and fetch olive-branches,' etc. Ezekiel mentions it as the mountain which is on the east side (מִקְדָּם) of the city. Olivet covers the whole eastern side of Jerusalem, shutting out all view of the country beyond. These are the only direct allusions to Olivet in the O. T.

In the N. T. its ordinary name is 'The Mount of Olives,' τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαίων, which may be regarded as a descriptive appellation—the mount on which the olives grew (Matt. xxi. 1; xxiv. 3; xxvi. 30; Mark xi. 1; Luke xix. 37; John viii. 1). But Luke in three passages gives it a distinct proper name—'And it came to pass, when he was come nigh to Bethphage and Bethany, at the mount called *Elaion*'—πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τὸ καλούμενον Ἐλαῖον; not, as in the A. V., 'the Mount of Olives.' The word is Ἐλαῖον, the nom. sing., and not ἐλαῖων, the gen. pl. of ἐλαία (see Alford, Tischendorf, Lachmann, etc., *ad loc.*), in which case it would have the article (xix. 29; cf. ver. 37; xxi. 37;



xxii. 39). In Acts i. 12 Luke again employs it in the gen. sing.—‘Then returned they unto Jerusalem from the mount called Olivet,’ ἀπὸ ὄρους τοῦ καλουμένου Ἐλαιῶνος (‘called Elaion’). In Josephus also we read διὰ τοῦ Ἐλαιῶνος ὄρους (*Antiq.* vii. 9. 2; cf. xx. 8. 6; *Bell. Jud.* v. 2. 3), showing that in his time *Elaion* was the ordinary name given to the mount.

The rabbins called Olivet ‘The Mount of Anointing’ (הַר הַמִּשְׁחָה); Mishna, *Para*, iii. 6; Reland, *Pal.*, p. 337; and Jarchi, in his note on 2 Kings xxiii. 13, says this was its usual name; but that the sacred writers changed it to ‘Mount of Corruption’ (הַר הַמִּשְׁחָה) by a play upon the word, and to denote its defilement by the idolatrous rites of Solomon. The name מִשְׁחָה is closely allied in sense to *Olivet*—the latter referring to the oil-producing tree, the former to the anointing with its oil (*Lightfoot, Opera*, ii. 200).

At present the hill has two names, *Jebel et-Târ*, (جبل الطور), which may be regarded as equivalent to the expression ‘the Mount’ (הַהָר) in Neh. viii. 15. This is the name almost universally given to it by the Mohammedan residents in Jerusalem. The Christians and Jews seem to prefer the Scripture name *Jebel ez-Zeitûn* (جبل الزيتون), ‘Mount of Olives.’

*Physical Features.*—The Mount of Olives lies on the east side of Jerusalem, and intercepts all view of the wilderness of Judea and the Jordan valley. It is separated from the city by the deep and narrow glen of the Kidron. Its appearance as first seen sadly disappoints the Bible student. Properly speaking it is not a hill. It is only one of a multitude of rounded crowns that form the summit of the broad mountain-ridge which runs longitudinally through Central Palestine. Zion, Moriah, Scopus, Gibeath, Ramah, and Mizpeh, are others like Olivet. These bare rocky crowns encircle the Holy City—Olivet being the highest and most conspicuous in the immediate vicinity.

Approaching the city from the west, along the Joppa road, a low ridge is seen beyond it, barely overtopping the massive castle of David, and the higher buildings on Zion. It droops toward the right, revealing the pale blue mountains of Moab in the distant background; and it runs away to the left until it appears to join other ridges. It has no striking features. It is rounded and regular in form, and almost entirely colourless. The air is so transparent, too, that it appears to rise immediately out of the city. Looking from the western wall of Zion, or from the ramparts of the castle, one would suppose there was no intervening valley. In the distance its top is almost horizontal; a nearer view makes it wavy; and at length, on approaching it, three summits, or eminences, can be distinguished. The central and highest is crowned with the dome and minaret of the Church of the Ascension; and the other two equi-distant to the right and left, and of nearly equal altitude. Photographs show these features as they meet the eye, and consequently appear somewhat flat and uninteresting; but in every sketch and painting the writer has seen, the imagination of the artist has greatly increased both the apparent distance of Olivet from the city, and its elevation; thus sacrificing truth to beauty and effect.

The best view of the mount is obtained from the

north-east angle of the city wall. There a rocky platform, some fifty yards wide, runs along the wall, overhanging the dusky and venerable olive-groves which partly fill up the bottom of the Kidron, a hundred feet below. From the bottom of the glen rises the side of Olivet, in gray terraced slopes, and white limestone crags, to a height of about six hundred feet. Farther south, opposite the Haram, the Kidron contracts so as barely to leave room for a torrent bed. Its general course is from north to south; but it winds considerably, so that the roots of the opposite hills—Moriah and Olivet—overlap. About three-quarters of a mile south of the Haram area, the Kidron turns eastward, and there the ridge of Olivet terminates; but that part of the ridge to which the name properly belongs scarcely extends so far. The lower road to Bethany crosses it in the parallel of the village of Silwân [SILOAM], where there is a considerable depression. The section of the ridge south of that road appears in some aspects as a distinct hill, having a low rounded top, and descending in broken cliffs into the Kidron. This is now called by travellers ‘The Mount of Corruption,’ and by natives, *Jebel Baten el-Harwa*.

From the Church of the Ascension, which is the central point of Olivet, the ridge runs due north for about a mile, and then sweeps to the west round a bend of the Kidron. At the elbow it is crossed by the road from Anathoth; and the part west of this road is most probably the *Scopus* of Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* v. 2. 3).

The eastern limits of Olivet are not so easily defined. It forms the brow of the mountain-chain; and from its top there is an uninterrupted, though irregular, descent to the Jordan valley—a descent of about 3700 feet in a distance of ten miles. The eastern declivity of Olivet thus shades gradually off into the wilderness of Judea. There is no dividing-line; and from the east ‘The Mount’ appears as one of the crowns of the mountain-range. We may assume Bethany, however, as the historical, if not the strictly physical, limit of Olivet in this direction; though the slope below the village is quite as great as that above it.

A few measurements and elevations will now most satisfactorily exhibit the position and features of Olivet. Its central and highest point—the Church of the Ascension—is due east of the Great Mosque, the site of the Temple, and it is 1035 yards distant from it. This shows the exact distance and relative positions of the summits of Moriah and Olivet. From the mosque on the crown of Moriah to the Haram wall on its eastern brow is 200 yards; from the wall to the western base of Olivet, in the bottom of the Kidron, is 165 yards; from the bottom of the Kidron to the Church of the Ascension, 670 yards; from the Church to the assumed eastern base of ‘The Mount,’ in the line of Bethany,\* 1200 yards. The measurements are horizontal. The relative elevations are as follows:—

Height of Olivet above Bethany . . .	921 ft.
Do. do. Bed of the Kidron . . .	560 „
Do. do. Moriah . . .	295 „
Do. do. N. W. angle of the city . . .	114 „ †

\* Bethany itself is 2000 yards distant from the Church of the Ascension, toward the south-east.

† The elevations of the chief points about Jeru-

About 500 yards north of the Church of the Ascension is the eminence, or summit, called by monks and travellers *Viri Galilæi*; it is only a few feet lower than the church. At about an equal distance southward is the third summit, not quite so lofty; and from this latter to the culminating point of the Mount of Offence is 1000 yards, south by west. The elevation of the Mount of Offence has not been ascertained, but it appears to be at least 150 feet lower than Olivet.

The outline of Olivet is uniform. The curves are unbroken. Its western face has regular declivities of whitish soil, composed of disintegrated limestone, interrupted here and there by large rocky crowns, long ledges, and rude terrace walls. There is no grandeur, no picturesque ruggedness, no soft beauty; and the aspect, especially in summer and autumn, is singularly bleak. In early spring, the painful bareness is in some measure relieved by the colouring—green corn, brilliant wild-flowers, the soft gray tint of the olive leaves, and the dark foliage of the fig. The effect of this combination of colours is very strange; there is nothing like it in this country. It has been caught with an artist's eye, and represented with an artist's genius, in the beautiful picture of Seddon, and also in some of Holman Hunt's charming sketches. The whole hill-side is rudely cultivated in little terraced strips of wheat and barley; with here and there some straggling vines trailing along the ground, or hanging over the ledges and terrace walls. Fig-trees are abundant, but olives are still, as they were in our Lord's days, the prevailing trees. The mount has as good a title now as perhaps it ever had to the name Olivet. Olive-trees dot it all over; in some places far apart, in others close together, though nowhere so close as to form groves. Most of them are old, gnarled, and stunted; a few are propped up and in the last stage of decay; but scarcely any young vigorous trees are met with. The base of the hill along the Kidron is more rugged than any other part of the western side. At and near the village of Silwân are precipices of rock from twenty to thirty feet high, which continue at intervals round the Mount of Corruption. These cliffs are studded with excavated tombs; and in Silwân, and northward, some of them are hewn into chaste façades and detached monuments. The hill-side is here covered also with the tombstones of the modern Jewish cemetery. It is the favourite burial-place of the children of Abraham, and the spot where they believe the final judgment will take place.

With the exception of Silwân at its western base, Bethany at its eastern, and Kefr et-Tûr on its summit, Olivet is deserted. No man dwells there. There are three or four little towers—one habitable, the others ruinous—built originally as watch-towers for the vineyards and orchards. Nearly

opposite St. Stephen's gate, just across the bed of the Kidron, is the garden of Gethsemane, and from it a shallow wady, or rather depression, runs up the hill toward the Church of the Ascension, making a slight curve northward. This is the only noticeable feature on the western side. The eastern is much more rugged. The ledges are higher, the cliffs bolder, and there are several deep ravines.

Two ancient roads, or rather bridle-paths, cross the mount to Bethany. From St. Stephen's gate—the only gate in the eastern side of Jerusalem—a road winds down to the Kidron, crosses it by a bridge, and then forks at Gethsemane. One branch keeps to the right, ascends the hill diagonally by an easy slope, winds round its southern shoulder, and descends to Bethany. This was the caravan and chariot road to Jericho in ancient days. The other branch keeps to the left of Gethsemane, right up the hill, following the course of the wady, passes Kefr et-Tûr, and descends by steep zig-zags to Bethany. Perhaps this path is even more ancient than the other. It is in places hewn in the rock; and here and there are rude steps up shelving ledges.

There are several other paths on Olivet, but they are of no historical importance, and require only to be mentioned as features in its topography. A path branches off from No. 2 at the side of Gethsemane, skirts the upper wall of the garden, ascends to the tombs of the prophets, and then turns to the left, up to the village. Another branches off a little higher up, and ascends the steep hill-side, almost direct to the village. Another, leading from St. Stephen's Gate, crosses the Kidron obliquely in a north-easterly direction, and passes over the northern shoulder of the mount to the little hamlet of Isawiyeh. Another path—ancient, though now little used—runs from Kefr et-Tûr northward along the summit of the ridge to Scopus, joining the road to Anathoth.

*Historical Notices.*—The first mention of Olivet is in connection with David's flight from Jerusalem on the rebellion of Absalom. Leaving the city, 'he

passed over the valley (נַחַל) of Kidron, toward the way of the wilderness' (2 Sam. xv. 23)—the wilderness of Judah lying between Olivet and the Jordan. Having crossed the Kidron, 'he ascended by the ascent of the Olives' (30), and came to the summit, 'where he worshipped God' (32). It has been supposed from the latter statement that there was here, on the top, an ancient *high place*, where David had been accustomed to worship; and that this may have been the source and scene of all subsequent idolatrous rites and Christian traditions. The Hebrew phrase does not warrant any such conclusion. The scope of the passage suggests, that on reaching the summit he turned to take a last look at the city, to which he had just sent back the ark, and on some of whose heights he probably still saw it. There, with his face toward the sanctuary, he worshipped God (cf. Theodoret and Jerome *ad. loc.*) This is the view of most Jewish commentators, though the Talmudists state that there was an idol shrine on the summit (Lightfoot, *Opp.* ii. 570). David's route is manifest. He ascended by the ancient path (No. 2) to the top; there he worshipped, with the city in full view. Turning away, he began to descend; and there, 'a little past the top' (xvi. 1), he met Ziba.

saalem, above the sea, are thus given by Van de Velde from the best authorities (*Memoir*, p. 179):—

Highest point of city, N. W. angle . . .	2,610
Mount Zion, <i>Canaculum</i> . . .	2,537
Mount Moriah . . .	2,429
Pool of Siloam . . .	2,114
Mount of Olives . . .	2,724
Kidron Bridge at Gethsemane . . .	2,281
Kidron at Bîr Eyûb . . .	1,996
Bethany . . .	1,803



The next notice is in the time of Solomon, who built 'an high place for Chemosh, the abomination of Moab, *in the hill that is before Jerusalem*: and for Molech' (1 Kings xi. 7). The hill was Olivet; but the locality of the high place is not specified. Statements made at a later period show that it could not have been upon the summit. 'The high places that were before Jerusalem, *which were on the right hand of the Mount of Corruption*, which Solomon the king of Israel had builded . . . did the king (Manasseh) defile' (2 Kings xxiii. 13). The stand-point of observation and description here is the Holy City, which formerly extended much farther south than at present. Solomon's high place was *in front of it*, within view, and *on the right hand of Olivet*. This indicates the southern section of the ridge, the traditional 'Mount of Corruption.' There was probably some connection between the high place of Molech on the right hand of Olivet and those idol shrines which stood in Tophet, at the entrance of the valley of Hinnom (cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 13, 14; Jer. vii. 31, *seq.*; Jerome, *Comm.* in loc.) The Mount of Corruption is directly opposite Tophet, and the hill-side is filled with ancient tombs, as Jeremiah predicted (xix. 6, 11). The tradition which gives its name to the Mount of Corruption is first mentioned in the 13th century by Brocardus:—'*Ultra torrentem Cedron, in latere aquilonari montis Oliveti, est mons alius altus, quatuor stadiis a Jerusalem distans, ubi Salomon idolo Moabitorum, nomine Chamos, templum construxit, et ubi tempore Machabæorum ædificatum fuit castrum, cujus indicia adhuc hodie ibi cernuntur*' (cap. ix.)

Ezekiel also mentions Olivet in the wondrous vision of the Lord's departure from Jerusalem. The glory of the Lord first left the sanctuary and stood on the threshold of the house (x. 4); then it removed to a position over the east gate of the Lord's house (19); then it went up, 'and stood upon the mountain, *which is upon the east side of the city*' (xi. 23), that is, on Olivet. This is doubtless the source of the Rabbinical tradition, which represents the Shekinah as having remained three years and a half on Olivet, calling to the Jews, 'Return to me, and I will return to you' (Reland, *Pal.* p. 337).

The reference to Olivet in Neh. viii. 15 shows that the mount, and probably the valley at its base, abounded in groves of various kinds of trees—'Go forth *unto the mount*, and fetch olive branches, and pine branches, and myrtle branches, and palm branches, and branches of thick trees, to make booths.' In the days of our Lord, the trees were still very numerous (Mark xi. 8). The palms, pines, and myrtles are now all gone; and, with the exception of olives and figs, no trees are found on Olivet.

The only other mention of Olivet in the O. T. is in Zechariah's prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem, and the preservation of God's people in it. He says of the Messiah, 'His feet shall stand in that day upon the Mount of Olives, which is before Jerusalem, on the east' (xiv. 4).

But it is mainly from its connection with N. T. history that Olivet has so strong a claim upon the attention and affections of the Christian student. During the periods of our Lord's ministry in Jerusalem, the mount appears to have been his home. As poor pilgrims were then, and still are accustomed to bivouac or encamp in the open fields, so

Jesus passed his nights amid the groves of Olivet. He did so partly, perhaps, that he might enjoy privacy; partly to escape the ceaseless and bitter persecution of the Jews; and partly through necessity. It looks as if a practical illustration of his own touching statement, 'The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air nests, but the Son of Man hath not where to lay his head' (Matt. viii. 20; John viii. 1; Luke xxviii. 27).

The Mount of Olives was the scene of four events, among the most remarkable in the history of our Lord.

(1.) *The Triumphal Entry*.—Its scene was the road—doubtless the ancient caravan road—which winds round the southern shoulder of the hill from Bethany to Jerusalem. A short distance from Bethany the road meets a deep ravine, which comes down from the top of Olivet on the right, and winds away to the wilderness on the left. From this point the tops of the buildings on Zion are seen, but all the rest of the city is hid. And just opposite this point, on the other side of the ravine, are the remains of an ancient village—cisterns, hewn stones, and scarped rocks. The road turns sharply to the right, descends obliquely to the bottom, then turns to the left, ascends and reaches the top of the opposite bank a short distance above the ruins. This then appears to be the spot, 'at the Mount of Olives,' where Jesus said to the two disciples, 'Go into the village *which is opposite you* (*ἡν ἀπέναντι ὑμῶν*), and immediately ye shall find an ass tied, and a colt with her; having loosed bring them to me' (Matt. xxi. 2). These active footmen could cross the ravine direct in a minute or two, while the great procession would take some time to wind round the road. The people of the village saw the procession; they knew its cause, and they were thus prepared to give the ass to the disciples the moment they heard, 'The Lord hath need of him.' The disciples took the ass, led it up to the road, and met Jesus. The procession advanced up the easy eastern slope. It gained the crown of the ridge, where 'the descent of the Mount of Olives' begins, and where Jerusalem, in its full extent and beauty, suddenly bursts upon the view; and then the multitude, excited by the noble prospect, and the fame of him whom they conducted, burst forth in joyous acclamation, 'Hosanna! Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord: blessed be the kingdom of our father David' (Mark xi. 10). The Pharisees were offended, and said, 'Master, rebuke thy disciples. He answered, I tell you, that if these should hold their peace, the stones would immediately cry out' (Luke xix. 39, 40). The hill-side is there covered with rugged crowns of rock. The procession advanced, descending obliquely. 'And when he came near'—to a point nearly opposite the temple—'he beheld the city, and wept over it,' giving utterance to those words so well known, and of such deep import. The splendid buildings of the temple were then in full view, a little below the level of the eye, and not more than 600 yards distant. Beyond them Zion appeared crowned with Herod's palace, and the lofty towers of the wall and citadel. Looking on so much splendour and beauty, and looking onward to future desolation, what wonder that Divine compassion manifested itself in tears!

(2.) From a commanding point on the western side of Olivet, Jesus predicted the temple's final overthrow. He had paid his last visit to the

temple. When passing out, the disciples said, 'Master, see what manner of stones, and what buildings are here!' (Mark xiii. 1). They had probably heard some word fall from his lips which excited their alarm, and they thus tried to awaken in him a deeper interest in their holy temple. He replied—'Seest thou these great buildings? there shall not be left one stone upon another that shall not be thrown down' (ver. 2). He passed on over the Kidron; took the lower road to Bethany, which led him up to a spot 'on the Mount of Olives over against the temple' (3); and there, with the temple, its stately courts, and the colossal magnitude of its outer battlements before him, he predicted its final ruin, summing up with the words, 'This generation shall not pass till all these things be done. Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.' The whole discourse in Mark xiii. was spoken on that spot (cf. Matt. xxiv.; Luke xxi.)

(3.) After the institution of the Supper, 'when they had sung an hymn,' our Lord led his disciples 'over the brook Cedron,' 'out into the Mount of Olives,' to a garden called Gethsemane (John xviii. 1; Matt. xxvi. 30, 36). That was the scene of the *agony* and the *betrayal*. [GETHSEMANE.]

(4.) The *Ascension* was the most wondrous of all the events of which Olivet was the scene. Luke records it at the close of his gospel history, and the beginning of his apostolic history. In the first record Olivet is not mentioned. Jesus led his disciples out *ὡς εἰς Βηθανίαν*, 'as far as to Bethany.' In the second record the reader is referred back to the former. The narrative opens abruptly at the spot to which he had led his disciples, as indicated in the gospel. A fuller account of his last words is given; and after the ascension, the writer adds, 'Then returned they unto Jerusalem, from the mount called Olivet, which is from Jerusalem a Sabbath-day's journey' (Luke xxiv. 50-53; Acts i. 9-12).

Considerable difficulty has been felt in reconciling the topographical notices in these passages; and still more in attempting to bring them into harmony with the traditional scene of the ascension on the summit of Olivet. The difficulties are as follows:—(1.) In Luke Christ is said to have led his disciples 'as far as to Bethany,' where he ascended. (2.) In Acts the return from the scene of the ascension is described as *from Olivet*, which is a *Sabbath-day's journey from Jerusalem*. (3.) A Sabbath-day's journey was, according to the Talmud, 2000 cubits, about  $7\frac{1}{2}$  stadia (Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb. in Luc.* xxiv. 50). (4.) Bethany was fifteen stadia distant from Jerusalem (John xi. 18). Lightfoot in one place explains these apparent discrepancies by stating that the ascension took place at Bethany; that the disciples returned over Olivet; and that the Sabbath-day's journey refers to the distance of that mount from the city (*Comment. in Act. i.* 12). But in a later work he gives a totally different explanation. He says that by Bethany is meant a *district*, and not the village; that district included a large section of Olivet; and its border, where the ascension took place, was a Sabbath-day's journey from Jerusalem (*Hor. Heb. ut supra*). Lightfoot's opinion, therefore, is not of much critical value (see, however, Robinson, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, i. 178; Williams' *Holy City*, ii. 440 and 611, 2d ed.)

A careful consideration of the passage in Acts i. 12 shows that it cannot affect in one way or another the direct statement made in Luke regarding

the scene of the ascension, because—(1.) Bethany was upon the Mount of Olives; therefore the expressions, 'He led them out as far as to Bethany,' and 'they returned from the mount called Olivet,' indicate the same spot. (2.) It is not certain whether the 'Sabbath-day's journey' is intended to describe the distance of the mount, or of the exact scene of the ascension. (3.) Suppose it did refer to the latter, still it would not necessarily militate against the statement in Luke that Bethany was the place, because the exact length of a Sabbath-day's journey is uncertain—some say 2000 cubits, or nearly one Roman mile; others 2000 Roman paces, or two miles: and moreover, the point from which the measurement commences is unknown—some say from the city wall; others from the outer limit of the suburb Bethphage, a mile beyond the wall (see Lightfoot, *l.c.*; Wieseler; also Barclay, who gives important measurements, *City of Great King*, p. 59). On the other hand the statement in Luke is explicit *ὡς εἰς Βηθανίαν*. There is nothing here to limit it; and in all other places Bethany means the village (Meyer; Lechler on *Acts*; Lange; Alford; Ebrard). The ascension appears to have been witnessed by the disciples alone. It was not *in* Bethany, nor was it on such a conspicuous place as the summit of Olivet. The writer carefully examined the whole region. He saw one spot, as far from Jerusalem as Bethany, near the village, but concealed by an intervening cliff; and this he thought, in all probability, the real scene. The disciples, led by Jesus, would reach it by the path over the top of Olivet, and they would naturally return to the city by the same route (*Handbook*, 102, *seq.*)

Since the days of Eusebius the summit of Olivet has been the traditional scene of the ascension. As this fact has been questioned (Stanley, *S. and P.*, p. 447), it is well to quote his words . . . ἐνθα τοῖς ἐαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκρωτέρας τοῦ τῶν ἐλαιῶν ὄρους τὰ περὶ τῆς συντελείας μυστήρια παραδεικνύτος, ἐντεῦθεν τε τὸν εἰς οὐρανὸς ἄνοδον πεποιημένον (*Demonstr. Evang.* vi. 18; cf. *Vit. Const.* iii. 41). In honour of the event the Empress Helena built a church on the spot (*Vit. Const.* iii. 43). Since that time the tradition has been almost universally received (Baronius, *Annales*, A.D. 34; Reland, *Pal.* 337); but the statement of Luke is fatal to it—'He led them out as far as to Bethany,' and Bethany is nearly a mile beyond the summit of the mount. The tradition has still, however, a number of devoted adherents, whose arguments are worthy of careful consideration (Williams, *Holy City*, ii. 440, 609; Ellicott, *Life of our Lord*, 413). The spot is just about 850 yards from the present city wall. The church of Helena has long since disappeared, and a mosque has taken its place. In the centre of an open court beside it is a little domed building covering a rock, on which is the supposed impress of Christ's foot, where he last touched the earth. Formerly, tradition affirms there were two footmarks, but the Mohammedans stole one of them, and put it in the Mosque el-Aksa (Williams, *H. C.* ii. 445; Stanley, *S. and P.* 447; Maundrell, under April 7).

Olivet is thickly studded with *holy places*, located by the superstitions of former ages, and preserved by tradition. A long list of them will be found in Quaresmius and Doubdan (*Voyage*). Only two or three of them have even a shadow of claim to be real; while most of them are absurd. One or two



may be mentioned as features in the topography. The northern summit of the mount, now called *Karem es-Seiyâd*, has attached to it a singular tradition. Here, some say, the two angels appeared after the ascension, and said to the apostles, 'Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up to heaven?' Hence the name given to the spot by monks and pilgrims, *Viri Galilei* (Maundrell, April 7). An older tradition, however, locates the station of the angels in or beside the Church of the Ascension (Radzivil, *Peregrin.* p. 75; Willibald, *Early Travels*, p. 19). Others say the name *Galilæa* is derived from the fact that this is that mountain in Galilee where our Lord instructed his disciples to meet him (Saewulf, in *Early Travels*, p. 42; Reland, *Pal.*, p. 338). The summit is now crowned by a confused heap of ruins, encompassed by vineyards; hence its modern name, 'The Sportsman's Vineyard.'

Three hundred yards south-west of the Church of the Ascension, on the declivity of the hill, is a large catacomb or group of caves, called 'The Tombs of the Prophets.' Some suppose this to be 'the rock Peristerein,' mentioned by Josephus as one of the points to which Titus's wall was carried (*Bell. Jud.* v. 12. 2; Schultz, p. 72). The catacomb is fully described in Nugent's *Lands, Classical and Sacred* (ii. 73), and in Tobler's *Oelberg* (p. 250; see also *Handbook*, 147).

The *Tomb and Chapel of the Virgin*, at the western base of Olivet, a few yards north of Gethsemane, is one of the most picturesque buildings around Jerusalem. Its façade is deep down in a sunk court, and admits by a spacious door to a flight of sixty steps, leading down to a dark, rock-hewn chapel. At its eastern end is a smaller chapel containing the reputed tomb of the Virgin; on the south are shown the tombs of Joachim and Anna her parents; and on the north, that of Joseph her husband. The tradition attached to this grotto is comparatively recent. It is not mentioned during the first six centuries (Quaresmius, ii. 244, seq.) John of Damascus is the first who speaks of it (*Lib. c.*); and it is also mentioned by Willibald (*Early Travels*, p. 19), and most travellers and pilgrims after the 8th century (Williams *H. C.*, ii. 435).

Descriptions of the physical features of Olivet are given by Stanley (*S. and P.*), Barclay (*City of the Great King*), Robinson (*B. R.* i. 235, 274, seq.), and Bartlett (*Walks*, 94, seq., and *Jerusalem Revisited*, 114, seq. His illustrations are very beautiful). Ecclesiastical traditions and historical notices will be found in Quaresmius (*Elucidatio Ter. San.* ii.), Geramb (*Pilgrimage*, i. 210, seq.), Williams (*Holy City*, ii.), and especially Tobler *Siloahquelle und Oelberg*. The Rabbinical traditions are given in Lightfoot (*Opera*, ii. 201), Reland (*Pal.* 337), Stanley (*S. and P.* 183), and Barclay (p. 61, seq.) Most of the places mentioned in this article are laid down with great accuracy in Mr. Johnston's beautiful map of *Jerusalem*, in the second volume of this work.—J. L. P.

OLIVEYRA, SALOMON DI, a distinguished Hebrew poet and grammarian, and chief Rabbi of the Portuguese Jews in Amsterdam, was born circa 1640. He mastered the Hebrew language and wrote synagogal poetry when very young; which together with his extensive learning secured for him a high position in the community. He first succeeded

Moses Raphael de Aguilar as teacher in the *Kether Tora* (כתר תורה), and was elected in 1674 to the dignity of *Chacham* in the institution denominated

*Gemiluth Chassadim* (גמילות חסדים), where he delivered expositions on the Pentateuch between 1674 and 1678, and on the historic and poetic books between 1678 and 1682. He then founded a Rabbinic college, of which he became the president, March 1693, and laboured most industriously and successfully to advance the cause of Hebrew philology. His grammatical and lexicographical contributions are as follow:—(1.) A treatise on the Hebrew accents, entitled *טעמי השעמים*, *The Reasons for the Accents*, in which he discourses especially on the poetical accents of Job, Proverbs, and the Psalms, published with the Pentateuch and the Haphtaroth, Amsterdam 1665; then again, *ibid.*, 1670, 1689, and 1732. (2.) A lexicon on Hebrew

assonance, entitled *שרשת נבלת*, *A Chain of Terminations*, Amsterdam 1665. (3.) A treatise on

Hebrew rhetoric, called *אילת אהבים*, *The Lovely Hind*, Amsterdam 1665. (4.) A Hebrew Chaldaic and Portuguese lexicon, called *עץ חיים*, *The Tree of Life*, Amsterdam 1682. (5.) A Portuguese and Hebrew vocabulary, called

*אילן שענפיו*, *אורבין*, *A Tree with many Branches*, with additions to the preceding work, Amsterdam 1683. (6.) A Portuguese translation of the words which frequently occur in the Mishna and Gemara, and of the technical expressions, entitled *זית רענן*, *The Green Olive*, Amsterdam 1683. And (7.) *Livro da Grammatica Hebrayca e Chaldayca*, entitled *יד לשון*, *A manual to the Language*, and

*דל שפתים*, *Door of the Lips*, Amsterdam 1688. Oliveyra died in May 1708 (comp. Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, col. 2379-2383; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, iii. 46, etc.; Frankel, *Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, Breslau 1861, vol. x., p. 432-436).—C. D. G.

OLSHAUSEN, HERMANN, was born at Odesloe, where his father was pastor, 21st August 1796. Having finished his preparatory studies at the universities of Kiel and Berlin, he became in 1820 a privat-docent in the latter, and in 1821 was appointed an extraordinary and in 1827 an ordinary professor of theology at Königsberg. Here he remained, enjoying a great reputation as an academic teacher, till 1834, when he removed to Erlangen, chiefly on account of his health. The change proved slightly beneficial, but he never recovered full health, and after five years more of work, he expired 4th September 1839. His works are—*Historia Eccles. Vet. monumenta præcipua*, Berlin 1826; *Die Aechtheit der vier Kanon. Evangelien*, Königsb. 1823; *Ein Wort üb. tiefern Schriftsinne*, 1824; *Die Bibl. Schriftauslegung*, 1825; *Bibl. Commentar üb. Sämmtlichen Schriften des N. T.*, 4 bde. 1830-1844. The last volume of this work was published after the author's death; it is imperfect, and only brings the commentary down to the end of 2 Thessalonians. The work has been completed by Weisinger and Ebrard, and has been translated into English as part of Clark's Foreign Theological Library, 9 vols. 8vo, 1847-51. It is highly esteemed for its happy union of grammatico-historical exegesis, with spiritual insight into the

meaning of the sacred writers, and a deep sympathy with them. [COMMENTARY.]—W. L. A.

OLYMPAS (Ὀλυμπᾶς), a Christian at Rome, whom Paul salutes in his Epistle to the Romans (Rom. xvi. 15).

OLYMPIODORUS, a Greek monk, said also to have been deacon of the church at Alexandria, flourished in the 7th century. He wrote a commentary on Ecclesiastes, which is printed in the *Auctarium Patr. Duceanrum*, Tom. II. p. 602, and in the *Bibl. Max. Patrum*, xviii. 490. His Notes on Job are included in the *Catena* of Nicetas on that book, Lond. 1637, fol.; and his Notes on Jeremiah in the *Catena Ghisleriana*.—W. L. A.

OMAR (أُمّار; Sept. Ὀμάρ), one of the sons of Eliphaz, the son of Esau (Gen. xxxvi. 11), and a duke or chief of one of the tribes of the children of Esau (ver. 15). His name is supposed to be preserved in that of the *بنی عمر* *Beni 'Ammer*, an Arab tribe in the south of Palestine and north of Edomitis. It is no objection to this that the initial consonant of the two words is different, for the *ن* and the *ع* frequently are interchanged. Others suggest the tribe of the Amir (أمير), Arabs on the east of the Jordan.—W. L. A.

OMEGA (Ω), the last letter of the Greek alphabet, proverbially applied to express the end, as Alpha (Α), the first letter, the beginning of anything. [ALPHA.]

OMER. [WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.]

OMRI (עֲמֹרִי, *God-taught*; Sept. Ὀμβρι), sixth king of Israel, who began to reign in B.C. 929, and reigned twelve years. He was raised to the throne by the army, while it was engaged in the siege of G.bbethon, a Levitical city in Dan, of which the Philistines had gained possession, when the news came to the camp of the death of Elah, and the usurpation of Zimri. On this, the army proclaimed their general, Omri, king of Israel. He then lost not a moment, but leaving Gibbethon in the power of the infidels, went and besieged his competitor in Tirzah. But he was no sooner delivered of this rival [ZIMRI], than another appeared in the person of Tibni, whom a part of the people had raised to the throne, probably from unwillingness to submit to military dictation. This occasioned a civil war, which lasted six years, and left Omri undisputed master of the throne. His reign lasted six years more, and its chief event was the foundation of Samaria, which thenceforth became the capital city of the kingdom of Israel (1 Kings xvi. 15-28). [SAMARIA.] [In order to harmonize the chronological data of his reign given 1 Kings xvi. 15, 23, 29, we may suppose that the twenty-seventh year of Asa (928 B.C.) was the year of his accession to the throne; the thirty-first of Asa the year of his peaceable occupation after the defeat of Tibni; and by adding eleven years for his reign (for the twelve mentioned ver. 23 were not complete years), we are brought to the thirty-eighth year of Asa as the year of Omri's death (917-918 B.C.) Usser. *Annal*, p. 37.]

ON (ὄν, *strength*; Sept. ὄν), a chief of the tribe of Reuben, who was one of the accomplices

of Korah in the revolt against the authority of Moses and Aaron. He is mentioned among the leaders of this conspiracy in the first instance (Num. xvi. 1), but does not appear in any of the subsequent transactions, and is not by name included in the final punishment. The Rabbinical tradition is, that the wife of On persuaded her husband to abandon the enterprise.

ON (ὄν; Sept. Ἡλιουπόλις), one of the oldest cities in the world, situated in Lower Egypt, about two hours N.N.E. from Cairo. The Septuagint translates the name On by Heliopolis, which signifies 'city of the sun'; and in Jer. xliii. 13, it bears a name, Beth-shemesh (oppidum solis, Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 11), of equivalent import. On is a Coptic and ancient Egyptian word, signifying light and the sun (Ritter, *Ersk.* i. 822). The site is now marked by low mounds, enclosing a space about three-quarters of a mile in length by half a mile in breadth, which was once occupied by houses and by the celebrated Temple of the Sun. This area is at present a ploughed field, a garden of herbs; and the solitary obelisk which still rises in the midst of



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it is the sole remnant of the former splendours of the place. In the days of Edrisi and Abdallatif the place bore the name of Ain Shems; and in the neighbouring village, Matariyeh, is still shown an ancient well bearing the same name. Near by it is a very old sycamore, its trunk straggling and gnarled, under which legendary tradition relates that the holy family once rested (Robinson's *Biblical Researches*, i. 36). Heliopolis was the capital of a district or nomos bearing the same name (Plin. *Hist. Nat.* v. 9; Ptolem. iv. 5).

The place is mentioned in Gen. xli. 45, where it is said that Pharaoh gave to Joseph a wife, Asenath, the daughter of Poti-pherah, priest of On (ver. 50). From the passage in Jeremiah (*ut supra*), it may be inferred that it was distinguished for idolatrous worship: 'He shall break also the images of Beth-shemesh that is in the land of Egypt, and the houses of the gods of the Egyptians shall be burn with fire.' The names, 'City of the Sun,' 'Temples of the



Sun,' connected with the place, taken in conjunction with the words just cited from the prophet, seem to refer the mind to the purer form of worship which prevailed at a very early period in Egypt—namely, the worship of the heavenly bodies—and thence to carry the thoughts to the deteriorations which it afterwards underwent in sinking to the adoration of images and animals.

The traces of this city which are found in classic authors correspond with the little of it that we know from the brief intimations of Holy Writ. According to Herodotus (ii. 59), Heliopolis was one of the four great cities that were rendered famous in Egypt by being the centres of solemn religious festivals, which were attended by splendid processions and homage to the gods. In Heliopolis the observance was held in honour of the sun. The majesty of these sacred visits may be best learned now by a careful study of the temples (in their ruins) in which the rites were performed (Wilkinson's *Anc. Egyptians*). Heliopolis had its priesthood, a numerous and learned body, celebrated before other Egyptians for their historical and antiquarian lore; it long continued the university of the Egyptians, the chief seat of their science (Kenrick's *Herod.* ii. 3; Wilkinson); the priests dwelt as a holy community in a spacious structure appropriated to their use. In Strabo's time the halls were to be seen in which Eudoxus and Plato had studied under the direction of the priests of Heliopolis. A detailed description of the temple, with its long alleys of sphinxes, obelisks, etc., may be found in Strabo (xvii.; Joseph. *c. Apion.* ii. 2), who says that the mural sculpture in it was very similar to the old Etruscan and Grecian works. In the temple a bullock was fed—a symbol of the god Mnevis. The city suffered heavily by the Persian invasion. From the time of Shaw and Pococke, the place has been described by many travellers. At an early period remains of the famous temple were found. Abdallatif (A.D. 1200) saw many colossal sphinxes, partly prostrate, partly standing. He also saw the gates or propylæa of the temple covered with inscriptions; he describes two immense obelisks, whose summits were covered with massive brass, around which were others one-half or one-third the size of the first, placed in so thick a mass that they could scarcely be counted; most of them thrown down. An obelisk which the Emperor Augustus caused to be carried to Rome, and placed in the Campus Martius, is held by Zoega (*De Orig. et Usu Obelisci*) to have been brought from Heliopolis, and to have owed its origin to Sesostris. This city furnished works of art to Augustus for adorning Rome, and to Constantine for adorning Constantinople. Ritter (*Erdkunde*, i. 823) says that the sole remaining obelisk is from sixty to seventy feet high, of a block of red granite, bearing hieroglyphics which remind the beholder of what Strabo terms the Etruscan style. 'The figure of the cross which it bears (*crux ansata*) has attracted the special notice of Christian antiquaries' (Ritter).—J. R. B.

ONAN (נָחֵם, *strong, stout*; Sept. Ἀνάν), second son of Judah, who, being constrained by the obligations of the ancient Levirate law to espouse Tamar, his elder brother's widow, took means to frustrate the intention of this usage, which was to provide heirs for a brother who had died childless. This crime, rendered without excuse by the allowance of polygamy, and the seriousness of which can

scarcely be appreciated but in respect to the usages of the times in which it was committed, was punished by premature death (Gen. xxxviii. 4, *seq.*)—J. K.

ONESIMUS (Ὀνήσιμος, *profitable*), a slave belonging to Philemon of Colossæ, who fled from his master, and proceeded to Rome, where he was converted by St. Paul (Philem. 10), who sent him back to his master, with an eloquent letter, the purport of which is described in the article PHILEMON. Onesimus, accompanied by Tychicus, left Rome with not only this epistle, but with those to the Ephesians and Colossians (Col. iv. 9). It is believed that Onesimus, anxious to justify the confidence which Paul reposed in him, by appearing speedily before his master, left Tychicus to take the Epistle to the Ephesians; and hastened to Colossæ, where he doubtless received the forgiveness which Paul had so touchingly implored for him as 'a brother beloved' (*Canon. Apost.* 73). An uncertain tradition makes Onesimus to have been bishop of Bercæ, where he is said to have suffered martyrdom (*Const. Apostol.* vii. 46). In the letter of Ignatius to the church at Ephesus, ch. i., mention is made of an Onesimus who was bishop of that church; but this can hardly be the Onesimus of the N. T. The part which Paul took in this difficult and trying case is highly honourable to him; while for Onesimus himself, the highest praise is, that he obtained the friendship and confidence of the apostle.—J. K.

ONESIPHORUS (Ὀνησιφόρος, *profit-bringer*), a believer of Ephesus, who came to Rome during the second captivity of St. Paul in that city; and having found out the apostle, who was in custody of a soldier, to whose arm his own was chained, was 'not ashamed of his chain,' but attended him frequently, and rendered him all the services in his power. This faithful attachment, at a time of calamity and desertion, was fully appreciated and well remembered by the apostle, who, in his Epistle to Timothy, carefully records the circumstance; and, after charging him to salute in his name 'the household of Onesiphorus,' expresses the most earnest and grateful wishes for his spiritual welfare (2 Tim. ii. 16-18). It would appear from this that Onesiphorus had then quitted Rome.—J. K.

ONIAS (Ὀνίας). Two high-priests of this name are mentioned in the Apocryphal books.

1. The son of Juddua, who succeeded his father about 330 B.C. (Joseph. *Antiq.* xi. 7. 7). He was the father of Simon the Just, and his grandson Onias II., high-priest about B.C. 240 (Ecclus. i. 1; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 2. 4), was father of Simon II., who became high-priest about B.C. 226. The son of this Simon was—

2. Onias III., who succeeded his father about B.C. 198. An informer, Simon, having told Seleucus Philopator of certain treasures laid up in the temple, the king sent Heliodorus to seize them. In vain Onias protested against this sacrilege; but ere Heliodorus had accomplished his design, he was scared by an apparition, and lay dumb and helpless till, by the intercession of Onias, he was restored. Simon misrepresented this to the king, so that Onias found it necessary to appeal to the king in person, in order to protect himself from his malicious endeavours. When, on the death of Seleucus, the supreme power passed into the

hands of Antiochus Epiphanes, Onias found himself supplanted by his brother Jason (B.C. 174), who was in turn displaced by Menelaus, Simon's brother. Menelaus, being reproved by Onias for appropriating the sacred vessels of the temple, suborned Andronicus to assassinate his re-  
rover (B.C. 171), an act which was punished by Antiochus by the execution of the murderer (2 Maccab. iii. 4). The account given by Josephus of the death of Onias is different from this, for he makes Onias die, apparently, a natural death, *after which* his brother Jason became high-priest (*Antiq.* xii. 5. 1). But the authority of Josephus is not such as to set aside the statement of the author of the books of the Maccabees on such a point.—W. L. A.

ONION. [BETZAL.]

ONKELOS, THE PROSELYTE (אונקלוס הגר),

son of Kalonymus (בר קלונימוס), the reputed author of the celebrated Chaldee paraphrase of the Pentateuch called *Targum Onkelos*, was born about 40 A.D., and died in Palestine about 120 A.D. This is evident from the fact that he is spoken of in the *Tosiftha*, which was edited in the 3d century of the Christian era, shortly after the redaction of the Mishna, as a contemporary and disciple of Gamaliel II. (*Tosiftha Mikvaoth*, vi. 1; *Kelim*, iii. 2; *Chagiga*, iii. 1), who was born about A.D. 50, and died about 116 [GAMALIEL II.] His love for his newly-adopted Jewish faith was so intense that, after dividing his paternal inheritance with his brothers, he threw his portion into (ס' המלח) the Dead Sea (*Tosiftha*, Demai, vi. 9); and when Gamaliel, his teacher in the new faith, died, Onkelos, out of reverence for him, burned at his funeral costly garments and furniture to the amount of *seventy Tyrian Minae* = about twenty-one pounds sterling (*Tosiftha Sabbath*, ch. viii.; *Semachoth*, ch. viii.; *Abodah Sarah*, 11 a).\* The Babylonian Talmud says that he was nephew

of the emperor Titus (אונקלוס בר קלוניקום בר אהתיה דטיטוס); and that before his conversion to Judaism he successively conjured up from the other world the ghosts of his uncle Titus, Balaam, and Christ, to inquire of them which nation is the happiest in the next world. Titus, whom he called up first, told him that the Jews were the happiest, but warned him against embracing their faith, because of the great difficulty in fulfilling all its multitudinous commandments, and advised him to persecute them, for every one who oppresses Israel shall become a chief (*Lament.* i. 5). Balaam, whom he brought up next, also told him that the Jews were the most distinguished in the other world, and yet admonished him 'neither to seek their peace nor their prosperity all his days for ever' (*Deut.* xxiii. 6); whilst Christ, whom he called up last, and who also declared that the Jews were the first in the next world, counselled him to seek their good and not their evil, for he who touches them touches the apple of his eyes (*Gittin*, 56 a, 57 b). His conversion to Judaism, however, was no easy thing.

\* The epithet הוקן, *the elder*, which occurs in these passages in connection with Gamaliel, has been shown by Graetz (*Geschichte der Juden*, iv. 152) and others to be a manifest error of the copyist.

For as soon as it was known that 'Onkelos, son of Kalonymos, or Kalonymos, had become a proselyte, the emperor [either Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, or Hadrian, as Titus was dead] sent a Roman cohort to capture him and bring him before the imperial tribunal, but he converted the soldiers. The emperor then sent another cohort, charging them not to speak to him. As they caught him and were marching him off, he simply remarked [מלתא

בעלמא, without its appearing religious or controversial], the פפירא carries the fire before the נפירא, the נפירא before the דוכסא = *dux*, the *dux* before the הנמונא = הגעמט, the הגעמט before the קומא = *καμης*, but who carries the fire before the *καμης*? The soldiers replied, Nobody. Now said Onkelos the holy one, Blessed be he, he carries the fire before Israel, as it is written, The Lord went before them by day in a pillar of cloud to lead them in the way, and by night in a pillar of fire (*Exod.* xiii. 21); and he also converted them. Whereupon the emperor sent a third cohort, charging them very strictly to hold no converse with him whatever. As they captured him, and were leading him away, he looked at the *Mezuza* [MEZUZA], and, putting his hand on it, asked the soldiers what it was. They not being able to say, inquired of him what it was, whereupon he said, It is the custom of this world for a human king to sit inside his palace and for servants to guard him outside, whereas the Holy One, blessed be he, his servants are inside, and he keeps guard outside, as it is written, The Lord watches thy going out and coming in from this time forth and for evermore (*Ps.* cxxi. 8); and Onkelos also converted this cohort, whereupon the emperor would not send any more' (*Abodah Sarah*, 11 a).

The first distinct intimation that Onkelos is the author or compiler of the Chaldee paraphrase which goes by his name, is contained in the following passage:—'R. Jeremiah, and according to others, R. Chija bar Abba, said: The Targum of the Pentateuch was made by Onkelos the Proselyte, from the mouth of R. Eliezer and R. Joshua' (*Megilla*, 3 a). We are also informed here that Onkelos' paraphrase embodied the orally transmitted Chaldee version of the text which the people generally had forgotten. Being, therefore, the floating national Targum, as well as the compilation of Onkelos, the paraphrase is alternately quoted as *weparaphrase* (ברמיתרנומין), *our Targum* (תרנומין דין), *Kiddushin*, 49 a), the Targum has it (בתרנומין), the Targum (תרנומין), and as the Targum Onkelos (אונקלוס). Thus the Targum is distinctly quoted as

the paraphrase of Onkelos (ותרגם אונקלוס) in Pirke Rabbi Eliezer (cap. xxxviii. 28 a, ed. Lemberg, 1858), a Midrash on the principal events recorded in the Pentateuch, which is ascribed to Eliezer b. Hyrcanus, but which is not of a later date than the 9th century [MIDRASH]; by Ibn Koreish, who flourished 870-900 A.D. [IBN KOREISH]; by Menachem b. Saruk (born about 910, died about 970), who, in his lexicon entitled מחברת מנחם, says

ותשב באיתן Onkelos explains (פתר אונקלוס) that וישו בתוקפה רוחצניה (Gen. xlix. 29), וישו איתן (p. 23, s. v. איתן, ed. Filipowski, 1854); and by Dunash Ibn Librat (born about 920, died about 980), in his polemical work against Menachem b. Saruk's Hebrew Lexicon, who cites, with great approba-



tion, *Onkelos'* rendering of וִירְדָנוּ לָרֶב (Gen. xlviii. 16, והֵיטֵב הָיָה פִּירְשׁ אֹנְקֵלוֹס הַמְתוּרָגְמָן בְּאֹמְרוֹ וְכִנּוּי וִירְדָנוּ, ed. Filipowski, 1855, p. 57, s. v. וִירְדָנוּ, comp. also *ibid.* p. 61). \* Those writers alternately quote the Targum by the name of Onkelos, and simply as the *Targum* (תְּרַגְמוֹן, comp. Menachem, p. 144, s. v. פֶּתֶחַ, p. 143, s. v. פֶּנֶךְ) and as it is *paraphrased* (תְּרַגְמוֹן, comp. *ibid.*, p. 19, s. v. אֵלֹהִים). The same is the case with Rashi (born in 1010, died 1105), who, though he distinctly quotes the *Targum of Onkelos* (תְּרַגְמוֹן אֹנְקֵלוֹס) no less than seventeen times in his Comment. on Genesis alone (comp. Comment. on Gen. vi. 6; xiv. 7; xviii. 23; xx. 13, 19; xxii. 2; xxiv. 21; xxxiii. 12; xxxvi. 4; xxxix. 24; xliii. 18; xlix. 9, 10, 11, 17, 24, 27), yet he still more frequently cites it simply as the *Targum* has it (כְּתֻרְגְמוֹן, comp. Comment. on Gen. xi. 6; xii. 17; xiii. 11; xiv. 6, 14, 17; xv. 2, 11; xvi. 14; xvii. 1; xix. 15, 18; xx. 17; xxii. 3; xxiv. 64, *al.*), because everybody knew and believed that it was the Targum of Onkelos.

Modern criticism, however, identifies Onkelos with Aquila, the well-known translator of the O. T. into Greek; and either ascribes to him both the Chaldee and Greek versions, or maintains that the former was made by some unknown person or persons after the model of the latter, and therefore obtained the name Targum Onkelos, which means nothing else than *Aquila-Targum*, or a Targum done in the manner of Aquila. The second is the more general view, and is defended by the following arguments—i. The Jerusalem Talmud (*Megilla*, i. 9) relates—'R. Chija bar Abba said, Akilas the Proselyte made a version under the auspices of R. Eliezer and R. Joshua, and they praised him' (אמר ר' חייא בר אבא תירגם עקילס הנר לפני ר' אליעזר ולפני ר' יהושע וקילס אותו).

ii. This version, which is distinctly quoted by the name of the *Targum of Akilas the Proselyte* (תִּירְגָם עֵקִילָס), is Greek, and agrees for the most part with the fragments preserved of Aquila's translation.

iii. The description given of עֵקִילָס = Aquila, is almost the same as that given of אֹנְקֵלוֹס; he is a heathen by birth, a native of Pontus, a relative of the emperor Hadrian (*Midrash Tanchuma Parsha, (מישפטים)*, or as Epiphanius calls him *πρωτοεπίδης* of the emperor (*De Pond. et Mens.*, sec. 12), became a convert to Judaism, and a disciple and friend of R. Gamaliel II., R. Eliezer, R. Joshua, and R. Akiba (Hieronymus in *Isaiah*, vii. 14; *Jerusalem Kiddushin*, i. 1), made a version under the auspices of these heads of the Jewish community, which they greatly praised (*Jerusalem Megilla*, i. 11; *Jerusalem Kiddushin*, i. 2); and *iv.* It is submitted, that unless the identity of Onkelos and Akilas be accepted, we must believe that two men were living simultaneously, of remarkably similar

names, both relatives of the reigning emperor, both converts to Judaism, both disciples of R. Eliezer and R. Joshua, and both translated the Bible under the auspices and with the approbation of these Rabbins. These are the principal reasons which Levi, Frankel, Graetz, Geiger, Jost, Deutsch, and others, adduce for the identification of the two names, and for taking *Targum Onkelos* to denote a Targum made after the manner of Akilas or Aquila, the Greek translator.

The importance of Onkelos' paraphrase to the criticism and interpretation of the O. T. will be discussed in the article TARGUM. The Targum of Onkelos was first published in the *editio princeps* of the Pentateuch, with the commentary of Rashi, edited by Abraham b. Chajim, Bologna 1482, then in Soria 1490, Lisbon 1491, and in Constantinople 1505. The text of these editions is given in the Complutensian (1517) and the Venice (Bomberg) Polyglotts (1518-26, 1547-49), and in Buxtorf's Rabbinical Bible (1619), as well as in the Paris (1645) and Walton's (1657) Polyglotts. It has since been printed in almost every edition of the Pentateuch with the Jewish commentaries, but the best text is the Wilna edition, 1852. Onkelos has been translated into Latin by Alphonso de Zamora, given in the Complutensian (1517), Antwerp (1572), and in Walton's (1657) Polyglotts; and printed separately, Antwerp 1535, by Sebastian Münster, 1526; Paul Fagius, 1546; and by John Mercer, 1566. Onkelos on *Genesis* and *Exodus* has been translated into English by Etheridge, Longman, 1862. Useful glosses and commentaries have been written by Is. Berlin, entitled *מיני תרגומא*, Breslau 1827, Wilna 1836; by Luzzatto, entitled *אהבה נר*, Vienna 1830; and by Ben Zion, called *עוטה אור*, Wilna 1843.

*Literature.*—A thorough discussion of this much-disputed Onkelos question will be found in the dissertations of De Rossi, *Meor Enajim*, iii. cap. xlv. p. 233 b, ff., ed. Vienna, 1829; Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraica*, ii. 1147, seq.; iii. 890, seq.; Landau, *Rabbinisch-aram.-deutsches Wörterbuch*, i. 11-16, 36-39; Zuntz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, Berlin 1832, p. 61, ff.; Levi, in Geiger's *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift*, vol. v., Leipzig 1843, p. 175, ff.; Anger, *De Onkeloso*, Leipzig 1846; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. iv., Berlin 1853, pp. 124, ff.; 508, ff.; Herzfeld, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. ii., Nordhausen 1857, pp. 61, ff.; 551, ff.; 609; Jost, *Geschichte des Judenthums*, vol. ii., Leipzig 1858, p. 52, ff.; Deutsch, in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, article *Versions*.—C. D. G.

ONO (אֹנוֹן; equivalent to אֹנוֹן, 'strong'; 'אֹנוֹן; 'אֹנוֹן; Alex. 'אֹנוֹ, and 'אֹנוֹן; Ono), a town of Benjamin, built, together with Lod, by the sons of Elpaal (1 Chron. viii. 12). It was recaptured after the captivity, and is again grouped with Lod (Ezra ii. 33; Neh. vii. 37). It appears that there was a plain at or near it, called by the same name בִּקְעַת אֹנוֹן, 'plain of Ono,' Neh. vi. 2). A valley (?) is also mentioned in connection with it by Nehemiah: 'Lod and Ono, the valley of craftsmen' (xi. 35, cf. 1 Chron. iv. 14). The plain and valley may perhaps have been identical; and some depression or broad torrent-bed in the plain of Sharon may have been meant by the sacred writers.

In the *Notitie Ecclesiastica*, an episcopal city called *Onus* is mentioned (Reland, *Pal.*, p. 225),

\* Mr. Deutsch, in his excellent article *Targum*, in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, s. v. *Versions*, is therefore wrong in his assertion that 'from that time, i.e., the 9th century, three centuries elapsed during which the version was quoted often enough, but without its authorship being ascribed to Onkelos.' Dr. Levi's similar statement (in Geiger's *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift*, v. 185) was made long before the works of Menachem and Dunash were published.

which is probably the Hebrew Ono. Ono is also several times spoken of in the Talmud, and is located three miles from Lod, or Lydda (Lightfoot, *Opera*, ii. 426; Reland, p. 913). There is a small village with ruins, *five* Roman miles north of Lydda, which is probably, as Van de Velde suggests (*Memoir*, p. 337), the Ono of the O. T. Two objections may be urged against this view; 1st, The distance is too great—*five* miles instead of *three*; but then the Rabbins were not very accurate geographers. 2d, In the modern name the letter *Ain* is found (عانا, or عونا), which makes it radically different from the Hebrew; but there are other instances in which the Hebrew א has been changed into the firmer Arabic ع. There is a *Beit Unia* in the mountains between Bethel and Beth-horon; but it is much too far distant from Lydda to be identified with Ono (see, however, Winer, *R. W.*, s. v.)—J. L. P.

ONYCHA. [SHEHELETH.]

ONYX. [SHOHAM; YAHALOM.]

OPHEL. [JERUSALEM.]

'OPHER (עֹפֶר; Arabic العُفْر *algufra*), in the Song of Solomon (ch. iv. 5), denotes the calf or fawn of a stag [AII]; it occurs in no other book of Scripture, is unknown in the Syriac and Chaldee, and appears to be only a poetical application of a term more strictly belonging to fawn-like animals; for in the above passage it is applied to couples feeding in a bed of lilies—indications not descriptive of young goats or stags, but quite applicable to the antelope groups which are characterized in Griffith's Cuvier, in subgenus x. *Cephalophus*, and xi. *Neotragus*; both furnishing species of exceeding delicacy and graceful diminutive structures, several of which habitually feed in pairs among shrubs and geraniums on the hilly plains of Africa; and as they have always been and still are in request among the wealthy in warm climates for domestication, we may conjecture that a species designated by the name of Opher was to be found in the parks or royal gardens of a sovereign so interested in natural history as Solomon was, and from the sovereign's own observation became alluded to in the truly apposite imagery of his poetical diction (Cant. iv. 12). Among the species in question, in which both male and female are exceedingly similar, and which might have reached him by sea or by caravan, we may reckon *Cephalophus Grimmia*, *C. Perpusilla*, *C. Philantomba*, all marked by a small black tuft of hair between their very short horns, as also the *Neotragus Pygmaea*, or Guevei, the smallest of cloven-footed animals, and the Madoka, with speckled legs; all these species being natives of Central Africa, and from time immemorial brought by caravans from the interior, for sale or presents.—C. H. S.

'OPHERETH. [LEAD.]

OPHIR occurs, first, as the proper name of one of the thirteen sons of Joktan, the son of Eber, a great-grandson of Shem, in Gen. x. 26-29 (אֹפִיר; Sept. *Ὀφείρ*; Vulg. *Ophir*). Many Arabian countries are believed to have been peopled by these persons, and to have been called after their respective names, as Sheba, etc., and among

others Ophir (Bochart, *Phaleg*, iii. 15). Ophir occurs also as the name of a place, country, or region, famous for its gold, which Solomon's ships visited in company with the Phœnician (אֹפִיר;

Sept. *Ὀφείρ*, *Ὀφείρ*; *Σουφείρ*, *Σουφείρ*, *Σωφείρ*, *Σωφείρ*; Alex. *Σωφάρ* and *Σωφηρά*; Ald. *Σαπφείρ*; Cam. *Ὀπφείρ*; Alex. and Cam. *Ὀφείρ*; Vulg. *Ophir*). The difficulty is to ascertain where Ophir was situated. Some writers, reasoning from the etymology of the word, which is supposed to mean dust, etc., have inferred almost every place where gold dust is procured in abundance. Others have rested their conclusions upon the similarity of the name in Hebrew to that of other countries, as, for instance, Apher, a port of Arabia mentioned by Arrian in his *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*; or upon the similarity of the name in the Sept., *Σωφείρ*; hence Sofala, etc.: and others, by a transposition of the letters of the Hebrew word, have, among other conjectures, even made out Peru! By such methods of investigation the following countries, among others, have been proposed: Melindah on the coast of Africa, Angola, Carthage, St. Domingo, Mexico, New Guinea, Urphe an island in the Red Sea, and Ormuz in the Persian Gulf. Bochart thinks that the Ophir from which David obtained gold (1 Chron. xxix. 4) was the Cassanitis of Ptolemy and Stephanus, on the coast of Arabia; while that visited by the fleet of Solomon was Taprobanè, now called Ceylon (*Geogr. Sacra*, ii. 27). Pegu is the place selected by Maffei (*Hist. Ind.*, lib. i.) Others decide in favour of the peninsula of Malacca, which abounds in precious ores, apes, and peacocks: others prefer Sumatra, for the same reason. Lipenius, relying on the authority of Josephus, Theodoret, and Procopius, who call Ophir 'the golden land,' 'the golden chersonese,' says that the children of Joktan peopled all the countries bounded by the eastern seas, and that Ophir includes not only Sumatra or Malacca, but every coast and island from Ceylon to the Indian Archipelago. We shall now lay before the readers what we conceive to be the exact amount of our information respecting Ophir, and show how far it applies to what appear to us to be the three most probable theories respecting its situation—namely, Arabia, Africa, and India. Ophir is mentioned in the following thirteen passages; Gen. x. 29; 1 Chron. i. 23; 1 Kings ix. 28; 2 Chron. viii. 18; ix. 10; 1 Kings x. 11; xxii. 48; 1 Chron. xxix. 4; Job xxii. 24; xxviii. 16; Ps. xlv. 9; Is. xiii. 12; Eccus. vii. 18. Only seven of these passages afford even the slightest clue to its position, and these are reduced to three when the parallel passages and texts in which Ophir is not a local name have been withdrawn. We further think that the situation of Tarshish is not in any way connected with this inquiry. It is indeed said, in reference to the voyage to Ophir, that 'Solomon had at sea a navy of Tarshish, and that once in three years came the navy of Tarshish' (1 Kings x. 22); and that 'Jehoshaphat made ships of Tarshish to go to Ophir for gold' (1 Kings xxii. 48); but the word may denote large merchant ships bound on long voyages, perhaps distinguished by their construction from the common Phœnician ships, even though they were sent to other countries instead of Tarshish (compare the English naval phrase, an Indian,



and see Is. xliii. 1; lx. 9; Ps. xlviii. 7; Is. ii. 16; and although the Tarshish ships which went to Ophir (1 Kings xxii. 48, etc.) are expressly said by the writer of Chronicles to have gone to Tarshish (2 Chron. ix. 21; xx. 36, 37), yet in the interval between the composition of the books of Kings and that of Chronicles the name was most probably transferred to denote any distant country [TARSHISH]. The utmost that can be said is, that Solomon sent ships to Tarshish as well as to Ophir, but it cannot be proved that the same ships are meant, or that they went to both places in the same voyage. It seems to us most probable that Solomon sent direct to Ophir for gold, wherever it might be; and that, whereas it had been hitherto procured from thence by David, etc., by foreign merchants, Solomon fitted out a fleet to obtain it at first hand. Neither do we think that the time occupied by the voyage to Ophir is precisely determinable from the words 'once in three years came the navy' (1 Kings x. 22). Upon the whole, then, our information appears to amount to this, that King Solomon made a navy of ships in Ezion-geber, which is beside Eloth, on the shore of the Red Sea, in the land of Edom, and that his Phœnician neighbour and ally, Hiram, king of Tyre, sent in this navy his servants, shipmen that had knowledge of the sea, with the servants of Solomon, and that they came to Ophir, and fetched from thence gold, and brought it to Solomon (1 Kings ix. 26-29), and that they brought in the same voyage algum or almug trees and precious stones (1 Kings x. 11), silver, ivory, apes, or rather monkeys, and peacocks, or, according to some, pheasants, and to others, parrots; and that gold in great abundance and of the purest quality was procured from Ophir (1 Chron. xxix. 4; Job xxviii. 16), rendered by Symmachus χρυσὸς πρωτεύος (Ps. xlv. 9; Is. xlii. 12); Vulg. *mundo obrizo* (Eccles. vii. 18). The first theory which appears to be attended with some degree of evidence not purely fanciful, is that Ophir was situate in Arabia. In Gen. x. 29, Ophir stands in the midst of other Arabian countries. Still, as Gesenius observes, it is possibly mentioned in that connection only on account of its being an Arabian colony planted abroad. Though gold is not now found in Arabia (Niebuhr, *Description de l'Arabie*, Copenhagen, 1773, p. 124), yet the ancients ascribe it to the inhabitants in great plenty (Judg. viii. 24, 26; 2 Chron. i. 1; 1 Kings x. 1, 2; Ps. lxxii. 15). This gold, Dr. Lee thinks, was no other than the gold of Havilah (Gen. ii. 11), which he supposes to have been situate somewhere in Arabia, and refers to Gen. x. 7, 29; xxv. 18; 1 Sam. xv. 7; 1 Chron. i. 9 (*Translation of the Book Job, etc.*, Lond. 1837, p. 55). But Diodorus Siculus ascribes gold mines to Arabia: Μεταλλεύεται δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀραβίαν καὶ ὁ παραγαγόμενος ἄπυρος χρυσὸς (comp. Gen. ii. 12), οὐχ ὥσπερ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκ ψηγμάτων καθεψομένους, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ὀρυττόμενος εὐρίσκεται (ii. 30). He also testifies to the abundance of 'precious stones' in Arabia (ii. 54), especially among the inhabitants of Sabas (iii. 46; comp. Gen. ii. 12; 2 Chron. ix. 1; 1 Kings x. 1, 2). Pliny also speaks of the 'Sabæi ditissimi auri metallis' (*Hist. Nat.* vi. 32). Again, 'Litius Hammaum, ubi auri metalla' (*ib.*). Others suppose that though Ophir was situate somewhere on the coast of Arabia, it was rather an emporium, at which the Hebrews and Tyrians obtained gold, silver, ivory, apes, almug-trees, etc., brought thither from India

and Africa by the Arabian merchants, and even from Ethiopia, to which Herodotus (iii. 114) ascribes gold in great quantities, elephants' teeth, and trees and shrubs of every kind. Apes, properly speaking, are also ascribed to it by Pliny (viii. 19); who speaks also of the confluence of merchandise in Arabia: 'Sabæi mirumque dictu, ex innumeris populis pars æqua in commerciis aut latrociniiis degit: in universum gentes ditissimæ, ut apud quas maximæ opes Romanorum Parthorumque subsistant, videntibus quæ e mari aut sylvis capiunt' (*ut supra*). A little before he speaks of the Arabian emporiums; 'Insulæ multæ: emporium eorum Acila, ex quo in Indiam navigatur.' Again: 'Thimaneos...Areni: oppidum in quo omnis negotiatio convenit' (comp. Strabo, xvi. 1; 2 Chron. ix. 1; Ezek. xxvii. 21, 22; and Diod. Sic. ii. 54). In behalf of the supposition that Ophir was the Arabian port Aphar, already referred to, it may be remarked that the name has undergone similar changes to that of the Sept. of Ophir; for it is called by Arrian Aphar, by Pliny Saphar, by Ptolemy Sapphera, and by Stephanus Saphirini. Grotius thinks this to be Ophir. The very name El Ophir has been lately pointed out as a city of Oman, in former times the centre of a very active Arabian commerce (Seetzen, in *Zach's Monatl. Correspond.* xix. 331, ff.). In the article Ophir in the *Encyclopædia Londinensis*, great stress is laid upon the objection that if Ophir had been anywhere in Arabia or Asia, Solomon could have conveyed the commodities he procured from it by caravans: but surely a water-carriage was more convenient, at least for the almug-trees, which he procured from Ophir, and of which he made pillars for the house of the Lord and for the king's house (2 Chron. ix. 10, 11) [ALGUM], and which it is highly improbable he had the means of conveying by land. In favour of the theory which places Ophir in Africa, it has been suggested that we have the very name in אֹפִיר *afri*, Africa, the Roman termination, Africa terra, and that Tarshish was some city or country in Africa; that the Chald. Targumist on 1 Kings xxii. 48 so understood it, where he renders חֲרִשִׁיט by אֹפִיריקה. He probably inferred from 2 Chron. xx. 36, that to go to Ophir and to Tarshish was one and the same thing, and that Tarshish there meant the name of a place. Origen also says, on Job xxii. 24, that some of the interpreters understood Ophir to be Africa. Michaelis supposes that Solomon's fleet, coming down the Red Sea from Ezion-geber, coasted along the shore of Africa, doubling the Cape of Good Hope, and came to Tarshish, which he, with many others, supposes to have been Tartessus in Spain, and thence back again the same way; that this conjecture accounts for their three years' voyage out and home; and that Spain and the coasts of Africa furnished all the commodities which they brought back (*Spicileg. Geogr. Hebr. Exteræ*, p. 98). Strabo indeed says that Spain abounded in gold, and immensely more so in silver (see 1 Maccab. viii. 3). Others have not hesitated to carry Solomon's fleet round from Spain up the Mediterranean to Joppa. The chief support for this supposition is the very remarkable statement of Herodotus, that Necho, king of Egypt, the Pharaoh-Necho of Scripture, whose enterprising disposition appears from his project to unite the Nile and the Red Sea by a canal, 'dispatched some vessels, under the conduct of Phœnicians, with directions to pass by the columns of

Hercules, now called the Straits of Gibraltar, and after penetrating the Northern Ocean to return to Egypt; that these Phœnicians, taking their course from the Red Sea, entered into the Southern Ocean, and on the approach of autumn landed in Libya, and planted some corn in the place where they happened to find themselves; that when this was ripe they cut it down and departed. Having thus consumed two years, they in the *third* year doubled the columns of Hercules, and returned to Egypt.' He adds, 'This relation may obtain attention from others, but to me it seems incredible, for they affirmed that, having sailed round Libya, they had the sun on their right hand.' Thus, he observes, 'was Libya for the first time known' (iv. 42). It seems certain that this voyage was accomplished, for the mariners would have the sun on their right hand after passing the line, a fact which never could have been imagined in that age, when astronomy was in its infancy; and it has been supposed that this was the voyage made 'once in three years' by Solomon's fleet, under the conduct also of Phœnician mariners. But, assuming this to have been the case, it seems strange that the knowledge and record of it should have been so completely lost in the time of Pharaoh-Necho, only three centuries after Solomon, as that Herodotus, whose information and accuracy appear from this very account, should say that Libya, evidently meaning the circuit of it by the sea, was thus for the first time known. Heeren finds an answer in the desolating ravages of the Babylonian conquerors, and indeed in the protracted siege of Tyre itself by Nebuchadnezzar, which followed shortly after the time of Solomon. It seems likely indeed that Necho had heard of such a passage, and believed that the Phœnicians knew how to find it; and that it was not much frequented during many subsequent ages, appears from the notice taken by Pliny of the few who had accomplished it (*Hist. Nat.* ii. 67); and it was, we know, after his time unused and forgotten till recovered by the Spaniards, A.D. 1497. It must be allowed that, if Solomon's fleet actually pursued this course, then Ophir as Africa, and Tartessus in Spain as Tarshish, seem on many accounts very plausible suppositions. In behalf of the conjecture that Ophir was in India, the following arguments are alleged: that it is most natural to understand from the narrative that all the productions said to have been brought from Ophir came from one and the same country, and that they were all procurable only from India. The Sept. translators also appear to have understood it to be India, from rendering the word *Σωφίρ*, *Σωφίρ*, *Σωφίρ*, which is the Egyptian name for that country. Champollion says that, in the Coptic vocabularies India bears the name *Σοφίρ* (*L'Egypte*

*sons les Pharaons*, Paris 1814, tom. i. p. 98; Jablonskii *Opuscula*, Lug. Bat. 1804, tom. i. p. 336, etc.) Josephus also gives to the sons of Joktan the locality from Cophen, an Indian river, and in part of Asia adjoining it (*Antiq.* i. 6. 4). He also expressly and unhesitatingly affirms that the land to which Solomon sent for gold was 'anciently called Ophir, but now the Aurea Chersonesus, which belongs to India' (*Antiq.* viii. 6. 4). The Vulgate renders the words 'the gold of Ophir' (Job xxviii. 16) by 'tinctis Indice coloribus.' Hesychius thus defines *Σωφίρ*: *χώρα, ἐν ᾗ οἱ πολῦτοι λίθοι, καὶ ὁ χρυσός, ἐν Ἰνδία*; and Suidas,

*Σωφίρ, χώρα ἐν Ἰνδία*; and see Eusebii *Onomasi.* p. 146, ed. Clerici. There are several places comprised in that region which was actually known as India to the ancients [INDIA], any of which would have supplied the cargo of Solomon's fleet: for instance, the coast of Malabar, where the natives still call the peacock *togei*, which is supposed to resemble the Hebrew *הכיים*. Perhaps the most probable of all is Malacca, which is known to be the Aurea Chersonesus of the ancients. It is also worthy of remark that the natives of Malacca still call their gold-mines *ophirs*. De P. Poivre says, 'Les îles malaises produisent beaucoup de bois de teinture surtout du sapan, qui est le même que le bois de Bresil. On y trouve plusieurs mines d'or, qui les habitants de Malaca et de Sumatra nomment *ophirs*, et dont quelques-unes, surtout celles qui renferme la côte orientale de Celebes, et les îles adjacentes, sont plus riches que toutes celles du Perou et du Bresil' (*Voyage d'un Philosophe, Œuvres Complètes*, Paris 1797, p. 123). On the other hand, some writers give a wider extent to the country in question. Heeren observes that 'Ophir, like the name of all other very distant places or regions of antiquity—like Thule, Tartessus, and others—denotes no particular spot, but only a certain region or part of the world, such as the East or West Indies in modern geography. Hence Ophir was the general name for the rich countries of the south lying on the African, Arabian, or Indian coasts, as far as at that time known' (*Historical Researches, translated from the German*, Oxford 1833, vol. ii., pp. 73, 74). It remains to be observed, that in Jer. x. 9 we have 'the gold from Uphaz,' *אופז*; and in Dan. x. 5, 'the fine gold of Uphaz;' and see the Heb. of 1 Kings x. 18. In these instances Uphaz is, by a slight change of pronunciation, put for Ophir. The words of Daniel are quoted and paraphrased in Rev. i. 13, in a manner which shows this to be the true explanation of the difference. If the words 'the gold of Parvaim' (*פרוים*, 2 Chron. iii. 6) be really, as Bochart conjectures, the same with *אופז*, the name had undergone a still wider alteration. It was by taking this for granted, and arguing from the similarity, that the wild conjecture that Ophir was Peru was obtained. The alterations suffered by the Septuagint words are before the reader. Among other works on this controversy not before referred to, see Wahnner, *De Regione Ophir*; Tychsen, *De Commerc. Hebr. in Comment. Gott.* xvi. 164, etc.; Huetii *Commentatio de Navigatione Salomonis*; Reland, *Dissert. Miscell.* i. 172; or in Ugolini *Thesaurus*, vii.—J. F. D.

OPHNI (*העפני*), the 'Ophnite', a city of the Benjamites (Josh. xviii. 24). Properly it is *כפר העפני*, *K'far Ha-'Ophni*, the village of the 'Ophnite, like the preceding *K'far Ha-Ammoni*, village of the Ammonites. 'Ophni is probably a gentile from *עפן*, 'Ophen, the Gophna of Josephus (*Antiq.* xiv. 11. 2, et *saepe*); Ptolemy (iv. 16); and the *Onomasticon* (s. v. *φάρμαξ βότρυος*), which Robinson identifies with the modern *Jifna* or *Jifna* (*B. R.*, ii. 79; Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. 41).—W. L. A.

OPHRAH (*עפרה*, 'a fawn,' or 'dust'; *Ἐφραθά*, *Γοφερά*; Alex. *Ἀφρά*; *Ophra*, *Aphra*). 1. A town of Benjamin, situated among the mountains, and apparently not far distant from Bethel and Geba



(Josh. xviii. 23). One of the bands of Philistine spoilers was seen by the Israelites to go out from Michmash 'unto the way that leadeth to Ophrah;' and from the direction taken by the other bands, it would appear that Ophrah must have been to the north of Michmash (1 Sam. xiii. 17). Jerome locates it five miles from Bethel towards the east (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Aphra*), which pretty nearly accords with the above indication, as Bethel is north-west of Michmash. These notices also suggest the identity of Ophrah with *Ephraim*, a city which king Abijah took from Jeroboam along with Bethel. The names (עפרה and עפרון or עפרין; Greek Ἐφρών) are radically the same, only differing in termination (2 Chron. xiii. 19). We read in Josephus, also, that Vespasian captured a small town near Bethel called *Ephraim*, which appears to be the same place (*Bell. Jud.* iv. 9. 9). And probably it was to the same place, Ephraim (Ἐφραῖμ), Christ went from Jerusalem after the resurrection of Lazarus (John xi. 54; see EPHRAIM). The site has not been certainly identified. No village or ruin of that name now exists in the district. Dr. Robinson suggested that probably the village of *Taiyibeh* may be its modern representative. The site is commanding; ancient ruins exist upon it; and the position suits the ancient notices. More than this, however, cannot be said. Stanley and Van de Velde adopt the suggestion, which, however, requires confirmation (Robinson, *B. R.*, i. 447; Stanley, p. 211; Van de Velde, *Memoir*, p. 238). *Taiyibeh* is about five Roman miles north-east of Bethel, and nearly six north of Michmash.

2. A city of Manasseh, as may be inferred from the fact that it was the native-place, and burial-place, of Gideon the Manassite (Judg. viii. 27, 32; vi. 15). The angel which appeared to summon him to deliver Israel 'sat under an oak which was in Ophrah, that pertained unto Joash the Abiezrite' (vi. 11). The place was celebrated for a time on account of the idolatrous rites established by Gideon (viii. 27); but its importance soon declined, and it disappears altogether from Jewish history. Neither Eusebius nor Jerome appears to have known anything of it (Reland, p. 913). Its site has not been identified. The *Erfai* suggested by Van de Velde (*Memoir*, 338) is much too far south.

The prophet Micah, when foretelling the destruction of the land and cities of Israel, says, '*In the house of Aphrah roll thyself in the dust.*' *Aphrah* is in the Hebrew the same as *Ophrah*. The rendering in the A. V. does not express the meaning of the original very clearly or forcibly. There is a play upon the word, '*In Beth-Ophrah roll thyself in Ophr*' ('dust'); or, in the *house of dust roll thyself in dust* (Micah i. 10). *Beth-Ophrah* (לעפרה בבית); the ל appears to be merely the sign of the genitive; ξξ οίκου κατὰ γέλωτα; *in domo Pulveris pulvere vos conspergite*) is probably identical with *Ophrah* of Manasseh; and the prophet perhaps intends some allusion to Gideon's deliverance, and to the fact that there would be none like him to deliver them in time of oppression.—J. L. P.

OPITZ, HEINRICH, D.D., and successively professor of Greek, of Oriental Languages, and of Theology, in the University of Kiel, was born at Altenberg, 14th February 1642, and died at Kiel

24th January 1712. He published an edition of the Hebrew Bible, the text of which is formed on a collation of the best editions and MSS., compared with the Massora, Kiel 1709, 4to. He wrote also *Syriasmus facilitati et integritati sue Restitutus, simulque Hebr. et Chald. harmonicus*, Lips. 1691; and *Chaldaismus Targum., Talm., Rabbin. Hebraismo harmonicus*, Kiel 1696. These are very valuable books.—W. L. A.

ORATOR. This term occurs twice in the A. V., once as the rendering of the Hebrew לָחַשׁ (Is. iii. 3), which, from לָחַשׁ to whisper or mutter, properly means an incantation or magic charm [DIVINATION]; and once as the rendering of the Greek ῥήτωρ (Acts xxiv. 1), the designation of Tertullus, the advocate of the Jews who accused St. Paul before Felix [TERTULLUS].—W. L. A.

'OREB (עֹרֵב; Chald. עֲרִבָא; κόραξ; also Luke xii. 24, only). The Hebrew word occurs in Gen. viii. 7; Lev. xi. 15; Deut. xiv. 14; 1 Kings xvii. 4-6; Job xxxviii. 41, etc., where it is rendered in the A. V. RAVEN. The raven is so generally confounded with the carrion crow, that even in the works of naturalists the figure of the latter has been sometimes substituted for that of the former, and the manners of both have been mixed up together. They are, it is true, very similar, belonging to the same Linnæan genus, *Corvus*, and having the same intensely black colour; but the raven is the larger, weighing about three pounds; has proportionably a smaller head, and a bill fuller and stouter at the point. Its black colour is more iridescent, with gleams of purple passing into green, while that of the crow is more steel-blue; the raven is also gifted with greater sagacity; may be taught to articulate words; is naturally observant and solitary; lives in pairs; has a most acute scent; and flies to a great height. Unlike the crow, which is gregarious in its habits, the raven will not even suffer its young, from the moment they can shift for themselves, to remain within its haunt; and therefore, though a bird found nearly in all countries, it is nowhere abundant.

Whether the raven of Palestine is the common species, or the *Corvus Montanus* of Temminck, is not quite determined; for there is of the ravens, or greater form of crows, a smaller group including two or three others, all similar in manners, and unlike the carrion crows (*Corvus Corone*, Linn.), which are gregarious, and seemingly identical in both hemispheres. Sometimes a pair of ravens will descend without fear among a flight of crows, take possession of the carrion that may have attracted them, and keep the crows at a distance till they themselves are gorged. The habits of the whole genus, typified by the name *oreb*, render it unclean in the Hebrew law; and the malignant, ominous expression of the raven, together with the colour of its plumage, powers of voice, and solitary habits, are the causes of that universal and often superstitious attention with which mankind have ever regarded it. This bird is the first mentioned in the Bible, as being sent forth by Noah out of the ark on the subsiding of the waters; and in 1 Kings xvii. 4, ravens bring flesh and bread at morning and eve to the prophet Elijah. Here the *orebim* are manifestly true ravens, whereof a pair would be sufficient to carry the scanty meal of an Oriental

abstemious man; for, independently of the different mode of writing the name, if the word had implied persons residing at a village called Aorabi or Orbo, as presumed by some critics, there would have been no miraculous interposition of the Lord to feed the concealed prophet, but a common, and on this occasion merely a secret resolution, on the part of a few pious men, to give food to a proscribed person.—C. H. S.

OREB and ZEEB (עֹרֵב וְזֵעֵב; Sept. Ὀρεβ καὶ Ζήβ), the remarkable names (*raven and wolf*) of two emirs of the Midianites, who were made prisoners by the Ephraimites in attempting to recross the Jordan after the victory of Gideon. They were put to death by the captors, and their heads carried as a trophy to the conqueror, who was then on the other side the Jordan (Judg. vii. 25; viii. 3). The first of these princes met his death near a rock, which thenceforth bore his name (Is. x. 26); the other seems to have at first sought refuge in one of those excavations in which wines were preserved, and which was thenceforth called the winepress of Zeeb (Judg. vii. 25).

OREB, THE ROCK (צֹר עֹרֵב, Judg. vii. 25; Sept. Σοῦρ; Alex. Σουπελ, Is. x. 26; Sept. ὁ ῥόπος Σλίψεως), the place where the men of Ephraim put to death 'Oreb, one of the princes of Midian, from which it derived its name. It has not been identified. Reland (*Palest.* p. 913) thinks it must have been on the east of the Jordan, and suggests that it may have been 'Orbo, a place in the neighbourhood of Bethshean, mentioned by the Rabbinical writers. But it is more probable that the Ephraimites would intercept the Midianites on the west than on the east side of Jordan; and as Gideon seems to have crossed the Jordan in hot pursuit of the flying enemy (viii. 4), it is more probable that they carried the heads of Oreb and Zeeb to him on the east side after he had crossed, than that they carried them from the east to the west side before he had crossed.—W. L. A.

OREN (אֹרֵן) occurs only once in Scripture, and is variously translated; but from the manner in which it is introduced, it is impossible to determine whether any of the translations are correct. The *oren* is mentioned with other trees, of whose timber idols were made, where, Is. xlv. 14, though the A. V. renders it *ash*, others consider *pine-tree* to be the correct translation; but for neither does there appear to be any decisive proof, nor for the *rubus* or *bramble*, adopted for *oren* in the fable of the Cedar and Rubus, translated from the Hebrew of R. Berechiah Hannakdan, by Celsius (*Hierobot.* i. 186).

*Oren* is translated *pine-tree* both in the Greek Septuagint and the Latin Vulgate, and this has been acquiesced in by several of the most learned critics, and among them by Calvin and Bochart. Celsius (*l. c.* p. 191) states, moreover, that some of the Rabbins also consider *oren* to be the same as the Arabic *sunober* (which is no doubt a pine), and that they often join together, *arasin*, *aranim*, and *beroschim*, as trees of the same nature. Luther and the Portuguese version read cedar. Rosenmüller contends that it is not the common wild pine (*pinus sylvestris*) which is intended, but what the ancients called the domestic pine, which was raised in gardens on account of its elegant shape

and the pleasant fruit it yields, the Pignole nuts of the Italians (*Pinus pinea* of Linnæus), and quotes Virgil as saying, 'Fraxinus in sylvis pulcherrima, pinus in hortis.'

The English version instead of *pine* gives *ash* as the translation of *oren*; in consequence, probably, of *ornus* having been adopted by several translators, apparently only because the elementary letters of the Hebrew are found also in the Latin word. Celsius objects to this as an insufficient reason for supposing that the ash was intended; and there does not appear to be any other proof. *Ornus europæa*, or manna ash, does, however, grow in Syria, but being a cultivated plant, it may have been introduced. Celsius quotes from the Arab author, 'Abu l Fadli, the description of a tree called اران *arân*, which appears well suited to the passage, though it has not yet been ascertained what tree is intended. The *aran* is said to be a tree of Arabia Petrea, of a thorny nature, inhabiting the valleys, but found also in the mountains, where it is however less thorny. The wood is said to be much valued for cleaning the teeth. The fruit is in bunches like small grapes. The berry is noxious while green, and bitter like galls; as it ripens it becomes red, then black and somewhat sweetish, and when eaten is grateful to the stomach, etc., and seems to act as a stimulant medicine. Sprengel supposes this to be the caper plant, *Capparis spinosa* of Linnæus. Faber thought it to be the *Rhamnus siculus pentaphyllus* of Shaw. Link identifies it with *Flacourtia sepaiaria* of Roxburgh, a tree, however, which has not been found in Syria. To us it appears to agree in some respects with *Salvadora persica*, but not in all points, and therefore it is preferable to leave it as one of those still requiring investigation by some traveller in Syria conversant both with plants and their Oriental names and uses.—J. F. R.

#### ORGAN. [MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.]

ORIGEN (Ὠριγένης = *born of Or*, i. e., *Horus*), surnamed the Adamantine, the most learned and one of the most influential of the Christian Fathers, was born probably at Alexandria, A.D. 185. His father, Leonidas, was a Christian, and suffered martyrdom for his attachment to the cause of Christ, A. D. 202. It is probable he was a Christian before his son's birth; for though the name borne by the latter may have had a heathen origin, it does not follow that his parents, in giving it him, were heathens; it may have been a name which, for family reasons, they wished to retain; and there are instances besides this of Christian parents giving their children names of heathen origin. Being a man of culture as well as piety, Leonidas sought to imbue the mind of his son with the love of letters as well as with sacred knowledge drawn from the Scriptures. After his father's death, Origen was enabled, by the liberality of a Christian lady, to continue his studies; and such was his progress in these, that when scarcely eighteen years of age, he was called by Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria, to fill the office of catechete. In this he faithfully laboured for many years, devoting himself also to the study of Scripture and to sacred literature generally. His reputation was widely extended by his teaching and his writings; but for some reason, probably the freedom of some of his opinions, he did not win the favour of the Christian community



at Alexandria. On his way to Greece, he was, in the year 227, ordained a presbyter in Palestine by the bishop of Caesarea, a distinction which was the source to him of much trouble and vexation to the end of his life. His sufferings in the Decian persecution hastened his decease, which took place in 254.

Origen was a man of great natural ability, of indefatigable assiduity in the pursuit of knowledge, of an independent cast of mind, of vast learning, and of great honesty of purpose. On some points of doctrine he departed from the standard of orthodoxy, for which he still rests under the censure of the Roman Catholic Church; but the services he rendered to the cause of Christianity generally, and especially to that of Biblical literature, must ever command for him a place of high honour and esteem among the worthies of the church. His collected works (some of which exist only in a Latin translation), in the best edition, that of De la Rue, occupy 4 vols. fol., Par. 1740-59, in that of Lommatzsch, 25 vols. 12mo, Berol. 1832-48. Besides Commentaries or Homilies on the principal books of Scripture (of which a separate edition was issued by Huet under the title *Origenis in SS. Commentarii quaecunque graece reperiri potuerunt*, 2 vols. fol., Rothom. 1668, Par. 1679, col. 1685), Origen wrote a reply to the attack of Celsus on Christianity (*Contra Celsum*, ed. Spencer, 4to, Cantab. 1658); a compend of theology (*De Principiis*, ed. Redepenning, Lips. 1836), a treatise on prayer (*De Oratione*, 12mo, Oxon. 1685; 4to ed., Reading, Lond. 1728), etc. A selection of remarks on difficult passages of Scripture was made from his commentaries by Basil the Great and Gregory of Nazianzum, under the title of *Philocalia* (ed. Tarinus, 4to, Par. 1619; ed. Spencer, Cantab. 1658). Origen's most important contribution to Biblical literature was his elaborate attempt to rectify the text of the Septuagint by collating it with the Hebrew original and other Greek versions. On this he spent twenty-eight years, during which he travelled through the East collecting materials. The form in which he first issued the result of his labours was that of the *Tetrapla*, which presented in four columns the texts of the LXX., Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. He next issued the *Hexapla*, in which the Hebrew text was given, first in Hebrew and then in Greek letters. Of some books he gave two additional Greek versions, whence the title *Octapla*; and there was even a seventh Greek version added for some books. The arrangement was in columns, in the following order:—Hebrew in its proper characters; Heb. in Greek characters; Aquila; Symmachus; LXX.; Theodotion; 5th version; 6th; 7th. Unhappily this great work, which extended to nearly 50 volumes, was never transcribed, and so perished. Extracts from it, however, were made, and of these some have been preserved. They were collected by Montfaucon, and issued in two vols. fol., Par. 1713. An edition by Bahrdrf, in 2 vols. 8vo, appeared at Leipzig 1769-70. A few additions have been made to this collection since by various editors. Had this great work been preserved, it would have done more for the criticism of the Bible than Origen's exegetical works have done for its interpretation; for though at first he followed the grammatico-historical method of interpretation, he soon abandoned it for the allegorical, in which he indulged to a pernicious extent.—W. L. A.

## ORION. [ASTRONOMY.]

OROTH (אֹרֹת) occurs in two passages of Scripture, where it is translated *herb* in the A. V.; it is generally supposed to indicate such plants as are employed for food. The most ancient translators seem, however, to have been at a loss for its meaning. Thus the Septuagint in one passage (2 Kings iv. 39) has only the Hebrew word in Greek characters, ἀρίσθ, and in the other (Is. xxvi. 19), 'ταπα, sanationem, v. medicinam, vel herbas medicinales.' The Latin Vulgate, and the Chaldee and Syriac versions, translate *oroth* in the latter passage by *lucem*, in consequence of confounding one Hebrew word with another, according to Celsius (*Hierobot.*, vol. i., p. 459). But the Syriac and Arabic translators give the names for *mallows*, the Arabic خبيرة *khabeza*, in Lower Egypt called *habeza*.

With respect to the meaning of *oroth*, Rosenmüller says that it occurs in its original and general signification in Is. xxvi. 19, viz., *green herbs*. The future restoration of the Hebrew people is there announced under the type and figure of a revival of the dead. 'Thy dew is a dew of green herbs,' says the prophet, i. e., as by the dew green herbs are revived, so shalt thou, being revived by God's strengthening power, flourish again. The passage, however, appears an obscure one, with respect to the meaning of *oroth*. Celsius has, with his usual learning, shown that mallows were much employed as food in ancient times. Of this there can be no doubt, but there is no proof adduced that *oroth* means mallows. It might or it might not, because there are many other plants which were and still are employed as articles of diet in the East, as purslane, goosefoot, chenopodiums, lettuce, endive, etc. Some have translated *oroth* in 2 Kings iv. 39, by the word *eruca*, which is usually applied to a species of brassica.

But it appears to us that *oroth* should be considered only in conjunction with *pakyoth*; for we find in 2 Kings iv. that when Elisha came again to Gilgal, and there was a dearth in the land, he said unto his servant, 'Set on the great pot, and seethe pottage for the sons of the prophets (ver. 39); and one went out into the field to gather herbs (*oroth*), and found a wild vine, and gathered thereof wild gourds (*pakyoth*) his lap full, and came and shred them into the pot of pottage; for they knew them not.' From this it would appear that *pakyoth* had been mistaken for *oroth*; and as the former is universally acknowledged to be the fruit of one of the gourd tribe, so it is not unreasonable to conclude that *oroth* also was the fruit of some plant, for which the *pakyoth* had been mistaken. This is nothing more than conjecture, but it appears to be justified by the context, and may be admitted, as nothing better than conjecture has been adduced in support of other interpretations, and as there are fruits, such as that of the egg plant, which are used as articles of diet, and for which the fruit of the *pakyoth*, or wild gourd, might have been mistaken by an ignorant person [ΠΑΚΥΟΤΗ].—J. F. R.

ORPAH (עֲרַפָּה, *ʿaraph*; Sept. Ὀρπά), daughter-in-law of Naomi, who remained behind among her kindred in Moab, when Ruth returned with Naomi to Bethlehem (Ruth i. 4-14) [RUTH].

ORTHOSIAS (Ὀρθωσιὰς), a city on the coast of Phœnicia to which Tryphon escaped from Dora when it was besieged by Antiochus Sidetes (1 Maccab. xv. 37). It stood near to the mouth of the river Eleutherus, about twelve miles to the north of Tripoli (Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, v. 17; Strabo, xvi. p. 753; Ptol., v. 14; *Tub. Peutinger.*) The Eleutherus has been identified with the Nâhr-el-Barid (Shaw, *Travels*, p. 270, 271), and with the Nâhr-el-Kebir (Porter, *Handbook of Pal. and Syr.*); while Kiepert places Orthosia on the Nâhr Arka, which flows between these (Map in Robinson, *Later Bibl. Res.*) If the distance of Orthosia from Tripoli, as given in the Peutinger Tab. be correct, the Nâhr-el-Kebir must be discounted as beyond this distance; the Nâhr-el-Barid is within it, and the Nâhr Arka is a little beyond it. To the north of the N.-el-Barid are the ruins of an extensive city (Shaw, *l. c.*; Thomson in *Biblioth. Sac.* for 1848, p. 14), and these in all probability mark the site of Orthosia. If we adopt the statement of Pliny, that Orthosia was to the south of the river Eleutherus, it would seem that Kiepert is right in his identification of that river with the N. Arka.—W. L. A.

ORTON, JOB, S. T. P., a Congregational minister of some reputation in the last century, was born at Shrewsbury, Sept. 4, 1717, and received the rudiments of his education at the free school of his native town. In May 1733 he was placed under the care of Dr. Charles Owen of Warrington, and, in the following year, was removed to Northampton, where he pursued his studies under Dr. Doddridge. In March 1738 he was chosen assistant-tutor to Dr. Doddridge in the academy over which the latter presided. In 1741 the Presbyterian and Congregational churches at Shrewsbury united for the purpose of presenting him a joint-invitation to become their pastor, which having accepted, and refusing several invitations from other congregations, he remained with them till compelled by ill health to resign the pastoral office. After this he devoted himself to literary pursuits, so far as his health would allow, till his death, which occurred at Kidderminster, July 19, 1783. His writings, with the exception of the work about to be named, consist chiefly of sermons and sacramental meditations. The work referred to, which secures him a notice here, is—*a Short and Plain Exposition of the Old Testament, with Devotional and Practical Reflections, for the use of Families*. Edited by Robert Gentleman, from the Author's MSS., 6 vols. 8vo, 1798; 2d ed. 6 vols., 1822. It is composed on the plan of Doddridge's *Expositor*, with which it forms a complete commentary on the entire Bible. It is well adapted to the object for which it was intended, and exhibits good sense and much sound exposition. In its own department it has not been superseded.—I. J.

OSIANDER [prop. HOSEMAN], ANDREAS, was born at Guntzenhausen 19th Dec. 1498. Having studied at Leipzig, Altenburg, and Ingoldstadt, where he made great proficiency in the ancient languages, especially the Hebrew, and in mathematics, he became teacher of Hebrew in the Augustine monastery at Nuremberg; and having soon after joined the Reformation movement, he was, in 1522, appointed evangelical pastor of the church of St. Laurence in that city. In 1549 he

became professor of theology at Königsberg, where his peculiar views on some essential points of Christian doctrine involved him in continual controversies and troubles. He died suddenly 17th October 1552. Whilst at Nuremberg he prepared his *Harmonia Evangelica* (Bas. 1537, and often since), in which he endeavours to reconcile the four evangelists, on the assumption that each has observed chronological order in his narrative [HARMONIES]. Of Osiander's descendants, two have appeared as authors on subjects connected with Biblical literature. His son Lucas, born 16th Dec. 1534, died 17th Sept. 1604, was general superintendent at Stuttgart, and was the author of a Latin commentary on the Bible in 3 vols. fol. (Tüb. 1589-90, and often since); in which, taking the Vulgate as his text, he aims at the critical emendation of it, and at collecting and condensing the exegetical remarks of the best commentators. Another descendant, Johann Adam—born 3d Dec. 1622, died 26th Oct. 1697—was professor of theology at Tübingen, and wrote *Comment. in Pentateucham*, 3 vols. fol., Tüb. 1676-77; *Comment. in Josuam*, fol., Tüb. 1681; *Comm. in Libb. Samuelis*, fol., Stutt. 1687.—W. L. A.

OSPRAY. [OZNYIAH.]

OSSIFRAGE. [PERES.]

OSTERWALD, JEAN FRED., pastor at Neuchâtel, was born there in 1664, and died there 14th April 1747. During his long life he was actively engaged in pastoral and literary work; and, in company with Werenfels and Jean Alphonse Turretin—'the Swiss triumvirate'—contributed largely towards that departure from the strict orthodoxy of the preceding age, which was afterwards carried much farther than any of these intended or would have wished. Among other labours Osterwald undertook the revision of the Geneva Bible, and issued it with important improvements [FRENCH VERSIONS]. The arguments and reflections with which this was accompanied have been translated into most of the European languages, and are much esteemed.—W. L. A.

OSTRICH. [YAANAH; YA-ʿEN; RENANIM.]

OTHNIEL (אֹתְנִיֵּל, *lion of God*; Sept. Ὀθωνίᾱ), first judge of Israel, son of Kenaz, the younger brother of Caleb, whose daughter Achsah he obtained in marriage by his daring valour at the siege of Debir (Josh. xv. 17; Judg. i. 13; 1 Chron. iv. 13). Rendered famous among his countrymen by this exploit, and connected by a twofold tie with one of the only two Israelites of the former generation who had not died in the desert, we are prepared for the fact that on him devolved the mission to deliver Israel from the Mesopotamian oppression under which, in punishment for their sins, they fell after the death of Joshua and of the elders who outlived him (Judg. iii. 9). This victory secured to Israel a peace of forty years. For the chronology, etc., of this period, see JUDGES.—J. K.

OVEN. [BREAD.]

OWEN, HENRY, M.D., was born near Dolgelly in 1716; was educated at Jesus College, Oxford; was successively rector of St. Olave, London, and vicar of Edmonton; and died in 1795. Besides an able work on Scripture miracles, Lond. 1773, 2

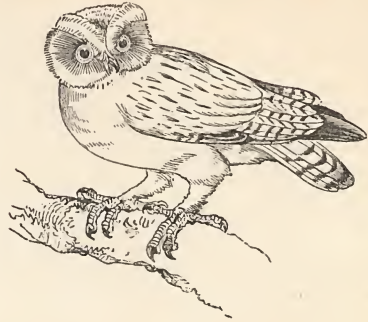


vols., he wrote *Observations on the Four Gospels, tending chiefly to ascertain the times of their publication and to illustrate the form and manner of their composition*, Lond. 1764; *An enquiry into the present state of the LXX. Version*, Lond. 1769; *The Modes of Quotation used by the Evangelical Writers explained and vindicated*, Lond. 1789.—W. L. A.

OWEN, JOHN, D.D., was born at Stadham, Yorkshire, in 1616. His studies were prosecuted at Oxford, where, after some years at a private school, he was, at twelve years of age, entered a student of Queen's College. He took his degree of M.A. in his nineteenth year; but having become a nonconformist, he left the university soon after, and became pastor of an independent church at Coggeshall in Essex. He followed Cromwell as his chaplain in several of his expeditions, and, during the protectorate, he was made dean of Christ Church, Oxford, and vice-chancellor of the university, an office which he discharged with great ability and advantage to the university. This was in 1651, and in 1653 he received the honorary diploma of D.D. At the Restoration, being deprived of his ecclesiastical and academical position, he retired to Stadham, but ultimately became pastor of an independent church meeting in Leadenhall Street, London. He died 24th Aug. 1683, and was buried in Bunhill Fields. Owen was a man of great strength and breadth of intellect, of adamantine perseverance, of vast erudition, and of deep, vital, earnest piety. His works are very numerous; in Russells' edition (Lond. 1826), occupying twenty-eight vols. 8vo, and in that of Dr. Goold (Edin. 1850), twenty-four vols. 8vo. Of these, the greater part is devoted to systematic, polemical, and practical theology; but Owen's greatest work is an exegetical one—his *Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews*—originally published in four vols. fol., 1668-1684. In this work the author's vast learning and theological fulness and strength are conspicuous; no point is overlooked; no difficulty evaded; and neither the learning nor the improved methods of later writers have added anything material to what Owen has advanced in illustration of this part of the N. T. He wrote also an exposition of Ps. cxxx., but this is almost entirely practical. There is also much Biblical discussion in his *Theologumena sive de natura, ortu, progressu et studio veræ theologiae*. When Walton's Polyglott was announced, Owen, startled at the proposal to give the various readings of the text, made the serious mistake of writing against that undertaking; for which he was somewhat sharply rebuked by Walton in his *Considerator Considered*.—W. L. A.

OWL [YANSHUPH; LILITH; KIPPOZ]. Besides these, mention is made of the *Cos* (כֹּס), an unclean bird (Lev. xi. 17; Deut. xiv. 16; Ps. cii. 6). This word is mentioned in the A. V., 'little owl,' and 'owl of the desert;' and most probably designates the white or barn owl, *Strix flammea*. Bochart referred this name to the pelican, on account of the assumed signification of *cos*, 'cup,' by him fancied to point out the pouch beneath the bill; whereas it is more probably an indication of the disproportionate bulk and flatness of the head compared with the body, of which it measures to the eye full half of the whole bird, when the feathers are raised in their usual appearance. 'Cos' is only a variation

of 'cup' and 'cap,' which, with some inflexions, additional or terminal particles, is common to all



413.

the great languages of the old continent. The barn owl is still sacred in Northern Asia.—C. H. S.

OX. [BAQAR.]

OX-GOAT. [GOAD.]

OZNIYAH (עֲנִיָּה); Sept. ἄλιαετος, Vulg. *halyetus* and *haliatus*, A. V. 'ospray'), an unclean bird; but there is a difference of opinion as to the particular species intended. The etymology of the Hebrew word would seem to point to some bird remarkably *powerful, fierce, or impudent*. Bochart supposes the *black eagle* to be meant, but reasons upon the mere conjecture that by the word *μελα-vaieτος* is intended *ἀλιαετος* (*Hieroz.* tom. iii. p. 188, etc.)

The traditional meaning strongly favours the English rendering. The following is the line through which it is traced:—The modern systems of ornithology for the most part retain the names of birds given to them by Linnæus in his *Systema*



414. Ospray. [Falco Haliæetus.]

*Nature*. 'The system of Willughby is without doubt the basis on which the ornithological classification of Linnæus is founded' (Neville Wood's *Ornithologist's Text-Book*, p. 3). Mr. Ray, giving

an account of the assistance he rendered Mr. Willughby in *that* undertaking, says, 'Concerning the names of birds we did not much trouble ourselves, but have for the most part followed Gesner and Aldrovandus, being unwilling to disturb what is settled, or dispossess names that may, for their use, plead prescription' (Preface to the Eng. ed. of Willughby's *Ornithology*); and it is well known that Gesner and Aldrovandus derived their names and descriptions of birds from their predecessors, including Aristotle and Pliny. In the same preface, Mr. Ray observes, 'Gesner and Aldrovandus wrote mere pandects of birds, comprising *whatever* had *before been written by others*.' This continuation of the same names of many at least of the same birds, from Aristotle to the present day, is, in the instance of the haliaetus, or ospray, peculiarly clear and unbroken; and the same striking descriptions also of the bird so designated accompany its name from the earliest times.

The following statement places the matter in a clear light:—Aristotle, about B.C. 300, describes the *άλιαίερος* as 'a species of eagle dwelling near seas and lakes; and remarks, it sometimes happens to it, that having seized its prey, and not being able to carry it, it is drowned in the deep' (*Hist. Animal.* ix. c. 32). The word is rendered alietus in the ancient translation, aquila marina and haliaetus by Gaza (Ven. A.D. 1476), and aquila marina, neser haliaetus, and haliaetus by Scaliger. About the time of Aristotle, the ablest of all the Septuagint translators renders the Hebrew word ozniyah by *άλιαίερος*. The same word is found in the writings of Pliny (A.D. 70) with the following description:—'There remains (to be mentioned) the haliaetus, having the most penetrating vision of all (eagles); soaring (or balancing itself) on high, and upon perceiving a fish in the sea, rushing down headlong, and with its breast dashing aside the waters, seizing its prey' (*Hist. Nat.* x. 3). The same word is adopted by Jerome as answering to the Hebrew ozniyah, A.D. 380, and the haliaetus is described in the very words of Aristotle and Pliny by Aldrovandus (lib. xii. Bonon. 1594, p. 194); the transference of names into the Linnæan system has already been traced (see *Systema Nature*, vol. i. p. 129, Holmiæ 1767). The word, according to its etymology, signifies sea-eagle, and the traditional English word is ospray. The following accounts from modern naturalists are strikingly in accordance with the ancient descriptions:—

Species of the haliaetus, or sea-eagle, occur in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australia (Selby's *British Ornithology*).

Mr. Macgillivray describes 'its savage scream of anger when any one approaches the neighbourhood of its nest, its intimidating gestures, and even its attempts to molest individuals who have ventured among its native crags.'

Mr. Selby (*Illustrations of British Ornithology*, 1825), respecting the ospray, observes, 'It is strictly piscivorous, and is found only in the vicinity of lakes, rivers, or such pools as abound with fish. It is a powerful bird, often weighing five pounds; the limbs are very muscular in proportion to its general dimensions; its feet are admirably adapted for retaining firm hold of its slippery prey.' Mr. Montagu (*Ornithological Dictionary*, 1802, article 'Ospray') remarks, 'Its principal food is fish, which it often catches with great dexterity, by pouncing upon them with vast rapidity, and carrying

them off in its talons.' In the supplement to his work, Exeter 1813, many additional facts are related respecting the ospray, which, together with the foregoing reasons, serve to identify it with the haliaetus of the ancients (see also Grandsagne's edition of Pliny, with Notes and Excursus by Cuvier, Parisii 1828, p. 215).—J. F. D.

## P.

PAARAI (פַּעְרַי; Sept. Alex. Φαπαει), one of David's mighty men (2 Sam. xxiii. 35, where he is described as *the Arbite*). In 1 Chron. xi. 37 he appears as Naarai the son of Ezbai (נַעֲרִי בֶן-עֵזַבַּי). Which of these is the correct reading we have no means of ascertaining, but probably that in Chronicles is to be preferred. The reading in Samuel seems to have been uncertain, for both the LXX., according to the Vat. Codex, and the Peshito Syr., differ from the Hebrew here. The former reads the verse thus, Ἀσαρὶ ὁ Καρμήλιος τοῦ Οὐραίοερχει, Asarai [Hezrai], the Carmélite son of Ouraioerchi, where the last name is formed by the omission of the initial פ in Paarai, and the combination of the other letters of that name with the following word; the latter has the reading Gari from Arub, which seems also to have arisen from the omission of the initial פ. The reading אַרְבִּי in Sam. seems preferable to נַעֲרִי in Chron.; comp. Josh. xv. 52.—W. L. A.

## PADAN-ARAM. [ARAM.]

PAGNINUS, SANCTES, born at Lucca about 1470. He became a Dominican in 1486, and was the pupil of Savonarola and others famous in theology and Oriental learning, at Fiesoli, where his rapid progress won the esteem of Cardinal de Medici, afterwards Leo X. Having received Holy Orders, he devoted himself to the duties of the pulpit, and the persuasive earnestness of his preaching made many celebrated converts. Until the death of Leo X., he was professor of a school of Oriental literature, founded by that pontiff at Rome, but, after his decease, he accompanied the cardinal legate to Avignon, and subsequently removed to Lyons, where he became a zealous opponent of the reformed religion, and was the means of founding a hospital for the plague. He died there in 1541, honoured and regretted by rich and poor.

The learned works of Pagninus have been highly esteemed by some, severely criticised by others. 1. He published at Lyons, in 1528, *Veteris et novi Testamenti nova translatio*, which had been the labour of thirty years, and was to have been published at the expense of Leo X., had he lived to see it finished. In the preface, he details the care which he had taken to make the work perfect. It is the first Latin Bible in which the verses of each chapter are distinguished and numbered as in the original, and is remarkable for the extreme closeness with which the Latin is made to follow and take the shape of the Hebrew idiom. Richard Simon charges him with this as a fault, saying that it not only makes his language obscure and barbarous, but sometimes changes the sense of the original. Servetus published a folio edition of this work, which he infected with his own errors, at Lyons,



in 1642. That of Arias Montanus, in the Antwerp Polyglott, exaggerates the peculiarities of his Latin style. Still the editions of 1599 and 1610-13, in 8vo, which give an interlinear and word for word translation of the Hebrew with the vowel points, is to this day the most convenient Hebrew Bible for beginners. 2. His *Thesaurus Linguae Sanctae*, Lyons 1529, in folio, is much esteemed. The folio edition of Geneva, 1614, by J. Mercier and A. Cavalleri, is very inferior, and in many places corrupt. There is also a Paris edition, in 4to, of 1548. 3. An abridgment of the *Thesaurus* in 8vo, with the title *Thesauri Pagniani Epitome*, was printed at Antwerp in 1616, and often reprinted. He also published—4. *Isagoges seu introductionis ad sacras litteras liber unus*, Lyons 1528, 4to, *ibid.* 1536, folio. 5. *Hebraicarum institutionum libri quatuor ex Rabbi David Kimchi priore parte fere transcripti*, Lyons 1526, Paris 1549, both 4tos. 6. An abridgment of this grammar, also in 4to, was published at Paris in 1546 and 1556. 7. *Catena Argentea in Pentateuchum*, Lyons 1536, folio, in six volumes. This is a collection of the comments of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin writers on the five books of Moses. He also produced several other learned works (*Histoire des hommes illustres de l'ordre de St. Dominique*, by Tournon; *Bibliotheca Sancta*, by Sixtus of Sienna).—M. H.

PAHATH-MOAB (פַּתַּח מוֹאָב), *Governor of Moab*; Sept. Φαῶθ Μωάβ), head of one of the families or houses of Judah which came up with Zerubbabel from Babylon, whose chief was one of those who sealed the covenant along with Nehemiah, and some of the members of which were amongst those who had taken to them strange wives (Ezra ii. 6; x. 30; Neh. vii. 11; x. 14). That such a name should be borne by one of the families of Judah appears strange. The only conjecture that throws any light on it is that the name arose with the sons of Shelah, who are said to have 'had dominion in Moab' (1 Chron. iv. 22); in this family the name may have remained as a memorial of what had been among 'the ancient things' of the tribe. The objection to this, that פַּתַּח is a word of later origin, and points therefore to some source of the name more recent than the above, may be obviated by supposing that the later word was substituted for an older one. From the position occupied by this family in the lists, and from the number of its members (Neh. vii. 11), we may infer that it was of eminence among the families of Judah.—W. L. A.

PAINTING THE EYES. [EYE.]

PAKKU'OTH (פִּקְעוֹת), and PEK'AIM (פִּקְעִים).

It is related in 2 Kings iv. 38-40, that Elisha having come again to Gilgal, when there was a famine in the land, and many sons of the prophets were assembled there, he ordered his servant to prepare for them a dish of vegetables. It appears that the servant mistook the fruit of one plant, *pakku'oth*, for something else, called *oroth*, and that the former was vine-like, that is, with long, weak, slender stems, and that the fruit had some remarkable taste, by which the mistake was discovered whenever the pottage was tasted. Though a few other plants have been indicated, the *pakku'oth* has almost universally been supposed to be one of the family of the gourd or cucumber-like plants, several of which are conspicuous for their

bitterness, and a few poisonous, while others, it is well known, are edible. Therefore one of the former may have been mistaken for one of the latter, or the *oroth* may have been some similar-shaped fruit, as, for instance, the egg-plant, used as a vegetable. The reasons why *pakku'oth* has been supposed to be one of the gourd tribe, usually the *Colocynthis*, are given in detail by Celsius (*Hierobot.*, vol. i. p. 393). 1. The name is supposed to be derived from פָּקַע, *paka*, 'to crush,' or 'to

burst;' and this is the characteristic of the species called the wild cucumber by the ancients. Thus Pliny says, 'Semen exilit, oculorum etiam periculo.' This is the kind called *Spring gurken* by the Germans, and *Squirting cucumber* in England. 2. The form of the fruit appears to have been ovoid, as the *pekaim* of 1 Kings vi. 18 are supposed to be the same fruit as *pakku'oth*, and are rendered in the A. V. by *knops*. So in vii. 24. Kimchi distinctly says these were called *pekaim*, 'quia figuram haberent *טֹוּן* *pakku'oth* agrestium.' That the form of these was ovoid would appear from the more free exposition of the Chaldaic version of Jonathan, to whom the form of the fruit could not have been unknown: 'Et figuræ ovorum subter labium ejus' (*vid.* Cels. *l. c.*, p. 397). 3. The seeds of the *pakku'oth*, moreover, yielded oil, as appears from the tract *Shabbath* (ii. 2). The seeds of the different gourd and cucumber-like plants are well known to yield oil, which was employed by the ancients, and still is in the East, both as medicine and in the arts. 4. The bitterness which was probably perceived on eating of the pottage, and which disappeared on the addition of meal, is found in many of the cucumber tribe, and conspicuously in the species which have been usually selected as the *pakku'oth*, that is, the *Colocynthis* (*Cucumis Colocynthis*), the Squirting Cucumber (*Momordica Elaterium*), and *Cucumis prophetarum*: all of which are found in Syria, as related by various travellers. The *Coloquintida* is essentially a desert plant. Mr. Kitto says, 'In the desert parts of Syria, Egypt, and Arabia, and on the banks of the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, its tendrils run over vast tracts of ground, offering a prodigious number of gourds, which are crushed under foot by camels, horses, and men. In winter we have seen the extent of many miles covered with the connecting tendrils and dry gourds of the preceding season, the latter exhibiting precisely the same appearance as in our shops, and when crushed, with a crackling noise, beneath the feet, discharging, in the form of a light powder, the valuable drug which it contains. In the Arabic version, *hunzal* (which is the *Colocynthis*) is used as the synonym for *pakku'oth* in 2 Kings iv. 39. The Globe Cucumber, Mr. Kitto continues, 'derives its specific name (*Cucumis prophetarum*) from the notion that it afforded the gourd which 'the sons of the prophets' shred by mistake into their pottage, and which made them declare, when they came to taste it, that there was 'death in the pot.' This plant is smaller in every part than the common melon, and has a nauseous odour, while its fruit is to the full as bitter as the *Coloquintida*. The fruit has a rather singular appearance, from the manner in which its surface is armed with prickles, which are, however, soft and harmless' (*Pictorial Palestine*; *Physical Geog.*, p. cclxxxix.) But this plant, though it is nauseous and bitter as

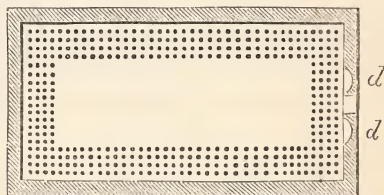
the *Colocynth*, yet the fruit not being bigger than a cherry, does not appear likely to have been that which was *shred* into the pot. Celsius, however, was of opinion that the *Cucumis agrestis* of the ancients, and which was found by Belon in descending from Mount Sinai, was the plant. This, he says, is the *Olera asini* of the Hebrews, the *Chate al hemar* of the Arabs, and the *Cucumis asininus* of the druggists of his day. This plant is now called *Momordica elaterium*, or Squirting Cucumber, and is a well-known drastic purgative, violent enough in its action to be considered even a poison. Its fruit is ovate, obtuse, and scabrous. But it is not easy to say whether this or the *Colocynth* is most likely to have been the plant mistaken for *oroth*; but the fruit of this species might certainly be mistaken for young gherkins. Both are bitter and poisonous.—J. F. R.

PALACE, in Scripture, denotes what is contained within the outer enclosure of the royal residence, including all the buildings, courts, and even gardens (2 Chron. xxxvi. 19; comp. Ps. xlvi. 4; cxxii. 7; Prov. ix. 3; xviii. 19; Is. xxiii. 13; xxv. 2; Jer. xxii. 14; Amos i. 7, 12, 14; Nahum ii. 6). In the N. T. the term palace (*αὐλὴ*) is applied to the residence of a man of rank (Matt. xxvi. 3; Mark xiv. 66; Luke xi. 21; John xviii. 15). The specific allusions are to the palace built by Herod, which was afterwards occupied by the Roman governors, and was the prætorium, or hall, which formed the abode of Pilate when Christ was brought before him (Mark xv. 16); the other passages above cited, except Luke xi. 21, refer to the residence of the high-priest.

Of the palaces mentioned in Scripture, the most interesting is the palace of Solomon, which he was occupied thirteen years in erecting. The site of this pile was in all probability on the brow facing the temple on the opposite side of the Tyropæon, within the city and looking down on it. A detailed description is given of it in 1 Kings vii. 1-12, from which, compared with the account of Josephus (*Antiq.* viii. 5. 1, 2), and the help of legitimate conjecture, it is possible to furnish a general idea of its form and arrangements.

Proceeding from without, the first part was 'the House of the Forest of Lebanon,' so called, probably, because it was constructed of cedar-wood from Lebanon (LXX. *ἡκοδόμησε τ. οἰκ. δρυμῶ τ. Λιβάνου*). This served as an audience-chamber or hall of state (Joseph. *l. c.*), and was hung around with costly armour (1 Kings x. 16, 17, 'a great house for his armour,' Arab. ver.). The Targum calls it 'the house of the cooling of the king,' probably because of the refreshing air which its size, its elevated site, and its open construction, secured for it. Some have thought it was a sort of winter-garden or conservatory; but this is less probable. Its proportions were 100 cubits of length, 50 of breadth, and 30 of height. This must be understood of the inner measurement; so that the area of this hall was larger than that of the temple, the height of both being the same (vi. 2). A solid wall of masonry surrounded the wood-work (ver. 9). The area of this hall was surrounded by four rows of cedar pillars. The statement in ver. 2 is commonly taken to indicate four straight lines of pillars, and much perplexity has been caused on this supposition by the subsequent statement (ver. 3), that there were 45 pillars, 15 in a row. If

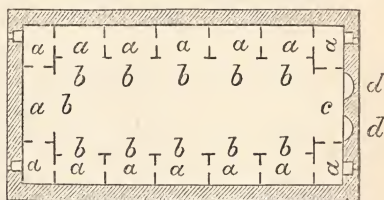
there were 4 rows intersecting the hall lengthways, and 15 intersecting its breadth, there must have been 60 pillars in all. This has led some arbitrarily to read *three* for *four*, contrary to all the codices and all the versions, the LXX. excepted. But *טור* does not signify a series in line, but a series surrounding or enclosing (comp. vi. 36; vii. 18, 20, 24, 42; Ezek. xvi. 23); so that the four rows of pillars went round the hall, forming four aisles inside the wall, or, as the Vulgate renders the passage, 'quatuor *deambulacra* inter columnas cedrinas' (fig. 415). On these pillars beams of cedar-



415.

wood rested, running from the front to the wall, and forming a substantial rest for the upper storey.

This consisted of side chambers or galleries (*גלירות*, comp. vi. 5, 8), and it is to the number and order of these that the statement in ver. 3 refers—'And the chambers which were upon the beams, forty-five [in number], fifteen in each row [circuit] were wainscotted with cedar-wood' (*a a*, fig. 416). These



416.

were roofed with beams (*שקפים*, rendered in the A. V. 'windows,' which the word never means) in three rows, *i.e.*, there were three storeys of galleries, and in these *sights* (*מִהָהָה*; Sept. *χώραι*), over against each other in three ranks, *i.e.*, each chamber in the three storeys had an opening to the interior, facing a corresponding opening in the opposite chamber (*b b*, fig. 416). The different compartments of the galleries communicated with each other by means of doors. These, as well as the windows (the LXX. have *χώραι* in ver. 5, which shows that they read *הַמִּינִיּוֹת* where the present reading is *הַמִּינִיּוֹת*, of which it is impossible to make sense), were square with an overbeam. These galleries were probably reached by a winding stair in the outer wall (*d d*, figs. 415 and 416, as in the temple (vi. 8).

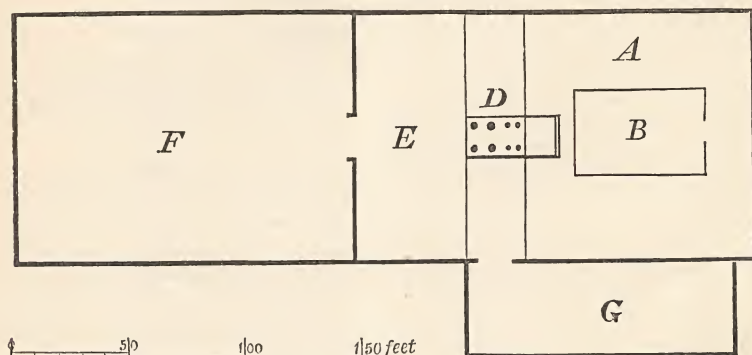
From this description, the idea we form of 'the House of the Forest of Lebanon' is that of a large hall, open in the centre to the sky, the floor of which was surrounded with four rows of pillars, affording a promenade, above which were three tiers of galleries open to the interior, divided each into fifteen compartments like the boxes in a theatre,



but with doors communicating with each other. As the height of the entire building was thirty cubits, we may divide this so as to allot eight feet to the supporting pillars, eighteen to the galleries, and four to the beams and flooring of the galleries. The building, thus conceived, answers to the description of it by Josephus, as *Κορυθίως ἐστεγασμένως*, by which he means, not that it was in the Corinthian style of architecture (Keil), nor that it was 'a hall with a clerestory' (Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, ii. 659); but that it was built after the Corinthian fashion—that of a hall, surrounded by a row of pillars with heavy architraves, on which rested beams running to the wall, and supporting a floor, which again supported shorter pillars, between which were windows, the whole being hy-

pæthral (Vitruv. vi. 3. 1). Vitruvius says this kind of building resembled the basilica. If for one gallery we substitute three, the above description answers very closely to that of Solomon's House of the Forest of Lebanon. It is possible, however, the whole may have been roofed over and lighted by a clerestory.

If now we regard this building (B, fig. 417) as placed lengthwise in the middle of a court (A), it is easy to understand the arrangement of the portico of pillars (D), the length of which was the same as the breadth of the building (ver. 6). These did not run along the side of it, but were behind it, forming a colonnade fifty cubits long by thirty wide, conducting to the residence of the king. This terminated in a porch, or entrance-hall, which



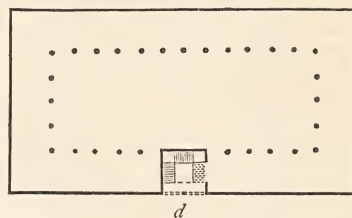
417.

had pillars and an עב, *i. e.*, a threshold or perron (A. V. 'thick beam'; Targ. סקופתא, *segofatha*, *limen*). By this was entered the throne-room or hall of judgment (E), which was wainscotted with cedar from floor to ceiling הקירות [this is the reading followed by the Vulg. and Syr. instead of מהקרקע עד, which is a manifest error].

Then came the king's residence in another court (F) behind the throne-room; and of this the residence of the queen, which may or may not have been the harem, formed a (probably the back) part. The space G is added conjecturally, for the court containing the offices of the palace, and perhaps 'the king's prison.' All these buildings were externally of hewn stone, and the whole was surrounded by a solid wall enclosing a court.

In the above attempt to restore the palace of Solomon from the Bible account of it, the writer has closely followed Otto Thenius in the *Exeget. Hdbuch. zum A. T.* Nowhere else has he been able to find anything satisfactory on the subject. The account of Josephus is evidently a sketch from fancy on a basis of traditional information more or less correct. In works on Hebrew archaeology, the subject is usually omitted or passed over very cursorily; and the same course is followed even by writers who have made ancient architecture their special subject, as Stieglitz and Hirt. Of those who have attempted to throw light on the subject, some have understood Hebrew but not architecture, and some have understood architecture but not Hebrew. Thenius is the first who has brought both qualifications to bear upon the

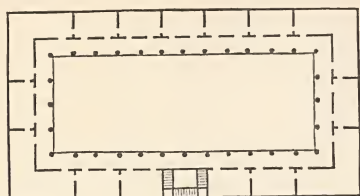
elucidation of the Bible statement. His scheme, however, is liable to some objections. To the arrangement of the pillars, for instance (fig. 415), it may be objected—1. That, according to the proportions he has given, it is impossible that there should be space for a promenade between these pillars; and if a wider space were allowed the central area would be too much narrowed; and 2. One does not see what purpose could be served by such a crowded range of pillars; it is neither ornamental nor useful. The writer ventures to suggest that the four courses of pillars were not on the same area, but one above the other, corresponding to the four floors of the building. This agrees with the statement in the text that 'the height thereof was



418.

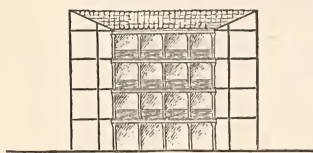
thirty cubits upon four rows of cedar pillars' (ver. 2), *i. e.*, the whole height was divided among the four rows or courses of pillars; and an arrangement is produced very like what one sees in Oriental halls in the present day. It may be doubted also if for a building intended evidently to

contain a large number of people, entrance to the galleries would be effected by a stair in the wall; it



d  
419.

is more probable that a wide stair (d, fig. 418) gave access to them. In accordance with these sugges-



420.

tions the plan of this great hall may be given, as in figs. 418 and 419; fig. 420 gives a sectional view of it. In figs. 419 and 420 there is introduced a passage running round the interior of the gallery, and giving access to the rooms; this is perhaps unnecessary, as the chambers communicated with each other; but it is a possible arrangement, and is therefore given.—W. L. A.

PALAIRET, ELIAS, was one of the latest of the *Classical* commentators who attempted to illustrate the language of the N. T. from the usage of the various authors of classic Greek, a line of interpretation which, in the early part of the last century, grew into especial favour with many eminent scholars, both on the continent and in this country. Palairet, who was a French Protestant minister, living at Tournay in Belgium, published at Leyden, in 1752, in an octavo volume, some short notes of classical illustrations of sundry passages of the N. T. These he entitled: '*Observationes philologico-criticae in Sacros Novi Fœderis libros.*' These notes indicate much learning, but they partake of the fault of the school, by exaggerating the likeness of the sacred to the classic Greek authors. Palairet, who seems to have afterwards undertaken the pastorate of a French congregation at Greenwich, issued in the year 1755 a specimen, printed in London, of a much larger work, partaking of the character of a continuous commentary on all the books of the N. T., on the principles of his *Observationes*. The work, however, which was to have been published by subscription, never appeared.—P. H.

PALESTINE (פָּלֶשְׁתִּין; Παλαιστίνη; *Palastina*), the name now generally given to the country originally promised to, and long occupied by, the Israelites. The name is not strictly accurate. Its use in this extended sense is comparatively modern, but it has, in recent times, become so definite and so universal among Biblical geographers and Eastern travellers, that it appears to be the most appropriate to place at the head of an article in which it is intended to give a general description of the geography of the Holy Land.

The name is Biblical in its origin; but let it be understood at the outset, that, in the sense in which it is now employed, it does not occur in the original language of Scripture, nor in the A. V. Both in the English form *Palestine* (Joel iii. 4), and in the Latin *Palastina* (Exod. xv. 14; Is. xiv. 29, 31), it means *Philistia*, 'the land of the Philistines;' and so it was understood by our translators. In the present article it is used in a much wider sense. It is employed in the same sense in which most of the Greek and Roman geographers understood it—as denoting the whole land allotted to the twelve tribes of Israel by Joshua. Some recent writers confine the name to the country west of the Jordan, and extending from Dan on the north to Beersheba on the south. Others again appear to extend it northwards as far as the parallel of Hamath, and southward to the borders of Egypt. It is here used, however, to denote the country lying on the east as well as the west side of the Jordan; while, on the other hand, it is confined to the territory actually divided by lot among the Israelites, thus excluding large sections of what is generally known as 'The Land of Promise.' Palestine, in fact, is here taken as synonymous with 'The Holy Land,'—the land given by the Lord to his chosen people, and long held by them.\*

For the sake of order, and to give as full a view of the country as the necessarily narrow limits of this work will permit, the following points will be taken up in succession:—

I. The Situation and Boundaries of Palestine.

II. The Names which have been given to the country in ancient and modern times.

III. The Physical Geography of Palestine, including an account of its climate, plants, and animals.

IV. The Geology.

V. The Political and Historical Geography, with notices of the Inhabitants, ancient and modern.

THE SITUATION AND BOUNDARIES.—The geographical position of Palestine is peculiar. It is central, and yet almost completely isolated. It commands equal facilities of access to Europe, Africa, and Asia; while, in one point of view, it stands apart from all. The Jews regarded it as the centre of the earth; and apparently to this view the prophet Ezekiel refers when he says, 'Thus saith the Lord God, This is Jerusalem: I have set it in the midst of the nations and countries that are round about her' (v. 5). The idea was adopted and perhaps unduly expanded by the Rabbins and some of the early Christian fathers;† but

\* It will afterwards be shown that the boundaries of Palestine did not *exactly* correspond on the north and south with the country allotted to the tribes, yet they did *very nearly* correspond with the territory eventually occupied. Asher's portion reached as far north as Zidon; but the tribe does not appear to have extended its conquests beyond the Litány. The boundary of Judah was from Kadesh to the river of Egypt (el-Arish), but the arid plain south of Beersheba was never occupied.

† One of the absurd Christian traditions still preserved in Jerusalem is, that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is the physical centre of the earth; and a spot is marked by a circle of marble pavement and a short column under the dome of the Greek Church, which is said to be the exact point, as indicated by our Lord himself (*Handbook*, p. 164).



it is, in principle, strictly true. Palestine stood midway between the three greatest ancient nations, Assyria, Egypt, and Greece. It was for many centuries the centre, and the only centre, of religious light and of real civilization, from which all other nations, directly or indirectly, drew their supplies. It is a remarkable fact, a fact which every thoughtful student of history must admit, that during the whole period of Jewish history, light—intellectual, moral, and religious—radiated from Palestine, and from it alone. The farther one receded from that land, the more dim the light became; and the nearer one approached, it shone with the purer radiance. The heavenly knowledge communicated in 'sundry times and divers manners' through the Jewish patriarchs and prophets, was unfolded and perfected by our Lord and his apostles. In their age, Palestine became the birth-place of intellectual life and civil and religious liberty. From these have since been developed all the scientific triumphs, all the social progress, and all the moral greatness and grandeur of the civilized world. There was a fulness of prophetic meaning in the words of Isaiah, which is only now beginning to be rightly understood and appreciated; 'Out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And he shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people; and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks' (ii. 3, 4).

Palestine is, by the peculiarity of its situation, almost isolated. Connected physically with the great body of the Asiatic continent, it is yet separated from the habitable parts of it by the arid desert of Arabia, which extends from the eastern border of Syria to the banks of the Euphrates, a distance of nearly 300 miles. Another desert, not altogether so wide nor so difficult, sweeps along the southern confines of Palestine, as a barrier against all Egyptian invaders, and in a great measure preventing communication with that nation. The Mediterranean completely shut out the western world. Thus, on three of its sides—the east, the south, and the west—was Palestine isolated. Its only direct link of connection with the outer world was Syria on the north; and even there, the lofty chains of Lebanon and Hermon confined the channel of communication to one narrow pass, the valley of Coele-Syria. 'These,' says Stanley, 'were the natural fortifications of that vineyard which was 'hedged round about' with tower and trench, sea and desert, against the 'boars of the wood' and 'the beasts of the field'' (*Sin. and Pal.*, p. 114).

It was not without a wise object the Almighty located his chosen people in such a land. During a long course of ages they were designed to be the sole preservers of a true faith, and the sole guardians of a divine revelation. It was needful, therefore, to separate them geographically from the evil example and evil influences of heathen nations; and by the munitions of nature to defend them, and that precious record of God's will committed to their custody, from all assaults, physical as well as moral. It has been well said by a recent thoughtful writer, that 'the more we learn of its relative position in regard to surrounding countries, and of its own distinctive characteristics, the more clearly is the wisdom of Heaven recognised in its special adaptation to the purposes for which it was chosen and consecrated' (Drew, *Scripture Lands*,

p. 2). But when Judaism was at length developed into Christianity—when the grand scheme of redemption was removed, by the sufferings and death of the divine Saviour in Palestine, from the region of dim prophecy into that of history; then the religion of God was finally severed from its connection, hitherto necessary, with a specific country and a chosen people—it became the religion of mankind. Then Palestine ceased to be God's country, and Israel to be God's people. The isolation of the land hitherto preserved the true faith; the exclusiveness of the people formed an effectual safeguard against the admission of the philosophical speculations and corrupt practices of other nations; but after the resurrection of Christ, and the establishment of that pure, rational, spiritual faith revealed in the N. T., such material defences were no longer requisite. They would have been even prejudicial to the truth. Palestine was the *cradle* of the religion of God; on reaching full maturity, the cradle was no longer a fitting abode; the world then became its home and sphere of action. And at that transition period the position of Palestine appeared as if specially designed to favour and consummate the divine plan, by the ready access it afforded for the messengers of truth to every kingdom of the known world. Before the establishment of Christianity, the sea had become the highway of nations. The Mediterranean, hitherto a barrier, was now the easiest channel of communication; and from the shores of Palestine the Gospel of Jesus was wafted away to the populous shores and crowded cities of the great nations of the West. It is thus that a careful study of the geographical position, the physical aspect, and past history of Palestine, is calculated to throw clear light on the development of the divine plan of salvation; and to afford some little insight into the councils of Jehovah.

Climate has a great influence upon man. That climate which is best adapted to develop the physical frame, to foster its powers, and to preserve them longest in healthy and manly vigour, is the most conducive to pure morality and intellectual growth. The heat of the tropics begets lassitude and luxurious effeminacy, while the cold of the arctic regions cramps the energies, and tends to check those lofty flights of poetic genius which give such a charm and sweetness to human life. Situated about midway between the equator and the polar circle, Palestine enjoys one of the finest climates in the world. Fresh sea-breezes temper the summer heats; the forests and abundant vegetation which once clothed the land diffused an agreeable moisture through the bright sunny atmosphere; while the hills and mountains made active and constant exercise necessary, and thus gave strength and elasticity to the frame. Palestine has given to the world some of the most distinguished examples of high poetic genius, of profound wisdom, of self-denying patriotism, of undaunted courage, and of bodily strength. The geographical position and physical structure of the land had much to do with this. God in his infinite wisdom and love placed his elect people in the very best position for the development of all that was great and good.\* Well might the Lord

\* This subject is well brought out by Drew in his *Scripture Lands*, pp. 10, *seq.* He shows not merely the effects of climate upon man physically

say by the mouth of his prophet, 'What could have been done more to my vineyard, that I have not done in it?' (Is. v. 4).

The *Boundaries of Palestine* require to be defined with care and minuteness. Much confusion has arisen in Biblical geography from the way in which this subject has been treated, and from the diversity of views which prevails. No two writers agree on all points. The accounts of ancient geographers—Greek, Roman, and Jewish—are unsatisfactory, and sometimes contradictory; and when we come down to more modern times we do not find much improvement. Some authors confound Palestine with 'the Land of Promise,' as mentioned in Genesis and Exodus, and with the land defined by Moses in the book of Numbers (Reland, *Pal.*, 113, *seq.*; Cellarius, *Geogr.* ii. 464, *seq.*; Hales, *Anal. of Chronology*, i. 413; Kitto, *Physical Hist. of Pal.*, p. xxviii.; Jahn, *Biblical Antiquities*; *Encyclopæd. Britan.*, art. *Palestine*, 8th ed.) Others confine the name to the territory west of the Jordan, and reaching from Dan to Beersheba (Grove, in Smith's *Dict. of Bible*, art. *Palestine*). Even Dean Stanley, usually so accurate and so careful in his geographical details, does not express his views with sufficient clearness on this point (*Sin. and Pal.*, pp. 111, 114).

It may be well, therefore, in this place, to state precisely the several boundaries of the country mentioned in the Bible:—(1), As promised to Abraham and his seed; (2), As described by Moses before his death; (3), As actually allotted to the twelve tribes by Joshua; and (4), As set forth in the prophetic vision of Ezekiel. This, it is hoped, will prevent misconception and confusion, and will contribute to a fuller understanding of one of the most important branches of Biblical geography. It will show, too, how far Palestine, as the name is now applied, corresponds in extent and boundaries with those lands described by the ancient prophets.

(1.) *Boundaries of the Land promised to Abraham.*—The first promises made to Abraham were indefinite. A country was ensured to him, but its limits were not stated. The Lord said to him at Sichem, 'Unto thy seed will I give this land' (Gen. xii. 7); and again, on the heights of Bethel, after Lot had left him, 'Lift up now thine eyes, and look from the place where thou art, northward, and southward, and eastward, and westward; for all the land which thou seest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed for ever' (xiii. 14, 15). It was a commanding spot, but still that view did not embrace one-fourth of Palestine. At length, however, the boundaries were defined; in general terms, it is true, but still with sufficient clearness to indicate the vast extent of territory

and morally, but also the effects of the circumstances amid which they were placed, and the people by whom they were surrounded, in moulding the manners and training the warriors of Israel. It is worthy of note, also, as tending to corroborate the above view of the influence of climate upon character, that the inhabitants of the plain of Sodom—a low, hot, unhealthy region—were the most corrupt in western Asia; and Lot's brief residence among them appears to have had a fatal influence on himself and his family, destroying in them all principles of pure morality and even of shame.

promised to Abraham's descendants; 'In the same day the Lord made a covenant with Abraham, saying, unto thy seed have I given this land, *from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates*' (xv. 18). 'The river of Egypt' was doubtless the Nile. It should be observed that the Hebrew word is נהר, river (LXX., ποταμός), and not נחל, 'wady,' or 'torrent bed,' as in Num. xxxiv. 5 (LXX., χελμαρρος), where Wady el-Arish seems to be meant (see Kalisch, Delitzsch, etc., *ad loc.*) From the banks of the Nile, then, to the Euphrates, the country promised to the patriarch extended. The covenant was renewed with the Israelites just after their departure from Egypt, and the boundaries of the land were given with more fulness: 'I will set thy bounds from the Red Sea even to the Sea of the Philistines (the Mediterranean); and from the desert (of Sinai) unto the river' (Euphrates; עַד־הַנָּהָר; ἕως τοῦ μεγάλου ποταμοῦ Εὐφράτου; Exod. xxiii. 31).\*

But this great territory was promised upon certain specific conditions. The people were, on their part, to be faithful to God (vers. 22, 23). They did not fulfil these conditions, and therefore the whole land was not given to them (see Josh. xiii. 13-16; Judg. ii. 20-23). But though the whole land was never occupied by the Israelites, there was a near approach to the possession of it, or the exercise of sovereignty over it, in the days of David, of whom it is recorded: 'David smote also Haddad-ezer, the son of Rehob, king of Zobah, *as he went to recover his border at the river Euphrates*' (2 Sam. viii. 3). That warlike monarch conquered the kingdoms of Hamath, Zobah, Damascus, Moab, Ammon, Amalek, Philistia, and Edom (vers. 5-14)—the whole country, in fact, from the border of Egypt to the river Euphrates, and from the Arabian desert to the Mediterranean. This was the land given in covenant promise to Abraham; but it was never included under the name *Palestine*.

(2.) *The land described by Moses* in Num. xxxiv. 1-12 is much more limited in extent than that promised to Abraham. He calls it 'the Land of Canaan—the land that shall fall unto you for an inheritance' (ver. 2). Its boundaries are defined with great precision. On the *south* the border reached from Kadesh-barnea in the Arabah, on the confines of Edom, across the 'wilderness of wandering,' to the *torrent† of Egypt*, doubtless that now known as Wady el-Arish. The Great Sea was

\* Reland's note upon this passage is deserving of attention: 'Adeoquē distinguenda est promissio possessionis hæreditariæ (quæ complectitur regionem sorte inter tribus novem et dimidiam distributam ad occidentem Jordanis) et promissio domini, id est, illius terræ quam aliquando acquisituri essent, uti sub imperio Davidis et Salomonis vere ad mare Suph et Euphratem dominati sunt, quum alias regiones olim ipsis haud assignatas adsciverunt' (*Palestina*, p. 20). The distinction here drawn is ingenious, but it is not supported by any Scriptural authority. The true reason why the Israelites did not inherit and possess the whole land of promise is plainly stated in Scripture.

† The word is here נחל, 'torrent,' and not נהר, 'river.' This important distinction has been overlooked by Dr. Keith and others (*Land of Israel*, pp. 85, *seq.*; Bochart, *Opera*, iii. p. 764; Shaw, *Travels*, ii. 45, *seq.*)



its western border. The northern is thus defined: 'And this shall be your north border; from the great sea ye shall point out for you Mount Hor; from Mount Hor ye shall point out unto the entrance of Hamath; and the goings forth of the border shall be to Zedad; and the border shall go on to Ziphron, and the goings out of it shall be at Hazar-enan' (vers. 7-9). The interpretation of this passage has given rise to much controversy. Dr. Keith argues with considerable force and learning that Mount Hor, or, as it is in the Hebrew, *Hor Ha-Har* (הַר הָהָר), is Mount Casius, and that the

chasm of the Orontes at Antioch is 'the entrance of Hamath.' This view, however, is rendered altogether untenable by more recent researches, and especially by the discovery of the sites of Riblah and Zedad (but see Keith's *Land of Israel*, pp. 92-105). Dr. Kitto, on the other hand, following Reland (*Pal.* 118, *seq.*), Bochart (*Opera*, i. 307), and Cellarius (*Geogr.*, ii. 464, *seq.*), locates this northern border-line near the parallel of Sidon, making some peak of southern Lebanon Mount Hor, and the lower extremity of the valley of Coele-Syria the 'entrance of Hamath.'

The writer of this article considers both these views erroneous. He had opportunities of surveying the whole region with the view of solving this geographical puzzle, and discovering the northern border as defined by Moses. He believes that he has been successful. The land, or kingdom of Hamath, is the great plain which extends on both banks of the Orontes from the city of Hamath up to the great fountain near Riblah. The 'entrance of Hamath' is the entrance from the Great Sea, from the west (vers. 7, 8). Here there is but one entrance, and no traveller can fail to see it. The range of Lebanon runs parallel to the sea-coast from the plain of Acre to a point opposite the plain of Hamath; there it terminates abruptly. A few miles to the north the range of Bargylus begins and runs in the same line to Antioch. Between the two is a pass or gap, which forms the natural and indeed the only entrance to Hamath from the sea and the western coast. To this day natives sometimes call it *Bāb Hamath*, 'The door of Hamath.'

This view is corroborated by several incidental notices in Scripture. A comparison of Ezek. xlvii. 15 with verse 20, and Num. xxxiv. 7, 8, shows that 'the way of Hethlon, as men go to Zedad' (from the sea), was identical with 'the entrance of Hamath.' Now the site of Zedad is the village of *Sudud*, which lies in the plain due east of the pass between the Lebanon and Bargylus ranges [ZEDAD]. And further, the territory of Hamath was included in the land described by Moses (Num. xxxiv. 8-11), and by Ezekiel (xlvii. 15-20): and 'the entrance to Hamath' is one of the marks of its northern border; consequently, to place it in the parallel of Sidon, or at the base of Mount Hermon, is manifestly inaccurate, for this is far south of Hamath. Again, that portion of the country not subdued by Joshua, and yet included in the description of Moses, extended 'from Baalgad under Mount Hermon unto the entering into Hamath,' embracing the land of the Gibletes and all Anti-Lebanon (Josh. xiii. 5; cf. Judg. iii. 3); that is, all the two ridges of Lebanon from their southern to their northern extremities (cf. 1 Kings vii. 65; 2 Chron. vii. 8; 2 Kings xiv. 25). Van

de Velde appears to make the northern end of Coele-Syria, where that valley opens upon the plain of Hamath, 'the entrance of Hamath' (*Travels*, ii. 470); and Stanley adopts the same view (*Sin. and Pal.*, 399). But this is inadmissible, because (a), This is not, and could not be the entrance of Hamath from the sea, though it may be from Palestine; (b), This opening of the valley of Coele-Syria is considerably to the south of Riblah, Zedad, and Ziphron—all of which were within the promised land; and (c), The valley of Coele-Syria adjoins the extreme southern border of Hamath (see HAMATH; Porter's *Damascus*, ii. 354; Robinson, *B. R.*, iii. 568).

The settlement of the 'entrance of Hamath' fixes the position of Mount Hor. *Hor Ha-Har* must be the northern and culminating peak of the Lebanon range near the cedars. And this is emphatically *the mountain* as seen from the sea, or from the western coast. The northern border, therefore, beginning at the sea, apparently at or near the mouth of the river Eleutherus, ran eastward to the northern peak of Lebanon; thence it swept round through the pass, and extended north-east to Hamath; then it turned south-east by Ziphron (Zifrün), and Zedad (Sudud), to Hazar-enan (Kuryetein).

The east border has some well-known landmarks—Riblah, the Sea of Chinnereth, and the Jordan to the Dead Sea (Num. xxxiv. 10-12). The line ran down the valley of Coele-Syria and the Jordan, thus excluding the whole kingdom of Damascus, with Bashan, Gilead, and Moab. It would seem, however, that the country east of the Jordan was excluded by Moses, not because he regarded it as beyond the proper boundaries of the land of Israel, but because it had been already apportioned by him to the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh (xxxii. 1-33; xxxiii. 50-54).

The Israelites were never in actual possession of all this territory, though David extended his conquests beyond it, and Solomon for a time exacted tribute from its various tribes and nations. The southern seaboard, and a large section of the Shephelah, remained in the hands of the warlike Philistines. The Phœnicians held the coast-plain north of Carmel; and the chain of Lebanon, from Sidon northward, continued in possession of the Gibletes and other mountain tribes (Judg. iii. 1-3). It is worthy of note that the sacred writer, when reckoning up the regions still to be conquered, was guided not by the words of the Abrahamic covenant, but by the description of Moses (Josh. xiii. 2-6). And the reason why this whole land was not given to the Israelites is plainly stated. The Lord kept some of the aboriginal inhabitants in it for the purpose of chastising the criminal slothfulness, and the thoughtlessness and rebellion of his people (Judg. iii. 4; see Masius and Keil, *ad loc.*) Such, then, is the land described by Moses; but the name Palestine was never given to so extensive a region.

(3.) *The boundaries of the land allotted by Moses and Joshua to the twelve tribes* are given in the following passages—those of the land east of the Jordan in Num. xxxii. and Josh. xiii. 8-32; on the west side in Josh. xv.-xix.

The south border was identical with that described by Moses (cf. Num. xxxiv. 3-5; Josh. xv. 2-4). The west border was also the same; the possessions of the western tribes reaching in every

instance to the sea (Josh. xv. 11; xvi. 3, 8; xvii. 9, 10; xix. 29). The north border had Zidon as its landmark on the coast. Thence it was drawn south-east across Lebanon, probably along the line of the ancient Phœnician road by Kulaat esh-Shukff to Ijon and Dan (Josh. xix. 28; 1 Kings xv. 20); thence it passed over the southern shoulder of Hermon, and across the plateau of Haurân to the northern end of the mountains of Bashan (Num. xxxii. 33; Deut. iii. 8-14; Josh. xii. 4-6). The only landmark on the east border is Salcah (Josh. xii. 5; xiii. 11; Deut. iii. 10). From Salcah it appears to have run south-west along the border of the Arabian *Midbar* to the bank of the river Arnon (Josh. xii. 1, 2). Here it turned westward, and followed the course of the river to the Dead Sea, thus excluding the territory of Moab and Edom.

The country allotted to the tribes was thus considerably smaller than that described by Moses; and it was not more than one-third the extent of that given in covenant promise to Abraham. And even all allotted was never completely conquered and occupied. The Philistines and Phœnicians still possessed their cities along the coast (Judg. i. 19, 31); some of the northern tribes held their mountain fastnesses (ver. 33); and the Geshurites and Maachathites continued in their rocky strongholds in Bashan (Josh. xiii. 13).

(4.) *The land described in the prophetic vision of Ezekiel* is conterminous on the south, west, and north, with that of Moses. Its eastern boundary is different. Its landmarks are Hazar-enan, Haurân, Damascus, Gilead, and 'the land of Israel by Jordan' (xlvi. 17, 18). The last point is indefinite; but probably it means that section east of the Jordan, in Moab, which was assigned to Reuben. This land, therefore, includes, in addition to that of Moses, the whole kingdom of Damascus, and the possessions of Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh.

These facts and descriptions will serve, it is hoped, to keep before the student's mind the important distinction between the land promised in covenant to Abraham, the land defined by Moses, the land allotted to the twelve tribes, and the land depicted by Ezekiel.

The country to which the name Palestine is now usually given does not exactly correspond with any of these. It is smaller than them all. Its boundaries have never been laid down with geographical precision; but they may be stated approximately as follows:—On the south a line drawn from the lower end of the Dead Sea to Beersheba and Gaza; on the west, the Mediterranean; on the north, a line drawn from the mouth of the river Litâny to Dan, and thence across Jebel el-Hish and the plain of Haurân to the northern end of the Haurân mountains; on the east, a line running from the north-eastern angle through Salcah to Kerak and the Dead Sea. The length of Palestine is thus 140 English miles. Its breadth on the south is 75 miles, and on the north about 100. Its superficial area may be estimated at 12,000 square miles. Its southern extremity, the end of the Dead Sea, is in lat. N.  $31^{\circ} 5'$ ; and its northern, at the mouth of the Litâny,  $33^{\circ} 25'$ . Its most westerly point, at Gaza, is in long. E.  $34^{\circ} 30'$ ; and its most easterly, at Salcah,  $36^{\circ} 37'$ .

The eastern shore of the Mediterranean runs in nearly a straight line from Egypt to Asia Minor,

and of this line the seaboard of Palestine forms about one-third towards, not at, its southern end;—Gaza being 50 miles distant from Egypt, while the mouth of the Litâny is 250 from Asia Minor. Palestine occupies the whole breadth of the habitable land between the Mediterranean and the Arabian desert. Its boundaries on three sides are therefore natural, and may be said to be impassable—on the west the sea, and on the south and east the desert; not, however, a desert of sand, nor a desert altogether barren, but rather a bleak dry region, with a thin, flinty soil, yielding some tolerable pasture in spring, though almost bare as a rock in summer and autumn. Nature thus prevented the extension of the Israelitish territory in these directions, and likewise prevented the close approach of any settled nation; but it left free scope for flocks and herds, and a noble field for the training of an active, hardy race of shepherd warriors, such as David so often led to victory.

On the south-east, Palestine bordered on Edom; but the Dead Sea, the deep valley of the Arabah, and the rugged Wilderness of Judæa, formed natural barriers which prevented all close intercourse. Hostile armies found it difficult to pass them, and a few resolute men could guard the defiles. On the northern border lay the countries of Damascus and Phœnicia, and intercourse with these had a serious effect on the northern tribes. The distinction between Jew and Gentile soon became less sharply defined there than elsewhere. The former lost much of their exclusiveness, and their faith lost proportionably in purity. Idolatry was easily established in the chief places of the northern kingdom, and the borrowed *Baalim* of Phœnicia became in time the popular deities of the land (1 Kings xviii.) This fact of itself shows how wise was that providential arrangement which located the people of God in an isolated land, and prevented, by the barriers of nature, any close intercourse with those irrational systems, and barbarous and often obscene rites, which, under the name of religion, prevailed among the nations of the world.

It must strike every thoughtful man how very small a country Palestine is, to have occupied such an important place in the world's history, and to have produced such wondrous effects on the destiny of mankind. It is not quite double the size of Wales. Belgium is the nearest to it in extent among the kingdoms of modern Europe; it was considerably smaller than Holland, Hanover, and Switzerland. Its clear atmosphere, and the peculiarity of its physical structure—having a mountain range running down its centre—make it appear to the traveller's eye smaller than it really is. From almost every prominent peak in Central Palestine, the eastern, western, and northern boundaries are in view. The writer, on one occasion, saw nearly the entire country from the top of Mount Hermon—the Mediterranean on the west, the mountains of Bashan on the east, and the Dead Sea away on the distant south.

II. THE NAMES.—It is important to know the origin, history, and exact signification of the several names which in the Bible and in classic writers are given to Palestine. The name Palestine itself, though of comparatively recent date, as applied to the whole country, demands our first notice.

1. *Palestine*.—In the A. V. of the Bible, the word 'Palestine' only occurs in Joel iii. 4 (פְּלִשְׁתִּין).



פלשתי; Γαλιλαία ἀλλοφύλων, *terminus Palesthinorum*); 'What have ye to do with me, O Tyre, and Zidon, and all the coasts of Palestine?' Here the name is confined to Philistia. In three passages (Exod. xv. 14; Is. xiv. 29, 31), we have the Latin form *Palestina*; but the meaning is the same, and hence the Septuagint renders it in one case Φυλιστιελμ, and in the others ἀλλόφυλοι.

The Hebrew word פלש, probably comes from the Ethiopic root **ፈለሰ**, *falasa*, 'to wander,' or 'emigrate,' and hence פלשת will signify 'the nation of emigrants'—the Philistines having emigrated from Africa (PHILISTINES; see Reland, *Pal.*, 73, *seq.*) The people gave their name to the territory in which they settled on the south-west coast of Palestine. Such is the meaning given to the word פלשת by the sacred writers. In this sense, also, Josephus uses the Greek equivalent Παλαιστίνη (*Antiq.* i. 6. 2; ii. 15. 3). But it would seem that even before his time the Greek name began to be employed in a more extended signification. Herodotus states, that all the country from Phœnicia to Egypt is called *Palestine* (vii. 89); and he calls the Jews 'Syrians of Palestine' (iii. 5, 91). This extension of the name doubtless arose from the fact, that when the Greeks began to hold commercial intercourse with Phœnicia and south-western Asia, they found the coast from Phœnicia to Egypt in possession of the Philistines; and consequently they applied the name *Palastina* loosely to the whole country reaching from the sea to the desert. Josephus uses it in this sense in a few instances (*Antiq.* viii. 10. 3); and Philo says, 'the country of the Sodomites was a district of the land of Canaan, which the Syrians afterwards called *Palestine*' (*De Abraham.* xxvi.; cf. *Vita Moïsis*, xxix.). The rabbins also gave the name Palestine to all the country occupied by the Jews (Reland, 38, *seq.*) Dion Cassius states, that 'anciently the whole country lying between Phœnicia and Egypt was called Palestine. It had also another adopted name, *Judæa*' (*Hist.* xxxvii.) From this time onward Palestine was the name most usually given to the land of Israel; in some cases it was confined to the country west of the Jordan, but in others it embraced the eastern provinces (see Reland, and authorities quoted by him, 39, *seq.*) By early Christian writers the word was generally, though not uniformly, employed in this sense. Thus Jerome, in one passage: 'terra Judæa, quæ nunc appellatur *Palestina*' (*ad Ezech.* xxvii.); but in another, 'Philistiim, qui nunc *Palæstini* vocantur' (*in Am.* i. 6; cf. Is. xiv. 29). Chrysostom usually calls the Land of Israel Palestine (Reland, 40). All ancient writers, therefore, did not use the name in the same sense—some applying it to the whole country of the Jews, some restricting it to Philistia (Theodoret, *ad Ps.* lix.; Reland, *l. c.*) Consequently, when the name Palestine occurs in classic and early Christian writers, the student of geography will require carefully to examine the context, that he may ascertain whether it is applied to Philistia alone, or to all the land of Israel.

It appears that when our Authorized Version was made, the English name *Palestine* was considered to be equivalent to *Philistia*; hence the same Hebrew word is sometimes rendered *Palestine* or *Palestina*, and sometimes *Philistia* (Ps. lx.

8; lxxxvii. 4; cviii. 9). In no part of Scripture is either the Hebrew פלשת, or the English Palestine or Palestina, used in the sense in which it is employed at the head of this article. Its uniform and only signification is 'Philistia,' 'the land of the Philistines' (PHILISTIA; see Reland, 89, *seq.*; Rawlinson's *Herodot.*, ii. 399, note; Rennell, *Geogr. of Herodot.*, pp. 245, *seq.*)

2. *Canaan* (כנען; *Xanaân*). This is the oldest, and in the early books of Scripture, the most common name of Palestine. It is derived from the son of Ham, by whose family the country was colonised (Gen. ix. 18; x. 15-19; Joseph. *Antiq.* i. 6. 2). It is worthy of note, as tending to confirm the accuracy of the early ethnological notices in Genesis, that the ancient Phœnicians called themselves Canaanites (Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, p. 40; Reland, p. 7). The name Canaan was confined to the district west of the Jordan; the provinces east of the river were always distinguished from it (Num. xxxiii. 51; Exod. xvi. 35, with Josh. v. 12; xxii. 9, 10). Its eastern boundary is thus within that of Palestine; but, on the other hand, it reached on the north to Hamath (Gen. x. 18, with xvii. 8), and probably even farther, for the Arvadite is reckoned among the Canaanites, and the earliest name of Phœnicia was *Cua* or *Cana* [PHœNICIA]. Wherever the country promised to the Israelites, or dwelt in by the patriarchs, is mentioned in Scripture, it is called 'the land of Canaan' (Exod. vi. 4; xv. 15; Lev. xiv. 34; Deut. xxxii. 39; Josh. xiv. 1; Ps. cv. 11), doubtless in reference to the promise originally made to Abraham (Gen. xvii. 8). A full account of the origin and use of this name is given in the article CANAAN, LAND OF (see also Reland, 1, *seq.*)

3. *The Land of Promise*.—This name originated in the divine promise to Abraham—'All the land which thou seest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed for ever' (Gen. xiii. 15). Its extent and boundaries are given by Moses (xv. 18-21; Exod. xxiii. 31), and have been already considered. The exact phrase, 'Land of Promise,' is not found in the O. T., and only once in the N. (Heb. xi. 9, ἡ γῆ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας), but some analogous expression is often used by the sacred writers; thus in Num. xxxii. 11, 'The land which I swear unto Abraham' (cf. Deut. xxxiv. 1-4; Gen. l. 24; Ezek. xx. 42; Acts vii. 5). Such appellations were used when the object of the writer was to direct the people's attention to the Abrahamic covenant, either to its certainty or to its fulfilment. It is now frequently employed by writers on Palestine, who give special attention to prophecy (for a good account of it, see Reland, 18, *seq.*)

4. *The Land of Jehovah*.—This name is only found in Hosea ix. 3; 'They shall not dwell in Jehovah's land.' All the countries of the earth are the Lord's; but it appears, as Reland states (*Pal.*, p. 16), that in some peculiar way Palestine was especially God's land. Thus an express command was given, 'The land shall not be sold for ever: for the land is mine' (Lev. xxv. 23); and the Psalmist says, 'Lord, thou hast been favourable unto thy land' (lxxxv. 1); and still more emphatic are the words of Isaiah, 'The stretching out of his wings shall fill the breadth of thy land, O Immanuel' (viii. 8; cf. Joel i. 6; iii. 2; Jer. xvi. 18). The object of these and many similar expressions was to show that Jehovah claimed the sole disposal

of Palestine. He reserved it for special and holy purposes; and he intended in all time to come to dispose of it, whether miraculously or providentially, for carrying out those purposes, either by the agency of the Jews or of others. It was the only land in which the Lord personally and visibly dwelt; first in the Shekinah glory, and again in the person of Jesus. For this land, the Lord always demanded both a special acknowledgment of lordship, and certain stipulated returns to him, as tithes and first-fruits (Reland, pp. 16, 17).

5. *Land of Israel* (ארץ ישראל; in N. T. γῆ Ἰσραήλ). By this name Palestine was distinguished from all the other countries of the earth. It began to be used after the establishment of the monarchy. It occurs first in 1 Sam. xiii. 19, and is occasionally used in the later books (2 Kings v. 2; vi. 23); but Ezekiel employs it more frequently than all the sacred writers together; the reason probably being that he compares Palestine with other countries more frequently than any other writer. St. Matthew, in relating the story of the infant Saviour's return from Egypt, uses the name; 'He arose, and took the young child and his mother, and came into the Land of Israel' (ii. 21). The name is found in the Apocryphal books (Tobit i. 4); in Josephus, who also uses 'Land of the Hebrews' (Ἑβραίων χώρα); and in some of the early Christian fathers (Reland, p. 9). The name is essentially Jewish; it was familiar to the Rabbins, but, in a great measure, unknown to classic writers. It is only applied in the Bible to the country which was actually occupied by the Israelites; and so it was understood by the Rabbins, who divided the whole world into two parts, 'The land of Israel,' and 'the land out of Israel' (Reland, 9).

6. *The Land* (הארץ; ἡ γῆ).—This name is given to Palestine emphatically, by way of distinction, as we call the Word of God *the Bible*. Thus in Ruth (i. 1), 'There was a famine in the land' (בארץ); and in Jer. xii. 11, 'The whole land is made desolate' (l. 34); and so also in Luke's Gospel, 'When great famine was throughout all the land' (v. 25); and in Matt. xxvii. 45, 'Now from the sixth hour there was darkness over all the land unto the ninth hour.' This also was a strictly Jewish name (Reland, 28, seq.).

7. *Judea* or *Judaea*.—The use of this name in the Bible and by classic writers requires to be carefully noted. At first, its Hebrew equivalent, ארץ יהודה, was confined to the possessions of the tribe of Judah (2 Chron. ix. 11). After the captivity of the Northern Kingdom, the name 'Judah' became identified with the Jewish nation; and hence, during the second captivity, יהודה, *Judea*, was applied to all Palestine, and to all the Israelites. In the same sense, it was employed in Josephus, in the N. T., and in classic writers: and it was even made to include the region east of the Jordan. In other cases, we find it given as the special name of a province of southern Palestine. For fuller information, see the article JUDÆA.

8. *Holy Land* (ארצת הקדש; ἡ γῆ ἁγία; Terra Sancta). Next to Palestine, this is now the most familiar name of the country. Zechariah is the first who mentions it, 'The Lord shall inherit Judah, his portion of the Holy Land' (ii. 12). The Rabbins constantly use it, and they have detailed, with great minuteness, the constituents of its sanctity. They did not regard it as all equally holy.

Judæa ranked first; after it, the Northern Kingdom; and last of all, the territory beyond Jordan (Reland, 26, seq.). The very dust, and stones, and air of the land, are still considered holy by the poor Jews (Reland, 25). The early Christian writers call it *Terra Sancta* (Justin Martyr, *Tryphon*; Tertullian, *De Resurrectione*; cf. Reland, p. 23). During the middle ages, and especially in the time of the Crusades, this name became so common as almost to supersede all others. In the present day, it is adopted, along with Palestine, as a geographical term. It was originally, and is now, applied only to the land allotted to the twelve tribes; and some Christian writers appear to confine it to the section west of the Jordan. More usually, however, it is employed in the same sense as Palestine (Reland, pp. 21-28).

III. PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY.—The physical conformation of Palestine is simple, peculiar, and in some respects unique. It divides itself into four longitudinal belts, each reaching from north to south; and these belts are as distinct in their political history as in their physical structure. In fact, a careful study of the physical geography of Palestine—its plains, mountains, valleys, and great natural divisions—affords the best key to its history. The geographer who travels through the country, or the student who carefully notes one of the best constructed maps, such as Van de Velde's, must observe the belt of plain extending along the seaboard from the mouth of the Litâny to Gaza. Narrow on the north, and interrupted by three bold promontories, it expands gradually towards the south into a broad champaign. Its low elevation and sandy soil make the coast-line tame and almost straight. Were it not for the headland of Carmel, the shore would be a straight line, without bay or promontory.

From the end of Lebanon on the north, a mountain-range runs through the centre of the country. Its course is not parallel to the coast; the latter trends from N.N.E. to S.S.W.; whereas the mountains run more nearly, though not quite, south, thus leaving a broader margin of plain at the southern extremity. The ridge is intersected near its centre by a crossbelt of plain, connecting the Jordan valley with the coast. This plain is Esdraelon. The sections of the ridge to the north and south of it have very different features. That on the north is picturesque, and in some places grand. The outlines are varied; lofty peaks spring up at intervals, and are separated by winding wooded glens. On the south, the general aspect of the ridge is dull and uniform, presenting the appearance of a huge gray wall, as seen from the coast. But, in travelling down the road which runs along the broad back of the ridge to Jerusalem and Hebron, the eye sees an endless succession of rounded hill-tops, thrown confusedly together, each bare and rocky as its neighbour. South of Hebron, these sink into low swelling hills, similar in form, but smaller; and these again gradually melt into the desert plain of et-Tih.

But by far the most remarkable feature of Palestine is the Jordan valley, which runs through the land from north to south, straight as an arrow. There is nothing like it in the world. It is a rent or chasm in the earth's crust, being everywhere below the level of the ocean. This deep valley produces a marked effect on the ridges which border it. Their sides toward the valley are far



more abrupt than elsewhere in Palestine; the ravines that descend from them are deeper and wilder; and towards the south, along the shores of the Dead Sea, there is a look of rugged grandeur and desolation such as is seldom met with. The valley is of nearly uniform breadth, about ten miles from brow to brow, expanding slightly at Tiberias and the Dead Sea, as if greater depth had made some enlargement of the lateral boundaries necessary. This valley forms a very striking feature on every map of Palestine; and it becomes all the more striking the more accurately the physical geography of the land is delineated.

The remaining part of Palestine east of the Jordan forms a belt of table-land, to which the central valley gives some remarkable features. Every traveller in Palestine is familiar with the mountain-range—steep, straight, and of nearly uniform elevation—which, from every point in Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee, bounds the view eastward. This, in reality, is not a mountain-range; it is the side or bank of the eastern plateau, which has itself an elevation of from 2000 to 3000 feet, to which the depression of the Jordan adds another thousand. At only a few places, on the extreme north, and near the centre, do the tops of this ridge rise above the general level of the plateau. The ravines that descend from it are of great depth. At the north-east angle of Palestine is an isolated mountain-ridge, dividing the fertile table-land of Bashan from the arid wastes of Arabia.

Such is an outline of the general features of Palestine. It prepares the way for a detailed examination of the several divisions, and also for a more satisfactory review of the historical geography of the country. Each great physical feature has exercised from the earliest periods, as will be seen, a most important influence upon the people. The chasm of the Jordan effectually divided the east from the west; and the crossbelt of Esdraelon divided almost as effectually the north from the south. The maritime plain gave birth to two nations, one of merchants, another of warriors. It also became, in later ages, the highway between Egypt and Assyria. But the steep sides and rugged passes of the mountains presented such difficulties, that few attempted to invade them. The mountain-ridge of Judah and Samaria was thus isolated; it was defended by a double rampart, an outer and an inner. It was the heart and stronghold of the Jewish nation; it was the sanctuary of the Jewish faith; and it was the stage on which most of the events of the national history were enacted.

1. *The Maritime Plain.*—From the bank of the Litány on the north, for a distance of some twenty miles, the plain is a mere strip, nowhere more than two miles wide, and generally much less. The surface is undulating, and intersected by ridges of whitish limestone, which shoot out from Lebanon, and break off in cliffs on the shore. Two of them—*Ras el-Abiad*, 'The White Cape,' and *Ras en-Nakúra*, the ancient 'Scala Tyriorum,' 'Ladder of Tyre'—rise to a height of from 200 to 300 feet, and drop into the deep sea, splendid cliffs of naked rock. Though the plain is here broken, and is now dreary and desolate, its soil, between the rocks, is deep, and of wonderful fertility. It is abundantly watered also by copious fountains, and by streams from Lebanon. At the widest and best part of it, on a low promontory, and an adjoining island, stood Tyre, a double city.

South of the Ladder of Tyre, the features of the plain and the coast undergo a total change. This promontory, in fact, is the real commencement of the maritime plain, and the natural boundary of Palestine and Phœnicia [PHŒNICIA]. The white cliffs and bold headlands now disappear; the shore is low and sandy; the plain flat, rich, and loamy, and only a few feet above the sea-level. It spreads out in long reaches of corn-fields and pasture-lands several miles inland, the mountains making a bold sweep to the east. On a low bank, projecting into the Mediterranean from the centre of this plain, stands Acre, the modern as well as the mediæval stronghold of Palestine. Across the plain, a few miles southward, flows the river Belus; and on its banks may still be seen that vitreous sand from which glass is said to have been first made (Strabo, xvi. p. 758; Pliny, xxxvi. 65). Still farther south, the Kishon, a sluggish stream with soft sedgy banks, falls in from the plain of Esdraelon. There is more water and more moisture in this part of the plain than in any other part of Palestine; it is consequently among the most fertile sections of the country.

The course of the Kishon breaks what might be called the natural conformation of Palestine. It intersects the central mountain range; and a branch, or arm of the range, as if displaced by the river, shoots out in a north-westerly direction, and projecting into the Mediterranean, forms a bold headland—the only prominent feature along the shore of Palestine. This is Carmel. Its elevation is about 1800 feet; its sides are steep and rugged, deeply furrowed by ravines, and partially clothed with forests of dwarf oaks [CARMEL]. There is little cultivation on the ridge; but its pastures are rich, and its flowers in early spring bright and beautiful. The promontory of Carmel is bluff, but as it does not dip into the sea, room is left for a good road round its base.

Immediately south of Carmel the plain again opens up, and continues without interruption to Gaza. Narrow at first, and broken by a low ridge of rocky tells running parallel to the coast, it gradually expands into the undulating pasture-lands of Sharon. The plain is not so flat here as at Acre, nor is it so well watered; though there are still streams and large fountains, with fringes of reeds and broad belts of green meadows. Here and there are clumps of trees and scraggy copse, the remnants of ancient forests; but most of the plain is bare and parched. There is scarcely any cultivation. Farther south the surface becomes flatter, the average elevation less, and vegetation more scanty, owing to the lighter soil and lack of moisture. Around Joppa, Lydda, and Ramleh, are pleasant orchards and large olive groves, surrounded by wastes of drift sand. Here Sharon unites with Philistia; which, after an interval of bleak downs, extends in wide-spreading corn-fields, and vast expanses of rich loamy soil, southward almost to the valley of Gerar. This is the *Shephelah*—'the low country' of the Bible; the home of the Philistines, over which they drove their iron war-chariots, and on which they bade defiance to the light mountain-troops of Israel [PHILISTIA].

The maritime plain south of Carmel has some general features worth of note. Along the whole seaboard runs a broad belt of drift sand, generally flat and wavy, but in places raised up into mounds varying from 50 to 200 feet in height. The mounds

and drifts are mostly bare and of a ruddy gray colour; though here and there they are covered with long wiry grass and bent. The sand is most destructive, and nothing can stay its progress. It has encircled the ruins of Cæsarea with a barren desert; it is slowly advancing on the orchards of Joppa, threatening them with destruction; it has drifted far inland to Ramleh and Lydda; it has almost entirely covered up the city of Ascalon, and is now invading the fields, vineyards, and olive-groves of Mejdél, Hamameh, and other neighbouring villages. From Ascalon southward, the hills are higher than elsewhere; and at Gaza the sand-belt is not less than three miles wide. The aspect of these bare hills, and long reaches of naked drift, is that of utter, terrible desolation.

Another feature of the plain is the depth of its wadys or torrent-beds. At the northern end of Sharon, their banks are comparatively low and sedgy, bordered by tracts of meadow, which, owing to their depression and the accumulation of sand along the coast, are overflowed during the rainy season, and thus converted into pools and morasses, some of which do not entirely dry up during the summer. In Philistia the wadys are deeply cut in the loamy or sandy soil; their banks are dry, hard, and bare; their beds too are dry, covered with dust, white pebbles, and flints.

The whole plain is bare and bleak. There are no trees, no bushes, and no fences of any kind, with the exception of one or two small remnants of pine and oak forests in the northern part of Sharon, and the orchards and olive-groves round a few of the principal villages, and the hedges of cactus that encircle them. One can ride on for days together without let or hindrance. In summer, all vegetation disappears. The plain stretches out, mile after mile, in easy undulations, like great waves, everywhere of a brownish gray colour, appearing as if scathed by lightning. In early spring, however, it is totally different. It does not look like the same country. It is covered with green grass, and, where cultivated, with luxuriant crops of green corn; it is all spangled with flowers of the brightest colours, and in Sharon with forests of gigantic thistles. The colouring then far surpasses anything ever seen in Europe; but still the absence of houses, fields, and fences, gives a dreary look. The villages are few, mostly very small, and very poor, and at long intervals. In Sharon, and in the southern section of Philistia, there are stretches of twenty miles and more without a village. The plain is everywhere dotted, however, with low rounded *tells*—a few of them, as Tell es-Sâfieh, Arâk el-Menshiyeh, and others, rising to a height of 200 feet and more—and these are covered with white debris, intermixed with hewn stones and fragments of columns, the remains of primeval cities. The plain has no good quarries; the rock along the coast, and over a great part of the plain, is a soft friable sandstone, not fit for architectural purposes. The ordinary houses, therefore, were built of brick, and soon crumbled away, and are now heaps of dust and rubbish. The remains of a few temples, and of the churches and ramparts erected by the Crusaders at Gaza, Ascalon, Lydda, and Cæsarea, are almost the only relics of antiquity now standing on the maritime plain.

The eastern border of the plain is not very clearly defined. The hills melt into it gradually. In one

place an elongated ridge shoots far down into the lowland, such as the ridge at Bethhoron, at Zorah, at Deir Dubbân, etc. In other places, broad valleys run far up among the mountains. These ridges and valleys were the border-land of the Israelites and Philistines, and were the scenes of many a wild foray, and many a hard-fought battle. The valleys are exceedingly fertile.

The breadth of this noble plain varies considerably. At Cæsarea on the north, it is not more than eight miles wide; at Joppa it is about twelve; while at Gaza, on the south, it is nearly twenty. Its elevation above the level of the sea has not been ascertained by measurement, but from its general appearance it does not seem to have an average of more than 100 feet.

2. *The Central Mountain Range*.—The deep narrow ravine of the Litâny separates Lebanon proper from Palestine [LEBANON]. The mountain-chain on its southern bank, however, is a natural prolongation of that on the northern. Its altitude is not so great, but its course is the same, its geological strata and physical features are the same, and when seen from any point, east or west, the ridge appears as one. On the south bank of the river the ridge is broad, reaching from the Jordan valley to the sea, about twenty miles. Its summit is mostly an irregular undulating table-land; having fertile plains of considerable extent intervening between the hill-tops. The outline is varied and picturesque; the plains are green with corn and grass, and the peaks and ridge backs covered more or less densely with forests of oak, terebinth, maple, and other trees. The trees grow to a larger size than is elsewhere seen in Palestine; many of them would not disgrace the great forests of Europe (Van de Velde, i. 170; ii. 418). The watershed is much nearer the eastern than the western side; in fact, it is in some places quite close to the eastern brow of the ridge, from which short abrupt glens descend to the Jordan. The valleys on the western slopes are long, winding, and richly wooded; and among them we have the finest—indeed, it might be said the only really fine scenery in Western Palestine. On the lower parts of the declivities, and in the beds of the valleys, are still extensive olive groves, showing how appropriate was Asher's blessing, 'Let him dip his foot in oil' (Deut. xxxiii. 24; Van de Velde, ii. 407).

This northern section of the mountain-chain culminates a little to the west of Safed, in Jebel Jermuk (4000 ft.), the highest land in Western Palestine. Safed itself stands on a commanding peak. From this point the ridge sinks rapidly, becoming more an assemblage of detached hills and ridges than a regular chain. It almost looks as if the great chain had been shattered to pieces, and the fragments thrown confusedly together. The upland plains, which constitute a distinguishing feature of the higher section, here become larger and richer, with a surface like a bowling-green, and interspersed here and there with corn-fields, olive-groves, orchards of pomegranates, apricots, and other fruit-trees (Van de Velde, ii. 406). The plain of Battauf is ten miles long by about two wide. From its eastern end, at Jebel Hattîn, another plain extends, with gentle undulations, along the brow of the basin of Tiberias, southward to Tabor; and another runs westward from Hattîn to Sefîrieh. The hill-tops and ridges which separate them are rugged, rocky, and thinly covered with dwarf-oak



and terebinth, and with jungles of thorn-bushes. South of these plains, a transverse ridge of hills, commencing with Tabor on the east, extends to the plain of Acre on the west. Tabor is green and well-wooded [TABOR]. The section adjoining it, encircling Nazareth, is mostly bare and rocky [NAZARETH]; while the western end presents some beautiful scenery—green vales covered with long grass and bright-coloured thistles, winding down to the plains on the south and west, between richly-wooded peaks and ridges.

Vegetation among the mountains of Galilee is much more abundant than elsewhere west of the Jordan. Long rank grass and huge thistles, and a splendid variety of wild-flowers, cover mountain, vale, and plain, in early spring; and even during the heat of summer and the scorching blasts of autumn, that parched scathed look, which is universal farther south, is here unknown. This is owing, in part, to the cool breezes from Hermon and Lebanon, and in part to the forests which condense the moisture of the atmosphere, yielding heavy fertilizing dew. Fountains are abundant and copious; and the torrent-beds are rarely—many of them never—dry. Another fact is deserving of notice. The whole region, considering its great fertility and beauty, is thinly peopled. A vast portion of it appears utterly desolate. The ‘highways lie waste, the earth mourneth and languisheth.’ The bleak mountains of Judah are far more densely peopled even yet than this highland paradise.

The plain of Esdraelon, as stated above, intersects the mountain-chain, and forms a connecting link between the maritime plain and the Jordan valley. In this respect it may be termed the gateway of Central Palestine; and history tells how fully, and often how fatally, hostile nations and marauding tribes availed themselves of it to enter and spoil the land. It joins the plain of Acre on the west at the base of Carmel; it is connected with Sharon by an easy pass at Megiddo; and on the east, two broad arms stretch down from it in gentle slopes to the principal fords and passes of the Jordan. Its features and history have already been so fully given, that it need not here be described [ESDRAELON].

The isolated ridges of Moreh (now called by natives, Jebel-ed-Duhly; by travellers, Little Hermon) and Gilboa, which lie between the eastern arms of Esdraelon, present a marked contrast to Tabor and the mountains of Galilee. They show that the humid and fertile north is giving place to the parched and bleak south. They are bare, white, and treeless; and their declivities look in places as if they had been covered with flag-stones. They are isolated, broken links, lying between the chains of Galilee and Samaria.

While Esdraelon intersects the mountain-chain, a portion of the chain, appearing as if displaced, shoots out from the mountains of Samaria in a north-western direction; and, running to the Mediterranean, intersects the maritime plain. This is Carmel, which, though physically united to the southern, bears more resemblance, in its luxuriant grass, green foliage, and bright flowers, to the northern ridge. Carmel and the northern end of the Samaria range present the appearance of a continuous transverse ridge, enclosing Esdraelon on the south.

Between Esdraelon and Bethel—the territory originally allotted to the sons of Joseph, forty miles

in length—the mountain-ridge presents some peculiar and striking features. The summits are more rounded and more rocky than those in Galilee; and the sides, though in many places bare, are generally clothed with scraggy woods of dwari oak, terebinth, and maple, or with shrubberies of thorn bushes. The fertile upland plains are still found here, though smaller than those in Galilee; the largest is the plain of Mukhna, along the eastern base of Gerizim, measuring about six miles by one. The plains of Sânr, Kubat'yeh, and Dothan, are much smaller. The hill-sides around them get steeper and wider towards the south. The valleys running into Sharon are long, winding, mostly tillable, though dry and bare; while those on the east, running into the chasm of the Jordan, are deep and abrupt; but being abundantly watered by numerous fountains, and being planted with olive groves and orchards, they have a rich and picturesque appearance (cf. Van de Velde, ii. 314). In fact, the eastern declivities of the mountains of Ephraim, wild and rugged though they are, contain some of the most beautiful scenery and some of the most luxuriant orchards in Central Palestine (*Id.*, p. 335). Dr. Robinson writes of Telluzah, the ancient Tirzah (Cant. vi. 4), a few miles north of Nâbulus, ‘The town is surrounded by immense groves of olive trees, planted on all the hills around; mostly young and thrifty trees’ (iii. 302); and of one of the great wadys east of it, ‘Nowhere in Palestine, not even at Nâbulus, had I seen such noble brooks of water’ (*Id.*, 303); and again of the whole district, ‘This tract of the Fâria, from el-Kurâwa in the Ghor to the rounded hills which separate it from the plain of Sânr, is justly regarded as one of the most fertile and valuable regions of Palestine’ (p. 304, cf. 305 *seq.*) The features of the mountains are different from those of Galilee. Here there is more wildness and ruggedness, the tracts of level ground are smaller, the valleys are narrower, and the banks steeper. While the rich upland plains produce abundant crops of grain, yet this is a region on the whole specially adapted for the cultivation of olives, orchards, and vineyards. The more carefully its features, soil, and products are examined, the more evident does it become that Ephraim was indeed blessed with ‘the chief things of the ancient mountains’—vines, figs, olives, and corn, all growing luxuriantly amid the ‘lasting hills.’ It was not in vain the dying patriarch deliberately rested his right hand on the head of Joseph’s younger son, saying, ‘In thee shall Israel bless, saying, God make thee as Ephraim’ (Gen. xlviii. 18-20; cf. Stanley, *S. and P.*, p. 226).

Passing southward from Samaria into Judæa—from the territory of Ephraim and Manasseh into that of Benjamin and Judah—both the physical features and the scenery of the range undergo a great change. The change does not take place rapidly, it is gradual. Immediately south of Shiloh the change begins. The little upland plains, which, with their green grass and green corn and smooth surface, so much relieve the monotony of the mountain-tops, almost disappear in Benjamin, and in Judah they are unknown. Those which do exist in Benjamin, as the plains of Gibeon and Re-phaim, are small and rocky. The soil alike on plain, hill, and glen, is poor and scanty; and the gray limestone rock everywhere crops up over it, giving the landscape a barren and forbidding

aspect. Natural wood disappears : and a few small bushes, brambles, or aromatic shrubs, alone appear upon the hill-sides. The hill-summits now assume that singular form which prevails in Judah, and which Stanley has well described :—‘ Rounded hills, chiefly of a gray colour—gray partly from the limestone of which they are formed, partly from the tufts of gray shrub with which their sides are thinly clothed—their sides formed into concentric rings of rock, which must have served in ancient times as supports to the terraces, of which there are still traces to the very summits ; valleys, or rather the meetings of those gray slopes with the beds of dry water-courses at their feet—long sheets of bare rock laid like flagstones, side by side, along the soil—these are the chief features of the greater part of the scenery of the historical parts of Palestine. These rounded hills, occasionally stretching into long undulating ranges, are for the most part bare of wood. Forest and large timber are not known. Corn-fields and—in the neighbourhood of Christian populations as at Bethlehem—vineyards creep along the ancient terraces. In the spring the hills and valleys are covered with thin grass, and the aromatic shrubs which clothe more or less almost the whole of Syria and Arabia. But they also glow with what is peculiar to Palestine, a profusion of wild flowers, daisies, the white flower called the star of Bethlehem, but especially with a blaze of scarlet flowers of all kinds, chiefly anemones, wild tulips, and poppies. Of all the aspects of the country this blaze of scarlet colour is perhaps the most peculiar’ (*S. and P.*, 136, *seq.*)

Fountains are rare, and their supplies of water scanty and precarious among the mountains of Benjamin and Judah. Wells take their place, bored deeply into the white soft limestone rock ; covered cisterns, into which the rain-water is guided, are also very numerous, and large open tanks. The glens which descend westward are long and winding, with dry rocky beds, and banks breaking down to them in terraced declivities. The lower slopes near the plain of Philistia are neither so bare nor so rugged as those nearer the crest of the ridge. Dwarf trees and extensive shrubberies, and aromatic plants, partially cover them ; while little groves of olives, and orchards of figs and pomegranates, appear around most of the villages. The valleys, too, become wider, sometimes expanding, as Surâr, es-Sumpt (Elah), and Beit Jibrân, into rich and beautiful corn-fields. The eastern declivities of the ridge, so fertile and picturesque in Samaria, are here a wilderness—bare, white, and absolutely desolate ; without trees, or grass, or stream, or fountain. Naked slopes of white gravel and white rock descend rapidly and irregularly from the brow of the ridge, till at length they dip in the frowning precipices of Quarantania, Feshkah, Engedi, and Masada, into the Jordan Valley or Dead Sea. Naked ravines, too, like huge fissures, with perpendicular walls of rock, often several hundred feet in height, furrow these slopes from top to bottom. The wild and savage grandeur of Wadys Fârah, el-Kelt, en-Nâr, and Khureitûn, is almost appalling. This region is the wilderness of Judæa. It extends from the parallel of Bethel on the north, to the southern border of Palestine. Its length is about forty miles, and its breadth averages nine. It has always been a wilderness, and it must always continue so (*Judg.* i. 16 ; *Matt.* iii. 1)—the home of the wandering

shepherd (1 Sam. xvii. 28), and the prowling bandit (*Luke* x. 30). It is the only part of Palestine to which that name can be properly applied (see JUDÆA, and JUDAH).

In the centre of this bleak and rugged region, on the very crest of the mountain ridge, girt about with the muniments of nature, stood Jerusalem, and the other historic cities and strongholds of the kingdom of Judah—many of them taking their names from their lofty sites, as Gibeon, and Ramah, and Gibeah, and Geba. In vigorous exercise among these mountains, and in following and defending their flocks over the bleak ridges and through the wild glens of the wilderness, the hardy soldiers of David received their training ; and they proved that, in mountain warfare, they were invincible. This is not a region for corn. The husbandman would obtain from its thin parched soil a poor return for his hard labour. But the terraced hill-sides, the warm limestone strata, and the sunny skies, render it the very best field for the successful culture of the vine and the fig ; while the aromatic shrubs of the wilderness, and the succulent herbage among the rocks and glens, afforded suitable food for flocks of sheep and goats. The dying patriarch appears to have had his eye on this region when he blessed Judah in these words : ‘ Binding his foal unto the vine, and his ass’s colt unto the choice vine ; he washed his garments in wine, and his clothes in the blood of grapes : his eyes shall be red with wine, and his teeth white with milk’ (*Gen.* xlix. 11, 12). Though this section of the range now seems barren and desolate, no district in Palestine bears traces of such dense population in former days. Every height is crowned with a ruin ; the remains of towns and villages thickly dot the whole country. Its ruins, its terraced hills, and its arid tortuous glens, are now the distinguishing features of Judæa.

The southern declivities of the mountain-range have some marked and peculiar features, which probably gained for them a distinctive name, *Negeb*. (See the article NEGEB.) From Hebron, where the ridge begins to decline, to Beersheba, where it finally melts away into the desert of Tih, this section extends. Here are bare rounded white or light-gray hills, gradually becoming smaller and farther apart, divided by long irregular dry valleys, which slowly become wider and bleaker, until at length hill and dale merge into an open undulating plateau. The soil on these southern hills is thin and poor ; but in some of the valleys it is richer, and during spring and early summer the pasture is luxuriant. It was one of the regions most frequented by the patriarchs. It was a dry parched land, as its Scripture name *Negeb* would seem to imply. It contains no perennial streams. Its torrent-beds are as dry during a great part of the year as its hill-tops ; it is only after heavy rains, here very rare even in winter, that they contain any water. Fountains, too, are few and far between ; and hence the patriarchs, like the modern nomads who pasture their flocks on it, were forced to depend on wells and tanks for their supply of water. These are very numerous. Miss Martineau in riding from the desert to Hebron, notes, ‘ All the day we continually saw gaping wells beside our path, and under every angle of the hills where they were likely to be kept filled’ (*Eastern Life*, p. 433). Water was absolutely necessary for the wants of men and animals ; hence the labour expended on



wells, and the obstinacy with which rival tribes disputed their possession (Gen. xxi. 25, 30; xxvi. 15, etc.) Vineyards and olive-groves disappear a few miles south of Jerusalem; the larger oak trees, which are seen here and there farther north, give place to bushes and low shrubs; cultivated fields, too, and all signs of settled habitation, give place to rude enclosures for sheep, and black tents, and roving Arabs. All picturesque beauty, all natural richness of scenery, is gone. The green pastures and the bright flowers of early spring are the only redeeming features (Bonar, *Land of Promise*, 29, 46; Martineau, 431; Stanley, p. 100). Mr. Drew has delineated the features of the southern declivities with great fidelity:—'In no part of the prospect was there any loveliness, or any features of greatness and sublimity. Every aspect of the country that might be called beautiful is seen in the narrow section of the mountain district immediately on the south of Hebron. No lakes or rivers, or masses of foliage, or deep ravines, or any lofty towering heights, are within the range of sight to one in the centre of the territory. . . . For a few weeks late in spring-time a smiling aspect is thrown over the broad downs, when the ground is reddened with the anemone, in contrast with the soft white of the daisy, and the deep yellow of the tulip and marigold. But this flush of beauty soon passes, and the permanent aspect of the country is—not wild indeed, or hideous, or frightfully desolate, but, as we may say, austere plain—a tame unpleasant aspect, not causing absolute discomfort while one is in it, but left without any lingering reminiscence of anything lovely, or awful, or sublime.

'As for the soil, the thin and scanty verdure, barely covering the limestone which spreads almost everywhere beneath the desert surface, sufficiently explains its nature. Here and there patches of deeper earth and richer swards, with clumps of trees, vary these pastures of the wilderness; as again they are broken by wide areas, thickly covered with shrubs of considerable height and size' (*Scripture Lands*, 5-7).

A general view having now been given of the physical features, the scenery, and the soil of the mountain-ridge, it is hoped that a series of elevations carried down it from north to south will serve to complete the picture of this natural division of Palestine. The elevations are taken from Van de Velde, who has collected them from the best authorities, and arranged them, with valuable notes, in his *Memoir of Map*. In order to connect the Palestine ridge with Lebanon, of which it is the natural continuation, and with the desert of Tih into which it falls, the heights of a few points beyond the boundaries of Palestine on the north and south are given:—

	Feet.
Tôm Nîha, the culminating point of southern Lebanon, fifteen miles north of the Litâny . . . . .	6500
Kefr Hûneh, a pass over the ridge four miles farther south . . . . .	4200
Kula'at esh-Shukîf (Belfort), overhanging the Litâny . . . . .	2205

#### IN PALESTINE.

Kedesh-Naphtali, twelve miles south of the Litâny (Kedesh is in an upland plain surrounded by peaks and ridges several hundred feet higher than the town) . . . . .	1354
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Jebel Jermuk, the highest point in Western Palestine . . . . . (about)	4000
Safed . . . . .	2775
Jebel Kaukab, near Cana of Galilee . . . . .	1736
Tûran, on plain of Sefûrieh . . . . .	872
Kurn Hattin, the traditional scene of 'the Sermon on the Mount' . . . . .	1096
Mount Tabor . . . . .	1865
Nazareth, situated in a valley . . . . .	1237
Plain of Esdraelon, nearly due south of Nazareth . . . . .	382
Jebel ed-Duhy (Little Hermon) . . . . .	1839
Mount Gilboa, highest point . . . . .	2200
Mount Carmel, highest point . . . . .	1800
Jebel Haskîl, the highest point between Gilboa and Ebal . . . . .	2000
Upland plain of Sanîr . . . . .	1330
Mount Ebal . . . . .	2700
Mount Gerizim . . . . .	2650
Plain of Mukhna, at base of Gerizim . . . . .	1595
Top of the ridge south of the plain of Mukhna . . . . .	2037
The ridge of Sinjil, near Shiloh . . . . .	3108
Bethel . . . . .	2401
Neby Samwîl. (This appears to be too low)	2649
Jerusalem, highest point of the city . . . . .	2610
Mount of Olives . . . . .	2724
Bethlehem . . . . .	2704
Pools of Solomon (in a valley) . . . . .	2251
Ruins of Ramah, three miles north of Hebron . . . . .	2800
Hebron (in a valley with higher ridges round it) . . . . .	3029
Carmel, eight miles south of Hebron . . . . .	2238
Ed-Dhoherîyeh, fifteen miles south-west of Hebron . . . . .	2174
Beersheba . . . . .	1100

#### BEYOND THE SOUTHERN BORDER.

El-Khulasa, in the desert of Tih . . . . .	704
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From these measurements it will appear how singularly uniform the elevation of the range is from Esdraelon to Hebron. This gives it the appearance of a vast wall as seen from the sea. Its aspect from the Jordan valley is different; it seems to have a much greater elevation on the south, owing to the depression of the Dead Sea and the adjoining plain.

3. *The Jordan Valley*.—The physical geography of this natural division of Palestine has already been so fully described that it will only be necessary in this place to supplement a few points serving to connect it with the mountain-chain on the west, and the plateau on the east, and thus to apportion to it its place in the general survey of the country.

The Jordan valley is the most remarkable feature in the physical geography of Palestine. Its great depression makes it so. It is wholly, or almost wholly, beneath the level of the ocean. It runs in a straight line through the country from north to south. From Dan, on the northern border, to the southern angle of the Dead Sea, its length is 150 English miles. Its breadth at the northern end is about six; at the Sea of Galilee it is nine; and at Jericho, where it is widest, it is about thirteen. There are places between these points where it is much narrower. Immediately south of lake Merom is a high terrace—an offshoot from the culminating peaks at Safed—which has an elevation of about 900 feet, and breaks down to the

Jordan on the east in steep banks, and to the shores of the Sea of Galilee on the south in long terraced declivities. From the western side of the terrace the mountains rise steeply; so that the terrace itself may be considered as a higher section of the valley. Along the south-west shore of the Sea of Galilee a dark ridge shoots out eastward, and descends to the banks of the Jordan in frowning cliffs, narrowing the valley to a width of about four miles. The next point where the western ridge projects is at Kurn Surtabeh, east of Shiloh. This peak resembles the horn of a rhinoceros, and hence its name; from it a rocky ridge of white limestone runs across the valley almost to the banks of the river in its centre. The peak of Surtabeh is remarkable as one of the signal stations of the ancient Israelites, on which beacons were lighted to announce the appearance of the new moon (Talmud, *Rosh Ha-Shana*, ii.; Reland, p. 346; Robinson, *B. R.*, iii. 293).

The western bank of the valley, though every-

where clearly and sharply defined, is irregular, like a deeply indented coast-line, occasioned by the broken character of the ridge behind, and the glens and broad plains which run into it. The eastern bank is different. It is straight as a wall, except for a short distance in the centre, where the rugged hills and deep glens of Gilead break its uniformity. On the whole it is more abrupt than the western; and its top appears almost horizontal. This regularity arises from the fact that it is not, strictly speaking, a mountain-chain, but rather the bank or supporting wall of a natural terrace.

The northern section of the Jordan valley is flat. Around the site of Dan extends a plain of great fertility, now in part cultivated by Damascus merchants, as it was in primæval days by the Sidonians (Judg. xviii. 7). The uncultivated parts are covered with rank grass, and thickets of dwarf oak, sycamore, arbutus, and oleander. South of this is a large tract of marshy ground, extending to the shores of Merom—the home of wild swine, buffa-



421. Ford of the Jordan.

loes, and innumerable water-fowl. The marsh and lake are fed not only by the Jordan, but by great numbers of fountains along the side of the plain, and streams from the surrounding mountains. The lake Merom occupies the lower part of this basin [MEROM], and has a broad margin of fertile land along each side. Below the lake the regularity of the valley is interrupted by the projecting terrace already mentioned, and the river is pushed over close to the eastern bank, along which it runs in a deep wild glen. At the mouth of the Jordan, on the northern shore of the Sea of Galilee, is a low rich plain, several miles in extent, famous for its early and luxuriant crops of melons and cucumbers. It is cultivated by some families of nomad Arabs. The lake here fills the valley from side to side, with the exception of the little fertile plain of Gennesaret on the western shore [GENNESARET]. The eastern shore keeps close to the base of the hills, which rise over it in steep bare acclivities [GALILEE, SEA OF].

Between the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea the valley is divided into two sections by the projecting ridge of Surtabeh, above mentioned. The upper section has a gently undulating surface, a rich, loamy soil, abundantly watered by streams from both the eastern and western mountains, and by numerous fountains along their base. A few spots are cultivated by the semi-nomad tribes of Ghawârineh, who take their name from the valley here called *el-Ghor*. The uncultivated portions are covered with tall rank grass, and jungles of gigantic thistles. The Jordan winds down the centre in a tortuous channel along the bottom of a ravine, whose high chalky banks are deeply furrowed and worn into lines and groups of white conical mounds.

At Kurn Surtabeh there is a break in the valley, as from an upper to a lower terrace. A ridge or bank extends across it from west to east, and is broken up in the centre, where the river cuts through, into 'labyrinths of ravines with barren



chalky sides, forming cones and hills of various shapes, and presenting a most wild and desolate scene' (Robinson, iii. 293). South of this point, the mountain-chain on the west recedes, and the plain expands; its surface becomes flatter; fountains and streams are neither so frequent nor so copious; and the intense heat and rapid evaporation make the surface parched and bare. Along the sides of the mountains, especially at the openings of ravines, are here and there masses of verdure and foliage; but the vast body of the plain is bare. A large part, too, towards the Dead Sea, is covered with a white saline crust, which gives it the appearance of a desert. But the rank luxuriance of the vegetation around fountains, along the banks of streams, and wherever irrigation is employed, as at Jericho, shows the natural richness of the soil, and proves that industry alone is wanting to develop its vast resources. The whole of this lower valley is now almost deserted. With the exception of the few inhabitants of er-Rîha (Jericho), and a few families of nomad Ghawârinah, no man dwells there; and a curse, moral as well as physical, appears to rest upon the region. The inhabitants, as well nomads as residents in the huts of Rîha, are indolent, feeble in body, defective in intelligence, and addicted to the grossest vices. In person and dress they are disgustingly filthy. Nowhere in the world perhaps have we such a melancholy example of the baneful effects of climate upon man as in the lower valley of the Jordan. In this respect it is now as it ever has been since the days of Abraham and Lot.

The river here winds as before through a glen down the centre of the valley. The banks of the glen are steep, white, bare, and worn into little hills; while the river-sides are fringed with the richest foliage. Owing to the depth of this glen, neither river nor foliage is seen from the plain until the very brow is reached. The plain along the northern shore of the Dead Sea is low and flat, and in the centre, near the Jordan, slimy. The sea fills up the whole breadth of the valley; the precipitous mountains upon the east and west rising from the shore-line—sometimes from the bosom of the water. The scenery of this region is more dreary than that in any other part of Palestine. The white plain on the north, the white naked cliffs on the east and west, the gray haze, caused by rapid evaporation, quivering under the burning sunbeams—all combine to form a picture of stern desolation such as the eye seldom beholds.

The western shore of the sea follows the base of the cliffs to the southern extremity where the salt hills, called *Khashm Usdom*, 'the ridge of Sodom,' project from the west far into the Ghor. On the east, the shore-line keeps close to the mountains for about three-quarters of its length; then a long, low, sandy promontory, called el-Lisân, 'the Tongue,' juts out into the sea. South of this there is a broad strip of marshy plain, covered with jungles of reeds and dense shrubberies of tamarisk. Here some tribes of fierce lawless Arabs pitch their tents and cultivate a few fields of wheat and millet. The whole southern shore of the sea is low and slimy [SEA, SALT].

The levels of this mysterious valley have never hitherto been taken with that care and minuteness which the importance of the region, both historically and physically, demands. It is to be hoped that before the corps of English engineers, now

employed at Jerusalem, leave Palestine, they will remedy this defect in our geographical knowledge of the Holy Land. In regard to its levels, the valley divides itself into *five stages*, as follows:—

1. *The basin of Merom*, now called el-Hûleh. 2. *The basin of Tiberias*. 3. The valley to Kurn Surtabeh. 4. The plain of Jericho. 5. The Dead Sea. The levels taken by different travellers are very unsatisfactory. The elevation of the fountain of the Jordan at Dan, and consequently of the northern extremity of the great valley, may be regarded as undetermined. The following are given by Van de Velde (*Memoir*, p. 181)—

	Feet.
Tell el-Kâdy (Dan), by De Forest . . .	647
„ „ Von Wildenbruch . . .	537
„ „ De Bertou . . .	344

These appear to be all too high. When the writer visited Dan in 1854, his aneroid indicated an elevation of about 100 feet.

The Lake Merom, by induction from Wildenbruch's elevation of Jacob's Bridge, about . . .	120
„ by De Bertou . . .	-20

These measurements do not at all agree with the former. The whole of this region is a plain, almost level. The ascent from the lake to the fountain is so gradual as scarcely to be perceptible, and the distance is only some ten miles. It seems impossible, therefore, that there could be a difference in elevation of 627 feet, or even of 366 feet, as De Bertou's measurements would represent, between these two places. This point, however, can only be determined by actual measurement. Probably the fountain at Dan will be found to be not more than 100 feet above the sea.

Khan Jubb Yûsef, on high terrace between Merom and Sea of Galilee . . .	Feet. 883
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*Below the sea-level.*

Sea of Galilee, by Lynch . . .	653
Bridge of Mejâmia, between Beth-shean and Gadara, by do. . .	704
Ruined bridge a few miles above Kurn Surtabeh, by do. . .	1097
Pilgrim's bathing-place on Jordan, Poole . . .	1209
Jericho, Poole . . .	798

Jericho, by De Bertou, 1034, which appears to be more accurate, for it can scarcely be 524 feet higher than the Dead Sea.

Kasr Hajla, on the plain near Jericho, Symonds . . .	Feet. 1069
The Dead Sea, Lynch . . .	1317
„ by Symonds . . .	1312
„ „ De Bertou . . .	1377
„ „ Poole . . .	1316

These measurements will serve to show the remarkable physical features of this valley, and also how much careful survey is still needed to a full delineation of its geography.

4. *The plateau east of the Jordan*.—Eastern Palestine, or the region beyond the Jordan valley, is widely different in its physical geography from Western. Its average elevation is about 2500 feet above the sea. The Jordan valley is a rent or chasm in the earth's crust; the country beyond it is an elevated terrace. This elevation affects the scenery, the climate, the products, and the in-

habitants themselves. Nowhere east of the Jordan, at least within the boundaries of Palestine, is there that bleak desolate aspect such as is presented by the sun-scorched plain of Philistia, or the white downs of the Negeb, or the barren wilderness of Judæa. There is more verdure, more richness, and more beauty everywhere on the east. The pastures of Gilead and Bashan are still as attractive as they were when Reuben and Gad saw and coveted them (Num. xxxii. 1). The surface of Western Palestine is rough and rugged, varied by plain and mountain ridge; the east is nearly all a table-land, consisting of smooth downs, well designated by the accurate sacred writers *Mishor* (Deut. iii. 10; Josh. xiii. 9, 16, etc.; cf. Stanley, p. 479). It does not appear so from the west, from whence the eye only sees a ridge, like a huge wall, running along the horizon; but this peculiarity is visible from every point on the east, and is very striking when seen, as the writer saw it, from the top of Hermon, and from the crest of Jebel Haurân. In Western Palestine, again, the ancient cities are almost obliterated, and the very foundations of the temples and monuments can scarcely be discovered; in the east, the magnificence of the existing ruins, and the perfect preservation of some of the very oldest cities, are subjects of continual surprise and admiration to the traveller. Some have represented Eastern Palestine as mainly a pastoral country, where the three tribes lived in a semi-nomad state, dwelling in tents, and placing their flocks in rude folds like the border tribes of Bedawîn. The country itself gives the best refutation to this theory. It is everywhere thickly studded with old cities, towns, and villages—many of them still bearing their scripture names. In no part of Western Palestine are there evidences of such a dense population as throughout Bashan and Gilead. The country was indeed rich in pastures; but it was also rich in corn-fields. The northern section of it is to this day the granary of Damascus.

The northern border of Palestine intersects that part of the ridge of Hermon now called Jebel el-Hish, passing Baniâs, and the little lake Phiala (now Birket er-Râm), which ancient geographers regarded as the head source of the Jordan (Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* iii. 10. 7). This range bears some resemblance in features and scenery to the mountains of Upper Galilee. It is broad, and is interspersed with green upland plains, and wide fertile valleys. Its peaks and sides are mostly covered, more or less densely, with forests of oak, sycamore, terebinth, and here and there clumps of pine trees. The timber is larger and the woods denser than in any part of Western Palestine (Porter's *Damascus*, i. 307). The forests, however, are gradually disappearing under the destroying hand of the Bedawîn and the Damascus charcoal manufacturers. At the place where the border-line crosses, the ridge appears to be of about equal altitude with that on the opposite side of the Hâleh; but it slowly decreases, and finally sinks into the table-land a few miles south of the ruins of Kuneiterah. The scenery of the southern end is beautiful. Lines and groups of conical hills, perfect in form, covered from base to summit with green grass, and sprinkled with evergreen oaks, are divided by meadow-like plains and winding vales, with here and there the grey ruins of a town or village. The grass in spring is most luxuriant; and the wild flowers—anemones, tulips, poppies, marigolds, cowslips—are more

abundant than even in Galilee. The whole landscape glows with them. The superiority of the pastures and abundance of flowers are owing to the forests, to the high elevation, and to the influence of the neighbouring snow-crowned peaks of Hermon. At all seasons dew is abundant; one of the highest summits is called *Abu Nedy*, 'the father of dew'; and clouds may often be seen hovering over the ridge when the heaven elsewhere is as brass. This illustrates the Psalmist's beautiful imagery: 'As the dew of Hermon, that descended on the mountains of Zion' (cxxxiii. 3).

The ridge is now almost desolate. With the exception of two or three small villages, and a few families of nomads, it has no inhabitants. Its rich soil is untilled, and even its pastures are forsaken or neglected.

At the eastern base of the ridge commences the noble plateau of Bashan, at once the richest and the largest plain in Palestine. It extends unbroken southward to the banks of the Yarmuk (thirty miles), and eastward to Jebel Haurân (fifty miles). The western part of it is called *Jaulân* (Hebrew *Golan*, Greek *Gaulonitis*), the eastern *Haurân*. The former has a gently undulating surface; it is studded with conical and cup-shaped tells; is abundantly watered, especially in the northern part, by streams and fountains; and is famed throughout all Syria for the excellence of its pastures. The surface is in places stony, and covered with shrubberies of hawthorn, ilex, and other bushes; elsewhere it is smooth as a meadow. Towards the west the plateau is intersected by deep ravines or gullies, which carry its surplus waters down to the Jordan. The high ridge which runs along the eastern side of the Jordan valley from Hermon to Gilead is the supporting wall of this plateau. *Jaulân* has now very few settled inhabitants; but it is visited periodically by the vast tribes of the Ana eh from the Arabian desert, whose flocks and herds, numerous as those of their ancestors 'the children of the East' (Judg. vi. 3-5), devour, trample down, and destroy all before them. The remains of old cities and villages in the plain are very numerous, and some of them very extensive (GOLAN; Porter's *Damascus*, vol. ii.).

The plain of Haurân divides itself naturally into two parts: one, lying on the north-east, is a wilderness of rocks, elevated from twenty to thirty feet above the surrounding plain. The border is sharply defined, and has received from the sacred writers an appropriate name, *Chebel* (Deut. iii. 4, 13; 1 Kings iv. 13, in the Hebrew). The rocks are basalt, which appears to have been thrown up from innumerable pores or craters in a state of fusion, to have flowed over the whole ground, and then, while cooling, to have been rent and shattered by some terrible convulsion. For wildness and savage forbidding deformity, there is nothing like it in Palestine, and it is scarcely equalled in the world. This is the *Argob* of the Hebrews, the *Trachonitis* of the Greeks, and the *Lejah* of the modern Arabs. (See for a full description the article TRACHONITIS.) Its inhabitants have in all ages partaken of the wild character of their country. They have been, and are, lawless bandits; and their rocky fastness is the home of every outlaw. Along the rocky border of this forbidding region, and even in the interior, are great numbers of primæval cities, most of them now deserted, though not ruined (cf. Deut. iii. 4).

The remaining portion of Haurân is a plain,



perfectly level, with a deep black soil, free from stones, and proverbial for its fertility. At intervals are rounded or conical tells, usually covered with the remains of ancient cities or villages. The water-courses are deep and tortuous, running westward to the Jordan; but none of them contain perennial streams.

Along the eastern border of this noble plain lies an isolated ridge of mountains—the Mountains of Bashan—about forty miles long by fifteen broad. It divides the ancient kingdom of Bashan from the arid steppes of Arabia: and it forms at this point the north-eastern boundary of Palestine. The scenery is picturesque. Being wholly of volcanic origin, the summits rise in conical peaks, and are mostly clothed to the top with oaks. The glens are deep and wild; the mountain-sides are terraced, and though rocky and now desolate, they afford evidence everywhere of the extraordinary richness of the soil and of former careful cultivation. The grass and general verdure surpass anything in Western Palestine; and the brilliant foliage of the evergreen oak and terebinth gives the mountains the look of eternal spring. In another respect, also, the scenery differs widely from that of the west. In the latter the white limestone and chalky strata, and the white soil, give a parched and barren look to the country. In Bashan, the rocks are all basalt, in colour either dark slaty gray or black; and the soil is black. This makes the landscape somewhat sombre, but on the whole more pleasing than Judæa or Samaria. Though these mountains are far from the sea, and on the borders of an arid wilderness, they do not appear to suffer so much from drought or from the burning sun of summer as the western range. This arises in part from the forests that clothe them, and in part from their greater elevation—the highest peaks cannot be less than 6000 feet above the sea, and the average elevation of the plain of Haurân is greater than that of the mountains of Western Palestine. It is remarkable, however, that water is extremely scarce in Haurân. Even in winter, though the snow lies deep upon the mountains, and sometimes covers the plain, the torrents are neither numerous nor large, and there are no perennial streams. Fountains are rare. The ancient inhabitants have expended much labour and skill in attempts to obtain a supply of water. Cisterns and tanks of immense size have been constructed at every town and village. Some are open, as at Bozrah and Salcah; some arched over, as at Kenath and Suleim; some excavated in the rock, forming labyrinths, as at Edrei and Damah. In a few places long subterranean canals have been sunk, in others aqueducts have been made. There is an aqueduct at Shuhba in the mountains, upwards of five miles long; and there is one in the plain at Dera not less than twenty. Irrigation is not practised in Bashan—it is not necessary. The soil is deep and rich, totally different from the scanty gravelly covering of the hills of Judah; the great elevation, too, prevents the intense heat and evaporation which so seriously affect the low plains of Palestine. In another respect Bashan presents a very marked contrast to the west. Its old cities still stand. Their walls, gates, and primeval houses, are in many places nearly perfect. The temples and monuments of the Greek and Roman period, and the churches of the early Christian age, are also in a good state of

preservation. There are no remains of antiquity west of the Jordan which would bear comparison with those of Bozrah, Salcah, Kenath, Shuhba, or Edrei; and probably in no other country of the world are there specimens of the domestic architecture of so remote an age (Porter's *Damascus*, vol. ii.; *The Giant Cities of Bashan*, pp. 1, *seq.*)

The province of Haurân is an oasis in the midst of wide-spread desolation. This is mainly owing to the indomitable courage of the Druzes who inhabit it. They have taught rapacious Bedawin and rapacious Turks alike to respect them and the fruits of their industry. Grouped together in a few of the ancient cities and villages on the western slopes of the mountains, and along the southern border of the Lejah, they are able to bid defiance to all their enemies. A number of Christians and Mohammedans are settled among and around them. They cultivate large sections of the plain, and they find a ready market for their grain in Damascus.

South of the river Yarmuk the plain of Bashan gives place to the picturesque hills of Gilead. Their slopes are easy, their tops rounded, and there are undulating plateaus along the broad summit of the ridge. Their elevation, as seen from the east, is not great. The distant view is more that of an ascent to a higher part of the plain, than of a mountain range. The summits seem nearly horizontal, and not more than five or six hundred feet above the plain. On passing in among them, the physical features assume new forms, and the scenery becomes very beautiful. Wild glens cut deeply down through the ridge to the Jordan valley. The first of these is the Yarmuk, which contains a rapid perennial torrent rushing along its rocky bed between fringes of willow and oleander. It is the largest tributary to the Jordan, and next to it the largest river in Palestine. Further south is Wady Yâbes, taking its name from the old city of Jabesh Gilead, which once stood on its bank. Still further south is the Jabbok, also a perennial stream, though much smaller than the Yarmuk. The scenery of these glens, and the intervening hills, is not surpassed in any part of Palestine. The steep banks are broken by white limestone cliffs, and they are in most places covered with the glistening foliage of the ilex, intermixed with hawthorn and arbutus; while the slopes overhead, and the rounded hill-tops, wave with forests of oak, terebinth, and occasionally pine. The little meadows along the streams, the open spaces on the mountains, and the undulating forest glades, are all covered with rich herbage. Gilead is still 'a place for cattle' (Num. xxxii. 1; see Art. GILEAD).

The highest peak of Gilead is Jebel Osha, near es-Salt. South of it the ridge sinks, and finally melts into the plateau near the ruins of Rabbath-Ammon. None of the peaks of Gilead have been measured, and their height can only be estimated by comparison with the plain behind, and the mountains of Samaria opposite. Viewed from the west, the top of the whole ridge on the east side of the Jordan appears nearly horizontal; yet both to the north and south of Gilead the summit of the ridge is on the level of the plateau. Jabel Osha, therefore, can scarcely be more than 700 feet above the plateau, which would make its elevation above the sea less than 4000 feet. This is much lower than the ordinary estimate.

Like Bashan, Gilead contains the remains of many splendid cities, the chief of which are Gerasa, Rabbath-Ammon, Gadara, and Pella. The ruins of towns, castles, and villages, stud the mountains in all directions. Settled inhabitants are now very few, and they are greatly oppressed by the inroads of the Bedawin, who, attracted by the rich pastures and abundant waters, penetrate all parts of the country [GILEAD].

South of Gilead lies 'the land of Moab' (Deut. i. 5; xxxii. 49), a plateau like Bashan, but bleaker and more desolate. Less is known of it than of any other part of Palestine. It has never been explored; and with the exception of three or four travellers passing through and following nearly the same route, the country has scarcely been entered. From the ruins of Ammon it extends in a succession of rolling downs to Kerak. On the west it breaks down in stupendous cliffs, 3000 feet and more, to the shore of the Dead Sea. Chasms of singular wildness cut these cliffs to their base, and run far back into the plain. Along the torrent-beds are fringes of willow, oleander, tamarisk, and palms. The ravine of Kerak is its southern boundary; but the grandest of all the ravines is the Arnon, which formed the southern boundary of Reuben's territory (Deut. iii. 12). Wady Zurka Ma'in is also a deep ravine, and is remarkable as having near its mouth the famous warm fountains, anciently called *Callirrhoe* (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 6. 5; Pliny, v. 16; Irby and Mangles, *Travels*, p. 467, *seq.*, 1st ed.) Along the western brow of the plateau, little conical and rounded hills rise at irregular intervals to a height of two or three hundred feet. The highest is Jebel Attarus. There are also some low ridges away to the eastward, separating the southern part of the plain from the desert of Arabia (Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria*, p. 375).

The soil of the plateau is rich and deep, but being composed mainly of disintegrated limestone, and diffused over white calcareous strata, it is greatly affected by the sun, and assumes a bleak and parched aspect during the summer. At the northern end, where it joins Gilead, are some remains of oak forests; and in the deep ravines, and along the north-western declivities, trees and shrubs grow abundantly, but the vast expanse of the upland is treeless and shrubless (Irby and Mangles, p. 474; Burckhardt, p. 364). At Wady Mojob (Arnon) the plain assumes a more rugged aspect, being strewn with basalt boulders, and dotted with rocky mounds. These extend to Kerak. The general features and character of the plateau agree perfectly with the incidental notices of the sacred penmen. It is 'a land for cattle,' famed throughout all Palestine for the abundance and richness of its pastures, and forming a constant source of dispute and warfare among the desert tribes (Burckhardt, p. 368). It was well termed *Mishor*, a region of 'level downs,' a 'smooth table-land,' as contrasted with the rough and rocky soil of the western mountains (MISHOR; cf. Stanley, *S. and P.*, p. 317).

The plateau of Moab is a thirsty region. Fountains, and even spring wells, are very rare; and there are no perennial streams, yet it abounds with traces of former dense population. The ruins of old cities—many of great extent—and of old villages, stud its surface. In numbers of these we recognise the Bible names, as Hesbân, El-âl, Me-

deba, and Arair. The want of fountains and streams was supplied by tanks and cisterns, which abound in and near all the old towns. The 'pools of Heshbon' are still there (Cant. vii. 4; *Handbk. for S. and P.*, p. 298). But the cities and villages are now deserted. Moab has no settled inhabitants. From Ammon to Kerak there is not a single village or house. Large tribes of Bedawin roam over its splendid pastures; and a few poor nomads, with the warlike people of Kerak, cultivate some portions of its soil; but all the rest is desolate.

The elevations of Eastern Palestine have not been taken with accuracy. Some of those collected by Van de Velde appear to be mere estimates. They may be given, however, in the absence of better—

Kuneiterah, at the southern base of	Feet.
Hermón (v. Schubert) - - -	3037
Plateau, southward, do. - - -	3000
Plain of Haurân, approximation (Russegger) - - - - -	2650
Kuleib, highest summit of Haurân mountains, do. - - - - -	6400
Jebel Ajlûn, highest point in north Gilead (much too high), approximation, do. - - - - -	6500
Jebel Osha (much too high), about - - -	5000

The following books contain all the information yet given to the public regarding the plain of Moab:—Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria*, 364, *seq.*; Irby and Mangles, *Travels in Egypt*, etc., 456, *seq.*, 1st ed.; Seetzen, *Reisen*, i. 405, *seq.*; ii. 324, *seq.*; De Saulcy, *Voyage Round the Dead Sea*, i. 329, *seq.*; G. Robinson, *Travels in Palestine*, ii. 179; *Handbook for Syr. and Pal.*, 297, *seq.*

It may be well now to group together a few of those characteristics of Palestine, embodied in the preceding sketch of its physical geography, and which tend to illustrate some of the statements and incidental notices of the sacred writers.

1. To an Englishman Palestine does not appear either rich or beautiful. Calling to mind the glowing descriptions of the Bible, the Eastern traveller is apt to feel grievous disappointment, and even to accuse the sacred writers of exaggeration. They speak of the land as 'a land flowing with milk and honey' (Exod. iii. 8; Lev. xx. 24; Deut. vi. 3; Josh. v. 6); 'a good land, a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths that spring out of valleys and hills; a land of wheat, and barley, and vines, and fig trees, and pomegranates; a land of oil olive, and honey; a land wherein thou shalt eat bread without scarceness' (Deut. viii. 7-9); 'a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven; a land which the Lord thy God careth for; the eyes of the Lord thy God are always upon it, from the beginning of the year even unto the end of the year' (xi. 11, 12). Those accustomed to western verdure, and the full glory of western harvests, can see little fertility in the naked hills and bleak plains of Palestine. A thoughtful consideration of the whole subject, however, and a careful survey of the country, prove that the words of the sacred penmen were not exaggerated. It must be borne in mind that they were describing an eastern, not a western land. When Moses addressed the above words to the Israelites, he was accustomed, and so were they, to the flat surface, and cloudless, rainless, sky of Egypt, and to the stern desolation of



the wilderness. Compared with these, Palestine was a land of hills and valleys, of rivers and fountains, of corn and wine. Palestine is not now what it then was. The curse is upon it. Eighteen centuries of war, and ruin, and neglect, have passed over it. What would the fairest country of Europe be under similar circumstances? But the close observer can still see the vast resources of the land, and abundant evidences of former richness, and even beauty. The products ascribed to it by the sacred writers are just those for which its soil and climate are adapted. The wide plains for wheat and barley; the sheltered glens and deep warm valleys for the pomegranate, the olive, and the palm; the terraced slopes of hills and mountains for the vine and the fig. Then there are the oak forests still on Bashan; the evergreen shrubberies on Carmel; the rich pastures on Sharon, Moab, and Gilead; and the full blush of spring flowers all over the land.

2. Palestine now seems almost deserted. Few countries in the old world are so thinly peopled. Some of the plains—the lower Jordan, for example, and Southern Philistia—appear to be ‘without man and without beast.’ Yet in no country are there such abundant evidences of former dense population. Every available spot on plain, hill, glen, and mountain, bears traces of cultivation. It is ‘a land of ruins.’ Everywhere, on plain and mountain, in rocky desert and on beetling cliff, are seen the remains of cities and villages. In Western Palestine they are heaps of stones, or white dust and rubbish strewn over low tells—in Eastern, the ruins are often of great extent and magnificence. All this accords with the vast population mentioned alike by the writers of the O. T. (Judg. xx. 17; 1 Sam. xv. 4; 1 Chron. xxvii. 4-15), and of the New (Matt. v. 1; ix. 33; Luke xii. 1, etc.), and confirmed by the statements of Josephus.

3. It has been seen that Palestine has, in reality, only one river—the Jordan; yet it has several perennial streams, such as the Jabbok, the Arnon, and the historic Kishon; and also the Yarmuk, the Belus, and others not mentioned in the Bible. Its mountains also abound with winter torrents. Doubtless these were all more copious in ancient days, when forests clothed the hills and the soil was fully cultivated. To these Moses referred, when he described Palestine as ‘a land of brooks of water.’ Fountains abound among the hills—‘fountains and depths that spring out of valleys and hills’—and throughout the country are vast numbers of wells, and cisterns, and aqueducts, showing that the supply of water from ordinary sources must have been always limited; and illustrating too the labours of the patriarchs in digging wells, and their hard struggles to defend them (Gen. xxvi. 15; 2 Sam. xxiii. 15; John iv. 6; Deut. vi. 11).

4. Another of the physical characteristics of Palestine ought not to be overlooked. Its limestone strata abound in caves, especially in the mountains of Judæa. Some are of immense size, as that at Khureitûn, near Bethlehem (*Handbook*, p. 229). Many of them were evidently used as dwellings by the ancient inhabitants, as those near Eleutheropolis and along the border of Philistia (*Id.*, pp. 256, *seq.*); many as tombs, examples of which are numerous at Jerusalem, Hebron, and Bethel; many as stores for grain, and folds for flocks. These caves are often mentioned in sacred

history. Lot and his daughters took refuge in a cave after the destruction of Sodom (Gen. xix. 30); in a cave the five kings hid themselves when pursued by Joshua (Josh. x. 16); in the caves of Adullam, Maon, and Engedi, David found an asylum (1 Sam. xxii. 1; xxiv. 3); in a cave Obadiah concealed the prophets of the Lord from the fury of Jezebel (1 Kings xviii. 4); in caves, and ‘dens,’ and ‘pits,’ and ‘holes,’ the Jews were accustomed to take refuge during times of pressing danger (Judg. vi. 2; 1 Sam. xiii. 6). Consequently, to enter into ‘holes of the rock and caves of the earth’ was employed by the prophets as an impressive image of terror and impending calamity (Is. ii. 19; Rev. vi. 15, 16). The tomb of Abraham at Machpelah was a cave (Gen. xxiii. 19); our Lord’s tomb was a cave, and so was that of Lazarus (John xi. 38), and those in which the Gadarene demoniacs dwelt (Mark v. 3). In later times, caves became strongholds for robbers (Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* i. 16. 2), and places of refuge for conquered patriots (*Vita*, 74, 75). Caves and grottoes have also played an important part in the traditionary history of Palestine. ‘Wherever a sacred association had to be fixed, a cave was immediately selected or found as its home’ (Stanley, pp. 151, 435, 505).

CLIMATE.—Probably there is no country in the world of the same extent which embraces a greater variety of climate and temperature than Palestine. On Mount Hermon, at its northern border, we approach a region of perpetual snow. From this we descend successively by the peaks of Bashan and Upper Galilee, where the oak and pine flourish, to the hills of Judah and Samaria, where the vine and fig-tree are at home, to the plains of the seaboard, where the palm and banana produce their fruit, down to the sultry shores of the Dead Sea, on which we find tropical heat and tropical vegetation. To determine with scientific accuracy the various shades of climate, and to arrange throughout the country exact isothermal lines, would require a long series of observations made at a number of distinct points now scarcely ever visited by scientific men. Sufficient data exist, however, to afford a good general view of the climate—a view sufficiently accurate for the illustration of the Bible. The writer of this article, during a residence of nine years in Syria and Palestine, had ample opportunity of noting the peculiarities of climate and the range of the thermometer in many parts of the country. He observed also how the seasons were affected by the elevation or depression of the several localities. During one summer he kept a register of the thermometer at Shumlân, on Lebanon, 2000 feet above the sea; and he also kept a register of both thermometer and barometer—though not with perfect regularity—during a great part of four years at Damascus. The latter was unfortunately either lost or mislaid on his removal to England, but he possesses notes of its chief results. Both these places, it is true, are considerably north of Palestine, yet their climate and temperature approach very nearly to those of the higher portions of that country.

Along the summits of the central ridge of Palestine, and over the table-land east of the Jordan, the temperature is pretty nearly equal. The cold in winter is sometimes severe. The thermometer has been known to fall as low as 28° Fahr., and frost hardens the ground—more, however, on the eastern plains than on the Judæan hills. Snow falls nearly

every winter; it seldom lies longer than a day or two; but in the winter of 1857 it was eight inches deep, and it covered the eastern plains for a fortnight. The results were disastrous. Nearly a fourth of the houses of Damascus were injured, and some of the flat-roofed bazaars and mosques were left heaps of ruin. South of Hebron snow is rare, and frost less intense. Along the seaboard of Philistia and Sharon, and in the Jordan valley, snow and frost are unknown; but on the coast farther north very slight frost is sometimes felt. Snow is rarely seen whitening the ground below an elevation of 2000 feet.

The summer heat varies greatly in different localities. It is most intense along the shores of the Dead Sea, owing in part to the depression, and in part to the reflection of the sun's rays from the white mountains. The temperature at Engedi is probably as high as that of Thebes. The heat, the evaporation, and the fetid atmosphere, render the whole of this plain dangerous to Europeans during the summer months. Tiberias is not so hot as Jericho, but it is sensibly hotter than the coast plain, where, owing to the influence of the sea-breeze, which sets in at ten o'clock in the forenoon and continues till two hours after sunset, the heat is not oppressive. The dry soil and dry atmosphere make the greater part of the coast salubrious. Palms flourish luxuriantly, and produce their fruit at Gaza, Joppa, Haifa, and as far north as Sidon and Beyrout; they also bear fruit in favourable positions on the plain of Damascus. At Hebron, Jerusalem, along the summit of the central ridge, and on the eastern plateau, the heat is never intense, the thermometer rarely rising to 90° in the shade, though the bright cloudless sun and white soil make open-air labour and travel exhausting and dangerous. The following results of Dr. Barclay's observations at Jerusalem, extending over five years (1851-55), are important:—

'The greatest range of the thermometer on any year was 52° Fahr. The highest elevation of the mercury was 92°. Under favourable exposure, immediately before sunrise, on one occasion, it fell to 28°. The mean annual average of temperature is 66.5°; July and August are the hottest months, January the coldest. The coldest time is about sunrise; the warmest noon; sunset is about the mean. The average temperature of January, the coldest month, during five years, was 49.4°; of August, the warmest month, 79.3°.

The temperature of Damascus is lower than that of Jerusalem. The highest range of the thermometer noted was 88°, the lowest 29°. The mercury rarely rises above 84° during the heat of the day. At Shumlân, on Lebanon, the highest range of the thermometer was 82° (August 22d); and the average of that month was 76°. According to the estimates of Dr. Forbes (*Edinburgh New Philos. Jour.*, April 1862), the mean annual temperature of Beyrout is 69°, of Jerusalem 62.6°, and of Jericho 72°. That of Jerusalem differs widely from Dr. Barclay's average; and Jericho appears to be too low.

*Rain.*—In Palestine the autumnal rains commence about the end of October. In Lebanon they are a month earlier. They are usually accompanied by thunder and lightning (Jer. x. 13). They continue during two or three days at a time, not constantly, but falling chiefly in the night; then there is an interval of sunny weather. The

quantity of rain in October is small. The next four months may be called the rainy season, but even during them the fall is not continuous for any lengthened period. The showers are often extremely heavy. In April rain falls at intervals; in May the showers are less frequent and lighter, and at the close of that month they cease altogether. No rain falls in Palestine in June, July, August, or September, except on occasions so rare as to cause not merely surprise, but alarm; and not a cloud is seen in the heavens as large as a man's hand (1 Sam. xii. 17, *seq.*; Cant. ii. 11).\* In Lebanon the climate in this respect is somewhat different. In 1850 rain fell at Shumlân on June 27th and 28th, and on August 8th, 9th, and 12th; and in Damascus the writer has on one or two occasions seen rain in the month of June. In Lebanon also clouds are occasionally, though not frequently, seen during the summer months. Dr. Barclay gives the following average of the rainfall at Jerusalem during seven seasons:—1846-47, 59 inches; 1847-48, 55 inches; 1848-49, 60.6 inches; 1850-51, 85 inches; 1851-52, 65 inches; 1852-53, 44 inches; 1853-54, 26.9 inches.

This gives a general yearly average of 56.5 inches, which is 25 inches above the mean annual rainfall in England, and within one inch of that in Keswick, Cumberland, the wettest part of England (*City of Great King*, pp. 417, 428; *Penny Cyclopædia*, s.v. *Rain*).†

Only two seasons are expressly mentioned in the Bible; but the Rabbins (*Talmud*) make six, apparently founding their division upon Gen. viii. 22. They are as follows:—(1.) *Seed-time*: October—December. (2.) *Winter*: December—February. (3.) *Cold*: February—April. (4.) *Harvest*: April—June. (5.) *Heat*: June—August. (6.) *Summer*: August—October. These divisions are arbitrary. Seed-time now commences in October after the first rains, and continues till January. Harvest in the lower valley of the Jordan sometimes begins at the close of March; in the hill country of Judæa it is nearly a month later, and in Lebanon it rarely begins before June; and is not completed in the higher regions till the end of July. After the heavy falls of rain in November, the young grass shoots up, and the ground is covered with verdure in December. In January, oranges, lemons, and citrons are ripe; and at its close, in favourable seasons, the almond tree puts out its blossoms. In February and March the apricot, pear, apple, and plum are in flower. In May, apricots are ripe; and during the same month melons are produced in the warm plains around the Sea of Galilee. In June, figs, cherries, and plums ripen; and the roses of the 'Valley of Roses,' near Jerusalem, and of the

\* During the twelve years, from 1846 to 1859, only two slight showers fell in Jerusalem between the months of May and October. One fell in July 1858, another in June 1859 (Whitty, *Water Supply of Jerusalem*, p. 194).

† In the year 1856, Dr. Whitty states that the rainfall at Jerusalem was 94 inches; and in the following year, 1857, it reached the enormous amount of 104.2 inches. It is remarkable that the averages given by Dr. Whitty differ widely from those of Dr. Barclay. The former makes the yearly average from 1846 to 1859 to be as high as 65 inches, being 9 inches higher than Barclay's (Whitty, *Water Supply of Jerusalem*, 194).



gardens of Damascus, are gathered for the manufacture of rose-water. August is the crowning month of the fruit season, during which the grape, fig, peach, and pomegranate are in perfection. The vintage extends on through September. In August vegetation languishes. The cloudless sky and burning sun dry up all moisture. The grass withers, the flower fades, the bushes and shrubs take a hard gray look, the soil becomes dust, and the country assumes the aspect of a parched, barren desert. The only exceptions to this general bareness are the orange-groves of Joppa and those few portions of the soil which are irrigated.

The following are the principal works from which information may be obtained regarding the climate of Palestine and Syria. (1.) *An Economical Calendar of Palestine*, by Buhle, translated by Taylor, and inserted among the fragments appended to Calmet's *Dict. of the Bible*. (2.) *Walehii Calendarium Palestinae*, ed. J. D. Michaelis, 1755. (3.) Volney, *Voyage en Syrie*, etc., 1787. (4.) Schubert, *Reise nach dem Morgenlande*, iii., 1838. (5.) Russeger, *Reisen*, etc. (6.) Robinson, *Bib. Res. passim*. (7.) Kitto, *Physical History of Palestine*, chap. vii. (8.) Barclay, *City of the Great King*, pp. 49 seq., 414 seq. (9.) Von Wildenbruch and Petermann, in *Journal of R. G. S.*, xx.; and Poole in vol. xxvi. (10.) Forbes in *Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal*, April 1862. (11.) Russell's *Natural Hist. of Aleppo* gives full information regarding the climate and products of Northern Syria.

**PLANTS.**—The various plants mentioned in the Bible are fully treated of in this work under their proper names. It is not necessary here to repeat what is said elsewhere, nor is it intended to give anything like a resumé of the botany of Palestine. All that is aimed at is to give some of the leading features of the botany of the country—to mention some of the principal plants now existing, and the localities in which they abound. The diversity of climate in Palestine has already been noticed. There is a regular gradation from the cold of northern Europe to the heat of the tropics. This produces a corresponding variety of plants. Many of the plants of Europe, Asia, and Africa, are found in the respective departments of Palestine. On the mountain-tops of Hermon, Bashan, and Galilee, the products of the cold regions of the north grow luxuriantly; on the coast plain are some peculiar to Eastern Asia; and in the deep valley of the Jordan, African flora abound.\*

On the northern mountain ridges, and in Bashan, the oak and pine are the principal trees; the former sometimes forming dense woods, and growing to a great size. The cedar is now, and probably always was, confined to the higher regions of Lebanon. Among smaller trees and bushes are the juniper, dwarf elder, sumac (*Rhus*), and hawthorn;

the ivy, honeysuckle, and some species of rose are met with, but not in great abundance. The celebrated 'oak of Bashan' appears to be the *Quercus Aegilops*; it has a massive trunk, short gnarled arms, and a round, compact top. It also abounds in Gilead, all over Jebel el-Hish, and Galilee. An oak of another and smaller variety (*Quercus Coccifera*), growing in bushes, not unlike English hawthorn in form, and having a leaf resembling holly, but smaller, spreads over Carmel, the ridge of Samaria, and the western slopes of the mountains of Judæa, sometimes forming impenetrable jungles. Intermixed with it in some places are found the arbutus, hawthorn, pistachio, and carob or locust-tree. Common brambles are abundant, as well as the styrax, the bay, the wild olive, and more rarely the thorny *Palurus Aculeatus*, or 'Christ's thorn.' In the lowlands are the plane-tree, sycamore, and palm; but none of them abundant. Along the sandy downs of Sharon and Philistia grows the maritime pine; and on the banks of streams are the willow, oleander, and gigantic reeds. In the Jordan valley, and along the Dead Sea, are found the nubk (*Zizyphus Spina-Christi*), papyrus, tamarisk, acacia, retama (a kind of broom), sea pink, Dead Sea apple (*Solanum Sodomeum*), the *Balanites Aegyptiaca*, and on the banks of the river several species of willow and reed.

The hills and plains of Palestine abound in flowers. In early spring large sections of the country are covered with them, looking like a vast natural parterre. The most conspicuous among them are the lily, tulip, anemone, poppy, hyacinth, cyclamen, star of Bethlehem, crocus, and mallow. Thistles are seen on plain and mountain in infinite number and great variety—some small and creeping, with bright blue spines, others large and formidable, with heads like the 'flails' of the ancient Britons. On the hills are also found vast quantities of aromatic shrubs, which fill the air with fragrance; among them are the sage, thyme, and sweet marjoram.

The cultivated trees and plants in Palestine include most of those common in Europe, with many others peculiar to warmer climates. The vine may be regarded as the staple product of the hills and mountains. It is still extensively cultivated; and those terraces now seen on the sides of valley, hill, and mountain, were doubtless clothed with vines in ancient times. The olive is scarcely less abundant. It is found at almost every village in Western Palestine; but its greatest groves are at Gaza, Nâbulus, and on the western declivities of Galilee. It is not met with in the Jordan valley, and it is extremely rare in Gilead and Bashan. Some of the trees grow to a great size, though the branches are low and sparse. The writer saw an olive tree in the plain of Damascus upwards of forty feet in girth.\* The fig is abundant, especially among the hills of Judah and Samaria. Other fruit-trees less common are the pomegranate, apricot, walnut, almond, apple, quince, and mulberry. Date-palms are found at various places along the maritime plain; there are very few in the mountains, and they have

\* Schubert says on this point:—'My report would become a volume were I to enumerate the plants and flowers which the season exhibited to our view; for whoever follows this comparatively short course of the Jordan from the Dead Sea northward, along the borders of the lakes of Gennesareth and Merom, and onward to the utmost springs in Anti-Libanus, traverses in a few days climates, zones, and observes varieties of plants, which are in other countries separated by hundreds of miles.'

\* The season for gathering olives begins in the lowlands in November, and does not end in the higher regions till January. A good account of the olive-tree and its culture may be seen in Thomson's *Land and the Book*, pp. 52, seq.

altogether disappeared from Jericho, the 'city of palm trees;' though dwarf-palms grow at various places along the Jordan valley, as at Gennesaret. In the orchards of Joppa are the orange, lemon, citron, and banana; and the prickly pear in great abundance formed into hedges. The principal cereals are wheat, barley, rye, Indian corn, and rice in the marshy plain of the upper Jordan. Of pulse we find the pea of several varieties, the bean, large and small, and the lentil. Among esculent vegetables are the potato, recently introduced, carrots, lettuce, beet, turnip, and cabbage. In the sandy plains, and in the Jordan valley, cucumbers, melons, gourds, and pumpkins are grown in immense quantities. Hemp is common, flax less so, and cotton is produced in large quantities. Mr. Poole states that indigo and sesame are grown in the valley of Nâbulus (*Journal R. G. S.*, xxvi. 57).\*

On the botany of Palestine the following works may be consulted:—Shaw, *Travels in Barbary and the Levant*, 1808; Hasselquist, *Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, 1766; Schubert, *Reise*, 1840; Kitto, *Physical Hist. of Pal.*; Russell, *Natural Hist. of Aleppo*; also papers in *Transactions of Linn. Society*, xxii.; and *Natural Hist. Rev.* No. v.; and Smith's *Dict. of Bible*, in art. *Palestine*, the valuable paper on botany by Dr. Hooker.

ANIMALS.—The zoology of the Bible, like the botany, is fully treated in this work under the names of the several animals. All that is needed in this place, therefore, is to group together the principal animals at present found in the different parts of Palestine, referring the reader for fuller particulars to the separate articles, and to the works mentioned at the close. It may be remarked that comparatively little is known as yet of the animals of Palestine. The great majority of travellers who visit the country have not time, and even if they had they do not possess the scientific knowledge necessary to minute researches in natural history. It is to be hoped that the recent expedition under the superintendence of the Rev. H. B. Tristram will add largely to our present store of information. As yet the results of his investigations are not known.

The *Domestic Animals* of Palestine are, with one or two exceptions, those common in England. The horse is small, hardy, and sure-footed; but not famed either for speed or strength. The best kinds are bought from the Bedawîn of the Arabian desert. Asses are numerous; some small and poor; others large and of great strength; and others, especially the white kinds, prized for their beauty and easy motion (cf. *Judg.* v. 10). Mules are

chiefly used as beasts of burden. As there are no roads and no wheeled carriages, the mules are the carriers of the country, and are met on all the leading thoroughfares in immense files, garnished profusely with little bells and cowries. The camel is also employed for carrying heavier burdens, for performing more lengthened journeys, and for traversing the neighbouring deserts. The best camels are bought from the wandering Arabs. The ox of western Palestine is mostly small and poor, owing doubtless to hard work and insufficient food; but the writer has seen great droves of fine fat cattle upon the rich pastures of Jaulân. There is a very tall, lanky, species in the plain of Damascus, and in parts of the Haurân. Oxen are now very rarely slaughtered for food in the interior. They are mainly kept for field-labour and for 'treading out the corn.' The buffalo is found in the valley of the upper Jordan; but the writer has not met it elsewhere in Palestine. Large-tailed sheep abound, and form the principal article of animal food. Flocks of the long-eared Syrian goat cover the mountains in all parts of the land. They are the chief producers of milk and butter. The common street dog infests the towns, villages, and encampments, belonging to no one, though tolerated by all as a public servant—the only sanitary officer existing in Palestine. There is another variety employed by shepherds. Cats, like dogs, are common property, and are rarely seen domesticated like our own.

The *Wild Animals* include the brown Syrian bear, found in the upper regions of Galilee, and in Jabel el-Hîsh; the panther in the hills of Judæa and Samaria, and in the thickets of the Jordan; jackals in immense numbers everywhere; wolves, hyenas, foxes; wild swine in the marshes of the Jordan, and in the thickets of Bashan and Gilead; gazelles and fallow deer on the plain; the ibex or wild goat in the wilderness of Judæa; the hare and the coney (called by natives *zeber*: the writer saw great numbers at the old castle of Baniâs on the northern border); the squirrel, mole, rat, mouse, and bat. Porcupines and hedgehogs are rare; Mr. Poole says badgers abound at Hebron (*Journal R. G. S.*, xxvi. 58).

Reptiles exist in great variety. Some parts of the country swarm with them. The most common are lizards, which may be seen basking on every rock, and bobbing their hideous heads up and down on every ruin. Serpents of various kinds are numerous; the scorpion, tarentula, and chameleon are not so numerous. Frogs in vast numbers crowd the marshes and moist districts, and fill the air with their roar on the still summer evenings; the tree-frog and toad are also found; and little tortoises crawl over dry plains, and along the banks of pond and stream. The crocodile is said to exist in the Crocodile river, now called *Nahr Zerka*, in the plain of Sharon. Of this Dr. Thomson writes: 'You will be surprised to hear that there are now living crocodiles in the marsh, but such is the fact. These millers say they have seen them often; and the government agent, a respectable Christian, assures me that they recently killed one eighteen spans long, and as thick as his body. I suspect that, long ages ago, some Egyptians accustomed to worship this ugly creature settled here, and brought their gods with them!' (*The Land and the Book*, p. 497). The creature seen at this place (if indeed the whole story was

\* The sugar-cane was formerly extensively cultivated in the Jordan valley, especially around Jericho. Indigo is still grown in the gardens of Jericho, and in the plain of Gennesaret. The tobacco-plant is common in Lebanon, and among the villages of western Palestine. Silk is extensively produced. Mulberry groves are rapidly increasing along the seaboard, and everywhere among the mountains of western Palestine. At present silk is the most valuable of the exports. The growth of cotton is also increasing. But the heavy exactions of the government, and the insecurity of life and property, prevent capitalists from planting trees and cultivating the great plains (Note by Rev. S. Robson, of Damascus).



not a pure fiction on the part of the Arabs) was doubtless the *Monitor Niloticus*.

*Birds* of prey are very numerous, including eagles and vultures, in the neighbourhood of Lebanon; hawks in great variety, and ravens all over the land; and owls, which hoot and scream during the still night. Storks pay passing visits, and occasionally the white ibis is met with; the heron, gull, and lapwing are found. The rocky hill-sides abound with partridges and quails; the cliffs in the glens with pigeons; the bushes with turtle-doves; and the lakes and marshes with ducks, teal, and other water-fowl. We also find the jay in some beautiful varieties; the king-fisher, the wood-pecker, the sparrow, the swallow, the cuckoo, and many others. Domestic fowls are not numerous in Palestine. A few barn-door fowls may be seen in the villages; but ducks, geese, and turkeys are extremely rare.

*Insects* are so numerous in some parts of the land as almost to become a plague. They include the common fly and mosquito; the bee, wasp, and hornet; great numbers of horse-flies; many species of butterflies; ants, spiders, grasshoppers, beetles, earwigs, and the beautiful glow-worm and firefly. The most formidable of the insects which infest Palestine is the *locust*. Some few are seen every year, but great flights are fortunately rare. The writer saw one in the summer of 1853 which nearly desolated eastern Syria. In many places they completely covered the ground; and for several days the air was so filled with them that the light of the sun was obscured as if by a mist.

Writers on the zoology of Palestine, or rather on Biblical zoology, are numerous. The following are the most important:—Bochart, *Hierozoicon*, ed. Rosenmüller, 1793-96; Hasselquist, *Travels*; Russell, *Nat. Hist. of Aleppo*; *Description de l'Égypte*, tom. xx.-xxii.; Schubert, *Reise*; Kitto, *Physical Hist. of Palestine*.

IV. GEOLOGY.—Although several eminent geologists have passed through Palestine, we have as yet no full scientific delineation—not even a satisfactory outline—of its geology. The country ought in many respects to be the most interesting in the world to the geologist. It possesses some unique features. It bears marks of tremendous volcanic convulsions, extending over a vast period. Its wonderful history has been considerably affected by these agencies. It is not intended in this place to attempt to supply this great want. The writer feels himself incompetent to the task, were it even admissible in such a work as the present. All he aims at is an outline of the leading geological features of Palestine, so far as they are known, such as may throw light on the peculiarities of its physical structure, the varieties of its soil and products, and some remarkable incidents in its history.

The general geological formation of Palestine is simple. The basis of the country—the great body of its hills and plains—is Jura limestone; the same which extends over Lebanon, the desert of Arabia, and the plateau southwards to the mountains of Sinai. Russegger says it may 'be classed with the Upper Jura formation, the oolite, and the Jura dolomite.' The rock is not uniform in character, composition, or colour. Most of it is compact, regularly stratified, of a dark cream or gray colour, and abounding in fossils. As a general rule it becomes softer towards the south. At Bethel are 'large masses of blue limestone with shells,' and on the sides of Gerizim 'is nummulitic limestone;

in some parts the rocks had been in a liquid state, for one kind had overflowed and encased the other' (Poole, in *Journal of R. G. S.*, xxvi. 56). Around Jerusalem dolomite prevails. The ancient buildings of the city appear to have been chiefly constructed of it. It is veined with red and white like marble, compact, partially crystallized, and takes a high polish. Traces of an upper cretaceous formation of a more recent period are visible over the whole mountains. In many places the action of the atmosphere and the washing of winter rains have stripped it from the firmer strata. It was filled with masses and nodules of flint; and these are now strewn over the surface where the soft chalk, in which they were originally embedded, has entirely disappeared. Between Nâbulus and Samaria the ground is covered with flints (Poole, 57); they abound in the wilderness of Judæa. On the road from Bethany to Jericho, Poole says, 'white nodules with black flint in the centre were thickly strewed about' (*id.*) In some places less exposed the upper crust remains; and thin layers of sandstone, soft and friable, alternate occasionally with the chalk (*id.*) Towards the borders of the Dead Sea some important changes are observed in the strata. Of the mountain of Neby Mûsa, Poole says, 'The soil smelt very strong of sulphur, and I got specimens of limestone of an oolite structure, also of a seam of bituminous and calcareous limestone, with pectens about six inches thick' (58). On the northern shore of the Dead Sea he got a specimen of bituminous stone. In the mountain along the south-west coast, 'the chalk showed in several places overlaid by limestone,' probably owing to the tilting of the strata, or some other volcanic agency. In eastern Palestine the limestone is found in Hermon, and throughout Gilead and Moab; but at Kerak it gives place to the ruddy sandstone strata which constitute the mountains of Edom, and which also appear beneath the limestone along the eastern shore of the Dead Sea. This eastern region has not been visited by any practical geologist, and the notices of it are brief and unsatisfactory.

This field of limestone, which thus extends over all Palestine, has been interrupted and broken in several places, and in a very remarkable manner, by volcanic agency; an agency, however, which operated at a very remote geological period. In eastern Palestine lava ejected from the earth in a state of fusion has flowed over the limestone, covering the whole area of the kingdom of Bashan. The centre of eruption appears to have been in Jebel Haurân, at the now extinct craters Tell Abu Tumeis and Kuleib. From these two craters lava streams flowed westward to the Lejah; and the Lejah itself is filled with smaller craters. The little conical and cup-shaped tells, which stud the surface of Haurân, were all at one time active volcanoes. The basalt thus emitted from numerous openings spread over the whole region, forming the lofty peaks of Jebel Haurân, and sweeping across the plain to the Jordan. Neither the breadth nor the exact limits of this lava-field are yet known. On the north-west it runs up the sides of Jebel el-Hîsh; on the north it is bounded by the river Awaj (Pharpar), which separates it from the limestone in the plain of Damascus. On the south it runs to the banks of the Yarmuk, and in places across the ravine to northern Gilead. The Lejah is geologically the most remarkable province in

Palestine. The hard black rock covers the entire surface to a depth of from thirty to one hundred feet—now stretching out in broad wavy reaches, divided by fissures of great depth—now thrown up in vast heaps of jagged fragments—now partially crystallized, and extending in long ridges like the Giant's Causeway. The rock is very hard, gives a metallic sound when struck, and is filled with air-bubbles. Spherical boulders of the same material are strewn over portions of the western declivity of the plain (Porter's *Damascus*, ii. 241, *seq.*; Wetzstein, *Reisebericht über Haurân*, pp. 27, *seq.*; Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. 318, *seq.*; Burckhardt, *Travels*, pp. 111, *seq.*)

On the west side of the Jordan, opposite Bashan, are two other lava-fields. The northern has its centre about three miles north-west of Safed, near the village of Jîsh. Dr. Robinson thus describes it:—'We soon came out upon a high open plain; and the volcanic stones increased as we advanced, until they took the place of every other; and, besides covering the surface of the ground, seemed also to compose the solid formation of the tract. In the midst of this plain we came upon heaps of black stones and lava, surrounding what had evidently once been the crater of a volcano. It is an oval basin, sunk in the plain . . . between three and four hundred feet in length, and about one hundred and twenty feet in breadth. The depth is perhaps forty feet. The sides are shelving, but steep and ragged, obviously composed of lava; of which our friend Mr. Hebard had been able to distinguish three different kinds or ages. . . . All around it are the traces of its former action, exhibited in the strata of lava and the vast masses of volcanic stones. It may not improbably have been the central point, or *Ableiter*, of the earthquake of 1837' (*B. R.*, ii. 444). From this place the lava-streams and boulders radiate to a considerable distance. The high terrace which projects from the eastern side of this ridge to the Jordan below Merom is chiefly basalt; but it seems to be connected with the Haurân field, as it is of a hard, firm texture, while that of Jîsh is soft and porous.

Another centre of volcanic action in former ages is on the high plain south-west of Tiberias, called Ard el-Hamma. The whole plain is a lava-field; and the double peak of Kurûn Hattîn, on its north side, is basalt, and so also is the ridge which bounds the Sea of Galilee on the south. The rock is similar to that of Bashan. The thickness of the bed may be seen in the cliffs on the mountain-side behind the warm baths of Tiberias. The base of these cliffs is limestone, while the whole superincumbent mass is black or dark-gray basalt. This field extends northward to the plain of Gennesaret, westward to Sefûrieh, and southward to Esdraelon. The soil covering it is thick black mould like that of Bashan. It appears that the greater portion of the substratum of Esdraelon is basalt, hidden beneath the soil (Wilson, ii. 304). But Jebel ed-Duhy (Little Hermon), and all the hills south of the plain, are limestone; and volcanic rock is not again seen in western Palestine (Anderson, *Geological Reconnaissance in Lynch's Official Report*, pp. 124, *seq.*) On the east of the Dead Sea basalt appears in boulders dotting the plateau between the river Arnon and Kerak; and Burckhardt says it is more porous than any specimens he had found farther northward (*Travels*, p. 375, *cf.*; Anderson, p. 191).

But the grand geological feature of Palestine is the central valley or chasm. Hugh Miller has said—'the natural boundaries of the geographer are rarely described by straight lines. Whenever these occur, the geologist may look for something remarkable' (*Old Red Sandstone*, p. 120). No better proof of this could be found than the Jordan valley. It runs in a straight line through the centre of Palestine. Its formation was probably simultaneous with those volcanic agencies that created the eastern and western lava-fields. It is a tremendous rent or fissure a hundred and fifty miles in length, rending asunder the whole limestone strata from top to bottom. Its extreme depth from the lips of the fissure to the bed of the Dead Sea is above 4000 feet, no less than 2624 of which is beneath the level of the ocean.\* Such a cleft in the earth's crust is without a parallel. It is singular that, though the rent was doubtless effected by a volcanic convulsion, and though volcanic rock covers such a large area on both sides of the northern part of the valley, there are no traces of it in the southern and deepest part, except at one or two points to be afterwards noticed. The sides of the valley, and the rock in its bed, so far as visible, are limestone, ranged occasionally in horizontal strata, but usually upheaved and tossed into wild confusion. Along the eastern shore of the Dead Sea, the limestone strata give place to sandstone (SEA). The sides of the valley, and the general conformation of the adjoining ridges, would seem to indicate that the limestone crust had been heaved up by some tremendous volcanic agency running from south due north, and causing that huge rent which forms the basin of the Dead Sea and the Jordan valley. May it not be that this agency was the lava-stream which at length found an exit at the craters of Tiberias, Jîsh, and Haurân? This subject is well worthy the attention of future geologists.

The evidences and often fearful results of recent as well as remote volcanic agency are visible along the whole Jordan valley, and over a large section of the adjoining districts. Beginning at the north we have the crater of Jîsh, extinct indeed at the surface, but giving palpable proof in tremendous throes of earthquakes that internal fires are still raging. Next follow the copious saline springs of Tabighah, on the northern shore of the Sea of Galilee; then the sulphureous springs of Tiberias, where the water gushes from the rock at a temperature of 144° Fahr. On the eastern side of the Jordan, in the glen of the Yarmuk, are the still hotter and more copious springs of Amatha, issuing from beneath lofty cliffs of igneous rock (Burckhardt, p. 376; *Handbook for S. and P.*, pp. 320, 423). It is deserving of special note, that at the time of the great earthquake of 1837, and, as the writer has been informed, on every recurrence of an earthquake in the region, these springs well out in much greater abundance, and their waters increase in warmth. There is thus evidently a subterranean connection between them. The investigations of the writer have tended to establish another point of considerable interest. The towns and villages which have been most severely shaken by earthquakes in this region are those situated on the trap fields; while

\* The depression of the Dead Sea is 1,316 + depth of sea as ascertained by Lynch, 1308 feet = 2624.—*Official Report*.



villages between them built upon the limestone strata have in many cases escaped almost without injury.

Proceeding still farther south, we find the 'copious salt-springs' of Wady Mâlih, where the water is 98° Fahr., and emits 'a fetid odour' (Robinson, iii. 308). Next come the springs of Callirrhoe, near the mouth of Wady Zurka Main, which opens into the north-eastern part of the Dead Sea. They rise in the bottom of a sublime gorge. The base of the cliffs on each side is ruddy ferruginous sandstone, above and through which black and dark gray trap appears, while the great body of the mountain behind is limestone. 'In one place a considerable stream of hot water is seen precipitating itself from a high and perpendicular shelf of rock, which is strongly tinted with the brilliant yellow of sulphur deposited upon it. On reaching the bottom we find ourselves at what may be termed a hot river, so copious and rapid is it, and its heat so little abated; this continues as it passes downwards by its receiving constant supplies of water of the same temperature . . . . We passed four abundant springs, all within the distance of half a mile, discharging themselves into the stream. . . . We had no thermometer, but the degree of heat in the water seemed very great; near the source it scalds the hand, which cannot be kept in for the space of half a minute' (Irby and Mangles, p. 468). Lynch found the temperature of the stream to be 95° Fahr. The temperature must be much higher at the source.

Along the shores of the Dead Sea are numerous saline springs and salt marshes. At its southern end is the remarkable ridge of hills called Khashim Urdûm, composed in a great measure of pure salt. Large quantities of bitumen are often found floating on the Dead Sea, especially, it is said, after earthquakes, as if thrown up by the action of subterranean fires. And away at the northern extremity of the valley, at the western base of Hermon, are pits of bitumen (*Handbook*, p. 453).

All these things indicate volcanic agencies still in action beneath the surface, and tend to illustrate some of the most remarkable events in the long history of Palestine, from the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah down to the earthquake of 1837. Palestine has in all ages been a country of earthquakes. The sacred writers show that they were familiar with them. The Scriptures abound in allusions to them, and figures drawn from them. From earthquakes the Psalmist borrows his figures, when he speaks of 'mountains being carried into the midst of the sea' (xlv. 2); of their 'skipping like rams, and the little hills like lambs' (cxiv. 4-6). To earthquakes the prophet alludes in his striking language—'The earth shall reel to and fro like a drunkard, and be removed like a cottage' (Is. xxiv. 20; cf. Ps. civ. 32; 1 Chron. xvi. 30; Jer. x. 10; Hab. iii. 6-8, etc.). There are, however, only two earthquakes expressly named in Scripture. The first was of such serious importance as to form a kind of epoch. Amos dates his vision 'two years before the earthquake' (i. 1). It took place 'in the days of Uzziah' (Zech. xiv. 5). The other instance of an earthquake mentioned in Scripture is that of the quaking of the earth and rending of the rocks at the crucifixion (Matt. xxvii. 51). In the seventh year of Herod the Great, Palestine was visited by a tremendous earthquake. (Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 5. 2). We read of numerous others since that period (see Kitto, *Physical Hist. of Palestine*, ch. iv.)

The present bed of the Jordan valley is of a much later formation than either the limestone of the adjoining mountains, or the rock of the trap fields. The crust varies from 100 to 200 feet in depth, and through this the river has hollowed out for itself a deep tortuous channel, showing along its banks vertical sections. The lower parts consist mainly of tertiary deposits of indurated marl and conglomerate; while the upper stratum, now composing the surface of the plain, appears to be made up to a large extent of the washings and detritus of the chalk crust which originally covered the neighbouring highlands, enriched here and there with vegetable mould. The coast-lands, Sharon and Philistia, are coated with a light soil—in some places chalky, in others sandy, with a large admixture of red alluvial clay, and on the top rich vegetable mould. The plains of Esdraelon, Ard el-Hamma, Gennesaret, and Haurân, are coated with deep black clay of extraordinary fertility. It is composed in a great degree of disintegrated lava, and perhaps, to some extent, volcanic ashes, together with a large quantity of decomposed vegetable matter—the residue of the forests that appear to have at one period extended over all Palestine.

Besides the incidental notices in the travels of Burckhardt, and Drs. Wilson, Robinson, and Thomson, the following works contain the fullest information we possess on the geology of the different parts of Palestine:—1. Anderson's *Geological Reconnaissance*, in Lynch's *Official Report*. His researches were confined to the Jordan valley and the regions immediately adjoining. 2. Russegger's *Reisen*, vol. iii. This work embraces an account of the environs of Jerusalem, Hebron, and Joppa, and parts of Galilee around Nazareth and Tiberias. 3. Poole's short paper in the *Journal of R. G. S.*, vol. xxvi., giving brief notes of his journey from Joppa to Jerusalem and the Dead Sea, and then along the western shore, and round the southern end to the promontory of Lisân. 4. Wetzstein's *Reisebericht über Hauran und die Trachonen*, giving some account of the remarkable trap-fields of the Lejah, Jebel Haurân, the Safah, etc. 5. Porter's *Five Years in Damascus*, containing a full description of the physical geography of Bashan.

V. POLITICAL AND HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY. It now only remains to give a brief sketch of the political divisions of Palestine under the rule of the tribes and nations which have in succession occupied it. These divisions are sometimes minutely described, frequently directly mentioned, and more frequently incidentally alluded to, by the sacred writers. It is mainly with the view of illustrating these Scripture references that the present sketch is given. All that is aimed at, however, is a brief, general, and connected view. Nothing more is needed in this place, for all the ancient tribes and more important provinces and districts are treated of fully in separate articles.

To facilitate reference and prevent confusion, the historical geography of Palestine is divided into five periods, corresponding to the leading events in the annals of the country.

1. *The Patriarchal Period*.—This period extends from the earliest ages to the conquest of Palestine by the Israelites. The first notices we have of the land are contained in the 10th chapter of Genesis, where the sacred writer describes the country colonized by Canaan, the grandson of Noah. From this patriarch Palestine got its first name—a name

which clings to it still. In that most remarkable chapter, the borders of the Canaanitish territory are defined. They extended from Sidon on the north along the coast, to Gaza on the south. Thence the border ran eastward, apparently in the line of Wady Gerar, to the plain of Sodom, now the southern section of the Dead Sea. Thence it was drawn to Lasha, the site of which is not known, but it probably stood at the north-eastern end of the Dead Sea. [LASHA.] It would seem that ancient Canaan corresponded almost exactly with western Palestine.

The families and tribes which sprung from Canaan are mentioned; and it appears from their subsequent history, as given in the Pentateuch, that each of them settled down permanently in a territory of its own. [CANAAN.] The boundaries of these territories are not given, but the locality of each is indicated either by direct statement or indirect allusion. *Sidon* was the firstborn of Canaan, and he colonized Phœnicia on the coast. His capital, to which he gave his name, was outside the boundary of Palestine, but a section of his territory, which extended as far south as Carmel, was included in the land. The *Hittites* were a powerful tribe, who settled among the mountains in the south, with Hebron apparently for their capital (Gen. xv. 20; xxiii. 16; HITTITES). The  *Jebusites* had their stronghold on Zion; and they held it and the surrounding territory down to the time of David (Josh. xv. 63; 2 Sam. v. 6). The *Amorites*, probably the most powerful of all the Canaanitish tribes, were widely spread (Josh. xxiv. 18). They had settlements in the mountains of Judah (Gen. xiv. 7, 13; Num. xiii. 29), but their main possessions were on the east of the Jordan, where they occupied the whole country from Arnon on the south to Hermon (Num. xxi. 13, 26; xxxii. 33; Deut. iii. 8). The *Girgashites* appear to have been located among the mountains of central Palestine, but there is no description of their exact territory in the Bible, and the theories of geographers are not satisfactory. [GIRGASHITES.] The *Hivites* founded Shechem, in central Palestine; Gibeon, Beeroth, Chephirah, and Kirjath-jearim, farther south; and a little principality under Hermon, on the northern border (Gen. xxxiv. 2; Josh. ix. 3, 7; xi. 19; 2 Sam. xxiv. 7; Josh. xi. 3). Canaan's other sons settled beyond the bounds of Palestine:—the *Arkites* and *Sinites* in Lebanon; the *Arvadites* on an island off the coast of Phœnicia; and the *Hamathites* in Hamath.

But besides the Canaanitish tribes, there are traces of other races—or perhaps another race—of aborigines in Palestine. The *Rephaim* are frequently mentioned. We find traces of them in widely different parts of the country. They gave their name to a little upland plain beside Jerusalem (Josh. xv. 8), and to a section of Mount Ephraim (xvii. 15). Bashan seems to have been occupied by them long previous to its conquest by the Amorites (Gen. xiv. 5; Deut. iii. 11). At the same remote period the *Zuzim* dwelt in Gilead, and the *Enim* held the plateau of Moab. These are all spoken of as men of huge stature, and they appear to have been different sections of one great family. Of their history we know nothing, except a few isolated facts; but it is remarkable that traditions of these giants cling to various localities in Palestine. Their marvellous exploits are recorded, their tombs of huge dimensions are pointed out, and the colossal houses they

built and occupied are still shown in the ancient cities of Bashan. [REPHAIM.] The race either died out or was extirpated in Bashan by the warlike hordes of Amorites. The Moabites and Ammonites conquered the giant tribes south of Bashan, and long occupied their territory; and the ruins of Rabbath-Ammon and Rabbath-Moab still remain as memorials of their rule (Deut. ii. 20, 21). On the south-east of Palestine, along the coast of the Mediterranean, the *Avim*, another primæval tribe of giants, had their abode; but they were conquered by the Caphtorim, or Philistines; and the giant warriors Goliath, Sippai, and Lahmi, were probably among the last of the race (1 Sam. xvii. 4; 2 Sam. xxi. 16-20; 1 Chron. xx. 4-8). The *Amalekites* were nomads, who roamed over the scanty pastures of the southern desert, scarcely crossing the border of Palestine.

At the time of the Exodus, all Western Palestine was held by these Canaanitish and Philistine tribes; and the country east of the Jordan was divided into three kingdoms. On the north lay the kingdom of the giant Og, the last of the Rephaim, which extended over Bashan and the section of Gilead north of the Jabbok. Between the Jabbok and the Arnon was the kingdom of Sihon; while the region south of the Arnon was possessed by the Moabites.

In addition to the tribes now enumerated, Moses mentions the Kenites, Kenizzites, and Kadmonites; but these, though included in the land promised to Abraham, had their territories in Arabia, beyond the boundaries of Palestine (Gen. xv. 18-21; KENITES, etc.) The *Perizzites* are also mentioned as a tribe distinct from the Canaanites, residing in some part of Western Palestine. Little is known either of their origin or their possessions, and that little is given elsewhere [PERIZZITES].

2. *The Period from Joshua to Solomon.*—At the commencement of this period, an entire change was wrought in the political geography of Palestine. The country was divided among the twelve tribes of Israel. The eastern section was first apportioned. Moab's territory south of the Arnon was left untouched. A very clear and full account of the allotment of all the rest is given in Num. xxxii. The tableland (Mishor) extending from the Arnon to Heshbon was given to the tribe of Reuben (cf. Josh. xiii. 15, *seq.*) Gad received the region between Heshbon and the river Jabbok, together with an additional strip along the east bank of the Jordan, extending up to the Sea of Chinnereth (vers. 24-28). The rest of Gilead and all Bashan were allotted to Manasseh, and this was at once the largest and the richest allotment made to any of the tribes (29-31).

Western Palestine was divided by Joshua among the remaining tribes. Judah received the country lying between the parallel of Jerusalem and the southern border; but subsequently a section on the south-east was given to Simeon; and another section was taken off its western side and allotted to Dan. These two tribes were thus, as regards their possessions, amalgamated with Judah (Josh. xv. 1, 40-47). North of Judah lay Benjamin, confined to a narrow strip stretching across the country from the Jordan to Beth-Horon, between the parallels of Jerusalem and Bethel (xviii. 11-25). Next to Benjamin came the children of Joseph, grouped close together—Ephraim on the south, and Manasseh on the north. Their united portion reached from the Jordan to the sea, and



from Bethel to the border of Esdraelon (xvi., xvii.) In addition to this large mountain territory, the cities of Beth-shean, Taanach, Megiddo, and a few others situated in Esdraelon, were allotted to them. To Issachar was given the noble plain of Esdraelon—a territory, however, whose fertility was more than overbalanced by its exposed situation (xix. 17-23). Zebulun received his lot amid the picturesque hills and plains of Lower Galilee, having Tabor on the east, and the Great Sea, at the base of Carmel, on the west (10-16). Asher got the fertile plain of Acre, and the coast of Phœnicia up to Sidon (24-31). In the mountains, on the northern border, Naphtali found a beautiful highland home (32-39). The lot of Dan was too small, and the Philistines hemmed the tribe in so that they were unable to cultivate the rich soil of the Shephelah. They consequently made an expedition to the far north, and established an important colony on the plain of the upper Jordan (47; cf. Judg. xviii.)

But though the whole land was thus allotted, it was not conquered. The Philistines still held their plain; and the mercantile Canaanites, whom the Greeks called Phœnicians, remained in their great seaports. Many cities, also, in different parts of the country, were retained by their Canaanitish founders (Judg. i. 21, *seq.*)

3. *From the Death of Solomon to the Captivity.*—On the death of Solomon, the tyranny and folly of his son rent the nation of Israel. Long before that time there had been rivalry between the powerful families of Judah and Ephraim; Rehoboam's folly was the occasion of its breaking out into open hostility. The boundaries of the tribes were not disturbed by the rupture in the nation. Benjamin clung to Judah, and its northern border became the line of demarcation between the two kingdoms. Dan and Simeon occupied portions of the allotted territory of Judah, and were therefore reckoned parts of that tribe (1 Kings xii. 17); hence the southern kingdom is usually said to have consisted of only the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, while in reality it included four (1 Kings xix. 3; 2 Chron. xi. 10; with Josh. xix. 41, 42). The remaining tribes east and west of the Jordan chose Jeroboam as their king; but Bethel (2 Chron. xiii. 19) and some other cities farther north were afterwards added to Judah (xv. 8).

The next change in the political geography of the land was brought about by the conquests of Assyria. The northern kingdom was invaded, Samaria its capital taken, and the whole people of the land carried away captive. Foreign colonists were placed in their room; and these, adopting the Jewish law, and conforming to some extent to the Jewish ritual, were the founders of the nation and sect of the SAMARITANS. A great part of Palestine—nearly the whole of the kingdom of Israel—now became a province of the Assyrian empire, and afterwards passed with it into the hands of the Babylonians. About a century and a half later, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, took Jerusalem, and led the other section of the Jewish nation captive. Thus all Palestine lost its nationality, and was ruled by a provincial satrap.

4. *From the Captivity to the Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus.*—This was the most eventful period of Jewish history, and the most remarkable for the changes which it brought about in the political geography of Palestine. The division of the land

into tribes was now completely broken up, and was never again established. Many of the ancient nations which the Israelites had driven from their borders wholly or partially, returned to their possessions. The Moabites reoccupied the Mishor immediately after the first captivity; and hence 'the burden of Moab,' written by Isaiah (xv., xvi.), and the terrible prophetic curse pronounced by Jeremiah (xlviii.), include that country which the Moabites originally possessed before the conquests of Sihon (Num. xxi. 26, 30), and which they reoccupied after the captivity of the tribes of Reuben and Gad, to whom Moses had allotted it. It appears also that the ancient tribes of Bashan regained their old territories, and re-established the old names—*Bashan*, *Argob*, *Haurân*, *Golan*—which were subsequently better known as the Greek provinces of *Batanea*, *Trachonitis*, *Auranitis*, and *Gaulonitis* (Porter's *Damascus*, vol. ii.) The Idumeans or Edomites having been driven out of their own mountain homes by the Nabatheans, established themselves along and within the borders of southern Palestine, to which they gave the name *Idumæa* [IDUMÆA]. The neighbouring nations and tribes also seem to have encroached upon the territories of the northern tribes of Israel; and a large Gentile element was then and afterwards introduced into Galilee, which produced important effects upon the subsequent history of the Jews in that province [GALILEE].

Under the mild rule of Cyrus the captive Jews were permitted to return to their own land. Ezra and Nehemiah re-established the ancient worship, and rebuilt the temple; but politically, the country remained a province of the Babylonian and Persian empires till the time of Alexander the Great, when it fell under Greek rule. On the death of Alexander the kingdom of the Seleucidæ was established in Syria, and that of the Ptolemies in Egypt. Palestine became at first a part of the former; but the rival dynasty soon attacked and captured it, and it remained for more than half a century, nominally at least, under the rule of the Egyptian monarchs. Then war broke out between Syria and Egypt, and the maritime plain of Palestine became the battle-field. Aided by the Seleucidæ, the Jews threw off the yoke of the Ptolemies (B.C. 198), and became subject to the former. During all these troubles the Jews had an ecclesiastical government of their own, the high-priest being chief. But when Antiochus Epiphanes ascended the throne of Syria, he captured Jerusalem, put thousands of the inhabitants to death, and attempted to abolish their worship. These acts of barbarity roused the spirit of the whole nation. The priestly family of the Maccabees headed a noble band of patriots, and after a long and heroic struggle succeeded in establishing the independence of their country [MACCABEES]. The Maccabees gradually extended their conquests over Samaria, Galilee, and a part of the country beyond Jordan. But internal dissensions and civil wars sprang up, and gave occasion for the interference of Rome; and Pompey invaded Palestine and captured Jerusalem in the year B.C. 63. A heavy tribute was levied, but the people were still permitted to retain their own rulers. In the year B.C. 39, Herod the Great received the title of 'King of Judæa' from the Roman emperor, and two years afterwards he succeeded in establishing himself on the throne [HERODIAN FAMILY].

At his death Herod bequeathed his kingdom to his three sons, Archelaus, Antipas, and Philip; but the supreme authority was in the hands of the Roman prefect and procurators. In the N. T., and in the writings of Greek and Roman geographers of that age, Palestine is usually spoken of as divided into a number of provinces. Those on the west of the Jordan were *Judæa* on the south, *Samaria* in the centre, and *Galilee* on the north, and the latter was subdivided into *Upper* and *Lower*. The provinces east of the Jordan were *Peræa*, embracing Gilead and the Mishor of Moab; and the four subdivisions of Bashan already mentioned—*Gaulonitis*, *Auranitis*, *Batanea*, and *Trachonitis*.

5. *From the Destruction of Jerusalem to the present time*.—On the establishment of Christianity in the Roman empire, a new ecclesiastical division of Palestine appears to have been made, into *Prima*, *Secunda*, and *Tertia*; but the boundaries are not defined, the lists of their cities are confused, and the territory embraced extended far beyond Palestine proper (See Reland, pp. 204-214).

After the Mohammedan conquest. Palestine became a province of the empire of Khalifs, and on the dismemberment of the empire this unhappy country was the theatre of fierce struggles between rival dynasties. About the middle of the 10th century the Fatimites seized it; and a century later it was overrun by the Seljukian Turks, whose cruelty to Christian pilgrims roused the nations of western Europe to the first *Crusade*. Jerusalem was taken by the Franks in the year 1099, and Palestine was made a Christian kingdom. But the rule of the Crusaders was brief. Defeated by Saladin, they took refuge in a few of their strongholds. At length, in the year 1291, Acre was stormed by the Mamluke Sultan of Egypt, and thus terminated the dominion of the Crusaders in Palestine.

For more than two centuries after this period Palestine was the theatre of fierce contests between the shepherd hordes of Tartary and the Mamlukes of Egypt. In 1517 it was conquered by Sultan Selim; and from that time till the present it has formed part of the Ottoman empire.

*Modern Divisions*.—Palestine now forms part of two great pashalics—(1.) *Sidon*, embracing the whole of western Palestine; and (2.) *Damascus*, embracing all east of the Jordan. That part of Palestine lying within the pashalic of Sidon is divided into the subpashalics of Jerusalem and Akka.\*

*Inhabitants*.—The modern inhabitants of Palestine are a mixed race, made up of the descendants of the ancient Syrians, and of the Arabs who came in with the armies of the Khalifs. The number of the latter being small, the mixture of blood did not visibly change the type. This is seen by a comparison of the Christians with the Mohammedans—the former are of pure Syrian descent, while the latter are more or less mixed; yet there is no visible distinction, save that which dress makes. In addition to these there are a few Jews, Armenians, and Turks; all of whom are easily recog-

nised as foreigners. The Druses who live in Haurân, and occupy a few villages in Galilee and on Carmel, are converts from Mohammedanism.

No census has been taken of the country, and the number of the inhabitants it is impossible to ascertain with any near approach to accuracy. One thing is manifest to every observer—the greater part of the country is desolate. Jerusalem, its largest city, has but 20,000 inhabitants; and the only other places of any note are Gaza, Joppa, Acre, and Nâbulus. Even villages are few, and separated by long reaches of desolate country. The following is the nearest approach which can now be made to the population of the country:—

Pashalic of Jerusalem (Ritter, <i>Pal. und Syr.</i> , iii. 833)	602,000
Pashalic of Acre (Robinson, iii. 628)	72,000
Remaining part of the pashalic of Sidon, in Palestine (estimate)	50,000
Eastern Palestine (estimate)	100,000
Total	824,000

Of these about 80,000 are Christians, 12,000 Jews, and the rest Mohammedans.

*AUTHORITIES*.—It is not necessary to give a list of all the books and treatises which have been written by geographers and travellers on Palestine. A select list has already been presented in the article GEOGRAPHY, to which the student is referred; and fuller catalogues may be seen in the works of Ritter, Robinson, and Van de Velde. It may be well, however, in an article like the present, to state the leading authorities from which the facts and descriptions it contains are derived, and also to direct the student to those works to which he may confidently turn for fuller details.

As to authorities, the writer thinks it proper to state that while he has read with care nearly all that has been written upon Palestine, he has depended mainly, in so far as regards the physical geography and topography of the country, on his own observations and researches, which were prosecuted during a period of nine years, and embraced the whole land with the exception of the region east of the Dead Sea.

The authorities on botany, zoology, and geology have already been given. The following works embody nearly all that is yet known of the geography:—

1. HADR. RELAND, *Palästina ex Monumentis Veteribus Illustrata*, 1714. This is still the best work on the ancient geography of Palestine. The author has collected with scrupulous accuracy everything important written upon the geography down to the close of the Crusades; and he has combined and classified his materials with great ability.

2. RITTER, *Palästina und Syrien*, embracing four volumes of his great *Erdkunde*, 1848-55. Ritter has to some extent followed the plan of Reland. He has collected with wonderful labour and patience nearly everything that has been written upon Palestine—in book, article, or missionary letter—down to his own time. The work is often confused, and the statements contradictory; and the learned writer, not having himself visited the country, cannot always separate fact from fancy in those he quotes.

3. BURCKHARDT, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, 1822. Burckhardt was a careful observer, and he gives a simple honest account of

\* The official residence of the Pasha of Sidon is now in Beyrout, and hence his province is sometimes called the *Pashalic of Beyrout*. The pashas of Jerusalem and Akka are subject to the Pasha of Sidon, whose province extends from Latikea on the north to Gaza on the south.



what he saw. His travels are chiefly valuable for the information they give of Eastern Palestine.

4. ROBINSON, *Biblical Researches in Palestine in 1838 and 1852*, London 1856. This great work combines the vast learning of a laborious geographer, with the careful observation and research of a traveller. Dr. Robinson went to Palestine at two periods, thoroughly prepared for the work of exploration. He was accompanied on both occasions by Dr. Eli Smith, who had an extensive knowledge of the country, its language, and its people. The Biblical Researches only include Western Palestine, and do not even extend to all parts of it; but so far as they go they may be regarded as almost exhausting the physical and historical geography.

5. LYNCH, *Official Report of Expedition to the Dead Sea and the River Jordan*, 1852. This contains the fullest account yet published of the River Jordan and its valley, and of the Dead Sea.

6. STANLEY, *Sinai and Palestine in connection with their History*, 1856. This is deservedly one of the most popular works on Palestine. Its author is an accomplished scholar, and a graceful writer. He has more imagination than Robinson, and his pictures, though clear and beautiful, are frequently overdrawn. He labours too much after minute details; and in his attempts to make each picture perfect, he is sometimes obliged to peril, and even to sacrifice, strict truthfulness. His peculiar views on prophecy also occasionally manifest themselves, and do not accord well with his own observations. The chief value of the book consists in the skill and vividness with which many of the leading events of Bible history are grouped upon their old scenes.

7. DREW, *Scripture Lands in connection with their History*, 1862. Mr. Drew follows to some extent the plan of Dean Stanley, but his arrangement is chronological, and not topographical. The book displays much thought, and considerable knowledge of historical geography.

8. WILSON, *The Lands of the Bible Visited and Described*, 1847. Chiefly valuable for its extended notices of the people of Palestine.

9. PORTER, *Five Years in Damascus, with Travels and Researches in Palmyra, Lebanon, and the Haurân*, 1855. This work contains the fullest account yet published of the physical and historical geography and antiquities of the ancient kingdom of Bashan.

10. WETZSTEIN, *Reisebericht über Hauran und die Trachonen*, Berlin 1860. M. Wetzstein was Prussian Consul in Damascus, and had greater facilities than most of his predecessors for travelling in its environs. His statements and conclusions cannot always be relied upon. His work is accompanied by a large map, drawn by Kiepert, the principal part of which is taken from that of Mr. Porter; and some of the details which have been added require farther confirmation.

11. *Handbook for Syria and Palestine*, Murray, 1858. The design of this work is stated in the preface: 'Something more than a mere book of roads has been aimed at. . . . On the whole, this volume will perhaps be found to contain a more complete summary of the Scriptural and historical geography of Syria and Palestine than any other work in the language.'

12. VAN DE VELDE, *Memoir to accompany the Map of the Holy Land*, Gotha 1858. Valuable for its elevations, distances, observations for latitude and longitude, etc.

The works of Williams, Tobler, Barclay, Pierotti, and De Vogüé, treat of Jerusalem, and the minute topography of places round it.

MAPS.—Van de Velde's large map contains all Palestine, and is unquestionably the best hitherto published. The beautiful map now prepared for this work, though much smaller than Van de Velde's, embraces the chief results of the most recent researches both east and west of the Jordan, and contains some important corrections and additions. Many points in Palestine still require more minute adjustment, and many sections of the country, especially east of the Dead Sea and the lower Jordan, fuller research, before a perfectly accurate map can be constructed. The map now issued with this work may be regarded as containing, as far as is possible on such a scale, a full representation of our present knowledge of the geography of Palestine.—J. L. P.

PALM. [WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.]

PALMER-WORM. [GAZAM.]

PALM-TREE. [TAMAR.]

PALSY. [DISEASES.]

PALTITE (פַּלְתִּית; Κελωσί; Alex. Φελλωνεῖ; *Phalti*). In 2 Sam. xxiii., a list of David's warriors is given, and among them is *Helez the Paltite* (ver. 26). Pelet, Palti, and other forms of the same root, are common in Scripture as names of men (1 Chron. ii. 47; xii. 3; Num. xiii. 9; xxxiv. 26); and hence it might be supposed that Paltite is a patronymic; but the analogy of the context is against this. Paltite points to the native-place of Helez; he was from *Palet*; which might be identical with Beth-*Palet*, an ancient town in the south of Judah (Josh. xv. 27). But a difficulty arises from the parallel passages in 1 Chron. xi. 27 and xxvii. 10, both of which describe this man as '*Helez the Pelonite*' (פֶּלֹנִי, Φαλλωνεῖ); and besides, the Alex. text of the LXX. has Φελλωνεῖ in 2 Sam., instead of the Vat. Κελωσί, which is manifestly a corruption. From this it would seem that probably the two Hebrew letters נ and פ may have been, by an error of some early copyist, changed to the double-stroked letter ב. It is well to remember, however, that the Hebrew MSS. exhibit no variation; and Jerome's text must 'have been like our own, as he has *Phalti*.'—J. L. P.

PAMPHYLIA (Παμφυλία), a province of Asia Minor mentioned several times in the Acts of the Apostles. It lies upon the southern coast, and bends in the form of a crescent round a wide open bay, which was hence called *Pamphylus Sinus*; and as a portion of Cilicia bordered upon the same bay, it is correctly termed by Luke 'the sea which lies off Cilicia and Pamphylia' (τὸ πέραλος τὸ κατὰ τὴν Κιλικίαν καὶ Παμφυλίαν; Acts xxvii. 5). This bay, or sea, is now called Adalia, from a town of that name (anciently *Attaleia*). Round the head of the bay sweeps an undulating plain, shut in in the background by a semicircle of lofty mountains. Both on the west and east sides the mountains approach the shore, to which they break down in steep wooded slopes, and here and there in cliffs of remarkable wildness and grandeur (Fellows, *Asia Minor*, pp. 184, seq.) The plain is narrow—nowhere more than twenty miles broad; and its surface is furrowed by a series of alternate

low rocky ridges and broad picturesque valleys, down which wind rivers and torrents. This strip of plain constituted the ancient province or principality of Pamphylia. According to Strabo its western boundary was the fortress of *Olbia*, situated between the city of Phaselis (now *Tekirava*) and the river Catarrhactes (*Deden-su*), and its eastern boundary was Coracesium (now *Alara*), where it joined Cilicia. 'The whole of the voyage,' he adds, 'along the coast of Pamphylia, is 640 stadia' (xiv. 4, p. 667). Its total length was thus about eighty miles, and its breadth did not average more than fifteen. In later times, when Roman power prevailed in Asia Minor, the boundaries of Pamphylia were greatly extended, and included a large section of Pisidia on the north, and of Lycia on the west. At one period the proconsul of Pamphylia ruled all Lycia (Dio Cass. ix. 17). His province was 150 miles long by forty wide. The greater part of it was wild and mountainous, but intersected by beautiful vales. It presented a great variety of soil and climate, ranging from the perpetual snow region on the summits of Taurus, down to the orange-groves that to this day encircle the town of Adalia. The southern aspect and sheltered situation of the coast give it a temperature higher than that of most parts of Palestine. Luke, however, distinguishes Lycia from Pamphylia; for he states that when they passed the sea of Pamphylia they 'came to Myra, a city of Lycia' (Acts xxvii. 5). At the time of Paul's voyage Lycia appears to have formed part of proconsular Asia, to which the ship, on leaving Caesarea, directed its course (ver. 2; cf. Smith, *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, p. 60. 2d ed.); but the arrangement of the proconsular divisions in Asia Minor was frequently altered.

Perga was one of the chief cities of Pamphylia, situated on the river Cestrus, about eight miles from the coast. It was the first place in Asia Minor which Paul visited in his earliest missionary journey. Luke tells us that they 'loosed from Paphos (in Cyprus) and came to Perga in Pamphylia.' They sailed up the wide bay, having in front and on each side some of the grandest scenery in the East. They entered the mouth of the Cestrus, and finally landed at Perga. There is no record of apostolic work or missionary success there; only one incident is mentioned, and it was a sad one, which led to estrangement and final separation between Paul and one of his dearest friends. John, for some reason, probably through timidity, left them and turned back (Acts xiii. 13); and on a future occasion, when projecting another mission tour, Barnabas wished to take John with him, but Paul would not again trust him, 'and the contention was so sharp between them, that they departed asunder one from the other' (xv. 36-39).

From Perga the apostles travelled to Antioch of Pisidia (xiii. 14). It was a wild mountain road, running over the snowy summits of the Taurus range. It was beset with dangers of many kinds—natural dangers in swollen torrents and storms; and 'perils of robbers,' for 'the lawless and marauding habits of the population of those mountains which separate the table-land in the interior of Asia Minor from the plains on the south coast, were notorious in all parts of ancient history' (Conybeare and Howson, *Life of St. Paul*, i. 175); and the Pisidians, through whose territory the apostles had to pass, were the worst of them

(Strabo, xii. 7; Xen. *Anab.* i. 1. 11; iii. 2. 14, etc.) The sight of the rugged mountains, and the stories of the bloodthirsty bandits that infested their fastnesses, which were no doubt freely spoken of in the streets of Perga, may have had much to do with John's desertion of his companions and his work (*Life of St. Paul*, i. c.)

After a successful journey through the interior, the apostles returned again by Pisidia into Pamphylia, apparently following the same route over the mountains from Antioch to Perga. Leaving the latter city, they descended (*κατέβησαν*) to Attaleia on the coast, and thence sailed for Syria (xiv. 24, 25).

Various accounts have been given of the origin of the Pamphylians. Some say they were a mixed race, composed of a number of amalgamated tribes, and hence their name Πάμφυλοι ('mingled tribes'). This appears to be the opinion of Herodotus (vii. 91) and Pausanias (vii. 3). Others maintain that they sprang from a Dorian chief called *Pamphylus* (Rawlinson's *Herod.* iii. 276, note); others from *Pamphyle*, the daughter of Rhacius (Steph. Byz., s. v.). The truth seems to be that there was an ancient tribe of this name, speaking a language of its own, and which in more recent times partly amalgamated with the Greeks who overran Asia Minor. It is this language to which Luke refers in Acts ii. 10. It was probably a barbarous *patois*, known only to the residents in the little province of Pamphylia (cf. Arrian, *Anab.* i. 26); and hence the astonishment of those who heard the apostles speak it.

The greater part of Pamphylia is now thinly populated, and its soil uncultivated. There are still a few little towns and villages near the coast, surrounded by fruitful fields and luxuriant orchards. Some of these occupy ancient sites, and contain the remains of former grandeur.—J. L. P.

PAN. Six Hebrew words are thus rendered in the A. V.

1. כִּיר or כִּיר, a basin of metal used for boiling or stewing (1 Sam. ii. 14; LXX. λέβητα τὸν μέγαν; Vulg. *lebetum*); also as a laver or basin for washing (Exod. xxx. 18; LXX. λουτήρα; Vulg. *labrum*; 1 Kings vii. 38, 40, 43; LXX. χυτροκαύλους; Alex. χυτρογαύλους; Vulg. *luteræ*); and for carrying fire (Zech. xii. 6; A. V. 'hearth'; LXX. δαλὸν πυρός; Vulg. *caminum ignis*).

2. מִבְּחַב (from חָבַת, obs., prob. to *cook*, comp.

Arab. خَبَز, *khabaza*, to *prepare food*), a shallow vessel used for baking cakes (Lev. ii. 5; vi. 14 [A. V. 21]; vii. 9; 1 Chron. xxiii. 29 ['flat plate,' marg. A. V.]; Ezek. iv. 3); LXX. τήγανον; Vulg. *sartago*.

3. מִשְׁחֶת, a flat vessel for baking cakes, probably like the girdle used for oat-cakes in Scotland (2 Sam. xiii. 9; LXX. τήγανον). Gesenius says the etymology is uncertain, but suggests that the word may be derived from a root שָׁהַ or שָׁהַ = Arab. شَرَى, to *shine*, and was applied to the pan because it was kept bright.

4. כִּיר, a deep vessel used for cooking food, properly a large pot or caldron. [CALDRON.]

5. פִּירֹר (LXX. ὑτρά; Vulg. *Olla*), a vessel used for baking the manna (Num. xi. 8), for hold-



ing soup (Judg. vi. 19), and for boiling flesh (1 Sam. ii. 14). Gesenius says it is for פֶּאֶרֶר, *heat*, from פֶּאֶר = Arab. نَار, *to boil, to be hot*; Fürst questions this, and derives it from פָּרַר, *to excavate, to deepen*.

6. צִלְחֹת. pl. of צִלְחָה, large dishes or platters (2 Chron. xxxv. 13; LXX. λέβησι). The cognate צִלְחָה denotes a dish which may be held in the hand and turned over for the purpose of wiping it (2 Kings xxi. 13); in Prov. xxvi. 13 it is used tropically of the bosom.

To these may be added מְרִחֶשֶׁת, from רָחַשׁ, *to boil up, or over*, rendered in the A. V. in both places where it occurs (Lev. ii. 7; vii. 9) *frying-pan*; LXX. ἐσχάρα; Vulg. *craticula*. In both passages it is distinguished from the מִחֶבֶת, but whether it is properly translated 'frying pan' may be doubted. Gesenius calls it a pot or kettle for boiling.—W. L. A.

PANNAG (פֶּנֶן) occurs only once in Scripture (Ezek. xxvii. 17), but so much uncertainty exists respecting the meaning of the word, that in many translations, as, for instance, in the Authorized English Version, the original is retained. From the context of the passage in which it occurs, it is evident that wheat, oil, and honey were conveyed by Judah and Israel—that is, the products of their country as an agricultural people—as articles of traffic, to the merchants and manufacturers of Tyre, who, it is certain, must, from their insular position, have obtained their chief articles of diet from the neighbouring land of Syria. It is probable, therefore, that *pannag* was the produce of Palestine, or at least of Syria. Some have considered *pannag* to indicate *balsam*, others *cassia*, and some again *sweetmeats*. 'Chaldeus *kolija* Græca voce, quam interpretatur Hesychius *παργύλια*, bellaria ex melle.' Some of the Rabbins have also thought that it was a district of Judæa, which, like Minnith, yielded the best wheat; others, as Junius and Tremellius, from the similarity in the name, have thought it might be the original of the name of Phœnicia. Hiller (*Hierophytica*, ii. p. 51) says: '*Pannag*, nisi magnopere fallor, est *Panax* vel *Panaces*, vox Græcæ vel Syriacæ originis ad Græcam etymologiam aptata, quo videatur ipso nomine omnium morborum remedia promittere.' The name *panax* occurs as early as the time of Theophrastus (ix. 10), and several kinds are described by him, as well as by Dioscorides; one kind is called especially Syrian *panax*. Of one of these plants, now supposed to be species of *Ferula laserpitium* or *Heracleum*, the juice was called *opopanax*. This was in great repute among the ancients, and still holds its place as a medicine, though not possessed of any remarkable properties; but its name is the origin of our *panacea*, from πανάκεια, 'an universal remedy.' It is curious, however, that the plant yielding the *opopanax* of commerce is still unknown, as well as the exact locality where it is produced, whether in Syria, or in some part of the Persian empire. By the Arabs it is called *juroasheer*. Lady Calcott has supposed the *panax* of the ancients to refer to *Panax quinquefolium*, or *ginseng* of the Chinese, which they also suppose to be a universal remedy, though not possessed of any active properties. But the name *panax* was not applied to this plant until the time of Linnæus,

and there is no proof, nor indeed is it probable, that it found its way from China at any such early period—at all events, the Israelites were not likely to convey it to Tyre. The Syrian version, however, translates *pannag* by the word *dokhon*, which, we have already seen [DOCHAN], signifies 'millet.' Newcome, therefore, translates *pannag* by the word *panis*, signifying the species of millet which was employed by the ancients as an article of diet, and which still is so by the natives of the East. Dr. Harris quotes Cæsar, as stating that the Massilienses, when besieged, 'panico vetere omnes alebantur.' From the context, it would seem most likely that this *pannag* was a produce of the country, and probably an article of diet. One objection to its being the millet is, that this grain has a name, *dochan*, which is used by the same prophet in Ezek. iv. 9. Notwithstanding the authority of Hiller, there does not appear sufficient proof in support of his opinion, that the juice of the *panax* or *opopanax* was the article intended, and therefore *pannag* must still be considered undetermined.—J. F. R.

#### PAPER. [WRITING.]

PAPHOS (Πάφος), a city of Cyprus, at the western extremity of the island, and the seat of the Roman governor. That officer, when Paul visited the place, was named Sergius Paulus, who was converted through the preaching of the apostle and the miracle performed on Elymas (Acts xiii. 6-11). Paphos was celebrated for a temple of Venus, whose infamous rites were still practised here 400 years afterwards, notwithstanding the success of Paul, Barnabas, and others, in preaching the gospel. Paphos is now a poor and inconsiderable place, but gives its name to a Greek bishopric.—J. K.

PAPPENHEIM, SALOMON b. SELIGMANN, a very eminent Hebraist, grammarian, lexicographer, and synonymist. He was born at Breslau in 1740, where his distinguished attainments and great piety secured for him the Rabbinate of the Jewish community, and where he died March 4, 1814. The work which has immortalised his name is a lexicon of the Hebrew synonyms of the Bible, entitled *The Curtains of Solomon* (וִירְעוֹת שְׁלֹמֹה), 3 vols. 4to. The first volume, which was published in Dyhernförth 1784, consists of an introduction (הקדמה) and three parts or sections (חברות), subdivided into forty-nine paragraphs (וִירְעוֹת). The introduction (i.-xi.) contains a grammatical dissertation (תוספת אותיות) (האמנותיו ובסבתו וא"י המהפכת חברה), pp. 1-33) consisting of seven paragraphs (וִירְעוֹת), treats on those words which denote *time*, or on such substantives, adjectives, and verbs as express the idea of *beginning*, *end*, *hurry*, *tarrying*, *youth*, *age*; the second part (חברה), pp. 33-66, consisting of eleven paragraphs (וִירְעוֹת), treats on those words which denote *space*, or on expressions conveying the idea of *place*, *even*, *straight*, *uneven*, *crooked*, *way*, *neighbourhood*, etc.; etc.; whilst the third part (pp. 66-118), consisting of thirty-one paragraphs, embraces words which convey the idea of *motion* in its various modifications, ex. gr., *going*, *flying*, *springing*, *flowing*, etc., etc. The second volume, which was published in Redelheim 1831, after the death of the author, with notes by the celebrated Wolf Heidenheim [HEIDENHEIM], consists of an introduction (הקדמה) and four parts (חברות), subdivided

vided into twenty-six paragraphs (יריעות). The introduction (pp. 1-8) contains a psychological treatise (על אופן התקשרות הנפש עם הגוף); the first part (pp. 9-39), consisting of fourteen sections, treats on words which express the idea of *speaking*, or *utterance*, in its various modifications; the second part (pp. 39, 40) discusses words which denote *hearing*; the third part (pp. 40-57), consisting of twelve sections, treats on words which refer to *sight*; whilst the fourth part (pp. 57-75), consisting of twenty-three sections, treats on words which relate to the *touch* and *smell*. The third volume, which was published in Dyhrenföth 1811, consists of a general introduction (הקדמה) and one part (הברה), subdivided into fifty-seven sections (יריעות), and treats on שמות נרדפים המתייחסות

(אל המלאכה) those synonyms which convey the idea of *action*. The importance of this work can hardly be overrated. It is the only lexicon which embraces the synonyms of the whole Biblical Hebrew, as the contributions of Wessely, Luzzato, and others to this department are confined to single groups of words. Pappenheim's marvellous mastery of the Hebrew style, his keen perception, refined taste, critical acumen, and his philosophical mind, pre-eminently fitted him for this task. He has also written a lexicon, or treatise, embracing those words and particles which are formed from the letters

ההסג, entitled הישג שלמה, *The Delight of Solomon*, of which, however, only one part appeared, Breslau 1802; and he has left in MS. *A Critico-etymological and Synonymical Hebrew Lexicon*, which has not as yet been published (comp. Geiger, in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. xvii., Leipzig 1863, p. 325, ff.; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, iii. 64, etc.—C. D. G.

#### PAPYRUS. [GOME.]

PARABLE. The word parable is derived from παραβολή, which comes from παραβάλλειν, to *compare*, to *collate*. In the N. T. it is employed by our translators as the rendering of παραβολή; in the Old it answers to מִשְׁלָּה, *proverb*. 1. It denotes an obscure or enigmatical saying, *ex. gr.*, Ps. xlix. 4,

‘I will incline mine ear to a *parable*;

I will open my *dark saying* upon the harp.’

And Ps. lxxviii. 2,

‘I will open my mouth in a *parable*;

I will utter *dark sayings* of old.’

2. It denotes a fictitious narrative, invented for the purpose of conveying truth in a less offensive or more engaging form than that of direct assertion. Of this sort is the parable by which Nathan reproved David (2 Sam. xii. 2, 3), that in which Jotham exposed the folly of the Shechemites (Judg. ix. 7-15), and that addressed by Jehoash to Amaziah (2 Kings xiv. 9, 10). To this class also belong the parables of Christ. 3. Any discourse expressed in figurative, poetical, or highly ornamented diction is called a *parable*. Thus it is said, ‘Balaam took up his *parable*’ (Num. xxiii. 7); and, ‘Job continued his *parable*’ (Job xxvii. 1). Under this general and wider signification the two former classes may not improperly be included.

In the N. T. the word seems to have a more restricted signification, being generally employed

in the second sense mentioned above, viz., to denote a fictitious narrative, under which is veiled some important truth. It has been supposed, indeed, that some of the parables uttered by our Saviour narrate real and not fictitious events; but whether this was the case or not is a point of no consequence. Each of his parables was *essentially* true; it was true to human nature, and nothing more was necessary. Another meaning which the word occasionally bears in the N. T. is that of a *type* or *emblem*, as in Heb. ix. 9, where παραβολή is rendered in our version *figure*. According to Macknight, the word in Heb. xi. 19 has the same meaning, but this is probably incorrect.

Parables or fables are found in the literature of all nations. They were called by the Greeks αἶνοι, and by the Romans *fabulae*. It has been usual to consider the parable as composed of two parts: viz., the *protasis*, conveying merely the *literal sense*; and the *apodosis*, containing the *mystical* or *figurative* sense. It is not necessary, however, that this second part should be always expressed. It is frequently omitted in the parables of our Lord, when the truth illustrated was such as his disciples were unable at the time fully to comprehend, or when it was his design to reveal to them something which was to be hidden from the unbelieving Jews (comp. Matt. xiii. 11-13).

The excellence of a parable depends on the propriety and force of the comparison on which it is founded; on the general fitness and harmony of its parts; on the obviousness of its main scope or design; on the beauty and conciseness of the style in which it is expressed; and on its adaptation to the circumstances and capacities of the hearers. If the illustration is drawn from an object obscure or little known, it will throw no light on the point to be illustrated. If the resemblance is forced and inobvious, the mind is perplexed and disappointed in seeking for it. We must be careful, however, not to insist on too minute a correspondence of the objects compared. It is not to be expected that the resemblance will hold good in every particular; *non enim res tota rei toti necesse est similis sit*, says Cicero; but it is sufficient if the agreement exists in those points on which the main scope of the parable depends.

The parable of the *Ten Virgins*, for example, is designed to teach the importance and necessity of being always prepared for the coming of the Lord; and therefore no inference can be drawn as to the number of those finally saved, from the circumstance that five of the virgins were wise and five of them were foolish. Nor does the parable of the *Householder* teach that there will be no difference in the rewards of the righteous hereafter, because each of the labourers received a penny. The design of the parable as expressed in the words ‘Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with mine own?’ is to set forth the perfect *sovereignty* of God in the dispensation of his rewards, the truth that all reward is of *grace*, and that it is consistent with the strictest justice for him to treat some *better* than they deserve, since none are treated *worse*.

If we test the parables of the O. T. by the rules above laid down, we shall not find them wanting in any excellence belonging to this species of composition. What can be more forcible, more persuasive, and more beautiful than the parables of



Jotham (Judg. ix. 7-15), of Nathan (2 Sam. xii. 1-14), of Isaiah (v. 1-5), and of Ezekiel (xix. 1-9)?

But the parables uttered by our Saviour claim pre-eminence over all others on account of their number, variety, appositeness, and beauty. Indeed it is impossible to conceive of a mode of instruction better fitted to engage the attention, interest the feelings, and impress the conscience, than that which our Lord adopted. Among its advantages may be mentioned the following:—1. It secured the attention of multitudes who would not have listened to truth conveyed in the form of abstract propositions. It did so in virtue of two principles of human nature, viz., that outward and sensible objects make a more vivid impression than inward notions or ideas; and that the particular and the concrete affect the mind more than the general and the abstract. Thus a virtue or vice may be held up for abhorrence or admiration far more successfully by exhibiting its effects on the character of an individual than by eulogizing or declaiming against it in the abstract. How could a disquisition have exhibited the contrast between humility and self-confidence so vividly as does the parable of the Pharisee and the publican? Or how could so effectual a sermon have been preached against worldliness as by the parable of the rich man who said to his soul, 'Eat, drink, and be merry?'

2. This mode of teaching was one with which the Jews were familiar, and for which they entertained a preference. They had been accustomed to it in the writings of their prophets, and, like other eastern nations, listened with pleasure to truths thus wrapped in the veil of allegory.

3. Some truths which, if openly stated, would have been opposed by a barrier of prejudice, were in this way insinuated, as it were, into men's minds, and secured their assent unawares. Whenever ancient prejudices stand in the way of the reception of truth, it is important that the teacher should adopt such a circuitous mode of approach as may for a time conceal his design, and secure for his instructions an impartial hearing.

4. The parabolic style was well adapted to conceal Christ's meaning from those who, through obstinacy and perverseness, were indisposed to receive it. This is the meaning of Isaiah in the passage quoted in Matt. xiii. 13. Not that the truth was ever hidden from those who sincerely sought to know it; but it was wrapt in just enough of obscurity to veil it from those who 'had pleasure in unrighteousness,' and who would 'not come to the light lest their deeds should be reproved.' In accordance with strict justice, such were 'given up to strong delusions, that they might believe a lie.' 'With the upright man thou wilt show thyself upright; with the froward thou wilt show thyself froward.'

The scope or design of Christ's parables is sometimes to be gathered from his own express declaration, as in Luke xii. 16-20; xiv. 11; xvi. 9. In other cases it must be sought by considering the context, the circumstances in which it was spoken, and the features of the narrative itself, i. e., the literal sense. For the right understanding of this, an acquaintance with the customs of the people, with the productions of their country, and with the events of their history, is often desirable. Most of our Lord's parables, however, admit of no doubt as to their main scope, and are so simple and perspicuous that 'he who runs may read,' 'if there

be first a willing mind.' To those more difficult of comprehension more thought and study should be given, agreeably to the admonition prefixed to some of them by our Lord himself, 'Whoso heareth, let him understand.'—The following are among the principal works on the parables:—Gray, *Delineation of the Parables*, 1777; Bulkley, *Discourses on the Parables*, 1771; Collyer, *Discourses on the Parables*, 1815; Kromm, *Homilien über die Parabeln Jesu*, 1823; Unger, *De Parabolis Jesu*, 1828; Bailey, *Exposition of the Parables*, 1829; Schultze, *De Parabolis Jesu Christi*, 1827; Lisco, *Die Parabeln Jesu*, translated in the *Edinburgh Biblical Cabinet*, 1832; Trench, *on the Parables*; Steir, *Words of the Lord Jesus*, 1855.

PARACLETUS (Παρακλητος). This word is applied to Christ in 1 John ii. 1. Indeed, in that famous passage in which Christ promises the Holy Spirit as a paraclete to his sorrowing disciples, he takes the title himself: 'I will send you another paraclete' (John xiv. 16), implying that he was himself one, and that on his departure he would send another. The question then is, In what sense does Christ denominate himself and the Spirit sent from him and the Father, παρακλητος, paraclete? The answer to this is not to be found without some difficulty, and it becomes the more difficult from the fact that in genuine Greek the verb παρακαλεῖν has a variety of significations:—1. To call to a place; to call to aid. 2. To admonish; to persuade; to incite. 3. To entreat; to pray. To which may be added the Hellenistic signification, 'to console,' 'to soothe,' 'to encourage.' Finally, the Rabbins also in their language use the word

פֶּרַקְלִיטָא, *peraklita*; a circumstance which must also be taken into consideration. In the explanation of the word the leading circumstance to guide us must be to take that signification which is applicable to the different passages in which it occurs. For we may distinguish three explanations:—1. Origen explains it where it is applied to the Holy Spirit by 'Consolator' (παραμυθητής), while in 1 John ii. 1 he adopts the signification of 'Deprecator.' This is the course taken by most of the Greek commentators (Suicer, *Thesaur.*, s. v.), and which has been followed by Erasmus, Luther, and others. But to this Tholuck and others object that, not to insist that the signification cannot be grammatically established (for no *admissible* instance can be adduced where the passive παρακλητος is used in an active sense for παρακλητωρ), it is suitable to but a very few passages only, while to others it is either too circumscribed or altogether inappropriate. 2. Aware of this, others, after the example of Theodore of Mopsuestia, sanctioned by Mede, Ernesti, and others, would translate it *teacher*. But neither does this sense seem adapted to all the passages. It would also be difficult to deduce it from the usages of the language; for—not to mention that in this case also the active signification would be assumed for the passive form—we are pressed with the question, whether the verb παρακαλεῖν can anywhere in the N. T. be found in the sense of 'to teach,' as this hypothesis assumes. It is at least very certain that this sense never was transferred to the Rabbinical פֶּרַקְלִיטָא; and since the word occurs here also, this must necessarily be taken into account in determining the signification. 3. The considerations which tell against these views in-

cline the balance in favour of a third sense, which is that of 'assistant,' 'helper,' 'advocate' (intercessor). Demosthenes uses it with this force in a judicial sense (see Index, ed. Reiske); and it occurs in the same sense in Philo (see Loesner, *Observatt.*), and in the Rabbinical dialect. It is supported by Rom. viii. 26, and, which is still more to the purpose, is appropriate to all the passages in the N. T. where the word occurs. After the example of the early Latin fathers, Calvin, Beza, Lampe, Bengel, Knapp, Kuinoel, Tittmann, and many others, have adopted this sense. Tertullian and Augustine have *advocate*. The A. V. renders the word by 'advocate' in 1 John ii. 1, but in other places (John xiv. 16, 26; xv. 26; xvi. 7) by 'comforter.' How much better, however, the more extensive term 'helper' (including teacher, monitor, advocate) agrees with these passages than the narrow term 'comforter,' may be shown by a single instance. Jesus says to his disciples, 'I will send you another paraclete' (John xiv. 16), implying that he himself had been such to them. But he had not been in any distinguishing sense a 'comforter' or 'consoler,' because, having Him present with them, they had not mourned (Matt. ix. 15). But he had been eminently a helper, in the extensive sense which has been indicated; and such as he had been to them—to teach, to guide, and to uphold—the Holy Spirit would become to them after his removal (see the Commentators above named, particularly Tholuck and Tittmann on John xiv. 16; also Knapp, *De Sp. S. et Christi Paracletis*, Halle 1790).—J. K.

PARADISE, the term which by long and extensive use has been employed to designate the GARDEN of Eden, the first dwelling-place of human beings. Of this word (*παράδεισος*), the earliest instance that we have is in the *Cyropædia* and other writings of Xenophon, nearly 400 years B.C.; but his use of it has that appearance of ease and familiarity which leads us to suppose that it was current among his countrymen. We find it also used by Plutarch, who lived in the 1st and 2d century of our era. It was by those authors evidently employed to signify an extensive plot of ground, enclosed with a strong fence or wall, abounding in trees, shrubs, plants, and garden culture, and in which choice animals were kept in different ways of restraint or freedom, according as they were ferocious or peaceable; thus answering very closely to our English word *park*, with the addition of *gardens*, a *menagerie*, and an *aviary*.

The circumstance which has given to this term its extensive and popular use, is its having been taken by the Greek translators of the Pentateuch, in the 3d century B.C., and following them, in the ancient Syriac version, and by Jerome in the Latin Vulgate, as the translation of the *garden* (*גן* *gan*) which the benignant providence of the Creator prepared for the abode of innocent and happy man. Those translators also use it, not only in the twelve places of Gen. ii. and iii., but in eight others, and two in which the feminine form (*gannah*) occurs; whereas, in other instances of those two words they employ *κήπος*, the usual Greek word for a garden or an enclosure of fruit-trees. But there are three places in which the Hebrew text itself has the very word, giving it the form פֶּרְדֵּס *pardees*. These are, 'the keeper of

the king's forest, that he may give me timber' (Neh. ii. 8); 'orchards' (Eccles. ii. 5); 'an orchard of pomegranates' (Song of Solomon, iv. 13). Evidently the word is not proper Hebrew, but is an exotic, imported from a more eastern tongue, probably the Persian, from which source also Xenophon derived it. But the best authorities carry the derivation farther back. 'The word is regarded by most learned men as Persian, of the same signification as the Hebrew *gan*. Certainly it was used by the Persians in this sense, corresponding to their *darchen*; but that it is an Armenian word is shown both from its constant use in that language, and from its formation, it being compounded of two Armenian simple words, *part* and *ses*, meaning *necessary grains* or *edible herbs*. The Armenians apply this word, *pardees*, to denote a garden adjoining to the dwelling, and replenished with the different sorts of grain, herbs, and flowers for use and ornament' (Schröderi *Thesaur. Ling. Armen. Dissert.*, p. 56, Amst. 1711). With this E. F. C. Rosenmüller accords (*Bibl. Alterthumsk.*, vol. i., part i., p. 174). 'It corresponds to the Greek *παράδεισος*, a word appropriated to the pleasure-gardens and parks with wild animals around the palace of the Persian monarchs. The origin of the word, however, is to be sought with neither the Greeks nor the Hebrews, but in the languages of Eastern Asia. We find it in Sanscrit *paradeesha*, a region of surpassing beauty; and the Armenian *pardees*, a park or garden adjoining to the house, planted with trees for use and ornament' (Gesenius and Robinson, combining the Leipzig and the American editions of the *Hebr. Lex.*) 'A *paradise*, i.e., an orchard, an arboretum, particularly of pomegranates, a park, a fruit-garden; a name common to several Oriental languages, and especially current among the Persians, as we learn from Xenophon and Julius Pollux. Sanscrit, *paradeesha*; Armenian, *pardez*; Arabic, *firdaus*; Syriac, *fardaiso*; Chaldee of the Targums, *pardeesa*' (Furst, *Concord. V. T.*, p. 920, Leipzig 1840).

In the apocryphal book of Susanna (a moral tale or little novel, possibly founded on some genuine tradition), the word *paradise* is constantly used for the garden. It occurs also in three passages of the Son of Sirach, the first of which is in the description of Wisdom: 'I came forth as a canal dug from a river, and as a waterpipe into a *paradise*' (ch. xxiv. 30). In the other two it is the objective term of comparisons: 'kindness is as a *paradise* in blessings, and mercifulness abideth for ever—the fear of the Lord is as a *paradise* of blessing, and it adorns above all pomp' (ch. xl. 17, 27). Josephus calls the gardens of Solomon, in the plural number, 'paradises' (*Antiq.* viii. 7. 3). Berosus (cent. iv. B.C.), quoted by Josephus (*c. Apion.* i. 20), says that the lofty garden-platforms, erected at Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar, were called the *Suspended Paradise*.

The term, having thus become a metaphor for the abstract idea of exquisite delight, was transferred still higher to denote the happiness of the righteous in the future state. The origin of this application must be assigned to the Jews of the middle period between the O. and the N. T. In the Chaldee Targums, 'the garden of Eden' is put as the exposition of heavenly blessedness (Ps. xc. 17, and other places). The Talmudical writings, cited by the elder Buxtorf (*Lex. Chald. et Talm.*,



p. 1802), and John James Wetstein (*N. T. Gr.*, vol. i. p. 819), contain frequent references to *Paradise* as the immortal heaven, to which the spirits of the just are admitted immediately upon the liberation from the body. The book *Sohar* speaks of an earthly and a heavenly *Paradise*, of which the latter excels the former 'as much as darkness does light' (Schöetgen. *Hor. Hebr.*, vol. i., p. 1096).

Hence we see that it was in the acceptance of the current Jewish phraseology that the expression was used by our Lord and the apostles: 'To-day thou shalt be with me in Paradise;' 'He was caught up into Paradise;' 'The tree of life, which is in the Paradise of my God' (Luke xxiii. 43; 2 Cor. xii. 4; Rev. ii. 7).

EDEN is the most ancient and venerable name in geography, the name of the first district of the earth's surface of which human beings could have any knowledge. The word is found in the Arabic as well as in the Hebrew language. It is explained by Firuzabadi, in his celebrated Arabic Lexicon (*Kamûls*), as signifying *delight, tenderness, loveliness* (see Morren, in *Edinb. Biblical Cabinet*, vol. xi., pp. 2, 48, 49). Major Wilford and Professor Wilson find its elements in the Sanscrit. The Greek ἡδονή is next to identical with it in both sound and sense. It occurs in three places (Is. xxxvii. 12; Ezek. xxvii. 23; Amos i. 5) as the name of some eminently pleasant districts, but not the Eden of this article. Of them we have no certain knowledge, except that the latter instance points to the neighbourhood of Damascus. In these cases it is pointed with both syllables short; but, when it is applied to the primitive seat of man, the first syllable is long. Those passages, in addition to Gen. ii., iii., iv. 16, are the few following, of which we transcribe the chief, because they cast light upon the primeval term: 'He will make her wilderness like Eden, and her desert like the garden of Jehovah.' 'Thou hast been in Eden, the garden of God.' 'All the trees of Eden, that were in the garden of God, envied him.' 'This land which was desolate is become like the garden of Eden' (Is. li. 3; Ezek. xxviii. 13; xxxi. 9, 16, 18; xxxv. 35; Joel ii. 3).

All this evidence goes to show that *Eden* was a tract of country; and that in the most eligible part of it was the *Paradise*, the garden of all delights, in which the Creator was pleased to place his new and pre-eminent creature, with the inferior beings for his sustenance and solace.

We now present the passage from the Hebrew Archives to which this disquisition belongs—

Genesis ii. 8—'And Jehovah Elohim planted a garden in Eden, on the east; and placed there the man whom he had formed. And Jehovah Elohim caused to grow out of the ground there every tree agreeable to the sight, and good for eating; and the tree of life in the midst of the garden, and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. And a river proceeded from Eden, for the watering of the garden; and from thence it was divided, and became into four heads. The name of the first, Pishon; it surroundeth the whole country of Havilah, where is the gold, and gold of that land is good; there is the *bedolach* and the stone *shoham*. And the name of the second river, Gihon; it surroundeth the whole country of Cush. And the name of the third river, Hiddekel; it is that which goeth easterly to Assyria. And the fourth river, it is the Phrat.'

Upon this description, we shall offer our sentiments in the shortest manner that we can.

I. It is given in that simple, artless, childlike style which characterises the whole of the primeval Hebrew Scriptures. This is the style which was alone adapted to the early stages of the human history. Our whole race had to pass through a long succession of trying and training circumstances, which formed truly the collective education of mankind. The communications of knowledge must have been made and recorded in such terms and phrases as the men of the age could at the first *understand*; and which yet should possess a suggestive and attractive character, which would gradually capacitate for higher and more spiritual disclosures. (See the observations on the modes of divine manifestation to the first human beings, in the article ADAM, vol. i. p. 60.) If it were objected, that thus 'the revelation would be clothed in the imagery of gross and sensible objects, with the imperfections and misconceptions under which those objects appeared to men possessing only the rude ideas of a primeval state of society,' and this would of necessity produce a rude and imperfect language [ANTHROPOMORPHISM], we reply, that the spirit of the objection would require 'that the terms and style of the revelation should have been in the most pure and abstract kind of phrase that human diction could afford, the most nearly approaching to the spirituality of the divine nature and the majesty of eternal things; and this would be equivalent to saying that it ought to have anticipated by many centuries the progress of man as an intellectual and social being; that it ought to have been written, not in the language of shepherds and herdsmen, but in that of moral philosophers and rhetoricians; not in Hebrew, but in Greek or English. It would also follow, that a revelation so expressed would have been *unintelligible* to the ages and generations of primitive time, and to the generality of mankind in all times' (Pye Smith, *On Scripture and Geology*, p. 242).

Upon this principle we understand the expression, 'the Lord God *planted*,' *caused to grow, placed*; he, the supreme and omnipotent cause, produced those effects, in ways, immediate or mediate, the most worthy of his perfections.

II. The *situation* of Eden: though מִקְרֵם is literally *from the east*, it answers to our phrase *on the east or eastwards*, precisely as the Latin *ab occasu*. The supposed station-point we cannot suppose to be any other than Palestine. In every country, the region of the rising sun must always be pre-eminent, on account of the beauty and majesty of the sky; and hence it is a natural representative of excellence; and this most interesting of regions, the birth-place of mankind, did lie eastward from the land of the Israelites. Also, the earliest traditions of human and divine knowledge were associated with the splendours of the east.

Upon the question of its exact geographical position dissertations innumerable have been written. Many authors have given descriptive lists of them, with arguments for and against each. The most convenient presentation of their respective outlines has been reduced to a tabulated form, with ample illustrations, by the Rev. N. Morren, annexed to his Translation of the younger Rosenmüller's *Biblical Geography of Central Asia*, pp. 91-98, Edin. 1836. He reduces them to nine principal theories. But the fact is that not one of them answers to all

the conditions of the problem. We more than doubt the possibility of finding any locality that will do so. That *Phrat* is the Euphrates, and *Hiddekel* the Tigris, is agreed, with scarcely an exception; but in determining the two other rivers, great diversity of opinion exists; and, to our apprehension, satisfaction is and must remain unattainable, from the impossibility of making the evidence to cohere in all its parts. It has been remarked that this difficulty might have been expected, and is obviously probable, from the geological changes that may have taken place, and especially in connection with the deluge. This remark would not be applicable, to the extent that is necessary for the argument, except upon the supposition beforementioned, that the earlier parts of the book of Genesis consist of primeval documents, even antediluvian, and that this is one of them. There is reason to think that *since the deluge* the face of the country cannot have undergone any change approaching to what the hypothesis of a postdiluvian composition would require. But we think it highly probable that the principal of the immediate causes of the deluge, the 'breaking up of the fountains of the great deep,' was a subsidence of a large part or parts of the land between the inhabited tract (which we humbly venture to place in E. long. from Greenwich, 30° to 90°, and N. lat. 25° to 40°) and the sea which lay to the south; or an elevation of the bed of that sea [DELUGE]. Either of these occurrences, produced by volcanic causes, or both of them conjointly or successively, would be adequate to the production of the awful deluge, and the return of the waters would be effected by an elevation of some part of the district which had been submerged; and that part could scarcely fail to be charged with animal remains. Now the recent geological researches of Dr. Falconer and Capt. Cautley have brought to light bones, more or less mineralized, of the giraffe (*camelopardalis*), in the Sewalik range of hills, which seems to be a branch of the Himalaya, westward of the river Jumna. But the giraffe is not an animal that can live in a mountainous region, or even on the skirts of such a region; its subsistence and its safety require 'an open country and broad plains to roam over' (Falconer and Cautley, in *Proceed. Geol. Soc.*, Nov. 15, 1843). The present position, therefore, of these fossil remains ('of almost every large pachydermatous genus, such as the elephant, mastodon, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, sus (swine), horse, etc.' *ib.*, also deer and oxen)—lodged in ravines and vales among the peaks, at vast elevations—leads to the supposition of a late elevation of extensive plains.

Thus we seem to have a middle course pointed out between the two extremes; the one, that by the deluge the ocean and the land were made to exchange places for permanency; the other, that very little alteration was produced in the configuration of the earth's surface. Indeed, such alteration might not be considerable in places very distant from the focus of elevation; but near that central district it could not but be very great. An alteration of level, five hundred times less than that effected by the upthrow of the Himalayas, would change the beds of many rivers, and quite obliterate others.

We therefore decline to enter into disquisitions, interminable and surely disappointing, upon the rivers Pishon and Gihon, and the countries of

Havilah and Cush. Etymological similarities afford no safe ground for conclusions; for many names of close resemblance are to be found in the Asiatic languages, but of which the natural history and collateral circumstances are incompatible with other parts of this (as we think) antediluvian fragment of topography. Also Gihon certainly, and probably Pishon, were used in the ancient Oriental languages as appellatives, separate or prefixed, signifying a stream in general; as the old British *Avon*, which has the same meaning, has become the proper name of several rivers in England, Wales, and Scotland.

III. We venture to give a summary of this description. It was a tract of country, the finest imaginable, lying probably between the 33d and the 37th degree of N. latitude, of such moderate elevation, and so adjusted, with respect to mountain-ranges and watersheds and forests, as to preserve the most agreeable and salubrious conditions of temperature and all atmospheric changes. Its surface must therefore have been constantly diversified by hill and plain. From its hill-sides, between the croppings out of their strata, springs trickled out, whose streamlets, joining in their courses, formed at the bottom small rivers, which again receiving other streams (which had in the same way flowed down from the higher grounds), became, in the bottom of every valley, a more considerable river. These valleys insolated, as must consequently their contained streams; wider valleys or larger plains appeared; the river of each united itself with that of its next neighbour; others contributed their waters as the augmenting stream proceeded; and finally it quitted the land of Eden, to continue its course to some sea, or to lose its waters by the evaporation of the atmosphere or the absorption of the sandy desert. In the finest part of this land of Eden, the Creator had formed an enclosure, probably by rocks and forests and rivers, and had filled it with every product of nature conducive to use and happiness. Due moisture, of both the ground and the air, was preserved by the streamlets from the nearest hills, and the rivulets from the more distant; and such streamlets and rivulets, collected according to the levels of the surrounding country ('it proceeded from Eden'), flowed off afterwards in four larger streams, each of which thus became the source of a great river.

This metaphor deviates from what is commonly thought to be the meaning of the original, but not, we think, from its true signification and intention.

1. It is a metonymy occurring probably, though not very frequently, in all languages, that a collective noun is sometimes used when the idea is compound and distributive. The usage is recognised in the Hebrew language, by Gesenius in his *Lehrgebäude*, p. 525; Ewald, *Gramm.*, sec. 346; and Nordheimer, *Gramm.*, sec. 738-750. This kind of synthesis would be likely to find place in a primitive and consequently very simple language. The multitude of droppings and tricklings, rills and streamlets, having one beneficial design, and ever tending to confluence, would, in the mind of a primeval writer, readily coalesce into a singular term, a river. We have an appropriate example in Ps. lxx. 10, where the aggregate of showers is called 'the river of God, full of water.' The

principle applies equally to נהר פלנ. It is therefore no unwarrantable liberty to understand



by the 'river,' a number of rills and rivulets dispersed throughout the ground, and flowing into one channel about the issue into the external country. If the water entered the garden as a river properly—that is, in one body—it could not 'water the garden' without artificial appliances; and it would have divided the garden, making one part inaccessible from the other, without a boat or a bridge.

2. That a river should be 'divided into four heads,' or sources of new rivers, is naturally impossible. If to a running stream, small or large, two or more channels be presented, it will not divide itself distributively, but will pour its whole mass of water into the deepest channel: it will ever seek the lowest bottom. We must therefore understand the passage as saying that, from four different collections of rills, which had flowed down different declivities in the same neighbourhood, the sources were formed of four rivers, which in their progress became great and celebrated. To controvert this reasoning it would not be sufficient to adduce the division of a great river into branches as it approaches the sea, and meets an extensive swamp or flat shore, as in the deltas of the Rhine (forming, with many inferior streams, the Leck and the Waal), the Po, the Nile, the Ganges, and many others. The soft and almost horizontal level causes the water to cease flowing, or nearly so, and the vast extent of mud or sand permits branches of the stream to take place when some small change of the surface gives occasion. But the rivers of Paradise must have been in high ground, and have had a considerable fall. It is possible, indeed, that rocky obstacles might exist, connected backwards with a mountainous country, presenting their heads against the stream, and thus separating it, as islets are formed in the higher course of the Rhine. But the conditions necessary to derive four great rivers out of one, in this way, are scarcely conceivable as occurring in one place. The origin of two or more rivers from different fountains in the same locality of high ground, but on different levels, and then pursuing different courses, is not an unexampled phenomenon. The Rhine and the Rhone rise but about eight English miles from each other; and, which applies to the case directly before us, the sources of the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris*, on the eastern frontier of Armenia, so far as they can be followed up, are only fifteen miles apart.

Here, then, in the south of Armenia, after the explication we have given, it may seem the most suitable to look for the object of our exploration, the site of PARADISE. From this opinion few, we think, will dissent.

But the stringent difficulty is to find any two rivers that will reasonably answer to the predicates of the Pishon and the Gihon; and any countries which can be collocated as Havilah and Cush. The latter name, indeed, was given by the Hebrews and other Orientals to several extensive countries, and those very distant both from Armenia and from each other. As for Havilah, we have the name again in the account of the dispersion of the descendants of Noah (ch. x. 29), but whether that was the same as this Havilah, and in what part of Asia it was, we despair of ascertaining. Reland and others, the best writers upon this question, have felt themselves compelled to give to these names a comprehension which destroys all preciseness. So, likewise, the meaning of the two names of natural products can be little more than matter

of conjecture; the *bedolach* and the stone *shoham*. The former word occurs only here and in Num. xi. 7. The Septuagint, our oldest and best authority with regard to terms of natural history, renders it, in our passage, by *anthrax*, meaning probably the ruby, or possibly the topaz; and in Numbers by *crystallos*, which the Greeks applied not merely to rock-crystal, but to any finely transparent mineral. Any of the several kinds of odoriferous gum, which many ancient and modern authorities have maintained, is not likely; for it could not be in value comparable to gold. The pearl is possible, but not quite probable; for it is an animal product, and the connection seems rather to confine us to minerals; and pearls, though translucent, are not transparent as good crystal is. Would not the diamond be an admissible conjecture? The *shoham* occurs in ten other places, chiefly in the book of Exodus, and in all those instances our version says onyx; but the Septuagint varies, taking onyx, sardius, sardonyx, beryl, prase-stone, sapphire, and smaragdus, which is a green-tinctured rock-crystal. The preponderance seems to be in favour of onyx, one of the many varieties of banded agate; but the idea of *value* leads us to think that the emerald is the most probable. There are two remarkable inventories of precious stones in Exod. xxxix. 10-13, and Ezek. xxviii. 13; which may be profitably studied, comparing the Septuagint with the Hebrew.

A nearer approach to the solution of our problem we cannot hope to make.

The numerous attempts of modern German writers to resolve this part and all the rest of the Mosaic Archaeology into what they call a *Mythic Philosophy* (an allegory made up of tradition and fancy), would require a large space to detail and examine them. They are full of arbitrary assumptions and inconsistencies; their tendency and design are to undermine all the facts of supernatural revelation, to destroy the authority of the Mosaic and the prophetic Scriptures, and consequently of the Christian, and thus eventually to supersede all religion that rests upon any other ground than egotistical reasonings and romantic fancies. They form a great part of a multifarious scheme of infidelity and pantheism, which requires to be met by the proofs of the existence of a personal, intelligent, and efficient God, and the evidences that HE has bestowed upon man a positive manifestation of his authority and his love.

Dr. M. Baumgarten (*Theol. Commentar zum A. T.*, vol. i. p. 39) has proposed to eliminate the perplexities in a new way. Admitting the impossibility of finding any place, in the present condition of the earth, that will answer to the description, yet believing that it was realized at the time, he conceives that it pleased the Author of revelation to combine with the historical fact a symbolical and prophetic intention. We shall conclude this article by citing a passage from that work:—

'Amidst all this litigation of contending and contradictory opinions, it has been altogether overlooked, that we ought to inquire for *what reason* this remarkably circumstantial description was given; for it is not the manner of the Holy Scriptures to communicate minute particulars for the gratification of useless curiosity. The word of God never loses sight of its chief object; and it puts all its minor parts into connection with that.

The question then is, *What connection* does the description of Paradise hold with the rest of the history? That the mention of the river, flowing out of Eden, hath its proper and important place, is plain from the purpose ascribed to it—the *watering of the garden*, the impartation of life and fertility, that it might be sufficiently adapted for the abode of the first human creatures. But what now must be the design of the branches of the river, which are expressly pointed out as not belonging to the garden? It evidently must be the same as in the first case, the watering of some ground; and that ground can be no other than the countries through which those derived streams are declared to flow. Here then we are met with the particulars stated concerning Havilah and the other geographical names. The four branches go out into the country of gold, of precious stones, and of aromatics: they go out into the countries in which men first formed communities and founded mighty kingdoms—the lands of Cush, Assyria, and Babylon. Thus, the great river which comes from the east, and has its rise in Eden, and thence immediately waters the garden, is that which pours its waters into the principal countries of the world, as the streams of life to the nations. The number also of both the streams and the countries claims consideration; it is *four*. Bähr (in his work on *Symbols*, vol. i. p. 155-174) has shown that this number was the symbolical sign of *proportion and order*; and was consequently regarded as a designation of the world, considered as a work of order and proportional arrangement—the proper idea of the Greek *κόσμος*. At a later period, we find the Scripture assigning *four* as the number of the great monarchies of the world (Dan. vii.) The description must therefore be understood as directing us far forward into the future, and as giving a prophetic intimation of its own meaning. The life of the human race began in Paradise; but from thence it was to diffuse itself into all other regions, and bring the morning-beam of divine light, which enlightened man in the garden, to be enjoyed over the whole earth. And indeed those countries are the most immediately pointed out, which held ready their fulness and power, and as it were kept in their view the coming of their Lord, in order to do him homage (Matt. ii. 11). But now, with respect to the geographical question, it should not be forgotten that between the commencement of history and our times there lies a great revolution, the Deluge. It cannot be supposed that such a mighty shock of the whole terrestrial globe could do otherwise than greatly disfigure the earth's surface. It might indeed be thought that this consideration would justify an entire relinquishment of attempts to collate the description with now existing localities. But, on the other hand, it should be considered that the Deluge did not take away the identity of the earth; and that the special names, as Phrat and Assur, without doubt have their reference to the earth's subsequent condition. The two names Phrat and Hiddekel appear to determine explicitly the track of country through which they flow; and consequently we may be led to conceive of the whole matter thus: that from the region of Armenia a river flowed, and then divided itself into four branches, of which the two eastern corresponded to the rivers afterwards denominated the Euphrates and the Tigris, and the two

western had their course through Arabia; but that country (Arabia) in some following age was elevated (by volcanic action) above the original river-bed. Prof. Ritter (of the University of Berlin, the father of what may be called a new science, *Comparative Geography*, and which he has happily combined with Ethnography) has remarked that, even within the modern period, the Euphrates has not inconsiderably changed its course. (See his *Geography in relation to Nature and the History of Mankind*, vol. ii. p. 121, 1st ed.) In the following times of history, we have seen how the river of mankind from the mountains of Armenia poured itself into the plains of the Tigris and the Euphrates. The tribes of men went forth into the regions of the streams of Paradise, acquired power and gathered riches. But of gold they made gods, decked them with jewels, and brought incense to the things which have noses and smell not. Their power rebelled against God and his people, and by the rivers of Babylon the children of Israel sat down and wept. Thus, in the world's history, has the track of the four branch rivers maintained itself; but, by the intrusion of sin, the glorious future of the primeval Paradise has been changed into a mournful present.

We have thought it but fair to put our readers into possession of this interpretation, presenting the passage as, though literally true, yet having an allegorical and prophetic intention. It is ingenious and striking; but what we want is some solid ground of *evidence*.—J. P. S.

PARAH (פָּרָה, 'the cow'; Παρά; Alex. Ἀφάρ; *Aphara*), one of the towns in the territory of Benjamin, grouped by Joshua between Bethel and Ophrah, and only once mentioned in Scripture (Josh. xviii. 23). Jerome states that the village (*vicus*) still existed in his time, and was situated five miles from Bethel towards the east (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Aphra*). It seems highly probable that we have this old name retained in the wild glen called *Wady Fārah*, which runs down the eastern declivities of Benjamin. It falls into Wady Suweinit, about three miles below Michmash, and there, in the fork, are the ruins of an ancient village called *Khurbet Fārah* ('ruin of Fārah'). The name Fārah in Arabic has a different signification from the Hebrew Parah (פָּרָה, 'mouse,' is however equivalent to the Hebrew פָּרָה for פָּאֲרָה); but this does not affect the identity of the site (see, however, Robinson, ii. 439, note). The ruins appear to have been visited or seen by Kraftt, and are mentioned by Ritter (*Pal. und Syrien*, iii. 529) and Van de Velde (*Memoir*, 339). Dr. Barclay gives a long account of Wady Fārah, which he incorrectly interprets 'Valley of Delight' as if written فَرَح, *farakh*, instead of فَاَرَح, *fārah*. He discovered in it a

large intermitting fountain, and supposes it to be the *Enon*, where 'John was baptizing, because there was much water there' (John iii. 23); but he does not appear to have thought of its identity with the old Benjamite town of Parah (*City of the Great King*, 558, seq.)—J. L. P.



PARAN (פָּאָרָן, 'a place of caves,' from פָּאָר, Arab. فَار, 'to excavate'; *Φαράν*; *Pharan*), a name given in the Bible to a wilderness, and to a mountain.

1. *The wilderness of Paran* (מִדְבַּר פָּאָרָן; ἡ ἔρημος τοῦ Φαράν).—The situation and boundaries of this wilderness are set forth with considerable exactness by a number of incidental notices in Scripture. It had Palestine on the north, the valley of Arabah on the east, and the desert of Sinai on the south. Its western boundary is not mentioned in the Bible, but it appears to have extended to Egypt and the Mediterranean. The first notice of Paran is in connection with the expedition of the Eastern kings against Sodom. After defeating the giant tribes east of the Jordan, they swept over Mount Seir (Edom) 'unto the terebinth of

*Paran* (פֶּתַח פָּאָרָן; ἐως τῆς τερεβίνθου τῆς Φαράν; *usque ad Campesiria Pharan*), which is in the wilderness' (Gen. xiv. 6). Doubtless some well-known sacred tree is here referred to. It stood on the western border of Seir, and consequently in the Arabah [SEIR]; and it was 'in the wilderness'—that is, the wilderness of Paran, apparently considerably south of Kadesh. From the terebinth of Paran they turned back, 'and came to En-mishpat, which is Kadesh.' When Abraham sent away Hagar and Ishmael from his tent at Beersheba, they went out into 'the wilderness of Paran;' and Ishmael dwelt there, allying himself doubtless with the nomad tribes who made that place their home (Gen. xxi. 14, 21). But it is from its connection with the wanderings of the Israelites that Paran derives its chief and abiding interest—'And the children of Israel took their journeys out of the wilderness of Sinai; and the cloud rested in the wilderness of Paran' (Num. x. 12). From this it might be thought that Paran lay close to Mount Sinai, where the Israelites had been long encamped; but the full narrative which is afterwards given shows that from the encampment at Sinai they made a four days' march to Hazeroth (x. 33; xi. 3, 34, 35); and then the next march brought them into 'the wilderness of Paran' (xii. 16). From Paran the spies were sent to survey Canaan (xiii. 3); and after completing their mission they returned to the camp 'unto the wilderness of Paran, to Kadesh' (ver. 26). There is an apparent difficulty here. At first sight it would appear as if Kadesh in Paran was only a single march from Hazeroth; while Hazeroth has been identified with Ain Hudherah, which is 140 miles distant from Kadesh. The difficulty is solved by a reference to the detailed itinerary in Num. xxxiii. Paran is not mentioned there, because it was the name of a wide region, and the sacred writer records only the names of the camp-stations. Hazeroth is mentioned, however, and so is Kadesh; and between them there are eighteen stations (17-36). Most probably all these stations were in Paran, for it is said that when they 'took their journeys out of the wilderness of Sinai, the cloud rested in the wilderness of Paran' (x. 12); and Moses also states—'When we departed from Horeb, we went through all that great and terrible wilderness which ye saw by the way of the mountain of the Amorites; and we came to Kadesh-barnea' (Deut. i. 19). The wilderness of Paran in fact extended from Hazeroth, and the desert of

Sinai (or Horeb) on the south, to the foot of the mountains of Palestine on the north; and its eastern border ran along the valley of Arabah, from the gulf of Akabah to the southern shore of the Dead Sea. Through this wide region the Israelites marched, not in a straight line, but, like the modern Arab tribes, from pasture to pasture; and it was when entering upon that long and toilsome march that Moses said to his father-in-law, 'Leave us not, I pray thee; forasmuch as thou knowest how we are to encamp in the wilderness, and thou mayest be to us instead of eyes' (Num. x. 31). Jethro was intimately acquainted with the whole wilderness. As a nomad pastoral chief he knew the best pastures and all the wells and fountains; and hence Moses was most anxious to secure his services as guide.

The reference made to Paran in 1 Sam. xxv. shows that it bordered upon the southern declivities of the mountains of Judah. Probably its boundary was not very accurately defined; and whatever part of that region lay beyond the limits of settled habitation was called 'the wilderness, or pasture-land, of Paran.' It thus included a large section of the Negeb [NEGEB]. The reference to Paran in Deut. i. 1, is not so clear. The object of the sacred writer is to describe the place where Moses gave his long address to the Israelites. It was 'on this (the east) side of Jordan, in the wilderness (or *Midbar* of Moab; cf. ver. 5), *in the plain* (the Arabah, עֲרֵבָה) over against the Red

Sea (or 'opposite to Suf,' סוּף), *between Paran and Tophel*, etc. ('between Paran, and between Tophel and Laban,' etc.) The sense appears to be that the Arabah in which Moses stood was opposite to the northern gulf of the Red Sea, and had on the one side Paran, and on the other Tophel, etc. It must not be inferred that Paran extended up to Jericho; all that seems to be meant is that it formed the western boundary of the greater part of the Arabah. It would seem from the incidental statement in 1 Kings xi. 18 that Paran lay between Midian and Egypt. The region here called Midian was situated on the south of Edom [MIDIAN], apparently at the head of the Ælanitic gulf; and the road taken by the fugitive Hadad was most probably that now traversed by the Egyptian Haj, which passes through the whole desert of Tih.

It is strange that both Eusebius and Jerome speak of Paran as a city, which they locate three days' journey east (πρὸς ἀνατολὰς, but they must evidently mean *west*) of Aila\* (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Paran*). They refer doubtless to the old town of Faran, the ruins of which still exist in the valley of Feirân, at the foot of Mount Serbâl, in the desert of Sinai. Feirân was an important place in the early ages of Christianity (Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria*, p. 616; Robinson, i. 126, 592); but it lies nearly thirty miles beyond the southern boundary of Paran. Josephus mentions a valley of Paran; but it was situated somewhere in the wilderness of Judæa (*Bell. Jud.* iv. 9. 4).

Paran is not strictly speaking 'a wilderness.' The sacred writers call it *Midbar*; that is, a pasture-land, as distinguished from an agricultural country. Its principal inhabitants were nomads; though it had a few towns and some corn-fields

\* Jerome is followed by Stephan. Byz.; Reland, p. 556; Raumer, and others.

(Robinson, *B. R.*, i. 190, *seq.*) The leading features of its physical geography are as follows :—The central section, from Beersheba to Jebel el-Tih is an undulating plateau, from 600 to 800 feet in height, traversed by bare rounded ridges, and shallow dry valleys, running on the one side into the Arabah, and on the other to the Mediterranean. The soil is scanty, white, and thickly strewn with nodules of flint. In early spring it is partially covered with grass, shrubs, and weeds;\* but during the heat and drought of summer all vegetation disappears, and the whole surface assumes that aspect of dreary desolation which led the Israelites to call it a great and terrible wilderness' (Deut. i. 19); and which suggested in recent times the somewhat exaggerated language of Mr. Williams—'A frightfully terrific wilderness, whose horrors language must fail to describe' (*Holy City*, i. App. I. p. 464). Fountains are rare, and even wells and tanks are far apart. The plateau rises considerably towards the north-east; and, as deep glens descend from it to the Arabah, this section presents the appearance of a series of parallel ridges extending east and west. Their southern sides are mostly bluffs of naked white rock, which seem from a distance like colossal terrace walls. These are the mountains of the Amorites mentioned in Deut. i. 19, 20, to which the Israelites approached through the wilderness, and which formed the southern barrier of Canaan.

Besides these there is a line of bare white hills running along the whole western border of the Arabah, and forming the support of the table-land of Paran. Toward the valley they descend in steep shelving slopes and rugged precipices, averaging about a thousand feet in height; and everywhere deeply furrowed by wild ravines. The passes from Arabah to Paran are difficult, and a comparatively small band of resolute men might defend them against an army. The southern declivities of the mountain of the Amorites would also present serious obstacles to the advance of a large host.

These natural features enable us to understand more fully some points in the history of the wilderness journey, and to illustrate many incidental expressions in the sacred narrative. They show why the Israelites feared to enter Canaan from Kadesh, until they had ascertained by the report of the spies that those formidable mountain-passes were open (Deut. i. 22). They show how the Amorites, 'which dwelt in that mountain,' were able to drive

\* Mr. Drew's notes on his route from Sinai by Nukhl to Beersheba clearly describe the appearance of the wilderness of Tih in spring: 'Every step of our journey to-day (the second day after crossing Jebel el-Tih) has shown how abundant water was at one time here. . . . Our course has almost entirely lain along the beds of ancient torrents. . . . We met with continuous vegetation. . . . The turfa (tamarisk) was abundant. (April 6th). Again came on extensive spaces covered with vegetation. Some acres, about a mile from Nukhl, are under field cultivation: in fact, pure desert, *i.e.*, a sandy or stony surface, without vegetation, has hitherto been the exception. (April 10th). Our camping-ground to-night is on the borders of a wady, as fruitful and picturesque as Ghurundel or Feiran: grain is growing on it, and birds are singing' (*Scripture Lands*, p. 80, note).

them back when they attempted to ascend (ver. 44; cf. Num. xiv. 40-45). They show how expressive and how natural is the language so often used by Moses at Kadesh. When he sent the spies 'he said unto them, *Get you up this way southward, and go up into the mountain*;' 'so they *went up*. . . they *ascended* by the south'. . . 'Caleb said, *Let us go up* at once. But the men that *went up* with him said, We be not able to *go up* against the people' (xiii. 17, 21, 22, 30, 31). And again, in describing the defeat of the people, —'They rose up early . . . and *gat them up into the top of the mountain*, saying, We will go *up* into the place which the Lord hath promised. . . . Moses said, *Go not up*. . . . But they presumed to *go up*. . . and the Amalekites *came down*,' etc. (xiv. 40, 42, 44, 45).

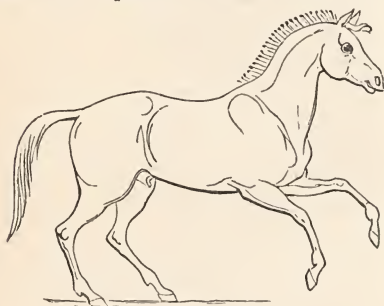
It is worthy of special note that the wanderings of the Israelites through Paran became to it as a new baptism. Its name is now, and has been for ages, *Badu et-Tih*, 'The wilderness of wandering' (Abulfeda, *Tab. Syr.*, ed. Köhler, p. 4; Jaubert's *Edrisi*, i., p. 360). In addition to the authorities already referred to, notices of Paran will be found in the writings of Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria*, 444), Seetzen (Zach's *Monatl. Correspond.*, xvii.), Ruppell (*Reisen*, 241), Bartlett (*Forty Days in the Desert*, 149, *seq.*), Ritter (*Pal. und Syr.*, i. 147, *seq.*, 1079, *seq.*), Olin (*Travels in Egypt*, etc., ii. 59, *seq.*), and Martineau (*Eastern Life*, 418, *seq.*)

2. *Mount Paran* (הַר פָּאֵרָן) is mentioned only in two passages, both sublime odes celebrating the Divine Majesty. The same glorious event, whatever it may have been, is plainly alluded to in both. Moses says, 'The Lord came from Sinai, and rose up from Seir unto them; he shined forth from *Mount Paran*,' etc. (Deut. xxxiii. 2); and Habakkuk writes; 'God came from Teman, and the Holy One from *Mount Paran*' (iii. 3). The object of both writers is to call attention to those places where the most striking manifestations of divine power and majesty were made to Israel. Next to Sinai, Kadesh stands out as the theatre of the Lord's most remarkable workings. It lies in the valley of Arabah, with Seir on the one side and the highlands of Paran on the other. The summits of both these ranges were, doubtless, now illumined, now clouded, like the brow of Sinai, by the divine glory (KADESH, cf. Num. xvi. 19-35, 42; xx. 1, 6-12). Teman was another name for Edom, or Seir [TEMAN]; and hence the local allusions of Moses and Habakkuk are identical. It may therefore be safely concluded that Mount Paran is that ridge, or series of ridges, already described, lying on the north-east part of the wilderness of Tih. There is nothing in Scripture which would lead us to connect it more closely with Sinai than with Seir, or to identify it with Mount Serbâl, which overlooks Wady Feiran.—J. L. P.

PARASH (פָּרָשׁ). A riding horse or steed. As distinguished from רֹכֵב the word denotes specifically a horse for riding (1 Kings v. 6 [iv. 26]; Ezek. xxvii. 14; Hos. i. 7; Joel ii. 4). In Is. xxii. 6 it is used of a chariot horse ('chariots of men [and] horses,' *i.e.*, chariots drawn by mounted horses). It is once used (Is. xxviii. 28) of horses employed to tread out grain; but these had riders. In the A. V. it is rendered always by 'horseman' or 'horsemen;' but though the word has this

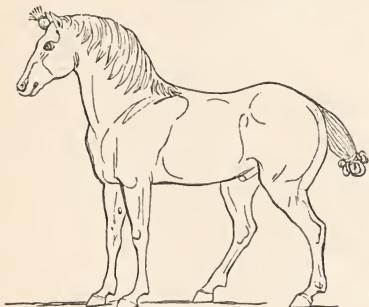


meaning (Gen. i. 9; Jer. iv. 29; Ezek. xxiii. 6, 12; Nah. iii. 3, etc.), it seems in the passages above cited rather to designate the horse than his rider. Which signification is the primary one; whether, regarding the rider and his horse as one, the Hebrews applied the word properly designating the rider sometimes to his horse (as the Romans did with *equus*, Aul. Gell. xviii. 5; Macrob. *Sat.* vi. 9), or the word designating the horse sometimes to the rider, remains uncertain. These *parashim* or riding horses were imported into Judea from Egypt,



422. Egyptian Horse.

Armenia, and Persia. Whether there is any connection between פרש *Parsh*, *Persia*, as some have asserted, is doubtful. Ibn Ezra derives פרש



423. Persian Horse.

from the verb פרש *parash*, which in the hiph. signifies *to sting*, *to prick*, because of the spurs which the rider wore on his feet (on Prov. xxiii. 32, quoted by Bochart, *Hieroz.* ii. c. 6). Fürst, with more probability, finds in it the motion of *bounding*, *springing*, from פרש *parash*, *to cleave*, *break through*, *stretch forth*.—W. L. A.

PARBAR (פַּרְבָּר). In detailing the stations and numbers of the watchmen and door-keepers in and around the Temple, the sacred historian says—'Eastward were six Levites, northward four a day, southward four a day, and toward Asuppin two and two. At *Parbar* westward, four at the causeway, and two at *Parbar*' (1 Chron. xxvi. 17, 18). The meaning is not clear, and we cannot gather from the sentence what the word *Parbar* signifies. It is manifestly a proper name, and was given to some structure connected with the gates on the western side of the Temple-court. The words of the Septuagint are even more obscure than the Hebrew. There is, besides, a repetition of a preceding clause, which adds to the

difficulty of interpretation, and to the confusion of the passage. Ver. 18 is attached to the last clause of the preceding verse—*καὶ εἰς τὸν Ἑσephim δύο εἰς διαδεχομένους, καὶ πρὸς δυσμαῖς τέσσαρες, καὶ εἰς τὸν τρίβον δύο διαδεχομένους*. The word *διαδεχομένους* is the equivalent of פָּרַבֵּר; it is connected with *δύο*, and must signify, as here used, 'by turns'—'And at Esephim two by turns,' or 'relieving each other' (cf. Xen. *Anab.* i. 5. 2). The Hebrew will not bear such a rendering. Jerome translates as follows: 'In *cellulis* quoque janitorum ad occidentem quatuor in via, binique per *cellulas*;' but what these *cellule* were does not appear. The word *Parbar* does not occur in any other part of Scripture; but it is supposed to be the same as פָּרֹר in 2 Kings xxiii. 11, translated 'suburbs' in the A. V. The LXX. read Φαρουφίμ. Gesenius says פָּרֹר and פָּרַבֵּר are equivalent to the Persian فَرَوَار, 'a summer-house,' open upon all

sides to admit air. He supposes that it was an open porch which adjoined the Temple (*Thesaurus*, p. 1123). The Rabbins give the name פָּרֹר to the 'suburbs' of a city—the part without the gate or wall. Probably there were at the western gates of the Temple some open porches or chambers for the accommodation of guards or servants, and to these was given the foreign name *Parbar*.—J. L. P.

#### PARCHMENT. [WRITING.]

PARCHON, SALOMON b. ABRAHAM, one of the earliest grammarians and lexicographers, who flourished about 1130 at Calatajud in Aragon. He afterwards emigrated to the peninsula of Salerno, where he most probably died about 1180. Being anxious to furnish his co-religionists in southern Italy with the results of the grammatical and exegetical labours of his brethren in Spain, Parchon compiled, in the year 1160, a Hebrew lexicon, entitled מִנְחַבֶּת הָעֵרֶךְ. Though it is substantially a translation of Ibn Ganach's celebrated lexicon [IBN GANACH], yet Parchon also introduces in it the labours of Chajug, Jehadah Ha-Levi, Ibn Ezra, etc. etc., and explains many words by the aid of passages from the Targumim, the Mishna, Tosefta, and the Talmud. The work is divided into two parts; the first containing a grammar of the Hebrew language, and the second a lexicon. It has been published by Stern, Presburg 1844, with a valuable introduction by Rappaport, in which this erudite scholar gives a succinct history of the study of the Hebrew language, and of the different periods in which the great grammarians lived. Parchon has also written a commentary on the Prophets and Hagiographa, which has not as yet come to light (comp. Steinschneider, *Bibliographisches Handbuch*, Leipzig 1859, p. 108; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, iii. 66).—C. D. G.

PAREUS, DAVID, was the son of John Wängler, and born at Francostein, a Silesian town, in 1548. He was educated at Hirschberg and Heidelberg, and made great proficiency in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. In accordance with a custom not unfrequent with scholars of that age, and of which Melancthon is an instance, he substituted for his father's name its Greek equivalent [Παρεῖος being the literal rendering of *Waengler*; from Παρεῖα (German *Wänge*), a cheek]. Pareus, who had at Hirschberg been induced by his tutor, Christopher

Schilling, to renounce Lutheranism, became a warm adherent of the Reformed Communion. After this he wrote much in opposition to the special Lutheran doctrines; nor were his polemics confined to Protestant opponents, as his treatises against Cardinal Bellarmine, and his dispute with the Jesuit Magirus, attest. It is, however, for his Biblical pursuits, which were considerable, that Pareus has a place in our work. His son Philip, who published his father's works in three [actually four in three] folio volumes, at Frankfort in 1647, has, in the appendix of his biographical sketch, enumerated upwards of fifty treatises on the Holy Scriptures. Most of these are *Adversaria*, or brief notes on certain books. The full *Commentarii* are confined to the books of Genesis, St. Matthew, the Epistle to the Romans, the First Epistle to the Corinthians, the Epistle to the Galatians, the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistle of St. James, the Epistles of St. Peter, and the Apocalypse. Philip Pareus, his learned son, added *Commentarii* on the Epistles to the Colossians, to Philemon, and of St. Jude. It will give the reader an idea of the difference between the *Commentarii* and the *Adversaria*, if we state that 'the Commentary' on Genesis occupies 381 pages, and 'the Notes' on Exodus, only 21 pages of the first of the folio volumes. Although the Biblical writings of Pareus are generally superseded, it is impossible to deny to them considerable merit, both in the exegetical exposition of the sacred text and in the practical deductions which are appended to the chapters as *Theoremata practica*. The greatest drawback to this merit arises from the long theological (chiefly polemical) discussions with which the commentary is overburdened. Pareus, who from advanced years declined the office of commissioner to the Synod of Dort, to which he had been nominated as a mark of respect by the States-General, died at Heidelberg in 1622.—P. H.

PARKHURST, JOHN, M.A., was born at Catesby House, in Northamptonshire, in June 1728. He was educated at Rugby and Cambridge, and being possessed of an ample fortune he served gratuitously as curate for a friend, but never sought any preferment in the church. He devoted himself to Biblical studies, and rendered service of no small importance at the time to the cause of sacred learning by his *Hebrew and English Lexicon and Grammar*, published first in 1762, and his *Greek and English Lexicon to the N. T.*, to which is prefixed a *Greek Grammar*, published in 1769. These works have since been very much superseded by more perfect works, but they are still worthy of being consulted, and are monuments of the author's industry, ingenuity, and piety. Parkhurst wrote also a work on the *Divinity and Pre-existence of our Lord*, 1787. He died 21st Feb. 1797.—W. L. A.

PARLOUR. [HOUSE.]

PARMENAS (Παρμενᾶς), one of the seven first deacons of the church formed at Jerusalem (Acts vi. 5). Nothing more is known of him; but the Roman martyrologies allege that he suffered martyrdom under Trajan.

PARTHIA (Παρθία, Ptol.; Παρθαία, Strabo and Arrian), the country of the Parthians (Πάρθοι), mentioned in Acts ii. 9, as being, with their neighbours the Medes and Elamites, present at Jeru-

salem on the day of Pentecost. The persons referred to were Jews from Parthia, and the passage is a strong evidence showing how widely spread were members of the Hebrew family in the first century of our era. The term originally referred to a small mountainous district lying to the north-east of Media. Afterwards it came to be applied to the great Parthian kingdom into which this province expanded. Parthia Proper, or Ancient Parthia, lying between Aria and Hyrcania, the residence of a rude and poor tribe, and traversed by bare mountains, woods, and sandy steppes, formed a part of the great Persian monarchy, being a dependency on the satrapy of Hyrcania. Its inhabitants were of Scythian origin. They formed a part of the army of Xerxes, and were found in that of the last Darius. In the breaking up of the kingdom of Alexander the Parthians took sides with Eumenes, and became subject to Antigonius and the Seleucidæ. About 256 years before Christ, Arsaces rose against the Syro-Macedonian power, and commenced a new dynasty in his own person, designated by the title of Arsacidæ. This was the beginning of the great Parthian empire, which extended itself in the early days of Christianity over all the provinces of what had been the Persian kingdom, having the Euphrates for its western boundary, by which it was separated from the dominions of Rome. It was divided into eighteen provinces. Now at peace, now in bitter hostilities with Rome, now the victor and now the vanquished, the Parthians were never subjugated by the Romans. At length Artaxerxes



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founded a new dynasty. Representing himself as a descendant of the ancient Persian kings, and calling upon the Persians to recover their independence, he raised a large army, defeated the Parthians in a great battle, succeeded to all the dominions of the Parthian kings, and founded the new Persian empire, to the rulers of which is commonly given the name of the Sassanidæ. The government of Parthia was monarchical; but as there was no settled and recognised line of succession, rival aspirants were constantly presenting themselves, which weakened the country with internal broils, especially as the Romans saw it to be their interest to foster dissensions and encourage rivalries, and led eventually to the overthrow of the dynasty in the case of the successful aspirant, Artaxerxes. During the Syro-Macedonian period the Parthian and Jewish history kept apart in separate spheres, but under the Romans the Parthians defended the party of Antigonius against Hyrcanus, and even took and plundered Jerusalem (Joseph.



*Antiq.* xiv. 13. 3; *De Bell. Jud.* i. 13). The geography of Parthia may be studied, besides the ancient authorities, in *Cellar. Notit.* ii. 700; Mannert, v. 102.—J. R. B.

PARTRIDGE. [QORE.]

PARVAIM (פַּרְוַיִם); Sept. Φαρவுμ, a region producing the finest gold (2 Chron. iii. 6). There is very strong reason to conclude, with Bochart, that it is the same with Ophir. Castell, however, identifies it with Barbatia on the Tigris, which is named by Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* vi. 32); and Gesenius, seeking the root of the name in the Sanskrit *pūrva*, 'before,' i.e. 'eastern,' concludes it to be a general term, corresponding to our Levant, meaning east country; so that 'gold of Parvaim' means Eastern gold.—J. K.

PASDAMMIM (הַפֶּסֶח דָּמִיִּם), 'The hand of astonishment or confusion'; Φασδομμιν; Alex. Φασδομμιν; *Phesdomim*). This place is only mentioned in 1 Chron. xi. 13, where the sacred historian is describing the scene of a fierce contest with the Philistines. Its position is not indicated. It seems, however, to be the same place which in 1 Sam. xvii. 1 is called *Ephes-dammim* (הַפֶּסֶח דָּמִיִּם); 'Εφεσμέν; Alex. Ἀφεσδομμειν; in *finibus Dommim*), and which was situated on the side of the valley of Elah between Shochoh and Azekah. Probably the latter was the full name, and the other a contracted form. It is not certain whether Ephes-dammim was a town or a little district so called. The latter seems more probable, as the Philistines encamped in it, and it was on more than one occasion the scene of deadly conflicts. Van de Velde mentions a ruin called Dāmūn (*Travels*, ii. 193); and in his map he locates it three miles east of Shochoh, up the valley. The writer visited and carefully surveyed this region. He came to the conclusion that the camp of the Philistines must have been west and not east of Shochoh, and he does not therefore identify Ephes-dammim with Dāmūn.—J. L. P.

PASHUR (פַּשְׁחֹר); Sept. Πασχώρ, son of Immer, a priest, and chief overseer of the Temple, who smote Jeremiah and put him in the stocks for his prophecies of captivity and ruin; on which the prophet was commissioned to declare that he should be one of those to go into exile, and that he and all his friends should die in Babylon, and be buried there (Jer. xx. 1-6).

2. Son of Melchiah, a high officer of king Zedekiah, and one of those at whose instance Jeremiah was cast into prison (Jer. xxi. 1; xxxviii. 1-6). A descendant of his is mentioned among the new colonists of Jerusalem after the captivity (Neh. xi. 12).—J. K.

PASOR, GEORG, professor of Greek successively at Herborn and at Franeker, was born 1st August 1570 at Ellar in Nassau, and died 10th December 1637. He was the author of *Lexicon Gr. Lat. in N. T.*, Amst. 1631; this has often been reprinted; the last and best edition was edited by J. F. Fischer, Lips. 1774; and of *Grammat. Gr. Sac. N. T. in tres libros tributa*, Gröning. 1655, a posthumous work published by his son, and of which Winer speaks in high terms (*Gram. des N. T. lichen Sprachidioms*, Einleit., p. 6). The grammar was only once reprinted (1787), and is now very rare.—W. L. A.

PASSOVER, THE FEAST OF (חַג הַמִּצּוֹת, חַג הַפֶּסֶח), the first of the three great annual festivals—the other two being *Pentecost* and the *Feast of Tabernacles*—on which the male population appeared before the Lord in Jerusalem.

1. *Name and its signification.*—The name פֶּסַח [from פָּסַח, to pass through, to leap, to halt (2 Sam.

iv. 4; 1 Kings xviii. 21), whence חַפְצָה, a passage, a ford (1 Kings v. 4 [iv. 24]), then tropically to pass by in the sense of sparing, to save, to show mercy (Exod. xii. 13, 23, 27; Is. xxxi. 5)], denotes—i. an overstepping, passover, and is so rendered by Joseph. *Antiq.* ii. 14. 6 (ὑπερβασία), Aquila (ὑπερβασος), and the English version. ii. The paschal sacrifice, by virtue of which, according to the divine appointment, the passing over, or saving, was effected (Exod. xii. 21, 27, 48; 2 Chron. xxx. 18). iii. The paschal meal on the evening of the fourteenth of Nisan, whilst the seven following days are called חַג הַמִּצּוֹת, the feast of unleavened bread (Lev. xxiii. 5, 6), and hence the expression חַג הַמִּצּוֹת הַבֹּרֵךְ, the mornrow of the passover, for the fifteenth of Nisan (Num. xxxiii. 3; Josh. v. 11). And iv., it is used synecdochically for the whole festival of unleavened bread, which commenced with the paschal meal (Deut. xvi. 1-3; comp. also Ezek. xlv. 21, where פֶּסַח is explained by חַג הַפֶּסַח שֶׁבַע יָמִים, written fully פֶּסַח שֶׁבַע יָמִים (Exod. xxxiv. 25). The whole feast, including the paschal-eve, is also denominated חַג הַמִּצּוֹת, the festival of unleavened bread, ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν ἄζυμων, ἡμέραι τῶν ἄζυμων, festum azymorum (Exod. xxiii. 15; Lev. xxiii. 6; 2 Chron. viii. 13; Ezra vi. 22; Luke xxii. 1, 7; Acts xii. 3; xx. 6), or simply חַג הַמִּצּוֹת = τὰ ἄζυμα (Exod. xii. 17; Mark xiv. 1). The simple name *Pesach* (פֶּסַח = φασέκ; Sept. 2 Chron. xxx. 15; xxxv. 1, 11; Aramæan פֶּסְחָא = τὸ πάσχα; Mark xiv. 1), however, is the one commonly used by the Jews to the present day to denote the festival of unleavened bread; and it is for this reason that this appellation is retained untranslated in the Sept. and N. T. Some of the fathers, not knowing that πάσχα = φασέκ (Sept. Exod. xii. 11, 21; Joseph. *Antiq.* v. 1. 4) is the Aramæan form פֶּסְחָא for the Hebrew פֶּסַח (i. q. φασέκ, which is also retained in the Sept.), have derived it from the Greek πάσχω, to suffer. Thus Chrysostom tells us, πάσχα λέγεται, ὅτι τότε ἐπάθεν ὁ Χριστὸς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν (*Homil.* v. in i. Tim.). Irenæus says—'Α Μοϋσε ostenditur Filius Dei, cujus et diem passionis non ignoravit, sed figuratim pronunciavit eum pascha nominans' (*Adv. Hær.* iv. 22); Tertullian affirms, 'Hanc solemnitatē—præcanebat (sc. Moyses) et adjecit, Pascha esse Domini, id est, passionem Christi' (*Adv. Judæos*, x. sub. fin.); comp. also Suicer, s. v.

2. *Institution and observance of the Passover.*—In describing the institution of this festival, and the rites and ceremonies connected therewith, it is necessary to distinguish between the Mosaic enactments and those practices which obtained during the post-exile period. We shall therefore divide our description into three periods, viz.—A. The period dating from the original institution of this festival to the Babylonish captivity; B. The post-exile period; and, C. From the dispersion of the Jews to the present day.

A. THE PERIOD FROM THE INSTITUTION OF THIS FESTIVAL TO THE BABYLONISH CAPTIVITY.—In the first institution of the Passover, it is or-

dained that the head of each family is to select, on the tenth of Nisan (*i. e.*, four days beforehand, meant to represent the four generations (דורות) which had elapsed since the children of Israel had come to Egypt, Gen. xv. 16), a male lamb or goat of the first year, and without blemish, to kill it on the eve of the fourteenth,\* sprinkle the blood with a sprig of hyssop on the two side-posts and the lintel of the door of the house—being the parts of the

\* The precise meaning of the phrase **בין הערבים**, which is used with reference to the time when the paschal animal is to be slain (Exod. xii. 6; Lev. xxiii. 5; Num. ix. 3, 5), as well as in connection with the offering of the evening sacrifice (Exod. xxix. 39, 41; Num. xxviii. 4), and elsewhere (Exod. xvi. 12; xxx. 8), is greatly disputed. The Samaritans, the Karaites, and Ibn Ezra, who are followed by Michaelis, Rosenmüller, Gesenius, Maurer, Kalisch, Knobel, Keil, and most modern commentators, take it to denote the space between the setting of the sun and the moment when the stars become visible, or when darkness sets in, *i. e.*, between six and seven o'clock. Accordingly, Ibn Ezra explains the phrase *between the two evenings* as follows:—'Behold we have two evenings, the first is when the sun sets, and that is at the time when it disappears beneath the horizon; whilst the second is at the time when the light disappears which is reflected in the clouds, and there is between them an interval of about one hour and twenty minutes' (*Comment.* on Exod. xii. 6). Tradition, however, interprets the phrase '*between the two evenings*' to mean from afternoon to the disappearing of the sun, the first evening being from the time when the sun begins to decline from its vertical or noon-tide point towards the west; and the second from its going down and vanishing out of sight, which is the reason why the daily sacrifice might be killed at 12.30 P.M. on a Friday (*Mishna, Pesachim*, v. 1; Maimonides, *Hilchoth Korban Pesach*, i. 4). But as the paschal lamb was slain after the daily sacrifice, it generally took place from 2.30 to 5.30 P.M. (*vide infra*, and Joseph. *de Bell. Jud.* vi. 9. 3). We should have deemed it superfluous to add, that such faithful followers of Jewish tradition as Saadia, Rashi, Kimchi, Ralbag, etc., espouse this definition of the ancient Jewish canons, were it not for the assertion which is made in some of the best Christian commentaries, and which is repeated in the excellent article *Passover* in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, that 'Jarchi [= Rashi] and Kimchi hold that the two evenings were the time immediately before and immediately after sunset, so that the point of time at which the sun sets divides them.' Now Rashi most distinctly declares, 'From the sixth hour [= twelve o'clock] and upwards is called *between the two evenings* (**בין הערבים**), because the sun begins to set for the evening. Hence it appears to me that the phrase *between the two evenings* denotes the hours between the evening of the day and the evening of the night. The evening of the day is from the beginning of the seventh hour [= immediately after noontide], when the evening shadows begin to lengthen, whilst the evening of the night is at the beginning of the night' (*Commentary on Exod. xii. 6*). Kimchi says almost literally the same thing: '**בין הערבים** is from the time when the sun begins to incline towards the west, which is from the sixth

house most obvious to passers-by, and to which texts of Scripture were afterwards affixed [MEZUZA]—to roast the whole animal with its head, legs, and entrails, without breaking a bone thereof, and when thoroughly done, he and his family are to eat it on the same evening together with unleavened bread and bitter herbs, having their loins girt, their sandals on their feet, and their staves in their hands. If the family, however, are too small in number to consume it, a neighbouring family may join them, provided they are circumcised sons of Israel, or household servants and strangers who have been received into the community by the rite of circumcision. The whole of the *Pesach* is to be consumed on the premises, and if it cannot be eaten up it is not to be removed from the house, but burned on the spot on the following morning. The festival is to be celebrated seven days, *i. e.*, till the twenty-first of the month, during which time unleavened bread is to be eaten, but cessation from all work and trade is only to be on the first and seventh day of the festival. Though instituted to exempt them from the general destruction of Egypt's first-born, the Israelites are told to regard the Passover as an ordinance for ever, to teach its meaning to their children, and that the transgression of the enactments connected therewith is to be punished with excision (Exod. xii. 1-28, 48-51). Thus far the account of the pre-exodus institution of the Passover.

In the post-exodus legislation on this festival several enactments were introduced at different times, which both supplement and modify the original institution. Thus it is ordained that all the male members of the congregation are to appear in the sanctuary before the Lord with the offering of firstlings (Exod. xxiii. 14-19, xxxiv. 18-26); that the first sheaf of the harvest (**עומר**) is to be offered on 'the morrow after the Sabbath' (Lev. xxiii. 4-14), that those who, through defilement or absence from home, are prevented from keeping the Passover on the 14th of Nisan, are to celebrate it on the 14th of the following month (Num. ix. 1-14), that special sacrifices are to be offered on each day of the festival (Num. xxviii. 16-25), that the paschal animals are to be slain in the national sanctuary, and that the blood is to be sprinkled on the altar instead of the two door-posts and lintel of the doors in the respective dwellings of the families (Deut. xvi. 1-8). The ancient Jewish canons, therefore, rightly distinguished between the *Egyptian Passover* (**פסח מצרים**) and the *Permanent Passover* (**פסח דורות**), and point out the following differences between

hour [= twelve o'clock] and upwards. It is called **ערבים** because there are two evenings, for from the time that the sun begins to decline is one evening, and the other evening is after the sun has gone down, and it is the space between which is meant by *between the two evenings*' (*Lexicon*, s. v. **ערב**). How this blunder could have originated in the face of such plain language, it is impossible to divine. Eustathius, in a note on the seventeenth book of the *Odyssey*, shows that the Greeks too held that there were two evenings, one which they called the latter evening (**δελη ὥρα**) at the close of the day; and the other the former evening (**δελη πρωία**), which commenced immediately after noon (*Vid.* Bochart, *Hierozoic.*, part 1, lib. ii. cap. 1, *Oper.*, tom. ii. p. 559, edit. 1712).



them :—*i.* In the former the paschal animal was to be selected on the tenth of Nisan (Exod. xii. 3). *ii.* It was to be killed by the head of each family in his own dwelling, and its blood sprinkled on the two door-posts and the lintel of every house (Exod. xii. 6, 7, 22). *iii.* It was to be consumed in haste, and the eaters thereof were to be dressed in their journeying garments (Exod. xii. 11). *iv.* Unleavened bread was to be eaten with the paschal animal only on the first night, and not necessarily during the whole seven days, although the Israelites were almost compelled to eat unleavened bread, because they had no time to prepare leaven (Exod. xii. 39). *v.* No one who partook of the *Pesach* was to go out of the house until the morning (Exod. xii. 22). *vi.* The women might partake of the paschal animal. *vii.* Those who were Levitically impure were not necessarily precluded from sharing the meal. *viii.* No firstlings were required to be offered. *ix.* No sacrifices were brought; and *x.* The festival lasted only one day, as the Israelites commenced their march on the 15th of Nisan (*Mishna, Pesachim*, ix. 5; *Tosiftha, Pesachim*, vii.; Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chezaka, Hilchoth Korban Pesach*, x. 15). Now, these regulations were peculiar to the first Passover, and were afterwards modified and altered in the *Permanent Passover*.

Dr. Davidson, indeed (*Introduction to the O. T.*, vol. i. p. 84, etc.), insists that the Deuteronomist (xvi. 1-7) gives other variations—that he, *i.* mentions both צאן, *small cattle*, and בקר, *oxen*, as the paschal sacrifice, and *ii.* states that the paschal victim is to be *boiled* (בשל), whilst in the original institution in Exod. xii. it is enacted that the paschal sacrifice is to be a שֶׁה only, and is to be *roasted*. But against this is to be urged that—*i.* The word פסח in Deut. xvi. 1, 2, as frequently, is used for the whole festival of unleavened bread, which commenced with the paschal sacrifice, and which indeed Dr. Davidson a little further on admits, and that the sacrifices of sheep and oxen in question do not refer to the paschal victim, but to all the sacrifices appointed to be offered during the seven days of this festival. This is evident from ver. 3, where it is distinctly said, ‘Thou shalt eat no leavened bread (עליו) therewith [*i.e.*, the פסח in ver. 2], seven days shalt thou eat (עליו) therewith [*i.e.*, the פסח] unleavened bread,’ thus showing that the sacrifice and eating of פסח is to last seven days, and that it is not the paschal victim which had to be slain on the 14th and be consumed on that very night (Exod. xii. 10); *ii.* בשל simply denotes to *cook, dress, or ripen for eating in any manner*, and here unquestionably stands for בשל באש, to *roast in fire*, as in 2 Chron. xxxv. 13. This sense is not only given in the ancient versions (Sept., Vulg., Chaldee paraphrase of Jonathan b. Uzziel, etc.), and by the best commentators and lexicographers (Rashi, Rashbam, Ibn Ezra, Ibn Saruk, Kimchi, Fürst, Keil, etc.), but is supported by Knobel (*Comment. on Exod. and Levit.*, p. 98), who is quite as anxious as Dr. Davidson to establish the discrepancy between the two accounts; and *iii.* We know from the non-canonical records that it has been the undeviating practice of the Jews during the second Temple to offer a שֶׁה only as a paschal sacrifice, and to *roast* it, but not to *boil* it. Now the Deuteronomist, who, as we are assured by

Dr. Davidson and others, lived at a very late period, would surely not contradict this prevailing practice of a later time. Besides, if the supposed variations recorded by the Deuteronomist describe practices which obtained in later times, how is it that the non-canonical records of the Jewish practices at a later period agree with the older description, and not with the supposed variations in Deuteronomy?

That the Israelites kept the Passover on the evening before they left Egypt, is distinctly declared in Exod. xii. 28. Bishop Colenso, however, argues against the Mosaic institution of the Passover, and against the possibility of its having been celebrated; because—*i.* Moses having received the command about the Passover on the very day at the close of which the paschal lambs were to be killed, could not possibly have communicated to every head of a family throughout the entire country the special and strict directions how to keep it; *ii.* The notice to start at once in hurried flight in the middle of the night could not suddenly and completely be circulated; and *iii.* As the people were 2,000,000 in number, and if we take 15 persons for each lamb, there must have been slain 150,000 paschal lambs, all males, one year old; this premises that 200,000 male lambs and 200,000 ewe-lambs were annually produced, and that there existed a flock of 2,000,000 (*The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua critically examined*, part i., cap. x.) But *i.*, From Exod. xii. 2, 3, it is evident that, so far from receiving it on the 14th of Nisan, Moses received the command at the very beginning of the month, and that there was therefore sufficient time for the elders (comp. Exod. xii. 1, 2, with ver. 21) to communicate the necessary instruction to the people, who were a well organized body, presided over by the heads of families and leaders (Exod. v. 6-23; Num. i. 1, etc.; Josh. vii. 14, etc.) The expres-

sions כחצות הלילה (xii. 12), and כחצות הלילה (xi. 4), on which Dr. Colenso lays so much stress, do not refer to the night following the day of the command, but to the night following the day when the command was to be executed. כחצות here, as frequently elsewhere, denotes *the same*, and expresses simultaneousness, whether past, present, or future, inasmuch as in historical narrative not only that which one can see, or, as it were, point his finger at, is regarded as present, but that which has just been mentioned (Gen. vii. 11, 13; Exod. xix. 1; Lev. xxiii. 6, 21; Job x. 13), and that which is immediately to follow (Gen. v. 1; vi. 15; xlv. 19; Is. lvi. 2; Jer. v. 7; Ps. lxxiv. 18). *ii.* The notice to quit was not momentary, but was indicated by Moses long before the celebration of the Passover (Exod. xi. 1-8), and was most unmistakably given in the order to eat the paschal meal in travelling attire, so as to be ready to start (Exod. xii. 11); and *iii.* The average of fifteen or twenty persons for each lamb, based upon the remark of Josephus (*de Bell. Jud.* vi. 9. 3), is inapplicable to the case in question, inasmuch as those who, according to later legislation, went up in after times to Jerusalem to offer the paschal sacrifice, were all full-grown and able-bodied men, and every company of twenty such persons, when the Jews were in their own land, where there was every facility for obtaining the requisite flocks, might easily get and consume a sheep in one night. But among the several millions of Israelites in Egypt and in the wilderness, there were myriads of women, children,

invalids, uncircumcised and unclean, who did not partake of the Passover, and those who did eat thereof would fully obey the divine command if one or two hundred of them simply ate a morsel of one and the same animal when they found any difficulty in obtaining flocks, inasmuch as the paschal sacrifice was only to be commemorative; just as one loaf suffices for hundreds of persons at the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Instead, therefore, of 150,000 being required for this purpose, 15,000 animals would suffice. Moreover, Dr. Colenso, misled by the A. V., which renders *שֶׁה* by *lamb*, makes a mistake in restricting the paschal sacrifice of Egypt to a *lamb*. Any Hebrew lexicon will show that it denotes *one of the flock*, i.e., *either a sheep or a goat*, and it is so used in Deut. xiv. 4, *שֶׁה כְּבָשִׁים וְשֶׁה עִזִּים*, *one of the sheep and one of the goats* (comp. Gesenius' and Fürst's Lexicons, s. v. *שֶׁה*). This mistake is all the more to be deplored, since at the institution of the Passover it is expressly declared that it is to be *שֶׁה*, *one of the sheep or of the goats* (Exod. xii. 5). It is well known to scholars that the Jewish canons fixed a *lamb* for this purpose long after the Babylonish captivity. Hence the Targumim's rendering of *שֶׁה* by *אֶמְרָא* or *אֶמְרָא*, which is followed by the A. V. It is well known also that goats have always formed a large admixture in Oriental flocks, and in the present which Jacob sent to Esau the proportion of sheep and goats is the same (Gen. xxxii. 14). Now, the fifteen thousand paschal-sacrifices divided between the lambs and the goats would not be such an impossible demand upon the flocks.

After the celebration of the Passover at its institution (Exod. xii. 28, 50), we are told that the Israelites kept it again in the wilderness of Sinai in the second year after the exodus (Num. ix.) Between this and their arrival at Gilgal under Joshua, about thirty-nine years, the ordinance was entirely neglected, not because the people did not practise the rites of circumcision, and were therefore legally precluded from partaking of the paschal meal (Josh. v. 10, with Exod. xii. 44-48), as many Christian expositors will have it, since there were many thousands of young people that had left Egypt who were circumcised, and these were not legally disqualified from celebrating the festival; but because, as Rashi, Ibn Ezra, and other Jewish commentators rightly remark, Exod. xii. 25, xiii. 5-10, plainly show that after the first Passover in the wilderness, the Israelites were not to keep it again till they entered the land of Canaan. Only three instances, however, are recorded in which the Passover was celebrated between the entrance into the promised land and the Babylonish captivity, viz., under Solomon (2 Chron. viii. 13), under Hezekiah, when he restored the national worship (2 Chron. xxx. 15), and under Josiah (2 Kings xxiii. 21; 2 Chron. xxxv. 1-19).

**B. THE POST-EXILE PERIOD.**—After the return of the Jews from the captivity, where they had been weaned from idolatry, the spiritual guides of Israel reorganised the whole religious and political life of the nation, and defined, modified, and expanded every law and precept of the Mosaic code, so as to adapt them to the altered condition of the people. The celebration of the Passover, therefore, like that of all other institutions, became more regular and systematic during this period; whilst the different colleges which were now established,

and which were attended by numerous disciples [EDUCATION], have faithfully transmitted to us all the sundry laws, rites, manners and customs, connected with this and all other festivals, which it was both impracticable and impossible to record in the limited space of the canonical books of the O. T. Hence it is that the manners and customs of this period, which were those of our Saviour and his apostles, and which are therefore of the utmost importance and interest to Christians, and to the understanding of the N. T., can be more easily ascertained, and more minutely described. Hence also the simple summary notice of the fact that the Israelites kept the Passover after their return from Babylon, contained in the canonical Scriptures (Ezra vi. 19-22), may be supplemented by the detailed descriptions of the manner in which this festival was celebrated during the second Temple, given in the non-canonical documents. The various practices will be better understood and more easily followed if given in connection with the days of the festival on which they were respectively observed.

*The Great Sabbath* (*שַׁבַּת הַגָּדוֹל*), *Shabbath Ha-Gadol*, is the Sabbath immediately preceding the Passover. It was regarded as and is called the great Sabbath in the calendar, because, according to tradition, the tenth of the month on which the Lord commanded every head of a family to select the paschal sacrifice (Exod. xii. 3), happened to fall on the Sabbath: and though in later legislation the animal was not required to be set aside four days beforehand, yet the Jewish canons determined that the Sabbath should be used to instruct the people in the duties of this great festival. Hence special prayers (*יְצִירָתוֹ*) bearing on the redemption from Egypt, the love of God to Israel, and Israel's obligations to keep the Passover, have been ordained for this Sabbath, in addition to the ordinary ritual. Mal. iii. 1-18; iv. 1-6, was read as *Maphṭir* (*מַפְתִּיר*) = the lesson for the day [*HAPHTARA*], and discourses were delivered by the spiritual guides of the community explanatory of the laws and domestic duties connected with the festival (*Tur Orach Chajim*, sec. 430). Though the present synagogal ritual for this day is of a later date, yet there can be no doubt that this Sabbath was already

distinguished as the great Sabbath (*שַׁבַּת הַגָּדוֹל*, *μεγάλη ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ σαββάτου*, John xix. 31) in the time of the second Temple, and was used for preparing the people for the ensuing festival.

**13th of Nisan.**—On the evening of the 13th, which, until that of the 14th, was called the *preparation for the Passover* (*עֶרֶב פֶּסַח*, *παρασκευή τοῦ πάσχα*, John xix. 14), every head of the family searched for and collected by the light of a candle all the leaven (*Mishna, Pesachim*, i. 1). Before beginning the search he pronounced the following benediction:—‘Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hast sanctified us with thy commandments, and hast enjoined us to remove the leaven’ (*Talmud, Pesachim*, 7a; Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chetzeka, Hilchoth Chamez U-Maza*, iii. 6). After the search he said, ‘Whatever leaven remains in my possession which I cannot see, behold it is null, and accounted as the dust of the earth’ (Maimonides, *ibid.*) What constituted leaven will be understood when the ancient definition of unleavened bread is known. According to the Jewish canons, the command to eat unleavened bread (Exod. xiii. 6; xxiii. 15; xxxiv. 18;



Lev. xxiii. 6; Num. xxviii. 17; Deut. xvi. 3) is executed by making the cakes (מַצוֹת) which are to be eaten during the seven days of this festival of wheat, barley, spelt, oats, or rye (*Mishna, Pesachim*, ii. 5). From these five kinds of grain (חֲמִשָּׁה דָּגָן) which can be used for actual fermentation, the cakes are to be prepared before the dough begins to ferment; anything else made from one of these five kinds of corn with water constitutes leaven, and must be removed from the house and destroyed. Other kinds of produce and preparations made therefrom do not constitute leaven, and may be eaten. Thus we are told, 'Nothing is prohibited on the Feast of Passover because of leaven except the five kinds of corn, viz., wheat, barley, spelt, oats, and rye. Leguminous plants, such as rice, millet, beans, lentils, and the like, in these there is no leaven; and although the meal of rice or the like is kneaded with hot water and covered with cloths till it rises like leavened dough, yet it may be eaten, for this is not leaven but putrefaction. And even the five kinds of corn, if simply kneaded with the liquor of fruit, without water, are not accounted leaven. Though the dough thus made stands a whole day and rises yet it may be eaten, because the liquor of fruit does not engender fermentation but acidity. The fruit-liquor, oil, wine, milk, honey, olive-oil, the juice of apples, of pomegranates, and the like, but no water, is to be in it, because any admixture of water, however small, produces fermentation' (Maimonides, *Seder Ha-Chetzaka Hilchoth Chamez U-Maza*, v. 1, 2).

14th of Nisan.—On this day, which, as we have seen, was till the evening called the preparation for the Passover (עֶרֶב פֶּסַח, παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα), and which was also called the first day of Passover or of unleavened bread (Lev. xxiii. 5, 6; Num. ix. 3; xxviii. 16; Josh. v. 10; Ezek. xlv. 21; 2 Chron. xxx. 15; xxxv. 1; Joseph. *Jewish Wars*, v. 3. 1), or the reason stated under the 13th of Nisan, handicraftsmen, with the exception of tailors, barbers, and laundresses, were obliged to relinquish the work either from morning or from noon, according to the custom of the different places in Palestine (*Mishna, Pesachim*, iv. 1-8). Leaven was only allowed to be eaten till mid-day, when all leaven collected on the previous evening and discovered on this day had to be burned. The time for desisting from eating and burning the leaven was thus indicated:—'Two desecrated cakes of thanksgiving-offering were placed on a bench in the Temple; as long as they were thus exposed all the people ate leaven, when one of them was removed they abstained from eating but did not burn it, and when the other was removed all the people began burning the leaven' (*ibid.*, i. 5). It was on this day that every Israelite who was not infirm, ceremonially impure, uncircumcised, or who was on this day fifteen miles without the walls of Jerusalem (*Mishna, Pesachim*, ix. 2; Maimonides, *Hilchoth Korban Pesach*, v. 89), appeared before the Lord in Jerusalem with an offering in proportion to his means (Exod. xxiii. 15; Deut. xvi. 16, 17). Though women were not legally obliged to appear in the sanctuary, yet they were not excluded from it (1 Sam. i. 7; Luke ii. 41, 42). The Israelites who came from the country to Jerusalem to celebrate the Passover were gratuitously accommodated by the inhabitants with the necessary apartments (Luke xxii. 10-12; Matt. xxvi. 18); and the guests left in return to their hosts the skins

of the paschal lambs, and the vessels which they had used in their religious ceremonies (*Toma*, 12 a). It was, however, impossible to house all the pilgrims in Jerusalem itself, since the circumference of the city was little more than one league, and the number of the visitors was exceedingly great. Josephus tells us that there were 3,000,000 of Jews at the Passover A.D. 65 (*de Bell. Jud.* ii. 14. 3), and that at the Passover in the reign of Nero there were 2,700,000, when 256,500 lambs were slain (*ibid.*, vi. 9. 3),\* and most of them must therefore have encamped in tents without the walls of the town, as the Mohammedan pilgrims now do at Mecca. It is therefore not surprising that seditions broke out on these occasions, and that the Romans, fearing lest these myriads of pilgrims should create a disturbance, and try to shake off the foreign yoke when thus massed together, took all the precautionary measures of both force and conciliation during the festival (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 9. 3; *de Bell. Jud.* i. 3, etc.; Matt. xxvi. 5; Luke xiii. 1).

The Offering of the Paschal Lamb.—Having selected the lamb, which was neither to be one day above a year nor less than eight days old (Maimonides, *Hilchoth Korban*, i. 12, 13)—being an extension of the law about firstlings and burnt-offerings (Exod. xxii. 30; Lev. xxii. 27)—and agreed as to the exact number of those who were to join for one lamb, the representatives of each company went to the temple. The daily evening sacrifice (Exod. xxix. 38, 39), which was usually killed at the eighth hour and a half (= 2.30 P.M.), and offered up at the ninth hour and a half (= 3.30 P.M.), was on this day killed at 1.30, and offered at 2.30 P.M., an hour earlier; and if the 14th of Nisan happened on a Friday, it was killed at 12.30, and offered at 1.30 P.M., two hours earlier than usual (*Mishna, Pesachim*, v. 1; Maimonides, *Hilchoth Korban Pesach*, i. 4). All the representatives of the respective companies were divided into three bands or divisions. 'The first division then entered with the paschal sacrifices, until the court of the temple was filled, when the doors of the court were closed, and the trumpets were sounded three times, differing in the notes (הַקֵּץ הָרִאשׁוֹן, הַקֵּץ הָאֶמְטָה, הַקֵּץ הַשְּׁלִישִׁי). The priests immediately placed themselves in two rows, holding bowls of silver and gold in their hands, i.e., one row holding silver bowls and the other gold ones. These bowls were not mixed up, nor had they stands underneath, in order that they might not be put down and the blood become coagulated. The Israelites themselves killed their own paschal sacrifices, the nearest priest caught the blood, handed it to his fellow-priest, and he again passed it on to his fellow-priest, each receiving a full bowl and returning an empty one, whilst the priest nearest to the altar sprinkled it in one jet towards

\* In confirmation of Josephus's statement, which has been impugned by sundry writers, it is to be remarked that ancient *Baraita*, preserved in *Tosefta Pesachim*, cap. iv. (*sub fin.*), and *Babylon Pesachim*, 64 b, relates as follows:—Agrippa was anxious to ascertain the number of the Jewish population. He therefore ordered the priests to put down the number of the paschal lambs, which were found to be 1,200,000; and as there was to every lamb a company of no less than ten persons ואין לך כל פסחופסח שלא היו עליו יותר מעשרה (יימון) the number of Jews must have been tenfold.

the base of the altar. Whereupon the first division went out, and the second division entered; and when the second again went out, the third entered; the second and third divisions acting in exactly the same way as the first. The Hallel was recited [HALLEL] the whole time, and if it was finished before all the paschal animals were slain, it might be repeated a second, and even a third time. . . . The paschal sacrifice was then suspended on iron hooks, which were affixed to the walls and pillars, and its skin taken off. Those who could not find a place for suspending and skinning it, had pieces of wood provided for them which they put on their own shoulders, and on the shoulders of their neighbour, and on which they suspended the paschal sacrifice, and thus took off its skin. When the 14th of Nisan happened on a Sabbath, on which it was not lawful to use these sticks, one of the offerers put his left hand on the right shoulder of his fellow-offerer, whilst the latter put his right hand on the shoulder of the former, whereon they suspended the paschal sacrifice, and took off its skin. As soon as it was opened, and the entrails to be sacrificed on the altar were removed (comp. Lev. i. 9; iii. 3-5), they were placed on a dish, and offered with incense on the altar. On the Sabbath, the first division, after leaving the court, remained on the Temple Mountain, the second between the ramparts (*i.e.*, the open space between the walls of the court of the women and the trellis-work in the temple, comp. *Mishna, Middoth*, ii. 3), whilst the third remained in its place. When it became dark, they all went out to roast their paschal sacrifices' (*Mishna, Pesachim*, v. 5-10). A spit, made of the wood of the pomegranate-tree, was put in at the mouth of the paschal lamb, and brought out again at its vent; it was then carefully placed in the oven so as not to touch its sides, lest the cooking should be affected (comp. Exod. xii. 9; 2 Chron. xxxv. 13), and if any part of it happened to touch the earthenware oven, it had to be pared off; or if the fat which dripped from it had fallen on the oven and then again fallen back on the lamb, the part so touched had also to be cut out (*Pesachim*, vii. 1, 2). If any one broke a bone of the paschal lamb, so as to infringe the command in Exod. xii. 46, he incurred the penalty of forty stripes (*Pesachim*, vii. 11). The bone, however, for the breaking of which the offender is to receive the stripes, must either have some flesh on it or some marrow in it, and he incurs the penalty even if some one has broken the same bone before him (Maimonides, *Hilchoth Korban Pesach*, x. 1, 3).

*The Paschal Supper.*—The paschal sacrifices having been taken to the respective abodes of the companies, and the meals prepared, the parties arranged themselves in proper order, reclining at ease on the left side, round the table. A cup of wine was filled for every one, over which the following benediction was pronounced:—'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hast created the fruit of the vine! Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hast chosen us above all nations, and exalted us above all peoples, and hast sanctified us with thy commandments. Thou hast given us, O Lord our God, appointed seasons for joy, festivals and holydays for rejoicing, such as the feast of unleavened bread, the time of our liberation for holy convocation, to commemorate our exodus from Egypt. Yea, thou hast chosen us,

and hast sanctified us above all nations, and hast given us thy holy festivals with joy and rejoicing as an inheritance. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hast sanctified Israel and the festivals! Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hast preserved us, and kept us, and hast safely brought us to this period!' The cup of wine was then drunk, and a basin of water and a towel were handed round, or the celebrators got up to wash their hands (John xiii. 4, 5, 12), after which the blessing belonging thereunto was pronounced. A table was then brought in, upon which were bitter herbs and unleavened bread, *the Charoseth* (חרוסת), which was a compound, made with dates, raisins, and other fruits, with vinegar, to commemorate the lime, etc., with which the Jews were forced to labour in Egypt, the body of the paschal lamb, and the flesh of the *Chagiga* or feast offering. The president of the meal then took the herb, dipped it in the *Charoseth*, and, after thanking God for creating the fruits of the earth, he ate a piece the size of an olive, and gave a similar portion to each one reclining with him at the table (Matt. xxvi. 23; John xiii. 26). A second cup of wine was then poured out, and the son, in accordance with Exod. xii. 26, asked his father as follows:—'Wherefore is this night distinguished from all other nights? On all other nights we may eat either leavened or unleavened bread, but, on this night, unleavened bread only; on all other nights we may eat every kind of herbs, but, on this night, bitter herbs only; on all other nights we may eat meat either roasted, boiled, or cooked in different ways, but, on this night, we must eat roasted meat only; on all other nights we may dip once what we eat, but, on this night, twice! On all other nights we eat either sitting or reclining, but on this night, reclining only.' To which the father replied, 'Once we were slaves to Pharaoh in Egypt, but the Lord our God delivered us therefrom with a strong hand and outstretched arm. If the Holy One—blessed be he—had not delivered our fathers from Egypt, we and our children, and our children's children, might still be in Egyptian bondage; and although we may all be sages, philosophers, elders, and skilled in the Law, it is incumbent upon us to speak of the exodus from Egypt, and whoso dwells much on the exodus from Egypt is all the more to be praised.' The father then expounded Deut. xxvi. 5-12, as well as the import of the paschal sacrifice, the unleavened bread, and the bitter herbs; saying with regard to the latter, 'The paschal sacrifice is offered because the Lord passed over the houses of our ancestors in Egypt, in accordance with Exod. xii. 27; the unleavened bread is eaten because our ancestors were redeemed from Egypt before they had time to leaven their dough, and the bitter herbs are eaten because the Egyptians embittered the lives of our ancestors. It is therefore incumbent on every one, in all ages, to consider as though he had personally gone forth from Egypt, as it is said in Exod. xii. 27. We are therefore in duty bound to thank, praise, adore, glorify, extol, honour, bless, exalt, and reverence him who wrought all these miracles for our forefathers and for us; for he brought us forth from bondage to freedom. He changed our sorrow into joy, our mourning into a feast; he led us from darkness into a great light, and from servitude to redemption. Let us therefore sing in his presence Hallelujah!' The first part of the Hallel was then recited [HALLEL], *i.e.*, Ps. cxiii. and cxiv., and the



following blessing pronounced: 'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hast redeemed us, and redeemed our forefathers from Egypt,' etc. etc. A third cup of wine was then poured out, and the grace after meals was recited. After pouring out the fourth cup, the Hallel was finished (*i.e.*, Ps. cxv.-cxviii.), and the blessing of

the song (*i.e.* יהללוך and נשמת) was said (*Mishna, Pesachim*, x. 1-8; Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chezaka Hilchoth Chomez U.-Maza*, viii. 1-3).

**15th of Nisan.**—On this day there was a holy convocation, and it was one of the six days on which, as on the Sabbath, no manner of work was allowed to be done; with this exception, however, that whilst on the Sabbath the preparation of the necessary articles of food was not allowed (*Exod.* xvi. 5, 23, 29; xxxv. 2, 3), on holy convocation it was permitted (*Exod.* xii. 16; *Lev.* xxiii. 7; *Num.* xxviii. 18). The other five days on which the Bible prohibits servile work are the seventh day of this festival, the day of Pentecost, New Year's day, and the first and last days of the feast of Tabernacles. The needful work which was lawful to be done on these days is defined by the Jewish canons to be such as killing beasts, kneading dough, baking bread, boiling, roasting, etc.; but not such work as may be done in the evening of a fast-day, as, for instance, reaping, thrashing, winnowing, or grinding; whilst servile work is building, pulling down edifices, weaving, etc. If any one engaged in servile work he was not to be stoned to death, as in the case of violating the Sabbath (*Num.* xv. 32, 35), but received forty stripes save one (Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chezaka Hilchoth Iom Tob*, i. 1, etc.) In addition to the daily ordinary sacrifices, there were offered on this day and on the following six days, two young bullocks, a ram, and seven lambs of the first year, with meat-offerings for a burnt-offering, and a goat for a sin-offering (*Num.* xxviii. 19-23). Besides these public sacrifices, there were the voluntary offerings which were made by every private individual who appeared before the Lord in Jerusalem, in accordance with the injunction in *Exod.* xxiii. 15; *Deut.* xvi. 16. The Jewish canons ordained that this free-will offering from every attendant at the sanctuary (*רציה*) was to be a three-fold one: 1. A burnt-offering of not less in value than one *meah* silver = 16 grains of corn; 2. A festive-offering, called *Chagiga* (*חגיגה*), of not less value than two *meahs* = 32 grains of corn; and 3. A peace or joyful offering (*Deut.* xxvii. 7), the value of which was entirely left to be determined by the good-will of the offerer, according to *Deut.* xvi. 16. The two last were alike denominated *Peace-offerings*. They were generally offered on the first day of the festival, and if any one failed to bring them on this day they might be brought on any other day of the festival; but if they were neglected during the festival, they could not be offered afterwards (*Chagiga*, i. 6; Maimonides, *Hilchoth Chagiga*, i. 4, 5). Those who contracted any legal impurity were not allowed to offer the *Chagiga* (*Mishna, Pesachim*, vi. 3). The victim, which might be taken either from the flock or the herd, and might be either a male or female, had to be without blemish, and was slain in the court of the sanctuary by the offerer, who laid his hand upon its head. The blood was sprinkled on the altar, the inside fat, with the kidneys, was burned by the

priests, who took the breast as a wave-offering, and the right shoulder as a heave-offering (*Lev.* iii. 1-5; vii. 29-34), whilst the remainder belonged to the offerer, who might eat it with his guests during two days and one night; but if any portion of it was left till the third day after the animal was slain, it had to be burned (*Lev.* vii. 16-18; *Mishna, Pesachim*, vi. 4). The *Chagiga* could not be offered on a Sabbath, but it might be slain on the fourteenth of Nisan, if the paschal lamb was insufficient for the number of those who fixed to eat it (*Pesachim*, vi. 3).

**16th of Nisan.**—On the 16th, or the day after the holy convocation, called '*the morrow after the Sabbath*,'\* the omer (*עומר*, *τὰ δράγματα*, *munipulus epicarum*) of the first produce of the harvest was brought to the priest, to be waved before the Lord in accordance with the injunction in *Lev.* xxiii. 10-14—which was of barley, being the grain which ripened before the wheat (*Exod.* ix. 31, 32; 2 *Sam.* xxi. 9; *Ruth* ii. 23; 2 *Kings* iv. 42; *Manachoth*, 84 a). The omer had to be from the best and ripest standing corn of a field near Jerusalem. The measure of an omer had to be of the meal obtained from the barley offering. Hence three *seahs* = one *ephah*, or ten omers, were at first gathered in the following manner:—'Delegates from the Sanhedrim went [into the field nearest to Jerusalem] a day before the festival, and tied together the ears in bundles, whilst still fastened to the ground, so that they might easily be cut. [On the afternoon of the 16th] the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns assembled together that the reaping might take place amidst great tumult. As soon as it became dark, each of the reapers asked, Has the sun gone down? To which the people replied, Yes. He asked again, Has the sun gone down? To which the people again replied, Yes. Each reaper then asked, Is this the scythe? To which the people replied, Yes. Is it the scythe? Yes, was again the reply. Is this the box? Yes, they replied. Is it the box? Yes, was again the reply. Is this Sabbath? Yes, it is Sabbath, they replied. Is it the Sabbath? Yes, this is the Sabbath, was again the reply. Shall I cut? Yes, cut, they replied. Shall I cut? Do cut, they again replied. Every question was asked three times, and the people replied to it each time. This was done because of the Boëthuseans (*ביתוסים*), who maintained that the reaping of the omer was not to be at the exit of the festival. When cut it was laid in boxes, brought into the court of the temple, thrashed with canes and stalks, that the grains might not be crushed, and laid on a roast with holes, that the fire might touch each grain; it was then spread in the court of the temple for the wind to pass over it, ground in a barley-mill [which left the hulls unground]. The flour thus obtained was sifted through thirteen different sieves [each one finer than its predecessor], and in this manner was the prescribed omer, or tenth part, got from the *seah*. The residue was redeemed and could be used by every one. They mixed the omer of meal with a log [= half a pint] of oil, put on it an handful of frankincense (*Lev.* ii. 15), as on other meat-offerings, waved it, took a handful of it, and caused it to ascend in smoke (*ibid.* ii. 16), and the residue was

\* The meaning of the phrase מחרת השבת is discussed in the article PENTECOST, THE FEAST OF.

eaten by the priests.' Immediately after the ceremony, bread, parched corn, green ears, etc. etc., of the new crop were exposed for sale in the streets of Jerusalem, as prior to the offering of the omer no use whatever was allowed to be made of the new corn (*Mishna, Menachoth*, x. 2-5; Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chesaka, Hilchoth Tamidin U-Mosaphin*, vii. 4-21; comp. also Josephus, *Antiq.* iii. 10. 5). From this day the fifty days began to be counted to the day of Pentecost (Lev. xxiii. 15).

*17th to 20th of Nisan.*—From the 17th to the 20th was half-holyday (חול המועד), called *the middle days of the festival*, or *the lesser festival* (מועד קטן), which had already commenced with the 16th. The people either left Jerusalem and returned to their respective homes, or remained and indulged in public amusements, as dances, songs, games, etc., to fill up the time in harmony with the joyful and solemn character of the festival. The work allowed to be done during the middle days of the festival was restricted to irrigating dry land, digging water-courses, repairing conduits, reservoirs, roads, market-places, baths, whitewashing tombs, etc. etc. Dealers in fruit, garments, or in utensils, were allowed to sell privately what was required for immediate use. Whatever the emergencies of the public service required, or was necessary for the festival, or any occupation the omission of which might cause loss or injury, was permitted. Hence no new graves were allowed to be dug, nor wives espoused, nor houses, slaves, or cattle purchased, except for the use of the festival. Mourning women, though allowed to wail, were not permitted to clap their hands together. The work allowed to be done during these days of the festival is strictly regulated by the Jewish canons contained in *the Mishna, Moed Katon*. In the temple, however, the additional sacrifices appointed for the festival were offered up, only that the lesser *Hallel* was now recited and not *the Great Hallel*.

*21st of Nisan.*—On the last day of the festival, as on the first, there was again a holy convocation. It was in all respects celebrated like the first day, only that it did not commence with the paschal meal.

*The Second or Little Passover.*—According to the injunction in Num. ix. 9-12, any one who was prevented by legal impurity, or by being at too great a distance from Jerusalem, from celebrating the regular Passover on the eve of the 14th of Nisan, was obliged to keep it on the 14th of the following month. This is called by the ancient Jewish tradition *the Second or the Little Passover* (פסח קטן), and the Jewish canons also add, most justly, that those who have been prevented from observing the first or ordinary Passover through error or compulsory force, are likewise bound to keep the second Passover. The difference between the two Passovers is thus summed up in these canons:—*i.* In the case of the First Passover no leaven was to be seen or found in the house, the paschal sacrifice could not be offered with leaven, no piece thereof was allowed to be removed from the house in which the company ate it, the *Hallel* had to be recited at the eating thereof, the *Chagiga* had to be brought with it, and it might be offered in uncleanness in case the majority of the congregation contracted it by contact with a corpse; whilst in the case of the Second

Passover, both leavened and unleavened bread might be kept with it in the house, the *Hallel* had not to be recited at the eating of it, portions thereof might be removed from the house in which the company ate it, no *Chagiga* was brought with it, and it could not be offered under the above-named legal impurity' (*Mishna, Pesachim*, ix. 3; Maimonides, *Hilchoth Korban Pesach*, x. 15).

C. THE MANNER IN WHICH THE PASSOVER IS CELEBRATED IN THE PRESENT DAY.—With the exception of those ordinances which were legal, and belonged to the Temple, and the extension and more rigid explanation of some of the rites, the Jews to the present day continue to celebrate the feast of Passover as in the days of the second Temple. Several days before the festival all the utensils are

cleansed (הנעלת כלים); on the eve of the 13th of Nisan the master of the family, with a wax candle or lamp in his hand, searches most diligently into every hole and crevice throughout the house, lest any crumb of leavened bread should remain in the premises (בריקת חמץ). Before the search commences he pronounces the benediction, and after this he recites the formal renunciation of all leaven given in the former part of this article. On the 14th of Nisan, the Preparation Day (ערב פסח), all the first-born males above thirteen years of age fast in commemoration of the sparing of the Jewish first-born at the time when all Egypt's first-born were destroyed. On this evening the Jews put on their festive garments, resort to the synagogue, and offer up the prayers appointed for the occasion, after which they return to their respective homes, where they find the houses illuminated and the tables spread. Three of the thin, round, and perforated unleavened cakes, which are made of wheat flour, resembling the oatmeal bread made in Scotland, and which are eaten during the whole of the Passover week, are put on a plate, wrapped up in a napkin in such a manner as to be separated from each other, though lying one above the other. These three cakes represent the division of the Jews into the three orders, viz., Priests, Levites, and Israelites [HAPHTARA]. A shank-bone of a shoulder of lamb, having a small bit of meat thereon roasted on the coals to commemorate the paschal lamb, and an egg roasted hard in hot ashes, to signify that it was to be roasted whole, are put on another dish; the bitter herbs are on a third dish, whilst *the Charoseth* (חרוסת), in remembrance of the bricks and mortar which the Israelites made in Egypt, and some salt water or vinegar in memory of their passage through the Red Sea, are put in two cups. When all the family have sat round the table, including the servants, to remind them that they were all alike in bondage and should equally celebrate their redemption; and when the paterfamilias, arrayed in his death-garments, has reclined at the head of the table to indicate the freedom of Israel, the following order is gone through—*i.* (קריש) Each one has a cup of wine, over which they all, standing up and holding their respective cups in their hand, pronounce the blessing for the juice of the grape, welcome the festival, and drink the first cup leaning on the left side; *ii.* (רחץ) Whereupon the head of the family washes his hands; *iii.* (כרפס) Takes the parsley or servil, dips it into the salt water, and hands it round to every one at the table, pronouncing the following benediction:—



'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hast created the fruit of the earth;' *iv.* (יִחַד) He then breaks in two the middle of the three unleavened cakes on the dish, conceals one half for an after dish (אֲפִיקֶמָן=*epikema*), leaves the other half on the dish; *v.* (מִנִּיר) He then uncovers the unleavened cake, takes the egg and the bone of the lamb from the dish, holds them up and says, 'Lo! this is the bread of affliction which our forefathers ate in the land of Egypt. Whosoever is an hungry let him come and eat with us, whosoever is needy let him come and celebrate with us the Passover! This year we are here, next year we shall be in the land of Israel; this year we are servants, next year we shall be free children!' The second cup is then filled, and the son asks the father the meaning of this festival, who replies to him in the manner described above. Having given a summary of the Egyptian bondage, and the deliverance therefrom, they all, lifting up the cup, exclaim, 'Therefore it is our duty to give thanks,' etc. etc. The cup is then put down, the unleavened cakes covered, and the first part of the *Hallel* is recited. The unleavened cakes are again uncovered, the cups of wine taken up, and the following benedictions are pronounced: 'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hast redeemed us and redeemed our forefathers from Egypt, and preserved us this evening to eat thereon unleavened bread and bitter herbs. Let us thus, O Lord our God, and our fathers' God, also peacefully reach other festivals and holy days, to which we look forward! Cause us to rejoice in the rebuilding of thy city, and to be joyful in thy service, so that we may there eat of the thanksgiving offering, and the paschal sacrifices, whose blood was sprinkled on the sides of thine altar as an acceptance. Then shall we sing unto Thee a new song for our redemption and deliverance. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who redeemeth Israel!' The blessing over the second cup is then pronounced and the wine drank, whereupon each one washes his hands and says, 'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hast sanctified us with thy commandments, and enjoined us to wash the hands!' The master of the family takes up all the three unleavened cakes together in the order in which they are arranged, pronounces the following blessing over the uppermost cake, 'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who bringest forth food from the earth!' and then pronounces the blessing for eating unleavened bread over the middle broken cake, which is as follows:—'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hast sanctified us with thy commandments and enjoined us to eat unleavened cakes!' He then breaks off a piece from the upper whole cake, and a piece from the half central cake, dips them in salt, and eats the two pieces in a reclining position. He then takes some of the bitter herbs, dips them in the *Charoseth*, pronounces the blessing over them, distributes them all round, and they eat them, not reclining. The master then takes a piece from the undermost cake and some of the bitter herbs, and eats them in a reclining position, saying, 'In remembrance of the Temple according to Hillel! Thus Hillel did at the time when the Temple still existed. He wrapped up unleavened cakes with bitter herbs and ate them together, in order to perform what is said, It shall be eaten with unleavened cakes and bitter herbs.' This concludes

the first part of the ceremony, and the supper (שֻׁלְחַן עֹרֵךְ) is now served. After the supper the master takes the half cake, which has been concealed (נֶפֶס) for the after-dish (אֲפִיקֶמָן), eats thereof the size of an olive, and gives each one of the household a similar piece; whereupon (בִּרְךְ) the third cup is filled, the usual grace after meals is said, the blessing over the fruit of the vine is pronounced, and the third cup drunk in a reclining position. A cup of wine is now poured out for the prophet Elijah, when profound silence ensues for a few seconds; then the door is opened for this harbinger of the Messiah to enter, and the following passages of Scripture are recited at the moment when he is expected to make his appearance:—'Pour out thy wrath upon the heathen that have not known thee, and upon the kingdoms that have not called upon thy name, for they have devoured Jacob and laid waste his dwelling-place (Ps. lxxix. 6, 7). Pour out thine indignation upon them, and cause thy fierce anger to overtake them—pursue them in wrath, and destroy them from under the heavens of the Lord' (Lam. iii. 66). The fourth cup is then filled and the *Hallel* is finished, pieces are recited which recount the power and goodness of God, the wonderful things which he wrought at midnight in Egypt, and in connection with the passover; the blessing is pronounced over the fourth cup, which is drunk, and after which the following last blessing is said: 'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, for the vine and for the fruit of the vine, and for the increase of the field, and for that desirable good and broad land wherein thou hast pleasure, and which thou hast given to our forefathers as an inheritance, to eat of its fruit and be satisfied with its goodness. Have mercy, O Lord our God, on Israel thy people, on Jerusalem thy city, on Zion the habitation of thy glory, on thine altar. Rebuild Jerusalem the holy city speedily in our days, bring us back to it, cause us to rejoice in it, that we may eat its fruit, be satisfied with its goodness, and we shall bless thee for it in holiness and purity. Cause us to rejoice on this day, the feast of unleavened bread, for thou, O Lord, art good and gracious to all. We will therefore praise thee for the land and the fruit of the vine. Blessed art thou, O Lord, for the land and for the fruit of the vine!' The whole is concluded with the singing of the soul-stirring Paschal Hymn.

He is mighty, He will rebuild His house speedily; Quickly, quickly in our days, speedily God build, God build, O build thy house speedily; etc. etc.

The same service is gone through the following evening, as the Jews have doubled the days of holy convocation, for the reason given in the article FESTIVALS in this Cyclopaedia. In the morning and evening of the festive week the Jews resort to the synagogue and recite the prayers appointed for the feasts. The lessons from the law and prophets read on the days of holy convocations, as well as on the middle days of the festival, are given in the article HAPHTARA. It must be remarked, that in accordance with the injunction in Lev. xxiii. 10, 11, 15, 16, the Jews to the present day begin to count the forty-nine days until Pentecost at the conclusion of the second evening's service, when they pronounce the following benediction:—'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hast sanctified us with thy command-

ments, and hast enjoined us to count the omer! This day is the first day of the omer. May it please thee, O Lord our God, and the God of our fathers, to rebuild the sanctuary speedily in our days, and give us our portion in thy law!

4. *Origin and Import of the Feast of Passover.*—That the feast of Passover was instituted to commemorate the deliverance of the Israelites from Egypt will be admitted by all who give credence to the historical veracity of the Pentateuch. Its institution, however, to commemorate this great historical fact by no means precludes the idea that a festival, of somewhat similar rites, was celebrated by the Jews at this season, in common with other nations of antiquity, containing a reference to the annual course of nature. Indeed, when the first appeal was made to Pharaoh to let the Israelites go, it was that they might celebrate an approaching festival (Exod. iii. 10; v. 1). Moreover, it is a well-known fact that all the eastern nations who were dependent upon the course of the sun, celebrated two principal annual festivals referring to the seasons—viz., the spring festival, at the time when the sun *passes over* (פסח) into the sign of Aries, and when the corn began to ripen; and the other, the autumn festival, when the last fruits were gathered in, which is identical with the feast of Tabernacles (סוכות). We are told that, since the time of this spring festival was both an occasion of gratitude and anxiety—inasmuch as not only was the barley gathered, but it decided the fertility or the barrenness of the year—the spring festival was celebrated in a double manner:—i. As a token of gratitude, the fresh grains of barley were quickly ground into flour, bread made of the dough at once, before it had time to leaven, and thus offered; and ii. As an expression of anxiety, and of a desire to conciliate the divine favour, an expiatory sacrifice was offered for the transgressions of the past year. Indeed Epiphanius declares (*Adv. Har.* cap. xix. 3) that the Egyptians on this occasion marked their sheep with red, because of the general conflagration which once raged at the time when the sun passed over into the sign of Aries, thereby to symbolize the fiery death of those animals which were not actually offered up; whilst Von Bohlen assures us that the ancient Peruvians marked with blood the doors of the temples, royal residences, and private dwellings, to symbolize the triumph of the sun over the winter (*Altes Indien*, i. 140; also by the same author, *General Introduction to the Pentateuch*, p. 140; Kalisch, *Commentary on Exodus*, p. 184; Ewald, *Die Alterthümer*, p. 390). Now, it is admitted that two of the three great Jewish festivals—viz., Pentecost and Tabernacles—refer to the annual course of nature [FESTIVALS], and that the festival of New Moon, which existed prior to the Mosaic legislation, was introduced by the inspired legislator into the cycle of Jewish festivals [NEW MOON, FEAST OF THE]. There can therefore be no difficulty in admitting that the third festival was also celebrated in the patriarchal age as a barley harvest festival, which is indicated by the very name, Abib (אֲבִיב), of this month, and that God in his infinite wisdom and goodness chose to redeem Israel at the time of this festival, and thus connected with the celebration of the regeneration of nature the celebration of the birth of the nation (Is. xliii. 1, 15-17; Ezek. xvi. 4; Hos. ii. 5), superadding thereunto rites and ceremonies commemorative of the historical event, as well as

assigning to some already existing ceremonies a spiritual and original significance. This explains the fact why the unleavened bread, which was undoubtedly connected with sacrifices before the institution of the Passover, and which was enjoined to be eaten with the paschal sacrifices, without giving to it any significance in the original ordinance (Exod. xii. 1-20), was *afterwards* made to symbolise the haste in which the children of Israel had to leave Egypt (Exod. xii. 34; Deut. xvi. 3). That the unleavened bread could not from the first have been the symbol of the fact that there was no time for the dough to leaven (Exod. xii. 33, 34, 39), is evident from Exod. xii. 8, 15, where the Israelites were commanded to eat unleavened bread *before* their departure, and when there was plenty of time for the dough to leaven. Moreover, the fact that this primæval festival has been divested of many old superstitions, and invested with new ideas of a most exalting tendency, in being made to commemorate the exodus as well as the barley harvest, sets aside the arguments brought against the possibility of its having been celebrated at the exodus, inasmuch as the people were quite prepared for the celebration, as far as arrangements and cattle were concerned.

5. *Literature.*—The *Mishna*, Tractates *Pesachim*, *Chagiga*, and *Moed Katon*; and the *Talmud* or *Gemara* on these Tractates; Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chetzaka*, *Hilchoth Chamez U-Maza*; *Hilchoth Korban Pesach*., and *Hilchoth Chagiga*; Lightfoot, *The Temple Service*, cap. xii.-xiv. pp. 951, 961, vol. i. folio edition; Meyer, *De tempp. sacris Hebræorum*, p. 278, seq.; Bähr, *Symbolik des Mosaischen Cultus*, ii. 613, ff., 627, ff.; Saalschütz, *Das Mosaische Recht*, Berlin 1853, p. 406, ff.; Ewald, *Die Alterthümer des Volkes Israel*, Göttingen 1854, p. 390, ff.; Kalisch, *Historical and Critical Commentary on Exodus*, p. 178, etc.; Keil, *Handbuch der biblischen Archäologie*, p. 380, ff.; Knobel, *Die Bücher Exodus und Leviticus*, pp. 91, ff., 532, ff.; *The Jewish Ritual*, entitled *Derech Ha-Chajim*, Vienna 1859, p. 233, ff.; Landshuth, *Hagada Vortrag für die beiden Pessachabende*, which contains a masterly dissertation on the respective ages of the different portions constituting the Passover service, written in Hebrew by the editor, and a valuable treatise on the bibliography of the Passover service, written in German by the erudite Steinschneider.—C. D. G.

PASTURAGE. In the first period of their history the Hebrews led an unsettled pastoral life, such as we still find among many Oriental tribes. One great object of the Mosaic polity was to turn them from this condition into that of fixed cultivators of the soil. Pasturage was, however, only discouraged as a *condition of life* unfriendly to settled habits and institutions, and not as a pursuit connected with agriculture. Hence, although in later times the principal attention of the Hebrews was given to agriculture, the tending of sheep and cattle was not at any time neglected.

The shepherds who move about with their flocks from one pasture-ground to another, according to the demands of the season, the state of the herbage, and the supply of water, are called *nomads*—that is, not merely *shepherds*, but *wandering shepherds*. They feed their flocks on the 'commons,' or the deserts and wildernesses, which no settled or cultivating people have appropriated. At first, no



pastoral tribe can have any particular property in such tracts of ground in preference to another tribe; but, in the end, a particular tract becomes appropriated to some one tribe, or section of a tribe, either from long occupation, or from digging wells therein. According to the ideas of the East, the digging of a well is so meritorious an act, that he who performs it acquires a property in the waste lands around. In the time of the patriarchs, Palestine was but thinly peopled by the Canaanites, and offered many such tracts of unappropriated grounds fit for pasturage. In these they fed their flocks, without establishing any exclusive claims to the soil, until they proceeded to dig wells, which, being considered as an act of appropriation, was opposed by some of the inhabitants (Gen. xxi. 25, 26). After the conquest of Canaan, those Israelites who possessed large flocks and herds sent them out, under the care of shepherds, into the 'wildernesses,' or commons, of the east and south, where there are rich and juicy pasturages during the moist seasons of the year (1 Sam. xvii. 28; xxv. 4-15; 1 Chron. xxvii. 29-31; Is. lvi. 10; Jer. l. 39). The nomads occupy, successively, the same stations in the deserts every year. In summer, when the plains are parched with drought, and every green herb is dried up, they proceed northwards, or into the mountains, or to the banks of rivers; and in winter and spring, when the rains have re-clothed the plains with verdure, and filled the watercourses, they return. When these pastors remove, they strike their tents, pack them up, and convey them on camels to the next station. Nearly all the pastoral usages were the same, anciently, as now. The sheep were constantly kept in the open air, and guarded by hired servants, and by the sons and daughters of the owners. Even the daughters of emirs, or chiefs, did not disdain to tend the sheep (Gen. xxiv. 17-20; xxix. 9; Exod. ii. 16). The principal shepherd was responsible for the sheep intrusted to his care, and if any were lost he had to make them good, except in certain cases (Gen. xxxi. 39; Exod. xxii. 12; Amos iii. 12). Their services were often paid by a certain proportion of the young of the flock (Gen. xxx. 30). On the more dangerous stations, towers were erected, from which the approach of enemies might be discovered. These were called the Towers of the Flock (Gen. xxxv. 21; 2 Chron. xxvi. 10; Micah iv. 8).—J. K.

PATARA (Πάρα), a town of Lycia in Asia Minor, situated on the sea-coast. The Apostle Paul visited it on his journey from Greece to Syria. His itinerary is given with great minuteness by Luke (Acts xx.) From Miletus he went by Coos and Rhodes to Patara, where he found a ship sailing to Phœnicia, and embarked in it (xxi. 1). Patara was a very ancient city, and is said to have been founded by Patarus (Strabo xiv. 3, p. 665), a son of Apollo (Steph. Byz., s. v.). It was already celebrated in the time of Herodotus for a temple and oracle of this deity (i. 182). It appears to have been colonised by the Dorians. Strabo tells us that Ptolemy Philadelphus repaired it, and called it the Lycian Arsinoe, but its old name was retained (l. c.). At the time of Paul's visit it must have been a splendid as well as an influential and populous city. Some of its ruins are of great extent and beauty; and Livy, speaking of Lycia, calls Patara

'caput gentis' (xxxvii. 15; cf. Pomp. Mel. i. 15; Polyb. xxii. 26).

In sailing from Rhodes to Patara, Paul had before him some of the grandest scenery in the east. The western extremity of the Taurus range descends from a serried line of snow-crowned peaks, in a series of rugged cliffs and wooded slopes, till at length it dips its rocky base in the Mediterranean. Crossing the channel from the little harbour of Rhodes, the vessel would skirt for a time the bold coast, and then, passing a noble headland, it would open up the rich valley of the Xanthus, and the little plain at its mouth, which extends some eight miles along the shore, and six or seven inland. Near the eastern extremity of this plain stood Patara, close upon the beach, separated from the river Xanthus by a broad belt of drift sand, which the wind and waves have drifted up into bleak mounds and hills. The site of the city is now a desert; many of its principal buildings are almost covered with sand; and its harbour, into which Paul sailed, and which was the port of the great city of Xanthus (Appian, B. C. iv. 81), is now a dismal, pestilential marsh. The walls of Patara can still be traced. The triple arch of one of its gates is standing; so also are the remains of a theatre scooped out in the side of a hill (Leake, *Asia Minor*, p. 320); of baths near the sea; of an old castle commanding the harbour; and of temples, altars, columns, and houses, now ruined and mutilated. A Greek inscription over the great city gateway mentions 'Patara the metropolis of the Lycians' (Fellows, *Lycia*, pp. 222, seq.; Beaufort, *Karmania*, pp. 2, seq.; Spratt and Forbes, *Travels in Lycia*, i. pp. 30, seq., ii. 189). The desolate ruins now bear the same name. St. Paul did not remain long at Patara; he probably left a few hours after his arrival; yet Christianity obtained a footing in the city, and it subsequently became the seat of a bishop, and was represented in the Council of Nice (*Car. a St. Paul. Geol. Sac.* p. 239).—J. L. P.

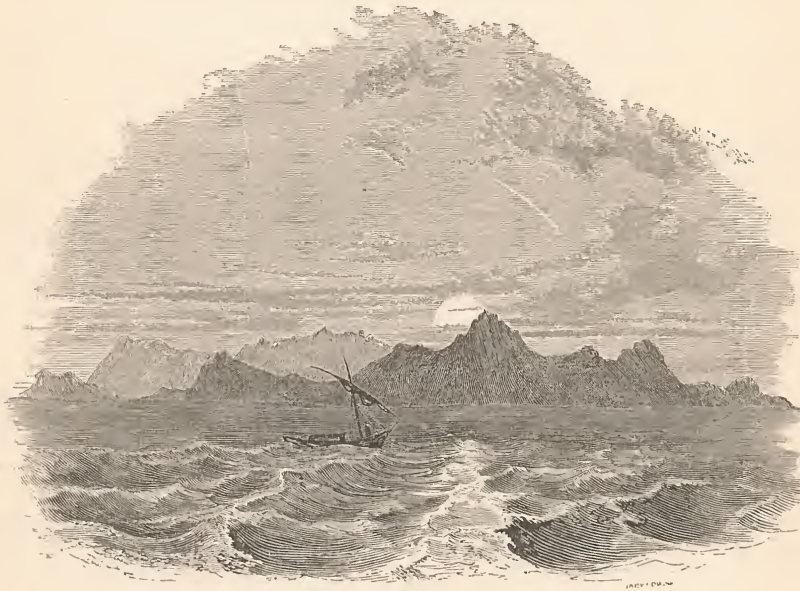
PATMOS (Πάτμος), a rocky and bare island of the Ægean Sea, about fifteen miles in circumference, and reckoned as one of the Sporades (Plin. *Hist. Nat.* iv. 23; Strabo x. 480). On account of its stern and desolate character, the island was used, under the Roman empire, as a place of banishment, which accounts for the exile of John the Baptist 'for the testimony of Jesus' (Rev. i. 9) [JOHN]. He was here favoured with those visions which are contained in the Apocalypse, and to which the place owes its Scriptural interest. The external aspect of the island, as viewed from the sea, and the associations connected with it, are neatly indicated by the Scottish Deputation (*Narrative*, p. 326):—'We saw the peaks of its two prominent hills, but our course did not lie very near it. Still it was intensely interesting to get even a glance of that memorable spot where the beloved disciple saw the visions of God; the spot, too, where the Saviour was seen, and his voice heard, for the last time till he comes again. John's eye often rested on the mountains and the islands among which we were passing, and on the shores and waves of this great sea; and often, after the vision was passed, these natural features of his place of exile would refresh his spirit, recalling to his mind how 'he stood on the sand of the sea' (Rev. xiii. 1), and how he had seen that 'every

island fled away, and the mountains were not found' (Rev. xvi. 20).

On approaching the island the coast is found to be high, and to consist of a succession of capes, which form so many ports, some of which are excellent. The only one in use is, however, a deep bay, sheltered by high mountains on every side but one, where it is protected by a projecting cape. The town attached to this port is situated upon a high rocky mountain, rising immediately from the sea; and this, with the Scala below upon the shore, consisting of some shops and houses, forms the only inhabited site of the island. The best and most recent account of this island is that of Schubert in his *Reise nach Morgenland*, iii. 424-442.

Patmos is deficient in trees, but abounds in flowering plants and shrubs. Walnuts and other fruit trees are grown in the orchards; and the

wine of Patmos is the strongest and best-flavoured of any in the Greek islands. Maize and barley are cultivated, but not in a quantity sufficient for the use of the inhabitants, and for the supply of their own vessels and others which often put in at the great harbour for provisions. The island now bears the names of Patino and Palmosa, and the inhabitants do not exceed 4000 or 5000, many of whom are immigrants from the neighbouring continent. About half way on which, whereon the town is built, is shown a natural grotto in the rock, where St. John is supposed to have seen his visions, and to have written the Revelation. In and around it is a small church, connected with which is a school or college, where the ancient Greek literature is said to be well taught and understood. On the top of the mountain, and consequently in the middle of the town, is a monastery, which, from its situation, has a very



425. Patmos.

majestic appearance. It was built by Alexius Comnenus, and in the library are a great many printed books and manuscripts. The latter have been examined and described by Dr. Clarke and Professor Carlisle. See also Turner, *Journal of a Tour*, iii. 98-101, and Schubert, *Reise ins Morgenland*, iii. 424-434.

**PATRIARCH** (πατριάρχης). The meaning of the word is 'head of a family or tribe.' It is compounded of πατριὰ (a race, family) and ἀρχή (the beginning). St. Paul (Eph. iii. 15) calls attention to the fact that the title of πατριὰ comes from Πατήρ, 'the great Father of all the πατριαι both of angels and men' (Ellicott); and thus, constructively, 'Patriarch' in its highest sense, is a title of him whose offspring all men are. In common use it is applied to those 'chief of the fathers' (רִאשֵׁי הַאֲבוֹת, 2 Chron. xxvi. 12) to whom later genera-

tions in ancient days looked up as the founders or leading men of their respective families. Thus, in the N. T., not only are Abraham and the sons of Jacob called patriarchs, but David also (Acts ii. 29); and the word has been adopted in the Christian church as the designation of its highest spiritual rulers.

By the *patriarchal state* is meant that condition of life, both civil and religious, in which all mankind lived from the period of their first increase to that of their first great dispersion; and in which afterwards, more especially Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and his descendants, lived, down to the time when the Israelites became slaves to the Egyptians. Thus the period embraced extends over about 2300 years, and is covered by the narrative in the book of Genesis. In dealing with a subject thus extended, it will be desirable to sketch first the condition of the *Antediluvian Patriarchs*. We find Adam and Eve driven out of Paradise, and having their



first child, Cain, born to them, without any more exact indication of their whereabouts in the world than may be derived from what had been said already of Paradise itself. Nor, up to the deluge, is there any landmark supplied, except that mention is made of Nod, the country of Cain's wandering, to the east of Eden (Gen. iv. 16). The ark itself, which had probably, from its construction, not floated very far from the country in which it was built, rests on the mountains of the region of Ararat : and when, after the flood, men arrive in the land of Shinar or Babylonia, they have journeyed from the East (Gen. xi. 2). If at the flood the waters of 'the great deep' were those of the Persian Gulf, we might suppose the country inhabited by the patriarchs at that time to have possibly been bounded eastward by the nearest range of mountains, and to have extended to the west but little beyond the valley of the Euphrates.

As to their numbers, we have for our guide the enumeration of ten males in one direct line from Adam, through Seth, to Noah, and of eight through Cain to Jabal.

The age to which these patriarchs attained is proverbial. In this more than in anything are they distinguished from ourselves. The youngest whose death is recorded (Lamech), reached 777 years, and the longest liver attained to 969. Nor is this the only particular in which their natural constitution was different from our own. We have the record of the date at which each of ten of these patriarchs became the father of his eldest son, and in no case was the parent of less age than sixty-five years.

The following table is copied from Archdeacon Wordsworth's *Commentary on Genesis and Exodus*.

PATRIARCHS.	HEBREW TEXT.			SAMARITAN TEXT.			SEPTUAGINT VERSION.		
	Years before birth of Son.	Rest of Life.	Extent of whole Life.	Years before birth of Son.	Rest of Life.	Extent of whole Life.	Years before birth of Son.	Rest of Life.	Extent of whole Life.
1. Adam . . .	130	800	930	130	800	930	230	700	930
2. Seth . . .	105	807	912	105	807	912	205	707	912
3. Enos . . .	90	815	905	90	815	905	190	715	905
4. Cainan . . .	70	840	910	70	840	910	170	740	910
5. Mahalaleel . . .	65	830	895	65	830	895	165	730	895
6. Jared . . .	162	800	962	62	785	847	162	800	962
7. Enoch . . .	65	300	365	65	300	365	165	200	365
8. Methuselah . . .	187	782	969	67	653	720	187	782	969
9. Lamech . . .	182	595	777	53	600	653	188	565	753
10. Noah . . .	500	—	950	500	—	950	500	—	950

There is, of course, nothing to forbid us supposing that many other children were born besides those enumerated. This indeed is taken for granted in the case of women. The names of the wives are not mentioned, until the case of Lamech, who appears to have been the first polygamist, brings them into unenviable notice ; and Cain found a wife, though we have no notice of any woman having as yet been born into the world (see also Gen. v. 4).

When we endeavour to picture to ourselves the sort of life which these first patriarchs led, we seem invited to think of them as wearing at first coats of skins (Gen. iii. 21), and at a later time probably some woven garment (Gen. ix. 23), tilling the ground (Gen. iv. 2), keeping sheep (*ib.*), building cities (Gen. iv. 17), and in later times handling the harp and organ, and working in brass and iron (Gen. iv. 21, 22). But the great proof of the acquaintance of the primeval patriarchs with mechanical arts is to be found in the construction of the ark itself, which, from its enormous dimensions, must have made huge demands both upon the architect himself and the numerous workmen employed by him.

As regards their *spiritual condition*, there is enough to prove that their knowledge of God was intimate, and their trust in God eminently real. But by the knowledge of God must not be understood such knowledge as consists in accurate theological definition. The reformer Bullinger says : 'Out of all this it is easy to understand what faith

and knowledge Adam had of our Lord Christ ; namely, that he knew in him very Godhead and manhood, and that he saw in faith his passion and cross afar off' (The Old Faith). He even attributes to the 'holy fathers' the teaching of the doctrine 'that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are one God in the most reverend Trinity' (First Decade). Doubtless the first intimations of a Mediator were such as to include within them all subsequent revelation, but there is nothing to show that they were so understood by those who then received them. At the same time God did reveal himself to Adam, to Enoch, and to Noah, as well as to Abraham afterwards, and perhaps to many others. 'The traditional knowledge concerning a promised Mediator was no doubt carefully cherished, and served to enlighten much, which in the law, and even in the prophets, might have been otherwise unintelligible. And hence the Mediator, though but faintly shadowed out, was yet firmly believed in. We have our Lord's assurance, that 'Abraham rejoiced to see his day ; he saw it, and was glad' (John viii. 56). We have St. Paul's assurance that the same Abraham, having received the promise of the Redeemer, believed in it, and was justified by faith (Rom. iv. 1-20 ; Gal. iii. 6-9, 14-19). And we may well suppose that the faith which guided Abraham, guided others, both before and after him' (Bp. Browne on Art. vii.) Then as to their knowledge of a future state, we have (Gen. v. 24) a statement concerning Enoch which seems

to show that the antediluvian patriarchs were familiar with the idea of a better life than the present. It has been argued that the very brevity and obscurity of the phrase 'God took him,' prove this familiarity. His being 'taken' was a reward for his piety, a still greater blessing than the long life vouchsafed to so many of his contemporaries. 'Now people who knew of the translation of Enoch, must have known something of that state of bliss to which he was removed' (Bp. Browne). But, besides, in the first 930 years of the world, Adam still lived, and the communion which he had enjoyed with God could by him never have been forgotten. Is it possible that Adam was not well acquainted with a future life? This communion of God with man is again noticeable in the case of Noah (Gen. vi. 13; vii. 1; viii. 15; ix.), as with Abraham and others afterwards. In a general way the earliest patriarchs appear therefore to have lived the simple lives of a pastoral and also agricultural people, furnished with clothing, provided with houses, using herbs, and grain, and fruits, and

probably also, by sufferance, animals for food, offering to God both of the produce of the earth and also slain beasts in sacrifice, able to distinguish the clean from the unclean, speaking one language, holding firmly to the promise of a great blessing to come, familiar with the idea of God's presence in the world, and looking for some better life when this should be ended.

*The Patriarchs after the flood* were at first, in all, but four persons, with each his wife. Noah became the second father of the human race. They were exceedingly fruitful, as God had ordained they should be. The tenth chapter of Genesis is a wonderful document, describing the vast emigrations of the families of the sons of Noah. The number of nations there enumerated is reckoned by the Hebrew expositors as seventy; from Japheth fourteen, from Ham thirty, and from Shem twenty-six. But they no longer lived to the age of their antediluvian forefathers. The following table, given by Archdeacon Wordsworth, presents a synoptical view of the lineage of the family of Shem:—

PATRIARCHS.	HEBREW TEXT.			SAMARITAN TEXT.			SEPTUAGINT VERSION.		
	Years before birth of Son.	Rest of Life.	Extent of whole Life.	Years before birth of Son.	Rest of Life.	Extent of whole Life.	Years before birth of Son.	Rest of Life.	Extent of whole Life.
1. Shem . . . .	100	500	600	100	500	600	100	500	600
2. Arphaxad . . . .	35	403	438	135	303	438	135	400	535
3. (Kaivān) . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	130	330	460
4. Salah . . . .	30	403	433	130	303	433	130	330	460
5. Eber . . . .	34	430	464	134	270	404	134	270	404
6. Peleg . . . .	30	209	239	130	109	239	130	209	339
7. Reu . . . .	32	207	239	132	107	239	132	207	339
8. Serug . . . .	30	200	230	130	100	230	130	200	330
9. Nahor . . . .	29	119	148	79	69	148	179	125	304
10. Terah . . . .	70	135	205	70	75	145	70	135	205
11. Abraham . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

To this it may be added, that Abraham was 90 at the birth of Ishmael, and about 100 at the birth of Isaac; that Isaac was 60 at the birth of Esau and Jacob, and died at 180; that Jacob died at 147, and Joseph at 110. It will be observed, also, that as human life was shortened, children were usually born at an earlier period in the life of their parents. A providential compensation was thus supplied, by which the human family was multiplied, and large portions of the earth occupied. The language of men was, however, no longer one. When an attempt was made to concentrate the race, instead of occupying the earth and replenishing it, the scheme was defeated by the miraculous confusion of tongues. From that time the patriarchal state was preserved, or revived in its purity, chiefly, if not wholly, in the family of Abraham, the friend of God. Nations grew up on the right hand and on the left. In Babylonia there arose the kingdom of Nimrod. 'Out of that land went forth Asshur and builded Nineveh.' Without notice from the sacred historian the marvellous civilisation of Egypt then sprang up, and the thirty pyramids themselves were probably already built when Abraham first arrived in that land. Idolatry, moreover, was fast taking the place of the primeval religion, and if the name of the true God was ever

in danger of being wholly forgotten in the world, it was probably then, when Abraham was called to go forth from Ur of the Chaldees. In the book of Joshua (xxiv. 2, 14), we read, that the original fathers of the Jewish race, who dwelt beyond the Euphrates, served other gods. Such was probably the case with Terah, the father of Abraham. 'If we are asked,' says Professor Max Müller, 'how this one Abraham passed through the denial of all other gods to the knowledge of the one God, we are content to answer that it was by a special divine revelation.' 'It is true,' adds Dean Stanley, 'that Abraham hardly appears before us as . . . a teacher of any new religion. As the Scripture represents him, it is rather as if he was possessed of the truth himself than as if he had any call to proclaim it to others. His life is his creed; his migration is his mission. . . . His faith transpires not in any outward profession of faith, but precisely in that which far more nearly concerns him and every one of us—in his prayers, in his actions, in the righteousness, the 'justice,' . . . the 'uprightness,' the moral 'elevation' of soul and spirit which sent him on his way straight forward, without turning to the right hand or to the left.' Indeed Abraham must be regarded as the type, 'the hero' as he has been called, of the Patriarchal



state. He was acquainted with civilisation and organised government, but in his own person and family adhered to the simple habits of a nomad life. With him and his, the father of the family was the Patriarchal priest, the family itself the Patriarchal church. Dean Stanley has remarked how exactly, when Abraham and Lot 'went forth' to go into the land of Canaan, they resembled two Arabian chiefs at the present day on a journey or a pilgrimage. He notes how at this day, as so many centuries ago, 'the chief wife, the princess of the tribe, is there in her own tent, to make the cakes, and prepare the usual meal of milk and butter; the slave or the child is ready to bring in the red lentile soup for the weary hunter, or to kill the calf for the unexpected guest. Even the ordinary social state is the same: polygamy, slavery, the exclusiveness of family ties; the period of service for the dowry of a wife; the solemn obligations of hospitality; the temptations, easily followed, into craft or falsehood' (*Lectures on Jewish Church*, Lect. i., p. 12).

But if Abraham was in all outward respects like any other sheikh, there was that which distinguished him, as it did Noah before him, and Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, and others, after him, from all the world. This distinction consists partly in the *covenant* whereby these men were especially bound to God, and secondarily in the *typical character* of their recorded actions. Thus God made a league or covenant [COVENANT] with Noah (Gen. ix. 8, 9), and afterwards with Abram (Gen. xv. 8-18), when, as Dean Stanley says, 'the first covenant, 'the Old Testament,' was concluded between God and man,' and when there was represented by outward signs that which had its 'highest fulfilment' in one who, far more than the Jewish people, reflected in his own 'union of suffering and of triumph, the thick darkness of the smoking furnace, the burning and the shining light.' This league was often renewed, as with Abraham when circumcision was enjoined (xvii. 10), and with Isaac prospectively (xvii. 19), but with each of these as being themselves types of 'another seed . . . and another son of promise, in whom the covenant was to be accomplished' (see Dean Jackson, *Creed*, book ix. ch. xvi.)

The lives of the patriarchs are eminently *typical*. By this is not meant, of course, that in themselves the patriarchs were different from other men, but that the record of their lives is so written as to exhibit this typical character in them. 'The materials of the history of Genesis are so selected, methodized, and marshalled, as to be like rays converging steadily from various points to one central focus. The incidents in the lives of the Patriarchs, which seem trivial when read literally, and which would never have been recorded unless they had possessed a prospective value, and unless he who guided the writer had perceived them to have that prospective value, all fall into their proper place when they are read by the light which is shed on them by the gospel of Christ. . . . They are so selected as to be full of instruction' (Wordsworth, *Introd. to Gen.*, etc., p. xxxiv.) To this may be added, from the same authority, the beautiful illustration of St. Augustine (c. Faust. *Manich.* xxii. 94): 'As it is in a harp, where only the strings which are struck emit the sound, and yet all things in the instrument are so fitted together as to minister to the strings which send forth the music, so in

these prophetic narratives of the Pentateuch, the incidents which are selected by the prophetic spirit either send forth an articulate sound themselves, and pre-announce something that is future, or else they are there inserted in order that they may bind together the strings which produce the sounds.'—W. L. M.

PATRICK, SYMON, D.D., successively Bishop of Chichester (consecrated A.D. 1689) and Ely (translated 1691), one of the brightest ornaments of the English Church, was born at Gainsborough, in Lincolnshire, in 1626; was educated at Queen's College, Cambridge, of which he became fellow in 1648, and of which, thirteen years afterwards, he was by a majority of the fellows elected Master; but the election was annulled by the arbitrary interference of the king. In 1651 he graduated M.A., and about the same time was ordained by Bishop Hall, the ejected of Norwich; his D.D. degree he took at Oxford (having been admitted at Christ Church) in 1666. His ecclesiastical preferments, previous to the two highest already mentioned, were the vicarage of Battersea, in 1658; the rectory of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, in 1662; in 1672 the prebend of Westminster; and in 1679 the deanery of Peterborough. He died in 1707. In the appendix of his *Autobiography*, and the *Memoir* of his life, first published in 1839 at Oxford, there is a list of no less than fifty-one works which this excellent man found time to write in the intervals of his active avocations; many of these are among the very best devotional divinity of the Church of England, but admit not of enumeration in this work. As early as 1678 he published his *Paraphrases* on Job and the Psalms; and these were followed by two similar works on Proverbs, and on Ecclesiastes and the Song of Solomon, in 1681. These minor expositions were followed a few years afterwards by the *Commentaries*, which have been deservedly celebrated as, on the whole, the most valuable ever published in the English language (Bp. Watson). In 1694 appeared his *Commentary on Genesis*; *Exodus* in 1696; *Leviticus* in 1698; *Numbers* in 1699; *Deuteronomy*, 1700; *Joshua*, *Judges*, and *Ruth*, also in 1700; *1 and 2 Samuel* in 1703; *1 and 2 Kings* in 1704; and *1 and 2 Chronicles*, *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, and *Esther*, in 1705. These commentaries and paraphrases of Bishop Patrick are supplemented by Lowth on the *Prophets*, Arnald on the *Apocryphal Books*, Whitby and Lowman on the *N. T.* The entire series was more than once, during the last century, republished in six folio volumes, always without Lowman on the *Revelation*, and occasionally also without Arnald—Patrick's portion of the work being comprised in the first two volumes. More recent editions are that of 1809, edited by the Rev. J. Pitman, 7 vols 4to; that of 1822, in 6 vols. royal 4to; and that of 1842, with the text, 4 vols. imp. 8vo, reissued in 1853. This frequent reproduction of so large a work bespeaks its value. Patrick, whose contribution is the best part of the commentary, possessed some of the highest qualities of a good expositor of Holy Scripture. Besides learning, he displays invariably reverence in his subject, perspicuity of style unembarrassed by lengthy dissertation, and an accurate command of the drift and connection of the book he is treating; added to which, he never perplexes his reader with merely detailing various opinions on difficult texts













without giving his own conclusion; and over all his work he has thrown the charm of good sense and sound discretion. Besides these express Biblical treatises, many of this good man's writings admirably illustrate portions of Scripture—such as his *Christian Sacrifice*, his works on the sacraments, and on the Roman controversy. His *Theological Works*, including his Autobiography, were published (the Rev. A. Taylor being the editor) at Oxford, in nine octavo volumes, in 1859. Appended to his Autobiography is a *Paraphrase on Romans* ix.—P. H.

PATROBAS (Πατροβάς), a Christian at Rome to whom St. Paul sends salutations (Rom. xvi. 14). The name seems to be a shorter form of Πατρόβιος; at least the same person, apparently, is called by the one name by Martial (ii. 32. 3) and by the other by Suetonius (*Galba*, c. 20). The Church of Rome makes him a disciple of St. Peter, and assigns his martyrdom to the 4th of November.—W. L. A.

PAU (פֹּא, 'bleating'; Φογώρ; *Phau*). In giving a list of the kings who reigned in Edom before there yet reigned a king over Israel, the sacred historian mentions as the last in order Hadar; and he adds, 'the name of his city is *Pau*' (Gen. xxxvi. 39). The parallel passage in 1 Chron. i. 50 reads *Pai* (פִּי); it is not unusual in the present day to spell the names of places in Syria and Arabia in different ways. The site of *Pau* is unknown. It was probably in Idumæa, and appears to have been constituted capital during the reign of Hadar, for it is said 'the name of his city is *Pau*'; whereas in the case of those who were foreigners, or who did not reside in their native place, their native place is mentioned in a different way: thus, 'Samlah of Masrekah' (36), 'Saul of Rehoboth' (37).—J. L. P.

PAUL (Παῦλος), originally *Saul* (סָאῦל, asked for; Σαῦλος), was a native of Tarsus, a city of Cilicia (Acts xxii. 3, etc.), and was of pure Jewish descent, of the tribe of Benjamin (Phil. iii. 5). According to an ancient tradition he was born in the second year after Christ (Chrysost. *De Petro et Paulo*, *Opp.* vol. viii. Montf.), a statement not in itself improbable, and falling in with the description of him as *pearlas* at the time of Stephen's martyrdom (Acts vii. 57). From his father he inherited the rights of Roman citizenship, which may have been earned by one of his ancestry through services rendered to the Roman state (Lardner, *Works*, i. 228, ed. 1788, 8vo; Grotius, *ad Act.* xxii. 28), or may have been purchased by one of them (Deyling, *Obs.* *Sacc.* iii. obs. 40, p. 388). The supposition that he enjoyed them in virtue of being a native of Tarsus is not well founded; for though that city had been created by Augustus an *urbs libera* (Dio Chrysost. ii. 36, ed. Reiske; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* v. 27), it does not follow from this that all its natives enjoyed the privilege of Roman citizenship; and besides, from Acts xxi. 39, compared with xxii. 24, 27, it may be inferred that, as the chief captain knew Paul to be a native of Tarsus, and yet was not aware of his Roman citizenship, the latter of these was not necessarily associated with the former. From his receiving the name *Saul* it has been supposed that he was the first-born son of his parents, and that they had long desired and often asked for

such a favour from God; that he was not their only child, however, appears from the mention made (Acts xxiii. 16) of his 'sister's son.' Whether Andronicus, Junia, and Herodion, whom he terms, in the Epistle to the Romans (xvi. 7, 11), *συγγενεῖς μου*, were of the number of his blood relations, or only belonged to the same tribe with him, is a question on which learned men have taken different sides (comp. Lardner, *Works*, vi. 235; Estius, *Comm.*, in loc.)

At that time Tarsus was the rival of Athens and Alexandria as a place of learning and philosophical research (Strabo, xiv. p. 673); but to what extent the future 'Apostle of the Gentiles' enjoyed the advantage of its schools we have no means of accurately determining. Attempts have been made to show from his writings that he was familiar with Greek literature, and Dr. Bentley has not hesitated to affirm that 'as Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, so it is manifest from this chapter alone (Acts xvii.), if nothing else had been now extant, that St. Paul was a great master in all the learning of the Greeks' (*Boyle Lectures*, Sermon. iii. *sub. init.*) An authority like that of Bentley in a question of Greek literature is not to be lightly set aside; yet, on referring to the evidence which has been furnished both by himself and others in support of the opinion to which he has lent his sanction, it will not be found, we think, such as to justify the strong and decided language he has employed. This evidence consists, (1) of a few supposed references, in the discourse alluded to by Dr. Bentley, to certain dogmas of the Greek philosophers; but even supposing the apostle to have had these in his eye, it will not follow that he must have studied the writings in which these dogmas were unfolded and defended, because he might have learned enough of them to guide him to such references, as by the supposition he makes in that discourse, from those controversial encounters with 'the philosophers of the Epicureans and of the Stoics,' which we are told he had in the marketplace of Athens, previous to the delivering of his oration on the Areopagus; (2) of three quotations made by him from Greek poets, one from the *Phænomena* (ver. 5) of his countryman Aratus (Acts xvii. 28), one from a lost play of Menander (1 Cor. xv. 33), and one from Epimenides (Tit. i. 12), all of which, however, bear the general character of gnomes or proverbs, and might consequently find their way to the apostle merely as part of the current coin of popular conversation, without his having once visited the treasury whence they were originally drawn; and (3) of certain similarities of idea and expression between some passages of the apostle and some that are found in classic authors (Horne's *Introduction*, iv. 343); but none of which are of such a nature as to necessitate the conclusion that the coincidence is more than purely accidental. It must be allowed, however, that the mere circumstance of having spent his early years in such a city as Tarsus could not but exert a very powerful influence on the mind of such a man as Paul, in the way of sharpening his faculties, refining his tastes, and enlarging the circle of his sympathies and affections. 'If, even to the meanest citizen,' as Eichhorn remarks, 'such a circumstance affords—unless he be by nature utterly unobservant—much information which otherwise he could not have obtained, and in consequence of this a certain activity of mind; how much greater



may not its effect be supposed to have been on a great mind like that of Paul! To his birth and early residence in Tarsus may be traced the urbanity which the apostle at no time laid aside, and of which he was frequently a perfect model; many insinuating turns which he gives to his epistles; and a more skilful use of the Greek tongue than a Jew born and educated in Palestine could well have attained' (*Einleit. ins N. T.*, iii. 5).

But whatever uncertainty may hang over the early studies of the apostle in the department of Greek learning, there can be no doubt that, being the son of a Pharisee, and destined, in all probability, from his infancy to the pursuits of a doctor of Jewish law, he would be carefully instructed from his earliest years in the elements of Rabbinical lore. It is probable also that at this time he acquired his skill in that handicraft trade by which in later years he frequently supported himself (*Acts xvii. 3; 1 Cor. iv. 12*, etc.); for it was a maxim among the Jews, that 'he who does not teach his son a trade, teaches him to steal.' This trade is described by Luke as that of a *σκεντοποιός*, a word regarding the meaning of which there has been no small difference of opinion. Luther makes it 'carpet-maker;' Morus (*in Act. xviii. 3*) and others, 'maker of mats or mattresses;' Michaelis (*Einl. ins N. T.*, sec. 216) and Haenlein (*Einl. ins N. T.*, iii. 301), 'tool-maker;' Chrysostom and others, 'worker in leather' (= *σκευοτόμος*); Hug (*Introd. p. 505*, Fosdick's Trans.) and Eichhorn (*Einl. ins N. T.*, iii. 8), 'maker of tent-cloth;' but most critics agree with our translators in rendering it 'tent-maker' (comp. Kuinoel, Dindorf, Rosenmüller, Olshausen, *in loc.*; Winer, *Realwörterb.* Art. 'Paulus;' Schleusner, *in voc.*) There was a fabric manufactured in Cilicia from the hair of a species of goat indigenous to the district, and from its source called *Cilicium*, *κίλικία*. This was used for tents, and for the protection of soldiers in assaulting a fortified place (*Plin. N. H.*, vi. 33; Veget, *De Re Milit.* iv. 6). Paul may have been a maker of this; but we need not suppose he was confined to this.

At the proper age (supposed to be after he was fourteen years old), the apostle proceeded to Jerusalem to prosecute his studies in the learning of the Jews. Here he became a student under Gamaliel a distinguished teacher of the law, and to whom first the title 'Rabban' was given (*Lightfoot, Horæ Hebr. in Act. v. 34; Neander, Apostol. Zeitalter*, u. s. w. s. 62; Otho, *Lex. Rabbinico-Phil.* s. v. 'Rabbi'). Besides acquaintance with the Jewish law, and a sincere conviction of the supreme excellence of Judaism, Gamaliel appears to have possessed a singularly calm and judicious mind, and to have exercised a freedom of thought as well as pursued a range of study very unlike what was common among the party to which he belonged (*Acts v. 34-39; comp. Neander, loc. cit.*) [*GAMALIEL I.*] How much the instructions and the example of such a teacher may have influenced the mind of Paul in a direction favourable to the course he was subsequently called to pursue, it is easy for us to imagine, though from the absence of all testimony on the subject it is not competent for us to affirm.

We now approach the period in Saul's history when he became a prominent figure on the page of the sacred historian, and when, consequently, the facts of his life can be more confidently

narrated. The points about which differences of opinion chiefly exist relate to the chronology of the events recorded concerning him. Deferring the consideration of this for the present, we shall proceed to narrate briefly the apostle's history, without any attempt to ascertain the year either of his own life, or of the Christian era when each event occurred.

He is introduced to our notice by the sacred historian for the first time in connection with the martyrdom of Stephen, in which transaction he was, if not an assistant, something more than a mere spectator. He is described as at this time 'a young man' (*νεανίας*); but this term was employed with so much latitude by the Greeks, that it is impossible from the mere use of it to determine whether the party to whom it was applied was under thirty, or between that and forty. The probability is, that Paul must have reached the age of thirty at least; for, otherwise, it is not likely that he would have shared the counsels of the chief priests, or been intrusted by them with the entire responsibility of executing their designs against the followers of Jesus, as we know was the case (*Acts xxvi. 10, 12*). For such a task he showed a painful aptitude, and discharged it with a zeal which spared neither age nor sex (*Acts viii. 1-3; xxvi. 10, 11*). Accounting it, apparently, his special vocation to uphold the Mosaic law, and to put down all who were unfaithful to it, he devoted himself to the persecution of the Christians; and infuriated by the thought that the dispersion of them after the death of Stephen had only tended to the wider diffusion of their doctrines, he obtained the authority of the high-priest to pursue them to Damascus for the purpose of arresting and bringing back as prisoners to Jerusalem those who had fled thither. He probably hoped in this way not only to punish those whom he might seize, but by arresting them, to prevent the spreading of Christianity eastwards through Mesopotamia and Babylonia, to which Damascus was the door. If Aretas also, the friend of the Jews, had then an ethnarch in Damascus, he might count on his aid in carrying out his purpose against the Christians. But whilst thus, in his ignorance and unbelief, he was seeking to be 'injurious' to the cause of Christ, the great author of Christianity was about to make him a distinguished trophy of its power, and one of the most devoted and successful of its advocates. Whilst journeying to Damascus, and when he had almost completed his journey, he was suddenly arrested by a miraculous vision of Christ, who, addressing him from heaven, demanded the reason of his furious zeal, in the remarkable words, 'Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?' Struck to the ground by the suddenness and overwhelming splendour of the vision, and able only to ask by whom it was he was thus addressed, he received for answer, 'I am Jesus of Nazareth whom thou persecutest. It is hard for thee to kick against the goad' (*i. e.*, in vain dost thou resist my arrangement to make thee my servant, as in vain does the ox, by kicking against the goad, endeavour to exempt itself from the control of its driver); but arise, and go into the city, and it shall be told thee what to do.' This command the con-founded and now humble zealot immediately rose to obey; but, as the brilliancy of the light which had shone around him had dazzled him to blindness, he had to be led into the city by his attend-



ants. Here he remained for three days and nights in a state of deep mental conflict and dejection, tasting neither meat nor drink, until a person of the name of Ananias appeared, at the command of Christ, to relieve his distress, and to admit him into the Christian fraternity by baptizing him for the name of the Lord (Acts ix. 1-18; xxii. 6-8; xxvi. 14-16).

Of the three accounts which we have of this event, one is furnished by the historian of the Acts and two by St. Paul himself. Between these accounts there are one or two slight discrepancies, which, however, may be easily reconciled. Thus, Luke tells us, that the men who accompanied Saul 'stood speechless, hearing a voice but seeing no man' (Acts ix. 7); whilst he himself says, in the one account, 'they that were with me saw the light and were afraid, but they heard not the voice of him that spake to me' (xxii. 9); and in the other, 'when we were all fallen to the ground, I heard a voice speaking,' etc. (xxvi. 14). Now, as respects the posture of Saul's companions, it is quite credible that *both* statements may be correct. Bengel suggests that '*cesiderant illi quoque sed ante Saulum surrexerunt sua sponte*,' and this Kuinoel and Baumgarten adopt; but it is more probable that the reverse was the case; that the men, startled by the sudden flash, stood for a while aghast, and then, awed by the supernatural character of the transaction, fell, as Jews naturally would do, on their faces, in which state Saul found them when he came to himself. This will best account for *his* describing them as fallen and on the ground; for, as he could not well take any note of their state at the beginning of the scene, whilst he could not but observe how they were at the close of it, their recumbent position would be naturally that which would most fix itself on his memory. As to the other discrepancy in these statements, it may be got over by the simple suggestion, that they heard the *sound* of the voice that addressed Saul, but did not discriminate articulately the *words* that were uttered. These, with the presentation of the Person of Jesus, were for the future apostle alone.

Another discrepancy appears between ix. 15 and xxii. 15-21, in the former of which certain words are introduced as addressed by the Lord to Ananias, and in the latter the same, or nearly the same words are said to have been addressed by the Lord to Saul. But may not the same words have been addressed to both, so that the *whole* of what the Lord said is to be gathered from combining the two accounts? Or may not the apostle, in his address to Agrippa, have purposed, in order to condense his narrative, to combine into one utterance all that the Lord said to him, both what He said immediately, and what He conveyed to him through Ananias? Either supposition will suffice to relieve the discrepancy.

Attempts have been made to extrude the supernatural from this scene, and to account for the whole on natural grounds. But these attempts commence invariably by eviscerating the problem of its real contents. Were the fact with which we have to deal merely the existence of a rumour or belief, among the disciples at a later age, of such an occurrence having taken place at the conversion of the great apostle, there might be room for the supposition of the magnifying of a natural occurrence into something supernatural, or for the gathering of a mythic halo around the outset of so

important a career. But when the real fact presented to us is, that the apostle himself believed that he had seen this vision by the way to Damascus, as he distinctly asserts, not only in the addresses preserved by Luke, but oftener than once in his epistles (see 1 Cor. ix. 1; xv. 8); and when it is remembered that the reality of the vision was believed by Ananias (Acts ix. 17), by Barnabas, and on his testimony by the apostles at Jerusalem (ix. 27), there seems no possible conclusion at which we can arrive but that of accepting the whole narrative as it stands, with all its supernatural characters. No combination of natural causes will meet the phenomena of the case; and we must either adopt the apostle's own statement of it, as he gives it, or we must suppose him and Ananias to have colluded in a great falsehood, or to have been visited simultaneously with the same mental hallucination, which they conveyed to Barnabas, the apostles, and the church at large, and from which Paul's companions, the servants and soldiers of the high-priest, were not exempt.

The design of this extraordinary scene was, on the one hand, to turn the mind of Saul, by one decisive impulse, from his former state of enmity to the cause of Christianity, to one of firm and deep conviction of its divine authority; and, on the other, to fit him for being a competent witness of the resurrection of Jesus, by having had personal evidence of the fact, in having 'seen the Lord' in his heavenly state. For these ends, the scene through which he passed on the road to Damascus was admirably adapted. The appearance in glory of Jesus was proof sufficient of *two* things—of his actual resurrection from the dead by the power of God, and of his acceptance and exaltation as the mediator between God and man, and the king of the spiritual kingdom; and in the presence of these truths the mind of Saul, sincere, truthful, and accustomed to processes of reasoning, could not hesitate as to the conclusion to be drawn in favour of the divinity of that system which he had been madly seeking to destroy. No mere mental vision, no mere verbal revelation, no mere announcement, however impressive, could have gained these ends. It was the presentation to the view of Saul, of Him who could say, 'I am Jesus of Nazareth whom thou persecutest,' which could alone meet the requirements of the case. Such a presentation the future apostle had on the road to Damascus; and it changed the whole tenor of his convictions, and gave a new direction and a new impulse to his subsequent life.

Such a change produced by such means presupposes the existence in the mind of the apostle of a sincere desire to be in accordance with the mind of God, and to follow the path of truth according to conviction. As Neander justly remarks, 'A Caiaphas would never by any miracle have been changed into a herald of the gospel' (*Ap. Zeit.*, p. 119). But Saul was no Caiaphas. As he himself tells us, he was moved to what he did against the followers of Jesus by believing that thereby he was doing God service. He had a zeal for God, though it was not according to knowledge. He was a sincere and blameless Jew (Phil. iii. 6), who believed the religion in which he had been educated to be the only true religion, and who persecuted the Christians because he thought Jesus an impostor and Christianity a blasphemy. Nor can we suppose that Saul had never seriously pondered the



question, 'May not this new religion be true after all?' The faith, piety, and firmness of Stephen, and the zeal, sincerity, and constancy of the believers in Jesus, amid persecution and suffering, could not but attract his attention and occupy his thoughts. His prejudices, it is true, retained their ascendant in his mind, and the conflict he had within him only tended, under their predominancy, to render him more impetuous and impassioned in his attempts to put down Christianity; but we cannot doubt that a certain preparation of the kind described had gone on within him, which rendered him more open to a right impression from the transaction on the road to Damascus. He had all along *meant* to be honest and true to conviction, and it only needed something that should force on him the conviction that Christianity was from God, and that Jesus was the Messiah, to turn the whole current of his ardent soul towards the adoption and advocacy of that belief.

As was natural, the first emotions of Saul, after conviction had flashed on his mind, were those of horror, contrition, and self-abasement—emotions so strong and overwhelming, that his spirit was crushed beneath their weight, and his whole frame became paralysed with weakness. But as light continued to pass into his mind, and especially after the decisive step had been taken of joining himself to the Christians, his energies revived, and he set himself with all his native zeal and ardour to proclaim to his nation the truth he had received (Acts ix. 15-22). How long he continued in Damascus thus engaged after his conversion we do not know; but it was apparently only for a short time. Driven away, probably by the fury of the Jews, he retired into Arabia (Gal. i. 17). This may have been not very far from Damascus—for Arabia, in the wider application of the name, included the district bordering on the northern part of Syria; or it may have been the country more strictly called Arabia, the stony Arabia. How long he remained here is uncertain; he himself specifies three years as elapsing between his conversion and his going up for the first time after that to Jerusalem (Gal. i. 18); but these three years include the time spent at Damascus before he went into Arabia, and the *ἡμέραι ἱκαναί* spent at Damascus after his return (Acts ix. 23), as well as the time spent in Arabia. There can be little doubt, however, as to the *object* for which he thus retired into solitude. Having received his commission from Christ himself, he did not feel that it behoved him to seek instruction from any inferior source. He therefore did not go up to Jerusalem to them that were apostles before him, but retired into solitude, for the purpose, doubtless, of yielding himself to the teaching of Christ, to meditation and study, and to whatever else was needful to prepare him for the work to which he had been called. As the other apostles had enjoyed a period of preparation for their work under the immediate teaching of Christ, so it seemed fitting that a similar course of preparation should be gone through by the one who had been since the Lord's resurrection added to their number. It is probably to what transpired while he was in Arabia that the apostle refers, when he says that he received that gospel which afterwards he preached 'by revelation' from Christ (Gal. i. 12). Neander (*l. c. s. 121*) and Anger (*De Tempp. in Actis App. Ratione*, p. 123), have endeavoured to show that Paul went into

Arabia to preach the gospel; but the reasons they adduce have little weight (comp. Olshausen on Acts ix. 20-25).

Returning from Arabia to Damascus, the apostle commenced his public efforts in the service of Christ, by boldly advocating in the synagogues of the Jews the claims of Jesus to be venerated as the Son of God. At first astonished, the Jews were afterwards furiously incensed at this change in the opinions and conduct of Saul, and, in consequence of their attempts upon his liberty and life, he was obliged to make his escape from Damascus. This he effected with difficulty by the aid of the Christians, some of whom let him down in a basket from the window of a dwelling erected upon the outer wall of the city (Acts ix. 21, etc.; 2 Cor. xi. 32). After this he went up to Jerusalem (for the *first* time after his conversion), where, on the testimony of Barnabas, he was acknowledged as a Christian brother, and admitted by the apostles to that place in their fraternity which had been assigned to him by Christ. From Jerusalem he was soon driven by the hostility of the Jews; when, after visiting Cæsarea, he went to his native town Tarsus, where he abode a considerable time, perhaps two years (Acts ix. 26-30). From this retreat he was summoned by Barnabas, who, having been appointed by the apostles at Jerusalem to visit the church at Antioch, where accessions had been made to the number of the followers of Jesus from among the Gentiles as well as the Jews, and finding the need of counsel and co-operation in his work, went to Tarsus to procure the assistance of Saul (Acts xi. 22-25). After residing and labouring for a year in Antioch, these two distinguished servants of Christ were sent up to Jerusalem with certain contributions which had been made among the Christians at Antioch, on behalf of their brethren in Judæa, who were suffering from the effects of a dearth (Acts xi. 27-30). This was the apostle's *second* visit to Jerusalem after his conversion.

Having discharged this commission they returned to Antioch, accompanied by John Mark, the nephew of Barnabas, and were shortly afterwards despatched by that church, in obedience to an injunction from heaven, on a general missionary tour. In the course of this tour—during the earlier part only of which they were accompanied by Mark, in consequence of his shrinking from the toils and dangers of the journey, and returning to Jerusalem—they visited Seleucia, Cyprus, Perga in Pamphylia, Antioch in Pisidia, Iconium, Lystra and Derbe, cities of Lycaonia (in the former of which the fickle populace, though at first they had with difficulty been prevented from offering them divine honours, were almost immediately afterwards, at the instigation of the Jews, led to stone the apostle until he was left for dead); and then they returned by way of Attalia, a city of Pamphylia, by sea to Antioch, where they rehearsed to the church all that God had done by them (Acts xiii.-xiv.). This formed the apostle's *first* great missionary tour.

In the narrative of this journey given by Luke, the historian, without assigning any reason for so doing, drops the name Saul and adopts that of Paul, in designating the apostle. It is probable from this, that it was during this journey that the apostle's change of name actually took place. What led to that change we can only conjecture; and of conjectures on this point there has been no



lack. Jerome and Augustine, whom, among recent writers, Olshausen follows, ascribe the change to the conversion of Sergius Paulus, whose name the apostle assumed in commemoration of so important an event. Chrysostom, followed by Theophylact and Theodoret, imputes it to the apostle's determination that, as Peter had two names, he would not, even in this respect, 'be behind the chiefest of the apostles.' Nicephorus (*Hist. Eccles.* ii. 37) thinks he received the name as a sort of nickname from the Romans, on account of his diminutive stature; *Paulus*, quasi *Pusillus*. Lightfoot, Hammond, and others, suppose that from his birth the apostle had the two names, the one in virtue of his Hebrew descent, the other in virtue of his Roman citizenship, and that he used the one among the Jews, but adopted the other when he came to labour chiefly among Gentiles. But the most probable opinion is that of Beza, Grotius, Doddridge, Kuinoel, etc., that as the Romans and Greeks were in the habit of softening the Hebrew names in pronunciation, and accommodating their form to that of the Latin or Greek (comp. Jason for *Ἰησους*, Silvanus for *Σίλας*, Pollio for *Πολλῆς*, etc.),

they substituted Paulus for *Παῦλος*, and the apostle henceforward adopted the substituted name as his usual designation.

Not long after Paul and Barnabas had returned to Antioch, they were deputed by the church there again to visit Jerusalem, to consult the apostles and elders upon the question, which certain members of the church at Jerusalem had raised in that at Antioch, whether converts from heathenism required to be circumcised, and so become Jews before they could be saved? The apostle on this occasion visited Jerusalem for the *third* time after his conversion; and after the question had been settled by the parties in that city with whom the power to do so lay, he and his companion returned to Antioch. After restoring peace to the church there Paul proposed to Barnabas to undertake another missionary tour, to which the latter cordially assented; but, unhappily, on the very eve of their departure, a contention arose between them, in consequence of Barnabas being determined to take with them his nephew John Mark, and Paul being equally determined that one who had on a former occasion ingloriously deserted them, should not again be employed in the work. Unable to come to an agreement on this point they separated, and each pursued his own path of labour. This occurrence is often referred to as affording a warning instance of how good men may allow a very small matter so to excite angry feelings within them that their intercourse is interrupted and their co-operation in good causes brought to an end. But this is not altogether a just representation of the case. The error of these two servants of Christ lay, not in their allowing their passion to get the better of them, but in their attaching undue importance to feelings, in themselves innocent, if not laudable. No one can blame Barnabas for desiring, under the influence of natural affection, to give his relative Mark another trial; nor is Paul to be blamed because, attaching great importance to steadfastness and courage on the part of those who engaged in the service of Christ, he had misgivings as to the expediency of taking with them, on a laborious and it might be perilous enterprise, one whose fortitude had on a former occasion

proved unequal to the trial. But both carried these feelings too far. Each was too tenacious of his own ground. And the lesson which their separation teaches is that it is not wise or proper to be so determined to carry our own point, even when good, as to refuse all concessions to another. Perhaps the apostle, when he came to reflect on what had happened, learned experimentally the importance of what he so often enjoins in his epistles—the duty of Christians 'submitting themselves one to another in the fear of God' (Eph. v. 21), and not being 'wise in their own conceit' (Rom. xii. 16).

After this separation from his former companion and faithful fellow-labourer, Paul, accompanied by Silas, commenced his second missionary journey, in the course of which, after passing through Syria and Cilicia, he revisited Lystra and Derbe. At the former of these places he found Timothy, whom he associated with Silas, as the companion of his further travels, after he had been ordained by the apostle and the presbytery of the church of which he was a member (1 Tim. iv. 14). Paul then passed through the regions of Phrygia and Galatia, and, avoiding Asia strictly so called, and Bithynia, he came with his companions by way of Mysia to Troas, on the borders of the Hellespont. Hence they crossed to Samothracia, and thence to Neapolis. From this they travelled to Philippi, whither he had been summoned in a vision by a man of Macedonia, saying, 'Come over and help us.' After some time spent in this city they passed through Amphipolis and Apollonia, cities of Macedonia, and came to Thessalonica, where, though they abode only a short time, they preached the gospel with no small success. Driven from that city by the malice of the Jews, they came by night to Berea, another city of Macedonia, where at first they were favourably received by the Jews, until a party from Thessalonica, which had followed them, incited the Bereans against them. Paul, as especially obnoxious to the Jews, deemed it prudent to leave the place, and accordingly retired to Athens, where he determined to await the arrival of Silas and Timothy. Whilst residing in this city, and observing the manners and religious customs of its inhabitants, his spirit was stirred within him when he saw how entirely they were immersed in idolatry; and unable to refrain, he commenced in the synagogues of the Jews, and in the market-place, to hold discussions with all whom he encountered. This led to his being taken to the Areopagus, where, surrounded by perhaps the shrewdest, most polished, most acute, most witty, and most scornful assemblage that ever surrounded a preacher of Christianity, he, with exquisite tact and ability, exposed the folly of their superstitions, and unfolded the character and claims of the living and true God. For the purpose of more effectually arresting the attention of his audience, he commenced by referring to an altar in their city, on which he had read the inscription *ἀγνώστῳ θεῷ*, *to an unknown God*; and, applying this to the true God, he proposed to declare to them that Deity, whom thus, without knowing him (*ἀγνοοῦντες*), they were worshipping. Considerable difficulty has been found by many interpreters to reconcile this with the fact, that no mention is made by the classic authors of any altar in Athens bearing this inscription, whilst we are told by Pausanias (*Attic.* i. 4; *Eliac.* v. 14, 6) and Philostratus

(*Vit. Apollonii Tyan.*, vi. 3), that there were several altars inscribed ἀγνώστους θεοῖς, in the plural; and different suppositions have been made to account for the apostle's language (Kuinoel, in *Act.* xvii. 23). But why should we not receive the apostle's own testimony on this subject, as reported by the inspired historian? It is certain that no one is in circumstances to affirm that no altar existed in Athens bearing such an inscription at the time Paul visited that city; and when, therefore, Paul, publicly addressing the Athenians, says he saw such an altar, why should we hesitate for a moment to take his words for what they literally mean? Besides, there is nothing in what Pausanias and Philostratus affirm that is really incompatible with Paul's assertion. It is to be observed, that neither of them says there were altars, on each of which the inscription was in the plural number, but only there were 'altars of gods called unknown' (βασιλεῖς θεῶν ὀνομαζομένων ἀγνώστων); so that, for aught that appears to the contrary, each altar might bear the inscription which Paul says he saw upon one.

On being rejoined by Timothy (1 Thes. iii. 1), and perhaps also by Silas (comp. Greswell's *Dissertations*, ii. pp. 31, 32), the apostle sent them both back to Macedonia, and went alone to visit Corinth, whither they soon after followed him (*Acts* xviii. 5). Here he abode for a year and a half preaching the gospel, and supporting himself by his trade as a tent-maker, in which he was joined by a converted Jew of the name of Aquila, who, with his wife Priscilla, had been expelled from Rome by an edict of the emperor, forbidding Jews to remain in that city. Driven from Corinth by the enmity of the Jews, he, along with Aquila and Priscilla, betook himself to Ephesus, whence, after a residence of only a few days, he went up to Jerusalem, being commanded by God to visit that city, at the time of the approaching passover. His visit on this occasion—the fourth since his conversion—was very brief; and at the close of it he went down to Antioch, thereby completing his second great apostolic tour.

At Antioch he abode for some time, and then, accompanied as is supposed by Titus, he commenced another extensive tour, in the course of which, after passing through Phrygia and Galatia, he visited Ephesus. The importance of this city, in relation to the region of Hither Asia, determined him to remain in it for a considerable time; and he accordingly continued preaching the gospel there for three years, with occasional brief periods of absence, for the purpose of visiting places in the vicinity. With such success were his efforts crowned, that the gains of those who were interested in supporting the worship of Diana, the tutelary goddess of the city, began to be seriously affected; and at the instigation of one of these, by name Demetrius, a silversmith, who had enjoyed a lucrative traffic by the manufacture of what appear to have been miniature representations of the famous temple of Diana (ναὸς ἀργυροῦς Ἀρτέμιδος, comp. Kuinoel, in *Act.* xix. 24; Neander, *Apost. Zeit.*, s. 350), a popular tumult was excited against the apostle, from the fury of which he was with difficulty rescued by the sagacity and tact of the town-clerk, aided by others of the chief men of the place, who appear to have been friendly towards Paul. By this occurrence the apostle's removal from Ephesus, on which, however, he had already determined (*Acts* xix. 21), was in all

probability expedited; and accordingly he, very soon after the tumult, went, by way of Troas, to Philippi, where he appears to have resided some time, and from which, as his head-quarters, he made extensive excursions into the surrounding districts, penetrating even to Illyricum, on the eastern shore of the Adriatic (*Rom.* xv. 19). From Philippi he went to Corinth, where he resided three months, and then returned to Philippi, having been frustrated in his design of proceeding through Syria to Jerusalem by the malice of the Jews. Sailing from Philippi, he came to Troas, where he abode seven days; thence he journeyed on foot to Assos; thence he proceeded by sea to Miletus, where he had an affecting interview with the elders of the church at Ephesus (*Acts* xx. 17, ff.); thence he sailed for Syria, and, after visiting several intermediate ports, landed at Tyre; and thence, after a residence of seven days, he travelled, by way of Ptolemais and Caesarea, to Jerusalem. This constituted his fifth visit to that city after his conversion. It was during this period that the epistles to the Galatians, the Romans, and the Corinthians were written.

On his arrival at Jerusalem he had the mortification to find that, whilst the malice of his enemies the Jews was unabated, the minds of many of his brother Christians were alienated from him on account of what they deemed his too lax and liberal notions of the obligations of the Mosaic ritual. To obviate these feelings on their part, he, at the suggestion of St. James, joined himself to four persons who had taken on them the vows of a Nazarite, and engaged to pay the cost of the sacrifices by which the Mosaic ritual required that such should be absolved from their vows. [NAZARITE.] With what success this somewhat questionable act of the apostle was attended, as respects the minds of his brethren, we are not informed, but it had no effect whatever in securing for him any mitigation of the hatred with which he was regarded by the unconverted Jews; on the contrary, his appearance in the temple so much exasperated them, that before his vow was accomplished, they seized him, and would have put him to death, had not Lysias, the commander of the Roman cohort in the adjoining citadel, brought soldiers to his rescue. Under the protection of Lysias, the apostle addressed the angry mob, setting forth the main circumstances of his life, and especially his conversion to Christianity, and his appointment to preach the gospel to the Gentiles. Up to this point they heard him patiently; but no sooner had he insinuated that the Gentiles were viewed by him as placed on a par with the Jews, than all their feelings of national bigotry burst forth in a tempest of execration and fury against the apostle. Lysias, ignorant of what Paul had been saying, from his having addressed the people in Hebrew, and suspecting from these vehement demonstrations of the detestation in which he was held by the Jews, that something flagrantly vicious must have been committed by him, gave orders that he should be examined, and forced by scourging to confess his crime. From this indignity Paul delivered himself by asserting his privileges as a Roman citizen, whom it was not lawful to bind or scourge. Next day, in the presence of the Sanhedrin, he entered into a defence of his conduct, in the course of which, having avowed himself a believer in the doctrine of a bodily resurrection, he awakened so fierce a



controversy on this point between the Pharisees and the Sadducees in the council, that Lysias, fearing he might be torn to pieces among them, gave orders to remove him into the fort. From a conspiracy into which above forty of the Jews had entered to assassinate him he was delivered by the timely interposition of his nephew, who, having acquired intelligence of the plot, intimated it first to Paul, and then to Lysias. Alarmed at the serious appearance which the matter was assuming, Lysias determined to send Paul to Cæsarea, where Felix the procurator was residing, and to leave the affair to his decision. At Cæsarea Paul and his accusers were heard by Felix; but though the apostle's defence was unanswerable, the procurator, fearful of giving the Jews offence, declined pronouncing any decision, and still retained Paul in bonds. Some time after he was again summoned to appear before Felix, who, along with his wife Drusilla, expressed a desire to hear him 'concerning the faith in Christ'; and on this occasion the faithful and fearless apostle discoursed so pointedly on certain branches of good morals, in which the parties he was addressing were notoriously deficient, that Felix trembled, and hastily sent him from his presence. Shortly after this Felix was succeeded in his government by Porcius Festus, before whom the Jews again brought their charges against Paul; and who, when the cause came to be heard, showed so much of a disposition to favour the Jews, that the apostle felt himself constrained to appeal to Cæsar. To gratify King Agrippa and his wife Bernice, who had come to Cæsarea to visit Festus, and whose curiosity was excited by what they had heard of Paul, he was again called before the governor, and 'permitted to speak for himself.' On this occasion he recapitulated the leading points of his history, and gave such an account of his views and designs, that a deep impression was made on the mind of Agrippa favourable to Christianity and to the apostle; so much so that, but for his having appealed to Cæsar, it is probable he would have been set at liberty. His cause, however, having by that appeal been placed in the hands of the emperor, it was necessary that he should go to Rome, and thither accordingly Festus sent him. His voyage was long and disastrous. Leaving Cæsarea when the season was already considerably advanced, they coasted along Syria as far as Sidon, and then crossed to Myra, a port of Lycia; thence they sailed slowly to Cnidus; and thence, in consequence of unfavourable winds, they struck across to Crete, and with difficulty reached a port on the southern part of that island called 'The Fair Haven,' near the town of Lasea. There Paul urged the centurion, under whose charge he and his fellow-prisoners had been placed, to winter; but the place not being very suitable for this purpose, and the weather promising favourably, this advice was not followed, and they again set sail, intending to reach Phœnice, a port in the same island, and there to winter. Scarcely had they set sail, however, when a tempest arose, at the mercy of which they were driven for fourteen days in a westerly direction, until they were cast upon the coast of Malta, where they suffered shipwreck, but without any loss of life. Hospitably received by the natives, they abode there three months, during which time Paul had a favourable opportunity of preaching the gospel, and of show-

ing the power with which he was endued for the authentication of his message by performing many miracles for the advantage of the people. On the approach of spring they availed themselves of a ship of Alexandria, which had wintered in the island, and set sail for Syracuse, where they remained three days; thence they crossed to Rhegium, in Italy; and thence to Puteoli, from which place Paul and his companions journeyed to Rome (Smith, *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*). Here he was delivered by the centurion to the captain of the guard, who permitted him to dwell in his own hired house under the surveillance of a soldier. And thus he continued for two years, 'receiving all that came to him, preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ, with all confidence, no man forbidding him' (Acts xxi. 17; xxviii. 31). It was during these two years that the epistles to the Ephesians, the Philippians, the Colossians, and Philemon, were written. To this also we refer the composition of the epistle to the Hebrews.

At this point the evangelist abruptly closes his narrative, leaving us to glean our information regarding the subsequent history of the apostle from less certain sources. Tradition steadfastly affirms that he suffered martyrdom at Rome, and that the manner of his death was by beheading (Tillemont, *Mémoires*, i. p. 324); but whether this took place at the close of the imprisonment mentioned by Luke, or after a second imprisonment incurred subsequent to an intervening period of freedom and active exertion in the cause of Christianity, has been much discussed by modern writers. The latter hypothesis rests chiefly on some statements in Paul's second epistle to Timothy, which it is deemed impossible to reconcile with the former hypothesis. The consideration of these belongs properly to the literary history of that epistle [SECOND EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY], and we shall not therefore enter upon them here. Suffice it to remark that, though the whole subject is involved in much obscurity, the preponderance of evidence seems to be in favour of the supposition of a second imprisonment of the apostle. The testimonies of some of the later fathers in support of this supposition cannot, however, be allowed much weight, for they all rest upon Eusebius, and he rests upon a mere 'rumour' (his words are λόγος ἔχει, *Hist. Eccles.* ii. 22), and upon the apostle's expressions in the second epistle to Timothy. More weight is due to the testimony of Clemens Romanus, because of his proximity in time to the apostle, and of his residence at Rome; but all the information he furnishes bearing on this question is that Paul, 'after having proclaimed the gospel both in the east and in the west . . . and taught righteousness to the whole world, and having come to the boundary of the west (τέρμα τῆς δύσεως), and having testified before the rulers (or having suffered martyrdom by order of the rulers, μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων), thus left the world and went to the holy place' (Eph. i. ad Cor. c. 5). By 'the boundary of the west' it is affirmed, on the part of the advocates of a second imprisonment of the apostle, that Clement means Spain, or perhaps the extreme west part of Spain; and as Paul never visited this during the portion of his life of which we have record in the N. T., it is inferred that he must have done so at a subsequent period after being liberated from imprisonment. But this is not very cogent reasoning; for



it is still open to question whether by τὸ τέρμα τῆς δόσεως Clement really intended to designate Spain. We may give up at once the opinion of Hensen, that the place referred to is Illyricum, as fanciful and untenable; nor do we feel inclined to contend strenuously for Rome as the place intended, though this is not altogether improbable; but is not so easy to get over the suggestion that Clement means nothing more by the phrase than simply the western part of the Roman empire, without intending to specify any one place in particular. It is to be observed that his language is, through the whole sentence, vague and exaggerated, as when, for instance, he affirms that Paul 'had taught righteousness to the whole world;' and, in such a case, it is attributing too much to his assertion to insist upon understanding it of some definite locality. Besides, the use of ἐλθων by Clement would seem to intimate that he was himself residing at the place or in the region which was present to his mind while writing as the *terminus ad quem* of the apostle's journeyings; and, moreover, if by the succeeding clause we understand him as alluding to Paul's having suffered martyrdom by order of the emperor (which is the rendering usually given by those who adduce the passage as favouring the hypothesis of a second imprisonment), does it not appear to follow that the τέρμα τῆς δόσεως was the place where that occurred? Both these suggestions are in favour of Rome, or of the West generally, as the place referred to by Clement; and adopting this interpretation of his words, the inferential evidence they have been supposed to yield in favour of the hypothesis that the apostle enjoyed a period of labour, and suffered a second imprisonment subsequent to that mentioned by Luke, is of course destroyed.

If, on the evidence furnished by the allusions in the Second Epistle to Timothy, we adopt the supposition above stated, it will follow that Paul, during the interval between his first and second imprisonments, undertook an extensive apostolic tour, in the course of which he visited his former scenes of labour in Asia and Greece, and perhaps also fulfilled his purpose of going into Spain (Rom. xv. 24-28). He probably also visited Crete and Dalmatia (comp. Greswell, vol. ii. pp. 78-100).

In the apostle's own writings, one or two incidents of his life are alluded to, of which no notice has been taken in the preceding sketch of his history, in consequence of the obscurity in which they are involved, in some cases as to the time when they occurred, and in others as to the nature of the event itself. These are his visit to Jerusalem, mentioned Gal. ii. 1; his rapture into the third heavens (2 Cor. xii. 1-4); the thorn in the flesh with which he was afflicted after that event (ver. 7); and his fighting with wild beasts at Ephesus, mentioned 1 Cor. xv. 32. As to the first of these, it does not readily synchronise with any visit of the apostle to Jerusalem noticed by Luke. That it was not the visit mentioned Acts xv. appears from various considerations, especially (1.) Paul says he went up, on the occasion referred to by him κατ' ἀποκάλυψιν, i.e., by special divine direction, whereas the visit mentioned in the Acts was by appointment of the church at Antioch, an objection which cannot be got over by adducing Acts ix. 29, 30, and xxii. 17, 21, as showing that both might be true, for the cases are not parallel. There is a great difference between a church sending a man as its delegate on a matter of busi-

ness, and a man's friends finding means to help him to obey a divine mission. (2.) The apostle went up to Jerusalem, he says, to obtain the recognition of his apostleship; whereas, when he was sent by the church at Antioch, it was to obtain the judgment of the church at Jerusalem, as to the necessity of imposing Jewish rites on Gentile converts. (3.) The apostle lays stress on his having confined himself to private interviews with the chief leaders of the church; whereas, in the Acts, stress is laid on the whole question at issue having been discussed and settled in a meeting of the brethren convened on purpose. If it be said that the apostle may have had his own personal end to answer as well as a public duty to discharge, it is replied that in that case we should have expected him to state, not that he went up on purpose to obtain recognition of his apostleship, but simply that he availed himself of the opportunity afforded by his visiting Jerusalem on public business, to have his own personal affair settled. (4.) It is improbable that *after* the decision of the church at Jerusalem, members of that church, under the sanction of James, should have come down to Antioch, and persuaded Peter, Barnabas, and other Jewish Christians, to separate themselves from Gentile Christians as unclean; and the inconsistency would have been especially manifest in Peter and Barnabas, the latter having appeared in the so-called council as the delegate of the liberal party in the church at Antioch, and the former having guided the decision of the assembly in their favour by laying down the position that, as the Lord had made no difference between Gentile and Jewish converts, so neither ought they (Acts xv. 9, 10). These considerations compel us to regard the visit mentioned in Galatians as different from that of Acts xv. On the other hand, we cannot place that visit after the meeting at Jerusalem; because almost immediately after this Paul and Barnabas ceased to co-operate in the same sphere of labour. Was it, then, the visit of Acts xi. 30 to which St. Paul refers? Against this are the facts—(1.) That the apostle describes his visit as *spontaneous*, whereas, on the occasion referred to in Acts, he was *sent* on a special mission. (2.) His sole companion on the one occasion was Barnabas, whereas, on the other, he took with him Titus also. (3.) Paul could hardly, at this early period, have substantiated his claims to be regarded as the apostle of the Gentiles, so as to be put on a par with Peter as the apostle of the circumcision; and (4.) As the visit of the Acts cannot have taken place later than A. D. 46, fourteen years before that would place his flight from Damascus in the year 32, when Aretas could not possess it, and his conversion in the year 29, which is incredible. But if the visit mentioned by the apostle can be identified with neither of these, the only supposition to which we can resort is that during the interval which elapsed between what are commonly reckoned the apostle's *second* and *third* visits to Jerusalem (an interval of about *five* years), a short visit was paid by him and Barnabas, along with Titus, of a private nature, and probably with a view of coming to a distinct understanding with the older apostles as to their relative position and independent working.

As respects the rapture into the third heavens, one thing appears very certain, viz., that those are mistaken who attempt to identify this with the vision on the road to Damascus which led to the apostle's conversion. The design, character, and



consequences of the one are so different from those of the other, that it is surprising any should have imagined the two events were the same (Neander, *Apostol. Zeitalter*, i. 115). It is not improbable that the *ὁρτασία* of which Paul writes to the Corinthians was the same as the *ἐκστασις* referred to by him in the recapitulation of the events of his life in his address to the Jews as recorded in Acts xxii. 17. When in an ecstasy or trance an individual might be well described as *ἀρπάζεις*, for all outward perception was suspended, and the whole mind was wrapt in contemplation of the objects presented in the vision. The date, moreover, which the apostle assigns to the event mentioned in the Epistle to the Corinthians, agrees very closely with that of the event mentioned in the Acts. The latter, Paul says, occurred when he was in Jerusalem for the first time after his conversion: the former, he says, took place 'about fourteen years' before the time of his writing the Second Epistle to the Corinthians. Now, according to almost all the chronologers, a space of fourteen years intervened between the apostle's first visit to Jerusalem and his writing that epistle; so that it is highly probable that the vision referred to in the two narratives is the same.

What 'the thorn in the flesh' was with which the apostle was visited after his vision, has proved indeed a *questio vexata* to interpreters (cf. *Poli Synops. Crit.*, in loc.) The conclusion to which Neander has come on this subject appears to us much the most judicious. 'We must regard it as something entirely personal, affecting him not as an apostle, but as Paul; though, in the absence of any information as to its characteristics, it would be foolish to decide more precisely *what* it was' (*Apostol. Zeit.* i. 228).

Respecting the apostle's fighting with wild beasts at Ephesus, the question is whether this should be understood *literally* of an actual exposure in the theatre to the assault of savage beasts, or *figuratively* of dangers to which he was exposed from the attacks of savage men. It is no objection to the literal interpretation that Luke has not noticed any such event in his narrative; for from Rom. xvi. 4, we find that the apostle must have encountered many deadly perils at Ephesus of which no notice is taken by Luke. As little force is there in the objection that Paul, as a Roman citizen, could not legally be subjected to such a punishment; for however his privileges in this respect may have availed him on some occasions, we know that they did not on all, else he would not have endured the indignity of being scourged, as he was at Philippi (Acts xvi. 23), and, according to his own testimony, often besides (2 Cor. xi. 24, 25). Tradition is in favour of the literal interpretation (Nicephori *Hist. Eccles.* ii. 6. 25); and no exegesis of the whole clause seems better than that of Theodoret: *κατὰ ἀνθρώπων λογισμὸν θηρίων ἐγενήθη βορά, ἀλλὰ παραδόξως ἐσώθη*; for it is far from improbable that the furious mob might have raised the cry '*Ad leones*' against the apostle, and that some unperceived interposition had saved him from the fearful doom. To interpret this statement of his treatment at the hands of Demetrius, is absurdly to make him refer to an event which at the time he was writing had not occurred.

*Chronology of St. Paul's Life.*—For this the date of the entrance of Festus into the government of Palestine is most important. That event took place about Whitsuntide A.D. 60. Counting back from

this two years, during which Paul was a prisoner at Cæsarea (Acts xxiv. 27), we are brought to Whitsuntide 58, as near the time when the apostle returned from his third journey from Greece to Jerusalem. At Easter A.D. 58, he was at Philippi, shortly after which he left for Troas (Acts xx. 6). Previous to this he had spent three months in Achaia (ver. 3), and counting these from Easter A.D. 58, we are brought to the close of A.D. 57 as the date of his arrival in Greece after leaving Ephesus. At Ephesus he had tarried nearly three years before this (Acts xix. 8, 10; xx. 31), so that he must have arrived in that city in the third quarter of A.D. 54. At the Easter before this he had made a hasty journey from Greece to Jerusalem, and thence to Antioch, where he tarried some time, and then entered upon the tour which ended in his residence at Ephesus; so that this visit to Jerusalem was at Easter A.D. 53. Previous to this, he abode one year and six months at Corinth (Acts xviii. 11); deducting this from the preceding date, and making allowance for the 'good while' that elapsed before he left Corinth and reached Jerusalem, we may fix his arrival at Corinth in the third quarter of A.D. 52. What time was spent by the apostle on the missionary tour which ended at Corinth, we have no means of exactly ascertaining; but from what is recorded Acts xv. 36-xvii. 34, we shall probably not greatly err if we allow somewhat more than a year for it, thus bringing the commencement of this tour to the second quarter of A.D. 51. The events preceding this in St. Paul's life it is less easy to fix chronologically. From Acts ix. 24-26 compared with Gal. i. 18, we learn that about three years after his conversion Damascus was under the government of Aretas. Now Aretas must have ceased to be ruler of Damascus before the end of A.D. 39, because Caligula allotted the whole of that district to Herod Agrippa I. soon after he became emperor, which was in A.D. 36; and Agrippa, between two and three years after, entered on the occupancy of it (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 7). If, then, we place the apostle's flight from Damascus towards the close of Aretas's occupancy of it, we shall arrive at the year 36 as that of his conversion.

The apostle's first visit to Jerusalem after his conversion was thus in A.D. 39. From Jerusalem he went to Tarsus, where he abode a considerable time, and thence to Antioch, where he stayed a whole year (Acts ix. 30; xi. 25, 26). Allowing three years for this interval, we are brought to 42 as the date of the prophecy of Agabus concerning the dearth; and allowing two years to elapse between this and the arrival of Paul and Barnabas with the money sent for the relief of the poor saints at Jerusalem, we arrive at the year 44 as that of Paul's second visit to that city. This synchronizes with two events the dates of which are ascertained—the death of Herod Agrippa, and the dearth in the fourth year of Claudius, both of which took place A.D. 44. The apostle's stay at Jerusalem at this time, we may presume, was not very long; so that, at the latest, he was again at Antioch in the beginning of 45. Between this and the year 51, when, as we have seen, he commenced his second apostolic tour, we have a period of about six years in which to place the events recorded Acts xiii. 3-xv. 35, and along with them the visit to Jerusalem not recorded by Luke, but mentioned by Paul (Gal. ii. 1). If then, we allow three years for the



duration of the apostle's first tour, a year and a half for his residence at Antioch on his return from this tour (Acts xiv. 28), and a year for his residence at Antioch before commencing it (Acts xii. 25-xiii. 3), there remains only half a year unaccounted for. This we may divide between the two visits to Jerusalem, that of Gal. ii. 1, and that of Acts xv. 2; and as the latter took place immediately before his second tour commenced, we must place it in A.D. 51. We may thus conjecturally place the commencement of his first tour in the spring of A.D. 46; and if we suppose the visit of Gal. ii. 1 to have taken place during it, say A.D. 49-50, we arrive, by deducting fourteen years from this, at A.D. 36 as that of St. Paul's conversion, the date already reached by us from other data. This assumes that the fourteen years Gal. ii. 1 are to be reckoned from the apostle's conversion, and not from his first visit to Jerusalem; but on this nearly all are agreed.

Counting forward from the year 60, in the third quarter of which St. Paul left Cæsarea, we place his arrival at Rome in the spring of 61; there he lived two years in his own hired house; after A.D. 63 his history becomes obscure.

The dates above specified can, in the earlier parts of the apostle's life, only be assumed as conjecturally probable. The reader will find the whole subject of the chronology of St. Paul's life thoroughly discussed in the following works:—Anger, *De Temporum in Actis App. ratione*, Lips. 1833; Wieseler, *Chronologie des Apostol. Zeitalters*, Gött. 1848; Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Letters of St. Paul*, Lond. 1850; Davidson's *Introduction to the N. T.*, vol. ii. Lond.; Lewin, *Elements of Early Christian Chronology*.

*Personal appearance and character.*—All testimony, his own included (2 Cor. x. 10), leads to the conclusion that in outward appearance the apostle had nothing to command admiration or respect. His figure was diminutive, his eyesight defective (comp. Acts xxiii. 5; Gal. iv. 15), and his speech such as produced little effect. An ancient writer adds that he was bald and had a hooked nose like an eagle's beak. The combination of these features presents such a figure as one may often see among the Jews of our own day, especially in the humbler class of them. Such pictorial representations of the apostle as have come down to us in paintings and mosaics, agree in the main with this, though they give more of power and dignity to the apostle's countenance than this would lead us to expect.

A diminutive and feeble body is often the tenement of a great soul and an ardent energetic spirit. Such was the case with St. Paul. When he first comes before our view in the history, we see a man of intense energy, firm decision, iron resolution, and uncompromising zeal; and these qualities, tempered by purer religious feeling, guided by higher knowledge, and modified by experience, continue to characterise him so long as he appears upon the stage of life. His natural mental endowments were of the highest order. He had great breadth of view, great clearness of apprehension, a capacity of firmly grasping principles, the power of arranging his thoughts in their proper logical order, and the ability to utter them in forcible and fitting words. The dialectician predominates in his writings; but he could also play the orator after no mean fashion, and there are passages in his epistles which could have come only from the pen of one who

had in him the faculties of the poet. In his moral development everything is great and noble. To honesty of purpose and sincerity of speech, he added humility and self-distrust, generous regard for the welfare of others, a tender sympathy with those he loved, and a philanthropy that embraced the race; while the absence of everything mean, mercenary, or selfish, and a noble devotedness, at whatever cost, to the interests of a great cause, combine to shed around a character, in other respects so beautiful, traits of sublimity and grandeur. We feel that here is a man at once to be admired and loved—a teacher at whose feet one might sit with unhesitating docility—a friend on whose bosom one might lean with confidence and affection. The vigorous intellect and the large heart which belonged to him by nature, would have brought him distinction under any circumstances; but his highest claim to honour is derived from his having, under the constraining power of the love of Christ, consecrated himself body, soul, and spirit, to the service of God in promoting the best interests of men. In this respect he stands foremost among the church's heroes and the benefactors of the race.

On the *writings* of the apostle Paul, see the articles in this work under the titles of his different epistles.

On the apostle's *doctrinal system*, see Meyer, *Entwicklung d. Paul. Lehrbegriffs*, Altona 1801; Usteri, *Entwick. d. Paul. Lehrbeg.*, Zür. 1824, 5th ed. 1834; Dähne, *Entwick. d. Paul. Lehrbeg.*, Halle 1835; Neander, *Apost. Zeitalt.*, ii., 519, ff.; Ryland's Trans. i., 416, ff.; Whately, *Essays*, 2d Ser. 7th ed. 1854; Lutterbeck, *Die N. Tliche Lehrbeg.*, Mainz 1852; Reuss, *Histoire de Theol. Chret. au Siècle Apostolique*, etc., ch. 5, T. II., p. 1 ff., 3d ed. 1864.

For his *Life and Character*, see, besides the *Introductions* of Eichhorn, Hug, and Davidson, the following:—Pearson, *Annates Paulini*, 4to Lond. 1688, translated by J. M. Williams, 12mo, Cambridge 1826; J. Lange, *Comment. Hist. Hermeneut. de Vita et Epistolis Ap. Pauli*, 4to, Halle 1718; Macknight, *Translation of the Apostolical Epistles*, vol. vi. 8vo, vol. iv. 4to; Lardner, *Works*, vol. vi. 8vo, vol. iii. 4to; More, *Essay on St. Paul*, 2 vols.; Tate, *Continuous History of St. Paul* (prefixed to a new edition of Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*), 8vo, Lond. 1840; Schrader, *Der Ap. Paulus*, 3 th. 8vo, Leip. 1830; Hensen, *Der Ap. Paulus*, 8vo, Gött. 1830; Tholuck, *Vermischte Schriften*, bd. ii. (translated in the *Edinburgh Biblical Cabinet*, vol. xxviii.); Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, 2 vols. 4to, 1853; Lewin, *Life of St. Paul*; Lange, *Apostol. Zeitalt.*, bd. ii. 1854.

PAULUS, HEINRICH EBERHARD GOTTLÖB, was born Sept. 1, 1761, at Leonberg near Stuttgart. In 1779 he entered the university of Tübingen as a theological student, and gave himself with especial zest to the study of the Oriental languages. He early avowed himself a convert to the principles of what is now commonly described as the older rationalistic school, of which school he was subsequently, and during a long course of years, one of the most distinguished leaders. In 1787 he received an invitation to become university preacher at Göttingen, but a travelling exhibition having been given to him by the Baron von Palm, he declined the invitation to Göttingen, and visited



various seats of learning in Germany, Holland, and England, giving a large share of his time to the manuscript treasures at Oxford. In the early part of 1789 he received, through the recommendation of Griesbach and Döderlein, a call to the chair of Oriental languages at Jena, and in 1793, on the death of Döderlein, he was appointed professor of theology. In 1803 he accepted an invitation to Wartburg as professor of theology and counsellor of the consistory. In consequence of the opposition of the Catholics, he was permitted to fulfil the duties of the former office during a short time only, and for a few years he was chiefly engaged as inspector of schools. In 1811 he was appointed professor of ecclesiastical history and exegesis in the university of Heidelberg, and this office he continued to fill until 1844. He died Aug. 10, 1851. The following are the most important of his exegetical works:—1. *Clavis zu dem Psalmen* Jena 1791, 8vo. 2. *Clavis zum Isaia*, Jena 1793, 8vo. 3. *Theologische-Exegetisches Conservatorium oder Auswahl aufbewahrungswerther Aufsätze und zerstreuter Bemerkungen über die alt- und neutestamentlichen Religionsurkunden. Lieferung i. Ueber die Entstehungsart der drei ersten kanonischen und mehrerer apokryptischen Evangelien. ii. Ueber den Ursprung der alt-hebräischen Litteratur durch Samuels Geist und seine Propheten Schulen*, Heid. 1822, 8vo. 4. *Philologisch kritischer und historischer Commentar über das Neue Testament*, Leip. 1800-1804, 4 Thle. 8vo, 2d edit., Lübeck 1804. In this work Paulus endeavours with wonderful ingenuity to reduce all the miracles of our Lord to natural events. 5. *Leben Jesu, als Grundlage einer reinen Geschichte des Urchristenthums; Dargestellt durch eine Gerichtszählung über alle Abschnitte der vier Evangelien und eine wortgetraue Uebersetzung derselben*, 2 Thle. Heidelb. 1828, 8vo. 6. *Drei Briefe des Heilige Johannes wortgetraue übersetzt und erklärt*, Heidelb. 1829, 8vo. 7. *Exegetisches Handbuch über die drei ersten Evangelien*, 3 Thle. Heidelb. 1830-33, 8vo. 8. *Das Apostels Paulus Ermahnungs-Schreiben an die Hebräer-Christen wortgetraue übersetzt*, Heidelb. 1833, 8vo. There are dissertations by Paulus in Pott and Rupert's *Sylloge Comm. Theolog.*, vols. i. and iii. —S. N.

PAULUS OF BURGOS, or *De Burgos*, also called *De Sancta Maria*, bishop of Carthage, was born of Jewish parents 1351 or 1352, his Jewish name being (רבי שלמה הלוי דבורגוס) *Rabbi Solomon Ha-Levi of Burgos*. His parents gave him the best Jewish education, and Solomon became remarkably proficient in his knowledge of Hebrew, the Bible, the Talmud, and the whole cycle of Rabbinical literature. His distinguished attainments, as well as his great piety and scrupulous observance of the Jewish practices, raised him to the dignity of Rabbi. He was regarded as a pillar of Judaism, and some of the most distinguished Hebrew literati of the day were among his pupils and friends. His eminent position and qualities recommended him to Henry III., who appointed him Jewish almoner, which brought him in daily contact both at court and elsewhere with Christians, who got him to discuss the questions at issue between Judaism and Christianity. This led him to study the patristic literature, and, as he himself tells us, the reading of Thomas Aquinas' writings convinced him of the truth of Christianity. He

made a public profession of the Christian religion, and was baptized July 21, 1390, in his fortieth year, and in consequence was deserted by his wife and sons. His conversion created the greatest sensation among the Jews, who were filled with fear lest the example of so learned and influential a rabbi might be followed by those who revered him. R. Solomon, the illustrious rabbi of the synagogue, having now assumed the name of Paul of Burgos, determined, like his namesake of Tarsus, to become teacher in the Church, and for this purpose went to the University of Paris. His thorough knowledge of the Hebrew language and the Bible, his mastery of other departments of literature, his extraordinary zeal for the new faith, and his marvellous eloquence, rapidly advanced him to positions of honour in the Church. Benedict XIII., who was then (Sept. 28, 1394) anti-pope at Avignon, successively made him archdeacon of Trevingo, canon of Seville, and bishop of Carthage, whilst Don Henry III., King of Castile, made him chancellor of Castile and his privy councillor. He wrote (1) *Additiones ad Postillam Nicolai de Lyra super Biblias*, which he finished in 1429, and which were first published with De Lyra's *Commentary*, Nuremberg 1493, and frequently since. (2) *Questiones XII. de nomine divino Tetragrammato*, published with notes by Drusius, who also added to it his own work on the Tetragrammaton, Amsterdam 1634. (3) *A defence of the Messiahship of Christ*, in Hebrew, being a reply to his friend Josua Alorqui, printed in the Hebrew Annual, entitled *Ozor Nechmad*, vol. ii., Vienna 1857, p. 5, ff.; and (4) *Scrutinium S. Scripturarum sive Dialogus Sauli et Pauli*, in two books, which he finished in 1434, in his eighty-second year. It was first published Rome 1470, then Mantua 1475, then Paris 1520, and frequently since. Paulus died Aug. 29, 1435, in his eighty-third year. Though more thoroughly conversant with Hebrew literature than Nicolas de Lyra, Paulus de Burgos had not his impartiality of judgment, and his bitterness against Judaism prevented him from making that use of the Jewish grammarians and expositors which might have been expected from so great a scholar. Comp. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. viii., Leipzig 1864, p. 84-93.—C. D. G.

PAVEMENT. [GABBATHA.]

PAVILION. [TENT.]

PAXTON, GEORGE, D.D., was professor of divinity to the Associate Synod of Original Seceders in Edinburgh when he died, at the advanced age of 75, in 1837. He was a man greatly respected in the denomination to which he belonged, and possessed in his youth and prime rare gifts of popular eloquence. He is known as an author chiefly by his work entitled *Illustrations of Scripture*, which has run the course of three editions. The last is the most valuable and complete, from the care expended on it by the editor, Dr. R. Jamieson of Glasgow. The work includes three divisions—geography, natural history, and manners and customs. Since the date of the last edition, 1842, subsequent research has shed great light upon all the topics embraced under these divisions. But the work of Paxton has three distinctive merits. It is an able summary of the most reliable information that had been obtained up to his day, and indeed he draws liberally from preceding writers, such as Bochart, for the materials. His

own careful study of the original enables him to make a skilful use of his materials in the illustration of many passages of Holy Writ. His work, moreover, is written simply, yet eloquently, so as to form pleasant reading, and is by no means a mere book of reference.

PEACOCK. [TUKIYIM.]

PEARCE, ZACHARY, D.D., a learned English prelate, born in 1690, was the son of a distiller in Holborn. He was educated at Westminster School, from which he passed to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he became distinguished as a classical scholar. Having dedicated his edition of Cicero *De Oratore* to the Lord Chief-Justice Parker, he secured a friendship which proved of great advantage to himself. For when the learned judge was made Lord-Chancellor, he took Mr. Pearce into his family as private chaplain; and various preferments followed, till, at length, the chaplain was made Dean of Westminster in 1739; bishop of Bangor in 1748; and bishop of Rochester in 1756. To secure time for the completion of certain literary works, he expressed a desire to resign his see, but George III. told him it must not be thought of. He died at Little Ealing, Jan. 29, 1774. His published works, literary and theological, are various, but the following is the most valuable of them, and that by which he is best known:—*A Commentary, with Notes, on the Four Evangelists and Acts of the Apostles, together with a New Translation of St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians, with a Paraphrase and Notes; to which are added other Theological Pieces.* London 1777, 2 vols. 4to. This work, which was published after the author's death, is pronounced by Dr. A. Clark 'invaluable,' displaying 'deep learning and judgment beyond all praise.'—I. J.

PEARLS. [GABISH; PENINIM; MARGARITES.]

PEGANON (πήγανον). The word *rue* occurs only in Luke xi. 42. 'But woe unto you, Pharisees! for ye tithe mint and rue and all manner of herbs, and pass over judgment,' etc. In the parallel passage, Matt. xxiii. 23, *dill* (ἀνηθον), translated *anise* in the English Version, is mentioned instead of *rue*. Both dill and *rue* were cultivated in the gardens of Eastern countries in ancient times as they are at the present day. Dioscorides describes two kinds, πήγανον ὀρεῶν, *Ruta montana*, and πήγανον κηπευτῶν, *Ruta hortensis*. 'Ex hortensi autem esui magis idonea, quæ juxta ficos provenit.' These are considered by botanists to be distinct species, and are called respectively, the first, *Ruta montana*, which is common in the south of Europe and the north of Africa; the other is usually called *Ruta graveolens*, and by some *R. hortensis*, which is found in the south of Europe, and is the kind commonly cultivated in gardens. *Rue* was highly esteemed as a medicine, even as early as the time of Hippocrates (comp. also Pliny, *N. H.*, xix. 8; Columella, *De Re Rust.*, xii. 7. 5). That it was employed as an ingredient in diet, and as a condiment, is abundantly evident from Apicius, as noticed by Celsius, and is not more extraordinary than the fondness of some Eastern nations for assafoetida as a seasoning to food. That one kind was cultivated by the Israelites, is evident from its being mentioned as one of the articles of which the Pharisees paid their tithes, though they neglected the weightier matters of the law. Rosenmüller

states that in the Talmud (*Tract Shebiith*, cap. ix., sec. 1) the *rue* is indeed mentioned amongst kitchen herbs (*asparagus portulacæ et coriandro*); but, at the same time, it is there expressly stated, that it is tithe free, it being one of those herbs which are not cultivated in gardens, according to the general rule established in the Talmud.' Celsius long previously observed, with reference to this fact: 'Cum autem dicunt ibidem, rutam a decimatione immunem esse, ostendunt, quantum recesserint a consuetudine majorum, quos decimas ex ruta separasse, ipsum affirmat os veritatis' (*Hierobot.* ii. p. 253).—J. F. R.

PEIRCE, JAMES, was born in the east of London in the year 1673, and was brought up, in consequence of the early death of both his parents, in the family of Matthew Mead, one of the ejected ministers of 1662, and then pastor of the Nonconformist congregation at Stepney. He studied first at Utrecht, under Witsius and Leydecker, and afterwards at Leyden, under Perizonius and Spanheim. Having entered the nonconformist ministry, he accepted an invitation to the pastoral charge of the church at Cambridge, from which place he removed in 1713 to Exeter, where he remained until his death, March 30, 1726. Whilst residing at Cambridge he became intimate with Whiston, and subsequently adopted the same theological sentiments. His writings are chiefly controversial. He took an active part in the discussions occasioned by Hoadley's celebrated sermon on the Church of Christ; and in the Salter's Hall controversy, on the side of the Arian party. His sole contribution to Biblical literature is—*A Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Colossians, Philipians, and Hebrews, after the manner of Mr. Locke, to which are annexed several critical Dissertations on particular Texts of Scripture.* London 1727, 4to. This was a posthumous publication, and was left in an unfinished state. It ends with Heb. x. 34, but adds a fragment on Heb. xii. 25-29. [HALLETT]. This work attained to considerable repute both in England and in other countries. It was translated into Latin by J. D. Michaelis, and published at Halle 1747, 4to.—S. N.

PEKAH (פֶּכָח, *open eyed*; Sept. Φακέ), the officer who slew Pekahiah and mounted the throne in his stead (B.C. 758), becoming the eighteenth king of Israel. He reigned twenty years. Towards the close of his life (but not before the seventeenth year of his reign) he entered into a league with Rezin, king of Damascene-Syria, against Judah; and the success which attended their operations induced Ahaz to tender to Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, his homage and tribute, as the price of his aid and protection. The result was that the kings of Syria and Israel were soon obliged to abandon their designs against Judah in order to attend to their own dominions, of which considerable parts were seized and retained by the Assyrians. Israel lost all the territory east of the Jordan, and the two and a half tribes which inhabited it were sent into exile. These disasters seem to have created such popular discontent as to give the sanction of public opinion to the conspiracy headed by Hosea, in which the king lost his life (2 Kings xv. 25, *seq.*; xvi. 5, *seq.*; Is. vii.; viii. 1-9; xvii. 1-11). [An Assyrian inscription commemorates the defeating of Rezin and the taking of Damascus by Tiglath-



piles, as well as his receiving tribute from the king of Samaria. The name given to the latter on the inscription is Menahem, not Pekah; but this may be a mere mistake of the graver (Rawlinson, *Bampton Lect.*, p. 135, 409). There seems no ground for Mr. Rawlinson's statement that two invasions of Israel by the Assyrians took place during the reign of Pekah; there is no allusion to this in the monuments, and the narrative in 2 Kings xvi. 7-9 is only the fuller account of what is alluded to in ch. xv. 29.]

**PEKAHIAH** (פִּקְחִיָּהּ, *Jehovah has opened his eyes*; Sept. *Φακελίας, Φακελας*), son and successor of Menahem, king of Israel, who began to reign in B.C. 760. He patronised and supported the idolatry of the golden calves; and after an undistinguished reign of two years, Pekah, one of his generals, conspired against him, and with the aid of Argob and Arieah, and fifty Gileadites, slew him in the haram of his own palace (2 Kings xv. 22-25).

**PEKOD** (פִּקְדָּה), a name applied to Babylonia, or part of it (Jer. l. 21), and to the inhabitants collectively (Ezek. xxiii. 23). The name may contain an allusion to פִּקַּד, *to visit, to punish* (comp. Jer. l. 18), and פִּקְדָּה, *visitation* (ver. 27, 31), and may be applied to Babylonia and its people as the object of Jehovah's wrath. The Rabbins mention a city called *P'god*, in Babylonia, where there was a school. [KOA.]-W. L. A.

**PELEG**, son of Eber, and fourth in descent from Shem. His name, פֶּלֶג, means *division*, and is said to have been given him 'because in his days the earth was divided' (Gen. x. 25; xi. 16). [NATIONS, DISPERSION OF.]

**PELICAN.** [QAATH.]

**PELITHITES.** [CHERETHITES and PELITHITES; PHILISTINES.]

**PELLICAN**, CONRAD, in German Kürschner, born at Ruffach, in Alsace, in 1478, began his studies, which were interrupted by an attack of the plague, at six years of age; at thirteen entered the university of Heidelberg, of which his maternal uncle was rector, but left it for want of means. At fifteen he entered a convent of Franciscan monks, and studied theology, philosophy, and mathematics, at Bâle and Tübingen. Having obtained a volume of the Hebrew Bible from a brother Franciscan, who had been a Jew, he devoted himself with ardour to its study, and soon constructed a dictionary and grammar of the language. At twenty-three he was ordained priest, and exhibited such talents as a teacher of theology, philosophy, and astronomy, in the convent of Bâle, that Cardinal Raymond would have given him the degree of Doctor in theology, had it not been for the jealousy of his superior. He afterwards took a leading position in the order, and was himself superior of the convent at Bâle in 1519, about which time he secretly became a convert to the opinions of Martin Luther, but maintained his post in the convent till 1526, when, at the pressing request of Zwinglius, he became professor of Hebrew at Zurich. He refused a similar office at Stuttgart in 1534 on conscientious grounds, was twice married, and died at Zurich in 1556. His works are numerous. Those which bear most on Biblical literature

are—1. *Psalterium Davidis ad Hebraicam veritatem interpretatum cum scholiis brevissimis*, Strasburg 1527, in 8vo. The Zurich edition of 1532, in 8vo, is more carefully prepared and more complete. 2. *Commentarii Biblicorum cum vulgata editione, sed ad Hebraicam lectionem accuratè emendatâ*, Zurich, from 1531 to 1536, five volumes folio. Richard Simon says of this work:—'He keeps to the literal sense, and does not lose sight of the words of his text. Though well read in rabbinical authors, he seeks more to be useful to his readers than to display his rabbinical lore. He considers it safest to borrow nothing from the Jews but grammatical observations, and that the sense must be found by a comparison of one passage of Scripture with another, and the help of the ancient Greek and Latin commentators. He says much in few words, and is not one of those who superstitiously believe that the providence of God has secured the sacred text against the smallest change.' 3. *Commentarii in Novum Testamentum*, Zurich 1537, folio, 2 vols. Pellican is less happy in these commentaries than in those on the O. T. 4. *Grammatica Hebraica, necnon et margarita Philosophica*, Strasburg 1540, 8vo. Father Courayer is of opinion that Reuchlin was much assisted in his works by Pellican. Pellican certainly reviewed the Bible of Leo of Juda, and furnished it with a preface (*Vita Theologorum Germanorum. Notices biographiques et littéraires sur les hebraisants de Tubingue*).—M. H.

**PELONITE** (פֶּלֹנִי). There are some remarkable variations in the form of this word, both in the Hebrew text and in versions, which it may be well to notice. In 1 Chron. xi. 27, 36, and xxvii.

10, the Hebrew has פֶּלֹנִי; but the following variations occur in the LXX. and Vulgate:—xi. 27, Φελωνί; Alex. Φαλλωνί; *Phalonites*: ver. 36, Φελλωνί in both copies; *Phelonites*: xxvii. 10, ἐκ Φαλλοῦς in both copies; *Phallonites*. Again, in 1 Chron. xi. 27 Helez is called 'the *Pelonite*,' whereas in the parallel in 2 Sam. xxiii. 26 he is called 'the *Paltite*.' [PALTITE.] Also, in Chron., 'Ahijah the *Pelonite*' is mentioned, whereas in 2 Sam. (xxiii. 34) his name is recorded as 'Ahitophel the *Gilonite*.' These discrepancies most probably arise from the different ways of spelling the names.

It appears from the scope of the context that the term *Pelonite* is not a patronymic (as is represented in the Targum), but a descriptive name indicating the native place:—Helez and Ahijah were inhabitants of *Palon* (פֶּלֹן), a place now unknown. It cannot be another name for the town of Beth-palet, in the south of Judah, as some suggest, for Helez the *Pelonite* 'was of the children of Ephraim' (1 Chron. xxvii. 10): *Palon* was thus most probably in the territory of Ephraim.—J. L. P.

**PEN.** [WRITING.]

**PENIEL** or **PENUEL** (פְּנִיֵּל, in Gen. xxxii. 31; τὸ εἶδος τοῦ θεοῦ; in ver. 30, פְּנִיָּהּ; Εἶδος θεοῦ; elsewhere Φανουῖλ; *Phenuel*). The origin of this name, and the position of the place, are given in the remarkable narrative of Gen. xxxii. 24, seq. The interview between Laban and Jacob was over, and the latter having sent messengers to his brother Esau, they on their return reported that he

was coming to meet him, with an escort of four hundred men (6). Jacob was afraid, and made all necessary preparations to appease, and, if unsuccessful, to escape from his brother. The final arrangements having been made on the banks of the Jabbok, 'Jacob was left alone; and there wrestled a man with him until the breaking of day' (24). The place appears to have been the north bank of the stream. 'The man' (אִישׁ) who

wrestled with him declared himself to be God (28, אֱלֹהִים); 'and he blessed him there' (29); 'and Jacob called the name of the place *Peni-El* ('The face of God'): for I have seen God face to face' (30). It does not appear that there was any town or village upon the spot at the time of this wondrous event; but it was probably then marked by some rude cairn or stone to serve as a record of the divine presence. We hear no more of it for five hundred years. After the defeat of the Midianites in the valley of Jezreel, Gideon pursued them to their home in the eastern desert. On reaching the fords of the Jordan at Succoth, he asked the people of that city to supply food to his fainting followers; they refused, 'and he *went up thence to Peniel*, and spake unto them likewise' (Judg. vii. 8). He probably ascended from the valley of the Jordan through the glen of the Jabbok, which falls into the Jordan a few miles below Succoth. This would bring him direct to the site of Peniel, on which a city appears to have been built in the interval. It was natural, and in accordance with Eastern custom, that a holy place such as Peniel should become the nucleus of a town. In the time

of Gideon there was a *tower* (מִגְדָּל) at Peniel, which Gideon destroyed on his return from the conquest of the Midianites. It would seem too that the city was then completely depopulated (ver. 17). It may have remained a ruin till the days of Jeroboam, of whom we read that after taking up his abode in Shechem, he 'went out from thence, and built Peniel' (1 Kings xii. 25). We hear no more of Peniel in Scripture. Josephus merely repeats the Scripture notices (*Antiq.* i. 20. 2; viii. 8. 4), as do Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Fanuel*). They do not appear to have known the exact site; and indeed Jerome represents the Peniel of Jacob, Gideon, and Jeroboam as distinct places. The site has not been discovered, nor has that section of country been as yet explored with sufficient minuteness to enable us to say whether any ruins exist.—J. L. P.

PENINIM (פְּנִינִים, pl. of פְּנִינָה, once [Prov. iii. 15] פְּנִינִים, for which the Keri has פְּנִינִים), a precious stone of a ruddy colour (Lam. iv. 7), hence supposed by some to be the ruby, by which the word is always rendered in the A. V. (Job xxviii. 18; Prov. iii. 15; viii. 11; xx. 15; xxxi. 10; Lam. iv. 7). Michaelis suggested *red coral* as more probably the article intended, and this opinion has been generally followed since. Gesenius adduces in support of it the etymology, deriving the word from פָּנָה, *to divide or branch out*; but this is a doubtful etymology from a supposititious source. Fürst traces the word to פָּנָה, *to shine*, with more probability. Bochart follows some of the Rabbins in making it the *pearl*; but to this Lam. iv. 7 is clearly opposed, unless the allusion there be to the pinkish hue which sometimes is found in pearls.

It has been objected to Michaelis's suggestion that the coral is called by another name, *Ramoth* [which see]; but it is possible that the red coral may have had a special designation as the more ornamental of the two. A more serious objection, and the strongest argument in favour of the Peninim being pearls, is furnished by the improbability of a laudatory comparison of men's complexions to red coral or rubies.—W. L. A.

PENINNAH (פְּנִינָה, *coral*; Sept. Φερνάνα), one of the two wives of Elkanah, the father of Samuel (1 Sam. i. 2).

PENNY. [DENARIUS.]

PENTATEUCH, the name applied to the five books of Moses, which form the earliest portion of the O. T. canon—viz., the books of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. The term expresses the unity of this portion of Scripture as well as the variety of books comprised in it. Its unity depends upon the identity of authorship, of historical sequence, and of inspired authority, and has found expression alike in the form in which it has been preserved and the ancient titles given to it. In Hebrew manuscripts it constitutes but one roll or volume, divided into 669 sections, called *perashioth*, a division of high antiquity, certainly earlier than the Talmud, and believed by many to have been contemporaneous with the books themselves. In the Jewish canon, this portion of Scripture is termed 'the Book of the Law' (Deut. xxviii. 61; xxix. 20; xxx. 10; xxxi. 26), or simply 'the Law' (1 Chron. xvi. 40; Luke x. 46; xxiv. 44; Acts xxiv. 14, etc.), or 'the Law of Moses' (Mal. iv. 4; John vii. 23; xiii. 39, etc.), or 'the Law of the Lord' (2 Kings x. 31; Ezra vii. 10; Luke ii. 39). The Rabbinical writers call it five-fifths of the Law. The Greek name πεντάτευχος, from πέντε and τεύχος, which in the Alexandrian idiom signifies a volume, has been commonly accepted as an apt and convenient term. To what date the division into five books is to be ascribed, is, however, a matter of dispute. As the names of the separate books are of Greek origin, it has been supposed that the division is due to the Septuagint translators (B.C. 285). Josephus, however, states that 'five books belong to Moses' (*c. Apion.* i. 8), without any hint of this subsequent arrangement; and the structural peculiarities of the books themselves lead to the belief that the division was original. The general accuracy with which the Greek names describe the contents of each book, indicates a substantial division of subject, and points to the same conclusion. Thus the book of Genesis is exclusively occupied with the events preceding the settlement in Egypt, and lying beyond the memory of the generation for whom Moses primarily wrote, and stops rigidly at that point of the history. The book of Deuteronomy in the same way deals immediately with the new generation who had grown up in the wilderness, and serves to mark their identity, naturally by immediate descent, religiously by the covenanted promises inherited by them, with the people that came out of Egypt. Each of the three books which lie between has its own peculiarity of subject. The book of Exodus contains an historical sketch of the events preceding and connected with the promulgation of the law, and closes with the consecration of the priesthood, and the establishment of the tabernacle services.



Leviticus is exclusively occupied with the laws regulating the services of the tribe and family of Levi. Numbers supplies the historical events which followed the formal establishment of the Mosaic code, and links that central point of Jewish history with the forty years' wanderings in the wilderness, and the final entrance into Canaan. Thus the central book of the five, as regards its order, stands like an historical resting-point amid the grand events which preceded and followed it.

The Mosaic authorship and inspired authority of the Pentateuch are very closely connected with each other. In asserting the Mosaic authorship, it is not intended to include every portion in that exception, such, for instance, as the portion which narrates the death of Moses (Deut. xxxiv.) Unless recourse is had to the violent and unnecessary supposition that Moses was inspired to narrate beforehand his own death, which would convert history into prophecy, it is naturally impossible that this chapter can have been written by the great lawgiver himself. But the absolute nature of the impossibility clears away any imaginary difficulty, for so transparent and palpable a fraud as the ascription of these concluding verses to Moses himself, can never have been intended by those who framed the canon of Scripture, and cannot be imputed to our Master himself without blasphemy. No parallel can be drawn between them and other portions of the Pentateuch, for there are no other to which the same conditions apply. These verses form the necessary and natural conclusion to the preceding books, and possess the same canonical authority, though they do not claim the same authorship as the other portions of the Pentateuch. The old deistical objection to the Mosaic authorship from these verses may at once be put out of the way as unworthy of further or more serious notice.

It is necessary to take a rapid survey of the evidence on which the Mosaic authorship and authority of the Pentateuch is founded, before the object and purport of modern objections can be properly appreciated. We begin with the divine commands, in obedience to which Moses committed to writing the books of the law. These commands are repeated, and it is only by observing their cumulative evidence that the strength of the case is seen; objections which might be possibly urged against single passages become inapplicable to the whole. The first passage occurs in Exod. xvii. 14. After the victory over the Amalekites, the lawgiver is directed to record the facts, together with the divine declaration that he 'would utterly put out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven.' This one event only is specified, but then it was to be inscribed in 'the book' (בִּסְפָּר). In Exod. xxiv. 4, 7, the language

becomes more specific. First of all, the immediate revelation of the three preceding chapters is declared by Moses to the people. He 'told the people all the words of the Lord and all the judgments,' then 'Moses wrote all the words of the Lord.' Lastly, a particular book bearing a definite character is specified as being that in which they were written. 'And he took the book of the covenant and read in the audience of the people.' That the word covenant has reference not to any one special act, but to the whole relation in which the chosen people stood towards God, and therefore to the whole series of promises and commandments on which it was based, may be seen by a

careful comparison of Lev. xxvi. 42-45, Deut. iv. 31, 2 Kings xxiii. 2-21. It must be regarded as a continuation of the same work that 'Moses wrote their goings out according to their journeys by the commandment of the Lord' (Num. xxxiii. 2). The perpetual obligation of this written code is affirmed in the provisions for the future establishment of the kingly power among the people. 'He (the king) shall write him a copy of this law out of that which is before the priests, the Levites' (Deut. xvii. 18). Upon their future obedience to it the promises of the divine blessing upon the people were made dependent. 'If thou wilt not observe to do all the words of the law that are written in this book' (Deut. xxviii. 58). The completion and final closing up of this portion of the divine revelation is recorded immediately before the death of Moses himself, by the addition of the song which God commanded Moses to teach the people (Deut. xxxi. 22). And, lastly, the permanence which the book was designed to have, and the object it was to fulfil, are formally announced. 'Take this book of the law (a phrase employed on three previous occasions, Deut. xxviii. 61; xxix. 21; xxxi. 26), and put it in the side of the ark of the covenant of the Lord your God, that it may be there for a witness against thee.'

The purpose which this book was thus designed to serve was one which a definite written revelation could alone accomplish. For history conclusively proves that no oral tradition can be preserved in its purity and integrity, as seen in the experience alike of the Jewish and the Christian Church. A system which looked so far forward into the future, and which contemplated the preservation of its authoritative records in such an exact form as to constitute a standing witness of the obedience or disobedience of the people, could only rest on written documents. It is remarkable, in this point of view, that in the second promulgation of the moral law on the top of Sinai, this principle was affirmed, since the commandments appear to have been written twice over, once by God himself on the tablets of stone, and a second time by Moses, in the book, we must believe, which was thus gradually advancing towards its completed form. 'I will write on these tables the words which were in the first tables' (Exod. xxxiv. 1; Deut. x. 2). On the other hand, the statement is equally definite: 'And the Lord said unto Moses, Write thou these words . . . and he wrote upon the tables the words of the covenant, the ten commandments' (Exod. xxxiv. 27, 28).

It is true that these passages do not define the limits of the book, nor prove its absolute identity with the existing copies of the Pentateuch. But other evidences will be found to supply this proof. We have already the fact that a book was written by Moses under the immediate authority of God, and that this book was intended to be of perpetual obligation. Now, supposing that the Scriptural testimony of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch had ended here, although we shall see this not to be the case, yet even so no moral doubt could exist that this design was carried into effect, and that the books thus preserved were substantially identical with those which have come down to us. For at this period the Jewish people suddenly take their place amid the settled nations of the world, and enter upon that grand and mysterious national life which has continued till our own day. It will



not be denied by any that this race was distinguished from all others by many peculiar characteristics. Some of their national habits exhibited affinity in various points of detail with the surrounding polytheism amid which they dwelt; but their whole system was sharply separated, alike by the grandeur of its religious monotheism and by its complex social and civil organisation, from that of all other nations. Their code of laws was penetrating enough to affix its indelible peculiarities on the race who lived under them, and to endow it with a force and elevation, a perpetuity of national life, and a world-wide influence, to which no parallel can be found in history. Such an effect would itself prove the existence of a cause as permanent as itself, for the precise ritual and ceremonial enactments of the system could never have been maintained without an authorised code of directions. When we inquire into the nature of that peculiar polity to which it is to be attributed, we find it in the books of Moses. The Pentateuch contains a system which explains the national life of the Jewish race, and which in its turn is equally explained by it. As we know, on the one side, that the Pentateuch was reduced by Moses to a written form, and, on the other side, that the phenomena of national Jewish life can only be explained by the influence of a positive written code, it is impossible not to put the two facts together, and identify the Mosaic books of the law with the code of subsequent times. In other words, the permanence of the effect proves the permanence of the cause. The subsequent history of the Jewish race would have sufficed to prove that the Mosaic code must have existed in a permanent form from that period till the present, even if no positive external proofs of the fact had existed.

But the testimony of the subsequent books of the O. T. canon positively affirms the same conclusion. Joshua was instructed 'to observe to do according to all the law which Moses, my servant, commanded you' (Josh. i. 7). After the taking of Ai, in accordance with the instructions given to Moses (Deut. xxvii. 4-8), Joshua wrote upon the memorial-stones, in Ebal, 'a copy of the law of Moses,' and afterwards 'read all the words of the law . . . according to all that is written in the book of the law' (Josh. viii. 32-34). And in dismissing to their settlements, on the other side of Jordan, the Reubenites and Gadites, and half-tribe of Manasseh, he laid upon them the parting charge, 'Take diligent heed to do the commandments and the law' (Josh. xxii. 5). The Psalms of David are full of references to this law, under expressions inapplicable to anything but a definite written code. Thus he calls it God's law, God's word, his statutes, his ordinances, his testimonies, his commandments. The obligation of the law formed the prominent topic of David's charge to Solomon, 'Fulfil the statutes and judgments which the Lord charged Moses with' (1 Chron. xxii. 13). In the troubled times succeeding the separation of Israel and Judah, the formal copy lodged in the temple appears to have been lost, for we are told of its recovery in the days of Josiah, amid the restorations which his pious zeal carried out in the temple buildings: 'And Hilkiah the high-priest said unto Shaphan the scribe, I have found the book of the law in the house of the Lord' (2 Kings xxii. 8); and the book is subsequently designated by the title which it bore in the days of Moses himself, 'The Book of the Covenant.' The tem-

porary loss of this temple-copy is not to be confounded with the total oblivion of the law itself, and the entire neglect of its precepts; for, in the interval, we are told that Asa commanded Judah to do the law, that Jehoshaphat made it prominent in the directions given to the judges, that Hezekiah kept the Passover 'according to the law of Moses, the man of God,' and that king Amaziah, in punishing the murderers of his father Joash, was guided by its regulations, 'the children of the murderers he slew not, according to that which is written in the book of the law of Moses' (2 Kings xiv. 6). And after Samaria had been taken into captivity, the settlers who were brought from the east to occupy the land vacated by the captive Israelites, were warned of the 'statutes, and the ordinances, and the commandments which God wrote for the children of Jacob.' Such language could not have been employed by the priest who 'came and dwelt at Bethel,' unless he had been acquainted with the written code. These passages, therefore, suffice to show that the book produced by Hilkiah was not an imposture of his own, but was only the authentic copy of a written law, known and recognised meanwhile; and they serve to carry the recognition of the Pentateuch consistently through the intervening period down to the days of Josiah. The preservation of the Mosaic code in its positive written shape during the Babylonish captivity is declared with the same explicitness: 'Ezra was a ready scribe in the law of Moses which the Lord God of Israel had given' (Ezra vii. 6); the covenant into which Israel entered after the restoration was done 'according to the law' (Ezra x. 3). At the public gathering of the people, Ezra read out of 'the book of the law of Moses, which the Lord had commanded to Israel' (Neh. viii. 1). Lastly, about fifty years later, when the last tones of O. T. prophecy were sounding, the recognition of the law was blended with its accents: 'Remember ye the law of Moses, my servant, which I commanded unto him in Horeb for all Israel, with the statutes and judgments.' Thus, during the whole interval from the death of Moses down to the close of the O. T. canon, we find repeated references to the existence of the books of the Pentateuch. The longest pause in this consecutive line of testimony extends from the death of Joshua till the accession of David, a period of national decline and widespread apostasy, during which fragmentary glimpses of events alone have been afforded to us; though they are fragments which, in their place in the inspired volume, fall in with wonderful consistency into the purpose and structure of the whole. But, after David's time, no long period of silence remains; David, Solomon, Asa, Jehoshaphat, Amaziah, Hezekiah, Josiah, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Malachi, bear continuous witness both to the Mosaic authorship and to the inspired authority of this portion of the canon.

If this direct verbal testimony had been absent, the entire structure of the scriptural books from Joshua to Malachi would have necessitated the same conclusion. These books never could have been written in their existing form, unless by men familiarly conversant with the Pentateuch. Hence are derived the ultimate principles which underlie the whole. They are united to it by a mass of reference so complex, intricate, and minute, as to constitute a study in itself. The grand monotheism which pervades the whole, the over-ruling Provi-



dence which is everywhere thrown into the foreground, the national election of the Jew, and his relation to his forefathers in the perpetual covenant sealed between God and them, would all be inexplicable without this reference to the transactions of the past. Throughout the prophetic books especially, the tone of thought and feeling, the language employed, the illustrations used, the accents of blended reproach, warning, and promise, the allusions to the past, and the predictions of the future, would be unintelligible to the student if the Pentateuch were not in his possession to interpret them. This is as true, and perhaps more forcibly evident in regard to the N. T. and the teaching of our Lord and his apostles, than it is in the O. T. and in the language of the prophets. The Pentateuch is the thread of gold which runs—now latent, now prominent—throughout the whole body of the Scriptures. Retain it in its place, and the whole is united by a consistent purpose from end to end; take it away, and all the rest of revelation becomes a mass of inextricable confusion. The recognition of this bearing of the authority of the Pentateuch on the authority of the other scriptural books is most necessary. For the purpose, however, of succinctly stating the positive argument in favour of the authorship and divine authority of the five books of Moses, it is sufficient to trace the line of testimony down to the time of Malachi, for here we find that firm footing in the acknowledged facts of profane history which enables us to close every single avenue against the objections of unbelief.

For if the argument stood at the point to which we have now brought it, we should be liable to the retort that the witnesses themselves lie under the taint of unfaithfulness. It might be, as it has been broadly argued, that the whole of the scriptural books altogether are an imposture, a fraud which priestcraft has succeeded in palming upon the credulity of mankind, and are consequently devoid of historic existence and credibility. On this supposition, it might be imagined that the mind or minds which conceived the composition of the Pentateuch, conceived at the same time the composition of the later books, and that the authors naturally took care to make the one consistent with the other, and to pervade what purport to be the later compositions with such references to what purport to be the earlier, as would accord with that theory of successive compositions on which the fraud was based. In this point of view, every instance in which the language of the Pentateuch is employed in the later books would only constitute a further evidence of imposture.

A passing glance must be given at the improbability of this hypothesis on the ordinary standards of literary criticism. For the deliberate fabrication of accidental references, neither so prominent as to obtrude themselves forcibly on the attention, nor so wholly latent as to defy detection, stand foremost among the most difficult of tasks. The long history of spurious publications, and the definite canons which a cautious criticism has adopted to guide investigation into their claims, suffice to prove that in no other case, at all events, has human ingenuity succeeded in accomplishing such a work; and if it has been successfully done in the case of the Scriptures the instance stands absolutely alone. In all other cases a minute examination has detected undeniable anachronisms and contradictions. We

claim, on the positive side of the argument, that a minute examination of the Scriptures only tends to bring into notice a number of minute and latent harmonies which a more cursory investigation had overlooked. The negative and controversial side of this question still remains for further notice. Meanwhile a perusal of such a book as Professor Blunt's *Undesigned Coincidences* will show in regard to the O. T. what Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ* shows in regard to the N., the strong *primâ facie* evidence afforded by these coincidences in favour of the genuineness and credibility of the Scriptures, and against the hypothesis of their fraudulent origin.

But let it be supposed that this difficulty was overcome, and that the theory of an imposture was admitted as a possible explanation of the facts so far as we have yet considered them; we are now brought into contact with another set of facts altogether, which renders the theory absolutely incredible. For at the time of Malachi we enter the domain of recognised history, and listen to witnesses absolutely impartial. Profane history here enables us to get a clear view of the world as it existed at the time, of its dominant nations, and of their mutual relations towards each other. History became at this date a recognised branch of human study. Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybius, Dionysius, Diodorus, Arrian, and Plutarch, constitute the links of the historical literature which unites together the times of the later prophets and the times of Christ. On the great salient facts of this period not even the scepticism of modern historical criticism has ventured to cast a doubt.

Now, when in this full blaze of historic light we look at the condition of the world, we find the Jew prominent in the picture. If we saw him as the member of a great nation already compacted into unity under the influences of a national constitution without parallel in the history of the other nations of the world, the case would be a strong one. But we see more than this: we see the Jew, when this stage of national existence had already become a thing of the past; we see him already transferred into a later stage, that of national decay. We find him scattered among every known nation of the world, and yet in every place and under every circumstance retaining his peculiar national type. The case is not, we must clearly remember, that of an exiled people banished into some distant spot or into the midst of a lonely barbarism, and there nursing in sullen isolation the exclusive pride of his race, and maintaining as the pledge of his former greatness the law which had been the stay of his happier times. But it is that we find him dispersed in separate communities up and down the world, seen in all the great cities, and mingling with the ordinary business of mankind, and yet retaining all over the world the same ineffaceable characteristics. At the seats of learning the Jew is found more than usually prominent, such as Alexandria, Pergamos, Tarsus, Antioch. At Alexandria his history was a fact so notorious that the Scriptures, which had impressed upon his race their own stamp, had become the object of literary curiosity, and were given to the world in a Greek version, the Septuagint, which remains to our own day.

There can therefore be no possible question that the Jew, such as we know him, and the Jewish Scriptures, such as we have them in our own day, existed at the time of the Ptolemies; that is, the Jewish Scriptures of that day were the Scriptures



of the O. T. as now received, not only containing the Pentateuch as an integral part of themselves, but as the characteristic part of the whole—the historical starting-point of their national history, and the authoritative code of laws which had coloured and moulded it from the beginning downwards. The existence of the people, with their distinctive religious creed, their peculiar civil regulations, and their exclusive ritual, constitutes one fact; the existence of their Scriptures constitutes another. The facts are distinct, but not separate. The law could not have survived without the nationality; the nationality could not have existed without the law. To explain either the one fact or the other without an extensive antecedent history running far back into the past would be impossible. The two together supply an argument for the historical reality of the events of the Jewish history and the divine authority of the Jewish Scriptures, which never has been answered, and is, we believe, unanswerable.

If the events of early Jewish history, as narrated in the Pentateuch, really took place, and are to be accepted as historically true, then it is impossible to deny the divine legation of Moses and the authority of the books which bear his name. If, on the other hand, the Pentateuch is to be regarded as unhistoric—a compilation of ancient traditions and old myths unworthy of credit—then the events narrated in the Pentateuch can never have taken place. The miraculous call of Abraham, the captivity in Egypt, the exodus, the giving of the law upon Sinai, and the forty years' wanderings in the wilderness, must be regarded as popular tales, so exaggerated and amplified by national vanity and superstition as to be unworthy of all belief. This conclusion is boldly accepted by modern scepticism. Let us see to what contradictions and impossibilities it leads in regard to both of the ascertained facts of the date of the Ptolemies, the fact of the existence of the Jewish people, and the fact of the existence of the Jewish Scriptures. Let us try them all in their turn.

The Jewish people, scattered at this date widely over the known world, and living, not in a remote corner, but in the full blaze of the civilisation and learning of the day, unanimously accepted the facts of their past history recorded in the Pentateuch as real events, connected together by a close sequence of cause and effect from the call of Abraham downwards. The settlement in Canaan grew out of the exodus; the adoption of the monarchical form of government out of the settlement; the imperial greatness of the reigns of David and Solomon out of the establishment of the monarchy; the division of the united empire into two kingdoms out of the luxury and despotism of Solomon's reign; the captivity, on its human side, out of the elements of national weakness introduced by the schism; the restoration out of the captivity; and the re-establishment of the Jewish race in Judæa, side by side with their wide dispersion in all lands, grew out of the captivity and the restoration together. All human events arise from a combination of prominent moral causes, and would be impossible without them. Break any one of the links of the series, and at that point, wherever it may be, we get an effect without a cause, a consequent without an antecedent. The Jews of the period of the restoration traced their history backward by unbroken succession to the times of Moses and Abraham. In the hypothesis now under consideration they were mistaken in this belief, and were as far wrong as the

Romans were in tracing their national origin to two outcast boys suckled by a wolf, and in ascribing the framework of their laws to the communications of Numa Pompilius with the nymph Egeria. The question occurs, At what epoch of their history did this strange deception begin, and how was it cemented into that firm, universal, national belief which formed the very heart and life-blood of the nation, as it is found to have existed at the epoch of authentic profane history?

The apparent parallel of Jewish belief with Roman mythology has been much dwelt upon, and it has been confidently asked why we should be at liberty to discard the mythical legends of the history of the Roman and not be at liberty to do the same with the history of the Jew? It might be enough to reply that the facts are so different, that the critical process which reduces into order and probability the Roman history only dislocates and destroys the Jewish. But the difference of the two cases needs to be stated more precisely. The belief of the Jew was not the mere instinct of a national vanity seeking to put honour on his race by linking its fortunes on to a fabulous past, but it involves definite particulars relative to his own government and polity. He not only believed that his forefathers received their law direct from the Deity himself; but in this belief he submitted himself to a rigorous code which separated him from all other nations, cut him off from pleasures deemed lawful by all the other peoples of antiquity, controlled him by a strict moral law, and regulated with even vexatious minuteness all the details of his personal, social, and civil life. He believed that in this submission he was but following the example of his forefathers and carrying out the principles instilled into him by the education of his childhood. He not only believed that his nation had passed through great vicissitudes, and had enjoyed signal deliverances by the hand of God, but he believed likewise that in commemoration of them a variety of public and formal celebrations had been observed by his people from time immemorial—such as the passover in commemoration of the deliverance from Egypt. The belief of the Jew, consequently, was not like that of the Roman, a traditional legend, the truth or falsehood of which affected in no conceivable manner the condition of himself or of the people to whom he belonged; but it was a belief bound up with the habits of his everyday life, inseparable from all his experience, connected with all the disasters of his race, identified with his deepest and most solemn convictions, perpetuated by the great public acts of his faith, as three times a year all the men of his race flocked to their holy city to celebrate the religious ordinances, every act of which was significant of some past event in his history.

Yet if the Pentateuch was not the inspired work of Moses, this belief must have been utterly wrong after all—a mere idle and empty superstition. How then came the race thus widely dispersed to believe it, to accept it as a veritable witness of the past, and to accept a code of law entirely based upon it? Trace the line of descent upward from the days of the Ptolemies, and we try in vain to find the period or conceive the circumstances which admitted the rise and growth of such a prodigious error. Is it conceivable that the men of the restoration could be mistaken in the fact of the captivity from which they had just emerged, or could be de-



ceived in the fact that their ancient Scriptures were in the hands of their fathers before them? Could the men of the captivity be mistaken in believing in the Jerusalem which had been captured, with its temple and services and ritual, or in the kingdom which had been overthrown and the fertile land which had been laid waste? Could the generations who lived during the troubled times of the kings be mistaken in the fact of a kindred people with whom they were at strife claiming the same descent as themselves and acknowledging the same law of Moses, or as to the events which led to the fatal disruption of the grand empire of Solomon and David? Could the men of Solomon's days be mistaken as to the erection of the temple and all the graphic details of sacrifice and service laid down in the law of Moses? Could the men of David's days be mistaken as to the bringing back of the ark from the land of the Philistines, or the men who instituted the monarchy under Saul be mistaken in believing in the government of the Judges which preceded it? Could the men who found themselves settled amid the warlike Canaanitish nations be mistaken in believing in the conquest of the land and the crossing of Jordan; or the men who crossed Jordan as to the reality of the wanderings in the wilderness and the solemn institution of the law amid the awful solemnities of Sinai? That any one generation should have believed in a definite and immediate past which never had an existence save in a kind of religious romance, and should have submitted to a law which was invented in their own days, under the conviction that they had themselves been educated in it from their earliest infancy, is the most incredible proposition ever submitted for human acceptance. If the Pentateuch be authoritative, and the events recorded in it historically true, then from this beginning everything follows in its order, each event springing consistently out of the event preceding it, and each generation inheriting the belief and the fortunes of the generation before it. If the Pentateuch be an imposture, and the events it records unhistorical, then the whole Jewish history is a confused heap of irreconcilable contradictions.

To take the facts of the books subsequent to the Pentateuch, and reduce them to anything like consistency, on the supposition that the Pentateuch itself is mythical, framing a connected and credible story out of them, is a task which baffles all human ingenuity. The only alternative appears to be to make a clean sweep of the history altogether; but this is no sooner proposed to the mind than both the past and the present lift up their protest against it. The past forbids it, because at many points the history of the Jew has come into contact with the history of the other great nations of antiquity, and to destroy the one would involve the destruction of the other likewise; for modern research has conclusively proved the harmony of sacred history with profane in a very considerable number of instances. The Mosaic authorship is expressly affirmed by Hecateus, Manetho, Lysimachus, Tacitus, Juvenal, and Longinus. In regard to the Pentateuch itself, the Mosaic cosmogony, the scriptural account of the deluge, and the dispersion of mankind at Babel, receive confirmation from Berosus the Chaldean; the ethnological list in Genesis is strongly corroborated by the Babylonian monuments; the account of the exodus, by the distorted narrative of Manetho the Egyptian. Coming to later times, the Jewish

conquest of Canaan is confirmed by an ancient Phœnician inscription noticed by three old writers; David's conquest of Syria by two heathen writers of repute; the history of his relations with Hiram king of Tyre, by Herodotus, Diodorus, and Menander. Similar points of contact occur all down the history, till, in the period of the captivity, we emerge from the darkness of pre-historic times to the period of authentic history (see Rawlinson's *Bampton Lectures, and Ancient Monarchies*). If the Jewish history be all fabulous, what becomes of the profane? and how is it that the ancient Babylonian monuments, now yielding their precious stores of information to the diligence of modern inquiry, corroborate in so many points the statements of the sacred books. The two branches of history, the sacred and the profane, are so interwoven, that the denial of the one must involve likewise the denial of the other. Say that the past history of the Jew before the times of the Ptolemies is a myth altogether, and the history of the Egyptian, the Babylonian, and the Assyrian must become at least equally apocryphal. Acknowledge the history to be true, and the truth of the history involves the divine authority of the Pentateuch which records it.

But the witness of the present is not less decisive against the theory which would refuse credit to the ancient Jewish history altogether, than is the testimony of the past. For if the history be taken away, how is the existence of the Jew at the time of the Ptolemies to be explained, with his strange isolation, his intensely national peculiarities, his venerated Scriptures, and his grand traditions of the past? Did the race spring into being in a day, and produce self-developed its own history and religion? Still more, how is the Jew of the nineteenth century to be accounted for? How comes he to exist? Whence is derived his distinctive nationality? How is it that all his undying peculiarities survive the waves of time and change that have rolled over the world? How is it that he still lives, as closely reflecting even now the spirit and character of the Pentateuchal law as the plastic wax bears the image of the stamp which is impressed upon it. Truly the effort to get rid of the supernatural in the past, by destroying the historic authority of the Pentateuch, only succeeds in transferring the miracle into the present; for what less than miraculous becomes the existence of the Jew when the past is denied out of which alone he can have been produced?

But the argument is at least equally strong when we trace the line of proof upward from the time of the Ptolemies, in regard to the existence of the Jewish Scriptures, as in regard to the facts of Jewish history. The still extant Septuagint proves the existence of the O. T. Scriptures in their completed form at this date, and that they were universally received by the Jewish race as the authoritative and divinely-inspired compositions of the authors to whom they are ascribed. The Pentateuch, for instance, was implicitly received as being the work of Moses, and as supplying the divinely-ordained platform on which the whole superstructure of Jewish polity and religion had been reared, and as the authoritative record of it. To cast a doubt on its genuineness and sacred authority would have been esteemed blasphemy. The case is strengthened by the position held by the Pentateuch as the most ancient of their writings, and as underlying, so to



speak, all the rest. For they were accepted not only as existing from former times, but as the first of a long series of sacred books, united by a regular historical sequence with each other, and all of them received from the tradition of the preceding times. The supposition, therefore, that the Pentateuch is unhistorical does not end with the destruction of the sacred authority of the Mosaic books, but destroys the authority of all the rest of the O. T. Scriptures likewise; for all these without exception are founded on the authority of the Pentateuch and the historic reality of the events recorded in it. If this is denied, either the later books must be considered part of the same imposture as that which produced the Pentateuch in its connected form; or their authors must have knowingly endorsed and availed themselves of this imposture; or, lastly, they must ignorantly have received human and imaginary compositions as veritable and divinely-inspired history. Either of these three alternatives is equally fatal to the sacred character of the post-Mosaic books of the O. T. canon. Hence it follows that the blow which destroys the authority of the Pentateuch must be equally fatal to the entire canon of the O. T.

But if so, on what conceivable principles is the fact to be explained, that the Jews at the date of authentic history undeniably believed in the authority of all these books. If the books were all of them equally ancient, and had been handed down all together from a date indefinitely remote, the difficulty would have been much lessened. But they are a connected series of books—a chain, each link of which depended on the preceding link, and the last of which came down almost to their own times. Whatever influence national vanity may be supposed to have had in inducing them to accept the Pentateuch from the grand past with which it identified them, it could have had no place, at all events, in regard to the later books, which record the crying sins and the fatal decline of their church and nation. Each book of the series links itself on to the events of its appropriate epoch, and the continually lengthening chain was handed down by each generation to its descendants. Each book, therefore, brought with it its own verification and the verification of all that went before, till the whole line reached the days of Malachi, and was brought almost within the personal knowledge of the translators of the Septuagint.

The enormous difficulty of even conceiving the possibility of a fraud under such circumstances is increased by the wide dispersion of the Jewish race, and the mighty separation which had divided the original people into two jealous if not hostile nations. If one portion of the dispersed had been disposed to acquiesce in the fraud, or, in the depth of their superstitious ignorance, had been induced to accept a religious romance composed by some member of the college of the prophets as the ancient Scriptures of their nation, still it is inconceivable that all the communities of Jews established in the different cities of the known world could have been brought to the same conclusion. Or if the exclusive and intense spirit of nationality by which they were actuated, and which becomes on this supposition itself an effect without a cause, can be believed to have accomplished even this result, it still remains to be conceived how the Samaritan people could have been induced to adopt the same belief, instead of indignantly protesting,

as a people so sensitively jealous would inevitably have done, against what must have been either an enormous folly or a criminal imposture. Yet an independent Samaritan version of the Pentateuch carries the evidence for the national acceptance of the Mosaic writings as high as the times of Solomon and David, within little more than 400 years of the conquest of Canaan. Every theory hitherto suggested to explain the existence of the Jewish Scriptures, and the profound veneration entertained for them during all periods by the historic Jew, bristles with difficulties which contradict every experience of human history, and every known principle of human conduct.

The two lines of proof furnished respectively by the facts of Jewish life at the date of the Ptolemies, and by the authoritative existence of the Jewish Scriptures, must be regarded together before the force of the historical argument can be appreciated. In fact, the whole series of proofs authenticating the claims of the Pentateuch, whether drawn from the contents of Scripture or from the facts of history, constitute one body of positive evidence. Each part of it mutually gives and derives strength from every other part, and forms altogether a mass of testimony complete and indivisible. No profane composition in the whole world is authenticated by evidence for a moment capable of being compared with that which affirms the Mosaic authorship and authority of the Pentateuch. The student who wishes to master the topics hastily touched in the foregoing sketch is referred to Stillingfleet's *Origines Sacre*; Prideaux, *Connection of the O. and N. T.*; Leslie's *Short and Easy Method*; Faber's *Horæ Mosaicæ*; Graves on the *Pentateuch*; Marsh's *Authenticity of the Five Books of Moses*; Hengstenberg on the *Pentateuch*; Hävernick's *Introduction*; Kurtz on the *Old Covenant*; Horne's *Introduction by Ayre*; and Macdonald's *Introduction*, etc. An excellent digest of the argument will be found in Wine's *Commentaries*.

The extreme reverence with which the Jewish people have ever regarded the Pentateuch supplies a strong confirmation to the evidence. For though the later books of the O. T. canon have been rejected by some of the Jewish sects, no diversity of opinion has ever existed in regard to the five books of Moses. To their divine authority the whole Jewish race has at all times paid an allegiance as emphatic as it has been almost unanimous. The Christian church has accepted them with no less confidence, and regarded them with no less honour. If, instead of looking from the epoch of the Ptolemies backward to the past, we now turn our eyes to the other direction, and look from the same stand-point forward to the times of our Lord and his apostles, we shall see that the proofs of the inspired authority of the Pentateuch are still stronger to the Christian than to the Jew; for in addition to the testimonies accepted by the Jew, he has other evidences of his own which the Jew does not recognise. There is additional strength in this fact, for his rejection of Christianity places the acceptance of the Pentateuch on the part of a Jew beyond the most remote suspicion of partiality.

It has already been remarked that references to the institutions, principles, and historical facts of the Pentateuch pervade the N. T. to at least as great a degree, if not greater, than the Old. Putting direct and verbal allusions for a moment out of the question, the facts and principles of the



old covenant so permeate the whole thought and language of the N. T. writers, that if they were taken away and relegated into the region of the mythical and the unhistorical, the N. T. would itself become unintelligible. The truth of its history and the reality of its religious institutions, as things still existing and familiarly known, is assumed equally in the Gospels as in the Epistles; and the proof of this would suffer little appreciable diminution if the elaborate comments of the Epistle to the Hebrews were left altogether out of the question. But in addition to this, both our Lord and his apostles have left upon record testimonies both to the Mosaic authorship and to the divine authority of the Pentateuch of the most positive and explicit kind. Twelve times (Matt. xix. 7, 8; xxiii. 2; Mark x. 3; xii. 26; John iii. 14; v. 45, 46; vi. 32; vii. 19, 22, 23) our Lord referred to Moses by name. In fourteen places he has made reference to 'the law'; in five of these coupling it with the name of the lawgiver; and in one adding the significant declaration—'And the Scripture cannot be broken' (Matt. v. 17, 18, 40; xi. 13; xii. 5; xxii. 36, 40; xxiii. 23; Luke xvi. 17; John i. 17; vii. 19, 23; x. 34; xv. 25). Seven times our Lord quoted from the Pentateuch as from the authoritative word of God; three of these occasions being during his temptation, when the quotation will be found to involve not only the authority of the words, but also the historical verity of the facts in connection with which they were originally uttered (Deut. viii. 3 compared with Matt. iv. 4; Luke iv. 4; Deut. vi. 16 with Matt. iv. 7; Deut. vi. 13 with Matt. iv. 10; Exod. xx. 12 with Matt. xix. 18; Lev. xix. 18 with Matt. xix. 19; xxii. 39; Exod. iii. 6 with Matt. xxii. 32; Mark xii. 27; Luke xx. 37; Deut. vi. 5 with Matt. xxii. 37; Mark xii. 30; Luke x. 27). On thirteen different occasions (Matt. viii. 4; x. 15; xi. 23; xvii. 3; xxiii. 35; xxiv. 37; Luke xvi. 29, 31; xvii. 28, 32; xx. 37; xxiv. 27; John iii. 14; vi. 31; viii. 17, 56), our Lord directly set the seal of his own authority to persons or events recorded in the Pentateuch. These instances are taken from our Lord's personal history alone, and the limits of our article alone forbid the multiplication of similar instances from the teaching of the apostles. In regard to all these references, there are but two alternatives for adoption;—either the Pentateuch is the inspired book of Moses, and then our Lord gave authoritative testimony to what is true; or the Pentateuch is not the inspired work of Moses, and then our Lord gave authoritative testimony to what is false. In the latter case we are shut up to the conclusion, either that our Lord believed what he stated, and was therefore deceived in attaching historical reality to persons and events which never had existence; or else our Lord knew them to be false, and yet spoke of them as true, and therefore must have been a wilful deceiver. Neither supposition can be entertained without something akin to blasphemy. Belief in the divine nature and commission of the Son of God carries with it, therefore, belief in the divine authority of the five books of Moses. A man who accepts the truth of Christianity must accept likewise the truth of the Mosaic law, and the authority of the Pentateuch which establishes it.

There is, however, another side to this argument. If the truth of Christianity involves the acceptance of the Pentateuch, the disproof of the divine authority of the Pentateuch equally involves

the denial of Christianity. Just in proportion as we draw tighter the links of the one argument, we equally draw tighter the links of the other. The N. T. Scriptures involve the authority of the Mosaic books; if, therefore, the Mosaic books can be proved to be unauthoritative, the N. T. must be founded on a falsehood; and, whatever may be its apparent evidences, must itself necessarily be void of all authoritative obligation upon the human mind and conscience. It was not likely that the opponents of Christianity would fail to perceive this result, or would neglect this line of attack; for there are manifest facilities for an attack upon the O. T., and especially upon its earlier portion, which do not attach to an attack upon the N. T. Scriptures, since the facts of Christianity fall within the recognised historic period, and were consequently enacted amid such a comparative blaze of light as to render all assaults upon them peculiarly embarrassing. A glance at M. Coquerel's able reply to Strauss will suffice to illustrate this. (This reply has been brought within the reach of the English reader by Dr. Beard's *Voices of the Church*.) With the Mosaic books it is different. The remote antiquity of their date, and the consequent absence of those collateral proofs largely supplied by profane history to the later books of the O. T. canon, the condensed form of a narrative comprising the history of a thousand years within a few verses, the consequent absence of precise details, and of the connecting links between effects and their prominent causes, render the Pentateuch as favourable a sphere as can be conceived for the exercise of a criticism, as arbitrary and capricious as it is destructive. It is a matter of familiar experience how, in the absence of some one part of a whole series, all the rest may appear unintelligible and even contradictory. An interesting example of this may be found in Ebrard, *Kritik der Evang. Geschichte*, sec. 72. In proportion to the remote distance of recorded events, and the condensed character of the outlines which alone have been preserved to us, will be the width of the door opened to the ingenious objections of a speculative criticism. It is natural, therefore, that the attacks of unbelief should have been long directed against the Pentateuch, as being, so to speak, the key of the position, and offering peculiar facilities for attack. It is true, indeed, that if Christianity were subverted, the authority of the Pentateuch might still be maintained to a certain degree, as in the case of modern Judaism. But, on the other side, if the authority of the Pentateuch be subverted, Christianity cannot possibly survive.

The tendency of unbelief to take the shape of an assault upon the authority of the Pentateuch was first developed in the 2d century of the Christian era. The form in which it first appeared in the teaching of the ancient Ebionites is so remarkable as to deserve a somewhat more extended notice than the limits of this article will make it possible for us to give to the subsequent disciples of free thought. But in one or other of the two divisions of the Ebionites, which Neander has respectively designated as the Pharisaic and the Essenian, almost every branch of modern rationalistic argument has been anticipated. It is true that the Pentateuch was professedly placed by them in the first class of inspired writings; but it was maintained that the Mosaic books were made up of traditional fragments, that they had been many times re-written,

and that corrupting elements had been introduced into the purity of the original revelation. The genuineness of the Pentateuch was thus boldly assailed, and passages which appeared to conflict with the favourite hypothesis were got rid of by a critical charge of interpolation and corruption of the text. When it is added that the fall of man was rejected as being blasphemy against God, that the supernatural was disavowed, that the highest appeal was made to the inner human consciousness in contrast to an outward revelation, that the inspiration of Scripture was referred to a general not a special action of the Holy Spirit upon the mind of the writers, that in the truth implanted by God in the depths of the human soul all other truth is contained, and that the revelation of the Divine Spirit does but awaken the consciousness of it, we find in this scheme the pregnant prototype of modern rationalism (see Neander's *Church History*, London, Bohn, vol. i.) Other early heretics followed in the same path, such as several branches of the Gnostics and the Manicheans, who boldly pronounced whatever conflicted with their own views in the Mosaic books to be corruptions of the original.

When the spirit of religious inquiry began to move men's minds, towards the close of the dark ages, these speculative objections again made their appearance. In the beginning of the 11th century a learned Jew, Isaac Ben Jasos, maintained that portions of the Pentateuch belonged to a later age than the Mosaic, and referred them to the time of Jehoshaphat. In the 12th century Aben Ezra argued for the interpolation of some portions of the Pentateuch. In the 16th century John Carlstadt and Masius held the same opinion; the former arguing from the impossibility of the lawgiver recording his own death, and the latter conjecturally ascribing their authorship to Ezra. In the 17th century the English deist Hobbes, and still more specially the celebrated Jew Spinoza, repeated the same attacks on the authority of the Mosaic books. The writings of Spinoza especially have been the great armoury out of which later writers have gathered their weapons. In the 18th century a whole array of deistical writers—the third Earl of Shaftesbury, Collins, Tindal, Blunt, Toland, Morgan, Chubb, and Lord Bolingbroke—followed in the same track, rejecting the Mosaic books as offensive to man's self-respect, and repugnant to human reason. Unfortunately the line of argument which some professed friends of the Bible adopted in defence of it only served to increase the mischief. Already in the 17th century Dr. Spencer had endeavoured to show that the great object of the Mosaic ritual was to wean the Israelitish people from the idolatrous habits contracted by them in Egypt, and that with this view the utmost possible indulgence was accorded to their inclinations. His views were mainly adopted by Bishop Warburton in the next century. To the same school and about the same period belonged the learned Michaelis. Dr. Geddes, a Roman Catholic divine, freely doubted both the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch and the historical character of the narrative. At the close of the 18th century began the age of criticism, and of what has been called the 'higher criticism' of Germany. The historical scepticism of F. A. Wolf, professor of philosophy at Halle, led the way. Among the many disciples of historical criticism who claimed to pronounce the verdict of modern

inquiry, a few names stand prominent as marking the successive theories in regard to the composition of the Pentateuch, which one after the other have been adopted and rejected. Thus, Astruc and Eichhorn are the authors of the document hypothesis, which regards the Pentateuch, and especially the book of Genesis, as a compilation from other earlier memoirs. The work of critical disintegration still advancing, the number of supposed original writers was multiplied till the whole became torn into shreds, and hence arose the fragment hypothesis, of which Vater and De Wette may be taken as the representatives. Lastly followed the complement hypothesis of Tuch and Stähelin, which regards the Pentateuch as the work of two writers, the latter of whom revised and supplemented the work of his predecessor. This represents the last and existing phase of German rationalistic opinion, of which Von Bohlen is one of the most extreme and conspicuous advocates. It is unnecessary to carry the list further. As regards our own country, the names of Dr. Davidson, Dr. Donaldson, the Essayists and Reviewers, and Bishop Colenso, are too familiarly known to make any sketch of their opinions necessary. On the other side, a number of valuable works have been published in vindication of the Pentateuch. Of these apologies the most important will be found to be among the Germans: the works of Hengstenberg, Kurtz, and Hävernick, which have been published in an English version by Messrs. Clark of Edinburgh. In the English, Stillingfleet's *Origines Sacrae*; *Horæ Mosaicæ*, by G. S. Faber; Dean Graves *On the Pentateuch*; Blunt's *Undesigned Coincidences*; *Critical History of the O. T. Canon*, by Moses Stuart; Rawlinson's *Bampton Lectures*; Hoare's *Veracity of Genesis*; Marsden's *Mosaic Code*, etc.

Now, the objections urged against the Mosaic authorship and divine authority of the Pentateuch may be conveniently classed under four general heads—critical, historical, scientific, and moral. Any exhaustive statement of these objections would vastly exceed the possible limits of an article. We shall only supply brief particulars under each head to elucidate the ground and nature of the argument.

1. *Critical*.—These are directed to prove that the Mosaic books are not the production of any one author, but consist of a variety of ancient fragments, which some later compiler has arranged into order; or, in another form of the objection, that they consist of traditional tales, subsequently shaped into a kind of religious romance, without any deliberate intention on the part of the compiler to give them historic authority. The grounds on which the objections are based are mainly three: (1.) Alleged repetitions in the narrative, indicating, as it is thought, a plurality of writers: thus Gen. ii. 1-7 is held to be a mere useless repetition of Gen. i.; Gen. xxi. 9-21 is asserted to be only another version of Gen. xvi. 4-16; the sojourning of Isaac among the Philistines to be an imitation of the previous narrative of Abraham's residence in Egypt (Gen. xiii. 10; xxvi. 1); and objections of a similar kind have been urged against the genealogical lists of Gen. x. and xi. (2.) The alleged diversity of style, and, in some instances, the difference of terms and passages by which the book of Deuteronomy is distinguished from the four books preceding. Objectors on this ground forget the distinctive nature of the circumstances under which



the last exhortations of the great lawgiver to the people were delivered, and how naturally the difference of style arises from this difference of circumstance. (3.) The main foundation of these critical objections rests on the diverse use of the names of God, 'Elohim' and 'Jehovah.' It is assumed that the use of 'Elohim' marks an earlier writer, and the use of 'Jehovah' a later. The English student may understand the degree in which the words are mutually used, by comparing, in the A. V., the expressions 'God' and 'Lord God;' for instance, in Gen. ii. and iii. In its compound equally as in its simple form, the word 'Jehovah' is confidently assumed to be the irrefragable mark of a later date.

In regard to this class of objections, it is only necessary that two cautions should be borne in mind. We must remember that the supposition that Moses embodied ancient documents in his books, such as genealogical lists or accounts of events, is perfectly consistent with a devout belief in their inspired authority, so long as we recognise the divine guidance under which the lawgiver acted. Portions which admit of such a supposition derive authority, not from their original authors, but from the inspired prophet who has embodied them into his own composition. It is only when the theory is used to support a post-Mosaic authorship that they become absolutely irreconcilable with a devout belief in their inspiration. It must also be borne in mind, that the use of the two words 'Elohim' and 'Jehovah,' and the rapid transition from one to the other in some cases, and the union of the two in other cases, admits of a totally different solution to that of the rationalistic objector. A close examination will show that in all cases the selection of the particular term is made intentionally, and has reference to the conditions of place, person, and time, under which it was employed, just as in the N. T. Scriptures various titles of God are used, but used with a most exact and appropriate relation to the whole nature of the context (see articles on Genesis).

2. *Historical.*—It is most important to observe, that in no one single instance are these objections drawn from any comprehensive view of the relation in which the Pentateuch stands towards the later treatises, on the one side, or profane history upon the other. They are derived exclusively from a captious and capricious criticism of details. The publicity these objections have recently received makes it almost unnecessary to supply illustrative instances under this head. But we may mention the objection raised to the number of the Hebrew people at the time of the exodus, the census of the people in the wilderness, and the number of the sacrifices alleged to have been required during the forty years' wanderings. What it is important to bear in mind under this head is the logical position which alone such difficulties can hold in relation to the general evidences for the Pentateuch. They are wholly devoid of force unless they prove an impossibility in the events against which they are alleged. If they simply prove our ignorance of details, they prove no more than that, in the condensed records of exceedingly remote events, many details must necessarily be omitted. A very small acquaintance with history is sufficient to show the influence which one single and apparently minute particular may exercise upon a whole series of events. Consequently, there is no necessity placed upon the

Christian apologist, to prove that the events did take place in any one mode, or to tie his defence to one invariable explanation. All he needs to show is, that the events are possible; to point out how they may have taken place, not to prove how they did take place. The different explanations of certain difficulties, for instance in relation to the birth of Hezron and Hamul, Gen. xlv. 12, which have been offered by different writers, afford no handle to the unfriendly criticism to which they have been subjected; but, when viewed in relation to the logical requirements of the argument, strengthen, in proportion to their number, the pleas in defence of the Pentateuch.

3. *Scientific.*—This class of objections rests on alleged contradictions between the language of the Mosaic books and the facts of science. For instance, the Adamic creation is declared to contradict the conclusions of geology, inasmuch as the period required for bringing the crust of the earth into its existing condition must have included countless centuries, and not a brief period of six days. In the same way it is first argued, that the Scriptural narrative involves an universal deluge, and then, this meaning being assumed, that such a deluge, with all its accompanying circumstances, as recorded in Genesis, cannot have taken place without a miracle wholly stupendous. A third objection is grounded on the chronology of the Bible, and on the asserted fact, that the duration of man upon the earth has extended to a period at least exceeding four or five times over the 6000 years allotted to him in the Pentateuch. A fourth objection is directed against the descent of all mankind from a single pair, and their primary migrations as recorded by Moses. It assumes that the physical peculiarities distinguishing the various races of the world are the results of a difference in species, not of a variety caused by the influence of climatic, physical, and social circumstances. There are many other minor objections of a more frivolous character, such as that which insists on fixing upon the word 'firmament,' in Gen. i. 6, the sense of a permanent solid vault, and then pointing out the opposition in which such an idea stands to astronomical science; or such as the objection against the language of Joshua (x. 12), which is sufficiently answered by reference to the language of any modern almanac, and by the observation, that if the ancient Scriptures had been written in the terminology of science, they would have been simply unintelligible to the generation to which they were first given. But these captious difficulties are of little weight compared to the four objections mentioned above, all of which touch questions of the gravest importance. In addition to those general elements of error which we shall proceed to point out as belonging in common to all the modern objections urged against the Pentateuch, there are some considerations bearing specially upon this scientific class of difficulties to which it is necessary briefly to call attention.

In regard to theories of the creation and the deluge, it is necessary to distinguish with the utmost possible precision between the language of Scripture and any private interpretations of it. When the question is propounded, whether the six days of the Adamic creation were literal days of one revolution of the globe, or were successive periods of time; when it is asked, whether the deluge was partial or universal, the particular opinion which

each man may form must not be fastened on the scriptural language, as if it were its necessary and only admissible interpretation. It must be acknowledged that opinions on either side are equally consistent with a devout acceptance of the inspired word. Experience teaches the necessity of this caution; for the lessons of geology have compelled us to separate between the creation and the beginning of Gen. i. 1 and the Adamic creation of the later verses, and to allow the existence of untold periods between them. Now that we are accustomed to this, we find that the change of interpretation has not put any dishonour on the text, and we must feel that what has happened in regard to one verse may happen in regard to others. Modern science has undoubtedly proved the pre-existence of immense geological periods; but we are quite able to reconcile them with the scriptural narrative, either on the hypothesis of the late lamented Hugh Miller, or on the optical hypothesis, of which the Rev. T. R. Birks is the living exponent. But we are not called to fix either one or the other inseparably upon the text.

The truth is, that, with reference to the creation, we are not yet in a position, and perhaps we never shall be, even to enter upon the work of reconciliation between Scripture and science. For the first preliminary is evidently to know what we are to reconcile; and till science can fix some acknowledged principles of cosmogony, it is evident that even the preliminary step cannot be taken. With the sole exception of the immense geological periods already referred to, science has hitherto settled nothing. Its advocates are still at war among themselves on the first principles of the scheme, uniformitarian and catastrophist arguing with equal vehemence for their conflicting theories. Till modern science can assert definite and acknowledged conclusions, it is manifestly premature to attempt a reconciliation between them and Scripture. The attempt only gives rise to speculative interpretations full of danger.

The same observation applies to the question of the deluge, and it may well be doubted whether the time is not at hand when that great catastrophe, as narrated in Scripture, will be accepted by men of science themselves as the true solution of many phenomena now referred to other causes. It is certain that the glacier hypothesis, now most in vogue among geologists, is weighted with the most enormous scientific difficulties. It is also observable that objections confidently urged against the ark and its capability of containing the animals which were miraculously gathered together into it, rest wholly on the unproved supposition that the fauna of the antediluvian age were as widely and equably dispersed over the surface of the globe as the fauna of the post-diluvian. But, however these questions may be finally solved, the apologist for the Pentateuch must stand by the text of Scripture, and whether he believes in a partial deluge or an universal deluge, must not confuse the infallible text with his own fallible interpretation of it.

Lastly, the state of the controversy relative to the antiquity of man and the origin of races, illustrates with peculiar force the crude and incomplete state of all scientific investigation on these subjects, and the consequent rashness of all conclusions drawn from them unfavourable to the authority of the Pentateuch. For the rationalistic attack is urged from two contrary directions, and is supported by

arguments directly contradictory to each other. On the one side we are told that the distinctive physical peculiarities of different human races are so deep, so irremovable, that they must be considered to indicate diversity of species and not simply varieties of one species; that no climatic and social influences can explain them; that consequently the races of men must have been created distinct, and the scriptural narrative which asserts the common descent of all mankind must be unworthy of credit. On the other side, the very fact of an intelligent creation is called into question, on the ground that there are in the world no distinctions of fixed species, but only variations so mutable that all existing differences are the mere result of natural causes. The inevitable conclusion from such premises is, that all forms of life whatever are self-developed out of one common primal form, and the idea of creation becomes superfluous, for the original monad can scarcely be considered as less self-developed than all the forms which have sprung from it. That such is the natural tendency of Mr. Darwin's theory of the origin of species we have a most impartial witness. 'This theory, when fully enunciated, founds the pedigree of living nature upon the most elementary form of vitalised matter. One step further would carry us back, without greater violence to probability, to inorganic rudiments, and then we should be called upon to recognise in ourselves, and in the exquisite elaborations of the animal and vegetable kingdoms, the ultimate results of mere material forces left free to follow their own unaided tendencies' (Sir W. Armstrong at the British Association at Newcastle, 1863). On the one side, we are called to believe in the evidence of fixed species; and on the other side, to believe in their non-existence. We are asked to believe that all living beings whatever, including man himself, have descended from original monads, and at the same time to believe that the races of mankind cannot have descended from a common parentage. The two arguments are totally irreconcilable, and till something like congruity can be introduced into our scientific theories, it is premature even to suggest their possible contradiction to the inspired authority of the Pentateuch.

4. *Moral.*—This class of objections is so indefinite in its nature as to make explanation and refutation, in the brief space of an article, equally difficult. They are all founded on the sufficiency of the human consciousness to pass a verdict on the propriety or impropriety of certain acts ascribed to God in the Pentateuch. The form they take is, however, more subtle than this. Certain acts imputed to God are contrary to the ideal the human mind frames of the Deity; therefore it is argued that God cannot have done them, and consequently the books which attribute them to him cannot declare the truth, cannot be divinely inspired. The ideal God in the human consciousness is made into the standard whereby revelation is measured. For instance, it is argued that the destruction of the Canaanitish nations by the sword of Israel under express command was a cruel deed, at which the human mind revolts, and which it is impossible to believe that God can have done. Objections of the same kind are urged against the Mosaic law, both against its positive enactments, as in the case of slavery, and against the minute and apparently trivial character of many of its details. And then, in support of these allegations, a contrast is drawn



between the spirit of the Mosaic code and the spirit of the gospels and epistles. It will be enough for the present purpose to reply, that these objections rest almost entirely, and derive any force they may appear to have, from a misapprehension of the facts of the case, and an erroneous estimate of the Mosaic code on the one side, and of the Christian dispensation upon the other. A candid examination of all the narrative shows that the destruction of the Canaanitish nations was purely a judicial act, wherein God was the judge and the people of Israel the authorised and divinely-appointed executioners. It will be found that the utmost care was taken to present the whole transaction in this specific aspect, and that this act of judicial severity stood in the sharpest possible contrast to the general tenor of the Mosaic law, which was tolerant, gentle, and singularly beneficent both in spirit and in its positive provisions. Looking at the Pentateuch, we find in it the same law of love which we find in the gospels; and looking at the gospel, we find in God the same attribute of punitive justice which stands conspicuous in the law. The argument may be carried farther, for the analogy between God's character and dealings in providence and his dealings in grace, as contained in the book of revelation, is close and exact in the highest degree.

Into the details of these various objections, critical, historical, scientific, and moral, this article will not further enter, partly from considerations of space, partly because many of them will be found treated in other articles of this publication. The student is referred, for their more formal refutation, to the almost voluminous literature which the controversy of the last few years has called into existence. With reference to the special form they have assumed in the *Critical Examination of the Pentateuch*, by Dr. Colenso, bishop of Natal, every information will be found in recent publications. The general questions of scholarship will be found ably handled in the *Examination* of Dr. Colenso's work, issued by the late lamented Dr. M'Caul. Reference may also be usefully made to *Colenso's Defections Examined*, by Dr. Benisch, a Jewish doctor. For the numerical calculations, the student should refer to the *Exodus of Israel*, by Rev. P. R. Birks, in which they are submitted to a searching examination. For questions of topography, a smaller work by Professor Porter of Belfast, the well-known author of *Five Years in Damascus*, Murray's *Handbook of Syria*, etc., will be found full of valuable information. But, passing these details over, there are certain general considerations bearing upon them in common, the statement of which may well occupy the remainder of this article.

In the first place, it will be seen that in the whole range of the rationalistic armoury, there has not been found a single argument to invalidate the positive historical evidences for the Mosaic authorship and inspired authority of the Pentateuch, which have been rapidly and imperfectly sketched in the former part of this article. Not a single fact involved in the argument has been called into question; not a single conclusion has been invalidated. So completely do the positive evidence in favour of the Pentateuch, and the rationalistic objections against it, move upon different lines altogether, that if every one of these objections could be substantiated, the positive evidence would yet remain where it was, and what it was before. Its force would not be weakened in one solitary point;

rather would be made stronger, would become not providential, which we believe it to be, but actually miraculous. For if the rationalistic objections could be substantiated, they would prove the Pentateuch to be no more than a series of traditional fragments; yet the structural unity of these fragments, and the historical links of proof which connect as with bands of adamant every one of these books with the marvellous national history of the Hebrew race, must be acknowledged to exist as they did before; for, as we have said, there is not even an attempt made to invalidate them. Let it be said that the Pentateuch is really the inspired work of Moses, and the subsequent history of the Jew follows consecutively and naturally from it. But let it be said that the Pentateuch is unhistorical, and its recorded events fictitious, and the subsequent history becomes utterly inexplicable. Not only, therefore, do not these objections touch the force of the positive evidence in one single particular, but they invest it with a still higher character, and change the providential into the miraculous.

If, however, this were the case, the position of the whole controversy would be singularly anomalous. For the positive historical evidence would authenticate the authority of the Mosaic books on the one side as strongly as the rationalistic objections would destroy it upon the other. In such a dilemma, we could only conclude the existence of some great fallacy in the one line of proof or in the other; for it would be incredible that truth should be really two-sided, and should affirm and deny at the same time. But on which side lies the fallacy, and what is its character? The apologist for the Pentateuch may fairly claim the verdict even of his opponents that the fallacy is not in the positive historical argument, since his opponent makes no effort to overthrow it. He neglects it, he ignores its existence, he treats it as if it was not, but he makes no effort to controvert it. Thus, for instance, the recent publications of Bishop Colenso pass over the positive evidence in such absolute silence, that the reader is almost tempted to doubt the author's knowledge of its very existence. It may, therefore, be fairly argued that the fallacy lies somewhere in the argument of the rationalistic objector. Nor have we to look far, before the false assumptions, which vitiate the whole process of hostile criticism and destroy the value of its every conclusion, meet the eye. The following brief notes must be accepted as indicating the source of the fallacy rather than defining or formally refuting it. But from what has been already stated, the following conclusions may be derived:—

1. That the objections recently urged against the Mosaic authorship and authority of the Pentateuch are not the necessary result of modern research and of a more enlightened criticism, but are the re-echo of arguments some of which may be traced back nearly to the time of the apostles. It is not intended by this to deny their modern garb, or the ingenuity which has marshalled them, or the advanced critical appliances which have been freely called into use, but only to deny their substantial novelty. We are therefore entitled to disavow the claim which has been made in their behalf, and to regard them not as the expression of modern criticism protesting against the ignorant errors of a past age, but as another effort of an old enemy, a new outburst of the sceptical spirit which has endeavoured, in past ages, to undermine the authority of the Bible, but which, baffled in times gone by,



has now renewed the attack with more refined weapons and a greater subtlety of argument than before.

2. Through every class of objection which has hitherto been urged runs the common assumption, that the highest standard of truth and the last court of appeal lies in the human consciousness. In one sense it is most true that reason must be the arbiter of truth; for we can exercise no faith unless we have first reasons on which to ground it. But then it is on the question of evidence that reason must be exercised. Have we the same evidence for believing the Pentateuch to be the work of Moses as we have for referring their respective works to Herodotus or Thucydides, Plato or Cicero? Is the evidence for the divine inspiration of the Pentateuch such as to compel us to accept it unless we are prepared to deny the force of similar evidence in matters of secular investigation? If the answer must be in the affirmative, mere *à priori* conjectures gathered out of the mind itself can have very little force against this evidence of facts. Yet it is the common vice of all the four classes of objections enumerated, that they rest on some conjectural assumption of the mind itself. The critical objections rest largely on the gratuitous assumption that two names for the Deity would not have been used by one and the same author, although the analogy of the N. T. Scriptures proves that a similar adaptation of the titles used to the context was the familiar habit of the apostolic writers. The historical objections rest on the supposition that at an enormous distance from the event the human mind is yet able so accurately to balance the antecedent probability or improbability of human transactions as to outweigh the evidence of positive documents. The scientific objections are dependent on the supposition that theories in geological and ethnological science, about which men of science are themselves disagreed, are yet to be treated as if they were proved facts by which the language of Scripture must be tested and condemned. The moral objections are based on the assumption that the human consciousness is an adequate measure of God, and that even with a very imperfect knowledge of all the facts of the case, it is competent absolutely to pronounce what things God did or did not do, what acts are worthy or unworthy of the divine character and government. In all these cases it is remarkable that rationalism works by no certain and recognised canons, but trusts wholly to what has been called an 'historical instinct,' and to conclusions as arbitrary and capricious as the individual minds which form them. In proof of this, it is only necessary to allege the endless discrepancies of opinion among modern critics of the Pentateuch belonging to this school. Scarcely can any two be found to agree together either in their conclusions or their reasons for them: their only point in common is opposition to the inspired Scriptures. Of the inherent uncertainty and waywardness of such criticism it is impossible to speak too strongly. The irrefragable grounds on which plain sense protests against such a mode of investigation are stated with great force by that distinguished scholar, the late Sir G. C. Lewis, in his lectures on the credibility of ancient Roman history.

3. Another distinctive feature of these objections is the strict naturalism on which they are founded. Their advocates agree in discarding the supernatural—that is, the miraculous—from the sacred history,

and leaving no sphere for its operation. With them, to prove that an event could not have taken place without a miracle, is tantamount to proving that it has not taken place at all. Now, it must be remembered that the very hypothesis of the Bible involves the supernatural in the ordinary sense of the word; for it claims to be a revelation from God, and as God is above nature, so a written communication of God to men must necessarily be beyond the sphere of the natural—that is, it must be miraculous. To object to Scripture that it contains the supernatural is to object to its being what it is—is to find fault with that very attribute without which a Bible, a divine revelation, could not possibly exist. While, therefore, on the one side, we should shrink from placing interpretations of our own on the Bible, which would needlessly multiply the necessities for miraculous interference, and so imply in the divine Being a prodigality of miracles which we know to be contrary to the whole economy of his government; on the other hand, we must not shrink from believing an event because it is miraculous. A man who believes in God must believe in the possibility of miracles. For a God incapable of acting would be no God; and the actings of a God must necessarily be supernatural—that is, more or less miraculous. Nor should it be forgotten that with the Omnipotent there can be no degrees of great or little, of easy or difficult. What seems to us a stupendous miracle may be really no more than what seems to us a small one, and it is even conceivable that the greater miracle may hold the balance of creation more even, and consequently imply less disturbance in the ordinary order of things, than the lesser one may do. At all events, objections resting on a disbelief in the supernatural must be void of all weight to the mind of a believer in the existence and government of an intelligent Deity.

4. Lastly, it must not be supposed that all criticism on the internal contents of Scripture is necessarily adverse criticism. The protest lies against modern criticism, not because it is destructive, but because it is false. The study of the contents of Scripture has already been productive of great results, and may be expected, as it is more devotedly pursued, to be productive of still greater. For instance, Blunt's *Undesigned Coincidences*, and Birk's *Exodus of Israel*, will be found not only to remove objections, but to point out latent unities and harmonies which constitute a positive argument for the authority of the Pentateuch of the most conclusive kind. It is in this storehouse that the most effective weapons of the Christian apologist must after all be found.

The remembrance of these principles will guide the student through many apparent difficulties, and enable him to discern the latent fallacy that vitiates the whole processes of rationalistic criticism. That there exist difficulties of detail in the explanation of the Pentateuch which our present knowledge does not enable us to remove, and which very probably never will be removed on this side of the better world, may be most readily admitted; but the great lines of evidence in proof of the Mosaic authorship and inspired authority of the Pentateuch have never yet been shaken. And inasmuch as the proof is based on common principles of evidence lying at the bottom of all human knowledge whatever, it never can be overthrown unless we are prepared to overthrow the whole struc-



ture of human belief at the same time. The structural unity of the Mosaic books; the intimate identity subsisting between the events and the books which record them; the close interdependence on which the Pentateuch stands both towards the subsequent books of the O. and N. T. canon, and towards the whole course of national Jewish history; the support which the history of the Hebrew nation derives at many points of contact from profane history, and signally from recent topographical and antiquarian discovery; the strength of the general historical argument contrasted with the weakness of the detailed objections, their variable and capricious character, and their claim to make the inward consciousness of man the ultimate criterion of truth on which they rest—all lead to the same conclusion. The most searching investigation which all the appliances of modern criticism enable us to exercise, only ratifies the conclusion of a devout faith in recognising in the Pentateuch the most ancient and certain of histories, standing in the highest class of historical credibility, because authenticated by the personal knowledge of the man who was the principal actor in the events; and claiming the implicit obedience of faith, as being stamped with the indelible signet of divine inspiration.—E. G.

[LITERATURE.—On the critical history of the Pentateuch the following works are the most important:—The *Einleitungen* of Eichhorn, Bertholdt, De Wette, Hävernick (translated by A. Thomson, Edin., 1850), and Bleek; Davidson's *Introduction to the O. T.*; Horne's *Introduction*, by Ayre; Ranke, *Untersuchungen über den Pent.*, 2 bde, Erlangen 1834-40; Hengstenberg, *Die Authentie des Pent.*, 2 bde, Ber. 1836-39 (translated by Ryland, 2 vols. 8vo); König, *Alttest. Studien*, 2 parts, 1839; Bertheau, *Die sieben gruppen Mos. Gesetz . . . ein beitrage zur Kritik d. Pent.*, Gött. 1840; Stähelin, *Krit. untersuch. üb. d. Pent.*, etc., Ber. 1843; Ewald, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel bis Christus*, bd. i.; C. von Lengerke, *Kanaan, Volks- und Religions-Gesch. Israels*, Königsb. 1844; Warburton, *Divine Legation of Moses*, 1738-1765; Faber, *Horæ Mosaicæ*, 2 vols., 1800, 1817; Hamilton, *The Pentateuch and its Assaults*, Edin. 1852; Colenso, *The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua critically examined*, Lond. 1863, etc.; *The Historic Character of the Pentateuch vindicated, in reply to Colenso*, by a Layman of the Church of England, 1863; *The Mosaic Origin of the Pent. considered*, by the same, 1864; Birks, *The Exodus of Israel, its Difficulties examined*, 1863; and very many other works [see above] called forth in reply to Colenso.

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frere, Antw. 1625; Osiander, Tüb. 1676; Kidder, Lond. 1694, 2 vols. 8vo; Mendelsohn, Berl. 1780-83, 5 vols. 8vo (Latine vers. cum textu orig., Onkelosi interpret. et Jarchicomment. a Heinemann, Berl. 1831-33, 5 vols. 8vo); Vater, Halle 1802-5, 3 vols. 8vo; Rosenmüller (Scholia in compend. red.), Lips. 1828; Arnheim, Glogau 1840; Baumgarten, Kiel 1843-44, 2 vols. 8vo; Keil, 4 vols. 8vo, Edinb. 1864-5. On *Genesis*—Musculus, Bas. 1554 (1565, 1600), fol.; Calvin (ed. nov. cur. Hengstenberg, Berl. 1838, 2 vols. 8vo); Mercer, Gen. 1598, fol.; Pareus, Francof. 1609, 4to; Willet, Lond. 1622; Ilgen, Halle 1798; A. Fuller, Lond. 1806; Rosenmüller, Lips. 1788 (1798, 1821); Von Bohlen, Leipz. 1835; Tuch, 1838; Delitzsch, Leipz. 1853, 3d ed. 1861; Knobel, Leipz. 1852; Murphy, Edin. 1862; Lange, Viefelfeld 1864. On *Exodus*—Willet, Lond. 1632; Revet, Leyd. 1634; Rosenmüller, Lips. 1788 (1799, 1822); Knobel, 1858. On *Leviticus*—Willet, 1632; Dassov., Kiel 1707; Bonar, Edin. 1846, 2d ed.; Knobel, 1858. On *Numbers*—Attersol, Lond. 1618; Rosenmüller, Lips. 1789 (1800, 1824); Knobel, 1861. On *Deuteronomy*—Gerhard, Jena 1657, 4to; Macabaeus [Mac Alpin], Lond. 1563; Rosenmüller, 1789, seq.; Schulz, 1859; Knobel, 1861.]

PENTECOST (Πεντηκοστή, scil. ἡμέρα), the second of the three great annual festivals on which all the males were required to appear before the Lord in the national sanctuary, the other two being the Feasts of Passover and Tabernacles.

1. *Name and its signification.*—This festival is called—i. השבועות, הַנָּהֵפֶסֶת, ἑορτὴ ἑβδομάδων, *semitas hebdomadarum*, the *Festival of Weeks* (Exod. xxxiv. 22; Deut. xvi. 10, 16; 2 Chron. viii. 13), because it was celebrated seven complete weeks, or fifty days, after the Passover (Lev. xxiii. 15, 16); for which reason it is also called in the Jewish writings הַנִּסְחִים יוֹם (comp. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. ii. 3. 1), whence ἡμέρα τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς (Tob. ii. 1; 2 Maccab. xii. 32; Acts ii. 1; xx. 16; 1 Cor. xvi. 8), the Latin *Pentecoste*, and our appellation Pentecost. ii. הַנִּסְחִים יוֹם, the *festival of the harvest* (Exod. xxiii. 16), because it concluded the harvest of the later grains. iii. יוֹם הַבְּכֹרִים, ἡμέρα τῶν νέων, *DIES PRIMITIVORUM*, 'the day of first-fruits' (Num. xxviii. 26), because the first loaves made from the new corn were offered on it on the altar (Lev. xxiii. 17), for which reason Philo (*Opp.* ii. 294) calls it ἑορτὴ πρωτογεννημάτων. iv. It is also denominated in the post-canonical Jewish writings הַנִּסְחִים יוֹם, the *festival of conclusion*, i. e., of the Passover, or simply עֶצְרַת (comp. Πεντηκοστή, ἡν' Ἑβραῖοι Ἀσπαρὰ [= עֶצְרַת, Chaldee] καλοῦσι, σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο Πεντηκοστή, Joseph. *Antiq.* iii. 10. 6; *Mishna Bikkurim*, i. 3, 7, 10; *Rosh Ha-Shana*, i. 2; *Chagiga*, ii. 4), because it completed what the Passover commenced; and v. זְמַן מִתְּנוּת הַתּוֹרָה, the *time of the giving of our law*, because the Jews believe that on this day the revelation of the decalogue took place.

2. *The time at which this Festival was celebrated.*—The time fixed for the celebration of Pentecost is the fiftieth day reckoning from 'the morrow after the Sabbath' (מִמָּחָר הַשַּׁבָּת) of the Passover (Lev. xxiii. 11, 15, 16). The precise meaning, however, of the word שַׁבָּת in this connection, which determines the date for celebrating this festival, has been matter of dispute from time immemorial. The Boëthusians (בִּיתוּסִים) and the Sadducees in the



time of the second Temple (*Mishna, Menachoth*, x. 3), and the Karaites since the 8th century of the Christian era (comp. Jehudah Hedessi, *Eshkol Ha-Kopher*, Alphab. 221-224; *ibid.*, p. 85 b), took **שבת** in its literal and ordinary sense as denoting *the seventh day of the week, or the Sabbath of creation*, and maintained that the omer was offered on the day following this weekly Sabbath, which might happen to fall within the seven days of the Passover, so that Pentecost would always be on the first day of the week. But against this it is urged that —*i.* Josh. v. 11, where **ממחרת הפסח** is used for **ממחרת השבת**, shows that **שבת** in Lev. xxiii. 11 denotes the first day of Passover, which was to be a day of rest. *ii.* The definite article in **השבת** in Lev. xxiii. 11 refers to one of the preceding festival days. *iii.* The expression **שבת** is also used for the day of Atonement (Lev. xxiii. 32), and the plural **שבתון** is applied to the first and eighth days of Tabernacles (*ibid.*, ver. 39) and the Feast of Trumpets (*ibid.*, xxiii. 24), as well as to *week* (Lev. xxiii. 15; xxv. 8); hence this use of **σάββατον** in the N. T. (Mark xvi. 2, 9; Luke xviii. 12). *iv.* According to Lev. xxiii. 15 the seventh week, at the end of which Pentecost is to be celebrated, is to be reckoned from this Sabbath. Now, if this Sabbath were not fixed, but could happen on any one of the seven Passover days, possibly on the fifth or sixth day of the festival, the Passover would in the course of time be displaced from the fundamental position which it occupies in the order of the annual festivals. *v.* The Sabbatic idea which underlies all the festivals, and which is scrupulously observed in all of them, shows that the reckoning could not have been left to the fifth or sixth day of the festival, but must have fixedly begun on the 16th of Nisan. Thus, each Sabbath comes after *six even periods*—1. the Sabbath of days, after six days; 2. the Sabbath of months, after six months; 3. the Sabbath of years, after six years; 4. the Sabbath of Sabbatic years, after six Sabbatic years; 5. the Sabbath of festivals=the Day of Atonement, after six festivals [FESTIVALS; JUBILEE, THE YEAR OF]; hence the Sabbath of weeks, *i. e.*, Pentecost, must also be at the end of six common weeks after Passover, which could be obtained only by reckoning from the 16th of Nisan, as this alone yields *six common weeks*; for the first week during which the counting goes on belongs to the feast of Passover, and is *not common*; and *vi.* The Sept. (*ἡ ἐπαύριον τῆς πρώτης*), Josephus (*τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν ἡμέρων ἡμέρα*, *Antiq.* iii. 10. 5. 6), Philo (*Opp.* ii. 294), Onkelos (**ממחרת יומא טובא**), and the synagogue, have understood it in this way and acted upon it, and most Christian commentators espouse and defend the traditional interpretation. Still more objectionable is the hypothesis of Hitzig (*Ostern und Pfingsten*, Heidelberg 1837), defended by Hupfeld (*De primit. et vera festorum ap. Hebraeos ratione*, ii. 3, *seq.*), and Knobel (*Die Bücher Exodus und Leviticus*, Leipzig 1857, p. 544), that the sacred or festival year of the Hebrews always began on the Sabbath, so that the 7th (*i. e.*, the first day of Passover), the 14th (*i. e.*, the last day of the festival), and the 21st of Nisan, were always Sabbath days; and that the omer was offered on the 22d day of the month, which was 'the morrow after the Sabbath' terminating the festival, and from which the fifty days were reckoned (Hitzig, Hupfeld), or that the omer was offered on the 8th of the month, which was also 'the morrow after the Sabbath,' thus prevent-

ing it from being *post festum* (Knobel). It will be seen that this hypothesis, in order to obtain Sabbaths for the 14th and 21st days of the month as the beginning and termination of Passover, is always obliged to make the religious new year begin on a Sabbath day, and hence has to assume a stereotyped form of the Jewish year, which as a rule terminated with an incomplete week. Now this assumption—*i.* Is utterly at variance with the unsettled state of the Jewish calendar, which was constantly regulated by the appearance of the disc of the new moon [NEW MOON, FESTIVAL OF THE]; *ii.* It rudely disturbs the weekly division, which is based upon the works of creation, and which the Jews regarded with the utmost sanctity; and *iii.* It is inconceivable that the Mosaic law, which, as we have seen, regarded the Sabbatic division of time as so peculiarly sacred that it made it the basis of the whole cycle of festivals, would adopt a plan for fixing the time for celebrating the Passover whereby the last week of almost every expiring year is to be cut short, and the hebdomadal cycle, as well as the celebration of the Sabbath, be interrupted (comp. Keil *On Leviticus* xxiii. 11). It is therefore evident that the Jews, who during the second Temple kept Pentecost fifty days after the 16th of Nisan, rightly interpreted the injunction contained in Lev. xxiii. 15-22. The fiftieth day, or the feast of Pentecost, according to the Jewish canons, may fall on the 5th, 6th, or 7th of *Sivan* (**סיון**), the third month of the year from the new moon of May to the new moon of June (*Rosh Hashana*, 6 b; *Sabbath*, 87 b).

3. *The manner in which this Festival was celebrated.*—Not to confound the practices which obtained in the course of time, and which were called forth by the ever-shifting circumstances of the Jewish nation, we shall divide the description of the manner in which this festival was and still is celebrated into three sections, *viz.*—A, The Pentateuchal ordinances as to how it is to be celebrated. B, The post-exile mode in which it was observed; and C, How it is kept to the present day.

A. *The Pentateuchal ordinances.*—The Mosaic enactments about the manner in which this festival is to be celebrated are as follows:—On the day of Pentecost there is to be a holy convocation; no manner of work is to be done on this festival (Lev. xxiii. 21; Num. xxviii. 26); all the able-bodied male members of the congregation, who are not legally precluded from it, are to appear in the place of the national sanctuary, as on Passover and Tabernacles (Exod. xxiii. 14, 17; xxxiv. 23), where 'a new meat-offering' (**מנחה חדשה**) of the new Palestine\* crop (Lev. xxiii. 16;

\* **מושבתיכם** (Lev. xxiii. 17) has been explained by the Jewish canons, which obtained during the time of the second temple, as an ellipsis for **מארג מושבותיכם** (Num. xv. 2), *the land of your habitations*, *i. e.*, *Palestine* (*Menachoth*, 77 b, with *Mishna, Menachoth*, viii. 1); hence the rendering of Jonathan b. Uzziel's reputed Chaldee paraphrase, **מאתר מושבתיכון**, the Sept. **ἀπὸ τῆς κατοικίας ὑμῶν**, *from your habitation*, in the singular referring to Palestine; the remark of Rashi, **מושבתיכם**, **לארץ**, *from where your habitations are, but not from any part outside the land*, *i. e.*, *of Israel*; Rashban (*in loco*) and Maimonides (*Iad Ha-Chazaka, Hilchoth Tamidin U-Mosaphin*, viii. 2),



Num. xxviii. 26; Deut. xvi. 10), consisting of two unleavened loaves, made respectively of the tenth of an ephah (= about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  quarts) of the finest wheat flour (Exod. xxiv. 18; Lev. xxiii. 17), is to be offered before the Lord as firstlings (בכורים, Exod. xxxiv. 17), whence this festival derived its name, *the day of firstlings* (יום בכורים, Num. xxviii. 26). With the two loaves were to be offered as a burnt-offering seven lambs of the first year and without blemish, one young bullock, and two lambs, with the usual meat and drink offerings; whilst a goat is to be offered as a sin-offering, and two lambs of the first year are to be offered as a thanksgiving or peace-offering (Lev. xxiii. 18-20). The peace-offering, consisting of the two lambs with the two firstling loaves, are to be waved before the Lord by the priests. These are to be additions to the two loaves, and must not be confounded with the proper festival sacrifice appointed for Pentecost, which is given in Num. xxviii. 27, and which is to be a burnt-offering, consisting of two bullocks, one ram, and seven lambs. That these two passages are not contradictory, as is maintained by Knobel (*Comment. on Lev. xxiii. 15-22*); Vaihinger (*Herzog's Real-Encyklop. s. v. Pfingstfest*, p. 480), and others, but refer to two distinct sacrifices, viz., one to accompany the wave-loaves (על הלחם, Lev. xxiii. 18), and the other the properly appointed sacrifice for the festival (Num. xxviii. 27), is evident from the context and design of the enactments in the respective passages, as well as from the practice of the Jews in the temple, where both prescriptions were obeyed. Hence Josephus, in summing up the number of animal sacrifices on this festival, says that there were fourteen lambs, three young bullocks, and three goats; the number *two*, instead of three goats, being manifestly a transcriber's error, as Vaihinger himself admits (*Antiq. iii. 10. 6*). When Vaihinger characterises this statement of Josephus 'as one of the many exegetical and historical blunders of the Jewish historian,' and maintains that it does not follow from *Menachoth*, iv. 2; we can only say that—I. Josephus simply describes what he himself saw in the temple, and

who rightly distinguish between מושבתיכם as here used, and בכל מושבתיכם (Exod. xii. 20; xxxv. 3; Lev. iii. 17; vii. 26; xxiii. 3, 14, 21; Num. xxxv. 29), the former referring to injunctions which are binding in the land of Canaan, and the latter to commandments to be observed in every place, or wherever the Jews might reside; comp. Rashban on Lev. xxiii. 16. The rendering of the Vulgate (*ex omnibus habitaculis vestris*), therefore, which is followed by Luther (*aus allen eueren Wohnungen*), inserting בכל, is most arbitrary and unjustifiable. Inadmissible too, is the opinion of Calvin, Oslander, George (*Die alt. jüd. Feste*, pp. 130, 273), etc., that *two loaves* were brought out of every house, or at least out of every town, based upon the plural מושבתיכם, or the view of Vaihinger (in *Herzog's Real-Encyklopädie*, s. v. *Pfingstfest*, p. 479); and Keil (on Lev. xxiii. 17), that the plural מושבתיכם is used in a singular sense, i. e., *from one of your habitations* (comp. Gen. vii. 4; Judg. xii. 7; Neh. vi. 2; Eccl. x. 1); and denotes that the two loaves are to be offered from the habitations of the Israelites, and not from those prepared for the sanctuary or from its treasury.

what every ancient Jewish document on the same subject declares; 2. The third section of the very Mishna (*Menachoth*, iv. 3) which Vaihinger quotes distinctly declares—'The kind of sacrifice prescribed in Numbers [xxviii. 27] was offered in the wilderness, and the kind of sacrifice enjoined in Leviticus [xxiii. 18] was not offered in the wilderness; but when they [*i. e.*, the Israelites] entered the promised land they sacrificed both kinds' (שכל

האמור בחומש הפקודים קרב במרבר וכל האמור בתורת כהנים לא קרב במרבר משבאו לארץ (קרבנו אלו ואלו); see also the Gemara on this Mishna, *Babylon Menachoth*, 45 b, where the reasons are given more largely than in the Mishna, why the former kind of sacrifice was not offered in the wilderness; and 3. Maimonides, who also summarises the ancient canons on these two kinds of sacrifices for Pentecosts, shows beyond the shadow of a doubt how these enactments were carried out in the second temple. He says, 'On the fiftieth day, counting from the offering of the omer, is the feast of Pentecost and Azereth (עצרת). Now, on this day additional sacrifices are offered, like the additional ones for New Moon [NEW MOON, THE FEAST OF], consisting of two bullocks, one ram, and seven lambs, all of them being burnt-offerings, and of a goat as sin-offering. These are sacrifices ordered in Num. xxviii. 26, 27, 30, and they constitute the addition for the day. Besides this addition, however, a new meat-offering of two loaves is also brought, and with the loaves are offered one bullock, two rams, and seven lambs, all burnt-offerings; a goat for a sin-offering, and two lambs for a peace-offering. These are the sacrifices ordered in Lev. xxiii. 18. Hence the sacrifice on this day exceeds the two daily sacrifices by three bullocks, three rams, fourteen lambs (all these twenty animals being a burnt-offering); two goats for a sin-offering, which are eaten; and two lambs for a peace-offering, which are not eaten' (*Iad Ha-Chezaka Hilchoth Tamidin U-Mosaphin*, viii. 1). Besides the two loaves with their accompanying sacrifices, and the special festival sacrifices which were offered for the whole nation, each individual who came to the sanctuary was expected to bring, on this festival, as on Passover and the feast of Tabernacles, a free-will offering according to his circumstances (Deut. xvi. 10-12), a portion of which was given to the priests and Levites, and the rest was eaten by the respective families, who invited the poor and strangers to share it.

B. *The post-exile observance of this Festival.*—More minute is the information in the non-canonical documents about the preparation of the sacrifices and the observance of this festival in and before the time of Christ. The pilgrims went up to Jerusalem the day previous to the commencement of the festival, when they prepared everything necessary for its solemn observance; and the approach of the holy convocation was proclaimed in the evening by blasts of the trumpets. The altar of the burnt-sacrifice was cleansed in the first night-watch of the preparation-day, and the gates of the temple, as well as those of the inner court, were opened immediately after midnight for the convenience of the priests, who resided in the city, and for the people, who filled the court before the cock crew, to have their burnt-sacrifices and thanksgiving offerings duly examined by the priests. When the time of sacrifice arrived, the daily morn-



ing sacrifice was first offered, then the festival sacrifices prescribed in Num. xxviii. 26, 27, 30, whilst the Levites were chanting the *Great Hallel*, in which the people joined [HALLEL]; whereupon the congregation solemnly and heartily thanked God for the successful harvest, and the loaves of the new corn, with the accompanying sacrifices prescribed in Lev. xxiii. 18, were offered to the Lord. The two loaves for the wave-offering were prepared in the following manner:—‘Three *seahs* of new wheat were brought into the court of the temple; they were beaten and trodden like all meat-offerings, and ground into flour, two omers (= 3½ quarts) of which were sifted through twelve sieves, and the remainder was redeemed and eaten by any one. The two omers of flour, of which the two loaves were made, were respectively obtained from a *seah* and a half . . . kneaded separately and baked separately. Like all meat-offerings, they were kneaded and prepared outside, but baked inside the Temple, and did not set aside the festival, much less the Sabbath, so that they were baked on the day preceding the festival. Hence, if the preparation day (ערב יום טוב) happened to be on a Sabbath, the loaves were baked on Friday (ערב שבת), and eaten on the third day after they were baked, which was the feast day. They were leavened loaves according to the declaration of the law, and made as follows:—The leaven was fetched from some other place, put into the omer, the omer filled with flour, which was leavened with the said leaven. The length of each loaf was seven handbreadths; the breadth, four handbreadths; and the height, four fingers (Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chezaka Hilchoth Tamidin U-Mosaphin*, viii. 3-10, with *Mishna Menachoth*, vi. 6, 7; xi. 2; iv. 9). The two loaves thus prepared were then offered as wave-offerings, with two lambs, constituting the peace-offering, in the following manner:—‘The two lambs were brought into the Temple and waved together by the priest while yet alive, as it is written, ‘and he shall wave them . . . a wave-offering’ (Lev. xxiii. 20); but if he waved each one separately, it was also valid, whereupon they were slain and flayed. The priest then took the breast and the shoulder of each one (comp. Lev. vii. 30, 32), laid them down by the side of the two loaves, put both his hands under them, and waved them all together as if they were one, towards the east side—the place of all wave-offering—doing it forwards and backwards, up and down; but it was also valid if he waved each separately. Hereupon he burned the fat of the two lambs, and the remainder of the flesh was eaten by the priests. As to the two loaves, the high-priest took one of them, and the second was divided among all the officiating priests (הכמסורות), and both of them were eaten up within the same day and half the following night, just as the flesh of the most holy things’ (Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chezaka Hilchoth Tamidin U-Mosaphin*, viii. 11, with *Mishna Menachoth*, v. 6; Joseph. *Antiq.* iii. 10. 6). After the prescribed daily sacrifice, the festival and the harvest sacrifice were offered for the whole nation. Each individual brought the free-will offering, which formed the cheerful and hospitable meal of the family, and to which the Levite, the widow, the orphan, the poor, and the stranger were invited. The festival in a minor degree continued for a whole week, during which time those who did not offer on the first day repaired their defects or negligence (*Rosh Ha-*

*Shana*, 4 b). The offering of the first-fruits also began at this time (*Mishna Bikkurim*, i. 7, 10); and it was for this reason, as well as for the joyous semi-festival days which followed the day of Holy Convocation that we find so large a concourse of Jews attending Pentecost (Acts ii.; Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 13. 14; xvii. 10. 2).

C. *The Observance of this Festival to the present day.*—This festival, like all the feasts and fasts ordained or sanctioned in the O. T., is annually and sacredly kept by the Jews to the present day on the 6th and 7th of *Sivan*, i.e., between the second half of May and the first half of June. We have already seen [PASSOVER] that in accordance with the injunction in Lev. xxiii. 15, 16, the Jews regularly count every evening the fifty days from the second day of Passover until Pentecost, and that they recite a prayer over it, which is given in the article Passover. As the counting (ספירה) of these fifty days, on the first of which the sickle was brought out for cutting the corn, and on the last of which it was laid up again because the harvest was entirely finished, is not only a connecting link between Passover and Pentecost, but may be regarded as preparatory for the feast of Pentecost, we must notice the events and practices connected therewith. Owing to a fearful plague which broke out on the second day of Passover or the first of Omer, and which, after raging thirty-two days and carrying off between Gabath and Antiparos no less than 24,000 (י"ב אלף זוגות) disciples of the celebrated R. Akiba, suddenly ceased on the eighteenth of *Far* (י"ח באייר), the second month, i.e. (ל"ג בעומר), the thirty-third of Omer (*Babylon Tzabmoth*, 62 b; *Midrash Bereshith Rabba*, Seder, ח"י שרר, sec. lxi., p. 134, ed. Stettin 1863), it was ordained that, in memory of this calamity, three days are to be kept as a time of mourning, during which no marriage is to take place, no enjoyments and pleasures are to be indulged in, nor even is the beard to be removed (*Orach Chajim, Hilchoth Pesach*, sec. 493); and that the thirty-third of Omer (ל"ג בעומר), on which the epidemic disappeared, is to be kept as a holiday, especially among the students, for which reason it is called the scholars' feast. The reason which R. Johanan b. Nori assigns for regarding this period as a time of mourning—i.e., that the wicked are punished in hell in these days, and that judgment is passed on the produce of the land—is simply a modern Kabbalistic form given to an ancient usage.

The three days preceding the festival, on which, as we shall see hereafter, the Jews commemorate the giving of the law on Sinai, are called שלשת ימי הנבלה (*the three days of separation and sanctification*), because the Lord commanded Moses to set bounds around the mountain, and that the people should sanctify themselves three days prior to the giving of the law (Exod. xix. 12, 14, 23). On the preparation day (ערב שביעות), the synagogues and the private houses are adorned with flowers and odoriferous herbs; the male members of the community purify themselves by immersion and confession of sins, put on their festive garments, and resort to the synagogue, where, after the evening prayer (מועריב), the hallowed nature of the festival is proclaimed by the cantor in the blessing pronounced over a cup of wine (קידוש), which is also done by every head of the family at home before



the evening repast. After supper both the learned and the illiterate are either to go again into the synagogue or to congregate in private houses and read all night—*i.* The three first and the three last verses of every book in the Hebrew Scriptures, but some portions have to be read entire; *ii.* The first and last Mishna of every tractate in the Talmud; *iii.* The beginning and end of the *Book Jetsirah*; *iv.* Passages from the *Sohar*; *v.* The 613 commandments into which the Mosaic law is divided [EDUCATION]; and *vi.* The Song of Songs. The whole must be recited in thirteen divisions, so that the prayer *Kadish* (קדיש) might be said between each division and the letters of the word *אחד* (the unity in the Deity) =  $4 + 8 + 1 = 13$  be obtained (comp. *Magen Abraham, Orach Chajim*, sec. 494). The reason for this watching all night, given by R. Abraham, the author of *The Magen Abraham*, is as follows:—When God was about to reveal his law to Israel, he had to wake them up from their sleep. Now, to remove the sin of that sleep, the Jews are now to wake all night (comp. Brück, *Rabbinische Ceremonialgebräuche*, Breslau 1837, pp. 8-22, and

the ritual for this night, entitled *ליל שבועות* (תהיקן ליל שבועות).

In the morning general festival service special prayers are inserted for this day, which set forth the glory of the lawgiver and Israel, the glory of the Lord in creating the universe, etc. etc., and in which the decalogue is interwoven, the great Hallel is recited, Exod. xix. 1, xx. 26 is read as the lesson from the law, Num. xviii. 26-31 as *Maphtir*, and Ezek. i. 1-28, iii. 12, as the lesson from the prophets [HAPHTARA]; whereupon the *Musaph* is offered, and the priests, after having their hands washed by the Levites, pronounce chantingly the benediction (Num. vi. 23-27) on the congregation, who receive it with their heads covered by the fringed wrapper [FRINGES]. On the second evening they again resort to the synagogue, use the ritual for the festivals, in which are again inserted special prayers for this occasion, being chiefly on the greatness of God and the giving of the law and the decalogue; the sanctification of the festival (קידוש) is again pronounced, both by the prælector in the synagogue and the heads of families at home; and prayers different from those of the first day, also celebrating the giving of the law, are intermingled with the ordinary festival prayers; the Hallel is recited, as well as the Book of Ruth; Deut. xv. 19-xvi. 17; Num. xxviii. 26-31 is read as the lesson from the law; Habbak. ii. 20-iii. 19, or iii. 1-19, as the lesson from the prophets; the prayer is offered for departed relatives; the *Musaph* *Ritual* recited; the priests pronounce the benediction as on the former day; and the festival concludes after the afternoon service, as soon as the stars appear or darkness sets in. It must be remarked that milk and honey form an essential part of the meals during this festival, which is of a particularly joyous character, to symbolize 'the honey and milk which are under the tongue of the spouse (*Song of Songs*, iv. 11), by virtue of the law which the bridegroom gave her.

4. *Origin and Import of this Festival*—Looking simply at the text of the Bible, there can be little doubt that Pentecost owes its origin entirely and exclusively to the harvest which terminated at this time. It is to be expected that, in common with other nations of antiquity who celebrated the ingathering of the corn by offering to the Deity, amongst

other firstling offerings, the fine wheat of flour as *θαλυσίος ἄπρος* (Eustath. ad Iliad., ix. 530; Athen., iii. 80; Theocrit., vii. 3), the Jews, as an agricultural people, would thankfully acknowledge the goodness of God in giving them the fruits of the earth, by offering to the Bountiful Giver of all good things the first-fruits of their harvest. That this was primarily the origin and import of Pentecost is most unquestionably indicated by its very names, *ex. gr.*, the festival of (הקציר) the cut off corn, *i. e.*, end of the harvest (Exod. xxiii. 16), which commenced on the morrow of the Passover, when the sickle was first brought into the field (Deut. xvi. 9); and so intimately connected are the beginning of the harvest at Passover with the termination of it at this festival, that Pentecost was actually denominated, during the time of the second Temple, and is called in the Jewish literature to the present day,

עצרת, the conclusion or פסח של פסח, the termination of Passover. To the same effect is the name חג השבועות, the festival of weeks, which, as Bähr rightly remarks, would be a very strange and enigmatical designation of a festival, simply because of the intervening time betwixt it and a preceding festival, if it did not stand in a fixed and essential relationship to this intervening time, and if in its nature it did not belong thereunto, since the weeks themselves have nothing which could be the subject of a religious festival, except the harvest which took place in these weeks (*Symbolik*, ii. 647). Being the culmination of Passover, and agrarian in its character, the pre-Mosaic celebration of this festival among the Jews will hardly be questioned; for it will not be supposed that the patriarchs, who in common with other nations were devoted to agriculture, would yet be behind these nations in not celebrating the harvest festival, to acknowledge the goodness of God in giving them the fruits of the earth, which obtained among the heathen nations from the remotest times. And indeed, the Book of Jubilees, as will be seen in the sequel, actually ascribes a pre-Mosaic existence to it. In incorporating this festival into the cycle of the canonical feasts, the Mosaic legislation, as usual, divested it of all idolatrous rites, consecrated it in an especial manner to him who filleth us with the finest of wheat (Ps. cxlvii. 14), by enjoining the Hebrews liberally to impart to the needy from that which they have been permitted to reap, and to remember that they themselves were once needy and oppressed in Egypt, and are now in the possession of liberty and of the bounties of Providence (Deut. xvi. 11, 12). The Mosaic code, moreover, constituted it a member of the Hebrew family of festivals, by putting Pentecost on the sacred basis of seven, which, as we have seen, underlies the whole organism of feasts.

But though the canonical Scriptures speak of Pentecost as simply a harvest festival, yet the non-canonical documents show, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that the Jews, at least as early as the days of Christ, connected with, and commemorated on the 6th of *Sivan*, the third month, the giving of the Decalogue. Thus, the Talmud declares, that 'the Rabbins propounded that the Decalogue was given to Israel on the 6th of *Sivan*' (ת"ר בשש"י) *Sabbath*, 86 b), and this is deduced from Exod. xix., for, according to tradition, Moses ascended the mountain on the 2d of *Sivan*, the third month (Exod. xix.



1-3); received the answer of the people on the third (ver. 7); reascended the mountain on the fourth (ver. 8); commanded the people to sanctify themselves three days, which were the fourth, fifth, and sixth (vers. 12, 14, 23); and on the third of these three days of sanctification, which was the sixth day of the month, delivered the Decalogue to them (vers. 10, 11, 15, 16). This is the unanimous voice of Jewish tradition. It is given in the *Mechilta* on Exod. xix. (p. 83-90, ed. Wilna, 1844 [MIDRASH]); in the Chaldee paraphrase of Jonathan ben Uzziel, which renders יוהי ביום

והיה ביומא תליתאה (Exod. xix. 16), by בשיטא בירחא, and it came to pass on the third day, on the sixth of the month, i. e., Sivan; by Rashi (*Comment. on Exod.* xix. 1-16)\* and by Maimonides, who remarks: 'Pentecost is the day on which the Law was given, and in order to magnify this day, the days are counted from the first festival [i. e., Passover] to it, just as one who is expecting the most faithful of his friends is accustomed to count the days and hours of his arrival; for this is the reason of counting the Omer from the day of our Exodus from Egypt to the day of the giving of the Law, which was the ultimate object of the Exodus, as it is said: I bare you on eagles' wings, and brought you unto myself. And because this great manifestation did not last more than one day, therefore we annually commemorate it only one day' (*More Nebuchim*, iii. 43). To this effect is R. Jehudah (born circa 1086 [JEHUDAH HA-LEVI]), in his celebrated work *Cusari*, iii. 10; Nachmanides (born about 1195 [NACHMANIDES]), in his commentary on the Pentateuch, Exod. xix. 1-25; Lev. xxiii. 17, and all the Jewish commentators, as well as the ritual for this festival. Even Abravanel, who denies that the primary object in the institution of this festival was to celebrate the gift of the Law, most emphatically declares, that the Decalogue was given on Mount Sinai, on Pentecost, as may be seen from the following remark: 'The Law was not given with a design to this festival, so that it should commemorate the gift of the Law, since the festival was not instituted to commemorate the giving of the Law; as our divine Law and the prophecy are their own witnesses, and did not require a day to be sanctified to commemorate them; but the design of the feast of weeks was to commence the wheat harvest. For just as the feast of tabernacles was intended to finish the ingathering of the produce, so the festival of weeks was intended to begin the harvest, as it was the will of the Lord that at the commencement of the ingathering of the fruits, which are the food of man, the first of which is the wheat, and which began to be cut on the feast of weeks, a festival should be celebrated to render praise to him who giveth food to all flesh; and that another festival should be celebrated at the

end of the ingathering of the fruits. Still, there is no doubt that the Law was given on the day of the feast of weeks, although this festival was not instituted to commemorate it' (*Commentary on the Pentateuch*, *Parshath Aḥar*, p. 211 a, ed. Hanau, 1710). Those early fathers who were best acquainted with the Jewish tradition testify to the same thing, that the Law was given on Pentecost, and that the Jews commemorate the event on this festival. It was therefore on this day, when the apostles, in common with their Jewish brethren, were assembled to commemorate the anniversary of the giving of the Law from Sinai, and were engaged in the study of Holy Writ, in accordance with the custom of the day, that the Holy Spirit descended upon them, and sent them forth to proclaim 'the wonderful works of God,' as revealed in the gospel (Acts ii.) Thus, St. Jerome tells us, 'Supputemus numerum, et inveniemus quinquagesimo die egressionis Israël ex Ægypto in vertice montis Sinay legem datam. Unde et Pentecostes celebratur solemnitas, et postea evangelii sacramentum in Spiritus Sancti descensione completur' (*Epist. ad Fabiolam*, *Mansio* xii. c; *Opp.*, tom. i. p. 1074, ed. Par. 1609). Similarly St. Augustine, 'Pentecosten etiam, id est, a passione et resurrectione Domini, quinquagesimum diem celebramus, quo nobis Sanctum Spiritum Paracletum quem promiserat misit; quod futurum etiam per Judæorum pascha significatum est, cum quinquagesimo die post celebrationem ovīs occisæ, Moyses digito Dei scriptam legem accepit in monte' (*Contra Faustum*, lib. xxxiii. c. 12). Comp. also De Lyra, *Comment. on Lev.* xxiii.; Bishop Patrick *on Exod.* xix. It is very curious that the apocryphal Book of Jubilees, which was written in the 1st century before Christ [JUBILEES, BOOK OF], should connect this festival, which was celebrated on the third month, with the third month of Noah's leaving the ark, and maintain that it was ordained to be celebrated in this month, to renew annually the covenant which God made with this patriarch not to destroy the world again by a flood, cap. vi. 57, ff. Such an opinion would hardly have been hazarded by a Jew if it had not been believed by many of his co-religionists that this festival had a pre-Mosaic existence. Since the destruction of Jerusalem, and the impossibility of giving prominence to that part of the festival which bears on the Palestinian harvest, the Jews have almost entirely made Pentecost to commemorate the giving of the law, and the only references they make in the ritual to the harvest, which was the primary object of its institution, is in the reading of the book of Ruth, wherein the harvest is described.

5. *Literature*.—*Mishna Menachoth*, and *Bikkurim*; *Joseph. Antig.* xiv. 13. 4; xvii. 12. 2; *De Bell. Jud.* ii. 3. 1; Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chesaka Hilchoth Tamidin U-Mosaphin*, cap. viii.; Abravanel, *Commentary on the Pentateuch*, p. 211, ed. Hanau 1710; Meyer, *De Fest. Heb.*, ii. 13; Bähr, *Symbolik des Mosaischen Cultus*, ii. 619, ff., 645, ff.; Diedrich in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyklopädie* s. v. *Pfingsten*, sec. iii., vol. xx., p. 418-431; *The Jewish Ritual* called *Derach Ha-Chajim*, Vienna 1859, p. 253 b, seq.; *The Ritual for the Cycle of Festival*, entitled *(מחזור) Machsor on (שבועות) the Festival of Weeks*.—C. D. G.

\* Hence Keil is incorrect in his assertion, that it is 'the later Rabbins who connected this festival with the giving of the Law;' as well as in his quotation of Maimonides in corroboration of it, and in his conclusion: 'accordingly, the earlier Christian theologians, who, in addition to harvest festival, make it also to commemorate the gift of the law, cannot even quote Jewish tradition for their support' (*Handbuch der biblischen Archäologie*, vol. i., section 83, p. 399, note 6).



PEOR (הַפְּעוֹר, with the article, 'The opening'; Φοργς; *Mons Phogor*), the name of a mountain on the plateau of Moab, to the top of which Balak led Balaam that he might see the whole host of Israel and curse them (Num. xxiii. 28). It appears to have been one of the ancient high places of Moab dedicated to the service of Baal (cf. xxii. 41; xxiii. 13, 27). Its position is described as 'looking to the face of Jeshimon,' that is, the wilderness of Arabia. [JESHIMON.] If it was in sight of the Arabah of Moab, on the east bank of the Jordan, where the Israelites were then encamped, and if at the same time it commanded a view of the eastern desert, it must have been one of those peaks on the western brow of the plateau which are seen between Heshbon and the banks of the Arnon (cf. Joseph. *Antiq.* iv. 6. 4). Two other incidental notices of the sacred writers tend to fix its position. There can be little doubt that it was connected with the town of Beth-Peor, which is described as 'over against' the site of the Israelitish camp (Deut. iii. 29; cf. xxiv. 6). [BETH-PEOR.] Josephus says it was sixty stadia distant from the camp (*Antiq.* iv. 6. 4); Eusebius states that it lay above Libias, six miles distant from it (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Fogor* and *Beth-fogo*); and Jerome mentions Mount Phogor as situated between Libias and Heshbon (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Arabothe Moab*). It would seem, therefore, that this mountain was one of those peaks on the south side of Wady Heshbon commanding the Jordan valley. The name has disappeared, and it may not be possible now to identify the exact peak to which it was given in ancient times.

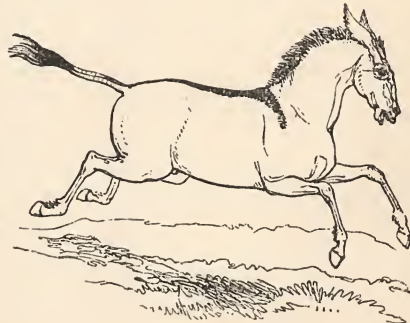
'The matter of Peor' (דְּבַר פֵּאֵר) mentioned in Num. xxv. 18, and xxxi. 16; and 'the iniquity of Peor' (עֲוֹן פֵּאֵר), spoken of by Joshua (xxii. 17), refer to the Midianitish deity Baal-peor, and not to the mountain. By following the counsels of Balaam, the Midianites seduced the Israelites to take part in their worship, and the licentious revels by which it appears to have been accompanied; and thus they brought upon them the divine vengeance (Num. xxxi. 16; xxv. 1, *seq.*) The temple or shrine of Baal-peor probably stood on the top of the mountain; and the town of Beth-peor may have been situated at its base.

Jerome mentions a village called *Fogor*, which is the Greek form of Peor (Φοργς), on the west of the Jordan, near Bethlehem (*Onomast.*, s. v.) It is doubtless identical with the *Phagor* (Φαγόρ) found in the LXX. version of Josh. xv. 59, and with the ruined village now called Beit Faghûr, about four miles south-west of Bethlehem (Robinson, *B. R.*, iii. 275; Reland, *Pal.*, p. 643).—J. L. P.

PERAZIM, MOUNT (הַר פְּרָצִים, 'mountain of breaches'; ὄρος ἀσβεῶν; *mons divisionum*). The prophet Isaiah, in warning the Israelites of the divine vengeance about to come upon the nation, and with which they did not seem sufficiently impressed, refers to exhibitions of God's wrath exhibited in their past history in these words, 'The Lord shall rise up as in *Mount Perazim*, he shall be wroth as in the valley of Gibeon' (Is. xxviii. 21). Commentators are not agreed as to the events here alluded to. Mount Perazim is not mentioned in any other part of Scripture. Hendewerk thinks reference is made to 'the breach of Uzzah' (פְּרִץ עֲזָה, *Perez-Uzzah*) described in 2 Sam. vi. 6-8 (*Die*

*deutero-Jesaiaschen Weissag.*, ad loc.); but that narrative contains no mention of any mount. Ewald supposes the prophet may allude to the slaughter of the Canaanites at Gibeon by Joshua (*Die Propheten*, ad loc.); though in another place he distinctly states that Mount Perazim is the same place which is called Baal-Perazim in 2 Sam. v. 20 (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, iii. 187, note 3). It seems much more probable that Isaiah in this passage alludes to David's conquest of the Philistines, 'And David came to Baal-perazim, and smote them there, and said, The Lord hath broken forth (פָּרַץ) upon mine enemies before me, as the breach of waters (כַּפְרֵץ מַיִם). Therefore he called the name of that place Baal-perazim' (בעל פְּרָצִים, 2 Sam. v. 20). The play upon the word is characteristic. It seems probable, as Ewald states (*l. c.*), that there was a high-place of Baal upon the top of the mount, and hence the name Baal-perazim. This view is confirmed by the fact that in the second clause of the passage Isaiah mentions another instance of divine wrath in the valley of Gibeon, and in 1 Chron. xiv. the historian connects with the victory at Baal-perazim a second victory of David over the Philistines, in which it is said 'they smote the host of the Philistines from *Gibeon* even to Gazer' (ver. 16). The exact locality of Mount Perazim is unknown; but it must have been some of the heights on the borders of the valley of Rephaim (1 Chron. xiv. 9; 2 Sam. v. 18), and consequently not far distant from Jerusalem.—J. L. P.

PERÈ (פֶּרֶא, the swift runner, from פָּרָא, to run swiftly), the name of an animal mentioned in Scripture as frequenting waste places in troops (Job xxiv. 5; Is. xxxii. 14), and as the image of wildness, rudeness, and irrationality (Job xi. 12; Gen. xvi. 12; Hos. xiii. 15). The LXX. render by δναργος, ὄνος ἀργος, ὄνος ἐρεμνής, and ὄνος ἐν ἀργος. There can be no doubt that it is a species of wild ass that is intended; but it is not easy to determine the distinction between it and the 'Arod. [AROD.] The Perè may be the Koulan, or wild ass of Persia; but others with more probability identify it with the Kiang or Djiggetai (*As. Hemionos*).



426 Wild Ass.

This animal does not bray, which shows that it cannot be the 'Arod. The Kiang has a smooth fur of a bright rufous-bay tint; the legs are of a pale straw colour; and a dark broad streak runs along the central line of the back. The males are sometimes as much as fourteen hands in height at

the shoulder, and neigh like horses. This animal is found in small troops roaming over the sandy steppes of Central Asia.—W. L. A.

PERED (פֶּרֶד), or PIRDAH (פִּרְדָּה), an animal used both for riding and for carrying burdens (2 Sam. xiii. 29; xviii. 9; 1 Kings xviii. 5; 2 Kings v. 17; Is. lxvi. 20). The mule is undoubtedly intended, an animal which appears in the sacred history for the first time in the age of David. This animal is sufficiently well known to require no par-



427. Mules: from an Egyptian Painting—Brit. Museum.

ticular description. Where, or at what period, the breeding of mules was first commenced is totally unknown, although, from several circumstances, Western Asia may be regarded as the locality; and the era as coinciding with that of the first kings of Israel. In the time of David, to be allowed to ride on the king's own mule was an understood concession of great, if not sovereign, authority, and several years before the mention of this event all the king's sons already rode upon mules. It does not appear that the Hebrew people, at this early period at least, bred mules; they received them from Armenia, the large Persian race being considered the offspring of the Onager and mare; but the most beautiful were no doubt brought from the vicinity of Bassora.

PERES (פֶּרֶס, in our versions 'ossifrage,' Lev. xi. 13; Deut. xiv. 12). Although *Neser* is unquestionably the Hebrew name of the eagle, a genus so conspicuous, and to this moment so common in Palestine, probably possessed more than one designation in the national dialects of the country. *Peres*, though by some translators referred to a hawk, which they denominate *Accipiter*, has generally been identified with the ossifrage or great sea-eagle. The name ossifrage is applied to this bird from some idea of its breaking the bones of its prey; but as it subsists mostly on fish, or on carrion, and only by chance on birds, whose bones in all genera are very hard, destitute of marrow, and likewise without nutritious matter, the name is not appropriate in its use. Besides, breaking the bones must be effected by the beak, which is strong indeed, but only formed to strike, tear, or hold, not to masticate; and if the bones are broken for that purpose, where are they to be found? in the crop, the succentorial ventricle, or in the gizzard?—organs in birds of prey far from vigorous, or so well defined as they are in other orders of the class, particularly in Gallinacæ. In fact, there is in nature no such bird as one that breaks the bones of warm-blooded animals in order to swallow them; consequently, no identification can

be made with any of the sea-eagles. But when we place together *Peres*, a name derived from a root denoting 'to crush' or 'break,' and find that by the Greek name φῆν (Phene), the Hellenic nations called the Lämmer Geyer of the Swiss, which Savigny (*Oiseaux d'Égypte et de Syrie*) has proved to be the ossifrage of the Romans; then it becomes an immediate question, why such a denomination should have been bestowed. The answer is, we think, satisfactory; for, constituting the largest flying bird of the old continent, and being a tenant of the highest ranges of mountains in Europe, western Asia, and Africa, though sometimes feeding on carrion, and not appearing to take up prey like eagles in the talons, it pursues the chamois, young ibex, mountain deer, or marmot, among precipices, until it drives, or, by a rush of its wings, forces the game over the brink, to be dashed to pieces below, and thus deservedly obtained the name of bone-breaker.

The species in Europe is little if at all inferior in size to the *Condor* of South America, measuring from the point of the bill to the end of the tail four feet two or three inches, and sometimes ten feet in the expanse of wing; the head and neck are not, like those of vultures, naked, but covered with whitish narrow feathers; and there is a beard of bristly hair under the lower mandible: the rest of the plumage is nearly black and brown, with some whitish streaks on the shoulders, and an abundance



428. *Gypaëtos Barbatus*.

of pale rust colour on the back of the neck, the thighs, vent, and legs; the toes are short and bluish, and the claws strong. In the young the head and neck are black, and the species or variety of Abyssinia appears to be rusty and yellowish on the neck and stomach. It is the griffon of Cuvier, *Gypaëtos barbatus* of nomenclators, and γρύψ of the Seventy. The Arabs, according to Bruce, use the names Abou-Duch'n and Nisser-Werk, which is a proof that they consider it a kind of eagle, and perhaps confound this species with the great sea-eagle, which has likewise a few bristles under the throat; and commentators, who have often represented *Peres* to be the black vulture, or a great vulture, were only viewing the *Gypaëtos* as forming one of the order *Accipitres*, according to the Linnean arrangement, where *Vultur barbatus* (Syst. Nat.) is the last of that genus, although in the 13th



edition (by Gmelin) we find the name changed to *Fulco Barbatus*, and located immediately before *F. Albicilla*, or the sea-eagle, showing that until a still more accurate classification placed the species in a separate genus, ornithologists had no determined idea of the true place it should occupy, and consequently by what generical appellation it was to be distinguished.—C. H. S.

#### PEREZ. [PHAREZ.]

PEREZ-UZZAH, a place in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, which obtained this name (meaning 'breach of Uzzah') from the judgment inflicted upon Uzzah for rashly handling the ark (2 Sam. vi. 8; 1 Chron. xiii. 11).

PERFUMES. In the article ANOINTING we have noticed the use of perfumes in Eastern countries; and in the botanical articles all the aromatic substances mentioned in Scripture are carefully examined. Here, therefore, we have only to add a few remarks, which the scope of those articles does not embrace.

The practice of producing an agreeable odour by fumigation, or burning incense, as well as that of anointing the person with odoriferous oils and ointments, and of sprinkling the dress with fragrant waters, originated in, and is confined to, warm climates. In such climates perspiration is profuse, and much care is needful to prevent the effects of it from being offensive. It is in this necessity we may find the reason for the use of perfumes, particularly at weddings and feasts, and on visits to persons of rank; and in fact on most of the occasions which bring people together with the intention of being agreeable to one another.

The ointments and oils used by the Israelites were rarely simple, but were compounded of various ingredients (Job xli. 22; comp. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxix. 8). Olive oil, the valued product of Palestine (Deut. xxviii. 40; Mic. vi. 15), was combined with sundry aromatics, chiefly foreign (1 Kings x. 10; Ezek. xxvii. 22), particularly bosome, myrrh, and nard [see these words]. Such ointments were for the most part costly (Amos vi. 6), and formed a much-coveted luxury. The ingredients, and often the prepared oils and resins in a state fit for use, were obtained chiefly in traffic from the Phœnicians, who imported them in small alabaster boxes [ALABASTER], in which the delicious aroma was best preserved. A description of the more costly unguents is given by Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xiii. 2). The preparation of these required peculiar skill, and therefore formed a particular profession. The רֹקֶחִים *rokechim* of Exod. xxx. 25, 35; Neh. iii. 8; Eccles. x. 1, called 'Apothecary' in the A. V., was no other than a maker of perfumes. So strong were the better kinds of ointments, and so perfectly were the different component substances amalgamated, that they have been known to retain their scent several hundred years. One of the alabaster vases in the museum at Alnwick Castle contains some of the ancient Egyptian ointment, between two and three thousand years old, and yet its odour remains (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians*, ii. 314).

The 'holy anointing oil,' employed in the sacerdotal unction, was composed of two parts 'myrrh' [MOR], two parts 'cassia' [KIDDAH], one part 'cinnamon' [KINNAMON], one part 'sweet calamus' [KANEH BOSEM], compounded 'according to the art of the perfumer,' with a sufficient quan-

tity of the purest olive oil to give it the proper consistence (Exod. xxx. 23, 25). It was strictly forbidden that any perfume like this—that is, composed of the same ingredients—should be used for common purposes, or indeed made at all (xxx. 32, 33); and we cannot but admire the course adopted in order to secure the object contemplated by the law. The composition was not preserved as a secret, but was publicly declared and described, with a plain prohibition to make any like it. Maimonides says that doubtless the cause of this prohibition was, that there might be no such perfume found elsewhere, and consequently that a greater attachment might be induced to the sanctuary; and also, to prevent the great evils which might arise from men esteeming themselves more excellent than others, if allowed to anoint themselves with a similar oil (*More Nevochim*, ch. xx.) The reasons for attaching such distinction to objects consecrated by their holy appropriations, are too obvious to need much elucidation.

The prodigious quantity of this holy ointment made on the occasion which the text describes, being no less than 750 ounces of solids compounded with five quarts of oil, may give some idea of the profuse use of perfumes among the Hebrews. We are, indeed, told by the Psalmist (cxxxiii. 2), that when the holy anointing oil was poured upon the head of Aaron, it flowed down over his beard and dress, even to the skirts of his garments. This circumstance may give some interest to the following anecdote, which we translate from Chardin (*Voyages*, iv. 43, edit. Langles). After remarking how prodigal the eastern females are of perfumes, he gives this instance: 'I remember that, at the solemnization of the nuptials of the three princesses royal of Golconda, whom the king, their father, who had no other children, married in one day, in the year 1679, perfumes were lavished on every invited guest as he arrived. They sprinkled them upon those who were clad in white; but gave them into the hands of those who wore coloured raiment, because their garments would have been spoiled by throwing it over them, which was done in the following manner. They threw over the body a bottle of rose-water, containing about half a pint, and then a larger bottle of water tinted with saffron, in such a manner that the clothes would have been stained with it. After this, they rubbed the arms and the body with a liquid perfume of ladanum and ambergris, and they put round the throat a thick cord of jasmine. I was thus perfumed with saffron in many great houses of this country, and in other places. This attention and honour is a universal custom among the women who have the means of obtaining this luxury.'—J. K.

PERGA (Πέργη), a town of Pamphylia, in Asia Minor, situated upon the river Cestrus, sixty stades from its estuary. Perga was originally the capital of Pamphylia; but when that province was divided into two, Side became the chief town of the first, and Perga of the second Pamphylia (Strabo, xiv. p. 667; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, v. 26; Pomp. Mela, i. 14; Cic. *Verr.*, i. 30). The site has been established by Col. Leake as that where extensive remains of vaulted and ruined buildings were observed by General Köhler on the Cestrus, west of Stavros. It is called by the Turks Eskikalesi. [PAMPHYLIA.]—J. K.



PERGAMOS (Πέργαμος), or PERGAMUM, a town of the Great Mysia, the capital of a kingdom of the same name, and afterwards of the Roman province of Asia Propria. The river Caicus, which is formed by the union of two branches meeting thirty or forty miles above its mouth, waters an extensive valley not exceeded in natural beauty and fertility by any in the world. In this valley, in N. lat.  $39^{\circ} 4'$ , E. long.  $27^{\circ} 12'$ , stood Pergamos, at the distance of about twenty miles from the sea. It lay on the north bank of the Caicus, at the base and on the declivity of two high and steep mountains, on one of which now stands a dilapidated castle. About two centuries before the Christian era, Pergamos became the residence of the celebrated kings of the family of Attalus, and a seat of literature and the arts. King Eumenes, the second of the name, greatly beautified the town, and increased the library of Pergamos so consider-

ably that the number of volumes amounted to 200,000. As the papyrus shrub had not yet begun to be exported from Egypt, sheep and goat skins, cleaned and prepared for the purpose, were used for manuscripts; and as the art of preparing them was brought to perfection at Pergamos, they, from that circumstance, obtained the name of *pergamena*, or parchment. The library remained at Pergamos after the kingdom of the Attali had lost its independence, until Antony removed it to Egypt, and presented it to Queen Cleopatra (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, iii. 2; Plutarch, *Anton.*) The valuable tapestries, called in Latin *aulæa*, from having adorned the hall of King Attalus, were also wrought in this town. The last king of Pergamos bequeathed his treasures to the Romans, who took possession of the kingdom also, and erected it into a province under the name of Asia Propria (Martial, *Epig.*, ix. 17). Pergamos retained under the Romans



429. Pergamos.

that authority over the cities of Asia which it had acquired under the successors of Attalus, and it still preserves many vestiges of its ancient magnificence. Remains of the Asclepium and of some other temples; of the theatre, stadium, amphitheatre, and several other buildings; are still to be seen. Even now, Pergamos, under the name of Bergamo, is a place of considerable importance, containing a population estimated at 14,000, of whom about 3000 are Greeks, 300 Armenians, and the rest Turks (Macfarlane's *Visit*). The writer just cited says, 'The approach to this ancient and decayed city was as impressive as well might be. After crossing the Caicus, I saw, looking over three vast tumuli, or sepulchral barrows, similar to those of the plains of Troy, the Turkish city of Pergamos, with its tall minarets and taller cypresses, situated on the lower declivities and at the foot of the Acropolis, whose bold gray brow was crowned by the rugged walls of a barbarous castle, the

usurper of the site of a magnificent Greek temple.' The town consists for the most part of small and mean wooden houses, among which appear the remains of early Christian churches, showing 'like vast fortresses amid vast barracks of wood.' None of these churches have any Scriptural or Apocalyptic interest connected with them, having been erected 'several centuries after the ministry of the apostles, and when Christianity was not a humble and despised creed, but the adopted religion of a vast empire.' The Pagan temples have fared worse than these Christian churches. 'The fanes of Jupiter and Diana, of Æsculapius and Venus, are prostrate in the dust; and where they have not been carried away by the Turks, to cut up into tombstones or to pound into mortar, the Corinthian and Ionic columns, the splendid capitals, the cornices and pediments, all in the highest ornament, are thrown into unsightly heaps.'

In Pergamos was one of 'the seven churches of



Asia,' to which the Apocalypse is addressed. This church is commended for its fidelity and firmness in the midst of persecutions, and in a city so eminently addicted to idolatry. 'I know,' it is said, 'thy works, and where thou dwellest, even where Satan's seat is' (Rev. ii. 13). Now there was at Pergamos a celebrated and much frequented temple of Æsculapius, who probably there, as in other places, was worshipped in the form of a living serpent, fed in the temple, and considered as its divinity. Hence Æsculapius was called the god of Pergamos, and on the coins struck by the town, Æsculapius appears with a rod encircled by a serpent (Berger, *Thesaur.*, i. 492). As the sacred writer mentions (Rev. xii. 9) the great dragon and the old serpent, there is reason to conclude that when he says, in the above passage, that the church of Pergamos dwelt 'where Satan's seat is,' he alludes to the worship of the serpent, which was there practised (Rosenmüller, *Bib. Geog.*, iii. 13-17; Macfarlane, *Visit to the Seven Apocalyptic Churches*, 1832; Arundell's *Asia Minor*, ii. 302-7; Leake's *Geog. of Asia Minor*, pp. 265, 266; Richter, *Wallfahrten*, p. 488, seq.; Schubert, *Reise ins Morgenland*; *Missionary Herald* for 1839, pp. 228-30).—J. K.

PERIZZITE (פֶּרִיזִי; Φερεζαῖοι, Φερεζαῖος; in Ezra δ Φερεζῖ; *Pherezaeus*), the name of one of the aboriginal tribes of Palestine. They are first mentioned in Gen. xiii. 7, where the sacred historian relates the story of the separation of Abraham and Lot. 'The Canaanite and the Perizzite dwelled then in the land.' The separation took place at Bethel, and it may be inferred that the Perizzites were then settled in that mountain region. Afterwards they are grouped with the Hittites and Rephaim (xv. 20); and they are mentioned in connection with the slaughter of the Shechemites by Simeon and Levi (xxxiv. 30). They appear to have been at that early period the most important tribe in the country next to the Canaanites; and the name is found in nearly all those lists in which the tribes of Canaan are enumerated (Exod. iii. 8, 17; xiii. 23; xxxiv. 11; Deut. vii. 1, etc.). Joshua locates them in the mountains with the Amorite, Hittite, and Jebusite (xi. 3). They were a warlike race like the Rephaim, and had their strongholds among the heights of Judah and Ephraim (xvii. 15). After the death of Joshua the tribes of Judah and Simeon joined in an expedition against the Canaanites and Perizzites, 'and slew of them in Bezek ten thousand men' (Judg. i. 4, seq.). The site of Bezek is not known; but we may infer that it was within the allotted territory of Judah, and could not therefore be the same place where Saul numbered his troops before his attack on the Ammonites at Jabesh-Gilead: that Bezek was only a short march from Jabesh (1 Sam. xi. 8-11), and must therefore have been on the north-eastern border of Ephraim. The Perizzites were not exterminated. Not only were they suffered to live in Palestine, but they even intermarried with the Israelites (Judg. iii. 5, 6); and this violation of the divine command was one of the charges brought by Ezra against the people (ix. 1). Solomon put them and other ancient tribes to tribute (1 Kings ix. 20).

Of the origin of the Perizzites nothing is known. They were not Canaanites, for they are not included among the Canaanitish tribes in Gen. x. An attempt has been made by philologists to prove that

they were not a distinct race, but only a class of the inhabitants to whom the name was given because of the peculiarity of their occupations. It is said that 'the etymology of the word Perizzite proves that they were the inhabitants of open towns and villages' (פְּרִיזִי); it is clearly explained by Ezekiel (xxxviii. 11) to denote the population of places 'without walls, and bars, and gates;' and it is, in the book of Esther (ix. 19), used for the unfenced cities, in contradistinction to the metropolis (ver. 18). The two names of the Canaanites and Perizzites, if so coupled, designate, therefore, both the inhabitants of the walled towns and of the open country' (Kalisch on Gen. xiii.; see also Gesenius, *Thes.* p. 1120; Hengstenberg, *Beiträge zur Einleitung*, iii., p. 186; Keil on *Joshua* iii. 10). This view, though supported by so many able scholars, appears to be plainly opposed to the Biblical narrative. The Perizzites are there spoken of in the very same terms in which the other tribes are spoken of. Their habits are nowhere specified; and the word Perizzite is manifestly as much a proper name as Hittite, Canaanite, or Hivite; and we have reason to believe that from whatsoever quarter they came they were among the very earliest inhabitants of Palestine (Reland, *Pal.* 139; Redslob, *Alt-Test. Namen der Bevölker. Pal.*, p. 103; Kurtz in Rudelbach's *Zeitschr.* 1845).—J. L. P.

PERSEPOLIS (Περσέπολις; *Persepolis*). This city is only mentioned once, and in 2 Maccab. ix. 2, where it is said that Antiochus Epiphanes 'entered [a city] called Persepolis, and went about to rob the temple and to hold the city;' but the inhabitants defending themselves, Antiochus was ignominiously put to flight. Persepolis was the capital of Persia at the time of the invasion of Alexander the Great, who, as is well known, wantonly burnt it, as has been supposed at the suggestion of the courtesan Thais, to revenge the taking of Athens by Xerxes, but this story probably rests on the sole authority of Cleitarchus (Cleitarch. *ap. Athen.*, xiii. p. 576 e; Diod. Sic., xvii. 71. 2, 3; 72. 6; Plut. in *Alex.*, 38; Quint. Curt., v. 7. 3). According to some authors, the whole city, as well as the magnificent palace, suffered in the general conflagration (Diod. Sic., *l.c.*; Arrian, iii. 18. 11; Pliny, *N. H.*, vi. 26); but according to others it was only the palace (τὸ βασιλεῖον) that was destroyed (Strabo, xv. p. 730; Plut. in *Alex.*, 38). Quintus Curtius (v. 7. 5) mentions that the palace was built with a great quantity of cedar, which increased the ardour of the flames. It is probable that the temples, which were of stone, escaped. That it could have been entirely destroyed seems hardly credible, for not only was it existing in the time of Antigonus, king of Asia (B.C. 306), who visited the palace himself (Diod. Sic., xix. 46. 6), but at the same period Peucestas and Eumenes, formerly generals of Alexander, and now antagonists of Antigonus, both visited Persepolis, and the latter moved his camp there and held it as the seat of government (προῖον τῆς Περσίδος εἰς Περσέπολιν τὸ βασιλεῖον, Diod. Sic., xix. 21. 2; 22. 1). From this it would appear as if the city itself was called τὸ βασιλεῖον. Moreover, at the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, as recorded above (2 Maccab. ix. 2), it seemed to have still been a repository of treasure; and Ptolemy (Geog., vi. 44; viii. 5. 13) mentions it as existing in his time. The extensive ruins now remaining would



prove that it must either have been rebuilt or not totally destroyed by Alexander.

Persepolis has been considered by many as identical with Pasargadæ (Niebuhr, *Lect. on Ant. Hist.*, i. 115; Ouseley, *Travels*, ii. 6, 18), and in one passage of an ancient author there is some obscurity (Arrian, iii. 18. 11), but the two cities are afterwards distinguished (vii. 1. 1). All other ancient authors, however, carefully distinguish the position of the two cities (Strabo, xv. p. 729; Plin., vi. 26; Ptol., vi. 4), and it is now ascertained that the ruins of these two cities are more than 40 miles apart. Persepolis was situated near the plains of *Merdusht*, near the junction of two streams, the Araxes (*Bendamtr*) and the Medus (*Pulwan*), whilst Pasargadæ was about 49 miles from Persepolis on the plain of *Murghab*, where even now exist the ruins of the tomb of Cyrus (Arrian, vi. 29). The ruins of Persepolis, which are very extensive, bear the name of *Chd Minar* or Forty Pillars, the remains of the palaces built by Dareius, son of Hystaspes, and his son Xerxes. Great light has been thrown upon these ruins by the interpretation of the cuneiform writing, commenced by Grotefend, and they have been so frequently described, and are of such extent, that it will be sufficient to refer to the various writers who have described them. (Le Bruyn, *Voy. au Levant*, iv. p. 301; Chardin, ii. p. 140; Niebuhr, *Reise nach Arabien*, etc., ii. p. 121; Sir R. K. Porter, *Travels*, i. 576; Heeren, *Asiatic Nations*, i. 91; Fergusson, *Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis Restored*, p. 89; Vaux, *Nineveh and Persepolis*, p. 360; Ussher, *A Journey from London to Persepolis*, p. 532, etc.) Persepolis is about four miles from Istakhr, the earliest occurrence of which name appears on a coin of the Mohammedan conquerors of Persia, struck at this place A.H. 94 = A.D. 712; and as, according to Mr. Fergusson, 'Pasargadæ had been the royal residence of the Achæmenidæ [*βασιλειον ἀρχαίων*, Strabo, xv. 3. 7], so Persepolis became the new town when Dareius removed to Istakhr—the latter having been, in all ages subsequent, *the city par excellence*' (Fergusson, p. 92; Vaux, *Nin. and Pers.*, pp. 397, 401).

It is curious that, whilst Herodotus and other ancient writers mention Susa, Babylon, and Ecbatana, no contemporary author mentions Persepolis; and moreover they 'mark the portions of the year which the Persian monarchs used to spend at their several residences in such a manner as to leave no portion of the year vacant for Persepolis' (Heeren, *As. Nations*, i. p. 92). Athenæus (*Deipnosoph.*, xii. p. 513, F), however, says that the Persian kings resided at Persepolis during the autumn of each year; but statements of other writers (Xen., *Cyrop.*, viii. 6. 22; Plut., *de Exil.*, xii. 10) leave this uncertain. Notwithstanding, it cannot be doubted that it was a royal residence, and as Strabo (xv. p. 729) states, after Susa, the richest city of the Persians.

It is, however, to be observed that the expedition of Antiochus Epiphanes to Persia is very differently related in 1 Maccab. vi. 1, 2. It is there stated that Antiochus, 'having heard say that Elymais, in the country of Persia, was a city (*ὅτι ἐστὶν Ἐλυμαῖς ἐν τῇ Περσίδι πόλις*; *ὅτι ἐστὶν ἐν Ἐλυμαῖς ἐν τῇ Περσίδι πόλις*, *Cod. Alex.*) greatly renowned for riches, silver, and gold, and that there was in it a very rich temple, wherein were coverings of gold, and breastplates, and shields, which Alexander, son of Philip, the Macedonian

king, who reigned first among the Grecians, had left there, came and sought to take the city and to spoil it,' but was defeated in the attempt.

This account is strictly followed by Josephus (*Antiq.* xii. 9. 1), who adds that it was the temple of Diana against which the expedition was made—a fact also recorded by Polybius (xxxi. 11), but by Appian (*Syr.*, 66) stated to have been the temple of Venus.

These statements receive some confirmation from the temple of the goddess 'Nanea' being mentioned as visited by Antiochus (2 Maccab. i. 13-15). Nanea has been identified with both Artemis and Aphrodite, and is evidently the 'Avairis of Strabo (xv. p. 532), the *numen patrimonium* of the Persians, Medes, and Armenians. (For an account of this deity, see Norris, in *Roy. As. Soc.*, xv. p. 161; Rawlinson, *Herod.*, vol. i. p. 634.) [NANEA.] It is quite evident that there is an error in the Maccabees and in Josephus, in both of which Elymais is called 'a city,' for all historians and geographers call it a province (Smith's *Dict. of Biog.*, s.v. *Elymais*) [ELAM], and it is even so particularised in the *Cod. Alex.*; and Strabo especially (xvi. p. 744), who mentions three temples—to Belus, Minerva, and Diana, called Azara—does not place them in the city of Elymais, but at different places in the country of the Elymæans. It was the temple of Belus that was attacked by Antiochus the Great in B.C. 187, when he was killed by the people, who rose in its defence (Strab., l. c. xvi. 1, 18; Diod. Sic., xxix. 15; cf. xxviii. 3; Justin, xxxii. ch. 2), against the opinion of Aurelius Victor (*De Viris Illust.*, 54), who says he was slain by his attendants during the carousals.

Taking the following facts into consideration :—  
1. That Persepolis, according to the account of most historians, was utterly destroyed, and all the treasures carried away; 2. that the expedition of Antiochus Epiphanes thereto is only recorded in the 2d Maccab.; 3. that Antiochus' father had already made an attack on the temple of Elymais, which was perhaps an inducement for the son to do the same; 4. that the expedition to Elymais and to its temple—the deity of which is named—is not only mentioned in the 1st and 2d Maccab., but is also recorded by Polybius and Appian, it seems more probable that it was against an *Elymæan* temple that Antiochus Epiphanes directed his attack, an opinion that has been already advanced by Grimm (*Kurzgef. Exeg. Handb. zu den Apok.*)—F. W. M.

PERSEUS (Περσεύς), the last king of Macedon, and successor of Philip V., whose son he was reputed to be, but whether legitimate, illegitimate, or supposititious, is uncertain. Involved in war with Rome he was utterly defeated (B.C. 168) by L. Aemilius Paulus, and carried by him captive to Rome, where he was compelled to grace the victor's triumph. After a short imprisonment he was allowed to retire to Alba, where he spent the rest of his life in an honourable captivity. He died B.C. 169 or 172. His name sometimes is written Perses (Madvig, *Lat. Gr.*, sec. 38, 3). His defeat by the Romans tended to impress upon the Jews a sense of their military power (1 Maccab. viii. 5).—W. L. A.

PERSIA (פָּרְס; Sept. Περσίς), properly the designation of the province of Fars or Farsistân, a



district bounded on the north by Media and Mount Aprassia, the Parachoathras of the ancients; on the south by Laristan and the Persian Gulf, on the west by Susiana, and on the east by Caramania. The name, however, is more frequently used both in Scripture and in the classics to denote the extensive empire of the Persians, which at one time stretched from India to Thrace and Egypt, and included parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa. In this sense it occurs 2 Chron. xxxvi. 20, 22; Ezra iv. 5, 7, 24; vi. 14; Esther i. 3, 14, 18; Dan. x. 13, 20; xi. 2. [PERSIANS.] In the more limited sense it is found Dan. viii. 20, and perhaps also Ezek. xxvii. 10 and xxxviii. 5, though the combination there of Persia with Lud and Libya renders it probable that it is to an African settlement of the Persians rather than to those who remained in their primitive seat that reference is made. Sallust (*Jug. xviii.*) speaks of Persian immigrants into Egypt, and these Pliny (*Nat. Hist. v. 8*) identifies with the Pathrusi.

The province of Persia proper is very mountainous; there are few plains in it of any extent, but many of the valleys are picturesque and fertile. Its principal cities were Pasargada, its earliest capital, Persepolis [PERSEPOLIS], Gabae, Taoce, and Aspadana.

Of the name two etymologies have been proposed; some tracing it to *Pārs*, which in the Zend signifies *clear, bright, pure as ether*; others to *Paras*, a horse. But these are mere conjectures, and are not satisfactory.—W. L. A.

PERSIANS, the name of a people and nation which occurs only in the later periods of the Biblical history, and then for the most part in conjunction with the Medes [MEDES]—a conjunction which tends to confirm the truth of the sacred records, since the most respectable historical authorities have found reason to conclude that the Medes and Persians were in truth but one nation, only that at an earlier period the Medes, at a later period the Persians, gained the upper hand and bore sway. This ascendancy, in the case of the Persians, as generally in the ancient Asiatic governments, was owing to the corrupting and enervating influence of supreme and despotic power on the one side, and on the other to the retention on the part of the mountaineers, or of tribes seated remotely from the centre of the empire, of primitive simplicity,—in laborious lives, hard fare, and constant exposure, which create patient endurance, athletic strength, manly courage, independence: qualities which in their turn refuse or throw off a yoke, and convert a subject into a conquering and ruling nation. At what precise time this great change was brought about in regard to the Medes and Persians, we are not in a condition to determine historically. With Cyrus the elder, however, begins (B.C. 558) the domination of the Persian dynasty which held rule over Media as well as Persia. Whether Cyrus came to the throne by inheritance, as the son-in-law of Cambyses II., according to Xenophon, or whether he won the throne by vanquishing Astyages, the last Median king, agreeably to the statements of Herodotus, is one of those many points connected with early eastern history which, for want of documents, and in the midst of historical discrepancies, must remain probably for ever uncertain. Meanwhile the existence of Cyrus and the great tenor of his influence remain the same, though

on this and on other points historians give irreconcilable statements—a remark which we make the rather because a certain school of modern theology has attempted to destroy the general historical credibility of the Gospels, on the ground that the several narrators are found to disagree.

The most interesting event to the reader of the Bible in the history of Cyrus, is the permission which he gave (B.C. 536) to the captive Jews to return to their native land. After a prosperous reign of the unusual length, in Asiatic monarchies, of thirty years, Cyrus died (B.C. 529). He was succeeded by Cambyses (B.C. 529), who, according to Herodotus, reigned seven years and five months. He is probably the Ahasuerus of Ezra iv. 6. Then came (B.C. 522) Smerdis, nominally brother of Cambyses, but in reality a Magian named Gomates; and as the Magi were of Median blood, this circumstance shows that, though the Medes had lost the sovereignty, they were not without great power. Smerdis being assassinated (B.C. 521), Darius Hystaspis was elected king. He favoured the Jews, and permitted them to resume and complete the building of their temple, which had been broken off by reason of jealousy on the part of the heterogeneous populations of Samaria (Ezra iv. 2; 2 Kings xvii. 24), and the influence which they exerted at the Persian court (Ezra iv. 11). The last monarch had for successor Xerxes (B.C. 485), who is probably the Ahasuerus of Esther and Mordecai. After a reign of twenty years, Xerxes was murdered by Artabanus, who, however, enjoyed his booty only for the short period of seven months. The next in order was Artaxerxes (I.) Longimanus (B.C. 465), who enjoyed his power for the surprisingly long period of forty years, and then quietly handed the sceptre over to his son Xerxes II. (B.C. 424), who reigned but two months. He was followed by his step-brother Sogdianus (B.C. 424), whose rule came to an end in seven months; thus making way for Darius Nothus, whose reign lasted nineteen years. Artaxerxes (II.) Mnemon next took the throne (B.C. 404), and is reported to have reigned forty or forty-three years (Diod. Sicul. xiii. 108; xv. 93). His successor was Artaxerxes Ochus (B.C. 364), who occupied the throne for twenty-six years. Then came Arses (B.C. 338), reigning three years. At last Darius Codomannus (B.C. 335) ascended the throne. But the valour, hardihood, and discipline which had gained the dominion, and which, as the length of several reigns in the succession shows, had sustained it with a firm and effectual hand, were almost at an end, having been succeeded by the effeminacy, the luxuriousness, and the vices which had caused the dissolution of earlier Asiatic dynasties, and among them that of the Medes, which the Persians had set aside. When this relaxation of morals has once taken place, a dynasty or a nation only waits for a conqueror. In this case one soon appeared in the person of Alexander, misnamed the Great, who assailing Darius on several occasions, finally overcame him at Arbela (B.C. 330), and so put a period to the Persian monarchy after it had existed for 219 years. On this the country shared the fate that befell the other parts of the world which the Macedonian madman had overrun; but, more fortunate than that of other eastern nations, the name of Persia and of Persians has been preserved even to the present day, as the representative of a people and a government.



The events which transpired during this succession of Persian kings, so far as they are connected with the Biblical history, may be thus briefly narrated:—Cyrus, having conquered Babylon, permitted the Jews to quit their captivity and return into Palestine, affording them aid for the reconstruction of their national house of worship. Under Cambyses, who invaded Egypt and became master of the land, adversaries of the Jews tried to render them objects of suspicion at the court; which intrigues, however, had full effect only in the reign of his successor, Smerdis, who issued a decree expressly commanding the building of the temple to cease (Ezra iv. 21); in which prohibition Smerdis, as he was of the Magian tribe, and therefore of the priestly caste, may have been influenced by religious considerations. A milder and more liberal policy ensued. Darius, having by search in the national records ascertained what Cyrus had done towards the Jews, took off the prohibition, and promoted the rebuilding of the temple. Darius Hystaspis was distinguished for great enterprises as well as liberal ideas. He carried the renown of the Persian arms to India, Libya, and Europe, and began the Persian attempt to subjugate Greece. What Xerxes undertook, and what success he had in his warlike undertakings against Greece, is known to all. His conduct towards the Jews, as well as his own despotism and luxuriousness, are exhibited in the book of Esther with great force as well as truth. Artaxerxes Longimanus led an army into Egypt, which had rebelled against its Persian masters. He was compelled to make peace with the Greeks. Palestine must have suffered much by the passage of troops through its borders on their way from Persia to Egypt; the new colony at Jerusalem began to sink, when the monarch permitted Nehemiah to proceed with full powers to the Jewish capital, in order to strengthen the hands of his brethren. Darius Nothus had to fight on all sides of his kingdom, and made Phœnicia the scene of a war against the combined forces of Egypt and Arabia. Even Artaxerxes Mnemon, though long busied with his arms in other parts, did not lose sight of Egypt, which had thrown off his yoke, and sent new Persian armies into the vicinity of Palestine. In consequence, the Jews had much to endure from the insolence of a Persian general, namely, Bagoses, who polluted the temple, and ‘punished the Jews seven years’ (Joseph. *Antiq.* xi. 7. 1). Ochus followed the plan of his father, subdued the revolted Phœnicians, and again fell



430. [Ancient Persian king on throne.]

upon Egypt. The remaining period of the Persian dominion over the Jews passed away peaceably (Winer, *Real-Wört.*; Joseph. *Antiq.*, lib. xi.; Jahn, *Archäol.* ii. 1, 231-312; Schlosser, *Alten Welt*, i. 242, seq.; J. G. Eichhorn, *Geschichte Der Alt. Welt*, i. 80, seq.)

The Biblical books, Daniel, Esther, Nehemiah, and Ezra, combine to present a true as well as high idea of the Persian court and government. We will give a few particulars from Esther, a book of deep and vivid interest, not only in its story, but also, and by no means less, in the indirect history (as it may be termed) which it contains regarding the (perhaps) most splendid dominion that ever existed upon earth. The extent of the government was from India to Ethiopia, including 127 provinces. The empire was under the control of vassal princes and nobles, ‘the power of Persia and Media,’ under whom were governors of various ranks, and officers for every species of duty. It was specially the duty of seven ministers of state (‘chamberlains’) to serve in the immediate presence of the monarch. Other officers, however high in rank, were admitted to the royal person only through the barriers of a strictly-observed ceremonial. Even the prime minister himself, and the favoured concubine, who was honoured with the title of queen, durst come no nearer than the outer court, unless, on making their appearance, the king extended towards them his sceptre of gold. The gorgeousness of the court dazzles the mind, and surpasses imagination. When the king sat upon his throne, his chief vizier and his beloved queen on either side, with rows of princes and nobles, like lessening stars, running in a line of fire-points from the monarch, the sun in whose light they shone, and in whose warm smile they were happy, feasting a hundred and fourscore days with his great men, in a hall and a palace of which the praise is too little to say they were not unworthy the grandeur of the monarch on an occasion when ‘he shewed the riches of his glorious kingdom, and the honour of his excellent majesty;’—or when the stately autocrat, relaxing in a measure the rigour of his greatness, and descending from his god-like throne to a nearer level with ordinary mortals, ‘made a feast unto the people, both unto great and small, seven days in the court of the garden of the palace,’ where were white, green, and blue pavilions, fastened with cords of fine linen and purple to silver rings and pillars of marble; couches, gold and silver, upon a tessellated pavement of red and blue, white and black marble; and drink was served all around in golden vessels of curious fabric and divers shapes; and wine in abundance, whose worth had gained for it the name of Royal, of which each person by express ordinance drank what he pleased;—or when, at the end of these seven days of popular enjoyment, the king feasted with Vashti, the queen, at a banquet for the women in her own palace, when the monarch commanded his seven high officers of state to bring Vashti, the queen, before the king with the crown royal, to show the people and the princes her beauty, for she was fair to look on;—or, finally, when a favourite servant, being clothed in the royal apparel, and set upon the horse that the king rode upon, with the crown royal upon his head, was conducted by the hand of one of the king’s most noble princes through the highways of the glittering city, while heralds proclaimed before the resplendent retinue, ‘Thus shall it be done to the man whom the king delighteth to honour;’—then blazed forth the glory of the Persian greatness, in pomp and splendour correspondent with the brilliancy of the heavens and the luxuriance of the earth under which and on which these luminaries shone. Nor, in the midst of all this outward pomp, were there wanting internal regulations fitted to sustain and give effect



to the will of the monarch and his council. A body of law was in existence, to which additions were constantly made by omnipotent decrees issued by the king. These rescripts were made out by officials, a body of men who are designated royal scribes or secretaries; and being drawn up in the prescribed form, were copied and translated for every people after their language.' Being then 'sealed with the king's ring,' the letters were sent 'by post,' 'on horseback and on mules, camels and young dromedaries,' to the king's lieutenants, and to the governors over every province, and to the rulers of every people of every one of the 127 provinces. History, as well as law, received diligent and systematic attention. 'A book of records of the chronicles' was kept, in which the events of each reign were entered, probably under the supervision of the learned caste, the Magi. This book the monarch used to consult on occasions of importance and perplexity, partly for instruction, partly for guidance; so that the present was modelled after the past, and the legislation and the conduct of the king formed one entire and, to some extent, consistent whole. Whence it appears that though the monarch was despotic, he was not strictly arbitrary. Aided by a council, controlled by a priesthood, guided by the past as well as influenced by the present, the king, much as he may have been given up to his personal pleasures, must yet have had a difficult office to fill, and heavy duties to discharge. Rulers are generally insecure in proportion to the degree of their despotism; and so we find, from the plot against the life of Ahasuerus (Xerxes, B.C. 485-465), which Mordecai discovered and made known, that even the recesses of a palace did not protect the kings of Persia from the attempts of the assassin. In the punishment, however, which fell upon the wicked Haman, we see the summary means which the Persian monarchs employed for avenging or defending themselves, as well as the unshared and unqualified power which they held over the life of their subjects even in the highest grades. Indeed it is not possible to read the book of Esther without fancying more than once that you are in the midst of the court of the Grand Signior. Not least among the causes of this illusion is what is narrated in regard to the harem of Xerxes. The women, it seems, had a palace of their own, and dwelt there apart from the king, who paid them visits of ceremony. This their abode, and they themselves, were under the care of a royal chamberlain, whose power in the harem was supreme, and who had abundance of resources for increasing the state and promoting the comfort of those who pleased him; nor may he have been without an influence in determining the king in his choice of his favourite mistress. To supply the harem, officers were appointed in the several provinces, whose duty it was to find out and procure for the monarch the fairest maidens in the world. Each of these, after she had been in the women's house a twelvemonth, and had gone through a certain course of preparation, visited the king for one night in turn; but she came in unto the king no more except the king delighted in her, and that she were called by name, in which case she became queen. 'And the king loved Esther above all the women, and she obtained grace and favour in his sight more than all the virgins; so that he set the royal crown upon her head, and made her queen instead of Vashti.'

The greatness of the power of the chief viziers of the Persian monarchy is illustrated in the recorded acts of Haman and Mordecai. The mode of delegating power was by presenting to the entrusted person the royal signet, which appears to have licensed him to do what he would, by such means as he pleased.



431. Ancient Persian Guards.

The great influence which Esther and Mordecai possessed with Xerxes is attributable to the noble qualities, both of mind and body, for which the Hebrew race were, and still are, conspicuous. These qualities won the heart and gained the favour of the king, and thereby proved instrumental in saving the Jews scattered throughout the empire from the bloody slaughter which Haman had designed should take place everywhere on the same day. Nor is it improbable that to influences connected with the same high qualities the decree may have been owing by which Cyrus set the people of the captivity free, that they might return home and build again the walls of Jerusalem. Cyrus, it is true, may have had some regard to justice; he may have thought it prudent to send away from his country at least the best of these highly-endowed men; he may not have been unwilling to see Jerusalem rise again into power, and prove a friendly barrier against Egypt; but the munificent manner in which the Jews were dismissed seems to betoken the agency of some personal influence, if not of some personal affection. Nehemiah (xiii. 6; comp. ii. 1, *seq.*) speaks expressly of a favour which he obtained of Artaxerxes (Longimanus, B.C. 465), or Xerxes II. (B.C. 424), after an interval of several days. By no means inconsistent with this personal favour, nor improbable in themselves, are the religious considerations by which the scriptural writers represent Cyrus as being actuated in setting the Jews at liberty. The religion of the Persians was in its essential and primitive form monotheistic, and must therefore have been anything but alien, in spirit at least, to that of the Hebrews. Nor is there anything extravagant in assuming that so great a prince as Cyrus, who could scarcely have yielded to the luxurious effeminacy in which his successors indulged, and whose mind must have been elevated as well as powerful, understood in a measure, and highly appreciated, the excellences of the Mosaic religion; while the same general feeling which directed the storm of the Persians against the polytheistic temples of Greece, may have prompted an earlier and better sovereign to liberate the Jews, and bring about the restoration of the monotheistic worship on Mount Zion. Certainly the terms are distinct and emphatic in which Cyrus is made to speak in our sacred books; nor



do we see any reason to suppose that a Jewish colouring has been given to these passages, or to question that we have in them a faithful translation of the original state documents (Ezra i. 1-4; i. 7-11; vii. 23; viii. 22). The two last passages here referred to would seem to justify the inference that the favour of the Persian government was owing not merely to general religious influences, but also to specific instances of good and ill connected with the will of the Almighty; probably national reverses, more or less directly and believingly ascribed to God, may have been in operation to aid the restoration of the temple worship.

A general impression prevails that, to use the words of Winer (*Real-Wörterb.* s. v. 'Persien'), 'no edict published bearing the king's signature could be revoked,' so that the 'laws of the Medes and Persians' altered not in the sense of being diminished or reformed. Winer refers, as an authority, to Esther i. 19; yet this book contains a striking fact which proves the contrary; for the decree which Haman had got promulgated for the destruction of the Jews was superseded by another procured by the influence of Esther and Mordecai, and this other of so decided a character as to give the Jews in all the provinces of the empire the power of assaulting and slaying their enemies. In truth, the words 'that it be not altered' seem, at least in the period to which the Biblical records refer, to signify little more than the general stability of the law, and the certainty of its penalties.

The extraordinary power entrusted to the Jews serves to show that the social constitution of the Persian empire was open to the greatest abuses. What could be worse than for the government itself to let loose on society a scattered horde of people, trembling for their lives, yet united in the strong bonds of religious fellowship? They would want no encouragement, if only relieved of the penalties commanded by the decree of Haman, to do all they could privately 'to be ready to avenge themselves on their enemies' (Esther viii. 13); but when couriers came riding post into all parts where they were, bearing the royal behests to the effect that, on the very day on which they themselves expected unsparing slaughter, they were allowed not only 'to stand for their life,' but 'to destroy, to slay, and to cause to perish all the power of the people and province that would assault them, both little ones and women, and to take the spoil of them for a prey' (Esther viii. 11), then, we may well believe, a dreadful vengeance would be taken, and frightful disorder caused, the possibility of which, in any social condition, is a proof that the first principles of justice are not understood; and the actual existence of which shows that, whenever occasion required, they were recklessly set at naught.

On the *religion* of the ancient Persians we refer to the articles *MAGI* and *MEDES*. [See also Hyde, *De Rel. Vet. Persarum*; Windischmann, *Zoroastriische Studien*, 1839; Bleek, *The Religious Books of the Parsees Translated*, 1864.]

The Persian language was diverse from the Shemitic, and connected with the Indo-Germanic tongues, of which the Sanscrit may be considered as the eldest branch. [Its oldest form appears in the Zendavesta, though not without corruptions from later sources; in the inscriptions of the Achaemenian kings we have it in its second stage, and happily without later admixture; and the Per-

sian gives it in a third stage. The modern Persian is its degenerate representative, being much corrupted by infusions from the Arabic. M. Müller, *Science of Language*, 1st ser. p. 192, ff.] (Adelung, *Mithridat.*, i. 255, seq.; O. Frank, *De Persidis Lingua et Genio*, Norimb. 1809; Wahl., *Gesch. d. Morgenländ Sprache v. Literatur*, p. 129, seq.)

The great Persian kingdom founded by Cyrus, in the period of its highest glory comprised all Asiatic countries from the Mediterranean to the Indus, from the Black and Caspian Sea to Arabia and the Indian Ocean. This vast empire was divided into many provinces or satrapies, one of which was Persia (properly so called) or Persis (Farsistan), which on the north was separated from Media by the range of mountains denominated Parthrates, on the west bordered on Susiana (Khusistan), on the south reached to the Persian Gulf, and on the east was bordered by Carmania (Kirman). The country that lies along the sea is a sandy plain, which the heat and poisonous winds render unfit for human abodes (Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, xii. 20). The interior is crossed by rocky mountains, whose summits are covered with snow the greater part of the year. This mountain-chain renders the north of the country rough and unfruitful, so that herdsmen and nomads alone dwell there. In the intermediate parts, however, are found many well-watered valleys and plains, which yield to few in fruitfulness and mildness of climate (Strabo, xv. p. 727; Ptolem., vi. 4; Mannert, *Geog.*, ii. 497). The inhabitants of this province of Persis were connected by blood with the Medes, and were divided into many tribes and clans (Herod., i. 125), three of which were noble—the Pasargadae, the Maraphii, and the Maspii. The Pasargadae held the pre-eminence; of which tribe was Cyrus, a circumstance to which he in part owed his power and influence.

The residences of the monarchs of the immense country denominated Persia were various. Pasargada, with its royal tombs, was most ancient. Persepolis rose not very far from it, and became a treasure-city. After the overthrow of the Babylonian kingdom, Cyrus, while preserving a regard for the more ancient cities of the empire, seems to have thought Babylon a more suitable place for the metropolis of Asia; but as it might not be politic, if it were possible, to make a strange place the centre of his kingdom, he founded a new city, Susa, where he was still on Persian ground, and yet not far distant from Babylon. There was also Ecbatana, the Median capital. These several royal abodes seem to have been occupied by the later monarchs, according as the season of the year called for a colder, warmer, or milder climate.

We have before seen that the Persian monarchy had its chronicles. These may have been consulted by our classical authorities, but are wholly lost to us. We are therefore thrown on two foreign sources of information regarding the Persian history: 1. The Jewish, to be elicited chiefly from the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, of which something has been said. 2. Grecian writers. Of these, Ctesias availed himself of the Persian annals, but we have only extracts from his work in Photius. Herodotus appears also to have consulted the native sources of Persian history. Xenophon presents us with the fullest materials, namely, in his *Anabasis*, his *Hellenica*, and especially in his *Cyropædia*, which is an imaginary pic-



ture of a perfect prince, according to Oriental conceptions, drawn in the person of Cyrus the elder. Some of the points in which the classical authorities disagree may be found set forth in Eichhorn's *Gesch. der A. Welt.*, i. 82, 83. A representation of the Persian history, according to Oriental authorities, may be found in the *Hallische Allgemeine Weltgeschichte*, th. iv. A very diligent compilation is that of Brissonius, *De Regno Persarum*, 1591. Consult especially Heeren's *Ideen*, i. 1; and his *Handbuch der G. d. S. Allerth.*, i. 102. A full and valuable list of the older authorities in Persian affairs may be seen in the *Bibliotheca Historica* of Meusellius, vol. i., pt. ii., p. 28, seq. [See also Malcolm, *Hist. of Persia from the Earliest Ages*, 2 vols. 4to, 1816; Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, ii.; *Journal of the Asiatic Soc.*, vols. x. and xi.]—J. R. B.

**PESTILENCE.** The terms pestilence and plague are used with much laxity in our A. V. The latter, however, which generally represents the Hebrew מִדְּבָרָא, is by far the wider term, as we read of 'plagues of leprosy,' 'of hail,' and of many other visitations. Pestilence is employed to denote a deadly epidemic, and is the word by which דִּבְרָא (Sept. *θάνατος*, and occasionally *λοιμός*) is translated. In our time, however, both these terms are nearly synonymous; but *plague* is, by medical writers at least, restricted to mean the glandular plague of the East. There is indeed no description of any pestilence in the Bible, which would enable us to form an adequate idea of its specific character. Severe epidemics are the common accompaniments of dense crowding in cities, and of famine; and we accordingly often find them mentioned in connection (Lev. xxvi. 25; Jer. xiv. 12; xxix. 18; Matt. xxiv. 7; Luke xxi. 11). But there is no better argument for believing that 'pestilence' in these instances means the glandular plague, than the fact of its being at present a prevalent epidemic of the East. It is also remarkable that the Mosaic law, which contains such strict rules for the seclusion of lepers, should have allowed a disease to pass unnoticed, which is above all others the most deadly, and, at the same time, the most easily checked by sanitary regulations of the same kind.\* The destruction of Sennacherib's army (2 Kings xix. 35) has also been ascribed to the plague. But—not to insist on the circumstance that this awfully sudden annihilation of 185,000 men is not ascribed to any disease, but to the agency of an angel (since such passages as 2 Sam. xxiv. 15, 16, weaken this objection; and even Josephus understood the cause to be a pestilence, *Antiq.* x. 1. 5)—it is impossible that such a mortality could have been produced, in one night, by a disease which spread itself by contagion, like the Oriental plague; and the same remark applies, though in a less degree, to the three days' pesti-

lence in the reign of David (2 Sam. xxiv. 13). Those who entertain the common opinion about the means by which the destruction of Sennacherib's army was effected, regard the illness of Hezekiah (2 Kings xx. 1-11) as connected, both as to time and cause, with that event; and consider his 'boil' especially to afford direct evidence that he suffered from the plague. The boil would have certainly been a most characteristic symptom, if we had the least indication that his disease was pestilential; but we have no evidence whatever that any epidemic prevailed at that time at Jerusalem.

The glandular plague, like the small-pox, is an eruptive fever, and is the most virulent and most contagious disease with which we are acquainted. The eruption consists of buboes, carbuncles, and petechiæ. Buboes are inflamed and swollen glands; and the glands so affected are generally those of the groin, axilla, neck, and the parotid glands. More frequently there are two, three, or even four, such tumours. They sometimes subside of themselves; or, what is more commonly the case, they suppurate: and as this process seldom commences before the disease has taken a favourable turn, it is regarded as the cause, but more correctly as a sign, of approaching recovery. A carbuncle is an inflammation of the skin, giving rise to a hard tumour, with pustules or vesicles upon it. It resembles a common boil, but differs from it in this important respect. The carbuncle becomes gangrenous throughout its whole extent, so that when the eschar separates a large deep ulcer is left. Under the term petechiæ are included evanescent spots and streaks of various hues, from a pale blue to a deep purple, which give a marbled appearance to the skin. When such livid streaks occur in the face, they disfigure the countenance so much that a patient can hardly be recognised by his friends. The disease varies so considerably in its symptoms and course, that it is impossible to give one description that will suit even the majority of cases. Sometimes the eruption does not appear at all, and even the general symptoms are not of that violence to lead an ignorant person to suspect the least danger. The patient is suddenly attacked with a loss of strength, a sense of confusion, weight in the head, oppression at the heart, and extreme dejection of spirits. Such cases sometimes terminate fatally within twenty-four hours, and occasionally on the second or third day. Generally, however, the patient is attacked with shivering or coldness, which is soon followed by fever, giddiness, pain in the head, occasionally also by vomiting. Buboes and carbuncles in most cases make their appearance on the first day; and successive eruptions of them are not unusually observed during the course of the disease. There is a peculiar and characteristic muddiness of the eye, which has been described by Dr. Russell as a muddiness and lustre strangely blended together. The fever remits every morning, and increases during the day and night. The vomiting then increases; the tumours become painful; and the patient wanders, and is inclined to stupor. On the morning of the third day, in favourable cases, a sweat breaks out, which produces great relief, and sometimes even proves critical. The exacerbation on the fourth day is more severe than on the preceding ones, and continues intense until it is terminated by the sweat on the morning of the fifth day, which

\* Michaelis endeavours to explain why the Law contained no ordinances about the plague, by arguing that, on account of the sudden appearance and brief duration of the disease, no permanent enactments could have been efficient in moderating its ravages, but only such preventive measures as varied according to the ever-varying circumstances of the origin and course of its visitations (*Mos. Recht.* iv. 290).



leaves the patient weak, but in every respect relieved. After this, the exacerbations become slighter and slighter; and the buboes advancing favourably to suppuration, little or no fever remains after the beginning of the second week. In other cases, again, the symptoms are far more urgent. Besides vomiting, giddiness, and headache, there is also diarrhoea at the outbreak of the fever. During the night the patient becomes delirious or comatose. The pulse is full and strong; and though the tongue is not dry, the thirst is excessive. The fever abates somewhat on the succeeding morning, but the pulse is frequent, the skin hot and dry, and the patient dejected. As the second day advances, the vomiting and diarrhoea become urgent, the eyes are muddy, expression of countenance confused, the pulse quick, and sometimes low and fluttering, external heat moderately feverish, or occasionally intense in irregular flushings. There is pain at the heart, burning pain at the pit of the stomach, and incessant restlessness. When to these symptoms are joined faltering of the tongue, or loss of speech, and the surface of the body becomes cold or covered with clammy sweats, death is inevitable, although it may still be at some distance. When the patient has been much weakened by the vomiting, diarrhoea, or hæmorrhage, the third day proves fatal; but more commonly the disease is prolonged two or three days longer. In this form of plague, buboes appear on the second or third day, and sometimes later; but whether they advance towards suppuration or not, they seem to have no effect in hastening or retarding the termination of the disease. Lastly, in some cases, the eruption of buboes and carbuncles constitutes the principal symptom of the disease; and patients are so little indisposed, that they are able to go about the streets, or attend to their usual avocations, if not prevented by the inflammation of inguinal tumours.

Respecting the causes and origin of plague nothing is known. There cannot be the slightest doubt that it is propagated by absolute contact with, or a very near approach to, the bodies or clothes of persons infected; but we are entirely at a loss to know how it is generated afresh. Extremes of temperature have a decided effect in putting a stop to it; but Dr. Russell observed that, in the year 1761, the plague at Aleppo was mild, in 1762 it was severer, and in 1763 it was very fatal; and yet there was no appreciable difference in the respective seasons of these years. In Egypt, the plague commences in autumn, and is regularly put an end to by the heats of summer; and it is even asserted that contaminated goods are also disinfected at this time.

In Europe, the plague disappeared during the winter. This was remarked in all the epidemics, except that from 1636 to 1648, called the Great Plague, on account of its long duration; but even in this instance it abated considerably during the winter. It was a common superstition that the plague abated on St. John's day.

The most fatal, and at the same time the most general epidemic, was that which ravaged Asia, Africa, and the whole of Europe, in the 14th century. It was called by the northern European nations 'the Black Death,' and by the Italians 'la Mortilega Grande,' or the great mortality. According to Dr. Hecker, not less than twenty-five millions perished by it in the short space of three

years, from 1347 to 1350. Since the commencement of this century, Europe has been free from the plague, with the exception of two or three instances. It occurred at Noja, in the kingdom of Naples, in 1815 and 1816; at the Lazaretto of Venice, in 1818; in Greiffenberg in Silesia in 1819. It has not been seen in Great Britain since the great epidemic of 1665, which is stated to have carried off eight thousand in one week. Quarantine was first performed in one of the islands near Venice, in 1485. Persons who had been cured of plague in the Lazaretto on one of the adjoining islands were sent there, and all those with whom they had had intercourse, where they were detained forty days. This period was probably fixed upon on account of some medical hypothesis. The fortieth day was regarded as the last day of ardent diseases, and that which separated them from chronic. Forty days constituted the philosophical month of alchymists. Theological, and even legal derivations, have been also given. The forty days of the flood; Moses' sojourn on Mount Sinai; our Lord's fast; and, lastly, what is called the 'Saxon term' (Sächsische Frist), which also lasts forty days. Bills of health were probably first established in 1507, by a council of health established at Venice during a fatal plague that visited Italy for five years; but they were not generally used until 1665. It is to these great measures that Europe is indebted for its present immunity from this terrible scourge; and it cannot be doubted that, but for the callous indifference of the Orientals (which proceeds from their fatalism, love of gain, and ignorance), the same measures would be adopted in the East with the same success. (Hecker's *Hist. of the Epidemics of the Middle Ages*; Dr. Brown, art. 'Plague,' in *Cyclop. of Pract. Med.*; Dr. Russell, *Hist. of Aleppo*.)—W. A. N.

PETER (Πέτρος; Aram. ܡܬܝܬܐ, originally SIMEON or SIMON (שִׁמְעוֹן, *heard*), was a native of Bethsaida in Galilee (John i. 45), and was the son of a certain Jonas, whence he is named on one occasion in the gospel history Simon Barjona, that is, son of Jona (Matt. xvi. 17). His place of residence was Capernaum (Luke iv. 31, 38), where he had a wife, and where his mother-in-law dwelt (Matt. viii. 14; Luke iv. 38, 39; comp. 1 Cor. ix. 5). According to tradition, his wife's name was Concordia or Perpetua, and she is said (Clem. Alex. *Strom.*, vii. 11. 63) to have suffered martyrdom before him. According to the same authority, also (*Strom.*, iii. 6. 52), he had children. Along with his father and his brother Andrew, he followed the occupation of a fisherman on the Sea of Galilee. It is probable that, before they were chosen by Christ, they were both disciples of John the Baptist. That Andrew was so we are expressly informed by the evangelist John; and as his brother seems to have been of the same mind with him on religious matters, it is extremely likely that he was so likewise. Their attaching themselves to Jesus was owing to John's pointing him out after his baptism to Andrew and another disciple (probably the evangelist John), as 'the Lamb of God;' on which they immediately followed Jesus, and spent some time in receiving his instructions. It would appear that before the conference began they went forth to seek Simon, and Andrew having found him first carried him to



Jesus, who, on receiving him as his disciple, bestowed upon him that surname by which he has since that time been most commonly designated (John i. 42): 'When Jesus beheld him he said, Thou art Simon, the son of Jona; thou shalt be called Cephas, which is by interpretation a stone (*πέτρος*).'<sup>\*</sup> That for a season after this interview Peter attached himself to Jesus, and, along with others, accompanied him to Galilee (John ii. 2, 12), thence to Jerusalem (ver. 17), thence into the land of Judea and the vicinity of the Jordan, where the disciples of Jesus baptized (iii. 22; iv. 2), and thence through Samaria (iv. 8) into Galilee (iv. 43), can hardly be doubted. During the subsequent residence of Jesus, however, at Capernaum (Matt. iv. 13), Peter, with his brother and James and John, returned to their occupation as fishers; and it was whilst so engaged that Jesus finally called them to be his disciples and witnesses. The accounts given of this by the synoptists agree, excepting that Matthew places it before our Lord's preaching through Galilee, the delivery of the sermon on the mount, and the healing of Peter's wife's mother (iv. 18; viii. 14); Mark also places it before the healing of Peter's wife's mother, but omits the preaching through Galilee and the sermon on the mount (i. 16-31); while Luke places it *after* the healing of Peter's wife's mother and the preaching through Galilee (iv. 38; v. 1, ff.) Luke also adds several particulars which the other evangelists omit. The call which Jesus on this occasion addressed to Peter was decisive and final. Deeply conscious of unworthiness and of his immeasurable inferiority to Jesus, he recognised in him his 'Lord,' and for his sake forsook all and followed him. With James and John he shared peculiar intimacy of intercourse with Jesus, and was present at scenes in his history from which all but these three were excluded—such as the transfiguration on the mount and the agony in Gethsemane. The intimate relation between Peter and our Lord is indicated by the fact that it was to him that the tax-collector came to know if his Master paid tribute (Matt. xvii. 24), and that to him and John was entrusted the duty of providing the lamb for the paschal supper (Luke xxii. 8); though it was another that 'had the bag' (John xii. 16). In the course of the evangelical history several incidents relating to Peter are recorded, for the purpose, doubtless, principally of illustrating the character and teaching of our Lord, but which tend also to throw light upon the history and character of his attached disciple. Such are the accounts furnished by the evangelists of his walking upon the agitated waters of the Sea of Galilee to meet his master (Matt. xiv. 22, ff.; Mark vi. 45, ff.); of his bold and intelligent avowals of the undoubted Messiahship of Jesus, notwithstanding the difficulties which he, along with the rest of the disciples, felt in reconciling what they saw in him with what they had fondly expected the Christ to be (Matt. xvi. 13-20); of his rash but affectionate rebuke of his Lord for speaking of suffering and death as in prospect for him, and as forming a necessary part of his mediatorial work (Matt. xvi. 21-23); of his conduct in first rejecting, with an earnestness bordering on horror, the offer of Christ to wash his feet, and then, when the symbolical nature of that act had been explained to him, his over-ardent zeal that not his feet only, but also his hands and his head, might be washed (John xiii. 4, ff.); of his bold and some-

what vaunting avowal of attachment to his Master, and his determination never to forsake him, followed by his disgraceful denial of Jesus in the hour of trial (John xiii. 36, 37; Mark xiv. 29, etc.); of his deep and poignant contrition for this sin (Matt. xxvi. 75); and of his Lord's ample forgiveness of his offence, after he had received from him a profession of attachment as strong and as frequently repeated as his former denial of him (John xxi. 15-18). From these notices it is easy to gather a tolerably correct conception of the predominating features of the apostle's character up to this period. He seems to have been a man of undoubted piety, of ardent attachment to his Master, and of great zeal for what he deemed his Master's honour; but, at the same time, with a mind rather quick than accurate in its apprehensions, and with feelings rather hasty in their impulse than determined and continuous in their exercise. Hence his readiness in avowing his opinions, and his rashness in forming them; and hence also the tendency which beset his honest openness to degenerate into bravado, and his determinations of valour to evaporate into cowardice at appalling forms of danger. His fall, however, and his subsequent restoration, connected as these were with the mysterious events of his Master's crucifixion and resurrection, and with the new light which had by them been cast around his character and work, produced a powerful change for the better upon the apostle's mind. From this time forward he comes before us under a new aspect. A sober dignity and firmness of purpose have displaced his former hasty zeal; sagacity and prudence characterise his conduct; and whilst his love to his Master shows no symptom of abatement, it displays itself rather in active labour and much-enduring patience in his service, than in loud protestations or extravagant exhibitions of attachment. In the subsequent Scripture history he is presented to us as the courageous herald of the kingdom of Christ, by whose mouth the first public declaration of salvation through the crucified Jesus was made to the people; by whose advice and counsel the early churches were planted and governed; and by whom the prejudices of Judaism were first fairly surmounted, and the gospel preached in all its universal freeness to the Gentile world. The Acts of the Apostles contain recitals of many interesting incidents which befell him whilst engaged in these efforts. Of these, the chief are his imprisonment and trial before the Sanhedrim for preaching Christ, and his bold avowal of his determination to persist in that work (Acts iv. 1-22); his miraculously inflicting the punishment of death on the infatuated couple who had dared to try an experiment upon the omniscience of the Holy Ghost (v. 1-11); his visit to Samaria, and rebuke of Simon Magus, who deemed that the miracles of the apostle were the result of some deep magic spell of which he had not yet become possessed, and which, consequently, he was desirous of purchasing from Peter (viii. 14-24); the vision by which he was taught that the ancient ritual distinctions between clean and unclean had been abolished, and thereby prepared to attend on the summons of Cornelius, to whom he preached the gospel (x. 1-48); his apprehension by Herod Agrippa, and his deliverance by the interposition of an angel, who opened for him the doors of his prison, and set him free (xii. 3-19); and his address to the council at Jerusalem, on the occasion of a request for advice and direction being sent to the



church there by the church in Antioch, in which he advocated the exemption of Gentile converts from the ceremonial institutes of the law of Moses (xv. 6-11). In all these incidents we trace the evidences of his mind having undergone an entire change, both as to its views of truth and impressions of duty, from what is displayed by the earlier events of his history. On one occasion only do we detect something of his former weakness, and that, strangely enough, in regard to a matter in which he had been the first of the apostles to perceive, and the first to recommend and follow, a correct course of procedure. The occasion referred to was his withdrawing, through dread of the censures of his Jewish brethren, from the Gentiles at Antioch, after having lived in free and friendly intercourse with them, and his timidly dissembling his convictions as to the religious equality of Jew and Gentile. For this Paul withstood him to the face, and rebuked him sharply, because of the injury which his conduct was calculated to produce to the cause of Christianity. With this single exception, however, his conduct seems to have been in full accordance with the name which his Master had prophetically bestowed on him when he called him Simon the Rock, and with the position which Paul himself assigns him, at the very time that he recounts his temporary dereliction, as one of 'the pillars of the church' (Gal. ii. 9, 14).

Thus far we are enabled, from the inspired documents, to trace the history of this apostle; but for what remains we must be indebted to evidence of a less explicit and certain character. Ecclesiastical tradition asserts that he performed an extensive missionary tour throughout those districts, to the converts in which his epistles are addressed. 'Peter,' says Origen, 'appears to have preached to the Jews in the dispersion, in Pontus, Galatia, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Asia' (*In Genesis*, tom. iii.; Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* iii. 1. 4). This tradition, however, though deriving some countenance from 1 Pet. v. 13, is very uncertain; even Origen, in adducing it, speaks doubtfully (*κεκρυμέναι ἔσκειν*). The fact that no allusion appears in his epistles to any personal acquaintance on the part of the apostle with those to whom they are addressed, militates strongly against its authenticity. Another tradition reports the apostle as having towards the close of his life visited Rome, become bishop of the church in that city, and suffered martyrdom in the persecution raised against the Christians by Nero. The importance of these points in connection with the claims urged by the Catholics on behalf of the supremacy of the pope, has led to a careful and sifting examination of the accuracy of this tradition; the result of which seems to be, that whilst it is admitted as *certain* that Peter suffered martyrdom, in all probability by crucifixion (Tertullian, *De Præscript.*, 36; Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, c. ii.), and as *probable* that this took place at Rome, it has, nevertheless, been made pretty clear that he never was for any length of time resident in that city, and morally certain that he never was bishop of the church there (Barrow, *On the Pope's Supremacy*; *Works*, vii. 207, ff., Lond. 1831; Cave's *Life of St. Peter*, sec. 11; Campbell, *Eccles. Hist.* lect. xii.; Neander, *Gesch. d. Pflanz. und Leit. u. s. w.*, ii. 474; Winer, *Real-Wörterb.*, in 'Petrus'; Ellendorf, *Ist Petrus in Rom gewesen*, Darmst. 1841; Wieseler, *Chronol. des Apost. Zeit*, p. 552 ff., etc.) By some an attempt has been made to

obtain the support of the apostle's own testimony in favour of his having at one period resided at Rome, by interpreting the words, 'the church that is at *Babylon*,' the salutations of which he sends to those to whom he wrote his first epistle, as applying to the church at *Rome*; an attempt which Dr. Campbell justly stigmatizes as 'poor, not to call it ridiculous.' Even if we admit that at the time when this epistle was written it was understood amongst the Christians that *Babylon* was the prophetic name for *Rome*—an admission, however, which is entirely unsupported by evidence—it would remain unexplained why the apostle, in such a mere matter-of-fact affair as the communication of the friendly salutations of one church to another, should have employed the obscure and symbolical language of prophecy, when his meaning could have been so much more distinctly conveyed by a simple statement. This would be the more inexplicable, that the style of Peter is remarkably plain and perspicuous throughout the entire epistle. It seems much more consistent, therefore, with rational principles of interpretation, to understand the statement literally of the Assyrian *Babylon*, in which city, as we learn from Josephus, there was a great multitude of Jews (*ἐνθα καὶ πλῆθος ἦν Ἰουδαίων*, *Antiq.* xv. 2. 2; see also c. 3. 1), and to which, consequently, it is probable that at some period of his life 'the apostle of the circumcision' (Gal. ii. 8) must have paid a visit. Some have suggested that *Babylon* in Egypt is probably intended; but this is set aside by the fact, that at this time the Egyptian *Babylon* was nothing more than a Roman fort (*Strabo*, xvii. 1).

The assertion that Peter was bishop of Rome is connected with another, by which the claims of the papacy are sought to be established, namely, that to him was conceded a right of supremacy over the other apostles. In support of this, an appeal is made to those passages in the Gospels where declarations supposed to imply the bestowal of peculiar honour and distinction on Peter are recorded as having been addressed to him by our Lord. The most important of these are: 'Thou art Peter, and on this rock will I build my church' (Matt. xvi. 18); and, 'Unto thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven,' etc. (Matt. xvi. 19). At first sight these passages would seem to bear out the assumption founded on them; but, upon a more careful investigation, it will be seen that this is rather in appearance than in reality. The force of both is greatly impaired for the purpose for which Catholics produce them, by the circumstance, that whatever of power or authority they may be supposed to confer upon Peter, must be regarded as shared by him with the other apostles, inasmuch as to them also are ascribed in other passages the same qualities and powers which are promised to Peter in those under consideration. If by the former of these passages we are to understand that the church is built upon Peter, the apostle Paul informs us that it is not on him *alone* that it is built, but upon *all* the apostles (Ephes. ii. 20); and in the book of Revelation we are told, that on the twelve foundations of the New Jerusalem (the Christian church) are inscribed 'the names of the *twelve apostles of the Lamb*' (xxi. 14). As for the declaration in the latter of these passages, it was in all its essential parts repeated by our Lord to the other disciples immediately before his passion, as announcing a privilege which, as his apostles, they were to pos-



sess in common (Matt. xviii. 18; John xx. 23). It is, moreover, uncertain in what sense our Lord used the language in question. In both cases his words are metaphorical; and nothing can be more unsafe than to build a theological dogma upon language of which the meaning is not clear, and to which, from the earliest ages, different interpretations have been affixed. And finally, even granting the correctness of that interpretation which Catholics put upon these verses, it will not bear out the conclusion they would deduce from them, inasmuch as the judicial supremacy of Peter over the other apostles does not necessarily follow from his possessing authority over the church. On the other side, it is certain that there is no instance on record of the apostle's having ever claimed or exercised this supposed power; but, on the contrary, he is oftener than once represented as submitting to an exercise of power upon the part of others, as when, for instance, he went forth as a messenger from the apostles assembled in Jerusalem to the Christians in Samaria (Acts viii. 14), and when he received a rebuke from Paul, as already noticed. This circumstance is so fatal, indeed, to the pretensions which have been urged in favour of his supremacy over the other apostles, that from a very early age attempts have been made to set aside its force, by the hypothesis that it is not of Peter the apostle, but of another person of the same name, that Paul speaks in the passage referred to (Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* i. 13). This hypothesis, however, is so plainly contradicted by the words of Paul, who explicitly ascribes apostleship to the Peter of whom he writes, that it is astonishing how it could have been admitted even by the most blinded zealots (vers. 8, 9). Whilst, however, it is pretty well established that Peter enjoyed no judicial supremacy over the other apostles, it would, perhaps, be going too far to affirm that no dignity or primacy whatsoever was conceded to him on the part of his brethren. His superiority in point of age, his distinguished personal excellence, his reputation and success as a teacher of Christianity, and the prominent part which he had ever taken in his Master's affairs, both before his death and after his ascension, furnished sufficient grounds for his being raised to a position of respect and of moral influence in the church and amongst his brother apostles. To this some countenance is given by the circumstances that he is called 'the first' (πρῶτος) by Matthew (x. 2), and this apparently not merely as a numerical, but as an honorary distinction; that when the apostles are mentioned as a body, it is frequently by the phrase, 'Peter and the eleven,' or, 'Peter and the rest of the apostles,' or something similar; and that when Paul went up to Jerusalem by divine revelation, it was to Peter particularly that the visit was paid. These circumstances, taken in connection with the prevalent voice of Christian antiquity, would seem to authorise the opinion that Peter occupied some such position as that of προεστῶς, or president in the apostolical college, but without any power or authority of a judicial kind over his brother apostles.

Besides the two epistles which form part of the canonical Scriptures [see next article] there were in the Apocryphal literature of the church several works ascribed to St. Peter. Eusebius mentions (*Hist. Eccles.* iii. 3) four works of this class; his Εὐαγγέλιον, his Ἰπράξεις, his Κήρυγμα, and his Ἀποκάλυψις. Of these the Κήρυγμα and the Ἀποκάλυψις are cited by Clem. Alex. (*Strom.*

vi. 5. 42; vi. 48; *Hypotypos* ap. Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 14; and in Theodoti *Epitom.*, appended to the *Stromata*). The Apocalypse is mentioned also in the *Canon Muratori*, sec. 310; Origen (*Expos. in Joann. Ev.*, tom. xiii.) mentions the Κήρυγμα, and speaks also of a διδάχη of Peter (*De Princ.* praef. 8). In addition to the above Jerome names *Judicium Petri* (*Catal. S.E.*); and Epiphanius names Περύδοι Πέτρον, as a book among the Ebionites (*Haeres.* xxx. 15). It is probable that several of these are only different names of the same book (Schwegler, *Nach-apost. Zeitalt.*, ii. 30). St. Peter is the great hero of the pseudo-Clementine literature, where he is exalted at the expense of St. Paul (Schliemann, *Die Clementinen nebst den verwandten Schriften*, 1814). Among other legends which have come down to us concerning St. Peter is that relating to his contention at Rome with Simon Magus. This seems to have no better foundation than a misunderstanding of an inscription by Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. c. 26). [SIMON MAGUS.]

The tradition of Peter's being crucified with his head downward is probably also to be relegated to the regions of the fabulous. Tertullian, who is the first to mention Peter's crucifixion, says simply (*De Praescr. Haeres.*, 36), 'Petrus passioni Dominicae adaequatur;' which would rather lead to the conclusion that he was crucified in the usual way, as our Lord was. The next witness is Origen, whose words are: ἀνεσκολοπίσθη κατὰ κεφαλῆς οὕτως αὐτὸς ἀζώσας παθεῖν (Ap. Euseb. *H. E.*, iii. 1); and these are generally cited as intimating the peculiarity traditionally ascribed to the mode of Peter's crucifixion. But do the words really intimate this? Allowing that the verb may mean 'was crucified,' can κατὰ κεφαλῆς mean 'with the head downwards?' No instance, we believe, can be adduced which would justify such a translation. The combination κατὰ κεφαλῆς occurs both in classical and biblical Greek (cf. Plato, *Rep.*, iii., p. 398; Plut. *Apopht. de Scipione Jun.*, 13; Mark xiv. 3; 1 Cor. xi. 4), but in every case it means, 'upon the head' (comp. κατὰ κόρην πατάξαι, Lucian, *Gall.*, c. 30, and κατὰ κόρην παλεῖν, *Catal.*, c. 12). According to analogy, therefore, Origen's words should mean, that the apostle was impaled, or fastened to the cross upon, i. e. by, the head. When Eusebius has to mention the crucifying of martyrs with the head downwards, he says distinctly οἱ δὲ ἀνάπαλιν κατωκάρᾳ προσηλωθέντες (*H. E.*, viii. 8). It is probably to a misunderstanding of Origen's words that this story is to be traced; and it is curious to see how it grows as it advances. First, we have Origen's vague and doubtful statement above quoted; then we have Eusebius's more precise statement: Πέτρος κατὰ κεφαλῆς σταυροῦνται (*Dem. Ev.*, iii. p. 116, c.); and at length, in the hands of Jerome, it expands into 'Affixus cruci martyrio coronatus est capite ad terram verso et in sublime pedibus elevatus, ascrens se indignum qui sic crucifigeretur ut Dominus suus' (*Catal. Script. Eccles.*, i.) (Campbell, *Eccles. Hist.*, lect. v. and xiii.; Barrow, *ubi sup.*, etc.; Eichhorn, *Einleit.* iii. 599; Hug. *Introd.* p. 635; Fosdick's tr.; Horne, *Introd.*, iv. 432; Lardner, *Works*, vols. iv. v. vi., ed. 1788; Cave, *Antiquitates Apostolicae*; Davidson, *Introduction to N. T.*, iii.; Neander, *Apostol. Zeitalt.*; Lange, *Apost. Zeitalt.*; and Weiss, *Petrin. Lehrbegriff*, etc.)—W. L. A.



PETER, FIRST EPISTLE OF.—*Genuineness and Canonicity*.—This epistle found an early place in the canon by universal consent. The other epistle, by calling itself *θεντέρα*, refers to it as an earlier document (2 Peter iii. 1). Polycarp, in his Epistle to the Philippians, often uses it, quoting many clauses, and some whole verses, as 1 Peter i. 13, 21, in chapter ii.; iii. 9, in chap. v.; ii. 11, in chap. vi.; iv. 7, in chap. vi.; and ii. 21-24, in chap. viii., etc. It is to be observed, however, that in no case does this father refer to Peter by name, but he simply cites the places as from some document of acknowledged authority; so that Eusebius notes it as characteristic of his epistle, that Polycarp used those citations from the First Epistle of Peter as *μαρτυρίαι* (*Hist. Eccles.* iv. 14). The same historian relates of Papias, that in his *Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις*, he, in a similar way, used *μαρτυρίαι* from this epistle (*Hist. Eccles.* iii. 39). Irenæus quotes it expressly and by name, with the common formula, *et Petrus ait* (*Hær.* iv. 9, 2), citing 1 Pet. i. 8; using the same quotation similarly introduced in *do.*, v. 7. 2; and again, *et propter hoc Petrus ait*, citing 1 Pet. ii. 16; *do.* iv. 16. 5. Other quotations, without mention of the apostle's name, may be found, *do.* iii. 16. 9, and iv. 20. 2, etc. Quotations abound in Clement of Alexandria, headed with *ὁ Πέτρος λέγει* or *φησὶν ὁ Πέτρος*. These occur both in his *Stromata* and *Paedag.*, and need not be specified. Quotations are abundant also in Origen, certifying the authorship by the words *παρὰ τῷ Πιτρῷ*; and, according to Eusebius, he calls this epistle *μὴν ἐπιστολὴν δημολογουμένην* (Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.*, vi. 25). The quotations in Origen's works need not be dwelt upon. In the letter of the churches of Vienne and Lyons, A. D. 177, there is distinct use made of 1 Pet. v. 6. Theophilus of Antioch, A. D. 181, quotes these terms of 1 Pet. iv. 3—*ἀνεμύταις εἰδωλολατρείαις*. Tertullian's testimony is quite as distinct. In the short tract *Scorpice* this epistle is quoted nine times, the preface in one place being *Petrus quidem ad Ponticos* (*Scorp.* xii.), quoting 1 Pet. ii. 20. Eusebius himself says of it, *Πέτρον . . . ἀνωμολόγηται* (*Hist. Eccles.*, iii. 25). It is also found in the Peshito which admitted only three of the catholic epistles. See Mayerhoff, *Einleitung in die Petrin. Schriften*, p. 139, etc.

In the canon published by Muratori this epistle is not found. In this fragment occurs the clause, *Apocalypses etiam Johannis et Petri tantum recipimus*. Wieseler, laying stress on *etiam*, would bring out this meaning—in addition to the epistles of Peter and John we also receive their Revelations; or also of Peter we receive as much as of John, two epistles and an apocalypse. But the interpretation is not admissible. Rather with Bleek may the omission be ascribed to the fragmentary character of the document (*Einleit. in das N. T.*, p. 643; Hilgenfeld, *der Canon und die Kritik des N. T.*, p. 43, Halle 1863). Other modes of reading and explaining the obscure sentence have been proposed. Hug alters the punctuation: *Apocalypsis etiam Johannis. Et Petri tantum recipimus*; certainly the *tantum* gives some plausibility to the emendation. Believing that the barbarous Latin is but a version from the Greek, he thus restores the original *καὶ Πέτρον μόνον παραδεχόμεθα*, and then asks *μόνον* to be changed into *μονήν*—an alteration which of course brings out the conclusion wanted (*Einleit.*, sec. 19). Guericke's effort

is not more satisfactory. Thiersch, with more violence, changes *tantum* into *unam epistolam*, and *quam quidem* in the following clause into *alteram quidem*. This document, so imperfect in form and barbarous in style, is probably indeed a translation from the Greek, and it can have no authority against decided and general testimony (see the canon in Routh's *Reliquiæ Sacrae*, vol. i. 396, edited with notes from Freindall's *Commentatio*, London 1862). Nor is it of any importance whether the words of Leontius imply that this epistle was repudiated by Theodore of Mopsuestia, and if the Paulicians rejected it, Petrus Siculus gives the true reason—they were *perissime adversus illum affecti*—personal prejudice being implied in their very name (*Hist. Manich.* p. 17).

In later times, the genuineness of the epistle has been impugned, as by Cludius in his *Ursichten des Christenthums*, p. 296, Altona 1808. He imagined the author to have been a Jewish Christian of Asia Minor, and his general objection was that the similarity in doctrine and style to Paul was too great to warrant the belief of independent authorship. His objections were exposed and answered by Augusti in a program, Jena 1808, and by Bertholdt, *Einleit.*, vol. vi. sec. 667. Eichhorn, however, took up the theory of Cludius so far as to maintain that as to material Peter is the author, but that Mark is the actual writer. De Wette also throws out similar objections, hinting that the author may have been a follower of Paul who had been brought into close attendance upon Peter. While there is a similarity between the thoughts and style of Peter and Paul, there is at the same time a marked individuality, and there are also many special characteristics, in this first epistle.

And, first, as proof of its genuineness, there is a peculiar and natural similarity between this epistle and the speeches of Peter as given in the Acts of the Apostles. Not to mention similarity in mould of doctrine and array of facts, there is resemblance in style. Thus Acts v. 30, x. 39, 1 Pet. ii. 24, in the allusion to the crucifixion and the use of *ξύλον*, the tree or cross; Acts ii. 32, iii. 15, 1 Pet. v. 1, in the peculiar use of *μάρτυς*; Acts iii. 18, x. 43, 1 Pet. i. 10, in the special connection of the old prophets with Christ and his work; Acts x. 42, 1 Pet. iv. 5, in the striking phrase, 'judge quick and dead'; Acts iii. 16, 1 Pet. i. 21, in the clauses *ἡ πίστις ἢ δι' αὐτοῦ—τοὺς δι' αὐτοῦ πιστοὺς*; and in the mode of quotation (Acts iv. 2; 1 Pet. ii. 7). Certain favourite terms occur also—*ἀναστροφὴ*, and *ἀγαθοποιεῖν* with its cognates and opposites. There are over fifty words peculiar to himself in this brief document, nearly all of them compounds—as if in his profound anxiety to express his thoughts as he felt them, he had employed the first, and to him at the moment the fittest terms which occurred. He has such phrases as *ἐλπίς ζωῆς*, i. 3; *συνειδήσις θεοῦ*, ii. 19; *σφύρες διανοίας*, i. 13; *φίλημα ἀγάπης*, v. 14. The nouns *δόξα*, i. 11, and *ἀρεταί*, ii. 9, occur in the plural. He uses *εἰς* before a personal accusative no less than four times in the first chapter. The article is often separated from its noun, iii. 2, 3, 19; iv. 2, 5, 8, 12. Peter has also a greater proneness than Paul to repetition—to reproduce the same idea in somewhat similar terms—as if he had felt it needless to search for a mere change of words when a similar thought was waiting for immediate utterance. Compare i. 6-9 with iv. 12, 13; ii. 12 with iii. 16, iv. 4; iv. 7 with



v. 8. And there are in the epistle distinct and original thoughts—special exhibitions of the great facts and truths of the gospel which the apostle looked at from his own point of view, and applied as he deemed best to a practical purpose. Thus the visit of Christ ‘to the spirits in prison’ (iii. 19); the typical connection of the deluge with baptism; the desire of the old prophets to study and know the times and the blessings of the gospel—are not only Petrine in form, but are solitary statements in Scripture. Thus, too, the apostle brings out into peculiar relief regeneration by the ‘word of God,’ the ‘royal priesthood’ of believers, and the qualities of the future ‘inheritance,’ etc.

Again, in phrases and ideas which in the main are similar to those of Paul, there is in Peter usually some mark of difference. Where there might have been sameness, the result of imitation, there is only similarity, the token of original thought. For example, Paul says (Rom. vi. 10, 11)—*ζῆν τῷ θεῷ*; Peter says (ii. 24)—*ζῆν τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ*. The former writes (Rom. vi. 2)—*ἀποθνήσκει τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ*; the latter (ii. 24)—*ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἀπογίνεσθαι*. Besides, as Brückner remarks, the representation in these last clauses is different—death to sin in the passage from Romans being the result of union with the sufferings and death of Christ, while in Peter it is the result of Christ’s doing away sin (Sündenvernichtung, De Wette, *Erklärung*, ed. Brückner, p. 9). So, too, the common contrast in Paul is *σὰρξ* and *πνεῦμα*, but in Peter *πνεῦμα* and *ψυχὴ*; *ἐκλογὴ* is connected in Paul with *χάρις*, or it stands absolutely; but in Peter it is joined to *πρόβρωσις*; government is with the first *τοῦ θεοῦ διαταγή*, Rom. xiii. 2; but with the second it is *ἀνθρωπινῇ κτίσις*, ii. 13; the expression with the one is *καὶνὸς ἄνθρωπος*, Ephes. iv. 24; but with the other *ὁ κρυπτὸς ἄνθρωπος*, iii. 4; what is called *ἀφορμή* in Gal. v. 13 is named *ἐπικάλυμμα* 1 Pet. ii. 16, etc. Now, not to insist longer on this similarity with variance, it may be remarked that for many of the terms employed by them, both apostles had a common source in the Septuagint. The words found there and already halloved by religious use were free to both of them, and their acquaintance with the LXX. must have tended to produce some resemblance in their own style. Among such terms are *ἀγνώστια*, *δωρεῖα*, *εὐσπλαγχνος*, *καταλαλία*, *ὑπερέχειν*, *φρουρεῖν*, *χορηγεῖν* (compare Mayerhoff, *Histor. Crit. Einleitung in d. Petrin. Schrift.*, pp. 107-8). That two apostles, in teaching the same system of divine truth, should agree in many of their representations, and even in their words, is not to be wondered at, since the terminology must soon have acquired a definite form, and certain expressions must have become current through constant usage. But in cases where such similarity between Peter and Paul occurs, there is ever a difference of view or of connection; and though both may refer to ideas so common as are named by *ὑπακοή*, *δόξα*, or *κληρονομία*, there is always something to show Peter’s independent use of the terms. One with his ‘beloved brother Paul’ in the general view of the truth, he has something peculiar to himself in the introduction and illustration of it. The Petrine type is as distinct as the Pauline—it bears its own unmistakable style and character. The Galilean fisherman has an individuality quite as recognisable as the pupil of Gamaliel.

And to show how baseless is the objection drawn from Peter’s supposed dependence on Paul,

it may be added that similarity in some cases may be traced between Peter and John. In many respects Paul and John are utterly unlike, yet Peter occasionally resembles both, though it is not surmised that he was an imitator of the beloved disciple. Such accidental resemblance to two styles of thought so unlike in themselves, is surely proof of his independence of both, for he stands mid-way, as it were, between the objectivity of Paul and the subjectivity of John; inclining sometimes to the one side, and sometimes to the other, and occasionally combining both peculiarities of thought. Thus, one may compare 1 Pet. i. 22 with 1 John iii. 3 in the use of *ἀγνίζω*; 1 Pet. i. 23 with 1 John iii. 9 in the similar use of *σπορᾶς* and *σπέρμα*, denoting the vital germ out of which regeneration springs; 1 Pet. v. 2 with John x. 16 in the use of *ποιμὴν*; 1 Pet. iii. 18 and 1 John iii. 7 in the application of the epithet *δικαίος* to Christ; 1 Pet. iii. 18, John i. 29, in calling him *ἀμνός*. Such similarities only prove independent authorship. In the resemblances to James, which are sometimes adduced, the chief similarity consists in the use of O. T. quotations. Thus compare 1 Pet. i. 24 with James i. 10; ii. 5, with James iv. 6, 10; iv. 8 with James v. 20. What, then, do these more frequent resemblances to Paul, and the fewer to John and James prove? not, with De Wette, the dependence of Peter on Paul; nor, with Weiss, the dependence of Paul on Peter (*Der Petrin. Lehrbeg.*, p. 374); but that Peter, in teaching similar truths, occasionally employs similar terms; while the surrounding illustration is so various and significant that such similarity can be called neither tame reiteration nor unconscious reminiscence. With much that is common in creed, there is more that is distinctive in utterance, originating in difference of spiritual temperament, or moulded by the adaptation of truth to the inner or outer condition of the churches for whom this epistle was designed.

But apart from the style and language of the epistle, objections have been brought against it by Schwegler, who alleges the want of special occasion for writing it, and the consequent generality of the contents (*Das Nachapostol. Zeital.*, ii. p. 7). The reply is that the epistle bears upon its front such a purpose as well suits the vocation of an apostle. Nor is there in it, as we have seen, that want of individuality which Schwegler next alleges. It bears upon it the stamp of its author’s fervent spirit; nor does its use of O. T. imagery and allusions belie his functions as the apostle of the circumcision (Wiesinger, *Einl.* 21). If there be the want of close connection of thought, as Schwegler also asserts, is not this want of logical sequence and symmetry quite in keeping with the antecedents of him who had been trained in no school of human learning? Nor is it any real difficulty to say that Peter in the East could not have become acquainted with the later epistles of Paul. For in various ways might Peter have known Paul’s epistles; and granting that there is a resemblance to some of the earlier of them, there is little or none to the latest of them. Schwegler holds that the epistle alludes to the persecution under Nero, during which Peter suffered, and that therefore his writing it at Babylon is inconsistent with his martyrdom at the same period at Rome. The objection, however, takes for granted what is denied. It is a sufficient reply to say that the persecution referred to was not, or may not have been, the Neronian persecution, and



that the apostle was not put to death at the supposed period of Nero's reign. There is not in the epistle any direct allusion to actual persecution; the *ἀπολογία* (iii. 15) is not a formal answer to a public accusation, for it is to be given to every one asking it (Huther, *Kritisch Exegetisch Handbuch über den 1. Brief des Petrus*, Einleit., p. 27). The epistle in all its leading features is in unison with what it professes to be—an earnest and practical letter from one whose heart was set on the well-being of the churches, one who may have read many of Paul's letters and thanked God for them—and who, in addressing the churches himself, clothes his thoughts in language the readiest and most natural to him, without any timid selection or refusal of words and phrases which others may have used before him.

*Place and Time.*—The place is indicated in v. 13, in the clause ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἐν βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτή. Babylon is named as the place where the apostle was when he wrote the epistle, as he sends this salutation from it, on the part of a woman, as Mayerhoff, Neander, Alford, and others suppose; or on the part of a church, as is the opinion of the majority. It is remarkable, however, that from early times Babylon has been taken to signify Rome. This opinion is ascribed by Eusebius on report to Papias and Clement of Alexandria (*Hist. Eccles.*, ii. 15). Jerome and Ecumenius also held it. In later times it has been espoused by Grotius, Cave, Lardner, Hengstenberg, Windischmann, Wiesinger, Baur, Thiersch, Schott (*der 1. Brief Pet. Erklärt.*, p. 346, Erlangen 1861), and Hofmann (*Schriftb.* i. 201). But why discover a mystical sense in a name set down as the place of writing an epistle? There is no more reason for doing this than for assigning a like significance to the geographical names in i. 1. How could his readers discover the church at Rome to be meant by ἡ συνεκλεκτή in Babylon? And if Babylon do signify a hostile spiritual power, as in the Apocalypse (xviii. 21), then it is strange that Catholic critics as a body should adopt such a meaning here and admit by implication the ascription of this character to their spiritual metropolis. Dr. Brown of Edinburgh puts a somewhat parallel case—'Our own city is sometimes called Athens from its situation, and from its being a seat of learning; but it would not do to argue that a letter came from Edinburgh because it is dated from Athens' (*Expository discourses on 1st Peter*, vol. i. p. 548).

Some, again, think that Babylon may mean a place of that name in Egypt. Of this opinion are Le Clerc, Mill, Pearson, Pott, Burton, Greswell, and Hug. Strabo (*Geog.*, xvii. 1. 30) calls it not a town, but a strong fortress built by refugees from Babylon, and a garrison for one of the three legions guarding Egypt. The opinion that this small encampment is the Babylon of our epistle has certainly little plausibility. It is equally strange to suppose it to be Ctesiphon or Seleucis; and stranger still to imagine that Babylon represents Jerusalem, as is maintained by Cappellus, Spanheim, Harduin, and Semler. The natural interpretation is to take Babylon as the name of the well-known city. We have indeed no record of any missionary journey of Peter into Chaldaea, for but little of Peter's later life is given us in the N. T. But we know that many Jews inhabited Babylon—οὗ γὰρ ὄλγοι μυριάδες, according to Josephus—and was not such a spot, to a great extent a

Jewish colony or settlement, likely to attract the apostle of the circumcision? Lardner's principal argument, that the terms of the injunction to loyal obedience (ii. 13, 14) imply that Peter was within the bounds of the Roman empire, proves nothing; for as Davidson remarks—'The phrase, 'the king,' in a letter written by a person in one country to a person in another, may mean the king either of the person writing, or of him to whom the letter is written.' Granting that the Parthian empire had its own government, he is writing to persons in other provinces under Roman jurisdiction, and he enjoins them to obey the emperor as supreme, and the various governors sent by him for purposes of local administration. Moreover, as has been often observed, the countries of the persons addressed in the epistle (i. 1) are enumerated in the order in which a person writing from Babylon would naturally arrange them, beginning with those lying nearest to him, and passing in circuit to those in the west and the south, at the greatest distance from him. The natural meaning of the designation Babylon is held by Erasmus, Calvin, Beza, Lightfoot, Wieseler, Mayerhoff, Bengel, De Wette, Bleek, and perhaps the majority of modern critics.

But if Peter wrote from Babylon on the Euphrates, at what period was the epistle written? The epistle itself contains no materials for fixing a precise date. It does not by its allusions clearly point to the Neronian persecution; it rather speaks of evil and danger suffered now, but with more in prospect. Suffering was endured and was also impending, and yet those who lived a quiet and blameless life might escape it, though certainly trials for righteousness' sake are implied and virtually predicted. About the year 60 the dark elements of Nero's character began to develop themselves, and after this epoch the epistle was written. The churches addressed in it were mostly planted by Paul, and it is therefore thought by some that Paul must have been deceased ere Peter would find it his duty to address them. Paul was put to death about 67 A.D.; but such a date would be too late for our epistle, as time would not, on such a hypothesis, be left for the apostle's going to Rome, according to old tradition, and for his martyrdom in that city. It may be admitted that Peter would not have intruded into Paul's sphere had Paul been free to write to, or labour in, the provinces specified. Still it may be supposed that Paul may have withdrawn to some more distant field of labour, or may have been suffering imprisonment at Rome. Davidson places the date in 63; Alford between 63 and 67. If the Mark of v. 13 be of whom Paul speaks as being with him in Rome (Coloss. iv. 10), then we know that he was purposing an immediate journey to Asia Minor; and we learn from 2 Tim. iv. 11 that he had not returned when this last of Paul's epistles was written. It is surely not impossible for him to have gone in this interval to Peter at Babylon; and as he must have personally known the churches addressed by Peter, his salutation was naturally included by the apostle. Sylvanus—by whom the apostle was sent, if the same with the Sylvanus mentioned in the greetings 1 Thess. i. 1; 2 Thess. i. 1—seems to have left Paul before the epistles to Corinth were written. He may have in some way become connected with Peter, and as the Silas of the Acts, he was acquainted with many of the



churches to whom this epistle was sent. The terms, 'a faithful brother as I suppose,' 'the faithful brother as I reckon,' do not imply any doubt of his character, but are only an additional recommendation to one whose companionship with Paul must have been known in the provinces enumerated by Peter.

But Schwegler ascribes the epistle to a later period—to the age of Trajan; and of course denies its apostolic authorship (*Nachapostol. Zeitalt.*, ii. 22). The arguments, however, for so late a date are very inconclusive. He first of all assumes that its language does not tally with the facts of the Neronian persecution, and that the tone is unimpassioned (*leidenschaftlose Ton*)—that Christians were charged with definite crime under Nero—that his persecution did not extend beyond Rome—that it was tumultuary, and not, as this epistle supposes, conducted by regular processes, *unter rechtlichen Formen*, and that the general condition of believers in Asia Minor, as depicted in the epistle, suits the age of Trajan better than that of Nero. The reply is obvious—that the tranquillity of tone in this epistle would be remarkable under any persecution, for it is that of calm heroic endurance, which trusts in an unseen arm and has hopes undimmed by death; that the persecution of Christians simply for the name which they bore was not an irrational ferocity peculiar to Trajan's time; that in the provinces Christians were always exposed to popular fury and irregular magisterial condemnation; that there is no allusion to judicial trial in the epistle, for the word *ἀπολογία* does not imply it; and that the sufferings of Christians in Asia Minor as referred to or predicted do not agree with the recorded facts in Pliny's letter, for according to it they were by a formal investigation and sentence doomed to death (Huther, *1st Peter, Einleit.*, p. 28). The persecutions referred to in this epistle are rather such as Christians have always to encounter in heathen countries from an ignorant mob easily stirred to violence, and where the civil power, though inclined to toleration in theory, is yet swayed by strong prejudices, and prone, from position and policy, to favour and protect the dominant superstition.

*Persons for whom the Epistle was addressed.*—From some expressions in the epistle many have thought that it was meant for Jewish Christians. The words of the salutation are—*ἐκλεκτοῖς παρ' ἐξ ἡμῶν διασπορᾶς Πόντου*, etc.—'to the elect strangers of the dispersion,' etc. Viewed by themselves the words seem to refer to Jews—*διασπορά* being often employed to designate Jews living out of Palestine. This opinion is held by many of the fathers, as Eusebius, Jerome, and Theophylact, and by Erasmus, Calvin, Beza, Grotius, Bengel, Hug, and Pott. A modification of this extreme view is maintained by Gerhard, Wolf, Jachmann, and Weiss, viz., that Jewish converts were chiefly regarded in the mass of Gentile believers. The arguments of Weiss need not be repeated, and they are well met by Huther, *1st Peter, Einleit.*, p. 21. But there are many things in the epistle quite irreconcilable with the idea of its being meant either solely or principally for Jewish believers. He tells his readers that 'sufficient was the past for them to have wrought out the will of the Gentiles—as indeed ye walked in lasciviousness, wine-bibbing, revellings, drinking-bouts, and forbidden idolatries'—sins all of them, and the last particularly, which

specially characterised the heathen world. Similarly does he speak (i. 14) of 'former lusts in your ignorance;' (iii. 6), of Sarah 'whose daughters ye have become'—*ἐγενήθητε*—they being not so by birth or blood. In ii. 9, 10, they are said to be 'called out of darkness,' to have been 'in time past not a people, but now the people of God.' The last words, referring originally to Israel, had been already applied by Paul to Gentile believers in Rom. ix. 25. The term *διασπορά* may be used in a spiritual sense, and such a use is warranted by other clauses of the epistle—i. 17, 'the time of your sojourning;' ii. 11, 'strangers and pilgrims.' Peter, whose prepossessions had been so Jewish, and whose soul moved so much in the sphere of Jewish ideas from his very function as the apostle of the circumcision, instinctively employs national terms in that new and enlarged spiritual meaning which, through their connection with Christianity, they had come to bear. Besides, the history of the origin of these churches in Asia Minor shows that they were composed to a large extent of Gentile believers. Many of them may have been proselytes, though, as Wieseler has shown, it is wrong in Michaelis, Credner, and Neudecker, to apply to such exclusively the terms in the address of this epistle. Nor is it at all a likely thing that Peter should have selected one portion of these churches and written alone or mainly to them. The provinces (i. 1) included the churches in Galatia which are not named in Acts, as Ancyra and Pessinus, and the other communities in Iconium, Lystra, the Pisidian Antioch, Miletus, Colosse, Laodicea, Philadelphia, Thyatira, Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamus, Troas, etc. (Steiger, *Einl.*, sec. 6). That the persons addressed in the epistle were Gentiles is the view of Augustine, Luther, Wetstein, Steiger, Brückner, Mayerhoff, Wiesinger, Neander, Reuss, Schaff, and Huther.

*Contents and Characteristics.*—We need not occupy space in going over the general contents, which are patent to every reader. But a few distinctive features may be looked at. The churches addressed were in trials—such trials as the spirit of that age must necessarily have brought upon them (iii. 17; iv. 12-19). Those trials originated to some extent in their separation from the heathen amusements and dissoluteness in which they had mingled prior to their conversion (iv. 4, 5). They are exhorted to bear suffering patiently, and ever to remember the example, and endure in the spirit, of the Suffering One—the Righteous One who had suffered for them. And while affliction would come upon them in the present time, they are ever encouraged to look with joyous anticipation to the future. Peter indeed might be called the apostle of hope. Doctrine and consolation alike assume this form. The 'inheritance' is future, but its heirs are begotten to a 'living hope' (i. 3, 4). Their tried faith is found unto glory 'at the appearance of Jesus Christ' (i. 7). The 'end' of their faith is 'salvation' (i. 9), and they are to 'hope to the end for the grace to be brought at the revelation of Jesus Christ' (i. 13). Their ruling emotion is therefore 'the hope that is in them' (iii. 15); so much lying over in reserve for them in the future, their time here is only a 'sojourning' (i. 17); they were merely 'strangers and pilgrims' (ii. 11); nay, 'the end of all things is at hand' (iv. 7). Suffering was now, but joy was to come when his 'glory shall be revealed' (v. 1). In Christ's own experi-



ence as Prototype suffering led to glory (i. 11; iv. 13), the same connection the apostle applies to himself, and to faithful ministers (v. 1-4). There are also allusions to Christ's words, or rather reminiscences of them mingle with the apostle's thoughts. Compare i. 4 with Matt. xxv. 34; i. 8 with John xx. 29; i. 10 with Luke x. 24; i. 13 with Luke xii. 35; ii. 12 with Matt. v. 16; iii. 13-15 with Matt. v. 16, x. 28; v. 6 with Matt. xxxiii. 12, etc.

There were apparently some tendencies in those churches that required reproof—some temptations against which they needed to be warned, as 'former lusts,' 'fleshly lusts' (i. 14, 11); dark and envious feelings (ii. 1; iii. 8, 9); love of adornment on the part of women (iii. 3); and ambition and worldliness on the part of Christian teachers (v. 1-4). God's gracious and tender relationship to his people was a special feature of the old covenant, and Peter reproduces it under the new in its closer and more spiritual aspects (ii. 9, 10; iv. 17; v. 2). The old economy is neither eulogised nor disparaged, and no remark is made on its abolition, the reasons of it, or the good to the world springing out of it. The disturbing question of its relation to Gentile believers is not even glanced at. In his view it had passed away by its development into another and grander system, one with it in spirit, and at the same time the realisation of its oracles and types. His mind is saturated with O. T. imagery and allusions, but they are freely applied to the spiritual Israel, which, having always existed within the theocracy, had now burst the national barriers, and was to be found in all the believing communities, whatever their lineage or country. To him the Jewish economy was neither supplanted by a rival faith nor superseded by a sudden revolution; Israel had only put off its ceremonial, the badge of its immaturity and servitude, and now rejoiced in freedom and predicted blessing. What was said of the typical Israel may now be asserted with deeper truth of the spiritual Israel. But the change is neither argued from premises laid down nor vindicated against Jews or Judaizers, and the results of the new condition are not held up as matter of formal congratulation; they are only seized and put forward as recognised grounds of joy, patience, and hope. The Redeemer stood out to Jewish hope as the Messiah; so Peter rejoices in that appellation, calling him usually Jesus Christ, and often simply Christ (i. 11; ii. 21; iii. 16-18; iv. 1, 13, 14); and it is remarkable that in nearly all those places the simple name Christ is used in connection with his sufferings, to the idea of which the Jewish mind had been so hostile. The centre of the apostle's theology is the Redeemer, the medium of all spiritual blessing. The relation of his expiatory work to sinners is described by *ὑπέρ* (ii. 12; iii. 18); or it is said he bore our sins—*τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἀνέθηκεν*; or died *περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν*. 'The sprinkling of blood' and the 'Lamb without spot' were the fulfilment of the old economy, and the grace and salvation now enjoyed were familiar to the prophets (i. 10). Christ who suffered is now in glory, and is still keeping and blessing his people.

In fine, the object, as told by the author (v. 12), is twofold. 'I have written briefly, exhorting' (*παρακαλῶν*); and the epistle is hortatory—not didactic or polemical; 'and testifying (*ἐπιμαρτυρῶν*) that this is the true grace of God wherein ye stand.' The true grace of God—*ἀληθὴς χάρις*—

could not be doctrine imparted through the apostle's personal teaching. Some of the fathers, indeed, affirm that Peter visited the provinces specified in this epistle. Origen gives it as a probable conjecture; and Eusebius says that the countries in which Peter preached the doctrine of Christ appear from his own writings, and may be seen from this epistle. The assertion has thus no basis, save in the idea that Peter must have preached in the churches to which he sent an epistle. Jerome repeats the statement, and Epiphanius, as his wont is, intensifies it; but it has no foundation. Nay the apostle, by a change of person, distinguishes himself from 'them that have preached the gospel unto you' (i. 12). So that the 'true grace' in which those churches stood was the gospel which they had heard from others, and especially from Paul, by whom so many of them had been founded. The epistle, then, becomes a voucher for the genuineness of the gospel preached in Asia Minor by the apostle of the uncircumcision. Not that, as Schwegler supposes, it attempts to mediate between James and Paul; for it proclaims the same truths, touching the peculiar aspects common to the two, without any dilution of Paul's distinctive forms, or any modification of Peter's as given in his oral addresses—both being in inner harmony, and differing only in mode of presentation, caused by mental diversity, or suggested by the peculiar circumstances, tendencies, or dangers of the churches which were warned or addressed.

*Style.*—The epistle is characterised by its fervour. The soul of the writer stamped its image on his thoughts and words—*ὁ πανταχοῦ θερμὸς* is the eulogy of Chrysostom. The epistle bears his living impress in his profound emotions, earnest convictions, and zealous thoroughness. He was never languid or half-hearted in what he said or did, though the old impulsiveness is chastened; and the fire which often flashed up so suddenly is more equable and tranquil in its glow. He is vivid without vehemence, and hurries on without impetuosity or abruptness. The epistle is throughout hortative, doctrine and quotation being introduced as forming the basis or warrant or as showing the necessity and value, of practical counsel or warning. There is in it little that is local or temporary; it is suited to the church of all lands and ages; for believers are always in the present time 'strangers and sojourners,' with their gaze fixed on the future, exposed to trial and borne through by hope. The apostle infuses himself into the epistle, portrays the emotions which swayed and cheered him, as he reveals his own experience, which had been shaped by his past and present fellowship with a suffering and glorified Lord. What he unfolds or describes never stands apart as a theme by itself to be wrought out and argued; nor is it lifted as if to a lofty eminence that it may be admired from afar; but all is kept within familiar grasp, and inwrought into the relations, duties, and dangers of everyday Christian existence. The truths brought forward are treated not in themselves, but in their immediate bearing on duty, trial, and hope; are handled quite in the way in which one would describe air and food in their essential connection with life.

The language, though not rugged, is not without embarrassment. Ideas are linked together often by a relative pronoun. There is no formal development of thought, though the order is lucid and logical. Some word employed in the previous



sentence so dwells in his mind that it suggests the sentiment of the following one. The logical formulae are wanting—*οὐν* not preceding an inference, but introducing a practical imperative, and *ὅτι* and *γάρ* not rendering a reason, but prefacing a motive conveyed in some fact or quotation from Scripture. Thoughts are re-introduced, and in terms not dissimilar. What he has to say, he must say in words that come the soonest to an unpractised pen. In short, we may well suppose that the apostle wrote under the pressure of the injunction long ago given to him—‘When thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren;’ and this divine mandate might be prefixed to the epistle as its motto.

Luther, *Auslegung d. 1 Ep. Petri*, 1523; Amesius, *Explicatio*, 1650; Gerhard, *Commentarius*, 1660; Semler, *Paraphrasis*, 1783; Morus, *Praelect.* 1794; Hottinger, *Ep. Jac. et Pet.*, 1815; Steiger, *der erste Brief Peter ausgelegt*, 1832; De Wette, *Kurze Erklärung*, ed. Brückner, 1853; Huther in *continuation of Meyer's Kommentar*, 2 ed., 1859; Wiesinger, in *continuation of Olshausen's Biblischer Kommentar*, 1856; Lecoultrre, *sur la 1 Ep. de Pierre*, 1839; Theodor Schott, *der 1 Brief Petri erklärt*, 1861. *Practical*, Kohlbrügge, *Predigten*; Besser, *die B. St. Petri in Bibelstunden*, 1854. In English—Byfield's *Sermons*, 1637; Nisbet, *Brief Exposition*, 1658; Leighton, *Practical Commentary*, 1693; Brown, *Expository Discourses*, 2d ed. 1849.

PETER, SECOND EPISTLE OF.—The genuineness of this second epistle has long been disputed, though its author calls himself ‘Simon Peter,’ *δοῦλος καὶ ἀπόστολος*, ‘a servant and an apostle of Jesus Christ.’ It is hard to say whether the alleged quotations from it by the Fathers are really quotations, or are only, on the one hand, allusions to the O. T., or, on the other, the employment of such phrases as had grown into familiar Christian commonplaces. Thus Clement of Rome, in his First Epistle to the Corinthians, chap. vii., says of Noah, *ἐκήρυξε μετάνοιαν*, and of those who obeyed him, *ἐσώθησαν*, language not unlike 2 Pet. ii. 5; but the words can scarcely be called a quotation. The allusion in the same epistle to Lot (chap. xi.) is of a similar nature, and cannot warrant the allegation of any proof from it. A third instance is usually taken from chap. xxiii., in which Clement says, ‘miserable are the doubleminded,’ a seeming reminiscence of James i. 5; but adds, we are grown old, and none of those things have happened to us (*γεγηράκαμεν καὶ οὐδὲν ἡμῖν τούτων συμβέβηκεν*), as if in allusion to 2 Pet. iii. 4. The appeal to Hermas is as doubtful, in Lib. i, Vis. iii. 7, the words *reliquerunt viam veram* have a slight resemblance to 2 Pet. ii. 15; in another place (I. iv. 3) the clause, *qui effugistis sæculum hoc*, is not a citation of *ἀποφύγοντες τὰ μύσματα τοῦ κόσμου*, 2 Pet. ii. 20. Justin Martyr says, ‘a day with the Lord is as a thousand years’ (*Dialog. cum Tryph.*, cap. 81; *Opera*, ii. p. 278., ed. Otto, Jenae 1843), but the clause may as well be taken from Ps. xc. 4 as from 2 Pet. iii. 8. Similar statements occur twice in Irenæus, and have probably a similar origin, as citations from the O. T. The epistle is not quoted by Tertullian, the Alexandrian Clement, or Cyprian who speaks only of one epistle. A passage in Hippolytus (*De Antichristo*, ii.), in asserting of the prophets that they did not speak ‘by their own power’ (*ἐξ ἑαυτῶν δυνάμεως*), but

uttered things which God had revealed, appears to be a paraphrase of 2 Pet. i. 21. Another statement made by Theophilus, in which he describes the prophets as *πνευματοφόροι πνεύματος ἁγίου*, is not unlike 2 Pet. i. 20, *ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἁγίου φερόμενοι* (*Ad Autolyicum*, lib. ii. p. 87). Theophilus again describes the word shining as a lamp in a house—*φάτων ὥσπερ λύχνος ἐν οἰκίᾳ*; but the figure is different from that in 2 Pet. i. 19, *ὡς λύχνος φάινοντι ἐν ἀνυχμῇ τόπω*—‘as a light shining in a dark place.’ Clement of Alexandria commented, we are told by Eusebius and Cassiodorus, on all the canonical Scriptures, Eusebius specifying among them ‘Jude and the other catholic epistles’—*καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς καθολικὰς ἐπιστολάς* (*Hist. Eccles.* vi. 14). But a second statement of Cassiodorus mentions expressly the first epistle of Peter, as if the second had been excluded, and adds, ‘1 and 2 John and James,’ thereby also excluding Jude, which Eusebius, however, had distinctly named (*De Institut.*, cap. viii.) The testimony of Origen is no less liable to doubt, for it seems to vary. In the translation of Rufinus, who certainly was not a literal versionist, we find the epistle at least three times referred to, one of them being the assertion, ‘Petrus enim duabus epistolarum suarum personat tubis’ (*Hom. iv.* on Joshua). In Homily iv. on Leviticus, 2 Pet. i. 4 is quoted, and in Homily xiii. on Numbers, ii. 16 is quoted. Somewhat in opposition to this, Origen, in his extant works in Greek, speaks of the first epistle as *ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ ἐπ.*; nay, as quoted by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* vi. 25), he adds that ‘Peter left one acknowledged epistle,’ adding—*ἔστω δὲ καὶ δευτέραν ἀμφιβάλλεται γάρ*. This is not a formal denial of its genuineness, but is tantamount to it. Nor can the words of Firmilian be trusted in their Latin version. Yet in his letter to Cyprian he seems to allude to 2 Peter, and the warnings in it against heretics (Cyprian's *Opera*, p. 126, ed. Paris 1836). In a Latin translation of a commentary of Didymus on the epistle it is called *falsata, non in canone*. Now Falsare, according to Du Fresne in his *Glossar. med. et infim. Latinitat.*, does not mean to interpolate, but to pronounce spurious. Eusebius has placed this epistle among the *ἀντιλεγόμενα* (*Hist. Eccles.* iii. 25), and more fully he declares ‘that called his second epistle we have been told has not been received, *οὐκ ἐνδιάθετον*; but yet appearing to many to be useful it has been diligently studied with the other Scriptures.’ Jerome says explicitly, *Scripsit duas epistolas . . . quarum secunda a plerisque ejus esse negatur*; adding as the reason, *propter styli cum priore dissonantiam*, and ascribing this difference to a change of amanuensis, *diversis interpretibus* (*De Script. Eccles.* cap. i, epist. cxx., ad Hedib. cap. xi.) Methodius of Tyre makes two distinct allusions to a peculiar portion of the epistle (iii. 6, 7, 12, 13), the conflagration and purification of the world (Epiphan. *Hæres.* lxiv. 31, tom. I, pars post., p. 298, ed. Oehler 1860). Westcott (*On the Canon*, p. 57) points out a reference in the martyrdom of Ignatius, in which (cap. ii.) the father is compared to ‘a divine lamp illuminating the hearts of the faithful by his exposition of the holy Scriptures’ (2 Pet. i. 19). The epistle is not found in the Peshito, though the Philoxenian version has it, and Ephrem Syrus accepted it. The canon of Muratori has it not, and Theodore of Mopsuestia rejected it. But it was received by Athanasius, Philastrius, Cyril, Rufinus, and Augustine. Gregory of Nazianzum, in

his *Carmen* 33, refers to the seven catholic epistles. It was adopted by the council of Laodicea 367, and by the council of Carthage 397. From that period till the Reformation it was acknowledged by the church. Not to refer to other quotations often given, it may suffice to say that though the epistle was doubted, it usually had a place in the canon; that the objections against it were not historical, but critical in nature, and had their origin apparently among the Alexandrian scholars; and that in one case at least, that of Cosmas Indicopleustes, doctrinal prepossessions led to its rejection. Gregory, at the end of the 6th century, seems to allude to others whose hostility to it had a similar origin, adding,—*si ejusdem epistolæ verba pensare voluissent, longe aliter sentire potuerant.* (See Olshausen, *Opuscula*, where the citations are given at length.) The old doubts about the epistle were revived at the time of the Reformation, and not a few modern critics question or deny its genuineness. In earlier times strong disbelief was expressed by Calvin, Erasmus, Grotius, and Salmasius. Scaliger, Semler, Credner, De Wette, Neander, and Mayerhoff, deny its Petrine origin. Pott, Windischmann, Dahl, Gausson, and Bonnet, on the other hand, make light of many objections to it. But the proofs adduced on its behalf by Dietlein (*der 2 Ep. Petri*, 1851) are many of them unsatisfactory, the result of a dexterous and unscrupulous ingenuity on behalf of a foregone conclusion. Yet amidst early doubts and modern objections we are inclined to accept this epistle, and to agree with the verdict of the early churches, which were not without the means of ample investigation, and to whom satisfactory credentials must have been presented.

The objections, as Jerome remarks, were based on difference of style, and we admit that there is ground for suspicion on the point. Still no doubter or impugner who placed the epistle among the *ἀντιλεγόμενα* gives any historical ground for his hostility. No one of old is ever brought forward as having denied it in his own name, or in the name of any early church, to be Peter's. If the apostolic fathers do not quote it, it can only be inferred either that it was not in universal circulation, or that they had no occasion to make any use of it. Their silence would not warrant the assertion that the epistle was not in the canon during their period, and for half a century afterwards. The earliest impugnors never speak of it as a book recently admitted into the canon, or admitted on insufficient evidence or authority. One objection of this nature would have been palpable and decisive. It may be added that there appears to be no probable motive for a forgery. Neither personal ambition nor ecclesiastical pretensions are in any way forwarded by the epistle. There is nothing in it that an apostle might not have written, nothing that comes into direct conflict with Peter's modes of thought, either as recorded in the Acts or as found in the first epistle. No little circumstantial evidence can be adduced in its favour, and its early appearance in the canon is an element of proof which cannot be easily turned aside.

There are points of similarity in style between it and the first epistle. The salutation in both epistles is the same, and there are peculiar words common to both, though found also in other parts of the N. T. Both epistles refer to ancient prophecy (1 Pet. i. 16; 2 Pet. i. 20, 21); both use *ἀπερὶ* as applicable to God (1 Pet. ii. 9; 2 Pet. i. 3);

and both have *ἀπὸθεός* (1 Pet. iii. 21; 2 Pet. i. 14), which occurs nowhere else in the N. T.; *ἀναστροφή* is a favourite term (1 Pet. i. 15, 17, 18; ii. 12; iii. 1, 2, 16; 2 Pet. ii. 7-18; iii. 11); the verb *ἐποπτεύειν* in 1 Pet. ii. 12, iii. 20, corresponds to the noun *ἐπόπτης* (2 Pet. i. 16); the peculiar collocation *ἀσπίλος καὶ ἁμώμος* (1 Pet. i. 19) has an echo of itself (2 Pet. ii. 13; iii. 14); *πέπνυνται ἁμαρτίας* (1 Pet. iv. 1) is not unlike *ἀκαταπαύστοις ἁμαρτίας*, etc. (2 Pet. ii. 14). We have also, as in the first epistle, the intervention of several words between the article and its substantive (2 Pet. i. 4; ii. 7; iii. 2). The frequent use of *ἐν* in a qualifying clause is common to both epistles (2 Pet. i. 4; ii. 3; iii. 10). The recurrence of similar terms marks the second epistle, but it is not without all parallel in the first. Thus, 2 Pet. i. 3, 4, *δεωρημένης, δεδώρηται*; ii. 7, 8, *δίκαιος*, three times; ii. 12, *φθοράν, ἐν τῇ φθορᾷ καταφθαρῆσονται*. So, too, in 1 Pet. iii. 1, 2, *ἀναστροφῆς, ἀναστροφή*; and ii. 17, *τιμῆσατε, τιμᾶτε*, etc. Then too, as in the first epistle, there are resemblances to the speeches of Peter as given in the Acts. Comp. *ἡμέρα κυρίου* (iii. 10) with Acts ii. 20—the phrase occurring elsewhere only in 1 Thess. v. 24; *λαχοῦσιν* (i. 1), with *ἐλαχε* (Acts i. 17); *εὐσεβελαν* (i. 6), with Acts iii. 12; and *εὐσεβεῖς* (ii. 9), with Acts x. 2-7; *κολαζομένους δο.* with Acts iv. 21—an account which Peter probably furnished. We have likewise an apparent characteristic in the double gentives (2 Pet. iii. 2; Acts v. 32).

It is also to be borne in mind that the epistle asserts itself to have been written by the apostle Peter, and distinctly identifies its writer with the author of the first epistle—'This epistle now, a second, I write unto you, in both which I stir up'—averring also to some extent identity of purpose. It is not anonymous, like the epistle to the Hebrews, but definitely claims as its author Peter the apostle. Nay, the writer affirms that he was an eye-witness of the transfiguration, and heard 'the voice from the excellent glory.' He uses, moreover, two terms in speaking of this event, which belong to the account of it in the gospels; comp. i. 13, *σκηνώματι*, with his own words *σκηνὰς τρεῖς*; also in 15, *ἔξοδον*, in reference to his own death—the same word being employed to denote Christ's death, *τὴν ἔξοδον αὐτοῦ*, this being the theme of conversation on the part of Moses and Elias (Luke ix. 31). Ullmann supposes the reference in the words *δίκαιον δὲ ἡγοῦμαι διεγείρειν* (i. 13) to be to Mark's gospel said to have been composed on Peter's authority; but the allusion seems to be to the paragraph immediately under his hand. It would have been a profane and daring imposture for any one to personate an apostle, and deliver to the churches a letter in his name, with so marked a reference to one of the most memorable circumstances and glories in the apostle's life. A forgery so glaring could make no pretence to inspiration,—to be a product of the Spirit of Truth. The inspiration of the epistle is thus bound up with the question of its authorship, so that if it is not the work of Peter it must be rejected altogether from the canon.

There are serious difficulties, however, in the way of its reception; and these are usually said to be difference of style, difference of doctrine, and the marked correspondence of portions of the epistle with that of Jude. Yet Gausson makes the astounding statement—'The two epistles when carefully compared reveal more points of



agreement than difference,' but he has not taken the trouble of noting them (*On the Canon*, p. 359). The employment of *ὡς* is different in the second epistle from the first. There, though it occurs otherwise, it is generally employed in comparisons, and its frequency makes it a characteristic of the style; but it occurs much more rarely in the second epistle, and usually, though not always, with a different meaning and purpose. The use of *ἀλλά* after a negative clause and introducing a positive one, is common in the first epistle, and but rare in the second. There are many *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα* in the second epistle. The first and second epistles differ also in the use of *Χριστός*. In the first epistle *Χ.* stands in the majority of instances without the article and by itself, either simply *I. X.* or *X. I.*; but in the second epistle it has usually some predicates attached to it (i. 1, 2, 8; ii. 14-16). The name *θεός* occurs nearly forty times in the first epistle, but only seven times in the second. Again, *κύριος* is applied to Christ only once in the first epistle (i. 3), but in the second epistle it is a common adjunct to other names of the Saviour. In the first epistle it means the Father in all cases but one (ii. 3), but in the second epistle it denotes the Son, in harmony with Peter's own declaration (Acts ii. 36; x. 36). The epithet *σωτήρ*, so often applied to Christ in the second epistle, is not found in the first. The second coming of our Lord is also expressed differently in the two epistles, *ἀποκάλυψις*, or its verb, being used in the first epistle (i. 5, 7, 13; iv. 13; v. 1); or it is called *τὸ τέλος πάντων* (v. 7); or *χρόνοι ἔσχατοι* (i. 20). But in the second epistle it is called *ἡμέρα κρίσεως* (ii. 9), *παρουσία* (iii. 4), *ἡμέρα κυρίου* (iii. 10), *ἡμέρα θεοῦ* (iii. 12). These are certainly marked diversities, and it is difficult to offer any explanation of them. It may, however, be replied, that with the sacred writers the divine names are not used, as with us, without any prominent or distinctive application. In the first epistle the Redeemer's names are his common ones, the familiar ones in the mouths of all believers—for the writer brings into prominence the oneness of believers with him in suffering and glory; with him still as Jesus wearing his human name and his human nature with all its sympathies; or as the Christ who, as the Father's servant, obeyed, suffered, and was crowned, the Spirit that anointed him still being 'the unction from the Holy One' to all his people. In the second epistle the writer has in view persons who are heretics, rebellious, dissolute, false teachers; and in warning them his mind naturally looks to the authority and lordship of the Saviour, which it was so awful to contend and so vain to oppose. If the last day be set in different colours in the two epistles, the difference may be accounted for on the same principle; for to those suffering under trial it shines afar as the hope that sustains them, but to those who are perverse it presents itself as the time of reckoning which should alarm them into believing submission.

The aspects under which the gospel is represented in this second epistle differ from those in the first. The writer lays stress on *ἐπίγνωσις*, or *γνώσις* (i. 2, 3, 5, 8; ii. 20, 11; iii. 18). In this epistle the gospel is generally *Χριστοῦ δύναμις καὶ παρουσία* (i. 16), *ὁδὸς τῆς δικαιοσύνης* (ii. 21), *ἀγία ἐντολή*, etc.; whereas the first epistle throws into prominence *ἐλπίς*, *σωτηρία*, *ῥαντισμὸς αἵματος* I. X., *χάρις* (i. 10) *ἀλήθεια* (i. 22), *λόγος* (ii. 8), *πίστις*, etc.

The answer may be ventured that the persons addressed in the second epistle were in danger of being tempted into error; and that a definite and progressive knowledge of Christianity was the safeguard against those loose speculations which were floating around them. On this account, too, we have admonition suggested and pointed by their perilous circumstances—to 'make their calling and election sure' (i. 10; iii. 14); nay the purpose of the epistle seems to be given in iii. 17—'Ye therefore, beloved, knowing beforehand, take heed lest being led away with the error of the lawless, ye fall away from your own steadfastness, but grow in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.' The *ἐπίγνωσις* is the grand theme of counsel and the real prophylactic presented, for it embodies itself in that *δικαιοσύνη* on the possession of which so much depends, as is seen in the allusions to Noah and Lot, and to the want of which are traced in contrast the judgment of the flood and the fate of Sodom, the selfish character of Balaam, and the dark and deceitful ways and works of the false teachers.

There is also a characteristic difference in the mode of quotation from the O. T. Quotations are abundant in the first epistle, either formally introduced by *διότι γέγραπται* (i. 16), or by *διότι περιέχει ἐν τῇ γραφῇ* (ii. 6), or are woven into the discourse without any prefatory statement, as if writer and readers were equally familiar with them (i. 24; ii. 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 22, 24, 25; iii. 9, 10, 11, 15). But in the second epistle quotations are unfrequent, though we have Ps. xc. 4 in iii. 8, and Is. lxxv. 17 in iii. 13. Of a different kind are the allusions to Noah and the flood, to Lot and Sodom, and to Balaam. But we may still reply that the modes of handling and applying the O. T. may differ according to the purpose which any writer has in view. In a longer and fuller epistle there may be quotations at length, but in a shorter only apposite allusions to facts and incidents. The objection would have been stronger if in an epistle ascribing itself to Peter there had been no use made of the O. T. at all; but a third of this epistle consists of references to the O. T. or to warnings drawn from it.

The peculiar similarity of a large portion of this epistle to that of Jude has been often commented on. The second chapter and portion of the third are so like Jude that the resemblance cannot be accidental, for it is found in words as well as thoughts. It has been conjectured by some that both borrowed from a common source. Bishop Sherlock supposed that this source was some ancient Hebrew author who had portrayed the false teachers, Jude having used the epistle of Peter as well as this old authority (*Use and Intent of Prophecy*, Dissert. i. p. 200, Lond. 1725). Herder and Hasse holding this theory conjecture the document common to both writers to be the Zend-avesta. This opinion has no foundation, and relieves us of no difficulty. Others imagine that Jude followed Peter, and several reasons have been alleged in favour of this opinion by Mill, Michaelis, Storr, Dahl, Wordsworth, Thiersch, Heydenreich, Hengstenberg, and Gausson. Their general argument is that Peter predicts what Jude describes as actually existing (Jude 18), and that Jude refers to prophecies which are found only in Peter. But it is really doubtful if both epistles refer to the same class of errorists. Those described by Peter are



rather speculatists, though their immoral practices are also noted, while those branded by Jude are specially marked as libertines and sensualists, whose life has perverted and undermined their creed. Others again hold that Peter took from Jude; such is the view of Hug, Eichhorn, Credner, Neander, Mayerhoff, De Wette, Guericke, and Bleek. One argument of no small force is that the style of Jude is the simpler and briefer, and Peter's the more ornate and amplified; that Jude's is more pointed and Peter's more indefinite; and that some allusions in Peter are so vague that they can be understood only by a comparison with Jude (comp. 2 Pet. ii. 4; Jude 6; 2 Pet. ii. 11; Jude 9). Thus Peter says, generally, 'angels bring not railing accusations'; Jude gives the special instance, Michael and Satan. Peter speaks of the 'angels that sinned'; Jude more precisely, they 'kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation.' Olshausen and Augusti in part think that the similarity may be accounted for by a previous correspondence between the writers; that Jude may have described to Peter the character and practices of the false teachers, and that Peter, relying on the truthfulness of the statement, made his own use of it without hesitation when he had occasion to refer to the same or a similar class of pernicious subverters of truth and purity. This hypothesis is scarcely probable, and it is more likely that Peter had read the epistle of Jude, and reproduced in his own epistle and in his own way its distinctive clauses, which must have deeply impressed him, but with such differences at the same time as show that he was no mere copyist. Is it unworthy of an apostle to use another writing divinely authorised, and can Peter's appropriation of so much of Jude's language be stigmatized, as by Reuss, as *offenbares plagiat*? Thus Jude uses the phrase 'clouds without water,' but Peter 'wells without water,' this figure being more suited to his immediate purpose. The *σπιδάδες* of Jude 12 was from reminiscence of sound before Peter's mind, but it is changed of purpose into *σπιδαι*; and Jude's phrase *ἐν ταῖς ἀγῶναις ὑμῶν* becomes in the same connection in Peter *ἐν ταῖς ἀπάταις αὐτῶν*. 2 Pet. ii. 17 shows a like similarity and difference compared with Jude 13. The claim of originality thus lies on the side of Jude, while original thinking characterises Peter's use of Jude's terser and minuter diction. There is no ground for Bertholdt's suggestion to reject the second chapter as spurious; or for Ullmann's, to refer both second and third chapters to a post-apostolic period; or for Lange to brand as spurious the whole of the second chapter with the last two verses of the first chapter, and the first ten verses of the third—that is, from the first *τοῦτο πρῶτον γινώσκοντες* to the other; or for Bunsen to receive only the first twelve verses and the concluding doxology (Bertholdt, *Einleit. in N. T.*, vol. vi.; Ullmann, *der zweite Brief Petri*; Lange, *Apostol. Zeitalter*, i. 152, and in Herzog's *Encyclop.* sub voce; Bunsen, *Ignatius von Antiochien*, p. 175).

Other objections against the epistle may be briefly alluded to. According to Mayerhoff (*Einleit.*, p. 187) the writer in iii. 2 separates himself from the apostles; Bleek (*Einleit.*, p. 576) and others supposing that he intended to characterise himself as an apostle, and having before him the somewhat parallel expression of Jude, he so far altered it, but in the alteration has failed to give lucid utterance to his purpose. The phrase, with the

double genitive *καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων ὑμῶν ἐντολῆς τοῦ κυρίου*, naturally means, 'and the commandment of the Lord given by your apostles.' The pronoun *ὑμῶν* is the best sustained reading, and the English version does violence to the position of the words. As Olshausen and Windischmann have shown, the use of *ὑμῶν* does not exclude Peter, even though it be rendered 'the commandments of your apostles of the Lord Jesus.' In fact, it neither denies nor affirms his apostleship; though if *ἡμῶν* had been employed, and the phrase rendered 'our apostles,' the conclusion against its genuineness would certainly have some weight. But this objection that the writer excludes himself from the apostles neutralizes another, to wit, that the writer betrays too great anxiety to show himself as the apostle Peter. He could not certainly do both in the same document without stultifying himself. Does not the apostle Paul when it serves his object use pointedly the first person singular, refer to himself, and assert his apostolic office as Peter does, in i. 12, 13, 14, 15? The use of the name *Συμεῶν* in i. 1 can neither tell for the genuineness, as Dietlein supposes, nor against it, as Mayerhoff argues. The reference in iii. 1 to a former epistle is not for the purpose of identifying himself with the author of that epistle, but naturally comes in as a proof of his anxiety for his readers that they should bear in memory the lessons already imparted to them.

Three arguments have been adduced to prove that the epistle must belong to post-apostolic times. 1. It is alleged that the doubts about Christ's second coming, referred to in iii. 3, 4, could not have arisen in apostolic times, when the belief in it was so firm and glowing, and a period of some length must have elapsed ere it could be said that the fathers had fallen asleep.' But the scoffers referred to were probably Gnostics who never believed that event, or at all events spiritualized the truth of it away; and after one generation had passed they might use the language imputed to them; or 'the fathers' may denote the Jewish patriarchs, since whose decease uniformity had characterised all the processes and laws of nature. The Gnostic spiritualism which treated the resurrection as past early troubled the church, and its disciples might cast ridicule on the faith and hopes of others in the challenge which Peter quotes.

2. It is said that the allusion to Paul's epistles indicates a late date, as it supposes them to be collected in part at least, and calls them by the sacred name of *γραφὰς* (iii. 15, 16). But surely it may be granted that toward the close of Peter's life several epistles of Paul may have been brought together and placed in point of authority on the same level as the O. T.; and that other documents also—*τὰς λοιπὰς γραφὰς*, already occupied a similar place. Whatever exegesis be adopted, this is the general result. The writings of Paul, so well known to the readers of this epistle, are mentioned not as a completed whole; the phrase *ἐν πάσαις*, etc., is not to be taken absolutely, but relatively, as if denoting 'in all his epistles which he writes.' The 'things' referred to as discussed in these epistles (*περὶ τούτων*) are not their general contents, but the coming of our Lord and the end of the world, and in these discussions 'are some things hard to be understood.' The allusion certainly presupposes a late age, and the writer, as he informs us, was very near his death. The date of



Peter's death is not precisely known, and the common traditions concerning it may therefore be modified. As Alford says, a later date than the usual one may be assigned to it.

3. Again, it is held, as by Neander, that the epithet 'holy mount,' as applied to the hill of transfiguration, indicates a late period, for Zion only was so designated; and Mayerhoff affirms that the epithet suits Mount Zion alone. But the scene on which the glory of Jesus had been so displayed might many years afterwards be well called 'holy' by one who was an eyewitness, when he referred to it as a proof and symbol of 'the power and coming of the Lord Jesus.'

Still, while a partial reply may be given to objections based on difference of style and of doctrinal representation, it must in honesty be added that these differences are not all of them wholly accounted for. The style and matter, as a whole, are so unlike the first epistle, that one has considerable difficulty in ascribing both epistles to the same author. While there is similarity in some words or phrases, the spirit, tone, and manner of the whole epistle are widely diverse. Minute criticism may discover ἀπας λεγόμενα, and arrange them in proof parallel to similar usage in the first epistle; but such minutiae do not hide the general dissimilitude. It may be argued, and the argument is not without weight, that a forger would have imitated the salient peculiarities of the first epistle. No one of ordinary critical discernment would have failed to attempt the reproduction of its characteristic features of style and thought. But the absence of such studied likeness is surely in favour of the genuineness. It may be added also, that as there are in the first epistle statements so peculiar to it as to be found nowhere else, the same speciality in what seems to be undesigned coincidence marks the second epistle in the declarations of its third chapter. It would have been difficult in the 2d century to have imposed on the churches a second epistle forged in Peter's name, and so unlike in many points to his first. A direct imitation of his style might have deceived some of the churches by its obvious features of similitude, but the case is widely different when a writing so obviously unlike the first epistle won its way into circulation unchallenged in its origin and history, and was not doubted save at length by scholars and mainly on critical grounds. Why did not Origen and others tell us of the time of its first appearance, and how and by whom it was placed in the canon? Possibly on such points they were ignorant, or at least they knew nothing that warranted suspicion. Still the difference of manner between the two epistles remains, and perhaps one might account for it, as Jerome has hinted and Calvin has supposed, by the supposition that Peter dictated the epistle in Aramaic, and that the amanuensis was left to express the thoughts in his own forms and phrases. Difference of condition and purpose may account for difference of topic, and the change of style may be ascribed to the Greek copyist and translator. The genuineness of the epistle has been maintained more or less decidedly by Michaelis, Nitzsche, Flatt, Angusti, Storr, Dahl, Hug, Heydenreich, Lardner, Windischmann, Guericke, Thiersch, Stier, Dietlein, Hofmann, Luthardt, Brückner, and Olshausen. Feilmoser and Davidson incline to the same side. These are great names, and though we agree with their

opinion, we cannot venture to say, with Bonnet, that 'of all the books of the N. T. which have been controverted at certain times, there is not one whose authenticity was so certain as the second epistle of Peter' (*Nouv. Test.*, Introd., vol. ii. p. 701, Geneva 1852).

When and where the epistle was written cannot be definitely known. The place was Rome in all probability; for Peter, after coming to Rome, did not, so far as we know, leave that city till his death. His death is usually placed in 64, but it may have been later, and this epistle was written just before it. Mayerhoff ascribes it to a Jewish Christian of Alexandria about the middle of the second century. Huther places it in the last quarter of the first century or the beginning of the second.

The persons for whom the epistle is intended are 'those who have obtained like precious faith with us;' and iii. 1 identifies them with those addressed in the first epistle. It is objected that this epistle asserts that Peter had taught them in person—such not being the case with those addressed in the first epistle. But the phrase adduced—ἐγγυπλισαμεν ὑμῖν, i. 16, 'we made known unto you'—seems to refer not to oral discourse, but to various portions of the first epistle in which the coming and glory of Christ are dwelt on. The object of the epistle is to warn against 'false teachers,' 'bringing in damnable heresies,' 'denying the Lord that bought them,' holding a peculiar demonology—covetous, sensual, and imperious apostates, the victims and propagators of antinomian delusion. Probably they taught some early form of Gnostic error, which, denying the Lord's humanity and atoning death, ridiculed his second advent in man's nature, set aside the authority of law, and by this effrontery justified itself in licentious impurity. The false teachers were like the 'false prophets,' perhaps claiming divine basis for their teachings, and therefore the more able to shake the faith of others, and seduce them into perilous apostasy. So that, in brief, as he himself describes it (iii. 17), his object is, first, warning, or to caution his readers against seduction; 'beware lest ye also, being led away with the error of the wicked, fall from your own steadfastness'—προγυγνῶσκοντες—'as ye know those things beforehand,' that is, from his descriptive accounts; and secondly, counsel, or to urge on them, as the best of all antidotes to apostasy, to 'grow in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.' For this χάρις and γνώσις would fortify them and make them invincible against those assaults which so often succeeded with the unwary who fell in their heedlessness, the graceless who trusted in their own strength, and the ignorant or half-informed, so liable from their partial knowledge to be imposed upon by any system that dealt in novel speculations, professed to unfold mysteries, or give license and warrant for lawless practices. The supposition of Grotius, that it was written in the reign of Trajan against the Carpocratians, and by Simeon, bishop of Jerusalem, is without any probability, as Bertholdt has more than sufficiently shown. The arguments of Schwegler for its place as Rome, its date the end of the 2d century, and its purpose as an effort to conciliate Petrine and Pauline theological differences, are answered conclusively by Huther. The contents of the epistle have been generally referred to in the previous parts of the article. It may only now be noticed that the description of the



origin and constitution of the globe in the third chapters is in harmony with the Mosaic cosmogony, and that its destiny as there predicted is in keeping with many facts and disclosures in geology. 'In omnibus epistolæ partibus,' says Calvin, 'spiritus Christi majestas se exserit.'

Among commentaries may be mentioned Bede's *Exposition*, Works, vol. xii., ed. Giles, London 1844; Luther, *Epistel Petri ausgelegt*, Wittenberg 1524; Gerhard, *Commentarius*, 1641; Semler, *Paraphrasis*, 1784; Thomas Smith, *Commentarius*, London 1690; Morus, *Praelect.*, 1794; Pott, in the *Editio Koppiana*; Ullmann, *der Zweite Brief B. Petri*, etc., 1822; Dietlein, *der Zweite Brief Petri ausgelegt*, 1851; Huther, in continuation of Meyer, 1852; De Wette, ed. Brückner, 1853; Wiesinger, in continuation of Olshausen, 1862. In English, Nisbet, *Brief Exposition*, 1658; Simson, *Commentary*, 1632; Thomas Adams, *Commentary*, 1633; Dr. John Brown's *Parting Counsels*, an exposition of the first chapter, Edinburgh 1856.—J. E.

PETERS, CHARLES, was born in Cornwall and educated at Exeter College, Oxford. He became rector of St. Mabyn's, Cornwall, in 1727, and died there in 1777. He was the author of an able and learned work on Job, entitled, *A Critical Dissertation on the Book of Job, wherein the account given of that book by the author of the Divine Legation of Moses demonstrated, is particularly considered; the antiquity of the book vindicated, the grand text (chap. xix. 25) explained; and a future state shown to have been the popular belief of the ancient Hebrews*, Lond. 1751, 4to. This work, although occasioned chiefly by Warburton's *Legation*, and in part a reply to it, is principally independent in its criticism of the book of Job, and is useful and valuable as throwing much light on all the subjects which it investigates. Its author holds to the theory that Job was himself the author of the book. Peters also published *An Appendix to the Critical Dissertation on the Book of Job; giving a further account of the Book of Ecclesiastes, etc.*, Lond. 1760.—W. J. C.

PETHEN (פֶּתֶן), a species of serpent. The word is generally rendered by *asp* in the A. V. (Deut. xxxii. 33; Job xx. 14, 16; Is. xi. 8), twice by *adder* (Ps. lviii. 5; xci. 13). From these passages it appears that the pethen was a venomous snake, which the charmers had not succeeded in bringing under their influence, and which is consequently said to be *deaf* (Bochart, *Hieroz.*, bk. iii. ch. 6). It is identified by Bochart with the *aspis* of the ancients, but there is uncertainty as to the species to which this is to be referred. Forskal describes a small serpent which he calls *Batan* (the *Coluber lebetina* of Linn.) as one foot long, the body spotted with black and white, ovoviviparous, and exceedingly poisonous. It is the *Naja hajè* of more recent naturalists; and is probably the *aspis* of the ancients, and the *Pethen* of Scripture.—W. L. A.

PETHOR (פֶּתוֹר; Φαθουρά), the native place of Balaam, the prophet, described by Moses as situated 'upon the river;' that is, the Euphrates (Num. xxii. 5); and also as in 'Aram Naharaim,' or Mesopotamia (Deut. xxiii. 4). It is not elsewhere mentioned in the Bible, nor does the name occur in classic writings. It is worthy of note that the word is omitted both in the LXX. and Vulgate versions of

Deuteronomy. The Vulgate in Numbers renders it *ariolum*, 'soothsayer,' and applies it to Balaam. *Misit . . . ad Balaam filium Beor ariolum*. This appears to be the meaning of the Hebrew word, from פֶּתֶר, *explicavit*; but the context shows clearly that Moses used it as the proper name of a place.—J. L. P.

#### PETRA. [SELAH.]

PFAFF, CHRISTOPHER MATTHEW, born at Stuttgart in 1686; was in 1699 admitted bachelor in the University of Tübingen, where his father was professor of theology. In 1702 he pronounced a discourse in Samaritan before the administrators of the theological school. At eighteen he began to preach and give lessons in theology. He afterwards travelled in Germany, Holland, and England, at the expense of the Duke of Wurtemberg; and extended his knowledge by intercourse with Rabbis and other learned men, from one of whom he acquired the Ethiopic language. Being appointed to travel with the hereditary Prince of Wurtemberg as his tutor and almoner, he received holy orders at Stuttgart in 1708, and accompanied the prince to Turin, where he drew out of their obscurity several important MSS., some of which he copied. On his return from his travels, honours and dignities—both civil and ecclesiastical—were showered upon him. He died in 1760 Chancellor of the University of Giessen, and Dean of the Faculty of Theology. His erudition was immense, and his works so numerous that they fill a whole sheet of the German bibliographies. 1. *The Bible known among the German Protestants as the Bible of Tübingen*, was published under his direction in one volume folio, in 1729. He also published, in 1709—2. *Dissertatio Critica de Genuinis librorum Novi Testamenti lectionibus*, Amsterdam 1709, in 8vo. His other works do not bear directly on Biblical literature. Among them may be mentioned—3. *Demonstrations Solides de la vérité de la Religion Protestante contre la religion prétendue Catholique*, Tübingen 1713, 1719. 4. *Institutiones Theologicae dogmaticae et morales*, Tübingen 1719, 8vo, Francfort 1721, 8vo. 5. *Institutiones historiae ecclesiasticae*, Tübingen 1721, 8vo, and a second enlarged edition in 1727, 8vo—a concise and methodical abridgment. 6. *Dissertatio de pacto inter Deum Patrem et Filium a Ludovico Molino confecto*, Tübingen 1726-27.—M. H.

PFEIFFER, AUGUSTUS, born 1640 at Lauenburg in Lower Saxony. After studying in various places, he took his degree of Master of Arts at Wittenberg, and was made one of the professors of its university. In 1671 he became Dean of Medzibor in Silesia, and afterwards attained to other honours and emoluments, till, having taken his doctor's degree in 1681, he became successively Archdeacon of St. Thomas' at Leipsic, ordinary professor of Oriental languages, and professor extraordinary of theology. He died in the office of superintendent at Lubeck in 1690. Pfeiffer was one of the most skilful philologists of his day. He is said to have known seventy languages. His library was rich in Hebrew, Arabic, Coptic, Armenian, Persian, and Chinese MSS.; and he left many learned works, of which we may mention—1. *Dubia vexata Scripturæ Sacrae sive loca difficiliora Vet. Test., circa quæ auctores dissident vel hærent, adductis et modestè expensis aliorum sententiis, succinctè decisa, tamque dilucide expedita, ut cuius de*



*vero sensu et diversis interpretamentis constari facile queat necnon ebraica atque exotica Novi e suis fontibus derivata*, etc., Leipsic 1685, 4to, ibid. 1713. The execution of this work is not inferior to its promise. At the end are dissertations on the *Conversation between Cain and Abel*; on *Enoch*; on the *primitive language*; on the *Seraphim*; on the *qualification given to Joseph*; on the *Shiloh*; on the *Vow of Jephtha*; on a passage of the 22d Psalm according to the Hebrew; on the *name of Jesus*; on the *Galilean dialect of Peter*. 2. *Hermeneutica Sacra, sive legitima Sacras literas interpretandi ratio*, Leipzig 1694, 8vo. 3. *Antiquitates ebraice selecte unde quamplurimis Scripturæ locis facula accenditur*, Leipsic 1687, 12mo; an excellent little work with ingenious solutions of several difficult passages of Scripture. 4. *Critica Sacra, quæ agit de Sacra codicis partitione, editionibus variis, etc., cui subjunguntur tractatus quatuor*—(1.) *de Antiquis ritibus Ebraeorum*; (2.) *de Naturâ, usu, et subsidiis linguarum orientalium omnium*; (3.) *de compendiariâ ratione legendi Scripta rabbinico-talmudica*; (4.) *de accentuatione tam prosaicâ quam metricâ facile descendâ*, Leipzig 1680, 8vo, Dresden 1680, 8vo—a work full of erudition; (5.) *Prælectiones in prophetiam Jonæ*, Wittenberg 1671 and 1706, Leipzig 1686, 4to; commended by Rosenmüller. 6. *Synopsis nobiliorum atque selectiorum e philologâ sacrâ questionum*, Wittenberg 1667, 12mo. All these works, and some others, are collected in two vols. 4to, published at Utrecht in 1704, with the title *Opera philologica*.—M. H.

PFEIFFER, JOACHIM EHRENFRIED, was born at Güstrow, Sept. 6, 1709. He studied at Rostock and Stralsund, in the former of which he took his master's degree in 1730, and delivered a course of lectures on Hebrew literature. After spending some years at Jena, first as a student and then as a teacher of philosophy, he was in 1743 appointed second ordinary professor of theology in the recently established University of Erlangen. Along with the duties of his chair he undertook, in 1744, those of the pastorate of the old town of Erlangen; and in 1745 the superintendence of the gymnasium at Bayreuth. In 1748 he became first professor of theology. He died Oct. 18, 1787. He is chiefly remembered as the author of a work which appeared first under the title *Elementa Hermeneutica universalis*, etc., Jenæ 1743, 8vo, but which was subsequently enlarged and published under the title *Institutiones Hermeneuticæ sacræ veterum atque recentiorum et proprias quasdam præceptiones complexa*, Erlang. 1771, 8vo. An outline of the contents of this book is given by Davidson, *Hermeneutics*, p. 695.—S. N.

PHALTI (פִּלְטִי, for פִּלְטִיָּה, *deliverance of Jehoshuah*; Sept. Φαλτι). 1. The head of the children of Benjamin sent as one of the spies to search the land of Canaan (Num. xiii. 9; A. V. Palti). 2. The son of Laish, to whom Saul gave Michal, David's wife (1 Sam. xxv. 44). When David became king he made the restoration of his wife the condition of his receiving Abner into favour; and Phalti (called here Phaltiel, פִּלְטִיָּהֵל) was compelled to yield her up, which he did with much regret (2 Sam. iii. 13-15).—†

PHARAOH (פֶּרַעֲוֶה; Sept. Φαραώ), the general title of the kings of Egypt in the O. T., and found

only there and in the writers who have drawn from that source. It often stands simply like a proper name (Gen. xii. 15; xxxvii. 36; xl. 2, *seq.*; xlv. 1, *seq.*; and so generally throughout the Pentateuch, and also in Cant. i. 9; Is. xix. 11; xxx. 2). 'King of Egypt' is sometimes subjoined to it (1 Kings iii. 1; 2 Kings xvii. 7; xviii. 21); and sometimes also the more specific designation, or real proper name of the monarch is indicated, as Pharaoh Necho (2 Kings xxiii. 33), Pharaoh Hophra (Jer. xlv. 30). Josephus intimates that the word signifies 'the king' in the Egyptian language (*Antiq.* viii. 6. 2). This is apparently confirmed by our finding the word 'king' written in the dialect of Memphis  $\text{OPO}$ , *ouro*, and with the masculine article  $\text{POPO}$ , *piouro* (Jablonsky, *Opusc.* i. 374; Peyron, *Lex. Copt.*, p. 150). The idea has, however, been more recently started that Pharaoh corresponds to the Egyptian  $\Psi\text{-PH}$ , *phm*, 'the sun,' which is written as an hieroglyphic symbol over the titles of kings (Rosellini, *Monument. Storici*, i. 117; Lepsius, *Lettre à Rosellini*, p. 25; Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians*, iv. 287). It seems to us that this explanation might be admitted without contradicting the other, seeing that it is not only possible, but highly probable, that the Egyptians should make the name of the sun a royal title, and that at length custom rendered it equivalent to 'king.' The practice of ancient, and, indeed, modern Oriental kings, of associating the idea of their own dignity with the glory of the sun, is well known.

1. The first Pharaoh mentioned in Scripture is in connection with the history of Abraham (Gen. xii. 10-20). In the uncertainty which hangs over early Egyptian chronology it is impossible to identify this prince with precision. It is probable, however, that he was one of the shepherd kings, who were of a Semitic race. Mr. Poole concludes that he was Salatis or Saïtas, the first king of the 15th dynasty, whose reign commenced B.C. 2080.

2. *The Pharaoh of Joseph* (Gen. xxxvii. 36, *seq.*) is supposed by Bunsen to be Sesertesen I., the head of the 11th dynasty, but Mr. Poole contends that this would place Joseph's history at too early a date, and is besides rendered improbable by the fact that Sesertesen I. was a native Egyptian prince who would hardly under any circumstances have elected a Hebrew slave to such eminence of dignity and favour as Joseph received. It is more probable that he was one of the shepherd kings; and there is reason to believe that Eusebius is right in calling him Apophis, who appears to have been the fifth or sixth king of the 15th dynasty.

3, 4. *The Pharaoh who oppressed the Israelites* is by Bunsen and others supposed to have been Rameses II., and his son Menephthah (Men-ptah = Ἀμενόψις), *the Pharaoh of the exode*. But there is little evidence for this beyond the statement of Manetho; and the date thus assigned to the exode is much too late. Mr. Poole thinks that the oppressor of the Israelites was probably a foreigner of Assyrian descent, and refers to Is. lii. 4 in corroboration of his opinion.

5. *Pharaoh the father-in-law of Mered*. [BITHIAH; MERED.]

6. *Pharaoh the father-in-law of Hadad*. Hadad was one of those who rose up against Solomon, and being defeated by him fled to Egypt, where he married the sister of Tahpanhes, the queen of



the Pharaoh. [HADAD.] It is not probable that this Pharaoh was the one whose daughter Solomon married; he may have been his predecessor, in which case he was Phinakes or Osochor of the 21st dynasty.

7. *Pharaoh the father-in-law of Solomon.* This was probably Pusemes II., a king of the 21st dynasty.

8. *Pharaoh the ally of the Jews against Sennacherib* (Is. xxxvi. 6). By many this 'king of Mizraim' is supposed to be the same person who appears as Tirhakah, king of Cush (2 Kings xix. 9), and So, king of Mizraim (2 Kings xvii. 4), and they identify him with Sevech II., the Sabacon of Herodotus (ii. 137, ff.), who reigned about 715 B.C. But others think the person styled Pharaoh was different from Tirhakah and So, and is to be identified with the Sethos of Herodotus (ii. 141).

9. *Pharaoh who besieged Gaza* (Jer. xlvii. 1). This can be none other than Psammetichus I. (Herod. ii. 157), who reigned contemporaneously with the last years of Manasseh, the reign of Amon, and the early years of Josiah.

10. *Pharaoh Necho.* [NECHO.]

11. *Pharaoh Hophra.* [HOPHRA.]

(See Bunsen, *Ægyptens Stelle*, translated by Cottrell, and his *Bibelwerk*, i. 225, ff.; the article *Egypt* in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and the art. *Pharaoh* in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, by Mr. Stuart Poole; and art. MANETHO in this work.)

PHAREZ (פָּרֶז; Sept. Φαρές), the elder of the twin sons of Judah by his daughter-in-law Tamar (Gen. xxxviii. 29). In the genealogical lists Pharez ranks as the second son of Judah next to Shelah, and his two sons Hezron and Hamul take the place of Judah's sons Er and Onan, who died without issue, and whose names were apparently blotted out from amongst the descendants of Jacob. From Pharez came the sept of the Pharizites (Num. xxvi. 20), one of the most numerous in the tribe, and rendered specially illustrious by being that from which sprang David and the kings of Judah, and eventually the Messiah. [GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST.] It was divided into two branches, the Hamulites and the Hezronites, in the latter of which was the royal line.—W. L. A.

PHARISEES (פְּרוּשִׁים, Aramaic form פְּרוּשִׁין; N. T. and Joseph. Φαρισαῖοι, *Pharisæi*, more properly *Perushim* or *Perushin*), one of the three sects or orders of Judaism in the time of Christ, the other two being the *Essenes* and the *Sadducees*.

1. *Name of the Sect, and its signification.*—The name Φαρισαῖος = *Pharisee* is the Greek form of the Hebrew פָּרוּשׁ (passive of פָּרַשׁ, to separate, plur. פְּרוּשִׁים, Aramaic פְּרוּשִׁין), and properly denotes one who is separated, i. e., by special practices; or, as the *Aruch* (s. v.) defines it, 'one who separated himself from Levitical impurity and Levitically impure food' (comp. also *Talmud*, *Chagiga*, 18 b; *Sabbath*, 13 a). The derivation of it from פָּרַשׁ, to separate, to unfold, to explain, and the assertion that the followers of this sect were called *Pharisees* = interpreters of the Bible, in contradistinction to the *Sadducees*, who adhered to the letter of the Scriptures, as well as the more generally received notion that they were so called because they separated from the rest of the people, believing themselves to be more holy, are at variance with the most ancient and most authentic

authorities upon this subject. Besides, to take פָּרוּשׁ as interpreter is contrary to its grammatical form, which, as *transitive*, ought to be פָּרַשׁ. Of course the separation from that which was Levitically impure necessarily implied separation from those who were defiled by Levitically impure objects. It must be observed that the name *Pharisees* is given to them in the Mishna (*Jebamoth*, iv. 6, etc.) by their opponents the *Sadducees*, and that the names by which they were designated among themselves are חכמים, *sages*, or more modestly

תלמידי חכמים, *disciples of the sages*, but more generally חבֵּרִים, *associates*. By the term *Pharisees*, פְּרוּשִׁים, or its equivalent *Chaberim*, חבֵּרִים, i. e., *associates*, is therefore meant all those Jews who separated themselves from every kind of Levitical impurity, and united together to keep the Mosaic laws of purity. As it was natural that all the students of the law would, as a matter of course, be the first to join this association, the appellation חבֵּר, *member, associate*, or פָּרוּשׁ, *Pharisee*, became synonymous with *student, disciple, lawyer, scribe*, whilst those who refused to unite to keep the laws were regarded as עַם הָאָרֶץ, *country people, common people, illiterates, irreligious*.

2. *The qualifications for membership of the Pharisaic association.*—The most essential conditions which were exacted from every one who wished to become a *Chaber* or member of the Pharisaic association were two. Each candidate was required to promise in the presence of three members that—(i.) He would set apart all the sacred tithes on the produce of the land, and refrain from eating anything which had not been tithed, or about the tithing of which there was any doubt; and (ii.) He would scrupulously observe the most essential laws of purity which so materially affected the eating of food, and all family affairs. To understand these laws, which may seem trivial and arbitrary, as well as to see the extraordinary influence which they exercised upon the whole religious and social life of the Jewish nation in all its ramifications, the following facts must be borne in mind:—The Mosaic law enjoins that besides the (תרומה) priestly heave-offering every Israelite is annually to give to the Levites a tithe of all the produce (Num. xviii. 21-24), which the Jewish canons call the *first tithe* (מעשר ראשון); that a *second tithe* (מעשר שני), as it is termed in the same canons, is to be taken annually from the produce to Jerusalem, either in kind or specie, and consumed by the owner in the metropolis in festive celebration (Deut. xii. 5-18), and that every third year this second tithe is to be given to the poor (Deut. xiv. 28, 29), whence it is denominated the *poor tithe* (מעשר עני) in the ancient canons. Moreover, as each seventh year was a Sabbatic or furrow year, which yielded no harvest, it was fixed that in the first, second, fourth, and fifth years of the septennial cycle the *second tithe* is to be eaten by the owner in Jerusalem, whilst in the third and sixth years it is to be distributed among the poor, and be the *poor tithe*. When it is remembered that these tithal laws, which were originally enacted for Palestine, were in the post-exile period extended to Egypt, Ammon, Moab, and to every land in which the Jews had possessions, that they had more of a religious than civil import, that the portion of produce reserved as tithes was *holy*, that the eating of *holy things* was a deadly sin, and that the non-separation of the tithes



rendered the whole produce unlawful, thus affecting every article of food, the paramount importance of the first condition which the Pharisees, who were the conservators of the divine law, exacted from the candidates for fellowship will readily be understood (comp. *Bechoroth*, 30 b).

Of equal importance, and equally affecting the whole fabric of social and religious life, are the Mosaic laws upon the strength of which the second condition was exacted. These laws, which so rigidly enforce the eschewing of unclean food and defiling objects, even without the amplifications and expansion which obtained in the course of time, extend to and affect almost every action in public life, and every movement in family intercourse. Thus not only are numbers of animals proscribed as food, but their very carcasses are branded as unclean, and he who touches them is temporarily defiled, and pollutes every one and every thing wherewith he comes in contact (Lev. v. 2; xi.) A man that has an issue not only defiles everything upon which he lies, sits, or which he touches, but his very spittle is polluting (Lev. xv. 1-13). The same is the case with a man who comes in contact with a corpse (Num. xix. 14-22), with a woman in menstruum and child-birth (Lev. xii. 1-8; xv. 19-31), and with a husband after conjugal intercourse (*ibid.*, xv. 18). Individuals thus defiled were forbidden to come into the sanctuary (Num. xix. 20), and were visited with the severe punishment of excision if they ate the flesh of peace-offering (Lev. vii. 20, 21). Now the slightest reflection upon the workings of these laws will show that thousands upon thousands were daily unclean according to the Mosaic institutions, that these thousands of unclean men and women legally defiled myriads of people and things by contact with them, either wittingly or unwittingly, and that it therefore became absolutely necessary for those who were conscientiously desirous of discharging their religious duties in a state of legal purity to adopt such precautionary measures as would preclude the possibility of violating these laws. Hence the Jewish canons ordained that since one does not know whether he has been defiled by contact with any unclean person or thing, every *Chaber* (חבר) or member of the Pharisaic association is 'to wash his hands before eating his ordinary food, second tithes, or the heave-offering; to immerse his whole body before he eats the portions of holy sacrifices; and to bathe his whole body before touching the water absolving from sin, even if it is only his hands which are unclean. If one immersed himself for ordinary food, and designed it only for ordinary food, he could not eat second tithes; if he immersed for second tithes, and meant it only for second tithes, he could not eat of the heave-offering; if he immersed for the heave-offering, and meant by it the heave-offering, he was not allowed to eat the portions of the holy sacrifice; if he immersed for the holy sacrifice, and meant it for the holy sacrifice, he could not as yet touch the water absolving from sin; but he who immersed for the more important could share in the less important' (*Mishna, Chagiga*, ii. 5, 6). This gave rise to four degrees of purity, and to four divisions in the Pharisaic associations, so that every *Chaber* (חבר) or member belonged to that rank whose prescriptions of purity he practised. Each degree of purity required a greater separation from the above-named Mosaic defilements. The impure subjects themselves were

termed *the fathers of impurity*, that which was touched by them was designated *the first generation of impurity*, what was touched by this again was called *the second generation of impurity*, and so on. Now ordinary food, the first degree of holiness, became impure when touched by the second generation; heave-offering, the second degree of holiness, became defiled when touched by the third generation; the flesh of sacrifices, the third degree of holiness, when coming in contact with the fourth generation, and so on. These degrees of purity had even to be separated from each other, as the lower degree was impure in respect to the higher one. The same removal, both from defilement without and the different gradations within, was required of each member of the Pharisaic order corresponding to the degree to which he belonged. Hence 'the garments of an *Am Ha-Aretz* [for a publican, a sinner, as he is termed in the N. T., who neglected to pay the tithes and observe the laws of Mosaic purity] defile the Pharisee [*i.e.*, him who lived according to the first degree of purity], the garments of a Pharisee defile those who eat of the heave-offering [*i.e.*, the second degree], the garments of those who eat the heave-offering defile those who eat the sacred sacrifices [*i.e.*, the third degree], and the garments of those who eat the sacred sacrifices defile those who touch the water absolving from sin [*i.e.*, the fourth degree]' (comp. *Mishna, Chagiga* ii. 7 with *Taharoth* vii. 5).

The above-mentioned two conditions exacted from candidates for membership of the Pharisaic association are thus expressed in the *Mishna*:—'He who takes upon himself to be conscientious, tithes whatever he eats, and whatever he sells, and whatever he buys, and does not become the guest of an *Am Ha-Aretz* [*i.e.*, a non-Pharisee]; . . . and he who takes upon himself to become a member of the Pharisaic association must neither sell to an *Am Ha-Aretz* moist or dry fruit, nor buy of him moist fruit, nor become the guest of an *Am Ha-Aretz*, nor receive him as guest, in his garments, into his house (*Demai* ii. 2, 3, with *Matt.* xxiii. 23; *Luke* xvii. 12). It is in accordance with this regulation that Christ enjoins that an offender is to be regarded 'as an heathen man and publican' (*Matt.* xviii. 17), that the apostle Paul commands 'not to eat' with a sinner (1 *Cor.* v. 11), and it is for this reason that Christ was upbraided by the Pharisees for associating and eating with publicans and sinners (*Matt.* ix. 9-11; xi. 19; *Mark* ii. 16; *Luke* v. 30; vii. 34), with the neglectors of tithes and the transgressors of the laws of purity, which was not only in violation of the then prevailing Pharisaic and national law, but contrary to the Mosaic enactments. But he came to teach that, 'not that which goeth into the mouth [*i.e.*, untithed food or edibles handled by Levitically unclean persons] defileth a man, but that which cometh out of the mouth, this defileth a man' (*Matt.* xv. 11); and that it is not outward washing but inward purity which is acceptable, for which reason 'he sat down to meat with a Pharisee, and did not first wash before dinner' (*Luke* xi. 37-40); which, as we have seen, was in contravention of the very first degree of purity among the association. It must, however, be remarked, that the Jews were not peculiar in their laws of purity and defilement. Other nations of antiquity had similar statutes. Thus, amongst the ancient Indians, one who had



an issue was obliged to bathe and pray to the sun (*Manu*, ii. 181); among the Hierapolytans in Syria, every inmate of the house in which a death took place was thirty days unclean, and could not go to the temple during that time (Lucian, *de Syr. dea*, 53); the Greeks, too, were defiled by contact with a corpse, and could not resort to the temple (Theophrast., *Charact.*, 16; Eurip., *Iphig. Taur.*, 367; Diog. Laer., viii. 33); both the Parsees and the Greeks regarded a woman in childbirth as unclean (Kleuker, *Zend-Avesta*, iii. pp. 222, 223; Eurip., *Iphig. Taur.*, 367); and 'no Egyptian would salute a Greek with a kiss, nor use a Greek knife, spits, cauldrons, nor taste the meat of an ox which had been cut by a Greek knife. They drank out of bronze vessels, rinsing them perpetually. And if any one accidentally touched a pig he would plunge into the Nile without stopping to undress' (*Herodot.* ii. 37, 41, 47).

3. *The tenets and practices of the Pharisees.*—To state the doctrines and statutes of the Pharisees is to give a history of orthodox Judaism; since Pharisaism was after the return from the Babylonish captivity, and is to the present day, the national faith of the orthodox Jews, developing itself with and adapting itself to the ever-shifting circumstances of the nation. Of the other two sects, viz., the Essenes and the Sadducees, the former represented simply an intensified form of Pharisaism [ESSENES], whilst the latter were a very small minority. The Pharisees, as the erudite Geiger has conclusively shown, were the democratic party, the true representatives of the people, whose high vocation they endeavoured to develop by making them to realise, both in their practices and lives, that 'God has given to all alike the kingdom, priesthood, and holiness' (2 Maccab. ii. 17); in opposition to the small cast of the priestly aristocracy of Sadducees, who set the highest value upon their spiritual office, and who, by virtue of their hereditary rights, tried to arrogate everything to themselves, and manifested little sympathy with the people at large. Hence the Pharisaic enactments were such as to make the people realise that they were a *people of priests*, a *holy nation*, that by becoming a diligent student of the law, and by preparing one's-self for the office of a Rabbi or teacher, every such person, though not literally of the priestly cast, may be a priest in spirit, and occupy quite as important and useful a position as if he were actually of the Aaronic order, and even arrange his mode of life according to the example of those who minister in holy things. Thus the very name *חֲבֵר*, *étrapla*, which in olden times denotes a *priestly fraternity* (Hos. iv. 17; vi. 9), and was so used by the Jews on the Maccabean coins (*חֲבֵר הַיְּהוּדִים*),\* was adopted by the Pharisees for their

lay association. Their social meals were invested with a solemn character to resemble the social meals of the priests, made up from the sacrifices in the Temple. If the priests took care that the sacrifices which they offered up, and portions of which constituted their social meal, especially on the Sabbath and festivals, should be clean and without blemish, the Pharisees too took the utmost precaution that their meals should be free from the different degrees of defilement; they washed before partaking thereof, recited prayers before and after the repast, had a cup of blessing and offered incense. It is only from this point of view that some of the differences between the Pharisees and the Sadducees can be explained; as, for instance, the *ideal connection of places* for Sabbath purposes, called *עֵרֹב*, adopted by the former and rejected by the latter. In consequence of the rigorous laws about the observance of the Sabbath (Exod. xvi. 29; Jer. xvii. 21, with Neh. xiii. 15, etc.), it was enacted that no Israelite is to walk on the Sabbath beyond a certain distance, called a Sabbath day's journey, nor carry anything from one house to another. The Sadducees, or priestly party, who celebrated their meals on the Sabbath in different places, could go from one place to another, and carry to and fro anything they liked, because they regarded these meals as constituting part of their priestly and sacrificial service, which set aside the sanctity of the Sabbath. Now the Pharisees, who made their Sabbath repast to resemble the priestly social meals, had to encounter difficulties arising from the rigorous Sabbath laws. The distance which they had sometimes to walk to join a company in the social meal was more than a Sabbath day's journey; the carrying from one place to another the things requisite for the solemnities was contrary to the enactments about the sanctity of the day. Hence they contrived the *ideal connection of places* (*עֵרֹב*), which was effected as follows:—Before the Sabbath commenced (*i. e.*, Friday afternoon), an article of food was deposited by each member in the court selected for the social gathering, so that it might thereby become the common place for all; the streets were made to form one large dwelling-place with different gates, by means of beams laid across on the tops of the houses, and doors or gates put in the front; and meals were put in a house at the end of the distance permitted to walk, in order to constitute it a domicile, and thus another Sabbath day's journey could be undertaken from the first terminus. By this means the Pharisees could evade the law, and, like the priests, meet together in any place to celebrate their social meals on the Sabbath, and carry anything that was wanted for

and of whose idolatrous associations they are prohibited to become members (*חֲבֵר הַבְּזִי*). Hence the severest thing that Hosea could say against the kingdom of Israel was that *they formed themselves into associations in joining idols* (*חֲבֵר עֲצָבִים*, iv. 17), and that they are a *priestly association* (*חֲבֵר כֹּהֲנִים*, vi. 9). At the restoration of the state, however, this Semitic appellation was also used by the Jews in an honourable sense, and was given to the priestly senate. Hence we find the legend on the so-called Maccabæan coins the conjoint governing senate (*חֲבֵר הַיְּהוּדִים*) side by side with the high-priest (*Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel*, p. 121, etc.)

\* Comp. Levy, *Jüdische Münzen*, p. 50, etc., Leipzig 1862; Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, p. 54, etc., London 1864. [MONEY.] The erudite Geiger rightly remarks that 'the neighbouring Semitic nations, and especially the Phœnicians, also designated such priestly associations who shared in the government of the people by the appellation *חֲבֵר*, *étrapla*, and that in the earlier Biblical period these priestly fraternities of the neighbouring people are described as *oneirocritics*, *soothsayers*, etc., in whose revelries and social sacrificial feasts the Jews are forbidden to partake (Prov. xxi. 9; xxv. 24),



its sacred festival, as they had three common meals on the Sabbath (שלוש סעודות). On the Friday eve the entrance of the Sabbath was greeted with a cup of wine, or the cup of blessing, over which every member recited benedictions (קידוש), expressing the holiness of the day as well as the holiness of Israel, whom God sanctified to himself and made a people of priests, a royal nation, whereupon the sacred and social meal was eaten. The second meal was eaten on noon of the Sabbath, and the third began with the setting sun, and in the middle of it the Sabbath departed. When lights were kindled, a blessing was again pronounced

over a cup of wine (הברכה), and burning incense was offered up to accompany the exit of the holy day, which was regarded as a departing friend.

The paschal meal was the model for these social and sacred repasts. But the light in which this very model sacrifice is to be viewed was a point of dispute between the priestly party or the Sadducees and the Pharisees. Because the paschal lamb formed the social meal of the laity, the priestly party maintained that it is not to be regarded as a sacrifice for the congregation, urging in support of their notion the fact that the lambs were not numerically fixed like the other sacrifices in the Temple, but were regulated according to the number of families, and that they must therefore be viewed simply as family sacrifices, to be eaten by the respective owners, and must not set aside the sanctity of the Sabbath, *i. e.*, ought not to be offered on the 14th of Nisan, if the first day of the Passover falls on the Sabbath. Hillel, however, or the Pharisaic party whom he represented, succeeded in carrying their point, and in putting the sacred but private offerings of the Passover on an equality with the Temple sacrifices, and it was ordained, in opposition to the priestly party, that they are to set aside the sanctity of the Sabbath; thus making the social family meal of the laity, which the Passover constituted as sacred as the fraternal meal of the priests, consisting of the sacred sacrifices offered in the Temple (*Jerusalem Pesachim*, cap. vi.; *Babylon Pesachim*, 66 a; Geiger, *Jüdische Zeitschrift*, ii. 42, *seq.*, Breslau 1863). Having carried this point, the Pharisees also gave to their meals of the Sabbath and other holy days a sacrificial character after the model of the Passover.

As a people of priests and kings, the Pharisees considered themselves the guardians of the divine law and the ancestral customs, trusting implicitly that he who selected them to be his peculiar people would protect and shield them and theirs from all outward dangers which threatened the state. They were firmly penetrated by the conviction that as long as they were faithful to their God no power on earth, however formidable, would be permitted successfully to ravish his holy heritage. Hence they repudiated the time-serving policy of the aristocratic Sadducees, who maintained that a man's destiny was in his own hands, and that human ingenuity and state-craft ought to be resorted to in political matters. The noble motto of the Pharisees was, that 'everything depends upon God except a man's piety, which he, as a free being, can

show to the Greeks that his brethren had philosophical sects similar to their schools, he declares that they ascribe all to fate and God (Φαρισαῖοι εἰμαρμένῃ καὶ θεῷ προοράντων πάντα, *de Bell. Jud.* ii. 8. 14, with *Antiq.* xviii. 1. 4). The objections urged against this overruling Providence in all things, based upon the apparent absence of retributive justice in human dealings, as exhibited in the sufferings of the righteous and in the prosperity of the wicked, the Pharisees confronted with the doctrine of a future state, where the righteous judge will requite every man according to his deeds, whether they be good or evil, and where all present inequalities will be rectified. 'The reward of the righteous will assuredly be in the world to come' (*Aboth*, ii. 16). Hence the constant admonition to avoid that which is sinful and to remember the tribunal in the world to come. 'Heed three things and thou wilt eschew transgression; remember what is above thee, the all-seeing eye and the all-hearing ear, and that all thy deeds are written down in a book' (*Aboth*, ii. 1). 'Attend to three things and thou shalt not come to transgression; know whence thou comest, whither thou shalt one day go, and before whom thou must give an account of thyself. Thou comest from an offensive drop; thou goest to a place of dust, worms, and decay; and thou must give an account of thyself before the tribunal of the King of kings, blessed be he' (*Aboth*, iii. 1). 'Those that are born are to die, those that die are to rise again, those that rise again are to be judged. Know, therefore, teach it, and be assured that he is the Omnipotent; he is the Former, the Creator, the Omniscient; the Judge, the witness, and the prosecutor; and he will pronounce the sentence. Blessed be he, before his tribunal there is no injustice, no forgetfulness, no respect of persons, and no acceptance of a bribe, for everything is his. Know also that everything is to be accounted for; let not, then, thine evil lusts persuade thee that the grave is a place of refuge for thee' (*Aboth*, iv. 22).

With such serious views of time and eternity, the Pharisees led a temperate life, renouncing both excessive riches and immoderate pleasure, and striving above all to acquire a knowledge of that law, and to practise those precepts, which shall fit them for the life to come, as may be seen from the following declaration: 'The more flesh on the body the more worms [when it is dead], the more riches the more cares, the more wives the more witches, the more handmaids the more unchastity, the more man-servants the more robbery; but the more meditation in the divine law the better the life, the more schooling the more knowledge, the more counsel the more intelligence, the more benevolence the more satisfaction; he who acquires a good name acquires it for himself in this world, but he who acquires a knowledge of the divine law acquires for himself life in the world to come' (*Aboth*, ii. 17). In aiding the people to realise their high vocation, and to prepare themselves for the kingdom of heaven by obedience to the divine law, the Pharisees endeavoured to facilitate that obedience by putting a mild interpretation upon some of the rigorous Mosaic enactments, and to adapt them to ever-changing circumstances. Thus

either cultivate or neglect' (הכל בידי שמים הין) מיראת שמים; *Berachoth*, 33 b; *Nidah*, 16, 72). It is this which Josephus means when, wishing to

they explain the expression נבלה, *carcase*, in Lev. vii. 24, literally, and maintain that the statute in the verse in question only declares *the flesh of*



an animal which was torn and died a natural death to be defiling by contact, but not the skin, bones, etc.; and that, besides the human corpse and the dead bodies of a few reptiles in which the skin and flesh are to a certain extent identical, the skin and bones of all animals, whether clean and legally slaughtered for meat, or unclean and dying accidentally, do not defile, but may be made up into parchment, different utensils, etc. The haughty and aristocratic Sadducees, on the other hand, who stood on their priestly dignity, and cared little for

the comforts of the people, took the term נבלה in the unnatural sense of *an animal approaching the condition of becoming a carcase*, i. e., being so weak that it must soon expire, and maintained that an animal in such a condition may be slaughtered before it breathes its last; that its flesh must then be considered as a carcase, and is defiling, whilst the fat, skin, bones, etc., may be used for diverse purposes (*Jerusalem Megilla*, i. 9; *Babylon Sabbath*, 108 a). It requires but little reflection to perceive how materially and divergently these different views must have affected the whole state of society, when it is remembered that according to the Sadducees the touching of any book written upon the parchment made from the skin of an unclean animal, or contact with one of the numerous utensils made from the leather, bones, veins, etc., of animals not Levitically clean and not legally slaughtered, imparted defilement. Again, the Pharisees, with a due regard for the interests of the people, and following the requirements of the time, explained the *right of retaliation*, 'eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot,' etc. (Exod. xxi. 23, etc.), as requiring pecuniary compensation, while the Sadducees took it literally (*Baba Kama*, 83 b, 84 a, b; *Megillath Taanith*, cap. iv., *Tosephta*). The same consideration for the spiritual and temporal wellbeing of the people led the Pharisees to enact that in cases of danger, when the prescribed prayers cannot be offered, they are to offer a short prayer as follows:—'Do thy will in heaven above, and give peace of mind to those who fear thee on earth, and whatsoever pleaseth thee do. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hearest prayer!' (*Berachoth*, 29 b). What a striking resemblance between this and some parts of the Lord's prayer! It was this humane and pious care for the interests of the people which made the Pharisees so popular and beloved, and accounts for the remark of Josephus that they had such influence with the multitude that if they said anything against a king or a high-priest they were at once believed (*Antiq.* xiii. 10. 5).

4. *Origin, development, and classes of the Pharisees*.—After the return from the Babylonish captivity the priesthood formed the centre of the new religious life, and the pious in Israel who were anxious to practise the commandments of the Lord naturally attached themselves to the divinely-appointed and time-honoured tribe of Levi. Besides the keeping pure from intermarriage with heathen, great and vital importance was attached to the setting aside of the soil and Temple taxes (Neh. x. 33, 36, etc.; *Ecclus.* vii. 31; *xlvi.* 20; *Tobit* i. 6; *v.* 13; *Judith* xi. 13; *i Maccab.* iii. 49), to the due observance of the Sabbath (Neh. x. 31; *xiii.* 19), the three pilgrim festivals, viz., the Passover (2 *Chron.* xxx. xxxv.; *Ezra* vi. 19-22), Pentecost (*Tobit* ii. 1), and Tabernacles (Neh. viii. 14), as well as the Sab-

batic year (Neh. x. 31; *i Maccab.* vi. 49, 53), and the abstinence from unclean food. He who allied himself to the national party with the solemn resolve to keep those ancestral laws divinely given to the nation, was called 'one who had separated himself unto them from the impurity of the country

people' (הנבדל מנוי הארץ אלהים, *Ezra* vi. 21), or 'one who had separated himself for the law

of the Lord from the country people' (הנבדל מנוי

הארץ אל תורת האלהים, *Ezra* ix. 1; *x.* 11; *Neh.*

*ix.* 2; *x.* 28). Hence the phrase נבדל מן obtained during this period a party signification. This name became the standing appellation for those who had thus separated themselves for the service of God, and continued the conservators of their ancestral religion, as may be seen from the taunt of the anti-national party, who warned them to join the Greek party, telling them in the days of the Maccabees that 'since we have separated from them (ἐξωρισθη-

μεν ἀπ' αὐτῶν, the translation of נבדל) many evils have come upon us' (*i Maccab.* i. 11). Those who yielded to the temptation, and, relinquishing the national party, joined the antinational portion, were denominated (התערב) the mixed (*Ezra* ix. 1) or (ערב) the mixture (*Neh.* xiii. 3). Hence the period before Alcimus was afterwards regarded as the *non-mixture* (ἀμιξία), whilst his own was looked upon as the mixture (ἐπιμύξ, *2 Maccab.* xiv. 3, 38). Afterwards, when the priestly party, or the Sadducees, who were at first the centre of the national movement, assumed a haughty position, stood upon their sacerdotal dignity, cared little for the real spiritual and temporal wants of the people, but only sought their own aggrandisement and preservation, allying themselves for this purpose with foreign nations, and espousing antinational sentiments, the real national portion of the people united themselves more firmly than ever, independently of the priests, to keep the law, and to practise their ancestral customs; and it is this party whom the opposite section called by the Aramaic name פרושין = *Φαρισαῖοι*, instead of its original Hebrew equivalent נבדלים, the separated (*Ezra* vi. 21; *ix.* 1; *x.* 11; *Neh.* ix. 2; *x.* 28).

With the definitions and explanations of such an extensive and gorgeous ritual as that of the Mosaic law, with the application and adaptation thereof to all the vicissitudes of the commonwealth, with the different degrees of holiness and uncleanness attached to the performance or neglect of each precept and rite, with the diverse dispositions and idiosyncrasies of the multitude about the respective merits of outward observances and a corresponding inward feeling, the Pharisees would have been superhuman if they had escaped the extravagances which in the course of time have more or less developed themselves in the established religions based upon a more spiritual code and a less formal ritual. To quote the enactment 'that the flesh of quadrupeds must not be cooked or in any way mixed with milk for food,' deduced from injunctions in *Exod.* xxiii. 19; *xxxiv.* 26; *Deut.* xiv. 21; or the enactment about 'the compulsory recitation of the *Shema* twice a day,' i. e., the declaration about the unity of the Deity (*Deut.* vi. 4-9) at a stated time; or the discussion on 'the lighting candles on the eve of the Sabbath,' which is the duty of every Jew; or 'the interdict to eat an egg



which had been laid on any feast day, whether such day was or was not the day after the Sabbath,' and to draw the conclusion therefrom, as is done by Mr. Plumptre in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, s. v. *Pharisees*, that 'it certainly seems a degradation of human intelligence to exercise it on matters so trifling and petty,' and that 'viewed as a whole the Pharisees treated men like children, formalizing and defining the minutest particulars of ritual observance,' is not only unfair to the synagogue, but to ignore the acts and monuments of our own church. The Christian church, without any basis for it in the N. T., has a casuistry which may fairly compete with that of the Pharisees, who had to define an inspired code of minute rites and ceremonies. From Peter Lombard to Gabriel Biel the question was warmly discussed among all the Christian casuists. What is to be done with a mouse which has eaten of the consecrated wafer? \* Our own established church, which in excellency surpasses any other national church, has deduced from the words, 'Let all things be done decently and according to order' (1 Cor. xiv. 40), that 'no man shall cover his head in the church or chapel in the time of divine service, except he have some infirmity, in which case let him wear a nightcap or coif' (*Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical*, xviii.); has enacted that 'no minister, when he celebrateth the communion, shall wittingly administer the same to any but to such as kneel, under pain of suspension' (*ibid.* xxvii.); that 'upon Wednesdays and Fridays weekly, though they be not holy-days, the minister, at the accustomed hours of service, shall resort to the church or chapel, and, warning being given to the people by tolling of a bell, shall say the litany prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer: *whereunto we wish every householder dwelling within half a mile of the church to come or send one at the least of his household*, fit to join with the minister in prayers' (xv.); and that 'no ecclesiastical person shall wear any coif or wrought nightcap, but only plain nightcaps of black silk, satin, or velvet . . . in private houses and in their studies, the said persons ecclesiastical may use any comely and scholar-like apparel, provided that it be not cut or pinkt; and that in public they go not in their doublet and hose, without coats or cassocks; and that they wear not any light-coloured stockings' (lxxiv.) If, in the absence of the Levitical law, such enactments were judged necessary, how much more might the Pharisees, who lived under that law, and whose business it was to see it obeyed, be absolved from all intention to degrade the human intellect by their minute requisitions? That the multitudinous and minute rites and ceremonies imposed by the Mosaic law, and amplified by the requirements of time, should have given rise among many Pharisees to formalism, outward religiousness, self-complacency, ostentation, superstition, and hypocrisy, was to be expected, judging from the general tendency of gorgeous ritualism in more modern days. We are therefore not surprised that our Saviour found these pernicious features in the ranks of Pharisaism, and that he found occasion to expose

and to reprove most unsparingly their externalism (Matt. xxiii. 27; Luke vii. 39) and hypocrisy (Matt. xxiii. 13). But to conclude from this that all the Pharisees, or that the majority of them, were either self-righteous and superstitious, or a set of hypocrites, is as unjust as it is base to brand every section in our own church with the infirmities and extravagances of which individual members are guilty, and which are either denounced by their own more enlightened and spiritually-minded brethren, or exposed by the opposing sections. The language which the Pharisees themselves employed to denounce the proud, the formalists, the self-righteous, and the hypocrites in their own sect, is, to say the least, quite as strong as that which our Saviour used. In confirmation of this, we need only give the poignant Talmudic classification of the Pharisees. 'There are seven kinds of Pharisees,' says the Talmud; 'i. *The Shechemite Pharisee* (פרוש שכמי), who simply keeps the law for what he can profit thereby, just as Shechem submitted to the rite of circumcision that he might thereby obtain Dinah, the daughter of Jacob (Gen. xxxiv. 19); ii. *The Tumbling Pharisee* (פרוש נכפי), who, in order to appear humble before men, always hangs down his head, and scarcely lifts up his feet when he walks, so that he constantly tumbles; iii. *The Bleeding Pharisee* (פרוש קוהא), who, in order not to look at a woman, walks about with his eyes closed, and hence injures his head frequently, so that he has bleeding wounds; iv. *The Mortar Pharisee* (פרוש מרוביח), who wears a cap in the form of a mortar to cover his eyes, that he may not see any impurities and indecencies; v. *The What-am-I-yet-to-do Pharisee* (פרוש אדעה), who, not knowing much about the law, as soon as he has done one thing, asks, what is my duty now? and I will do it (comp. Mark x. 17-22); vi. *The Pharisee from Fear* (פרוש מיראה), who keeps the law because he is afraid of a future judgment; and vii. *The Pharisee from Love* (פרוש מאהבה), who obeys the Lord because he loves him with all his heart' (*Babylon Sota*, 22 b, with *Jerusalem Berachoth*, cap. ix.) Such stinging exposure of their own fanatics, worldly-minded, and hypocrites, assuredly shows that the Pharisees themselves would by no means tolerate outward sanctity, or a hollow profession of holiness. Besides, it was among the Pharisees that the glorious ideas were developed about the Messiah, the kingdom of heaven, the immortality of the soul, the world to come, etc. etc. It was the Pharisees who trained such men as the immortal Hillel, 'the just and devout Simeon, who waited for the consolation of Israel,' and who, taking up the infant Saviour into his arms, offered up thanks to God (Luke ii. 25-35); Zacharias, 'who was righteous before God' (Luke i. 6); Gamaliel, the teacher of Saul of Tarsish; St. Paul, the great apostle of the Gentiles, etc. Our Saviour himself occupied Pharisaic ground, and used the arguments of the Pharisees in vindication of his conduct and doctrines. Thus, when Jesus was charged by the Pharisees with allowing his disciples to break the Sabbath by plucking ears of corn in the field on this holy day, he quoted the very maxim of the Pharisees that 'the Sabbath is made for man, and not man for the Sabbath' (Mark ii. 27 with *Soma*, 85 b); and his proof is deduced according to the Pharisaic exegetical rule denominated גזירה שוה, analogy [HILLEL, rule i.] When

\* Comp. the excellent review of Müller's *Phariseer und Sadducäer, oder Judentum und Mosaismus*, Vienna 1860, in Dr. Löw's periodical entitled *Ben Chananja*, vol. iv. p. 364, etc., Szegedin 1861.



David was hungry, he ate of the priestly bread, and also gave some to those who were with him. Accordingly one who is hungry may satisfy his hunger with that which is otherwise only allowed to the priests. Now the priests perform all manner of work on the Sabbath without incurring the guilt of transgression; why, then, should one who is hungry not be allowed to do the same? (Matt. xii. 1-7.) We only add, in conclusion, that the Apostle Paul, who must have known all the denunciations of Christ against the Pharisees, never uttered a disrespectful word against this sect, but, on the contrary, made it a matter of boast that he belonged to them (Acts xxiii. 6; xxvi. 5; Phil. iii. 5). Now, it would be surpassing strange that, if the apostle entertained anything like the modern sentiments of Christians about the Pharisees, he should never have uttered a single word against them.

5. *Literature*.—Besides the *Mishna*, the *Talmud*, and the *Midrashim*, which embody the sentiments of the Pharisees, we must refer to the articles on EDUCATION, ESSENES, HAPHTARA, THE FEASTS and THE FASTS, HILLEL, GAMALIEL, MARRIAGE, MIDRASHI, etc. etc., in this Cyclopædia; to Herzfeld, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. 258, etc., Nordhausen 1857; Jost, *Geschichte des Judenthums und seiner Secten*, i. 197, etc., Leipzig 1857; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, iii. 72, etc. 454, etc., 2d ed., Leipzig 1863; and above all to the elaborate and masterly treatise of the erudite Geiger, *Urschrift und Übersetzungen der Bibel*, p. 103, etc., Breslau 1857. Geiger, who has created a new era in the history of the Jewish sects, shows what influence the Pharisees exercised on the formation and redaction of the Hebrew text, as well as on the ancient versions. He has supplemented his *Urschrift* by a treatise which appeared in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. xvi., p. 714, etc., Leipzig 1862; and by an article in his own *Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben*, vol. ii. p. 11, etc., Breslau 1863, which has also been reprinted separately, Breslau 1863.—C. D. G.

PHARPAR (פַּרְפָּר, 'swift'; Arab. فَرَفَر; *Farfar*;

φάρ; Alex. Φαρφαρά; *Pharpar*), one of the two rivers of Damascus mentioned in the well-known exclamation of Naaman, 'Are not Abana and Pharpar, rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters of Israel?' (2 Kings v. 12). The name does not occur elsewhere in Scripture, nor is it found in ancient classic authors. Eusebius and Jerome merely state that it is a river of Damascus (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Farfar*). Pliny says that 'Damascus was a place fertilised by the river Chrysorroos, which is drawn off into its meadows and eagerly imbibed' (v. 16); and Strabo says of this river, that 'it commences from the city and territory of Damascus, and is almost entirely drained by water-courses; for it supplies with water a large tract of country' (xvi. p. 755). But none of these writers speak of any second river. Various opinions have been entertained regarding the Pharpar. Benjamin of Tudela states that, while the Abana runs through the city, the Pharpar runs between the gardens and the orchards in the outskirts (*Early Travels*, Bohn, p. 90). He evidently refers to the two branches of the same river. The river *Barada* takes its rise in the upland plain of Zebdāny, at

the base of the loftiest peak of Anti-Lebanon. Its principal source is a fountain called *Ain Barada*. It cuts through the central chain in a sublime gorge, and flows in a deep wild glen down the eastern declivities. Its volume is more than doubled by a large fountain called *Fijeh*, which gushes from a cave in the side of the glen. The river leaves the mountains and enters the great plain of Damascus about three miles west of the city. The main stream flows through the city; but no fewer than seven large canals are taken from it at different elevations to irrigate the surrounding orchards and gardens. The largest of these is called *Nahr Taura* (توري), 'the river Taura,' and is probably

that which Benjamin of Tudela identified with the Pharpar (*l. c.*) The Arabic version of the Bible reads *Taura* for *Pharpar* in 2 Kings v. 12; but the words of Naaman manifestly imply the existence of two distinct rivers. Some have supposed that because the Barada has two great fountains, Naaman alluded to these; and Dr. Wilson would identify the Barada with the Pharpar, and Ain Fijeh with the Abana (*Lands of the Bible*, ii. 371, 373); but in reply we say that Naaman speaks of two 'rivers,' and not 'fountains.'

A short distance south of the city of Damascus flows the river *Awaj*. It has two principal sources—one high up on the eastern side of Hermon, just beneath the central peak; the other in a wild glen a few miles southward, near the romantic village of Beit Jann. The streams unite near Sasa, and the river flows eastward in a deep rocky channel, and falls into a lake, or rather large marsh, called Bahret Hijāneh, about four miles south of the lake into which the Barada falls. Although the Awaj is eight miles distant from the city, yet it flows across the whole plain of Damascus; and large ancient canals drawn from it irrigate the fields and gardens almost up to the walls. The total length of the Awaj is nearly forty miles; and in volume it is about one-fourth that of the Barada. The Barada and Awaj are the only rivers of any importance in the district of Damascus; and there can be little doubt that the former is the Abana, and the latter the *Pharpar*. The identity of the Awaj and Pharpar was suggested by Munro in 1833 (*Summer Ramble*, ii. 54), and confirmed by Dr. Robinson (*Bibliotheca Sacra*, May 1849, p. 371); but its sources, course, and the lake into which it falls, were first explored by the writer of this article in the year 1852 (*Bibliotheca Sacra*, January 1854; and April 1854, p. 329). He then heard, for the first time, the name *Barbar* applied to a glen on the east side of Hermon, which sends a small tributary to the Awaj; and it seems highly probable that we have in this name a relic of the ancient Pharpar. The Arabic فَرَفَر may be regarded

as equivalent to the Hebrew פַּרְפָּר (see *Five Years in Damascus*, i. 299; *Biblioth. Sac.*, l. c., p. 54). The mountain region round the sources of the river was occupied in a remote age by the warlike Maachathites (1 Chron. xix. 6, 7; Josh. xii. 5). Subsequently it formed part of the tetrarchy of Abilene (Luke iii. 1; Joseph. *Antiq.* xix. 5. 1). Farther down, the river Pharpar divided the territory of Damascus from Iturea [ITUREA]. The whole district through which the river flows is now called *Wady el-Ajam*, 'the valley of the Persians;'



the scenery is bleak and mountainous, but some parts of it are extremely fertile, and it contains upwards of fifty villages, with a population of 18,000 souls.

For a fuller account of the rivers of Damascus, see *Journal of Sacred Literature*, July and October 1853; Porter's *Damascus*, i. 279, *seq.*; Ritter, *Pal. und Syr.*, iv. p. 1322, *seq.*—J. L. P.

PHASELIS (Φάσηλις), a coast town on the confines of Lycia and Pamphylia, but assigned by Strabo to the former, to which the Romans wrote requiring all Jewish exiles who had taken refuge there to be given up to Simon the high-priest (1 Maccab. xv. 23). Phaselis was at an early period a place of considerable commerce (Thuc. ii. 69; Polyb. xxx. 9); but at a later date it became a resort of pirates (Cic. *in Verr.* iv. 10). Behind the town was a mountain-range called τὰ Σόλυμα, the highest peaks of which rose immediately behind the town. This mountain is named *Solyma* only by Strabo; but there can be no doubt he means the Mons Chimaera, the highest point of which (now *Takhtali*) is nearly 8000 feet in height. Homer mentions the 'Solyma mountains' (*Odys.* v. 283); and Herodotus says the Solymi were the aboriginal inhabitants of Lycia (i. 173). This shows what value is to be attached to the suggestion that 'the existence of the mountain Solyma and a town of the same name (?) in the immediate neighbourhood of Phaselis, renders it possible that the descendants of some of these Israelites formed a population of some importance in the time of Strabo' (Smith, *Dict. of the Bible*, ii. 830)—W. L. A.

PHEBE. [PHŒBE.]

PHENICE (Φοινίξ; *Phœnice*), or properly *Phœnix*, a town and harbour in the island of Crete, which the vessel in which the Apostle Paul sailed was attempting to reach when driven away by the euroclydon and wrecked (Acts xxvii. 12). The harbour or 'haven' (ἀμῆν) is described by Luke as 'looking down the south-west and north-west winds' (βλέποντα κατὰ λίβα καὶ κατὰ χῶρον), that is, in the direction towards which these winds blow. This interpretation has been disputed. The A. V. has, 'and lieth toward the south-west and north-west;' but Mr. Smith has shown that κατὰ in connection with winds means 'in the same direction as.' Hence βλέποντα κατὰ λίβα does not mean, as is generally supposed, that the haven looked to the point from which the Libs blows, but to the point towards which it blows. Consequently, the haven looked towards the north-east and the south-east (Smith, *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, p. 86, *seq.*, 2d ed.) In this rendering Mr. Smith is sustained by ancient authorities, and also by some of the best modern critics (Alford, *ad loc.*; Conybeare and Howson, *Life of St. Paul*, ii. 334, note. See, however, for contrary opinion, Hackett *on Acts*, *ad loc.*)

The site of the town and harbour of Phœnix is now satisfactorily identified. Strabo locates it on the southern coast, at the narrowest part of the island (x. 4, p. 475). Hierocles identifies it with Aradena, and seems to place it opposite the island of Claudia (*Vet. Rom. Itin.*, ed. Wessel., p. 650, 651); and Stephen of Byzantium identifies Aradena and Acropolis (s. v.) On the south coast of Crete, at the narrowest part of the island, and opposite the island of Claudia, is the harbour of *Lutro*.

It is open to the east; but, as a little island lies almost in front of it, it has two entrances, one looking to the north-east (κατὰ λίβα), and the other to the south-east (κατὰ χῶρον). The harbour thus perfectly accords with the description of the sacred writer. It is thus described by Captain Spratt: 'Having in 1853 examined generally the south coast of Crete, I was fully convinced that Lutro was the Phenice of St. Paul, for it is the only bay to the westward of Fair Havens in which a vessel of any size could find any shelter during the winter months. By hauling inside the island, and securing to the south shore of the bay, a vessel is nearly land-locked. South-east and east winds only could endanger her; but with the former, where the fetch is greatest, the wind would not blow home against such a mountain as the White Mountains, so immediately over the bay, and rising to an elevation of 9000 feet' (Smith, p. 89). Mr. Brown, who since visited it, adds: 'It is the only secure harbour, in all winds, on the south coast of Crete' (*Id.*, p. 256, where a sketch-plan of the harbour is given. See also a plan in Conybeare and Howson, ii. 332). This identification is fully confirmed by the researches of Mr. Pashley (*Travels in Crete*, ii. 257), who discovered, a short distance above Lutro, a village called Acropolis ('upper city'), and another near it called Aradhena. These facts, taken in connection with the statements of Hierocles and Stephen Byz., leave it beyond doubt that the bay of Lutro is identical with the ancient haven of Phenice.'—J. L. P.

PHICOL (פִּיכֹל; Sept. Φιχόλ; Alex. Φικόλ; *mouth of all*, i.e., *all commanding*, according to

Gesen., but Fürst derives it from פִּכֹל, *to be strong*), the proper, or more probably, the titular name of the commander of the troops of Abimelech, the Philistine king of Gerar. If the Abimelech of the time of Isaac was the son of the Abimelech of the time of Abraham, we may conclude that the Phicol who attended on the second Abimelech was the successor of the one who was present with the first at the interview with Abraham (Gen. xxi. 22; xxvi. 26). But the whole subject of these interviews is beset with difficulties. [ABIMELECH; ABRAHAM; ISAAC.]

PHILADELPHIA (Φιλαδέλφεια), a city of Lesser Asia, and one of the seven containing the Christian churches to which the Apocalyptic admonitions were addressed. The town stood about twenty-five miles south-east from Sardis, in N. lat. 32° 28', E. long. 28° 30', in the plain of Hermus, about midway between the river of that name and the termination of Mount Tmolus. It was the second in Lydia (Ptolem. v. 2; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* v. 30), and was built by King Attalus Philadelphus, from whom it took its name. In B.C. 133 the place passed, with the dominion in which it lay, to the Romans. The site is reputed by Strabo (xiii. p. 628) to have been very liable to earthquakes; but it continued a place of importance and of strength down to the Byzantine age; and of all the towns in Asia Minor it withstood the Turks the longest. It was taken by Bajazet I. in A.D. 1392.

Philadelphia still exists as a Turkish town, under the name of Allah Shehr, 'city of God,' i.e., High-town. It covers a considerable extent of



ground, running up the slopes of four hills, or rather of one hill with four flat summits. The country, as viewed from these hills, is extremely magnificent—gardens and vineyards lying at the back and sides of the town, and before it one of most extensive and beautiful plains of Asia. The town itself, although spacious, is miserably built and kept, the dwellings being remarkably mean, and the streets exceedingly filthy. Across the summits of the hill behind the town and the small valleys between them runs the town wall, strengthened by circular and square towers, and forming also an extensive and long quadrangle in the plain below. The missionaries Fisk and Parsons, in 1822, were informed by the Greek bishop that the town contained 3000 houses, of which he assigned 250 to the Greeks, and the rest to the Turks. On the same authority it is stated that there are five churches in the town, besides twenty others which

were too old or too small for use. Six minarets, indicating as many mosques, are seen in the town; and one of these mosques is believed by the native Christians to have been the church in which assembled the primitive Christians addressed in the Apocalypse. There are few ruins; but in one part there are still found four strong marble pillars, which supported the dome of a church. The dome itself has fallen down, but its remains may be observed, and it is seen that the arch was of brick. On the sides of the pillars are inscriptions, and some architectural ornaments in the form of the figures of saints. One solitary pillar of high antiquity has been often noticed, as reminding beholders of the remarkable words in the Apocalyptic message to the Philadelphian church:—‘Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God; and he shall go no more out’ (Rev. iii. 12) (Smith, *Sept. Ecclesiarum Asiae*, p. 138;



432. Philadelphia.

Arundell, *Seven Churches*; Richter, *Wahlfahrten*, p. 518; Schubert, *Morgenlande*, i. 353-357; *Missionary Herald*, 1821, p. 253; 1839, pp. 210-212).—J. K.

**PHILEMON, EPISTLE TO.** That this epistle was written by the Apostle Paul is the constant tradition of the ancient church. Ignatius probably alludes to ver. 20 (*ad Ephes.* 2; *ad Magnes.* 12; *ad Polycarp.* 6); it is ascribed to St. Paul in the *Muratorian Canon*; it is expressly cited as his by Origen (*Homil. xix. in Jerem.*, tom. i. p. 185, ed. Huet.); it is referred to as his by Tertullian (*Adv. Marc.* v. 21); and both Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* iii. 25) and Jerome (*Proem. in Ep. ad Philem.* tom. iv. p. 442) attest its universal reception as such in the Christian world. The latter, indeed, informs us that some in his day deemed it unworthy of a place in the canon, in consequence

of its being occupied with subjects which, in their estimation, it did not become an apostle to write about, save as a mere private individual; but this he, at the same time, shows to be a mistake, and repudiates the legitimacy of such a standard for estimating the genuineness or authority of any book. It was also admitted as canonical by Marcion (*Hieronym. l. c.*; Tertullian, *l. c.*; Epiph., *Hæres.* xlii. 9). That this epistle should not have been quoted by several of the Fathers, who have quoted largely from the other Pauline epistles (*e.g.*, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Cyprian), may be accounted for partly by the brevity of the epistle, and partly by their not having occasion to refer to the subjects of which it treats. Paley has adduced the undesigned coincidences between this epistle and that to the Colossians with great force, as evincing the authenticity of both (*Horæ Paulinæ*, c. 14); and Eichhorn has ingeniously shown how a



person attempting, with the Epistle to the Colossians before him, to forge such an epistle as this in the name of Paul, would have been naturally led to a very different arrangement of the historical circumstances and persons from what we find in the epistle which is extant (*Einleit. ins N. T.*, iii. 302).

The epistle is inscribed to Philemon; and with him are joined Apphia (probably his wife), Archippus (his son or brother), and the church which is in their house, though throughout the epistle it is Philemon alone who is addressed. Philemon was a personal friend and apparently a convert of the apostle (13, 19); one who had exerted himself for the cause of the gospel and the comfort of those who had embraced it (2-7). His residence was probably at Colosse (comp. Col. iv. 9, 17); but whether he held any office in the church there remains uncertain. In the *Apostolical Constitutions* (vii. 46), he is said to have been ordained bishop of the church, but this is not sustained by any other testimony, and is expressly denied by the author of the commentary on St. Paul's epistles ascribed to Hilary.

Wieseler is of opinion that Philemon was a Laodicean; and that this epistle is that mentioned (Col. iv. 16) as sent by the apostle to the church in Laodicea. His ground for this is that the epistle is addressed to Archippus as well as Philemon, and he assumes that Archippus was bishop of the church at Laodicea; partly on the authority of Theodoret, who says he resided at Laodicea; partly on that of the *Apostolical Constitutions* (vii. 46), which say he was bishop of the church there; and partly on the connection in which the reference to him in Col. iv. 17 stands with the reference to the church at Laodicea, and the injunction given to the Colossians to convey a message to him concerning fidelity to his office, which it is argued would have been sent to himself had he been at Colosse. But the authorities cited have no weight in a matter of this sort; nor can the mere juxtaposition of the reference to Archippus with the reference to the church at Laodicea prove anything as to the residence of the former; and as for the injunction to counsel Archippus, it is more likely that it would be given by the apostle in a letter to the church to which he belonged than to another church. On the other hand, supposing Philemon to have been at Laodicea, it is not credible that the apostle would have requested the Colossians to send to Laodicea for a letter addressed so exclusively to him personally, and relating to matters in which they had no immediate interest, without at least giving Philemon some hint that he intended the letter to be so used. The letter to the church at Laodicea was doubtless one of more general character and interest than this.

This epistle was evidently written during the apostle's imprisonment (ver. 9, 10), and, as we have already endeavoured to show [COLOSSIANS, EPISTLE TO THE], during his two years' imprisonment at Rome. It was occasioned by his sending back to Philemon his runaway slave Onesimus, who, having found his way to Rome, was there, through the instrumentality of the apostle, converted to Christianity; and, after serving Paul for a season, was by him restored to his former master, without whose consent the apostle did not feel at liberty to retain him. The epistle commences with the apostle's usual salutation to those to whom he wrote; after which he affectionately alludes to the

good reputation which Philemon, as a Christian, enjoyed, and to the joy which the knowledge of this afforded him (ver. 1-7). He then gently and gracefully introduces the main subject of his epistle by a reference to the spiritual obligations under which Philemon lay to him, and on the ground of which he might utter as a command what he preferred urging as a request. Onesimus is then introduced. The change of mind and character he had experienced is stated; his offence in deserting his master is not palliated; his increased worth and usefulness are dwelt upon; and his former master is entreated to receive him back, not only without severity, but with the feeling due from one Christian to another (ver. 8-16). The apostle then delicately refers to the matter of compensation for any loss which Philemon might have sustained either through the dishonesty of Onesimus, or simply through the want of his service; and though he reminds his friend that he might justly hold the latter his debtor for a much larger amount (seeing he owed to the apostle his own self), he pledges himself, under his own hand, to make good that loss (ver. 17-19). The epistle concludes with some additional expressions of friendly solicitude; a request that Philemon would prepare the apostle a lodging, as he trusted soon to visit him; and the salutations of the apostle and some of the Christians by whom he was surrounded at the time (ver. 20-25).

This epistle has been universally admired as a model of graceful, delicate, and manly writing. 'It is a voucher,' says Eichhorn, 'for the apostle's urbanity, politeness, and knowledge of the world. His advocacy of Onesimus is of the most insinuating and persuasive character, and yet without the slightest perversion or concealment of any fact. The errors of Onesimus are admitted, as was necessary, lest the just indignation of his master against him should be roused anew; but they are alluded to in the most admirable manner: the good side of Onesimus is brought to view, but in such a way as to facilitate the friendly reception of him by his master, as a consequence of Christianity, to which he had, during his absence, been converted; and his future fidelity is vouched for by the noble principles of Christianity to which he had been converted. The apostle addresses Philemon on the softest side. Who would wilfully refuse to an aged, a suffering, and an unjustly imprisoned friend a request? And such was he who thus pleaded for Onesimus. The person recommended is a Christian, a dear friend of the apostle's, and one who had personally served him: if Philemon will receive him kindly, it will afford the apostle a proof of his love, and yield him joy. What need, then, for long urgency? The apostle is certain that Philemon will, of his own accord, do even more than he is asked. More cogently and more courteously no man could plead' (*Einleit. ins N. T.*, iii. 300).

*Commentaries*.—Hummel, *Explanatio Ep. Pauli ad Philem.*, Tiguri 1670, fol.; Scipio Gentilis, *Commentarius*, etc., ed. J. H. de Ruyter, 4to, Traj. and Rhen. 1774; Schmid, *Pauli Ep. ad Philem. Ep. Gr. et Lat. Illustr.*, Lips. 1786, 8vo; Storr, *Diss. Exeget. in Ep. ad Philem.*, Opusc. Acad. ii. 221, seq.; Flatt, *Vorlesungen üb. d. B. an Philem.*, Tüb. 1829; Hagenbach, *Pauli. Ep. ad Philem. Interpretatus est*, Basil. 1829, 4to; Koch, *Commentar*, Zür. 1846; W. Attersol,



*Commentary upon the Ep. to Philem.*, Lond. 1633, 4to; Bp. Smalridge, *Saint Paul's Ep. to Philemon Explained* (*Sermons*, Oxf. 1724, fol., Sermon 39).—W. L. A.

PHILETUS, an apostate Christian, mentioned by Paul, in connection with Hymenæus, 2 Tim. ii. 17 [HYMENÆUS].

PHILIP (Φίλιππος). 1. One of the twelve apostles. He was of Bethsaida, 'the city of Andrew and Peter' (John i. 44). He became one of the disciples of John the Baptist, and was in the neighbourhood where John was baptising at the time of our Lord's baptism. Andrew and John, who were also disciples of the Baptist, heard the testimony concerning Jesus which the latter gave, and thenceforth attached themselves to him as the promised Messiah. Through Andrew his brother, Simon (Peter) was brought to Christ; and as on the next day Philip unhesitatingly accompanied Jesus when called to follow him, it is probable that his townsmen had previously spoken to him of Jesus as the long-expected Saviour (John i. 35-44). Philip was thus the fourth of the apostles who attached themselves to the person of Jesus—of those 'who left all and followed him.' The first act of Philip was to bring to the Lord Nathanael, who is supposed to have also become an apostle, under the name of Bartholomew (John i. 45-51). Little more is recorded of Philip in the Scriptures; but it is remarkable that when Christ beheld the five thousand people whom he afterwards fed with five loaves and two fishes, he singled out Philip for the question, 'Whence shall we buy bread that these may eat?' It is added, 'This he said to prove him, for he himself knew what he would do.' Bengel and others suppose that this was because the charge of providing food had been committed to Philip, while Chrysostom and Theodore of Mopsuestia rather suppose it was because this apostle was weak in faith. The answer of Philip agrees well enough with either supposition: 'Two hundred pennyworth of bread is not sufficient for them, that every one of them may take a little' (John vi. 1-7). But it is well to compare this with John xiv. 8, where the inappropriate remark of Philip, 'Lord, shew us the Father, and it sufficeth us,' evinces that he experienced, in a degree beyond his brother apostles, the difficulty which they generally felt in raising themselves above the things of sense.

Intermediately, we find recorded the application to Philip of certain 'Greeks' (proselytes of the gate) at Jerusalem, who wished to be introduced to Jesus, of whom they had heard so much. Knowing that his master was not forward to gratify mere curiosity, Philip was uncertain whether to comply with their wish or not, but first consulted Andrew, who went with him to mention the circumstance to Jesus (John xii. 21, 22). This incident, although slight, is indicative of character, as we feel sure that some of the other apostles—Peter for instance—would at once have complied with or declined this application on their own responsibility. The sacred history only adds to these facts, that Philip was present with the other apostles at the religious assembly following the Lord's resurrection (Acts i. 13).

The ancient commentators attribute to Philip the request of 'one of the disciples' to Christ, 'Suffer me first to go and bury my father' (Matt.

viii. 21; Luke ix. 59); but there seems no warrant for this, and it is not likely that it would have been overlooked by John in his account of Philip's call to the apostleship.

The later traditions concerning this apostle are vague and uncertain; but there is nothing improbable in the statement that he preached the gospel in Phrygia (Theodoret, *in Ps.* cxvi.; Niceph., *Hist. Eccles.*, ii. 39), and that he met his death at Hierapolis in Syria (Euseb., *Hist. Eccles.*, iii. 31; v. 24). The further statement, that Philip was married and had daughters (Euseb., *u. s.*; Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, iii. 192; Niceph. ii. 44), very probably arose from confounding him with Philip the Evangelist (Acts xxi. 8).

2. One of the seven first deacons (Acts vi. 5); also called an 'Evangelist' (xxi. 8), which denotes one of those ministers of the primitive church, who, without being attached to any particular congregation, preached the gospel from place to place (Eph. iv. 11; 2 Tim. iv. 5). Being compelled to leave Jerusalem by the persecution which ensued on Stephen's death, Philip was induced to take refuge in Samaria. He there came to a city where Simon Magus was held in high reverence through the wonders which he wrought. But the substantial and beneficent miracles which were performed by Philip in the name of Jesus drew away their attention from the impostor, and prepared their minds for the reception of the gospel. Simon himself seems to have regarded him as in league with some superhuman being, and looking upon baptism as the initiatory rite of a compact through which he might obtain the same powers, he solicited and obtained baptism from the Evangelist [SIMON MAGUS]. After Peter and John had come to Samaria to complete and carry on the work which Philip had been the means of commencing, the Evangelist himself was directed by a divine impulse to proceed towards Gaza, where he met the treasurer of Candace, queen of Ethiopia [CANDACE; ETHIOPIA], by whose conversion and baptism he became the instrument of planting the first seeds of the gospel in Ethiopia (Acts viii. 1-39). Philip then retraced his steps, and after pausing at Azotus, preached the gospel from town to town till he came to Cæsarea (ver. 40). At this place he seems to have settled; for when Paul was on his last journey to Jerusalem, he and his party were entertained in the house of Philip, on which occasion it is mentioned that he had 'four daughters, virgins, who did prophesy' (Acts xxi. 9), or who were endued with the faculty of speaking under divine inspiration, and of predicting future events, together with other supernatural gifts vouchsafed to the primitive Christians, in accordance with the prophecy in Acts ii. 18. With this fact the Scriptural history of Philip closes, and the traditions which refer to his subsequent proceedings are uncertain and conflicting. The Greek martyrologies make him to have been bishop of Tralles, in Lydia; but the Latins make him end his days in Cæsarea (*Acta Sanct.* ad 6 Juni); but in all old accounts Philip the Apostle and Philip the Evangelist are much confounded.

3. Son of Herod the Great, and tetrarch of Batanæa, Trachonitis, and Auranitis (Luke iii. 1) [HERODIAN FAMILY].

4. Called by Josephus Herod, son of Herod the Great, and first husband of Herodias [HERODIAN FAMILY].—J. K.



[Besides these, mention is made of Philip, king of Macedonia, father of Alexander the Great (1 Maccab. i. 1; vi. 2); of Philip V. of Macedonia, the conquest of whom by the Romans carried their name and fame into the East (1 Maccab. viii. 5); and of a Phrygian left by Antiochus Epiphanes as governor at Jerusalem, where he practised great cruelties on the Jews (2 Maccab. v. 22; vi. 11; viii. 8). This person is commonly identified with the Philip described as the friend and early companion (σύνητροφος) of Antiochus, whom the king appointed on his deathbed governor of Syria and guardian of his son (1 Maccab. vi. 14, 15, 55); but it is difficult to adjust the statements concerning the one Philip with those concerning the other into one harmonious narrative (see Winer, *Realw.*, s. v.)]

PHILIPPI (Φίλιπποι), a celebrated city of Macedonia, visited by the apostle Paul, and the seat of the earliest Christian church established in Europe. The double miracle wrought there, and the fact that 'to the saints in Philippi' the great apostle of the Gentiles addressed one of his epistles, must ever make this city holy ground.

The Philippi of Paul's day was situated in a plain, on the banks of a deep and rapid stream called Gangites (now *Angista*). The ancient walls followed the course of the stream for some distance; and in this section of the wall the site of a gate is seen, with the ruins of a bridge nearly opposite. In the narrative of Paul's visit it is said: 'On the Sabbath we went out of the gate by the river (ἐξῆλθοντες τῆς πόλεως παρά ποταμὸν), where a meeting for prayer was accustomed to be' (Acts xvi. 13). It was doubtless by this gate they went out, and by the side of this river the prayer-meeting was held. As Philippi was a military colony, it is probable that the Jews had no synagogue, and were not permitted to hold their worship within the walls. Behind the city, on the north-east, rose lofty mountains; but on the opposite side a vast and rich plain stretched out, reaching on the south-west to the sea, and on the north-west far away among the ranges of Macedonia. On the south-east a rocky ridge, some 1600 feet in height, separated the plain from the bay and town of Neapolis. Over it ran a paved road connecting Philippi with Neapolis. Though the distance between the two was nine miles, yet Neapolis was to Philippi what the Piræus was to Athens; and hence Paul is said, when journeying from Greece to Syria, to have 'sailed away from Philippi'; that is, from Neapolis, its port (Acts xx. 6).

Philippi was in the province of Macedonia, while Neapolis was in Thrace. Paul, on his first journey, landed at the latter, and proceeded across the mountain road to the former, which Luke calls 'the first city of the division of Macedonia' (πρώτη τῆς μερίδος τῆς Μακεδονίας πόλις, Acts xvi. 12). The word *πρώτη* does not, as represented in the A. V., signify 'chief.' Thessalonica was the chief city of all Macedonia, and Amphipolis of that division (*μερίς*) of it in which Philippi was situated (see Wieseler, *Chron. des Apost. Zeit.*, p. 37). *Πρώτη* simply means that Philippi was the 'first' city of Macedonia to which Paul came (Alford *in loc.*; Conybeare and Howson, *Life of St. Paul*, i. 311, note). In descending the mountain-path toward Philippi, the apostle had before him a vast and beautiful panorama. The whole plain, with its green meadows, and clumps of trees, and

wide reaches of marsh, and winding streams, lay at his feet; and away beyond it the dark ridges of Macedonia.

Strabo tells us that the old name of Philippi was *Krenides* (vii. p. 331); and Appian adds, that it was so called from the number of 'little fountains' (*κρηνίδες*) around the site. He also says that it had another name, *Datus*; but that Philip of Macedon, having taken it from the Thracians, made it a frontier fortress, and gave it his own name (*De Bell. Civ.*, iv. 105). Philip's city stood upon a hill, probably that seen a little to the south of the present ruins, which may have always formed the citadel. The famous battle of Philippi, in which the Roman republic was overthrown, was fought on this plain in the year B. C. 42 (Dio. Cass., xlv. i.; Appian, *l. c.*) In honour, and as a memorial of his great victory, Augustus made Philippi a Roman colony, and its coins bear the legend *Colonia Augusta Jul. Philippensis* (Conybeare and Howson, i. 312). The emperor appears to have founded the new quarter in the plain along the banks of the Gangites. As a colony (*κολωνία*, Acts xvi. 12) it enjoyed peculiar privileges. Its inhabitants were Roman citizens, most of them being the families and descendants of veteran soldiers, who had originally settled in the place to guard the city and province. They were governed by their own magistrates, called *Duumviri* or *Prætors* (in Greek *στρατηγοί*; ver. 20), who exercised a kind of military authority, and were independent of the provincial governor.

The missionary visit of Paul and Silas to Philippi was successful. They found an eager audience in the few Jews and proselytes who frequented the prayer-place on the banks of the Gangites. Lydia, a trader from Thyatira, was the first convert. Her whole house followed her example. It was when going and returning from Lydia's house that 'the damsel possessed with a spirit of divination' met the apostles. Paul cast out the spirit, and then those who had made a trade of the poor girl's misfortune rose against them, and took them before the magistrates, who with all the haste and roughness of martial law, ordered them to be scourged and thrown into prison. Even this gross act of injustice redounded in the end to the glory of God; for the jailer and his whole house were converted, and the very magistrates were compelled to make a public apology to the apostles, and to set them at liberty, thus declaring their innocence. The scene in the prison of Philippi was one of the most cheering, as it was one of the most remarkable, incidents in the history of the apostolic church.

After a short interval Paul revisited Philippi, and appears to have remained in the city and surrounding country a considerable time (Acts xx. 1-6). It would seem, as Alford says, that 'the cruel treatment of the apostle at Philippi had combined with the charm of his personal fervour of affection to knit up a bond of more than ordinary love between him and the Philippian church. They alone, of all churches, sent subsidies to relieve his temporal necessities' (Phil. iv. 10, 15, 18; 2 Cor. xi. 9; 1 Thess. ii. 2; Alford, *Greek Test.*, *Prol.*, vol. iii. p. 29). The apostle felt their kindness; and during his imprisonment at Rome wrote to them that *Epistle* which is still in our canon.

Philippi is now an uninhabited ruin. The remains of former greatness, though still visible, are all prostrate. The foundations of a theatre can be



traced; also the walls, gates, some tombs, and numerous broken columns and heaps of rubbish. The ruins of private dwellings are visible on every part of the site; and at one place is a mound of rubbish covered with columns and broken fragments of white marble, where a palace, temple, or perhaps a forum once stood. (See Clarke's *Travels*, vol. iii.; Leake, *Northern Greece*, vol. iii.; Cousinery, *Voyage dans le Maced.*; and especially Hacket's *Journey to Philippi in Bible Union Quarterly*, August 1860).—J. L. P.

PHILIPPIANS, EPISTLE TO THE. Of this part of the apostle Paul's writings the genuineness has been generally admitted. Professing to be written by that distinguished servant of Christ, it bears on every part of it the impress of his peculiar style, manner of thought, and form of doctrine; and the internal evidence of authenticity arising from the incidental allusions in it to persons and circumstances is very strong (*Horæ Paulinæ*, c. 7). It is referred to formally and expressly by Polycarp in his *Epistle to the Philippians* (sec. 3, 11), besides being repeatedly quoted by him. It is quoted by the churches at Vienne and Lyons, in their letter to the churches in Asia and Phrygia, preserved by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.*, v. 2); by Irenæus (*Cont. Hær.*, iv. 18, sec. 4); by Clement of Alexandria (*Pædag.* lib. i., p. 107; *Strom.* iv., p. 511; *Admon. ad Gentes*, p. 56); by Tertullian (*De Resur. Carnis.* c. 23); by Origen (*Cont. Cels.*, lib. iii., p. 122, ed. Spencer, *et sepius.*); by Cyprian (*Lib. Testim.* iii. 39), and by many of the later Fathers.

It is only in very recent times that any doubt has been suggested as to the genuineness of this epistle. Schrader (*Der Ap. Paulus*, v. 233) first insinuated that the passage iii. 1-iv. 9 is an interpolation; but he adduces no reason for this but the purely gratuitous one that the connection between ii. 30 and iv. 10 is disturbed by this intervening section, and that by the excision of this the epistle becomes 'more rounded off, and more a genuine occasional letter'—as if any sound critic would reject a passage from an ancient author because in his opinion the author's composition would be improved thereby! Baur goes further than this, and would reject the whole epistle as a Gnostic composition of a later age (*Paulus*, p. 458, ff.). But when he comes to point out 'the Gnostic ideas and expressions' by which the epistle is marked, they will be found to exist only in his own imagination, and can only by a perverse ingenuity be forced upon the words of the apostle. Thus, in the statement that Christ *ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων οὐχ ἄρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ* (ii. 5, 6), Baur finds an allusion to the Gnostic æon Sophia in which 'existed the outgoing desire with all power to penetrate into the essence of the supreme Father.' But not only is this to give the apostle's words a meaning which they do not bear (for however we translate *ἄρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο*, it evidently expresses an act in the past, not an aim for the future), it is manifest that the entire drift of the passage is not to set forth any speculative doctrine, but to adduce a moral inference. This is so manifest, that even Baur himself admits it, and by so doing overturns his own position; for it is only on the supposition that what the apostle refers to is a *fact*, and not a mere speculative fancy, that any moral conclusion can be drawn from it. Equally futile is the attempt to

find docketism in the use of the term *μορφῇ*—a term used by the apostle in reference to the divine nature—or of the terms *ὁμοίωμα*, *σχῆμα*, and *ἐν-ρεθῆναι*, all of which occur elsewhere in St. Paul's writings, and are here used to denote simply that Jesus Christ presented himself to the view of men actually as one of themselves (Lunemann, *Pauli ad Phil. Ep. cont. Baurium defendit*, Gött. 1847; Brückner, *Ep. ad Phil. Paulo auctori vindicata cont. Baur.*, Lips. 1848).

A question has been raised as to whether the extant epistle to the Philippians is the only one addressed by St. Paul to that church. What has given rise to this question is the expression used by the apostle (iii. 1), *τὰ αὐτὰ γράφειν ὑμῖν, κ.τ.λ.*, where the writing of the *same* things to them is supposed to refer to the identity of what he is now writing with what he had written in a previous letter. It has also been supposed that Polycarp knew of more than one epistle addressed by the apostle to the Philippians, from his using the plural (*ὅς ἀπὸν ὑμῖν ἐγράψεν ἐπιστολάς*) in reference to what he had written to them. To this, however, much weight cannot be attached, for there can be no doubt that the Greeks used *ἐπιστολάι* for a single letter, as the Latins used *literæ* (see a multitude of examples in Stephens' *Thesaurus*, s. v.) That Polycarp knew only one epistle of Paul to the Philippians has been supposed by some to be proved by the passage in the 11th chapter of his letter, preserved in the Latin version, where he says, 'Ego autem nihil tale sensi in vobis vel audivi, in quibus laboravit beatus Paulus qui estis in principio epistolæ ejus, etc.' But as Meyer points out, 'epistolæ' here is not the genitive singular, but the nominative plural; and the meaning is not 'who are in the beginning of his epistle,' which is hardly sense, but (with allusion to 2 Cor. iii. 1) 'who are in the beginning [*i. e.*, from the beginning of his preaching the gospel among you—a common use of *ἐν ἀρχῇ*, which was the expression probably used by Polycarp] his epistle.' It is going too far, however, to say that this passage has no bearing on this question; for if Meyer's construction be correct, it shows that Polycarp did use *ἐπιστολάι* for a single epistle. Meyer, indeed, translates 'who are his epistles;' but if the allusion is to 2 Cor. iii. 1, we must translate in the singular, the whole church collectively being the epistle, and not each member an epistle. But though the testimony of Polycarp for a plurality of epistles may be set aside, it is less easy to set aside the testimony of the extant epistle itself in the passage cited. To refer *τὰ αὐτὰ* to the preceding *χαίρετε ἐν κυρίῳ* seems altogether improbable, for nowhere in this epistle has the apostle previously enjoined on his readers *χαίρειν ἐν κυρίῳ*, and one does not see what on this hypothesis is the propriety of such expressions as *δκνηρὸν* and *ἀσφαλές*; and to lay the stress on the *γράφειν*, as Wieseler proposes (*Chronologie des Ap. Zeit.*, p. 458), so as to make the apostle refer to some *verbal* message previously sent to the Philippians, the substance of which he was now about to put into *writing*, seems no less so; for not only does the epistle contain no allusion to any oral message, but in this case the writer would have said *καὶ γράφειν*. A large number of critics follow Pelagius in the explanation, 'eadem repetere *quæ præsens dixeram*;' but it may be doubted if so important a clause may be legitimately dragged in



to complete the apostle's meaning, without any authority from the context. The probability seems to be that the apostle alludes to some written communication previously sent by him to the Philippians (so Hænlein, Flatt, Meyer, Bleek, Schenkel, etc.)

From allusions in the epistle itself, it appears that it was written at Rome during the period of the apostle's two years' imprisonment in that city, and in all probability towards the close of that period (i. 13, 14, 23, 26; ii. 18, 25). Several, however, would make Cæsarea the place whence it was written. But for this there is no adequate ground. It is true that the *πραιτώριον* (i. 13) may mean the residence of the procurator at Cæsarea, called (Acts xxiii. 35) *τὸ πραιτώριον τοῦ Ἡρώδου*, and the *ἀπολογία* (i. 17) may be that delivered before Felix (Acts xxiv. 10, ff.); but it is more probable that the former of these refers to the *castra prætoriana* at Rome, and the latter to the defence the apostle expected to deliver before the emperor. The expression *οἰκτα Καίσαρος* (iv. 22), also more probably means the imperial household at Rome, than the servants of the procurator at Cæsarea. What is farther in favour of Rome is, that the apostle, when writing this epistle, felt himself in a crisis between life and death, which would apply only to a trial in the last resort, a trial at the bar of the emperor himself. Credner's opinion (*De temp. et loco epistolæ ad Phil. scriptæ*, 1731), that the epistle was written at Corinth, is a mere whim, for which not the shadow of evidence can be adduced.

The epistle seems to have been composed on the occasion of the return to Philippi of Epaphroditus, a member of the church in that place, who had been deputed to Rome with a pecuniary contribution from the church in aid of the apostle. Full of gratitude for this work of friendly remembrance and regard, Paul addressed to the church in Philippi this epistle, in which, besides expressing his thanks for their kindness, he pours out a flood of eloquence and pathetic exhortation, suggested partly by his own circumstances, and partly by what he had learned of their state as a church. That state appears to have been on the whole very prosperous, as there is much commendation of the Philippians in the epistle, and no censure is expressed in any part of it, either of the church as a whole, or of any individuals connected with it. At the same time, the apostle deemed it necessary to put them on their guard against the evil influences to which they were exposed from Judaizing teachers and false professors of Christianity. These cautions he interposes between the exhortations suggested by his own state and by the news he had received concerning the Philippians, with which his epistle commences and with which it closes. We may thus divide the epistle into three parts. In the first of these (i. ii.), after the usual salutation and an outpouring of warm-hearted affection towards the Philippian church (i. 1-11), the apostle refers to his own condition as a prisoner at Rome; and lest they should be cast down at the thought of the unmerited indignities he had been called upon to suffer, he assures them that these had turned out rather to the furtherance of that great cause on which his heart was set, and for which he was willing to live and labour; though, as respected his personal feelings, he would rather depart and be with Christ, which he deemed to be 'far better'

(12-24). He then passes by an easy transition to a hortatory address to the Philippians, calling upon them to maintain steadfastly their profession, to cultivate humanity and brotherly love, to work out their own salvation with fear and trembling, and concluding by an appeal to their regard for his reputation as an apostle, which could not but be affected by their conduct, and a reference to his reason for sending to them Epaphroditus instead of Timothy, as he had originally designed (i. 25; ii. 30). In part second he strenuously cautions them, as already observed, against Judaizing teachers, whom he stigmatizes as 'dogs' (in reference probably to their impudent, snarling, and quarrelsome habits), 'evil-workers,' and 'the concision;' by which latter term he means to intimate, as Theophylact remarks (*in loc.*), that the circumcision in which the Jews so much gloried had now ceased to possess any spiritual significance, and was therefore no better than a useless mutilation of the person. On this theme he enlarges, making reference to his own standing as a Jew, and intimating, that if under the Christian dispensation Jewish descent and Jewish privileges were to go for anything, no one could have stronger claims on this ground than he; but at the same time declaring, that however he had once valued these, he now counted them, 'all but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ' (iii. 1-12). A reference to his own sanctified ambition to advance in the service of Christ leads him to exhort the Philippians to a similar spirit; from this he passes to caution them against unnecessary contention, and against those who walk disorderly; concluding by reminding them of the glorious hopes which, as Christians, they entertained (ver. 13-21). In the third part we have a series of admonitions to individual members of the church at Philippi (iv. 1-3), followed by some general exhortations to cheerfulness, moderation, prayer, and good conduct (ver. 4-9); after which come a series of allusions to the apostle's circumstances and feelings, his thanks to the Philippians for their seasonable aid, and his concluding benedictions and salutations (ver. 10-23).

Heinrichs has advanced the opinion that the epistle, as it now appears, is a combination of two different epistles, the one (i. 1-iii. 1, and iv. 21-23) addressed to the church at large; the other (iii. 1-iv. 20) to confidential friends of the apostle (*Nov. Test. Koppian.* vii. Prol.) He has sought support for this utterly groundless opinion in the *τὰ αὐτὰ γράφειν* of iii. 1; but these words obviously lead to an opposite conclusion, for how could the writer excuse himself for writing the same things if the readers were not the same? Besides, the supposition of an esoteric as distinct from an exoteric circle in the church, is utterly foreign to the apostle's mode of thought. The epistle is formally addressed to *τοῖς ὅσιν ἐν Φιλιπποῖς σὺν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις*; and there is nothing in that it was not befitting to read to the whole assembly. Heinrichs' hypothesis has been fully confuted by Krause (*An Epist. Pauli ad Phil. in duas epistolas . . . dispendenda sit?* Regiom. 1811), by Schott (*Isagoge in N. T.*, sec. 70), and others.

This epistle is written throughout in a very animated and elevated style. It is full of the most sublime thoughts and the most affectionate exhortations. It resembles more the production of a father addressing his children, than that of an



apostle laying down authoritatively what is to be received and followed. The whole of it shows, as Theophylact observes, how very much he loved and how highly he estimated those to whom it was addressed, ὡν ἕνεκεν ἀπάντων σφόδρα φιλῶν αὐτοῦς καὶ τιμῶν φαίνεται (*Proem. in Ep. ad Phil.*)

Of separate commentaries upon this epistle, a considerable number has appeared, especially on the continent. Of these the chief are the following: M. H. Schotanus, *Analys. et Comment.*, Franc. 1637, 4to; J. G. Am. Ende, *Pauli. Ep. ad Phil. Gr. Nova vers. Lat. et annot. perpet. illust.*, Vitemb. 1798, 8vo; G. F. H. Rheinwald, *Commentar*, Berlin 1827, 8vo; Flatt, *Vorlesungen*, 1829; Schinz, *Exeget. Versuch*, 1833; K. S. Matthies, *Erklärung*, Griefswald 1835, 8vo; H. G. Hölemann, *Comment.* 1839; Wessel Alb. van Hengel, *Comment. perpetuus*, Amstel. 1839; Weiss, *Philipp. Br. ausgelegt.*, Leipz. 1859; Rilliet, *Commentaire*, Geneve 1841. In English the works of Pearce and Ferguson may be mentioned.—W. L. A.

PHILIPPSOHN, MOSES, was born May 9, 1775, in Sandersleben, a small town on the Wipper, and was destined for a Rabbinate by his parents, who began to initiate him into Hebrew when he was scarcely four years of age. In 1787 he was sent to a Rabbinic school at Halberstadt, where he was instructed in the Talmud and other branches of Rabbinic literature. He then went to Brunswick, where he devoted himself to the study of the sciences generally, and in particular Hebrew philology, acquiring a most classical and charming style in Hebrew composition. In 1799, when only four-and-twenty, he was appointed master of the school at Dessau, founded by a society of young Jews for the instruction of their poor co-religionists. Here Philippsohn prosecuted more zealously than ever the study of Hebrew and the Hebrew Scriptures, and determined to continue, with the aid of his three colleagues, the great Bible work commenced by Mendelssohn [MENDELSSOHN], selecting the minor prophets for their conjoint labour. Philippsohn undertook to translate and to expound Hosea and Joel, being the two most difficult books of the twelve minor prophets; his colleague Wolf the translation and exposition of Obadiah, Micah, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah; his colleague Solomon undertook Haggai and Zechariah; whilst Neuman undertook Amos, Nahum, and Malachi; Jonah having already been published by Löwe [LÖWE]; and the whole was published under the title מנחה טהורה, a *Pure Offering*, at Dessau 1805. Three years later Philippsohn published a Hebrew grammar and Chrestomathy, entitled מורה לבני בינה, *Friend of Students*, Dessau 1808, 2d improved ed., *ibid.* 1823; and a Hebrew Commentary on the Book of Daniel, with a translation by Wolf, Dessau 1808. He also wrote essays on various subjects connected with Hebrew literature in the Hebrew periodical called המאסף, *The Gatherer*, and died April 20, 1814, in his thirtieth year (comp. Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, col. 2099, and the interesting biographical sketch by Dr. Ph. Philippsohn, Leipzig 1864).—C. D. G.

PHILISTIA. The same Hebrew word, פְּלִשְׁתִּי, is variously rendered in our A. V. In Exod. xv. 14 it is *Palestina* (Φυλιστιναι, *Philistim*); in Ps.

lx. 8, lxxxvii. 4, and cviii. 9, it is *Philistia* (ἀλλόφυλοι, *Alienigenæ*); in Ps. lxxxiii. 7 it is *Philistines* (ἀλλόφυλοι); in Is. xiv. 29, 31, and Joel iii. 4, it is *Palestine* (ἀλλόφυλοι, *Philisthaa, Palesthini*). This variety of rendering tends to create confusion in Biblical geography. The word occurs in the above passages only; and it has the same meaning in them all. It is the special name given to 'the land of the Philistines.' The way in which its English and Greek equivalents, *Palestine* or *Philistia* and *Παλαιστίνη*, came to be applied to a wider region has been explained in the article *PALESTINE*, to which the reader is referred. The Gentile noun is פְּלִשְׁתִּי, and is usually rendered 'Philistines' (Gen. xxi. 32, etc.).

Philistia, or, as it is sometimes called, 'The land of the Philistines' (אֶרֶץ פְּלִשְׁתִּים, ἡ γῆ τῶν Φυλιστινῶν, *terra Palestinorum*), embraced the coast plain on the south-west of Palestine, extending from Joppa on the north to the valley of Gerar on the south, a distance of about forty miles; and from the shore of the Mediterranean on the west to the foot of the Judean hills. Its breadth at the northern end was ten miles, and at the southern about twenty. It appears to have run as far inland as Beersheba (Gen. xxi. 33, 34; xxvi. 1, 14-18; Exod. xxiii. 31; Josh. xiii. 2, 3). A name very commonly given to it in the Bible is *Shephelah*, which signifies 'a low flat region,' and is descriptive (Deut. i. 7; Josh. ix. 1; x. 40 in the Hebrew; see Stanley, *S. and P.*, p. 480; *SHEPHELAH*). Its general features and physical geography have already been described. [*PALESTINE*].

Reland supposes that the name Philistia was originally given to the region between Egypt and Canaan, because the direct road between these countries is called by Moses 'the way of the land of the Philistines' (Exod. xiii. 17); that name, however, might have been rightly given to the coast road, though the Philistines had never possessed any part of the country south of Gaza. Their territory lay on the south-western border of Canaan next Egypt, and it is probable that they pastured their flocks along the whole coast plain as far south as el-Arish. The whole of Philistia was allotted to the tribes of Judah and Dan (see articles *JUDAH* and *DAN*); but was never completely conquered. After the captivity the Idumæans took possession of the southern section of it and held it for a time. [*IDUMÆA*]. For farther information, see the articles *PHILISTINES* and *PALESTINE* (also Reland, *Pal.*, p. 73; Robinson, *Physical Geogr. of the Holy Land*, p. 115; Porter, *Giant Cities of Bashan*, etc., pp. 185-220).—J. L. P.

PHILISTINES (פְּלִשְׁתִּים, sometimes פְּלִשְׁתִּים); LXX. in Pent. and Joshua Φυλιστινῆ, afterwards Ἀλλόφυλοι; Vulg. Philistim; Joseph. Παλαιστῖνοι;—the inhabitants, during the greater part of the Biblical times, of the south-eastern shore of Palestine, from 'the river of Egypt' (Wādīh Al-Arish), near Gaza in the south, to the river Rubin (Ekron) in the north—a plain known as the Shephelah, the Land of the Philistines, Philistia, or Συρτη Παλαιστίνῃ. The name of this plain has been

variously derived from a root פָּלַשׁ, cognate with פָּלַט, פָּלַם, פָּלַת (Hebr. and Æthiop.), to emigrate, wander about: whence, according to some,



the Abyssinian Jews have retained the designation Phalasiân or Falashas; or from שִׁפְלָה, שָׁפֶל (= שִׁפְלָה, Zeph. ii. 5), Lowland; or from Sanscr. valaksha, which would designate the inhabitants as 'white ones.' The Philistines have further been identified with the Pelasgi, with the 'Poloste' (Pulusatu, Pulost)—the name of a conquered tribe inscribed on Egyptian monuments; and with the 'Palatzu on the Western Sea,' read in a cuneiform record of Iva-Lush, king of Assyria. It was the Greeks who, following in the track of the Egyptian Pharaohs and Ptolemies, by degrees transferred the special name of this narrow strip of Philistia to the whole country of *Palestine*:—under which heading the physical features also of this part are more fully dwelt upon in this work.

Suffice it here to mention that two parallel tracts divide the plain: the sandy tract (Ramleh) with the maritime cities, and the cultivated tract, which contains the inland cities, and which is one of the most fertile in the whole region. An immense plain of corn-fields stretches from the edge of the sandy region right up to the hills of Judah, intersected by orchards and gardens, olive-groves and vineyards, wherever the eye rests. Five royal cities, the seats of the princes of the Philistine Confederacy, stand out prominently in the history of the people, besides a few no less conspicuous 'Daughter-cities.' At present, however, nothing remains in most instances but a small array of huts, or at most an insignificant village; one and all, however, gloriously embedded in luxuriant verdure, flowers, and blossoms. The cities so closely intertwined with Philistine history that we must at least rapidly mention them, are, proceeding from north to south, Jabne (Jabneel, Jamnia), now Yebna, on the western bank of Wadi Surâr, about two miles from the sea, and three from Ekron. It was taken by Uzziah together with Gath and Ashdod, and was a place of vast importance during the Maccabæan wars; in Philo's time it had risen to be one of the most populous cities of Judæa; and became after the destruction of Jerusalem the seat of the great Sanhedrim, and one of the most celebrated academies under Gamaliel. The Crusaders identified it with Gath, and erected a fortress upon it which they called Ibelin. Few traces of antiquity are left to it in these days. Next in order stands Ekron (Akkr), situated on the southern slope of a ridge which separates the plain of Philistia from Sharon. It was thither that the ark was sent from Gath, and whence it was instantly sped on to Bethshemesh. Alexander Balas, king of Syria, gave this city to Jonathan Maccabæus. In Jerome's time it was a well-peopled town; now it is a village of about fifty rotten mud-huts. Gath, which has now entirely disappeared, and the situation of which can only now be conjectured (Tell-as-Safieh), is known in Biblical history as the native-place of Goliath, and the place of refuge of David from Saul, where, having first had to feign madness in order to escape death at the hands of the Philistines (Ps. lvi.), he was afterwards received with kindness by Achish. When he had ascended the throne he conquered the city. It was in later times taken by the Syrians. Uzziah dismantled it together with the other principal fortresses, and from that time forth it ceased to play a part in history. Ashdod (Azotos), now Esdûd, midway between Gaza and Joppa, and situated

on the usual military route between Syria and Egypt, was a place of vast importance once, hotly contested for for a long time between Israelites and Philistines. Here it was that the ark was brought after the battle of Aphek, into the temple of Dagon. Uzziah dismantled the city, which subsequently was taken by the Assyrians, and again by Psammetichus, after a siege of 29 years—the longest on record. Destroyed by the Maccabees, it was rebuilt by Gabinius, the Roman governor of Syria, and Herod the Great presented it to his sister Salome. From here it was that many Jews, returning from the captivity, married wives, whose children spoke the mongrel dialect called Ashdodite. A small array of hovels now occupies its site. Next is Askalon (Askulân), between Ashdod and Gaza, the magnificent ruins of which still speak of its pristine glory. Notwithstanding its allotment to Judah, it did not fall under Jewish dominion for any length of time before the Maccabees. The birth-place of Semiramis and Herod the Great, it is also well known by the important part it played in the Crusades. Gaza (Ghuzzeh), about three miles from the sea, an important town still, and one of the oldest cities in the world, since it existed already before Abraham left his native country, the seat of 'giants' at Joshua's time, taken and retaken by Israel and the Philistines at different periods. It was to Gaza that Samson was brought blind and in fetters. Alexander the Great besieged and captured it, and after him Jonathan Maccabæus and Alexander Jannæus. Fortified again by Gabinius, it was taken by the Mohammedans in 634, fortified by the Christians in 1152, and retaken by Saladin. Some few traces are still left of the ancient port (Majuma). Last in the list stand Gerar, on the borders of Idumæa, remembered in the history of Abimelech, and Abraham, and Isaac; and Raphia (Refah), near which Antiochus Philopator vanquished Antiochus the Great, which was taken and destroyed by Alexander Jannæus, and rebuilt by Gabinius. Of these, Gaza, Ashdod, Ekron, Askalon, and Gath were the capitals of the five small principalities, and their hegemony varied with the peculiar circumstances of the commonwealth.

After this rapid sketch of the chief cities and the country itself, whose position—between Phœnicia and Syria on the north, and Egypt and Arabia on the south—whose physical conditions, its seaboard favourable to naval enterprise, its plain adapted for war-chariots, its elevations suggestive of fortresses and strongholds, and whose rare fertility of soil and variety of products, go far to explain the marvellous rapidity with which the people possessed themselves of an amount of wealth and power incredible almost at first sight, and by turns terrorised and subsidised that whole country of which they held but an extreme narrow strip: we turn to one of the most puzzling, and, we cannot forbear from adding, most barren problems, viz., the origin of the Philistines; premising, however, that we shall content ourselves in this place with merely indicating the principal opinions held on the subject, without entering into the very unsatisfactory controversy itself.

Two apparently contradictory statements are found in the Bible respecting this point. While the genealogical table in Genesis (x. 13, 14), in the enumeration of the Egyptian colonies, reads, 'And Mizraim begat . . . the Casluhim, from whence (כַּשְׁלִיטִים) came Philistines, and [begat, viz.] the Caphtorites;' Amos, on the other hand, makes



the Philistines come forth from Caphtor (ix. 7). This latter view is also taken in Deut. ii. 23, which speaks of the 'Caphtorim who came forth from Caphtor' as the destroyers of the Avvim, the people who held the south-western sea-coast before the Philistines supplanted them. Again, in Jer. xlvii. 4, the Philistines are called 'the remnant of the נ' (maritime country? island?) of Caphtor.'

Among the various solutions of this difficulty that have been attempted, we have to mention first of all the transposition of the word Caphtorim (Gen. x. 14) before the phrase 'whence [not 'out of whom'] came the Philistines:' thus making either the Caphtorim alone, or both them and the Casluhim the progenitors, as it were, of this people; which, indeed, exhibits many signs of being a compound race. Again, it has been assumed that the Caphtorim were originally a powerful neighbouring tribe of the Casluhim: the latter being the primitive denomination of the Philistines (before they 'emigrated'), and that in the course of time these Caphtorim subjected their less powerful neighbours, the Casluhim or Philistines, who by some means regained their liberty and left the country of Caphtor. Thus they might afterwards not only have been said to have come from Caphtor—indeed, to have been 'brought out' from there, as were the Israelites from Egypt, with whose exodus Amos compares theirs—but by a further stretch even been called *Caphtorites*.

Whether, however, or not, any of these or similar conciliatory explanations is accepted, or whether, simply, as in other instances, the genealogical table in Genesis is at variance with other ethnographical traditions of the Bible, the overwhelming evidence traces the Philistines to Caphtor. And here a new difficulty, not easy to solve with our as yet very scanty records, arises. Where was Caphtor? The Targum, LXX., Vulg., and the ancient commentators, followed by authorities like Bochart, Gesenius, etc., render it—palpably misled by the apparent similarity of sound—Cappadocia (קפדוקיָא). The real name of that country, however, as found upon cuneiform inscriptions, being Katapatuka in early times, this hypothesis falls to the ground; quite apart from the term island or maritime country being applied to Caphtor, which does not apply to Cappadocia—not to dwell upon many further objections. Another opinion, which makes it Cyprus (כפֿתר being transposed into Κυπρος), or the supposition of a fictitious כפֿתר, is disposed of by the existence of the special name of כְּתִים for Cyprus in the Bible. A further utterly untenable notion, based on a vague similarity of sound between Pelishtim and Pelusium, identifies the latter with the lost Caphtor. One of the most widely-adopted notions, however, is, that Caphtor represents the island of Crete; and for this hypothesis many and weighty reasons are given. The 'Kretim' are in several passages (Ezek. xxv. 16; Zeph. ii. 5; 1 Sam. xxx. 14) identified with the Philistines. As the Cretans were famous for their skill in handling the bow among the Greeks, so were the Philistines in Palestine; and the corps of the Crethi who constituted David's bodyguard may have been formed after the model of the skilled Philistine archers—as, indeed, the Targum renders כְּרִתִּים קִשְׁתָּיָא archer. There are, further, some traditions recorded in Greek and Roman writers pointing to the ancient connection between the

Cretans and the Philistines. Tacitus speaks of the Jews—confounding them with the Philistines or Palestinians—as having fled from Crete. Stephanus of Byzantium mentions that the ancient name of Gaza was Μινώα, so called from Minos, king of Crete. There also he records a temple of Jupiter Cretensis, worshipped under the name of Marnas (? מֶרְנָא = our Lord; Hitzig, *Varuna*, Sanscr.) Against this hypothesis it has been properly urged that Crethi in the Bible hardly means anything else but a Carian (as shown under the heading CARIA). Nor have the various other items alleged as proofs stood the test of close scrutiny, so that we are obliged still to look elsewhere. Passing over all further suggestions—also that of Caphtor = pomegranate, being Σελῶδ (which has the same signification, and is the name of a town in Pamphylia, where an Æolian colony is known to have dwelt once)—we arrive at that which seems the most probable (as it is likewise the one contained in the primeval Biblical tradition), viz., that the Casluhim and Caphtor must both be looked for in Egypt. Mediaeval writers, Saadia, Benjamin de Tudela, and others, render Caphtor by Damietta, while other indications seem to point to a somewhat different direction in that country. Etymologically, Caphtor was brought together with Koptos (Kebt), and hor = (Δι) γυνῆτος. A still existing place, Akifour (Kafar), in the Nile-Delta, is supposed to contain a faint trace of the ancient name. Herodotus speaks of pyramids erected by a shepherd of the time of Cheops and Chephrea, named Philiton (Philitis), in which again the Philistines are recognised by some. According to Stephanus of Byzantium, Ashdod (Ἀζωτος) was founded by a refugee from the Red Sea. Manetho's account in Josephus (*c. Ap. i. 26, 27*) of the shepherds—identified by him as the Jews—is supposed by some to refer in reality to the Philistines, or rather to that portion of them which the Bible emphatically called Casluhim. These—to sum up with the least improbable (but still very precarious) hypothesis—are supposed to have been aborigines of Cassiotis (פְּנִסְטִיכְנָא, Targ.), a region lying on the borders of Egypt towards Arabia Petraea, south of the Serbonian bog, and to have emigrated to Colchis, whence their special name. From there they would have wandered into Palestine, where they were joined at a later period by the affinitive Egyptian tribe of the Caphtorites, who may, when they first left Egypt, have settled in Crete for a time, and in consequence of some unknown events either left that island as a body, or only sent a colony as a kind of reinforcement to their kindred tribe. Their first immigration from Egypt would thus have to be placed subsequent to Amenoph, the third king of the 18th dynasty, or about 1970; the second at about the time of the Judges.—We need hardly add, that widely different views are held on every single item of this final hypothesis,\* but it seems to offer the greatest facility for a reconciliation of our widely-contradictory and palpably-defective sources of information.

\* Such as Knobel and Movers' notion of the Philistines having been carried from Palestine into Lower Egypt by the Hyksos at a period subsequent to Abraham, their having thence gone to Crete, and returned to Palestine in the time of the earlier judges; or Ewald's double immigration from Crete, etc.



We shall not here enter into that other hotly discussed question of the 'nationality of the Philistines'—that is, whether they are of Indo-German or of Shemitic stock. Considering that the whole sum and substance of their language that has come down to us consists of about a dozen words, which, for all we know, probably exhibit but very mutilated forms, and which, if they be Semitic, as they seem to be, may have been acquired in Palestine: nothing remains but the item of their being called ignominiously 'uncircumcised,' and the fact that the greater part of their vocabulary has also been traced\* to the Sanscrit. Further, that the Caphthorim are supposed to be connected with the (Egyptian) Ludim (called both Hamites and Shemites in Gen. x. 13, 22); and that, finally, Arabic writers call the Philistines Amalekites. That a variety of conclusions have been drawn from these different points in favour of either of these opinions, we need hardly add.

But the fact is, that, save the vague traditions and the still more vague allusions to their being a mixed race (cf. the 'Crethi' = Caphthorim and 'Plethi' = Casluhim, Homer's Ἐρεβκῆρτες and Πιλασγῶι, etc.), and the historical item of the Caphthorim originally holding the Negeb, while the Philistines proper held the Shephelah—absolutely nothing is known about the previous history, kindred, abode, etc., of the two or more tribes and their primitive names, which went to the composition of this people, and speculation has not succeeded in satisfactorily filling up this gap in our knowledge.

Their history as a people, or rather those few fragments biblical records contain of it—chiefly as far as they came in contact with the Israelites—need not be told here at length. The date of their first immigration into Palestine, or that part of it before them held by the Avvim, is, as we have said, most uncertain. It must, however, have taken place after that of the Canaanites, whose possessions at one time (Gen. x. 19) extended to Gerar and Gaza. At the time of Abraham we find the land of the Philistines mentioned, and Abimelech, king of Gerar, is in the history of Isaac called king of the Philistines.† At the time of the Exodus they held the country to the frontiers of Egypt, and had become so powerful already that Moses led Israel not through the way of the land of the Philistines, although that was near, 'for God said, lest peradventure they see war, and they return to Egypt.' At the time of Joshua they are found as a confederation of the five states of Gaza, Ashdod, Askalon, Gath, and Ekron, ruled by Princes; and such was their prowess, that about that period they simultaneously engaged in a war by land with the Sidonians, and at sea with the Egyptians. Yet what had not been done in the days of Moses was done in those of Joshua—the Philistines were numbered among the peoples to be

conquered, and their land was disposed of for the benefit of the tribe of Judah, although Joshua never in reality seems to have gone to war with them. Not long after his death, however, we find them holding the Israelites in bondage, until Shamgar, the son of Anath, 'slew of the Philistines 600 men with an ox-goad,'—a feat strangely enough not recorded by Josephus—'and thus delivered Israel.' But their deliverance was of but brief duration. Their guerilla raids continued under Jephthah, and still more under Samson, when they, in conjunction with the Ammonites, kept the Israelites in subjection for forty years. In the battle of Aphek they carried away the ark itself. Samuel first put an end to this period of national humiliation. In the battle of Mizpah the Philistines not only lost their sway over Israel, but had to yield to them their own territories of Ekron and Gath. This, however, seems to have been only a partial victory, and of short duration. Saul had to contend with them during the whole period of his reign. The valiant support of Jonathan and David gained for him the battles of Michmash, where the Philistines were completely routed and pursued to Ajalon, and of Socho (the place of the episode of Goliath), which ended in the Philistines being driven to flight and pursued to the gates of Gath and Ekron with a loss, according to Josephus, of 30,000 killed and twice that number wounded. They subsequently suffered several other defeats, chiefly at the hand of David, until the latter was himself obliged to seek refuge with Achish, King of Gath. Thus, at this time—perhaps induced by the recent disasters—the Philistines appear to have returned again to the primitive monarchical form in which we find them at the time of the patriarchs; nay, the primeval regal title of father-king (Abimelech) itself was resumed by the monarch. His power, however, seems to have been considerably circumscribed by his Princes, who, for instance, forced him to send David back from Gilboa against his own will. At this place it was where the Israelites suffered one of the heaviest reverses at their hands, and where Saul himself and his sons fell. When, after Ishbosheth's death, 'all Israel and Judah had submitted to David,' the Philistines, who hitherto had left him undisturbed, renewed their hostilities, but were repeatedly beaten—at Baal-Perazim, with the loss of their gods, and at Rephaim, where they suffered an immense slaughter. Nevertheless the war was not at an end yet. Many more times had David to march against them—his arms being always victorious—before 'their horn was broken asunder,' and he was able to leave to his son Solomon their territory as a conquered domain (1 Kings iv. 21; 2 Chron. ix. 26). The schism between Israel and Judah, and the civil war that ensued, was probably taken advantage of by the Philistines. Nadab, the second king of Israel, is found besieging one of their cities (Gibbethon) situated in the territory of Dan, and the siege was renewed again under Omri. Jehoshaphat made them, or part of them, tributary, but under his son Joram they, in conjunction with the Arabs, invaded Judah (according to Chronicles only) and carried all the treasures together with the whole royal family captive. Uzziah (again according to Chronicles only) soon afterwards carried war into their own territory, dismantled Gath—which in the time of Jehoash had been taken by Hazael king of Syria—Jabneh, and Ashdod, and erected strongholds on their land. Under Ahaz again

\* By Hitzig, who even went so far as to offer a *ducat* for four Philistine words derived more convincingly from the *Hebrew* than from the Indo-Germanic; forgetting that there is a certain difference between deriving words from the Semitic and from Hebrew.

† 1 Chron. vii. 21, 22, the men of Gath, who had slain certain sons of Ephraim, are called 'born in the land'; the Hebrew term for which seems to indicate both their foreign origin and their having lived in the country for one or more generations.



they revolted successfully, adding a large portion of western Judah to their own domain. This acquisition, however, did not remain long in their hands. Hezekiah overran their whole country, and gained several important advantages. About the same time, Sargon, king of Assyria, 'the smoke of the north,' sent Tartan his general against Palestine, the possession of which became, during the continuous contest between Egyptians and Assyrians, matter of highest import to both, and he took Ashdod, the frontier fortress, after a three years' siege. Under Sennacherib the greater part, if not all, of the strongholds, fell under Assyrian sway. Whether, after their defeat before Jerusalem, they were still able to hold Ashdod, is at least doubtful: at all events we find Psammetichus, king of Egypt, besieging it some time afterwards, for twenty-nine years, and finally taking it. About this period, it would appear, marauding Scythian hordes traversed Philistia on their way to Egypt, and spread desolation around them; spoiling even the temple of Venus at Askalon. In the course of the endless struggles for supremacy between the Egyptians and the Asiatic conquerors, Philistia, the butt of both, gradually sank into ruin and comparative insignificance, politically and otherwise, although the Chaldaean conquerors (to judge from the fierce denunciations of Zechariah, ix. 5) still seem to have left them a shadow of independence. At the destruction of Jerusalem the old hostility flamed up once more, for the last time. After the exile the once bitter enemies had so far forgotten their time-hallowed feud, that even intermarriages took place between them. And also, by this time, their very name of Philistines seems lost or forgotten. Nehemiah speaks of Ashdodite, not of Philistine, women, and the corrupt Hebrew which the offspring of these intermarriages spoke was Ashdodite and not Philistine. There is then no longer such a country as Philistia, but special cities of it are named. The inhabitants of the *Γῆ Φιλισταίου*, as, in the Maccabæan reawakening of the old traditions, the country is named once more (1 Maccab. iii. 24), are themselves but *ἀλλόφυλοι*, strangers, and were gradually lost among the nations that from time to time overran and held for a period the territory of their fathers, a territory which henceforth shared the general name of Palestine with the entire country between the Lebanon and Egypt. Alexander Balas annexed part of ancient Philistea to Judæa. Pompey incorporated some of its cities with Roman Syria; further portions fell to Herod's and to Salome's share. Its subsequent fortunes will be found noticed under PALESTINE.

Regarding the general character, the social, political, commercial, religious, and other institutions of the Philistines, our information is scanty enough. That they were an enterprising, warlike, industrious people, is clear enough throughout their history. Agriculture and commerce—for both of which, as we saw, their country offered extraordinary facilities—flourished among them at an early period. Corn, wine, oil, cattle: the products of their own land; linen, spices, and other imported goods—among which are also to be reckoned slaves—formed the staple of their trade by land and sea. Nor were their own manufactures unimportant. The skill of their smiths, armourers, builders, founders, workers in gold and silver, etc., must have reached a very high degree, and their wares were sought after in countries less advanced

in the arts of peace or war. Of their political institutions we know little save what has been mentioned already, that they at first seem to have formed a monarchy, afterwards a confederacy of five—respectively four—principalities, and finally a kind of limited monarchy. What was the exact *status* of the שְׁרָנִים, Seranim (= Axles; ? שֶׁרֶן,

Hebr. Prince; or Çarana, Sanscr. = Refuge), their rights and duties, we can only conjecture by analogy. Probably theirs was a kind of chief-governorship in times of peace, and the chief-commandership in times of war, over their special provinces and their armies. Their fully-developed military organisation, their dexterous administration of troops (for whose full armour we may refer to 1 and 2 Sam. passim), and their fortresses, enabling them to take the field at any moment, and almost against any combination of enemies, are astounding. But this admirable system of defence must also have had its drawbacks. An enormous army had to be kept in a state of efficiency even in times of peace, at the expense of the nation. Even if the extraordinary number in 1 Sam. xiii. 5\* is much reduced, enough must have remained to make them a heavy burden to the commonwealth. Many of their soldiers took foreign service like David's 'Krethi' (heavily armed) and 'Plethi' (lightly mounted) bodyguard. We have already stated the utter absence of reliable information respecting their language; and, unwilling to substitute hazy speculations for wanting facts, we shall at once turn to their religion, referring at the same time for more detailed information on their various deities to the special articles devoted to them. It was, in its general character, principally a worship of nature and its phenomena, and very much akin to that of the Phœnicians (*q. v.*) The general term for the Godhead was Elohim; and only those of them who are in foreign service swear by 'Jehovah' (2 Sam. xv. 20). Both their own individual gods, as Astaroth, Dagon, etc., and the Israelitish Jehovah, are denominated Elohim in several places, and by the same name are also known those representations of their deities which were either carried on the person as a kind of amulet or in larger figures taken into the battle. From the material in which they were wrought, they are also called Azabim (γλυπτὰ τῶν θεῶν, 1 Maccab. v. 68), and it is in the 'houses of the Azabim' that the tidings of victory are proclaimed. As the principal individual deity appears Dagon, who had a sanctuary in almost every Philistine city, and principal sanctuaries in Gaza and Ashdod. Several places were called after him (Bethdagon, Kaphardagon). He was represented with a human face and two hands, otherwise his body was that of a fish. His female counterpart was the goddess Derketo (Atergatis), *Ἡμισὴ μὲν γυνή, τὸ δὲ ὀκόσον ἐκ μηρῶν εἰς ἄκρους πόδας, ἐχθρὸς οὐρὴ ἀποτείνεται* (Lucian, *de Dea Syr.*, 14). The fishes were sacred to both, and were therefore not to be eaten. Besides these, they revered chiefly Astaroth (Aphro-

\* 'Thirty thousand chariots, six thousand horsemen, and people as sand on the sea-shore.' Of the many conjectures on these vast and rather disproportionate numbers we will only mention Ewald's, who proposes their transposition, so as to give the usual preponderance to the horsemen. Josephus records three hundred thousand foot, thirty thousand chariots, and sixty thousand horse.



dite) = Alilath, the Queen of Heaven (Jer. vii. 18, etc.), and Baal, the Lord of Heaven (Baal Samin), who was worshipped in Philistea principally as Baal Zebub (2 Kings i. 2), or the God of Flies (*Zeús 'Απόμυιος*, *Myiagrus Deus*), creator and destroyer of the pestiferous swarms of flies in the hot season (the *Deus Achor* of Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, x. 28). He was worshipped on high mountains illumined by the morning sun, and he may thus also be taken as Sun- and Mountain-God. [BAAL.] The usual apparatus of oracles, priests, sorcerers, etc., was not wanting, and their aid was frequently enough invoked even by the Israelitish people and kings in their dire distress. The Philistines carried charms about their persons, and took their deities with them to the wars. Altogether there appears, as we said before, a great affinity between their religious *cultus* and that of the Phœnicians, although the scantiness of our information on that head is not sufficient entirely to abolish the hypothesis of their being Pelasgians, and their gods being Indo-Germanic gods, modified by Shemitic surroundings and traditions (cf. Knobel, *Völkertafel*; Ewald, Bertheau, *Geschichte*; Hitzig, *Urgeschichte*; Stark, *Gaza*; Movers, *Phanicië*; Reland, *Palestina*, etc.)

PHILO or PHILON, called by his own nation פִּילֹן הֵיחָד (Φίλων ὁ Ἰουδαῖος, PHILO JUDÆUS. See Bartolucci, iv. 345), is the name of the celebrated Jewish writer who, with his contemporary Josephus, has the glory of forming that Hellenist literature which has in all subsequent ages engaged the attention of the most intelligent critics in history, philosophy, and theology. Philo was a native, and throughout life an inhabitant, of Alexandria. He was descended from a priestly family, which seems to have been distinguished; as, according to Josephus (*Antiq.* xviii. 8. 1), his brother Alexander was alabareh, or governor of the numerous Jews of his native city. According to Eusebius (*Præp. Evang.* viii. 13), his father gave him an excellent education from the best teachers in all the doctrines, laws, and customs of his ancestors. Nor was his training confined to Jewish literature. His writings show him to have been an earnest student of the Greek, especially the Platonic philosophy, for the acquisition of which the most favourable opportunities would occur in Alexandria, at that time the very metropolis of the learned world, and the home of Greek philosophy. Philo (in his treatise *de Congressu*, xiv.) refers to his own attainments in grammar, philosophy, geometry, music, and poetry. His accomplished character was gracefully attested by his wife, who, when once asked why she alone of all her sex did not wear any golden ornaments, replied: 'Αὐράκης κόσμος ἐστὶ γυναικὶ ἢ ἀνδρὸς ἀρετή—The virtue of a husband is a sufficient ornament for his wife' (*Fragments*, ed. Richter, vi. 236). Although the bent of Philo's pursuits was contemplative, we find him engaged, on one memorable occasion at least, in public business of great importance, such as proves him to have been held in high esteem by his fellow-countrymen. On the insane attempt of Caius Caligula to extort from his subjects divine homage to his own statue, Philo was sent from Alexandria, at the head of an embassy of five (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 8. 1; comp. *De Legat. ad Caium*, xxviii.), to deprecate the emperor's wrath, which threatened even the Jews with persecution for disobeying the

imperial decree. The date of this embassy, the winter of A.D. 39-40, gives us a clue to the time of Philo's birth. He describes himself in his interesting account of the legation as advanced in years. He was probably about 60 years old—if so, he was born about B.C. 20, and was contemporary with the events of the N. T. This circumstance, coupled with the man's high intelligence and interest in sacred learning, as well as with the fact that he once visited Jerusalem 'to offer up prayers and sacrifices in the temple' (although only one such visit is referred to by him [*Fragments*, Richter, vi. 200], his piety and devotion probably led to occasional repetitions of this pilgrimage, which were less likely to be mentioned because of his modesty and reserve in personal matters), led ancient writers to connect Philo intimately with Christianity. Photius (*Bibl. Cod. cv.*) makes him a friend of St. Peter; as do also Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* ii. 17), St. Jerome (*Catal. Script. Eccl.*), and Suidas. Photius goes so far as to say that Philo was admitted into the Christian church, from which he afterwards fell away. Such statements we have no means of testing. Philo's own extant writings give us no clue, and this fact tells against the probability of the story. Greater show of reason have those moderns who, seeing in Philo's writings a standard of Alexandrine Greek, adduce them as illustrations of the language of the N. T. Mr. Grinfield, in his *Hellenistic Greek Testament*, and the accompanying *Scholia*, has derived many of his notes from the works of Philo; in the application, however, of such illustrations, it must be borne in mind that Philo's style was hardly a *natural* one; it is very elaborate, and avoids Alexandrine provincialisms, and on that account often fails to elucidate the simple diction of the N. T., even where there is similarity in the subject-matter (comp. Carpzovii *Exer. Sacr. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 140). But recent critics of the Rationalist school are not content with finding in Philo such illustration of the N. T. as might be expected to occur in a contemporary, and in some respects kindred, Greek writer; they go so far as to assert that some of the prominent doctrines of the sacred writers are little else than accommodations from the opinions of Philo, mediate or immediate. Thus Grossman (*Quest. Philon.*, sub. init.) does not scruple to say that Christianity is the product of the allegories of the Jewish synagogue and of Philo. Other writers, more measured in their terms, trace isolated truths to a like source. For instance, the well-disposed Ernesti (*Institutes*), and after him Lücke, who says: 'It is impossible to mistake as to the immediate historical connection of John's doctrine of the *Logos* with the Alexandrian in its more perfect form, as it occurs in Philo.' Similarly, Strauss, De Wette, and others; while others again apply the like criticism to St. Paul. Among these we must especially notice Gfrörer, whose work, *Philo und die Jüdisch-Alexandrinische Theologie*, has been made accessible to English readers, in an abridged form, by Professor Jovett in his Dissertation, *St. Paul and Philo*, contained in his commentary on St. Paul's Epp., vol. i., p. 363-417. No criticism, however, is to be tolerated by the believer in Revelation which does not start from the principle that the characteristic truths of Christianity are self-evolved, *i.e.* (to use Dorner's words), 'have not emerged from without Christianity, but wholly from within it' (*Person of Christ* [Clark],



vol. i., Introduction, p. 45).<sup>\*</sup> Although we cannot allow that the inspired volume of our religion owes in its origin anything to Philo, we do not deny to his writings a certain utility in the interpretation of the N. T. [PHILOSOPHY, GREEK.] Besides the explanation of words and phrases above referred to (a service which is the more valuable because of Philo's profound acquaintance with the Septuagint version, in which the writers of the N. T. show themselves to have been well versed also), the works of Philo sometimes contribute interesting elucidation of Scriptural facts and statements. We may instance his delineation of the character of Pontius Pilate (*de Legat. ad Caium*, xxxviii., Richter, vi. 134; Bohn iv. 164). This well-drawn sketch of such a man, from the masterly hand of a contemporary, throws considerable light on more than one point, such as the relations of Herod and Pilate, which are but lightly touched in the gospels (comp. Hale's *Analysis*, iii. 216-218). And, as a second instance, may we not regard the remarkable passage of St. Paul as receiving light from Philo's view of the twofold creation, first of the heavenly (*οὐράνιος*) or ideal man, and then of the earthly (*γῆινος*) man? (Comp. 1 Cor. xv. 46, 47, with Philo, *de Allegor. Legis*, i. 12, 13 [Richter, i. 68; Bohn, i. 60], and *de Mundi Opific.* 46 [Richter, i. 43; Bohn, i. 39]; and see Stanley on *Corinthians*, i. 331.) But then such illustration is rather an example of how Philo is corrected by St. Paul, than of how St. Paul borrowed from Philo. Respecting the allegorical method of interpreting the O. T., of which the apostle is alleged to have derived the idea from our author, it should be remembered that St. Paul, guided by the Divine Spirit, who had indited the ancient Scriptures, was directed to apply O. T. facts to N. T. doctrines, as correlative portions of one great scheme of providential dispensation; whereas Philo's adaptations of the same facts were only the product of an arbitrary and extremely fanciful imagination; so that in the case of the former we have an authoritative and sure method of interpreting ancient events without ever impairing their historical and original truth, whereas the

latter affords us nothing besides the conjectures of a mind of great vivacity indeed, but often capricious and inconsistent, which always postpones the truth of history to its allegorical sense, and oftentimes wholly reduces it to a simple myth. Readers of Philo are well aware of the extravagance and weakness of many of his allegories; of these some others are inoffensive, no doubt, and some are even neat and interesting, but none carry with them the simple dignity and expressiveness of the allegorical types of the N. T. St. Paul and Philo, it is well known, have both treated the history of Hagar and Sarah allegorically (comp. Galatians iv. 22-31 with Philo *de Congressu*, 1-5 [Richter, iii. 71-76; Bohn, ii. 157-162]; and see Dr. J. B. Lightfoot, *Epist. to Gal.*, pp. 189-191; and Dr. Howson's *Hagar and Arabia*, pp. 20, 36, 37); but although we have here one of the best specimens of Philo's favourite method, how infinitely does it fall short of St. Paul's! To say nothing of authority, it fails in terseness and point, and all the features of proper allegory. The reader will at once perceive this who examines both. In this article we are limited to a brief notice of the *Biblical* relations of our author, to the necessary exclusion of his philosophy and theology, or rather theosophical speculations. For an account of his philosophical and theological system in general, which was an effort to reconcile Moses and Plato, varied with a sprinkling of the Pythagorean (Clement of Alexandria expressly calls him *ὁ Πυθαγόρειος*, *Stromata*, i. 15, p. 131) and Stoic doctrines, the reader is referred to Mosheim's notes on Cudworth, pp. 640-649 [Trans. by Harrison, vol. ii., pp. 320-333], where Philo's influence on Patristic divinity and early heresy, especially the Sabellian, is clearly traced; to Ritter, *Hist. of Phil.* [Trans. by Morrison], vol. iv., pp. 407-478; and to Dollinger's *The Gentile and the Jew* [Trans. by Darnell], vol. ii., pp. 398-408. Philo's opinions about the divine *Logos* have been warmly discussed. The ancients, as we have seen, were fond of identifying them with Christian doctrine; Mangey, in the middle of the last century, accompanied his splendid edition of Philo's works (2 vols. folio) with a dissertation, in which he made our author attribute, in the Christian sense, a distinct personality to the *Logos*; Bishop Bull had stated a similar opinion (*Def. Fid. Nic.* [Trans. by the writer of this article for the Anglo. Cath. Lib.], vol. i., pp. 31-33); and, more recently, Bryant (*Sentiments of Philo Jud. concerning the λόγος*), and, very lately, Dr. Pye Smith (*Messiah*, vol. i., pp. 573-600). But the conclusions of these writers, however learnedly asserted, have been abundantly refuted in many works; the chief of which are Carpzovii *Disput. de λόγω Philonis, non Johannis*, adversus Mangey, 1749; Cæsar Morgan's *Investigation of the Trinity of Plato and of Philo Jud.*; Dr. Burton's *Bampton Lectures*, note 93, pp. 550-560; and Dörner's *Person of Christ* [Clarke], vol. i., pp. 22-41. (See also the able articles of Professors H. B. Smith and Moses Stuart, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. vi., pp. 156-185, and vol. vii., pp. 696-732.) An interesting review of Philo's writings and their relation to Judaism, from the Jewish point of view, occurs in Jost's *Geschichte des Judenthums*, i. 379-393 (the chapter is designated *Die Gnosis im Judenthume*). But for the completest, and withal succinctest, examination of the entire field of Philo's opinions, we refer the student to J. G. Müller's art. 'Philo,'

<sup>\*</sup> Instead of making Philo, in any sense, a fountain-head of Christian doctrine, it would be more correct to regard him as the unconscious source of antichristian opinion;—*unconscious*, we say, for with all his knowledge and skill in style, Philo possessed not those energetic qualities which characterise founders of schools of opinion. To say nothing of Philo's influence upon the theosophising fathers of the Church, Clement of Alexandria and Origen, who borrowed largely from their Jewish predecessor and fellow-citizen, some of the salient heresies of the early centuries had almost their spring in the Philonian writings (for the affinity of the opposite opinions of Arius and Sabellius to certain opinions of Philo, see Mosheim's Notes on Cudworth cited below); while that Pagan philosophy, the Neo-Platonism of Alexandria, which derived much of its strength and obtained its ultimate defeat from the Christianity which it both aped and hated, is mainly traceable to our Philo. (For a popular but sufficiently exact statement of (1), Philo's relation to Neo-Platonism; and (2), Of the antagonism of this Neo-Platonism to Christianity, the reader is referred to Mr. Lewes's *Hist. of Philosophy*, pp. 260-278.)



in Herzog's *R. Encycl.* xi. 578-603. Shorter and more accessible, but inevitably imperfect notices occur in Schaff's *Apostolic Church* [Clarke], pp. 211-214; Horne's *Introd.* [by Eyre], pp. 277, 278; [by Davidson], pp. 363-365; Davidson's *Hermeneutics* [Clarke, 1843], pp. 63-65; Fairbairn's *Hermeneut. Man*, p. 47. A temperate review of Jowett's *Dissertation on Philo and St. Paul* may be found, written by Dr. J. B. Lightfoot, in *Journal of Philology*, vol. iii., pp. 119-121; and for sound views respecting Philo's doctrine of the λόγος, as bearing upon the writings of the N. T. (see Neander's *Planting of Christian Church* [Bohn], ii. 13-15; Westcott's *Introduction*, pp. 138-143, and Tholuck's *St. John* [Clarke], pp. 62-67. The interest of Jews in the writings of their philosophic countryman is curiously exhibited in the Hebrew version of certain of them. These are enumerated by Fuerst, *Bibl. Judaica*, ii. 90. As. de' Rossi, one of the translators, has revived Philo's synonym *Jedidiah*, by which he was anciently designated in Rabbinical literature (see Bartolucci, *ut supra*, and Steinschneider's *Bodl. Catal.*, s. v. Philon). We ought not to close this article without noticing the old opinion which made Philo the author of the beautiful *Book of Wisdom* in the Apocrypha. This opinion, which was at one time very prevalent, has not stood its ground before recent critical examination. For the literature of the question we can only refer our readers to Professor C. L. W. Grimm's *Das Buch der Weisheit*, Einleitung, sec. 6, where the authorities on both sides are given. Corn. a Lapide, in *Librum Sapientie*, also discusses Philo's claims to the distinguished honour which tradition had conferred on him, but decides against him [new edition by Vives, vol. viii., p. 264]. Besides Mangey's edition of Philo, mentioned above, may be added Turnebus's edition (Paris 1552, folio), emended by Hoeschelius (Colon. Allobrog. 1613; Paris 1640; Francof. 1691); Pfeiffer's edition, incomplete (Erlangen 1785-92, 5 vols. 8vo), and the convenient edition of Richter (Lips. 1828-30, 8 vols. 12mo). This last contains not only a reprint of Mangey, in the first six vols., but two supplementary volumes of Philo's writings, discovered by Angelo Mai in a Florentine MS., and by Bapt. Aucher in an Armenian version, and translated by him into Latin. A fuller account of these editions, with a list of the various versions of Philo's writings, which have been made from time to time into Latin, Hebrew, German, French, Italian, Spanish, and English, is contained in Fuerst's *Bibl. Jud.* Fuerst adds a catalogue of all the leading works in which Philo and his writings have been treated. To his list of versions we must here add the useful one published by Mr. Bohn, in four vols. of his *Eccles. Library*, by Mr. C. D. Yonge, B.A.—P. H.

**PHILOLOGUS** (Φιλόλογος), one of the Christians at Rome to whom Paul sent his salutations (Rom. xvi. 15). Dorotheus makes him one of the seventy disciples, and alleges that he was placed by the apostle Andrew as bishop of Sinope, in Pontus. But this seems altogether improbable.

**PHILOSOPHY.** This term may be properly used objectively in a wider and in a more restricted sense. In the former it is nearly synonymous with *science*, and embraces all departments of human knowledge capable of being scientifically classified—that is, where the facts are presented in their

causes, where phenomena are referred to principles, and arranged under laws. In the latter it is confined to speculative knowledge, that which the mind has of its own operations and laws, or which it acquires by reasoning from its own thoughts. We have no evidence that philosophy in the stricter sense was cultivated by the ancient Hebrews; nor have we much reason to consider that scientific study, even as regards external phenomena, was much followed by them. Forming our estimate from what of their literature has been preserved to us in the Bible, we must conclude that the ancient Hebrew mind was not specially characterised by those tendencies, nor largely endowed with those faculties which give birth to speculative research. The analytical and the logical are but slightly perceptible in their mental products, while the imaginative, the synthetic, and the historical largely predominate. We should be led to infer that they delighted rather in putting things together according to their analogies, than in distributing them according to their differences. They were careful observers of phenomena, and their minds sought scope in bold flights of imagination, or reposed in calm, protracted, and profound reflection; but it was as historians and poets rather than as philosophers that they looked on the world both of being and event.

The Hebrew theory of the world was so simple that little occasion was given to them for speculation on the mysteries of existence. Their conception of it was essentially and wholly monotheistic. They held the existence of one God, besides whom there was no other; and as the world had come into being by his simple fiat, so it was kept in being by his will, governed by his immediate agency, and subordinated to the fulfilment of his designs. No trace is discoverable in the Bible of those Pantheistic notions in which the thinkers and writers of other ancient nations seem so generally to have taken refuge from the perplexities arising out of the relations of the finite to the infinite, and which at a later period took such hold of the Jewish mind, as is attested by their Kabbalistic books (Freystadt, *Philosophia Cabbalistica et Pantheismus*, 1832). The world and the things in the world were regarded by them not as emanations from God, nor as in any sense God; they are all the work of his hands proceeding from him, but as distinct from him as the work is distinct from the workman. By the word of Jehovah all things were created, and by his word they are upheld. They all belong to him as his property, and he doth with them as he wills. They are his, but not in any sense He. As little do they seem to have realised the idea of an order of nature distinct from the will and power of God. The phenomena of being and event they referred alike to the immediate agency of the Almighty. Causation was with them simply God acting. They thus removed the distinction between the natural and the supernatural, not as some modern speculatists propose, by reducing all phenomena under natural laws, but by the reverse process, resolving all into the immediate operation of God. Man, as part of God's creation, is equally subject with the rest to his control. His times and ways are all in God's hand. By God's power and wisdom he has been fashioned; by God's goodness he is upheld and guided; by God's law his entire activity is to be regulated; at God's command he retires from this active sphere and passes into the



unseen world where his spirit returns to him who gave it.

But though this simple and childlike theory of the universe gave little scope for speculative thinking and inquiry, and though the Bible presents us with but little that indicates the existence of philosophic study among the ancient Hebrews, we are not entitled to conclude from such data that such pursuits had no existence among them. It is to be borne in mind that it was foreign to the design and pretensions of the sacred writers to discuss speculatively points on which they were commissioned to speak authoritatively in the name of God; nor must it be forgotten that we have not in the Bible the entire literature of the Hebrew people, and that as philosophic writings would, because not addressed to the popular mind, be precisely those most likely to be allowed to perish, it is possible that much may have been lost which, had it been preserved, would have showed how and to what extent scientific research flourished among the Hebrews. This suggestion acquires force, not only from the fact that we know that certain utterances by Solomon of a scientific kind, probably committed to writing, have perished (1 Kings iv. 33), but also from the statement in Eccles. xii. 12, which, besides indicating that the literature of the Hebrews was more copious than we now possess, leads, from its connection, to the conclusion that part of it at least was devoted to philosophic inquiry. The book of Ecclesiastes itself, as well as that of Job, may be held as proving that the Hebrew mind did not acquiesce wholly in simple faith, but had, like mind elsewhere, its seasons of doubt, question, and speculation on matters relating to man's condition and destiny. We may also point to Ps. xlix. lxxiii., and to many passages in the book of Proverbs, as indicating the same thing. Nor must we overlook the fact, that the Hebrew is rich in terms which are appropriate to philosophic inquiry, and indicate habits of analytic research among those by whom they were used. Of these may be mentioned **הַבְּנָה**, *wisdom*,

often used as we use *philosophy* (comp. Eccles. i. 13, where **בְּחַכְמָה** *tor* might almost be rendered to *philosophise*); **בֵּין** from **בֵּין**, *between, to separate, to discern, to understand*, i.e., to analyse perceptions into their component elements, so as to arrive at just notions of them, whence **בִּינָה**, *insight, intelligence, judgment*; **חֲקֹר** and **חָקַר**, *to investigate, to examine*; **הִנָּה**, *to think, to reflect*; **אָוֶן**, *to ponder*; **יָדַע**, *to know*, whence **דַּעַת** *knowledge*. To these may be added their names for the mental part of man, **רוּחַ**, *πνεῦμα*; **נַפְשׁ**, *ψυχή*; **נִשְׁמָה**, *anima*; **לֵב**, *καρδία*, *φρήν*.

It is further to be observed, that though the Bible does not present philosophic truth in a speculative form, it presents abundantly the materials out of which philosophies may be constructed. Philosophy thus exists in it as it exists in nature, not (to use the scholastic phraseology) in a manifest and evolute, but in a concrete and involute state; and it needs only a patient collection of its statements, and the arrangement of these according to their meaning and relations, to enable us to construct systematic developments of them. We may thus form not only a theology from the Bible, but an anthro-

pology, including physiology and a system of ethics. [THEOLOGY, BIBLICAL; Roos, *Fundamenta Psychologiae ex Sac. Script. Collecta*, 1769; Beck, *Umriss der Biblischen Seelenlehre*, 1843; Haussmann, *Die Bibl. Lehre vom Menschen*, 1848; von Schubert, *Gesch. der Seele*, 1850, 4th ed.; Delitzsch, *System der Bibl. Psychologie*, 1861, 2d ed.; Taylor, *Ductor Dubitantium*, 1660; Buddeus, *Instit. Theolog. Moralis*, 1715; Staudlin, *Lehrbuch der Moral für Theologen*, 1817, 2d ed.; Schleiermacher, *Die Christliche Sitten*, 1843; Harless, *Christliche Ethik*, 1849, 4th ed.; Wuttke, *Hdb. der Christl. Sittenlehre*, 2 vols.]

For the natural science of the Hebrews, see ASTRONOMY, BOTANY, ZOOLOGY, PHYSIC, and the articles on subjects of natural history in this work. For the exact sciences, see the articles CHRONOLOGY and NUMBER.

Of the Gentile philosophies, there are two which have a bearing on the due understanding of Scripture, and of which, therefore, some account may properly be given here. These are the Chaldaean and the Greek.—W. L. A.

I. CHALDAEAN PHILOSOPHY. This is a subject of interest to the student of the Bible, in consequence of the influence which the Babylonian philosophy exerted on the opinions and manner of thinking of the Israelites during their captivity in Babylon—an influence of a general and decided character, which the Rabbins themselves admit, in alleging that the names of the angels and of the months were derived by the house of Israel from Babylon (*Rosh Hashanah*, p. 56). The system of opinion and manner of thinking which the captives met with in Babylon cannot be characterised exclusively as Chaldaean, but was made up of elements whose birth-place was in various parts of the East, and which appear to have found in Babylon a not uncongenial soil, where they grew and produced fruit which coalesced into one general system. Of these elements the two principal were the Chaldaean and the Medo-Persian or Zoroastrian. It is to the first that the reader's attention is invited in this article.

The Chaldeans, who lived in a climate where the rays of the sun are never darkened, and the night is always clear and bright by means of the light of the moon and stars, were led to believe that light was the soul of nature. Accordingly it was by the light of the sun and stars that the universal spirit brought forth all things; and therefore the Chaldeans offered their homage to the Supreme Being in the heavenly bodies, where he appeared to them in a special manner to dwell. As the stars form separate bodies, imagination represented them as distinct existences, which had each their peculiar functions, and exerted a separate influence in bringing forth the productions of nature. The idea of a universal spirit disappeared, as being too abstract for the people, and not without difficulty for cultivated minds; and worship was offered to the stars as so many powers that governed the world. It is easy to see how the Chaldeans passed from this early corruption of the primitive religion of the Bible to a low and degrading polytheism.

As light was regarded as the only moving power of nature, and every star had its own influence, so natural phenomena appeared the result of the particular influence of that heavenly body which at any given time was above the horizon; and the Chaldaean philosophers believed that they found



the cause of events in its position, and the means of foretelling events in its movements. These views, and perhaps the extraordinary heat and the pestilential winds which in certain months prevail in the country, and against which there is no protection except in the hills, led the Chaldeans to the mountains which gird the land. On these observatories, which nature seems to have expressly formed for the purpose, they studied the positions and movements of the heavenly host. They thought they saw that similar phenomena were constantly accompanied by the same conjunction of the stars, which seemed to observe regular movements and a similar course. On this the Chaldean priests came to the conviction that natural events are bound together, and that sacrifices do not interrupt their course; that they all have a common origin, which works according to unknown principles and laws, whose discovery is so important as to deserve their best attention. The heavenly bodies themselves are obedient to these laws; their formation, position, and influence, are consequences of these universal laws, by which nature was controlled. This determined the Chaldeans to seek in the heavens the knowledge of the original cause which created the world, and of the laws which that cause followed in the formation of things and in the production of phenomena, since in the heavens dwelt the power which brings all things forth.

The stars were masses of light; the space which held them was filled with light; no other power appeared to operate therein: accordingly the Chaldeans held light to be the moving power which had produced the stars. It could not be doubted that this power possessed intelligence, and the operations of the mind appear to have so much resemblance to the subtlety and fleetness of light, that men who had only imagination for their guide had no hesitation to represent intelligence as a property of light, and the universal spirit or highest intelligence as light itself. The observations of the Chaldeans had taught them that the distances of the stars from the earth are unequal, and that light decreases in its approach to the earth, on which they concluded that light streams forth from an endless fountain far removed from the earth, in doing which it fills space with its beams, and forms the heavenly bodies in different positions and of different magnitudes. The creative spirit was therefore set forth by them under the image of an eternal inexhaustible fountain of light; they thought this fountain was to the universe what the sun is to the regions lighted and warmed by his beams.

As light becomes less in propagating itself, its fountain must be of an inconceivable subtlety and purity, and, accordingly, in its loftiest condition, intelligent. As its beams are removed from their source they lose their activity, and by the gradual waning of their influence sink from their original perfection; they therefore produced different existences and intelligences, in proportion as they become more distant from the fountain of light; at last, passing from one element into another, they lost their lightness, were pressed together, and made dense, till they became corporeal, and produced chaos. There accordingly was between the Supreme Being and the earth a chain of intermediate existences whose perfections decreased as they were more remote from the First Great Cause. This Supreme Being had communicated in a distinguished degree his primary radiations, intelli-

gence, power, productiveness; all other emanations had, in proportion to their distance from the highest intelligence, a less and less share in these perfections; and thus were the different regions of light, from the moon to the dwelling-place of the Supreme, filled with various orders of spirits.

The space which contained the First Cause, or Fountain of radiations, was filled with pure and happy intelligences. Immediately beneath this region began the corporeal world, or the empyreum, which was a boundless space, lighted by the pure light which flowed immediately from the Great Source; this empyreum was filled with an infinitely less pure fire than the original light, but immeasurably finer than all bodies. Below this was the ether, or grosser region, filled with still grosser fire. Next came the fixed stars, spread over a wide region where the thickest parts of the ethereal fire had come together and formed the stars. The world of planets succeeded, which contained the sun, moon, and the wandering stars. Then came the last order of beings—the rude elements which are deprived of all activity, and withstand the motions and influence of light. The different parts of the world are in contact, and the spirits of the upper regions can influence the lower, as well as descend and enter into them. As the chaotic elements were without shape and motion, the spirits of the higher regions must have formed the earth, and human souls are spirits sprung from them. To these spirits from above the system of the Chaldeans ascribed all the productions, appearances, and movements upon the earth. The formation of the human body, the growth of the fruits, all the gifts of nature, were attributed to beneficent spirits. In the space below the moon, in the midst of night, tempests arose, lightnings threaded the dark clouds, thunder broke forth and laid waste the earth; there were found spirits of darkness, corporeal demons spread through the air. Often, too, were flames of fire seen to rise out of the bosom of the earth, and the mountains were shaken. Earthly powers or demons were supposed to dwell in the centre of the earth; and since matter was held to be without activity, all movements were attributed to spirits. Storms, volcanoes, tempests, appeared to have no other object than to destroy human happiness; and these demons were held to be wicked spirits who produced these evils; to them every unfortunate event was ascribed, and a sort of hierarchy was formed of these evil beings, as had been done in the case of the good spirits. But why did not the Supreme mind put down, by an exertion of his power, this swarm of wicked spirits? Some thought it was beneath the dignity of the Primary Essence to contend with these demons; others were of opinion that these bad spirits were naturally indestructible, and as the Supreme could neither destroy nor improve them, he had banished them to the centre of the earth and to the region beneath the moon, where they indulged in their baseness and exercised their dominion: in order, however, to protect the human race against fiends so numerous and fearful, he commissioned good spirits, whose office it was to defend men against these corporeal demons. As the good and the bad spirits had various degrees of power and different offices, so they had names given to them which described their functions. As the good spirits were under an obligation to protect men



and furnish succour in their need, they were compelled to learn human language; accordingly, it was believed that a guardian angel against every evil was possessed by every one who bore his mysterious name—a name which was to be pronounced only when succour was needed. All manner of names were therefore devised, by which the good spirits were conjured or informed of human necessities; and all the combinations of the alphabet were exhausted in order to bring about a commerce between men and angels. Here is the origin of the Cabbala [KABBALA], which gave strange names to these spirits in order to bring them into connection with men, and by this means to do wonderful things (Matt. xii. 24-27). These names also sometimes served to drive bad spirits away: they were a kind of exorcism. For since it was believed that these demons had been banished to the centre of the earth, and that they could do evil only in consequence of having baffled the vigilance of the guardian spirits and escaped to the outer world, so, it was held, they were compelled to flee as soon as they heard the name of the good angels whose business it was to keep them shut up in subterranean caverns, and to punish them if they ventured from their prison-house. A power, too, was ascribed to the name of the spirit, or to the image which marked his office—a power which forced the spirit to come on being called; and, accordingly, it was held that this name carved on a stone kept the spirit near the person who wore the stone—a notion in which is probably found the origin of Talismans, which were formed either by words or symbolical figures.

The fragments of Berossus, preserved by Eusebius and Josephus, and to be found in Scaliger (*De Emendat. Temp.*), and more fully in Fabricius (*Bib. Gr.*, xiv. 175), afford some information on the subject of Chaldean philosophy. Berossus was a priest of the god Baal, at Babylon, in the time of Alexander the Great. The Talmud and other work of the Jewish Rabbins may also be advantageously consulted, together with the following authorities:—Euseb., *Præp. Evang.*, ix. 10; Philo, *De Mig. Mur.*; Selden, *De Diis Syris*, Proleg. 3; Stanley's *History of Oriental Philosophy*; Knorr's de Rosenroth, *Cabbala denudata, s. doctrina Ebraeorum transcendentalis et metaphysica atque theologica*, t. 1, Solisb. 1677, t. 2; *Liber Joh. restitutus*, Francof. 1684; Kleuker, *Ueber der Natur und den Ursprung der Emanationslehre bei den Kabbalisten*, Riga 1786; Molitor, *Philosophie der Geschichte*, 1827-28; Hartman, *Die enge Verbindung des A. T. mit dem N.*, 1831; Ketzner, *Lexicon von P. Fritz*, 1838; Brucker, *Hist. Crit. Phil.*; Ritter, *Geschich. der Phil.*; *Vergleichende Mythologie von Nork*, 1836.—J. R. B.

II. GREEK PHILOSOPHY. The purpose of the following article is to examine the question of the influence supposed by some writers to have been exercised by Greek philosophy on the doctrines of the New Testament. Thus stated, it is obviously but a limited portion of a more extensive subject—that of the general relation between philosophy and Christianity. But besides that this subject, in its full extent, could not be satisfactorily treated in an article like the present, the limits within which we propose to confine our remarks seem naturally suggested by the character of the article itself and of the work to which it belongs. On the religious side of the

question, a Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature, professing to deal, not with the later developments of Christian theology, but only with the foundations as laid in Holy Scripture, will naturally regard the speculations of philosophy only with respect to the influence which they may be supposed, rightly or wrongly, to have exercised on the composition of the Canonical Books, and not with respect to their position in the subsequent history of the Church; while, on the philosophical side, the fact that the Greeks are the only people before the Christian era who can be considered as having developed a system of pure philosophy as distinct from religion, seems to warrant the restriction of our view to the speculations of that country, and to the points of contact which may be supposed to have existed between Greek and Jewish thought before the close of the canon of Scripture. The relation of Scripture to Oriental religious ideas may be more conveniently discussed under other heads. [GNOSTICISM.]

The Jews indeed are sometimes spoken of as having had a philosophy of their own in the O. T.; but it was a philosophy in its results only, not in its method; or rather, it was a teaching which in many respects dispensed with the necessity of any philosophy at all. Many of the questions which philosophy endeavours to discuss are answered in Scripture—the personality of God, the origin of the world, the superintending providence of God, the efficacy of prayer, the free will of man, the obligation to virtue, the responsibility for vice—but the answer removes them from the domain of philosophy: they are facts to be believed, not theories to be comprehended; they are not proposed as problems to be solved by human reason, but assumed as certainties guaranteed by divine authority. Even the book of Job, which approaches most nearly to a philosophical discussion, and which has been regarded by a modern critic as an attempt on the part of the Jewish mind to construct by dialectic reasoning a theodicy, or justification of the ways of God (see Bunsen, *Hippolytus*, vol. ii., p. 7), is in truth rather an authoritative declaration by God himself of the insufficiency of such reasoning for such a purpose. The reasonings which would explain God's dealings with man are condemned; the faith which trusts in him, though he slay, is approved; but the only answer given to the questions raised is a declaration of the ignorance of man and of the unsearchableness of God's judgments. It is an answer quite in agreement with the general method of Scripture, which, even where it deals with questions common to it with human philosophy, contents itself with telling us what is to be believed as true, without attempting to satisfy the philosophical inquiry, 'How can these things be?'

The rise of philosophy in Greece may be stated in general terms as almost contemporaneous with the termination of the series of the Hebrew prophets. If we except, on the one side, the speculations of Thales and Anaximander, which belong to the first half of the 6th century B.C., and on the other side the prophecies of Malachi who wrote at the end of the 5th century B.C., the earliest developments of Greek thought fall into the latter half of the 6th century, contemporaneously with the date of those prophets who arose at the time of the return from the captivity. Even Malachi, the latest of the O. T. writers, is contemporary with



Socrates. It is manifest, therefore, that an inquiry into the influence, real or supposed, of Greek philosophy on the doctrines or the language of Scripture must be limited to the books of the N. T.; and the medium of that influence, if it was exercised at all, must be sought in the literature of the period intervening between the close of the first and the formation of the second canon.

The direct notices of Greek philosophy in the N. T. are very scanty. The words *philosophy*, *philosopher*, etc., occur only in two places, in both of which the philosophy spoken of is exhibited as antagonistic to the teaching of the gospel. In one of these (Col. ii. 8) the expression *διὰ τῆς φιλοσοφίας καὶ κενῆς ἀπάτης* apparently relates rather to the mixture of Jewish and Oriental speculations, in which might already be traced the germ of the later Gnosticism, than to the philosophy of Greece or the Jewish theories derived from it. The other place is the well-known passage in Acts xvii. 18, in which 'certain philosophers of the Epicureans and of the Stoics' are mentioned as having encountered St. Paul at Athens. The doctrines of these sects require notice only in so far as they are related to the teaching of the apostle, who, we are told, was regarded as 'a setter forth of strange gods, because he preached to them Jesus and the resurrection.' The doctrine of the resurrection of the body, or even of the immortality of the soul, would indeed be fundamentally at variance both with the materialism of the Epicureans and with the pantheism of the Stoics. The former, considering the soul to be, like other substances, a body composed of atoms, naturally concluded that it was resolved by death into its constituent elements; and even more rapidly than the body, as consisting of finer and more volatile particles (Lucret. iii. 178, *seq.*, 426, *seq.*; Laert. x. 63-67). The doctrine of the dissolution of the soul was even valued by these philosophers on account of its consolatory character, as enabling men to despise the terrors of the invisible world, and to look forward without fear to a release from the evils of life in the annihilation of their personal existence (Lucret. iii. 842, 850-854; cf. iii. 37; Laert. x. 124, 125).

The Stoics, on the other hand, from very opposite premises, arrived at a similar conclusion. With them, the soul of man was regarded as a portion and fragment of the divine principle of the universe,\* subject to that necessity by which the universe is governed, having no independent existence or action of its own, and destined, not indeed to perish with the body, but when a certain cycle of duration was accomplished, to be absorbed back again into the source from which it came.† It was a maxim of the Stoical philosophy that whatever has a beginning must also have an end.‡ They acknowledged

but one real existence, which, regarded from different points of view, was both matter and God; on its passive side an original substance, on its active side an original reason; an unformed material substance, the basis and substructure of all definite phenomena, and a pervading active power, by which that substance was supposed to develop itself into every variety of individual form.\* In this doctrine, 'the one remains, the many change and pass;' the Deity, or active power of the universe, produces all things from himself, and again, after a certain period of time, draws them back into himself, and then produces a new world in another cycle, and so on for ever.† The result of this theory, as regards the immortality of the human soul, may be given in the words of Cicero: 'Stoici autem usuram nobis largiuntur, tanquam cornicibus; diu mansuros aiunt animos; semper, negant' (*Tusc. Disp. i. 31*). The utmost duration that could be allotted to any individual soul was till the termination of the current world-cycle; and it was a disputed point among the philosophers of this sect, whether this extent of existence was conceded to the souls of all men, or only to those of the wise (Laert. vii. 157). Thus the same conclusion which the Epicureans deduced from the assumption of the multiplicity of matter was deduced by the Stoics from that of its unity: both alike recognised no real distinction between matter and spirit; and both alike inferred the impossibility of an immortal existence for any dependent being. This circumstance alone is sufficient to place a barrier between Stoicism and Christianity which cannot be removed by any approximation in moral precepts or doctrines of natural theology; and even the verbal resemblances which undoubtedly exist in these respects lose much of their significance when it is remembered that the Stoical morality was founded on fatalism, and their theology on pantheism.

It was natural, therefore, that the notice of the Greek philosophers at Athens should exhibit them in an aspect of antagonism to the central doctrine of apostolic preaching,—the resurrection of Christ, and, through him, the resurrection of all mankind; and it is probably from the same point of view that St. Paul, writing to the neighbouring city of Corinth, speaks of the preaching of Christ crucified as being 'to the Greeks foolishness.' A very different relation, however, has been asserted to exist between Christianity and one sect, at least, of Greek philosophy; and a modern critic has gone so far as to maintain that nearly all the doctrines which are usually regarded as distinctive of Christianity—the incarnation, the atonement, the free grace of God, the judgment to come—sprang from the circumstances of the age in which they were first preached, one of the principal of these circumstances being the changes produced by the influence of heathen philosophy in the Jewish ideas of God (Gfroerer, *Philo*, Preface, p. lxvi., 2d ed.) This assertion may be examined from two different points of view; first as regards the *doctrines* of the N. T.,

tius] quod nemo negat, quidquid natum sit, interire; nasci autem animos.

\* See Zeller, *Philos. der Griechen*, iii. p. 69, *seq.*

† Laert. vii. 137. λέγουσι δὲ κόσμον . . . τὸν θεὸν . . . ὃς δὴ ἀφάρτος ἐστὶ καὶ ἀγέννητος, δημιουργὸς ὢν τῆς διακοσμήσεως, κατὰ χρόνων ποιάς περιόδους ἀναλίσκων εἰς αὐτὸν τὴν ἅπασαν οὐσίαν καὶ πάλιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεννῶν.

\* Epictet. *Diss.* i. 14. 6. αὐ ψυχῇ . . . συναφείς τῷ θεῷ ἅτε αὐτοῦ μέρη οὔσαι καὶ ἀποσπασματα. M. Antonin. *De Rebus suis* ix. 8. εἰς τὰ λογικὰ μὲν νοερά ψυχῇ μεμέρισται. *Ibid.* xii. 30, μὲν νοερά ψυχῇ, καὶ διακεκρωμένοι δοκῇ.

† Seneca, *Consol. ad Marciam*, c. 26. 'Nos quoque, felices animæ et æterna sortitæ, quum Deo visum erit iterum ista moliri, labentibus cunctis, et ipsæ parva ruinæ ingentis accessio, in antiqua elementa vertemur' (cf. Zeller, *Philos. der Griechen*, iii. p. 105).

‡ Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* i. 32. Vult enim [Panæ-

and secondly as regards the *language* in which those doctrines are expressed. The former involves an inquiry of the utmost importance in reference to the character and authority of the Christian revelation; the latter may be important or not, according to the conclusion at which we arrive concerning the other.

In considering the question of doctrines, it is obvious that our attention will be confined chiefly, if not entirely, to those points of teaching which are usually considered to be characteristic of Christianity as a revealed religion, as distinguished from those which belong to it in common with that natural religion of which it is, in some respects, a republication. Coincidences in the latter may be expected from the nature of the case; and however interesting and important it may be to compare, in this respect, the amount and extent of knowledge enjoyed by the heathen world with that which has been given to the Christian, such a comparison would throw but little light on the question of the supposed influence exercised by heathen philosophy on the Christian Scriptures. We shall therefore limit our inquiry to doctrines which have a special title to the name of Christian; and, in particular, to that which has been principally dwelt upon by writers adopting this point of view, and to which all other questions of the kind may be regarded as subordinate,—the doctrine concerning the Person of Christ.

In its revealed as well as in its natural character, Christianity may be considered as occupying a common ground with heathen religion and philosophy, and as presenting features in which we may naturally expect to trace a partial resemblance to them. If the conception of Christianity as a natural religion implies a communion with other religions in the truths attainable by man's natural reason, the conception of it as a revealed religion no less implies a communion in the problems which that reason endeavours, unsuccessfully, to solve. The value of a revelation to man implies its fitness to satisfy some pressing need of man's nature; and the previous consciousness of that need involves the previous effort, however unsuccessful, to meet it. The distinguishing feature of the revelation in this respect will consist, not in the introduction of wholly new ideas and feelings with no relation to the past, but in its containing an answer to questions and a supply to wants which men have vainly sought to satisfy without it. To examine the exact nature of the answer thus given, in its philosophical character, as demonstrative or authoritative, absolute or relative, appealing to faith or to reason, or to both, would be foreign to our present purpose: it is sufficient for the present to call attention to the fact that there must needs be a communion between philosophy and revelation in the problems with which both undertake to deal; and that, through that communion, the former may be expected to appear as in some sort the precursor of the latter.

The distinction between God as concealed and God as revealed has a necessary basis in the nature of human thought (Tholuck, *Commentary on the Gospel of St. John*, p. 58, Eng. tr.) It is impossible for a devout mind, whether Christian, Jewish, or heathen, to reflect on the great fact of the existence of God, and of his relation to the world, without seeing that it introduces us to a problem the most important and the most mysterious with

which philosophy can attempt to grapple. The end and aim of philosophy is to bring together into a system of connected thought the sensible and the supersensible, to determine the nature of that relation which it is compelled to believe as existing between the many and the one, between effect and cause, between the relative and dependent existences of the phenomenal world and the absolute and independent existence which they imply, and from which they spring. Thus far the problem of philosophy would seem to have a theoretical and metaphysical, rather than a practical and religious, interest. But along with this line of thought there runs another, which, commencing from a different starting-point, endeavours to converge towards the same end. In addition to the inquiry suggested by the phenomena of the world without us, there is another no less forced upon us by the facts of the consciousness within us. As a religious and moral being, man is conscious of a relation of a personal character, distinct from any suggested by the phenomena of the material world—a relation to a supreme Personal Being, the object of his religious worship, and the source and judge of his moral obligations and conduct. Could we follow these two lines of thought to the point at which they converge, could we grasp in a clear conception the identity of the one absolute existence to which philosophy aspires to lead us with the personal God, postulated by our religious feelings, philosophy and theology would become one, and would justify the ancient classification in which theology and first philosophy were synonymous terms. But this, under the present limits of human thought, we are unable to do: the meeting point of the two lines is at an infinite distance from us; and therefore, to our apprehension, they are as if they were parallel. And hence it is that, in various ages and among various nations, the philosophy that strives to ascend to the One and the Absolute has found itself driven to abstractions in which the personal attributes of the Deity have vanished out of sight; while the theology that keeps faithful to its essential principle of a personal God has been compelled to acknowledge the existence of a gulf beyond its highest conceptions, which hides from its apprehension the mystery of absolute being.

An example of these two opposite tendencies in ancient times is furnished by the Greek philosophy on the one side, and the Hebrew theology on the other. Plato, the most religious of Greek philosophers, and the one most fully possessed by the thought of the real identity of philosophy and theology, nevertheless, in his search after an absolute first principle of existence and truth, finds himself carried up to the assumption of an ideal good, which is not only beyond personality, but beyond definite existence itself.\* In a subsequent discus-

\* *Rep.* vi., p. 509. οὐκ οὐσίας ὄντος τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐσίας πρᾶξις καὶ δύναμις ὑπερέχοντος; cf. vii., p. 517. For a commentary on this passage, and on the much-disputed question whether the Supreme Being in Plato's philosophy is conceived as a personal God, see Zeller, *Philosophie der Griechen*, vol. ii., p. 448, 2d ed. Cf. Herbart, *Lehrbuch zur Einleitung in die Philosophie*, sec. 146. The impersonal representation which prevails in the *Republic* is difficult to reconcile with the intelligence and personality attributed to the



sion, which forms a sequel to the former, we find an attempt made to exhibit this Supreme Being in relation to the world of definite and derived existences; and the apparent discrepancy between the language of this dialogue, the *Timæus*, and that previously employed in the *Republic*, has given rise to much forced interpretation, and, through that, to some wholly untenable theories concerning the character of the Platonic theology, and its relation to the doctrines of Christianity.

The Platonic cosmogony, as it is exhibited in the *Timæus*, appears to recognise three original and eternal existences: first, the Deity, the Creator, or rather the artificer or demiurge of the visible world; secondly, the ideal world or archetype, after the pattern of which the visible world was framed; and thirdly, the primitive matter out of which the world was framed; itself unformed and invisible, but susceptible of every variety of visible form; the substratum and recipient of those modes which constitute the material elements of the universe. The Deity, in framing the world out of the primitive matter, is said to act *from reason and design* (ἐκ λόγου καὶ διαβολῆς); *by intellect* (διὰ νοῦ); and his action is spoken of as *an exercise of reason* (λογισμός); but there is not the slightest evidence that this divine reason was represented by Plato as having a distinct personality, or as being anything more than an attribute of the divine mind. Indeed his whole language seems to necessitate the opposite interpretation. The author of the world, he says, being good, and desiring that all things should be like himself, framed the visible world after the ideal pattern; and because that which has intelligence is better than that which has it not, therefore he created the world as an intelligent being, having a soul as well as a body. Of the world as thus made, he says, that the father who made it admired it, and was rejoiced; and subsequently, after describing the creation of time, of the planets, the measures of time, and of the fixed stars, which are living beings divine and everlasting, he proceeds to tell us how the supreme Deity, having formed the souls of men, committed to these inferior deities the task of joining them to corruptible bodies. If this language is understood literally, it is difficult to reconcile the personality and intelligent action here ascribed to the Deity with the terms previously used in the *Republic* in relation to the supreme Good; and when we consider the evidently mythical character of many of its details, we shall perhaps be justified in regarding the cosmogony of the *Timæus* as a popular rather than a philosophical exposition, expressing the personal belief of the

author, rather than the logical result of his system; and as intended to express, under a symbolical form, a theory designed to fill up, or rather to leap over, the chasm which separates the ideal principle of being from the material ground of the phenomenal world, by means of the intermediate conception of a soul of the universe.\*

But the later Platonists of the Alexandrian school adopted a different interpretation. They evaded the difficulty by assuming, without any warrant from the text of the dialogue,† the existence of an impersonal supreme principle as understood, in addition to the principles expressly mentioned by Plato. To this principle, the ideal good, they assigned the highest place in the scale of existence, placing the intelligent author of the world, whom Plato calls the ever-existent God (ὁ ἀεὶ Θεός), in the second rank, as having a dependent existence derived from the first principle, and adding to these, as a third principle, the soul of the universe, the product of the divine intelligence.‡ These three constitute the celebrated Platonic or rather Neoplatonic triad of τὰ γὰρ ἅθροισμα, νοῦς, and ψυχὴ, which some of the Christian Fathers regard as an approximation to the doctrine of the Holy Trinity,§ and which has been employed in the same point of view for two opposite purposes in modern times, by Cudworth in support of Christianity, and by Gibbon in depreciation of it.|| But in truth this triad, though attributed to their master by Plotinus and others of the Neoplatonic school,¶ cannot without extreme violence be extorted from the text of Plato himself, nor fairly traced, in its complete form, to any teaching earlier than the Christian era.\*\* The most plausible evi-

\* See Zeller, *Philos. der Griechen*, ii. p. 490; Baur, *Lehre von der Dreieinigkeit*, i. p. 40; and the article 'Plato,' by Prof. Brandis in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*, p. 402.

† On this unwarranted addition, see Petavius *Dogm. Theol.*, De Trinitate, lib. i. c. 1, sec. 4.

‡ Whether these derived existences were regarded as created beings or not, has been a matter of dispute in modern times. Petavius, *l. c.*, maintains the affirmative, and hence regards the Neoplatonic doctrine as an anticipation of the Arian heresy. Cudworth, on the other hand, with whom his translator Mosheim partly agrees, considers the three principles as uncreated, and regards the Neoplatonic doctrine, in its genuine form, as an approximation to that of the Catholic church. See Harrison's ed. of *Cudworth*, vol. ii. pp. 372-389. Neither form of the theory is really Platonic, but the latter interpretation does even greater violence to the text of the *Timæus* than the former.

§ See Eusebius, *Præp. Evan.*, xi. 20; Cyril Alex. *c. Jul.* i. p. 34; iii. p. 97; viii. p. 271, ed. 1638; Theodoret, *Gr. Aff. Cur.*, Sermon. ii.

|| See Cudworth, *Intell. System*, ch. iv.; and Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. xxi.

¶ Plotin., *Enn.*, v. 1. 8; Porphyry, *apud Cyril. c. Jul.* i. p. 32; viii., p. 271. Other expositions, somewhat differing in details, are enumerated by Proclus in *Tim. Plat.*, ii. p. 93.

\*\* Theodoret (*Gr. Aff. Cur.*, Sermon. ii.) expresses an opinion that the later Platonists availed themselves of Christian doctrines in interpreting the language of their master. This is also maintained by Mosheim in his notes to Cudworth, who also calls attention to the fact that the chief evidence

Deity in the *Timæus* and elsewhere; and this discrepancy has given rise to the theories of the later Platonists. Perhaps the apparent inconsistency may be explained if we suppose that Plato himself was possessed by two separate convictions, both of which he believed to be true, yet which he was unable to combine into one theory. On the one hand he believed in a personal God, the author of the world; on the other, he was conscious that this conception fell short of the absolute first principle required by dialectic. Hence, while he generally adapts the language of his philosophy to the former belief, he occasionally intimates the existence of a higher truth, which his thought tends towards, without being able to reach. Cf. J. Simon, *Études sur la théodicée de Platon et d'Aristote*, p. 173.

dence in favour of an earlier date rests on two passages in the so-called Platonic Epistles, which, however, are too obscure to warrant any reliable inference, and which are now generally regarded as spurious, and are thought by some to bear traces of a Jewish, if not of a Christian origin.\* Nor can any greater weight be attached to another argument, also employed by some of the Fathers in support of a Platonic anticipation of Christianity, from the use by Plato and other philosophers of the term λόγος to denote the divine intelligence;† a term which, whether intended literally or figuratively, will be naturally used in relation to the divine mind, as it is in relation to the human, and which, in its earlier use, bears no trace of the theological signification afterwards assigned to it.‡ But in this respect again a distinction must be made between the language of Plato himself and that of his later followers, particularly of the Jewish Platonist Philo, whose speculations will require a separate examination.

The theory of the *Timæus* has a historical interest in relation to our present inquiry, from the use that has been made of it at various times, both by defenders and assailants of Christianity, who have regarded it, however erroneously, as an anticipation of the teaching of the gospel. Philosophically, however, it is, literally interpreted, an exception to, rather than an instance of, the general tendency of the Platonic philosophy, and of Greek philosophy in general, to carry the search for a first principle up to a simple and impersonal abstraction. In opposition to this tendency, we find the Hebrew Scriptures pervaded throughout with the idea of a personal God, the Creator of the world, and the

Ruler, in particular, of his chosen people. Yet it is intimated in various ways that this conception of personality, expressed, as it necessarily is, in terms properly denoting human attributes, though true, is but a partial and imperfect representation of the truth; that the absolute nature of God rather lies behind this representation than is fully manifested by it. This intimation appears partly in those passages which dwell on the difference between the attributes of God and those of man: 'He is not a man that he should repent;' 'I am the Lord, I change not;' 'my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways' (1 Sam. xv. 29; Mal. iii. 6; Is. lv. 8); more directly in such places as Exod. xxxiii. 20-23, where Moses is permitted to see the back parts, but not the face of the Lord; Deut. iv. 12: 'Ye saw no similitude, only ye heard a voice;' in the words of Zophar in the Book of Job (xi. 7): 'Canst thou by searching find out God? canst thou find out the Almighty unto perfection?' and in the confession of the patriarch himself in the same book (xxiii. 8, 9): 'Behold I go forward, but he is not there; and backward, but I cannot perceive him: on the left hand, where he doth work, but I cannot behold him: he hideth himself on the right hand, that I cannot see him.' The same distinction between the hidden and the revealed God lies at the foundation of those passages of the Pentateuch, in which the Angel of the Lord is manifested as the divine Person, to whom especially is committed the economy of the old covenant\*—passages which the general voice of the Christian Church has interpreted as relating to the Second Person of the Holy Trinity.† The key being once supplied by these passages, we have less difficulty in acknowledging a similar distinction in places which might otherwise seem susceptible of a different meaning, such as those in which the creation of the world is ascribed to the Word of the Lord (רִבְרָא, λόγος) (See Ps. xxxiii. 6; cxlvii. 15; cf. Ps. cvii. 20, quoted by Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* vii. 12), and possibly also those in which the wisdom of God is described in language approaching to the attribution of a distinct personality (Prov. viii. 22-31; cf. Job xxviii. 12-28). The doctrine thus partially intimated in the canonical books of the O. T. is in a slight degree further elaborated in the apocryphal books of Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom, which present somewhat more distinctly the personal representation of wisdom suggested by the Proverbs;‡

adduced by Cudworth in support of the Trinity of Plato is taken not from Plato but from Plotinus. A similar conclusion is maintained, after a careful examination of Plato, in Cæsar Morgan's *Investigation of the Trinity of Plato*. See also, Brucker, *Hist. Philos.* ii. p. 410; Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie*, vi. p. 51; Ritter, *History of Philosophy*, vol. iv., p. 534, Eng. Tr.; Martin, *Études sur le Timée*, vol. ii., note xxix.; Burton, *Bampton Lectures*, note 90.

\* Epist. ii. p. 312; vi., p. 323. These passages are cited in support of the Platonic Trinity by Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 60; Clemens Alex., *Strom.* v., p. 255; Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* xi. 16; Theodoret, *Gr. Aff. Cur.*, serm. ii.; Cyril Alex. c. Jul. i., p. 34; viii., p. 271. On the spuriousness of the epistles in general, see Brandis, *Gesch. der Gr. Rom. Philos.*, ii. p. 180; and the recent dissertation of H. T. Karsten, *De Platonis quæ feruntur epistolis*, Traj. ad Rhen. 1864; and on these passages in particular, Prof. Thompson's note in W. A. Butler's *Lectures on Ancient Philos.*, ii., p. 38. Cf. Boeckh, *De Trag. Gr. Princ.*, p. 162; J. A. Grimm, *de Epist. Platonis*, pp. 4, 15, 17. Martin maintains the genuineness of Epist. ii., but explains it in a sense totally different from that of a trinity. See *Études sur le Timée*, vol. ii., pp. 61, 387. A similar interpretation is given by Karsten, p. 208, who regards the epistle as spurious, but not Christian.

† See Origen, *De Princ.*, i. 3 in Genes., Hom. xiv.; Euseb. *Præp. Evang.*, xi. 16; Cyril c. Jul., viii., p. 271; Theodoret, *Gr. Aff. Cur.*, serm. ii. iv.

‡ See Tennemann, *Syst. der Plat. Phil.*, iii., p. 150; *Gesch. der Phil.*, ii., p. 386; Burton, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 213.

\* See Hengstenberg, *Christology*, vol. i. p. 107, Eng. Tr. In Mal. iii. 1, the 'messenger of the covenant' is expressly identified with the Lord of the temple. In other places—*ex. gr.*, Gen. xvi. 7, 13; xxxi. 11, 13; Exod. iii. 2, 6; xiv. 19, 24—the same person is spoken of under the name of God and of an angel. To this language may perhaps be traced one portion of the later doctrine of the Logos as it appears in Philo. See Gfroerer, *Philo*, i. p. 294.

† See the authorities cited by Bishop Bull, *Def. Fid. Nic.*, sec. i. c. 1.

‡ Ecclus. i. 1-10; xxiv. 1-18; Wisd. vii. 22-30; viii. 1-9; ix. 9-11. Dähne (*Gesch. Darstellung der Jüdisch-Alex. Religionsphilos.*, vol. ii. pp. 130, 155), in opposition to Gfroerer and others, denies that the representation of wisdom in these books necessarily implies the hypothesis of a real personality as distinguished from a poetical personification.



and the latter of which has partially anticipated the use of the term *λόγος*, afterwards so conspicuous in Philo.\*

To us, reading the elder Scriptures by the light of a later revelation, it is natural to see in some at least of these obscure intimations, as well as in the more direct Messianic prophecies, a witness to and a preparation for him who was more perfectly to be made known in the fulness of time. But, before this light was shed upon them, they were destined to receive a different interpretation by connection with the speculations of Greek philosophy. The literature of Greece and Judæa came in contact at Alexandria; and the first known attempt to accomplish their fusion is that ascribed to the Jewish Peripatetic Aristobulus, in the reign of Ptolemy Philometor (B.C. 180-146);† but the principal extant specimens are to be found in the writings of the Jewish Platonist Philo, the date of whose birth may be placed about B.C. 20. Philo's system may be described as the result of a contact between the Hellenic theory of the absolute and the Jewish belief in God as represented in the O. T.‡ In his religion Philo was a Jew, with all a Jew's reverence for the oracles of God committed to the charge of his people;§ but his philosophical studies attached themselves to those doctrines of the Platonic philosophy which, while dealing with the same great question, approached it from an opposite point of view. The result in his writings was an attempted combination of the two—the Greek philosophy supplying the fundamental idea, while the Jewish Scriptures, through the Septuagint translation, contributed, by means of an extravagant license of allegorical interpretation, much of the language and illustration of the system, besides imparting to it the apparent sanction of a divine authority.|| The leading idea of Philo's teaching

is the expansion of that thought of Plato's which forms the connecting link between the philosophy of Greece and the pantheism of the east—that thought which represents the supreme principle of things as absolutely one and simple, beyond personality and beyond definite existence, and as such immutable and incapable of relation to temporal things.\*

In place of the God of the Hebrew Scriptures, who, even in his most hidden and mysterious nature, is never regarded as other than a person, Philo is led to substitute the Greek abstraction of an ideal good or absolute unity, as the first principle of a system in which philosophy and theology are to be reconciled and united; and though he is unable entirely to abandon the language of personality which the Scriptures at every page force upon their readers, he is at the same time unable, consistently with his philosophical assumptions, to admit an immediate personal relation between the Supreme Being and the creature.† The medium of reconciliation is sought in a development of the scriptural manifestation of the wisdom and the word of God, which takes the place of the soul of the world as it appears in the *Timæus*, being represented as a *second God*—the connecting link between the first principle and the world; in whom are concentrated those personal attributes which are indispensable to religious belief, and which are so conspicuously present in the Scripture theology.‡

The following short summary of Philo's system will serve to exhibit those of its features which are most nearly related to our present inquiry:§—The highest aim of philosophy, and the most perfect happiness, according to Philo, is the knowledge of God in his absolute nature, || in which he is exalted above all affinity to finite things, without qualities, and not to be expressed in speech.¶ Such know-

\* Wisd. ix. 1; xvi. 12; and perhaps (notwithstanding the protest of Gfroerer, ii. p. 232) xviii. 15. Cf. also Eccles. xliii. 26.

† Aristobulus is said to have been a Peripatetic; but of his exact relations to this philosophy nothing is known. From the few fragments which remain of his writings, he seems to have anticipated Philo in the employment of an allegorical interpretation of Scripture. His name, however, is more known in connection with forgeries of the Greek poets in support of his theory that the wisdom of the Greeks was borrowed from Moses. See Valckenær, *Diatribæ de Aristobulo*, Lugd. Bat. 1806, reprinted in Gaisford's edition of Eusebii *Præp. Evang.*; Dähne, ii. p. 73; Vacherot, *Histoire de l'école d'Alexandrie*, vol. i. p. 140.

‡ See Dorner, *Person of Christ*, vol. i., note A (p. 330, Eng. Tr.) For some of the details of this contact, see Dähne, vol. i. p. 31, seq.

§ For Philo's testimony to the divine authority of the Scriptures, see *Vit. Mos.* l. iii. c. 23 (p. 163, Mangey); *Quis rer. div. har.*, c. 52, 53, p. 510, 511. Other passages to the same effect are cited by Gfroerer, i. p. 54. Philo even maintains the divine inspiration of the Septuagint version, *Vit. Mos.* ii. cc. 6, 7, p. 139, 140.

|| It may be questioned whether Philo had any knowledge of Hebrew. He employs the Septuagint; and many of his commentaries are mere plays on the Greek words. He seems to have been unacquainted with the cabalistic doctrines of his Hebrew kinsmen, which, by a similar allegorical

use of Scripture, led the way to the Talmud. See Franck, *Dict. des Sciences Philosophiques*, Art. *Philon*.

\* Compare Plato, *Rep.* vi. p. 509; ii. p. 381. Gfroerer, vol. i. p. 134, and Franck, Art. *Philon*, regard this feature of Philo's theology as of Oriental origin. But his Greek studies might suggest the same idea, and much of his language seems to point to this origin. See Dähne, vol. i. pp. 31, 41.

† See *De Mut. Nom.*, c. 4, p. 582; Gfroerer, i. p. 144; Dähne, ii. p. 154. The various passages inconsistent with this, in which Philo seems to speak of a direct action of God in the world, may perhaps be explained by supposing this action to be exerted through the medium of the Logos. Cf. *Quod Deus sit immut.*, c. 12, p. 281; Gfroerer, i. pp. 199, 293.

‡ *Fragm.*, p. 625, ex Euseb. *Præp. Evang.*, vii. 13: *Διὰ τί ὡς περὶ ἑτέρου Θεοῦ φησὶ τὸ ἐν εἰκόνι Θεοῦ ἐποίησα τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τῇ ἐαυτοῦ; Παγκαλῶς καὶ σοφῶς τοῦτ' ἐκ χρησμῶδ' ἔσται. ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀπεικονισθῆναι πρὸς τὸν ἀνωτάτω καὶ Πατέρα τῶν ὄλων ἐδύνατο, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν δευτέρου Θεοῦ, ὅς ἐστιν ἐκείνου Λόγος.*

§ In this summary, use has been made chiefly of that of Hegel, *Gesch. der Philos.*, *Werke*, xv. pp. 18-23, and of that of Zeller, *Philos. der Griechen*, iii. pp. 594-665.

|| *De Vita Contempl.*, c. 2, p. 473. Cf. *De Conf. Ling.*, c. 20, p. 419; *De Vict. Offerent.*, c. 16, p. 264; *De Monarch.*, i. 3, 4, p. 216.

¶ *Legis Alleg.*, i., c. 13, p. 50: *ἄποιος ὁ Θεός.*

ledge, though not fully attainable by any man, is nevertheless to be earnestly sought after, that it may be attained at least in that second degree in which we apprehend directly the existence of God, though falling short of a comprehension of his essence.\* Even this amount, however, of direct knowledge is not to be gained by any effort of human thought, but only by God's revelation of himself; and such a revelation is only possible in the form of an ecstatic intuition, in which the seer, himself passive, is elevated by divine inspiration above the conditions of finite consciousness, and becomes one with the God whom he contemplates.† But this ecstatic vision is possible only to a chosen few; for the many, who are incapable of it, there remains only that inferior and improper apprehension of God which can be gained through the means of derived and created existences, especially of his Word or Wisdom, who is the medium by which God is related to the world, the God of imperfect men, as the Supreme Being is the God of the wise and perfect.‡ This Word, or Logos, is described in various ways, some more naturally denoting an impersonal, others a personal being.§ He is the intelligible world, the archetypal pattern, the idea of ideas,|| the wisdom of God,¶ the shadow of God, by which, as by an instrument, he made the world:\*\* he is the eternal image of God,††

Ibid., c. 15, p. 53: *δεῖ γὰρ ἡγείσθαι καὶ ἀποιοῦν αὐτὸν εἶναι, καὶ ἀφθαρτὸν καὶ ἀτρέπτον. De Somn.*, i. 39, p. 655: *λέγεσθαι γὰρ οὐ πέφυκεν, ἀλλὰ μόνον εἶναι τὸ ὄν. Cf. De Vit. Cont.*, c. 1, p. 472; *Quod Deus immut.*, c. 11, p. 281.

\* *De Præm. et Pæn.*, c. 7, p. 415. Cf. Gfroerer, i. p. 135, 199. By this hypothesis of a primary and secondary knowledge, Gfroerer reconciles those passages in which the knowledge of God is spoken of as unattainable with others apparently of an opposite import: *ex. gr.*, *De Post. Caini*, c. 48, p. 258; *De Monarch.*, i. 6, p. 218, and those referred to in the next note.

† *De Poster. Cain.*, c. 5, p. 229; *Legis Alleg.*, iii. 33, p. 107; *De Abr.*, c. 24, p. 19; *De Migr. Abr.*, c. 31, p. 463; *Fragm.*, p. 654; *Quis rer. div. her.*, cc. 13, 14, p. 482; cf. Neander, *Church History*, i. p. 79, ed. Bohn. This ecstatic intuition is insisted upon also by Plotinus and the later Platonists, as in modern times by Schelling.

‡ *Legis Alleg.*, iii. 32, p. 107, iii. 73, p. 128; *De Abr.*, c. 24, p. 19; *De Migr. Abr.*, c. 31, p. 463; *De Conf. Ling.*, c. 28, p. 427.

§ Whether the Logos of Philo is to be regarded as a distinct person or not, is matter of controversy. The negative is maintained by Burton (*Bampton Lectures*, note 93) and by Dorner (*Person of Christ*, i., p. 27, E. T., and note A), against Gfroerer, Dähne, Lücke, and the majority of recent critics. An intermediate view is taken by Zeller, iii., p. 626, and to some extent by Professor Jowett, *Epistles of St. Paul*, i. p. 484, 2d ed.

|| *De Mundi Opif.*, c. 6, p. 5; elsewhere the λόγος is distinguished from the παράδειγμα. See *De Conf. Ling.*, c. 14, p. 414.

¶ *Legis Alleg.*, i. 19, p. 56.

\*\* *Legis Alleg.*, iii. 31, p. 106; cf. *De Monarch.*, ii. 5, p. 225; *De Cherub.*, c. 35, p. 162.

†† *De Conf. Ling.*, c. 28, p. 427. The contradiction between this representation and the concrete attributes ascribed to the Logos is pointed out by Hegel, *Werke*, xv., p. 20.

the eldest and most general of created things:\* he is the first-born of God, the eldest angel or archangel,† the high-priest of the world,‡ the interpreter of God,§ the mediator between the Creator and his creatures, the suppliant in behalf of mortals, the ambassador from the ruler to his subjects. || He is moreover the God in whose likeness man was made; for the supreme God cannot have any likeness to a mortal nature:¶ he is the angel who appeared to Hagar,\*\* the God of Jacob's dream and the angel with whom he wrestled,†† the image of God who appeared to Moses at the bush,‡‡ the guide of the Israelites in the wilderness. §§ This interposition of the Logos thus serves to combine the theology of contemplation with that of worship and obedience; it endeavours to provide one God for those whose philosophical meditations aspire to an intuition of the absolute, and another for those whose religious feelings demand a personal object; while at the same time it attempts to preserve the unity of God, by limiting the attribution of proper and supreme deity to the first principle only.

In addition to this, which may be regarded as the central point of Philo's system, some have endeavoured to elicit from his writings a closer approximation to Christian doctrine, in the recognition of a third divine being, distinct both from the supreme God and from the Logos. ||| A remarkable passage sometimes cited for this purpose occurs in his allegorizing commentary on the cherubim and the flaming sword placed in Eden. 'With the one truly existent God,' he says, 'there are two first and highest powers, goodness and authority: by goodness he has produced everything, and by authority he rules over that which he has produced; and a third, which brings both together as a medium, is reason; for by reason God is both a ruler and good. Of these two powers—authority and goodness—the cherubim are the symbol; and of reason, the flaming sword.'¶¶ In like manner he comments on the threefold appearance to Abraham in the plains of Mamre: 'The middle appearance represents the Father of the universe, who in the sacred writings is called by his proper name, the Existent (ὁ ὄν), and those on each side are the most ancient powers and nearest to the Existent; one of which is called the creative and the other the kingly power. And the creative power is God, for by this power he made and arranged the universe; and the kingly power is Lord, for it is meet that the Creator should rule over and govern the crea-

\* *Legis Alleg.*, iii. 61, p. 121.

† *De Conf. Ling.*, c. 28, p. 427; *Quis rer. div. her.*, c. 42, p. 501.

‡ *De Somn.*, i. 37, p. 653; cf. *De Gig.*, c. 11, p. 269; *De Migr. Abr.*, c. 18, p. 452.

§ *Legis Alleg.*, iii. 73, p. 128.

|| *Quis rer. div. her.*, c. 42, p. 501.

¶ *Fragm.*, p. 625.

\*\* *De Somn.*, i. 41, p. 656; *De Prof.*, c. i. p. 547.

†† *De Somn.*, i. 39, p. 655; *De Mut. Nom.*, c. 13, p. 591.

‡‡ *Vit. Mos.*, i. 12, p. 91; cf. Gfroerer, i. p. 283-84.

§§ *De Migr. Abr.*, c. 31, p. 463.

||| See Allix, *Judgment of the Jewish Church*, p. 118, ed. 1821; Kidder, *Demonstration of the Messiah*, part iii. ch. 5.

¶¶ *De Cherub.*, c. 9, p. 143.



ture.\* The inference, however, which has been drawn from these and similar passages rests on a very precarious foundation. There is no consistency in Philo's exposition, either as regards the number or the nature of these divine powers. Even granting the disputed opinion that the powers represent distinct personal beings, we find in one of the above passages the three beings all distinguished from the supreme God: while in the other he seems to be identified with one of them; and the confusion is increased if we compare other passages in which additional powers are mentioned with further distinctions.† The truth seems to be that Philo indulged his allegorizing fancy in the invention of divine powers *ad libitum*, in any number and with any signification which the text on which he was commenting for the moment might happen to suggest; and he has no more difficulty in finding six divine powers to be represented by the six cities of refuge‡ than he has in finding three to suit the two cherubim and the flaming sword. In this kind of desultory playing with the language of Scripture, it is idle to look for any definite doctrine, philosophical or theological.

It must not be supposed that the doctrines here attributed to Philo are clearly and unambiguously enunciated in his writings. Many passages might be quoted apparently indicating different views; and probably no consecutive summary of doctrines could be drawn up, against which similar objections might not be urged. This difficulty is unavoidable in the case of a writer like Philo, who attempts to combine together two antagonistic systems, of whose antagonism he is himself but imperfectly, if at all, conscious. Philo's system has been called an eclecticism; but it was not so much an eclecticism founded on definite principles of selection, as an accumulation of speculations which he was unable to combine into a consistent whole, though persuaded of the existence of a common principle of truth concealed under them. There is a perpetual struggle between the Jewish and the heathen, the religious and the philosophical elements of his system, if system it can be called, which cannot be set at rest by all the latitude of interpretation which he so freely indulges in. Hence his religious convictions perpetually manifest themselves in language inconsistent with his philosophical theories; and the utmost that can be attempted in a short analysis of his teaching is to give an outline of the system as it probably would have been had it been logically carried out, not as it actually appears in his own very illogical attempt to carry it out.

In the language as well as in the doctrines of Philo, we may trace the influence of Greek philosophy in conjunction with the literature of his own nation. The theory, indeed, which would trace the term *Λόγος* to the few and unimportant pas-

sages in which it is employed by Plato, is too fanciful and far-fetched to be tenable; but the appearance in Philo of the Stoical distinction between *λόγος ἐνδιάθετος* and *λόγος προφορικὸς*, as well as his general use of the term, seems to indicate that in the employment of this word he was influenced by the language of the Greek philosophy, though perhaps in conjunction with that of the LXX.\* In the use of the cognate term *Σοφία*, as nearly, if not quite equivalent to that of *Λόγος*, he was probably more directly influenced by writers of his own nation, by the LXX. version of the Proverbs, and by the books of Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom.† Thus his language, no less than his matter, indicates the compound character of his writings; the two-fold origin of his opinions being paralleled by a similar two-fold source of the terms in which they are expressed.

It is necessary to dwell to some extent upon the writings of Philo, because it is through them, if at all, that the influence of the Greek philosophy on the Christian Scriptures is to be traced. Whether we admit the conjecture that St. John, during his residence at Ephesus, might have become acquainted with Philo's writings; or whether we regard these writings as the extant representatives of a widely diffused doctrine, which might have reached the apostle through other channels,‡ it is to the asserted coincidences between this evangelist and the Alexandrian philosopher, that we must look for the chief evidence for or against the theory which asserts an influence of Greek speculations on Christian doctrine. The amount of that influence, however, has been very differently estimated by different critics; one of whom, as has been before observed, ascribes to it nearly all the distinctive doctrines of the Christian church; while another considers that the whole resemblance between St. John and Philo may be accounted for by their common use of certain passages of the O. T., especially those concerning the angel of the Lord and the distinction between the hidden and the revealed God.§ The truth may perhaps be found in an intermediate view, if we distinguish between the Christian doctrine in itself and the language in which it is expressed. Notwithstanding the verbal parallels which may be adduced between the language of Philo and that of some portions of the N. T., the relation between the Alexandrian and the Christian doctrines is one rather of contrast than of resemblance. The distinguishing doctrine of the Christian revelation—that of the Word made flesh—not only does not appear in Philo, but could

\* *De Abr.*, c. 24, p. 19; cf. *De Sacr. Ab. et Cain.*, c. 15, p. 173.

† Cf. *De Mut. Nom.*, c. 4, p. 582, where a *ἐνεργητικὴ δύναμις* is mentioned as distinct from the *βασιλικὴ* and *ποιητικὴ*, and all three are distinguished from the supreme God.

‡ *De Prof.*, cc. 18, 19, pp. 560, 561. In this passage, again, the three higher powers, represented by the three cities beyond Jordan, are clearly distinguished from the supreme God.

\* On the *λόγος* of the Stoics and its relation to Philo, see Zeller, *Philos. der Griechen*, iii. p. 630. Cf. Wyttienbach on *Plutarch*, ii. 44 A. The distinction between *ἐνδιάθετος* and *προφορικὸς* *λόγος*, though acknowledged by Philo, is not applied by him directly to the divine reason (see Gfroerer, i. p. 177). On other affinities between Philo and the Stoics, see Valckenaer, *Diatr. de Aristobulo*, sec. xxxii.

† On the identity of *Λόγος* and *Σοφία* in Philo, see Gfroerer, i. p. 213, seq.

‡ See, for the one supposition, Dean Milman, in a note on Gibbon, ch. xxi.; and for the other, Gfroerer, i. p. 307; ii. p. 4.

§ See Tholuck on the *Gospel of St. John*, p. 65, Eng. Tr.

not possibly appear, consistently with the leading principles of his philosophy, according to which the flesh, and matter in general, is condemned as the source of all evil. The development of Philo's doctrine, if applied to the person of Christ, will lead, as has been pointed out, not to Christianity, but to docetism ; \* and in the distinction, which he constantly makes, between the absolute God and the secondary deity, who alone is capable of relation to finite things, we may trace the germ of a theory which afterwards, in various forms, became conspicuous in the different developments of Gnosticism.

In fact, the method of Philo, both in his philosophical theories and in his interpretations of Scripture, is so far from being, either in substance or in spirit, an anticipation of the Christian revelation, that it may rather be taken as a representative of the opposite spirit of rationalism, the tendency of which is to remove all distinction between natural and revealed religion, by striving to bring all religious doctrines alike within the compass of human reason. It is not the reception of divine truth as a fact, resting on the authority of an inspired teacher, telling us *that* these things are so ; it is rather an inquiry into causes and grounds, framing theories to explain *how* they are so. The doctrine of the Logos, as it appears in Philo, is a hypothesis assumed in order to explain how it is possible that the God whom his philosophy taught him to regard as above all relation to finite existence could nevertheless, as his religion taught him to believe, be actually manifested in relation to the world. To explain this difficulty, he has recourse to the supposition of an intermediate being between God and the world ; standing, as it were, midway between the abstract and impersonal on the one side and the definite and personal on the other ; and described in language which wavers between the two conceptions, without succeeding in combining them. In this respect the theory reminds us, not only of

those forms of Gnosticism which subsequently emanated from the Alexandrian philosophy under the influence of Christianity, as Philo's system emanated from the same philosophy under the influence of Judaism, but also, to some extent, of later speculations, which, in the endeavour to transfer the Catholic faith from a historical to a metaphysical foundation, have regarded the doctrine of the incarnation of the Divine Word, not as the literal statement of a fact which took place at an appointed time, but as the figurative representation of an eternal process in the divine nature.†

On the other hand, the Christian revelation, while distinctly proclaiming as a fact the reconciliation of man to God by One who is both God and man, yet announces this great truth as a mystery to be received by faith, not as a theory to be comprehended by reason. The mystery of the union between God's nature and man's does not cease to be mysterious because we are assured that it is real. No intermediate hypothesis is advanced to facilitate the union of the two natures by removing the distinctive attributes of either ; no attempt is made to overcome the philosophical difficulties of the doctrine by deifying the humanity of Christ or humanising his divinity. His divine nature is not less divine than that of his Father ; his human nature is not less human than that of his brethren. The intellectual difficulty of comprehending how this can be remains still ; but the authority of a divine revelation is given to enable us to believe notwithstanding.

But while we acknowledge the wide and fundamental differences which exist between the doctrines of the Alexandrian Judaism and those of the Christian Scriptures, we must also acknowledge the existence of some striking similarities of language between the writings of Philo and some parts of the N. T. The following instances exhibit some of the most remarkable parallels of this kind :—

## N. T.

John i. 1. Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ Λόγος, καὶ ὁ Λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος.

John i. 3. Πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἓν ὃ γέγονεν.

John i. 4. Καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἦν τὸ φῶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων. 9. ἦν τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινὸν ὃ φωτίζει πάντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

John i. 18. Θεὸν οὐδεὶς ἑώρακε πώποτε· ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐκεῖνος ἐξηγήσατο.‡

1 John i. 5. Ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς φῶς ἐστὶ, καὶ σκοτία ἐν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἐστὶν οὐδεμία.

## Philo.

*De Conf. Ling.* 28, p. 427. τῆς αἰδίου εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ, λόγου τοῦ ιερωτάτου. *De Somn.* i. 39, p. 655. καλεῖ δὲ Θεὸν τὸν πρεσβύτατον αὐτοῦ νυνὶ λόγον. *Fragm.*, p. 625. πρὸς τὸν δεύτερον Θεὸν ὃς ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνου λόγος.

*De Monarch.* ii. 5, p. 225. Λόγος δὲ ἐστὶν εἰκὼν Θεοῦ, δι' οὗ σύμπας ὁ κόσμος ἐδημιουργεῖτο.

*De Mundi Opif.* 8, p. 6. καὶ ταύτης εἰκόνα τὸ νοητὸν φῶς ἐκεῖνο, ὃ θείου λόγου γέγονεν εἰκὼν τοῦ διερμηνεύσαντος τὴν γένεσιν αὐτοῦ.

*Legis Alleg.* iii. 73, p. 128. οὐ περὶ τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῦ διαγνῶναι δύναται, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητὸν, ἕαν τοῦ νοήματος αὐτοῦ δυνηθῶμεν, ὅπερ ἦν, τοῦ ἐρμηνεύς λόγου.

*De Somn.* i. 13, p. 632. ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον μὲν ὁ Θεὸς φῶς ἐστὶ.

\* See Dorner on the *Person of Christ*, vol. i., p. 17, Eng. Tr.

† See Fichte, *Anweisung zum seligen Leben*, Werke v., p. 482 ; Schelling, *Vorlesungen über Acad. Stud.*, p. 192 ; Hegel, *Philosophie der Geschichte*, Werke ix., p. 388 ; Baur, *Christliche Gnosis*, p. 715.

‡ The parallels sometimes adduced from John iv. 10 and vi. 32, as compared with *De Prof.* 18, p. 560, and *Legis Alleg.* ii. 21 ; iii. 56, 59, are very questionable. In both cases the allusion seems to arise naturally from the conversation, and not from any reference to Philo.



N. T.

Philo.

1 John ii. 1. Καὶ ἐάν τις ἁμάρτην, παράκλητον ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν δίκαιον.

Rom. iv. 17. Θεοῦ τοῦ καλοῦντος τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς ὄντα.

1 Cor. iii. 1, 2. ὡς νηπίοις ἐν Χριστῷ· γάλα ὑμᾶς ἐπότισα καὶ οὐ βρώμα; cf. Heb. v. 12, 13.

1 Cor. iv. 1. ὡς ὑπηρέτας Χριστοῦ καὶ οἰκονόμους μυστηρίων Θεοῦ.

1 Cor. x. 4. ἔπινον γὰρ ἐκ πνευματικῆς ἀκολουθοῦσης πέτρας· ἡ δὲ πέτρα ἦν ὁ Χριστός.

1 Cor. xiii. 12. βλέπομεν γὰρ ἄρτι δι' ἐσόπτρου ἐν αἰνίγματι. 2 Cor. iii. 18. ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντες ἀνακαλυμμένῳ προσώπῳ τὴν δόξαν Κυρίου κατοπτριζόμενοι.

2 Cor. iii. 3. ἐπιστολὴ Χριστοῦ διακονηθεῖσα ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ἐγγεγραμμένη οὐ μελανι, ἀλλὰ πνεύματι Θεοῦ ζῶντος, οὐκ ἐν πλαξὶ λιθίναις, ἀλλὰ ἐν πλαξὶ καρδίας σαρκίνας.

2 Cor. iv. 4. τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ. cf. Colos. i. 15.

Colos. i. 15. πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως; cf. Heb. i. 6.

1 Tim. ii. 5. Εἰς γὰρ Θεὸς, εἰς καὶ μεσίτης Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἄνθρωπος Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς.

Heb. i. 2. δι' οὗ καὶ ἐποίησεν τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Heb. i. 3. ὁς ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ.

Heb. iii. 1. Κατανοήσατε τὸν ἀπόστολον καὶ ἀρχιερέα τῆς ὁμολογίας ἡμῶν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν.

Heb. iii. 4. πᾶς γὰρ οἶκος κατασκευάζεται ὑπὸ τίνος· ὁ δὲ τὰ πάντα κατασκευάσας Θεός.

Heb. iv. 12. ζῶν γὰρ ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἐνεργής, καὶ τομώτερος ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν μάχαιραν διστομον, καὶ δικνούμενος ἄχρι μερισμοῦ ψυχῆς τε καὶ πνεύματος, ἀρμών τε καὶ μνηλῶν.

Heb. iv. 14, 15. ἔχοντες οὖν ἀρχιερεῖα μέγαν, διεληλυθότα τοὺς οὐρανούς, Ἰησοῦν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, κρατῶμεν τῆς ὁμολογίας. Οὐ γὰρ ἔχομεν ἀρχιερεῖα μὴ δυνάμενον συμπάθῃσαι ταῖς ἀσθενείαις ἡμῶν, πεπειραμένον δὲ κατὰ πάντα καθ' ὁμοιότητα, χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας.

*De Vit. Mos.* iii. 14, p. 155. Ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ ἦν τὸν ἱερωμένον τῷ τοῦ κόσμου πατρὶ παρακλήτῳ χρῆσθαι τελειοτάτῃ τὴν ἀρετὴν υἱῷ πρὸς τε ἀμνηστειὰν ἁμαρτημάτων, κ.τ.λ.

[The son of God here is the world, represented by the vestments of the high-priest.]

*De Creat. Princ.* 7, p. 367. τὰ γὰρ μὴ ὄντα ἐκάλεσεν εἰς τὸ εἶναι.

*De Agricult.* 2, p. 301. Ἐπεὶ δὲ νηπίοις μὲν ἐστι γάλα τροφή, τελείους δὲ τὰ ἐκ πυρῶν πέμματα, καὶ ψυχῆς γαλακτώδεις μὲν ἂν εἴεν τροφαί, κ.τ.λ.

*De Praem. et Pen.* 20, p. 427. νοῦν καθαρθέντα καὶ μύστην γεγονότα τῶν θείων τελετῶν.

*Legis Alleg.* ii. 21, p. 82. ἡ γὰρ ἀκρότομος πέτρα ἡ σοφία τοῦ Θεοῦ . . . ἐξ ἧς ποτίζει τὰς φιλοθέους ψυχάς.

*De Decal.* 21, p. 198. ὡς γὰρ διὰ κατόπτρου φαντασιούται ὁ νοῦς Θεόν, κ.τ.λ.

*Quod Omn. prob.*, liber 7, p. 452. Νόμος δὲ ἀψευδής ὁ ὁρθὸς λόγος, οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ δεινός ἢ τοῦ δεινὸς θνητοῦ φθαρτὸς ἐν χαρτίδις ἢ στήλαις ἀψυχὸς ἀψύχους, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀθανάτου φύσεως ἀφθαρτος ἐν ἀθανάτῳ διανοίᾳ τυπωθεὶς.

*De Monarch.* ii. 5, p. 225. λόγος δὲ ἐστὶν εἰκὼν Θεοῦ. *De Conf. Ling.* 28, p. 427. Θεοῦ γὰρ εἰκὼν λόγος ὁ πρεσβύτατος.

*Legis Alleg.* iii. 61, p. 121. ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ . . . πρεσβύτατος καὶ γενικώτατος τῶν ὅσα γέγονε. *De Agricult.* 12, p. 308. τὸν ὁρθὸν αὐτοῦ λόγον, πρωτόγονον υἱόν. *De Prof.* 20, p. 562. ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτατος τοῦ ὄντος λόγος. *De Somn.* i. 37, p. 653. ἀρχιερεὺς ὁ πρωτόγονος αὐτοῦ θεὸς λόγος.

*Quis rer. div. har.* 42, p. 501. Τῷ δὲ ἀρχαγγέλῳ καὶ πρεσβυτάτῳ λόγῳ ὥρεᾶν ἐξαίρετον ἔδωκεν ὁ τὰ ὅλα γέννησας πατήρ, ἵνα μεθόριος στάς τὸ γενόμενον διακρίνῃ τοῦ πεποιηκότος, κ.τ.λ.

*De Cherub.* 35, p. 162. αἴτιον μὲν αὐτοῦ τὸν Θεόν . . . ὄργανον δὲ λόγον Θεοῦ, δι' οὗ κατεσκευάσθη.

*De Mundi Opif.* 51, p. 35. πᾶς ἄνθρωπος κατὰ μὲν τὴν διάνοιαν φέκεται τῷ λόγῳ, τῆς μακαρίας [cf. *Sap. Sol.* vii. 26]. *De Plant. Noe*, 5, p. 332. φύσεως ἐκμαγεῖον ἢ ἀπόσπασμα ἢ ἀπαύγασμα γεγονὸς σφραγίδι Θεοῦ ἧς ὁ χαρακτήρ ἐστὶν αἰδὺς λόγος.

*De Somn.* i. 38, p. 654. ὁ μὲν δὲ μέγας ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς ὁμολογίας, κ.τ.λ.

*De Cherub.* 35, p. 162. οἰκία καὶ πόλις πᾶσα ἵνα κατασκευασθῇ, τίνα συνεισελθεῖν δεῖ; ἀρ' οὐ δημιουργόν, κ.τ.λ. . . . Μετελθὼν οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν μέρει κατασκευῶν, ἴδε τὴν μεγίστην οἰκίαν ἢ πόλιν, τὸνδε τὸν κόσμον· εὐρήσεις γὰρ αἴτιον μὲν αὐτοῦ τὸν Θεόν, κ.τ.λ.

*Quis rer. div. har.* 26, p. 491. τῷ τομῇ τῶν συμπάντων αὐτοῦ λόγῳ, ὅς εἰς τὴν δευστάτην ἀκονηθεὶς ἀκίην διαιρῶν οὐδέποτε λήγει τὰ αἰσθητὰ πάντα. 27, p. 492. Οὕτως ὁ Θεὸς ἀκονησάμενος τὸν τομέα τῶν συμπάντων αὐτοῦ λόγον, διαίρει τὴν τε ἁμορφον καὶ ἀποιοι τῶν ὄλων οὐσίαν.

*De Prof.* 20, p. 562. Λέγομεν γὰρ τὸν ἀρχιερεῖα οὐκ ἄνθρωπον ἀλλὰ λόγον θεῖον εἶναι, πάντων οὐχ ἑκουσίῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκουσίῳ ἀδικημάτων ἀμέτοχον. *De Vict.* 10, p. 246. ὅτι ὁ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ μὴ ψευδώνυμος ἀμέτοχος ἁμαρτημάτων ἐστίν.

N. T.

Heb. vi. 13. Τῷ γὰρ Ἀβραὰμ ἐπαγγεῖλάμενος ὁ Θεὸς, ἐπεὶ κατ' οὐδενὸς εἶχε μειζόνος ὁμόσαι, ὥμοσε καθ' ἑαυτοῦ.

Heb. vii. 25. πάντοτε ζῶν εἰς τὸ ἐντυγχάνειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν.\*

Heb. xi. 4. Καὶ δὲ αὐτῆς ἀποθανὼν ἔτι λαλεῖται.

An examination of these passages will, we believe, confirm the view which has been above taken of the doctrinal differences between them; while, at the same time, it will enable us to discern a purpose to be served by the verbal resemblances which they undoubtedly exhibit. If we except instances of merely accidental similarity in language, without any affinity in thought; or quotations by way of illustration, such as St. Paul occasionally borrows from heathen writers; or thoughts and expressions derived from the O. T., and therefore common to Philo and the apostles, as alike acknowledging and making use of the Jewish Scriptures; they may be reduced, for the most part, to two heads: first, the use of the name ὁ Λόγος, by St. John, as a title of Christ, and the application to him, both by St. John and St. Paul, of various attributes and offices ascribed by Philo to the Divine Word, and to the various philosophical representations with which the Word is identified: and secondly, the recognition, chiefly in the acknowledged writings of St. Paul and in the Epistle to the Hebrews, of a spiritual sense, in parts of Scripture, distinct from the literal interpretation; though this is employed far more cautiously and sparingly than in Philo, and as an addition to, rather than, as Philo for the most part employs it, as a substitute for the literal sense. The apostles, it would appear from these passages, availed themselves, in some degree, of the language already established in the current speculations of their countrymen, in order to correct the errors with which that language was associated, and to lead men's minds to a recognition of the truth of which those errors were the counterfeit. This is only what might naturally be expected from men desirous to adapt the truths which they had to teach to the circumstances of those to whom they had to teach them. There was an earlier Gnosticism founded in part on the perversion of the Law, as there was a later Gnosticism founded in part on the perversion of the Gospel; and it is probable that, at least at the time when St. John wrote, the influence of both had begun to be felt in the Christian church, and had modified to some extent the language of its theology.† If so, the adoption of that language, as a vehicle of Christian doctrine, would furnish the natural means both of correcting the errors which had actually crept into the church, and of counteracting the influence of the source from which they sprang. If the philosophical Jews of Alexandria, striving, as speculative minds in every age have striven, to lay

Philo.

*Legis Alleg.* iii. 72, p. 127. 'Ορᾶς γὰρ ὅτι οὐ καθ' ἑτέρου ὁμνύει Θεὸς, οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ κρεῖττον, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἑαυτοῦ, ὅς ἐστι πάντων ἀριστος.

*Quis rer. div. her.* 42, p. 501. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ἐκείτης μέν ἐστι τοῦ θνητοῦ κηραίνοντος ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀφθαρτον.

*Quod deter. potiori insid.* 14, p. 200. Μαρτυρήσει δὲ τὸ χρησθὲν λόγιον, ἐν ᾧ φωνῇ χρώμενος καὶ βοῶν ἃ πέπονθεν ὑπὸ κακοῦ συνθέτου τηλαυγῶς εἰρίσκειται. Πῶς γὰρ ὁ μηκέτ' ὦν διαλέγεσθαι δυνατός;

the foundations of their philosophy in an apprehension of the one and the absolute, were driven by the natural current of such speculations to think of the Supreme God as a being remote and solitary, having no relation to finite things, and no attributes out of which such a relation can arise, it is natural that the inspired Christian teacher should have been directed to provide, by means of their own language, the antidote to their error; to point, in the revelation of God and man united in one Christ, to the truth, and to the manner of attaining the truth; to turn the mind of the wandering seeker from theory to fact, from speculation to belief; to bid him look, with the eye of faith, to that great mystery of godliness in which the union of the infinite and the finite is realised in fact, though remaining still incomprehensible in theory. If the same philosophers, again, seeking to bridge over the chasm which their speculations had interposed between God and man, distorted the partial revelation of the Angel of the Covenant, which their Scriptures supplied, into the likeness of the ideal universe of the Platonist, or of the half-personified world-reason of the Stoic, it was surely no unworthy object of the apostolic teaching to lead them, by means of the same language, to the true import of that revelation, as made known, in its later and fuller manifestation, by the advent of the Word made flesh. If the platonising expositor of the Jewish Scriptures, eager to find the foreign philosophy which he adopted in the oracles of God committed to his own people, explained away their literal import by a system of allegory and metaphor, it was natural that the inspired writers of the New Covenant should point out the true meaning of those marks which the Jewish history and religion so clearly bear, of a spiritual significance beyond themselves, by showing how the institutions of the Law and the record of God's dealings with his chosen people are not an allegory contrived for the teaching of a present philosophy, but an anticipation, designed by the Divine Author of the whole as a preparation, directly and indirectly, by teaching and training, by ritual and prophecy, by type and symbol, to make ready the way for him that was to come.

The attempts made by Grossmann, Gfroerer, and others, to explain the origin of Christianity as an offshoot of the Jewish philosophy of Alexandria, rest mainly on these occasional coincidences of language, while overlooking fundamental differences of doctrine. The ideal Logos, the distinguishing feature of the Alexandrian philosophy, has no place in the teaching of the New Testament. The belief in one Christ, very God and very man, has not only no place in, but is diametrically opposed to, the philosophical speculations of Philo. But Christianity came into the world at a time when the Græco-Jewish modes of thought, of which Philo is

\* It may be questioned whether the allegorical commentary on Melchisedek (*Legis Alleg.* iii. 26, p. 103) is a fair parallel to Heb. vii. The latter seems more likely to have been taken directly from Ps. cx. without the intervention of Philo.

† See Burton, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 218.



the representative, were prevalent; and the earliest Christian teachers, so far as they had to deal with those to whom that philosophy was familiar, could do so most effectually by means of its language and associations. These considerations seem naturally to explain the resemblance and the difference between the two systems—resemblance as regards the language employed; difference as regards the doctrine which that language conveys.

The following works may be mentioned, as treating, from one side or the other, the subject discussed in the preceding article:—Gfroerer, *Philo und die Jüdisch-Alexandrinische Theosophie*; Dähne, *Geschichtliche Darstellung der Jüdisch-Alexandrinischen Religions-Philosophie*; Grossmann, *Quæstiones Philonæ*; Lücke, in *Studien und Kritiken*, 1831, p. 912, 1833, p. 532; *Commentar über das Evangelium des Johannes*, vol. i. p. 205, seq., ed. 1833; Keferstein, *Philo's Lehre von dem Göttlichen Mittelwesen*; Tholuck, *Commentary on the Gospel of St. John*, p. 57, seq., Eng. tr.; J. G. Müller, art. 'Philo,' in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopædie*; compare also the Introduction to Neander's *Church History*, vol. i. p. 68, seq., Eng. tr.; Dörner, *On the Person of Christ*, p. 13, seq., Eng. tr.; and Professor Jowett's Essay on *St. Paul and Philo*, in the first volume of his *Commentary on the Epistles*. The subject is also illustrated in the preface to Mangey's edition of *Philo*, p. ix., seq.; in Brucker's *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*, vol. ii., p. 797, seq.; in Cudworth's *Intellectual System of the Universe*, and in the notes of his translator Mosheim; in Cæsar Morgan's *Investigation of the Trinity of Plato and of Philo Judæus*; in Martin's *Études sur le Timée*; in Professor Burton's *Bampton Lectures*; in Matter's *Histoire de l'Ecole d'Alexandrie* and *Histoire Critique du Gnosticisme*; in Vacherot's *Histoire Critique de l'Ecole d'Alexandrie*.—H. L. M.

PHINEHAS (פִּינְחָס, *mouth of brass*; Sept.

Φινεάς). 1. Son of Eleazar and grandson of Aaron the high-priest. An incident which illustrates the zealous and somewhat passionate character of Phinehas occurred before the Israelites entered the Promised Land. The Israelites were encamped in the plains of Moab, and were lamenting the sin into which they had been seduced by the Midianites, when a prince of Judah named Zimri was beheld conducting a woman of Midian named Cozbi to his tent. The licentious effrontery of this act kindled the wrath of Phinehas, who hastened after them into the tent, and transfigured them both with his javelin (Num. xxv. 7, seq.). This bold act pointed out Phinehas to Moses as a proper person to accompany as priest the expedition which was immediately after sent forth, under the command of Joshua, against the Midianites, and by which the cause of the deluded Israelites was abundantly avenged (Num. xxxi. 6, seq.). After the conquest of the Promised Land, when the warriors of the two and half tribes beyond the Jordan were permitted to return to their homes, Phinehas was at the head of the deputation sent after them to inquire and remonstrate concerning the altar which, on their way, they had set up on the bank of the Jordan; and it was he doubtless who pronounced the forcible address to the supposed offenders. He was certainly the first to express his satisfaction and joy at the explanation which was given, and which, with a lightened heart, he bore back to the tribes assembled at Shiloh (Josh. xxii. 5, seq.).

It appears that while his father lived Phinehas filled the post of superintendent or chief of the Levites, probably after Eleazar became high-priest (Num. iii. 32; 1 Chron. ix. 20). At the death of his father he succeeded to the pontificate (Josh. xxiv. 33); but the only case in which he appears officially in the Bible is in connection with the unhappy circumstances recorded at the end of the book of Judges, in which he comes forward as high-priest to consult Jehovah. This mention of his name enables us to conclude that the chronological place of these occurrences would be rather towards the beginning than at the latter end of the book in which they are found. [JUDGES; PRIEST.]

2. Son of Eli the high-priest, and brother of Hophni. [ELI; HOPHNI; SAMUEL.]

PHLEGON (Φλέγων), one of the Christians of Rome to whom Paul sent his salutations (Rom. xvi. 14). The legend (*ap.* Dorotheus) makes him to have been one of the seventy disciples, and bishop of Marathon.

PHEBE (Φοβη), a member of the church at Cenchree, recommended to the kind attention of the church of Rome by St. Paul, who had received hospitable treatment from her (Rom. xvi. 1). It is probable that she was the bearer of the Epistle to the Romans. [DEACONESS.]

PHENICIA \* (Φωνικη; *Phanice*, variously derived from *φολιξ*, palm-tree, the abundance of which in this country also made it the emblem of its principal cities, Sidon and Tyre; from *φουβός*, purple, the staple of its commerce; or bay-colour, perhaps denoting the sun-burnt complexion of its inhabitants; from *Phoenix*, the son of Agenor and brother of Cadmus; from the Red (Erythrean) Sea, etc. etc.; Hebr. כְּנַעַן, Kanaan (*Xavadr*, *Xvâ*, Chna, Kna), from כָּנַע, to be low = Lowland) is the name applied to a country on the coast of Syria, bounded by the Mediterranean Sea on the west and the Lebanon on the east; Syria and Judæa forming its northern and southern limits respectively, situated between about 34° to 36° N. lat., and 35° to 36° E. long. Yet the extent of its territory varied so considerably at different times, that the geographical definitions of the ancient writers differ in a very remarkable manner. Thus, while in Gen. x. 19 Canaan does not reach northwards beyond Sidon—a place which in early times gave the name to the whole people (יִשְׂרָאֵל, *צִידֹן*, Deut., Judg.)—and Pyblus and Berytus are considered as lying beyond it (Gen. x. 15, ff.; Josh. xiii. 5); it comprised in the Persian period (Herod. iii. 91) Posidium, as high as 35° 52'. Later still (Pliny, Strabo, Ptolemy), the Eleutherus (34° 60'), and subsequently (Mela, Stephanus) the island of Aradus (34° 70'), were considered its utmost northern limits. To the south it was at times Gaza (Gen. x. 19; Zeph. ii. 5; Herod., Philo, Eustath.), at others Egypt (Num. xxiv. 5; Josh. xv. 4, 47; Strabo, Procop., etc.); and, from the Macedonian period chiefly, Cæsarea

\* All the special points in connection with this country, and the people inhabiting it—as far as they can be made to throw any light on Bible history—being treated in detail in the course of this work, it is intended in this place to give a general survey only of the principal results arrived at regarding its history and institutions.



is mentioned as its extreme point. Eastwards the country sometimes comprised parts of Syria and Palestine, beyond the mountain-ridges of the former and the hill-chains of the latter.

We must confine ourselves to pointing out some of the most famous ancient cities of this country—comprising in all about 2500 square miles, averaging 200 miles in length, and 20 in breadth—the hills, plains, islands, promontories, rivers, and bays of which swarmed with the densest, busiest, and wealthiest population of the old world. Proceeding from north to south we find Aradus (Ru-ad), an island city opposite the southern coast of Syria. Next is Tripolis on the sea-coast of the continent, built by the three cities of Sidon, Tyre, and Aradus, and originally consisting of three distinct towns, a stadium distant from each other, and inhabited by three different colonies. Here, as well as at Aradus, many ruins, pillars, brick-work, blocks, together with small remnants of ancient pottery, glass-ware, and figures of gods and goddesses, are found. Then comes Byblus (Batroun, Botrys, probably the Gebal of Ezekiel), whose inhabitants were specially skilled in masonry and navigation. Some of the stones now found among its ruins are twenty feet long, and bevelled in a way peculiar to the Phœnicians. To the south of this city flows the river Ibrim (Adonis), which assumes a red colour in summer:—the blood of the myth. Next in order stands Berytus (Beyrout), supposed to have been built in the time of Kronos, but not mentioned in Scripture or history in the time of Tyre or Sidon. It stands on the headland, at the most projecting point of the coast, in the greatest elongation of the plain, at the foot of the Lebanon, which here rises to nearly 9000 feet. Destroyed by Tryphon, it became, under Roman dominion, the ‘mother and nurse of the laws,’ and was one of the three academies to which Justinian confided the privilege of teaching jurisprudence. Sidon, ‘the eldest-born of Canaan,’ with its summer and winter harbour, stood on the north-west slope of a small promontory which runs into the sea. Sarepta (Zarpath) lies eight miles to the south of Tyre, and contains remains of ancient walls, sepulchral grottoes, etc. The river Kasimieh flows between Sarepta and Tyre—probably the Leontes of the ancients, now called El Litani. Five miles below stood Tyre herself, 200 stadia south of New Tyre, with her three different towns; 19,000 paces in circumference. The next city of importance is Acco (Acre, Ptolemais). Its port was the mustering-place for the Persian fleet when preparing for the invasion of Egypt. Of no less moment did it prove during the Crusades, and when Napoleon occupied Egypt. Immediately to the south of Acco is the Belas, a river which supplied the brilliant white sand so extensively used by the Phœnicians in their glass manufactures. Omitting many minor places, we conclude with Joppa (Jaffa), in 32° 2' N. lat., the port of Jerusalem, from which it is about forty miles distant—the medium of commercial intercourse between Judæa and Phœnicia. Hither came Jonah seeking a ship in which to go to Tarshish; and it was here that Andromeda was chained to the rock and rescued from the sea-monsters by Perseus. This rock was seen by Jerome; and the bones of that same monster were carried to Rome and exhibited to the people: together with a hippopotamus and other rare inhabitants of the deep.

The climate of Phœnicia (*plena gratiarum et venustatis, urbibus decorata magnis et pulchris, Ann. Marc. 14. 8*)—an item of immense moment in the history of a nation—varies very considerably. Near the coast, and in the lower plains, the heat in summer is at times tropical, while the more mountainous regions enjoy a moderate temperature, and in winter even heavy falls of snow are not uncommon. In the southern parts, the early rains begin in October, and are, after an interval of dry weather, followed by the winter rains, which last till March, the time of the ‘latter’ rains. From May to October the sky remains cloudless. The rare difference of temperature found in so small a compass is thus happily described by Volney:—‘If the heat of July is oppressive, a six hours’ journey to the neighbouring mountains transports you into the coolness of March; and if, on the contrary, the hoar-frost troubles you at Besharrai, a day’s travel will bring you into the midst of blooming May;’ or, as an Arabic poet has it, ‘Lebanon bears winter on its head, spring on its shoulders, autumn on its lap, and summer at its foot.’ Of the natural products of the country it is needless to speak here. It abounds in corn of all sorts, in silk, cotton, tobacco, indigo, sugar, etc.; its heights and plains are covered with cedars, pine, fir, cypress, palm, fig trees, and sycamores, while peaches, apricots, pomegranates, almonds, citrons, grapes, etc., are among the common garden fruits. Flocks of sheep and goats people the wide pasture-grounds; the forests still contain goodly sport, such as wolves, panthers, bears, and jackals; and the sea supplies shoals of fishes. Rivers and brooks descending from the ridges of the Lebanon supply the country with an abundance of water, so that droughts, if they occur, are of but small moment and short duration.

Respecting the ethnography of the Phœnicians we have only to observe that the opinions are as much divided on the subject as ever. According to Gen. x. 15, Canaan had eleven ‘sons’ (‘Canaan begat Sidon his first-born, and Heth, and the Jebusite, and the Amorite, and the Girgasite, and the Hivite, and the Arkite, and the Sinite, and the Arvadite, and the Zemarite, and the Hamathite: and afterwards were the families of the Canaanites spread abroad’), six of whom had settled in the north of Palestine; and although all his descendants are sometimes included, both by classical writers and the LXX. (*ex gr.*, in Josh. v. 1, 12) in the name of *Φοινίκες*, yet in general the term chiefly applies to the inhabitants of the north. Scripture speaks of them as descendants of primeval giants (Autochthons) who had inhabited Canaan since the flood: that is, from times immemorial. Considering the careful attention paid by the Biblical writers to the early history of Palestine, and the close contact between the Phœnicians and Israelites, it would appear as if all traditions of a time anterior to their sojourn in that land had been long lost. Gen. x. 6, on the other hand, calls Canaan a descendant of Ham—a statement which, unless explained to refer to their darker skins, would seem to war against their being indigenous inhabitants of Palestine, or a Semitic population: an assumption much favoured by their language. Herodotus, however, makes them, both on their own statements and by accounts preserved in Persian historians, immigrants from ‘the Erythrean Sea;’ and Justin backs the notion of immigration by recording that the



Tyrian nation was founded by the Phœnicians, and that these, being forced by an earthquake to leave their native land, first settled on the Assyrian Lake (Dead Sea or Lake of Gennesareth), and subsequently on a shore near the sea, where they founded a city called Sidon. The locality of the 'Erythrean Sea,' however, is a moot point still. It is taken by different investigators to stand either for the Arabian or Persian Gulf: the latter view being apparently favoured by the occurrence of Phœnician names borne by some of its islands (Strabo)—though these may have been given them by late Phœnician colonists. Some have seen in them the Hyksos driven to Syria. Without entering any further into these most difficult, and, in the absence of all reliable information, more than vague speculations, so much appears certain, that many immigrations of Semitic branches into Phœnicia, at different periods, and from different parts, must have taken place, and that these gradually settled into the highly-civilised nationality which we find constituted as early as the time of Abraham (Gen. xii. 6, **אֵל** = then, already; cf. Aben Ezra, *ad loc.*, and Spinoza, *Tract. Theol.-Pol.*, ch. viii.) It would be extremely vain to venture an opinion on the individuality of the different tribes that, wave-like, rushed into the country from various sides, at probably widely distant dates. The only apparently valuable tradition on the subject seems contained in the above-quoted passage of Gen. x. 15-18.

Two principal divisions existed anciently among these Canaanites; these were those of the interior of Palestine, and the tribes inhabiting the sea-coast, Phœnicia proper. By degrees, three special tribes, more powerful than the rest, formed, as it were, the nucleus around which the multitude of minor ones gathered and became one nationality, viz., the inhabitants of Sidon, of Tyre, and of Aradus. Three principal elements are to be distinguished, according to classical evidence (Cato, cf. *Serv. ad. Æn.*, iv. 682), in the constitution of Phœnician states:—1. The aristocracy, consisting of certain families of noble lineage, which were divided into tribes (**שָׁבֵט**), families (**מִשְׁפָּחָה**), Phœn. (**חֶבְרֹן**), and *gentes* (**בֵּית אֲבוֹת**), the last generally of the number of 300 in each state or colony. Out of the 'tribes' were elected 30 *principes* (Phœn. **רֶב**), who formed a supreme senate; besides which there existed another larger representative assembly of 300 members, chosen from the *gentes*. 2. The lower estates of the people, or 'plebs' itself, who do not seem to have had their recognised special representatives, but by constant opposition, which sometimes broke out in open violence, held the nobles in check. 3. The kingdom, at first hereditary, afterwards elective. Nor must the priesthood be forgotten: one of the most powerful elements in the Phœnician commonwealth, and which in some provinces even assumed, in the person of the high-priest, the supreme rule. There was a kind of federal union between the different states, which, according to their importance, sent either their kings or their judges, at the head of a large number of their senators, to the general councils of the nation, held at stated periods either at Sidon or Tyre. The colonies were governed much as the home-country, except that local affairs and the executive were entrusted to two (annual, as it would seem) judges (**שׁוֹפֵטִים**, *suffetes*) elected by the senate—an institution which

for some time also replaced the monarchical form in Tyre.

One of the most powerful and important nations of antiquity, Phœnicia has yet left but poor information regarding her history. According to Josephus, every city in Phœnicia had its collection of registers and public documents (cf. Targum to Kirjath-Jearim, Judg. i. 11, 15). Out of these, Menander of Ephesus, and Dias a Phœnician, compiled two histories of Tyre, a few fragments of which have survived. Sanchoniathon is said to have written a history of Phœnicia and Egypt, which was re-cast by Philo of Byblus, under the reign of Hadrian, and from his work Porphyrius (4th century A.D.) took some cosmogonical quotations, which found their way into Eusebius. Later Phœnician historians' works, mentioned by Tatianus (Theodotus, Hesyrcrates, Moschos), are utterly lost, so that nothing remains but a few casual notices in the Bible, some of the church fathers, and classical writers (Josephus, Syncellus, Herodotus, Diodorus, Justin), which happen to throw some light upon the history of that long-lost commonwealth. A great part of this history, however, being identical with the cities mentioned, in which by turns the hegemony was vested, fuller information will be found under their special headings. Broadly speaking, we may begin to date Phœnician history from the time when Sidon first assumed the rule, or about 1500 B.C. Up to that time it was chiefly the development of the immense internal resources, and the commencement of that gigantic trade that was destined soon to overspread the whole of the then known world, which seem to have occupied the attention of the early and peaceful settlers. The symbolical representative of their political history during that period is El, or Belitan, builder of cities, supreme and happy ruler of men. The conquest of Canaan by the Israelites marks a new epoch, of which lists of kings were still extant in late Greek times. We now hear first of Sidonian colonies, while the manufactures and commerce of the country seem to have reached a high renown throughout the neighbouring lands. The Israelites drive out Sidonian settlers from Laish, near the sources of the Jordan. Somewhat later (beginning of 13th century), Sidonian colonization spread further west, founding the (island-)city of Tyre, Citium and Hippo on the coast of Africa. About 1209, however, Sidon was defeated by the king of Askalon, and Tyre, assuming the ascendancy, ushers in a third period, during which Phœnicia reached the summit of her greatness. At this time, chiefly under the brilliant reign of Hiram, we hear also of a close alliance with the Israelites, which eventually led to common commercial enterprises at sea. After Hiram's death, however, political dissensions began to undermine the unparalleled peace and power of the country. His four sons ruled, with certain interruptions, for short periods, and the crown was then assumed by Ethbaal, the father of Jezebel. His grandson, Mattan, left the throne to his two children Pygmalion and Dido (Elissa). The latter, having been excluded from power by her brother, left the country together with some of the aristocratic families, and founded Carthage (New-Town) about 813 B.C. Of the century that followed, little further is known save occasional allusions in Joel and Amos, which tell of the piratical commerce of Tyrians and Sidonians. Assyrian, Chaldean, Egyptian invasions followed each other



in turns during the last phase of Phœnician history, dating from the 8th century, and soon reduced the flourishing country to insignificance. Deeds of prowess, such as the thirteen years' siege sustained by Tyre against overwhelming forces, could not save the doomed country. Her fleet destroyed, her colonies wrested from her or in a state of open rebellion, torn by inner factions, Phœnicia was ultimately—together with what had been once Nebuchadnezzar's reign—embodied with Persia in 538 B.C. Once more, however, exasperated by the enormous taxes imposed upon them, chiefly during the Greek war, together with other galling measures issued by the successive satraps, the Phœnicians, under the leadership of Sidon, took part in the vast revolution Egypt against Artaxerxes Mnemon and Ochus, about the middle of the 4th century, which ended very unhappily for them. Sidon, the only city that refused to submit at once at the approach of the Persian army, was conquered, the citizens themselves setting fire to it, and more than 40,000 people perished in the flames. Although rebuilt and repeopled shortly afterwards, it yet never again reached its ancient grandeur, and to Tyre belonged the hegemony, until she, too, had to submit, after a seven years' siege, to Alexander, who, through the battle on the Issus (333) had made all Phœnicia part and parcel of the gigantic Persian empire. Under Antiochus the Great, all except Sidon came under Seleucidian sway. Pompey, incorporating Phœnicia with Syria (65), made it a Roman province. During the civil wars of Rome, when Cassius divided Syria into small provinces, and sold them separately, Tyre again became for a short period a principality, with a king of its own. Cleopatra in her turn received Phœnicia as a present from Antony. What shadow of independence was still left to the two ancient cities was taken from them by Augustus (20). Tyre, however, retained much of her previous importance as an emporium and a manufacturing place through the various vicissitudes of Syrian history during the sixteen centuries that followed, until the Ottoman Turks conquered the country, and the opening up of the New World on the one hand, and of a new route to Asia on the other, destroyed the last remnant of the primitive grandeur of one of the most mighty empires of the ancient world, and one which has contributed one of the largest shares to the civilisation of all mankind.

Commerce and colonisation were the elements by which this task was chiefly accomplished. Regarding the former, we have already hinted at the overflowing wealth and almost unparalleled variety of home products which this small country furnished forth, and which, far too abundant for their own consumption, easily suggested the idea of exportation and traffic of exchange. This happy maritime position further enabled them to do that which Egypt and Assyria, with all their perfection of industry and art, were debarred from doing; partly, it is true, through their isolated habits and narrow laws, but chiefly by the natural limits of their countries. To Phœnicia alone it was given to supply the link that was to connect the East with the West, or at least with Europe and Western Africa. Communicating by means of Arabia and the Persian Gulf with India and the coast of Africa towards the equator; and on the north, along the Euxine, with the borders of Scythia,

beyond the Straits of Gibraltar, with Britannia, if not with the Baltic, their commerce divides itself into different great branches according to those natural highways. From the countries on the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, the coasts of Arabia, Africa, and India, they exported spice, precious stones, myrrh, frankincense, gold, ivory, ebony, steel, and iron, and from Egypt embroidered linen and corn. In exchange they brought not only their own raw produce and manufactures, but gums and resins for embalming, wine and spices. From Mesopotamia and Syria came the emeralds and corals of the Red Sea; from Babylon the manifold embroideries; wine and fine wool from Aleppo and the Mesopotamian plains; from Judæa the finest wheat, grape-honey, oil, and balm. Another remote region, Armenia, furnished troops of riding and chariot horses and mules; and this same country, or rather the south-eastern coast of the Euxine, further furnished the Phœnician emporiums with slaves of a superior market-value—for pirating and slave-dealing went hand-in-hand with their maritime calling—with copper, lead, brass (or ichalcum), and tunnies, which they also fetched, together with conger-eels, from the Atlantic coast. Their extensive early commerce with Greece is frequently alluded to in Homer, and is further shown by the remarkable fact of the abundance of Semitic or Phœnician words in Greek for such things as precious stones, fine garments, vessels, spices, and eastern plants in general, musical instruments, weights and measures, etc. (comp. *μύρρα*, *נור*; *κίναμον*, *קנמן*; *κάννα*, *קנה*; *λίβανος*, *לבנה*; *χαλβάκη*, *גלבנה*; *γάλακτος*, *חלבנה*; *νάρδος*, *נדר*; *σάμψικρος*, *שפיר*; *τασπίς*, *ישפה*; *βύσσος*, *בז*; *κάρπασος*, *כרפס*; *νάβλα*, *נבל*; *τύμπανον*, *תב*; *σαμβύκη*, *סבבה*; *κύπρος*, *כפר*; *ὑσσώπος*, *אזוב*; *κιβύρυνον*, *כפור*; *σάκκος*, *שק*; *χάρτης*, *חרט*; *δέλτος*, *דלת*; *ἀρραβών*, *ערבון*; *μνά*, *מנה*; *κάβος*, *קב*; *δραχμή*, *דרכמן*; *κόρος*, *כר*, etc. etc.) Beyond the Strait, along the north and west coast of Africa, they received skins of deer, lions, panthers, domestic cattle, elephants' skins and teeth, Egyptian alabaster, castrated swine, Attic pottery and cups, probably also gold. Yet the most fabulously rich mines of metals—such as silver, iron, lead, tin—they found in Tartessus.

It appears almost incredible how, with the comparatively small knowledge of natural science which we must attribute to them, they could thus on their frail rafts traverse the wide seas almost from one end of the globe to the other, with apparently no more difficulty than their inland caravans, their chapmen and dealers, found in traversing the neighbouring countries. Yet it must not, on the other hand, be forgotten that theirs appears to have been an uncommon knowledge of astronomy and physical geography—witness their almost scientifically planned voyage of discovery under Hiram—and that, above all, an extraordinary amount of practical sense, of boldness, shrewdness, unscrupulousness, untiring energy and happy genius, went far to replace some of the safe contrivances with which modern discoveries have made our mariners familiar. These qualities also made and kept them the unrivalled masters of ancient commerce and navigation. They were, moreover, known rather to destroy their own ships and endanger their lives, than let others see their secret way and enterprise; and it would be very surprising



if theirs had not been also the greatest discoveries, the greatest riches and splendour and power for many a long century, though they owned but a small strip of country at home. Well might Tyre once say, 'I am of perfect beauty' (Ezek. xxvii. 3), and the prophet address Sidon, 'Behold thou art wiser than Daniel, there is no secret they can hide from thee: with thy wisdom and thine understanding thou hast gotten thee riches, and hast gotten gold and silver into thy treasures: by thy great wisdom and by thy traffic hast thou increased thy riches, and thine heart is lifted up because of thy riches' (Ezek. xxviii. 3-5). There can, indeed, not be fancied a fuller and more graphic account of the state of Phœnicia, especially as regards her commercial relations, than the two chapters of Ezekiel (xxvii. and xxviii.) containing the lamentation on Tyre: which, indeed, form our chief information on this point.

Thus much of their enterprises of commerce and navigation, and their results. Of their home manufactures, which occupied no small place in their trade; of the Tyrian purple, prized beyond all things throughout the ancient world; of Sidonian glass (the invention of which they probably derived from Egypt, whatever they pretended to the contrary)—a fuller account is given under these respective cities, and under the heads GLASS and COLOURS. What degree of perfection they had reached in metallurgy may be seen in the minute description of the mining process contained in Job (xxii. 1-11), probably derived from mines which they worked in the Lebanon, Cyprus, Thasos, Iberia, Tartessus, and wherever a trace of metal was found. That they had acquired a high standing in what we should call the fine arts may be gathered from the fact that not only architects, but skilful workers of all kinds, for the adornment and embellishment of the temple, were sent for by Solomon, when he intended to fulfil the task his father David had set himself, in all the magnificence and splendour worthy of his golden reign. Their sculptures—what there has been found of them—do not, it is true, give us a very high notion of their artistic perfection; but, for all we know, these may be only the archaic beginnings, or the remnants of a corrupt age or unskilful hands. Better things may come to light any day. There certainly exist some exceedingly skilful engravings of theirs on gems among the Assyrian remnants. We further know (cf. the gold-edged silver bowl, for instance, given to Telemachus by Menelaos, which had been previously given to Hiphaistos by the king of the Sidonians; the silver vase offered by Achilles as a prize at the funeral games for Patroclus; the columns and the magnificent vessels cast for the temple of Jerusalem by Tyrian artists, and the like) that they manufactured all kinds of beautiful vessels and ornaments in gold, silver, and ivory, and knew how to extract perfumes from the lily and cypress; but, as in every other respect, they must in this province also be declared to have been only the skilful appropriators of the knowledge of others, of which, however, they made use with a diligence and perseverance entirely unparalleled.

In broadly pointing out the routes their vessels took around the earth, we have indicated the line of their colonisation. We cannot do more in this place than hint at the wanderings of Baal (*q. v.*), Astarte (*q. v.*), and Melcarth (*q. v.*), as the prin-

cipal allegories in which the myth couched the primitive traditions of their settlements abroad. The whole of the Mediterranean, with its islands and coast, had been made theirs by rapid strides. Commencing with neighbouring Cyprus, they proceeded to Cythium, to Rhodes, Crete, the Cycladic and Sporadic Isles, Cilicia, Lycia, and Caria, Chios, Samos, Tenedos, Bithynia, the Euxine, Samothrace, Lemnos, Thasos (whither they had come 'in search of Europa'), Bœotia, and Eubœa. More difficult was the occupation of Sicily and the neighbouring islands, where Motya, Machanetti, Panormus, and other cities, testify to their successful settlements. Thence also, by way of Malta, they sailed to Africa, and founded Carthage, which afterwards possessed herself of all the colonies in Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain. In Sardinia and the Balearic Islands they had commercial establishments at Caralis (Cagliari), Minorca, Iviza, Elba. Spain was one of their earliest and principal settlements, where they founded Cadiz, Malago, Belon, Abdarach, and other cities. It is also more than probable, although we have no distinct evidence on the point, that they had colonies in the tin districts of Cornwall and the Scilly Isles, as also on the Baltic. They settled, further, both on the north-west coast of Africa (Mauritania, Cerne), and on its north coast (Hippo, Utica, Lepcis, Hadrumetum). How far Phœnicians may have had a more than temporary sojourn in India (Ophir =? Abhira), whither they went by way of the Red Sea, we are unable to determine at present.

The same lack of genuine and authentic information, of which we have spoken before, baffles our endeavours to arrive at anything like a proper understanding of the real character of the religion of the Phœnicians. The mutilated scraps contained in classical writers can be of as little use for its full reconstruction as the uncertain allusions of the Bible. As to Sanchoniathon, extracts of whose Phœnician writings (in Philo of Biblos' Greek version) are, as has been mentioned above, supposed to have survived in Eusebius,—all that can be said regarding them is that we have more than ample reasons to suspect both the author, the translator, and the church-father, not of wilful misinterpretation, but of a certain want of candour in doing that full and fair justice to both sides which we expect from an historian of our day. A few broken votive and sacrificial stones, a few coins and unshapely images, make up the rest of our sources of information for the present. A few lustres hence, however, we may, if our excavations are carried on with unflagging zeal, and are as successful as they have been of late years, have as ample a supply to work upon as we have now respecting the once—hardly fifteen years ago—much more unknown land of Nebuchadnezzar and Sennacherib, if not with respect even to Greece and Rome.

It will be sufficient here to indicate that Phœnician, like Canaanitic religion, in general consisted in a worship of the powers of nature under their favourable or creative (= female), and unfavourable or destroying, yet also begetting (= male) aspects. Still more concretely were these represented in the different phases of life, as child (Adonis), youth (Esmun), man (Baal-Hercules), or old man (Belitan). Again, as kings (Moloch) or queens (Astarte), and other characters most fitting to the idea symbolised in them. Their chief (visible)



representatives—the sun, the moon, the planets, and the elements—were revered as supreme deities, who, at the same time, were also the special Numina of particular tribes, places, and seasons, and some of their general designations, such as

King (מלך), Lord (אדון), Almighty (אל), etc., are also found in the Bible. To the supreme class of

deities (עליונים ועליונות) belong Baal and Astarte, with their different attributes and ramifications, *ex.*

*gr.*, Baalsamim, בעל שמים = Zeus Ὀλύμπιος, Optimus Maximus, Baalitan, Baal Ram, Baal Mon ;

Baal Melkarth, מלך קרתא, king of the city (Tyre) ; Astarte = Tanith, תנת, generally with the epithet רבת, the great one, who appears identical with the Egypto-Persian war- and moon-goddess Tanaith. Corresponding to this trias in the Syro-Sidonian worship, we meet in northern Phœnicia with the two Sidonian tribes : El (אל) or Kronos, the

founder of Byblus and Berytus ; Baaltis (בעלתי, my lady) = Aphrodite (Astronoe, Beruth) ; and Adonis (Gaus, Eljun, Esmun, etc.) Besides other well-known deities, such as Moloch and Dagon (Derketos, Atergatis)—for all of which we refer to the special articles treating of them—we find a certain mysterious number of minor gods, variously denominated the strong ones (Kabiri), or the children of the Just One (Zadik, צדיק, בכיר), the principal patrons of the seafarers, worshipped alike by all the Phœnician tribes (Dioscuri, Pætaei : Chusor-Phtha [Chusartis], Astarte, Cadmus (קדם) or Taaut, Adod, and principally Esmun (אשמון = Æsculapius). These, together with the infernal or Chthonic deities : Muth (מות = death), further a goddess only known to us as 'Persephone' (daughter of Jephtha with the Samaritan Siche-mites), or Dido (נדידה = the wandering one), or generally Elothi = my lady, my goddess, etc., are, as far as we know at present, the chief representatives of the Phœnician Pantheon, which, be it observed by the way, appears to have been almost as Catholic in the reception of foreign deities as that of imperial Rome. Like the Greeks, and after them the Romans, the Phœnicians also deified certain natural phenomena and 'elements' (sun, moon, stars, water, fire, earth, air), personal attributes, abstract ideas, allegories, the seasons of life, of the year, of the day, trades and professions, and even animals : probably as symbols only at first. The serpent (Agathodæmon, Esmun, Typhon), the bull (Ashtaroth-Karnajim), the lion, the ass (symbol of Semitic Baal-worship), the dog, fishes, doves, goats, etc., are found either representing divinities, or merely sacred to them. Anything like an investigation into the various phases of Phœnician mythology, which, stretching from the remotest pre-historic days far into the first Christian centuries, must needs contain the most contradictory, apparently irreconcilable, elements and data, lies beyond the scope of this article. We shall only mention that Sanchonia-thon distinguishes—a sure sign of the consciousness on the part of native writers of the hopeless confusion in the religious notions and traditions of their time—three periods or eras, with distinct circles of deities of special classes and families. The first period contains twelve families of gods. In the second three dynasties follow each other, and there are twenty-two supreme deities (accord-

ing to the letters of the Phœnician alphabet), at the head of whom stands El or Kronos, etc., as follows :—

ב, Baityl.	א, El, Kronos.	ע, Apollo.
ג, Dagon.	א, Astarte.	פ, Pontos.
ד, Atlas.	י, Rhea.	צ, Typhon.
ה, Persephone.	ב, Baaltis.	
ו, Athene.	ל, Heimarmene.	ק, Nereus.
ז, Zeus Demarus.	מ, Hora.	ר, Sido.
ח, Sadid.	נ, Kronos.	ש, Poseidon.
	ס, Zeus Belus.	ת, Hadod.

Of the third period only fragments of Sanchonia-thon have come down, but it would appear as if Zeus Belus had in this assumed the chief rank, equal to Kronos of the second period. These gods and goddesses were propitiated in various ways, but chiefly by sacrifices, which consisted on certain

occasions of first-born male children (העביר למוֹלך). Prostitution (קדש) in honour of Astarte was considered another praiseworthy act. Among the rites of sacrifice and expiation must also be enumerated circumcision, which was not practised with all the Phœnician tribes, but seems to have been a ceremony peculiar to the worshippers of El, the special deity of Berytus and Byblus. Whether, however, as has been held, it is to be considered analogous to this prostitution of virgins in the service of Astarte, we shall not here investigate. The country abounded with places of worship, for every grove and every height, every river and every well, were adapted for the purpose, if it could be fancied a dwelling-place for some deity [IDOLATRY ; HEIGHT]. Nor were special buildings (sanctuaries, temples), with all their accessories of arks and priests, wells and fires, wanting ; as indeed the Phœnicians are supposed to have been the first who erected such permanent sanctuaries. Their construction was in accordance with their destination, which was not to be houses of prayer, but the seat of honour of the special deity. They were divided into two parts, the first of which contained the statues and symbols which were the objects of public worship. The second, the Adyton, on the other hand, contained such symbols which were not to be seen constantly, but were reserved for certain special festive occasions ; besides the holy arks with their mystical contents, and the holy vehicles upon which these sacred objects were carried about. The walls were covered with the symbolical representations of the deities ; and in this place also the priests kept their archives. Something of the abhorrence of all visible representations of the Deity which seems in the first stages of their existence to have filled the minds of all Semitic nations—an abhorrence erroneously taken of late to indicate their monotheistic propensity (cf. Renan's and Munk's *Inaugural Lectures*)—is also noticeable with the Phœnicians, whose gods were legion. No paintings, statues, or other likenesses of deities are recorded as found in the ancient temples of Gades, Tyre, Samaria, Paphos, etc. There were, however, certain symbolical columns of wood, אֲשָׁרִים (for the female Numen, Astarte), of stone, מַצְבֹּת (for Baal), of gold or emerald (חֲמֻנִים), together with Phallic representations, found in and before the Phœnician sanctuaries. Another kind of divine mementoes, as it were, were the Betylia (בית אל), probably meteors, to which a fetish-like reverence was shown, and which were called by



the names of Father, mighty father (אב אב אביר), and at the time of Augustine there were still a number of priests engaged in Punic Africa to wait upon these idols and to elicit oracles from them (Eucaddirs). Among the principal festivals, with some of which, as with those of the Hebrews, were connected pilgrimages—from the furthest colonies even—are the 'awakening' and the 'self-destruction by fire' of Herakles, a certain festival of 'staves,' a vintage-feast in honour of the Tyrian Bacchus, and certain others in honour of Astarte, celebrating her disappearance, flight, and wanderings, the Adonia, etc. [TYRE; SIDON.]

A few words may be added here on Phœnician Theogony and Cosmogony, which, as far as they are known to us, give evidence of the enormous amount of thought bestowed by the thinkers of that people on the enigma of creation. The Deity was, in accordance with the antique mind, presupposed. Speculation never questioned its eternal existence, the original quality of each of its two principal—male and female—sides, and the way in which, out of their union, sprang the universe. According to the system of Eudemus, Time, Desire, and Mist formed the first trias of existence; and from the embrace of the two last sprang air and 'motion of air,' out of which again was produced the mundane egg. The cosmogony, according to Sanchoniathon on the other hand, assumes, in the beginning of all things, a gloomy and agitated air and a turbid chaos of thickest darkness, which for a long course of ages was without limits. The wind becoming enamoured with its own essence, Mot sprang into being, as a kind of thick, putrid fluid, which contained all germs. The first beings created from this were without intellect; and from them, again, came intellectual beings, Zopha-Semin (צופי שמים), watchmen, or beholders of the heavens. 'And it began to shine Mot, also the sun and the moon, the stars and the great planets. The glowing sun, heating sea and earth, raised vapours, which produced clouds and winds, lightning and thunder, and at their crash the beings began to awake in terror, and male and female moved on land and sea.' The wind Kolpia further produced with Baau (כורב) of Genesis), Aion and Protogonos, the first mortals. Aion first discovered the art of nutriment from fruit-trees; and their children, Genos and Genea, who dwelt in Phœnicia, first worshipped Baal-samin, or the sun.

Genos begat Light, Fire, and Flame, out of whom came giants, Cassius, Libanus, Antilibanus, and Brathys. Their sons invented the art of constructing huts of reeds, and meshes, and the papyrus, and the art of making coverings for the body out of the skins of wild beasts. After them came the inventors of hunting and fishing, the discoverers of iron, of the art of navigation, etc. One of their descendants was Elyon (probably the God whose priest was Melchisedec, Gen. xiv. 18, etc.; Abraham, in his reply to the king of Sodom, emphatically adds 'Jehovah' to El-Eljon), who with his wife Beruth begat an Autochthon, afterwards called Uranos (heaven), and his sister Ge (earth). They had issue four sons, Ibis, Betylus, Dagon, and Atlas; and three daughters, Astarte, Rhea, and Dione. Chronos deposed his father, subsequently killed him, and travelled about in the world. He then assigned the whole of Phœnicia to Astarte, to Athene he gave Attica, and to Taut Egypt.

The country being involved in war, he offered up his two sons, Jeud and Muth (Μωθ, Pluto), in expiation. He afterwards bestowed the city of Byblus upon the goddess Baaltis (Dione), and Berytus upon Poseidon and the Kabiri. Taut made the first images of the countenances of the gods Chronos and Dagon, and formed the sacred characters of the other elements; and the Kabiri, the seven sons of Sydyk, and their eighth brother Asklepios, first set them down in memory. 'Thabion,' Eusebius (*Pr. Ev.* i. 10) continues, 'the first hierophant, allegorised these things subsequently, and, mixing the facts with physical and mundane phenomena, he delivered them down to those that celebrated orgia, and to the prophets who presided over the mysteries, and to their successors, one of whom was Isiris, the inventor of three letters, the brother of Chna, the first Phœnician.'

On the invention of letters, generally ascribed to the Phœnicians, as well as on Phœnician language and literature, see SEMITIC LANGUAGES.

PHRYGIA (Φρυγία), an inland province of Asia Minor, bounded on the north by Bithynia and Galatia; on the east by Cappadocia and Lycaonia; on the south by Lycia, Pisidia, and Isauria; and on the west by Caria, Lydia, and Mysia. In early times Phrygia seems to have comprehended the greater part of the peninsula of Asia Minor. It was subsequently divided into Phrygia Major on the south, and Phrygia Minor or Epictetus (*acquired*) on the north-west. The Romans divided the province into three districts: Phrygia Salutaris on the east, Phrygia Pacatiana on the west, and Phrygia Katakekaumene (*the burnt*) in the middle. The country, as defined by the specified limits, is for the most part level, and very abundant in corn, fruit, and wine. It had a peculiar and celebrated breed of cattle, and the fine raven black wool of the sheep around Laodicea on the Lycus was in high repute. The Mæander and the Hermus were its chief rivers. The Phrygians were a very ancient people, and are supposed to have formed, along with the Pelasgi, the aborigines of Asia Minor. Jews from Phrygia were present in Jerusalem at the Feast of Pentecost (Acts ii. 10), and the province was afterwards twice traversed by St. Paul in his missionary journeys (Acts xvi. 6; xviii. 23). The cities of Laodicea, Hierapolis, and Colossæ, mentioned in the N. T., belonged to Phrygia, and Antioch in Pisidia was also within its limits (see the names). Rosenmüller, *Bibl. Geog.*, iii. 43-45; Winer, *Real-wörterbuch*; Leake, *Geog. of Asia Minor*.—J. K.

PHUT (פוט; Sept. Φούδ), a son of Ham (Gen. x. 6), progenitor of an African people of the same name, sometimes rendered 'Lybia' (Jer. xlv. 9; Ezek. xxvii. 10; xxx. 5; xxxviii. 5; Neh. iii. 9). [HAM.]

PHYGELLUS. [HERMOGENES.]

PHYLACTERIES (φυλακτήρια), small square boxes made either of parchment or black calf-skin, in which are enclosed slips of parchment or vellum with Exod. xiii. 2-20, 11-17; Deut. vi. 4-9, 13-22, written on them, and which are worn on the head and the left arm by every Jew on week-day mornings during the time of prayer.

1. *Name and its signification.*—The Greek term φυλακτήριον=phylactery is a later expression used

in the N. T. for the O. T. word **טוטפת**, plur. **טוטפות**, which is rendered **תפילין**, *prayer-fillets*, by the Chaldee paraphrases of Onkelos and Jonathan b. Uzziel, as well as by the unanimous voice of Jewish tradition. It is now generally agreed by lexicographers that, according to the analogy of **בבל**, which stands for **בבל**, and **בוקב**, which stands for **בבבב**, and which are formed by the reduplication of the two chief radical letters, **טוטפת** stands for **טפנפת**, from **טוף**, to bind round (Ewald, *Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Sprache*, sec. 158 c), and that it denotes a tie, a band, a frontlet. The Sept.

in all the three instances in which **לטוטפת בין עיניך** occurs (Exod. xiii. 16; Deut. vi. 8; xi. 18), renders it by *ἀσάλευτον πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν σου*, a fixture before thine eyes, with which Symmachus and Theodotion agree. The rendering of Aquila, *εἰς ἀτινακτα*, for an immovable (comp. Montfaucon, *Hexapla*, nota ad vers.) is to the same effect. Philo (ii. 358), however, translates it *σεύμενα πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν*, and afterwards adds that it is to be a constant pendulum (*σάλον ἐχέρῳ ταῦτα κινούμενον*) to summon the sight by its motion to a very clear inspection. Herzfeld (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. 224) infers from this that Philo must either have read *σάλευτον* in the Sept., or taken the *ά* before it as *intensitive*, and assigns to **טוף** the sense of to move backwards and forwards, vindicating for **טוטפות** the meaning of *pendulum*, *pendent ornament*. Herzfeld, moreover, maintains that this rendering is more in harmony with the little houses, or square boxes, constituting the phylacteries, and that it escapes the following objections to the current rendering of it by *binding round*: i. In the phylacteries the box in the front is the principal part, and not the strap round the head which holds it; and ii. The **טוטפת** is to be 'between the eyes,' which does not tally with

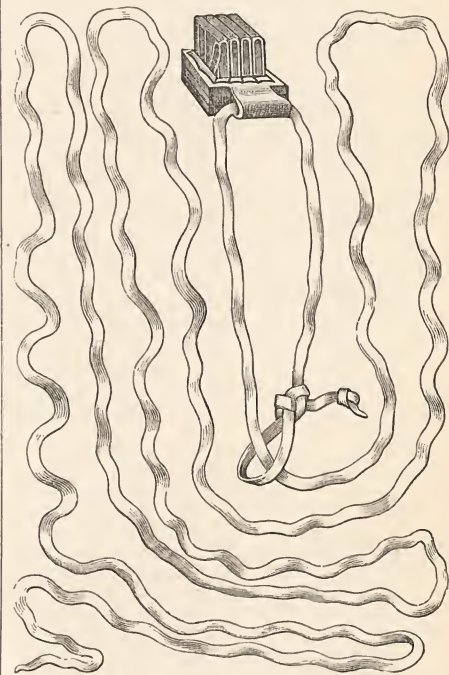
forehead tie (*Stirnbinde*). The name **תפילין**, *prayer-fillets*, by which the Chaldee paraphrases and the Syriac version (**ܬܦܝܠܝܢ**) render **טוטפות**, and which is the common appellation for the phylacteries among the Jews to the present day, owes its origin to the fact that the phylacteries are worn during prayer time. Hence the plural **תפילין** has the masculine termination to distinguish it from the feminine **תפילות**, which denotes *prayers*, just as the plural masculine **תהלים** denotes *psalms*, in contradistinction to the feminine plural **תהלות**, *praise*.

2. The manner in which the phylacteries are made and used.—As the Mosaic law (Exod. xiii. 16; Deut. vi. 8; xi. 18) gives no specific directions how the phylacteries are to be made, but simply says that they are to be of a double nature, viz., for the hand and between the eyes, the Jewish canons have enacted minute regulations about the arrangement and use of them. A piece of leather is soaked, stretched on a square block cut for the purpose, sewed together with gut-strings while wet, and left on the block till it is dried and stiffened, so that when it is taken off it forms a (בית) square leather box (*Jerusalem Megilla*, iv. 9). As the Mosaic code enjoins one for the hand and another for the head, two such boxes (בתים) are requisite for making the phylacteries. The box of which the phylactery

for the hand (**תפלה של יד**) is made has no inscription outside, and only one cell inside, wherein is deposited a parchment strip with the four following sections written thereon in four columns, each column having seven lines. On column i. is written Exod. xiii. 1-10, treating on the sanctification of the first-born, and containing the injunction about the phylacteries; on col. ii. Exod. xiii. 11-16, which also treats on the sanctification of the first-born, and repeats the injunction about the phylacteries; on col. iii. Deut. vi. 4-9, enjoining that the law and the command about the phylacteries should be inculcated into the minds of the rising generation; and on col. iv. is written Deut. xi. 13-21, describing the blessing attached to the keeping of the law, and to the observance of the command about the phylacteries. The order, therefore, of the passages of Scripture is as follows:—

iv.	iii.	ii.	i.
Deut. xi. 13-21	Deut. vi. 4-9	Ex. xiii. 11-16	Ex. xiii. 1-10

The slip is rolled up, put inside, tied with white and well-washed hairs of a calf or cow, generally obtained from the tail, and put into the box; a flap connected with the brim is then drawn over the open part and sewed firmly down to the thick leather brim, in such a manner as to form a loop on one side, through which passes a very long leather strap



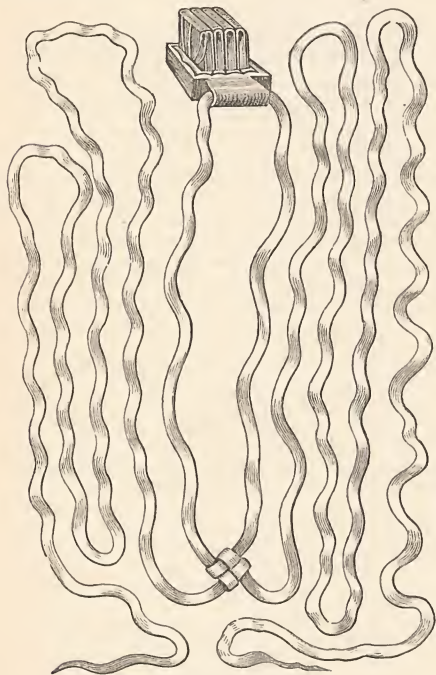
433. Phylactery for the Arm.

(רצועה),\* wherewith the phylactery is fastened to the arm. The box of which the phylactery for the

\* The writer of the article *Frontlets = Phylacteries*, in *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*, is mistaken when he says that 'Hebrew letters were



head (תפלה של ראש) is made has on the outside to the right the regular three-pronged letter *Shin*, being an abbreviation for שׁוּׁר, the *Almighty*, and on the left side a four-pronged letter *Shin* (*Sabbath*, 28 b). In the inside are four cells, in which are deposited four slips of parchment, whereon are written the same four passages of Scripture as on the one slip in the phylactery for the hand. The box is closed in the same manner, and a thong passes through the loop, with which it is fastened to the head.

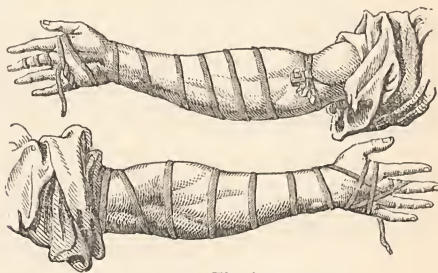


434. Phylactery for the Head.

The phylacteries, like the *Mezuzah*, i.e., the scrolls on the door-posts, must be written in Hebrew characters, whilst the law may be written in Greek (*Mishna Megilla*, i. 8). Every Jew, from the time that he is thirteen years of age, when he is considered a member of the congregation (בר מצוה), is obliged to wear the phylacteries during the time of morning prayer, every day except on Sabbath and festivals. Before commencing his

inscribed on the thongs (רצועות), as may be seen from an inspection of a phylactery, or from Maimonides' treatise on the subject. He is equally mistaken when he refers to the *Mishna* for 'further frivolities' on the phylacteries, and 'especially in the treatise called *Rosh Hashanah*'—this treatise in the *Mishna* does not even mention the bare name of phylacteries. That Chrysost., Theophyl., and other fathers who knew little of Judaism, and still less of Hebrew, should have said that the Decalogue was inscribed on the parchments in the phylacteries is no wonder; but that Jerome should have committed the same blunder, and that the erudite Spencer should have espoused it, is really astonishing.

devotions he first puts on the one on the left arm through the sling formed by the long strap. Having fastened it just above the elbow, on the inner part of the naked arm, in such a manner that when the arm is bent the phylactery may touch the flesh and be near the heart, to fulfil the precept, 'ye shall lay up these words in your heart,' he first twists the long strap three times close to the phylactery, forming a *Shin*, which stands for שׁוּׁר, the *Almighty*, pronouncing the following benediction: 'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, king of the universe, who hast sanctified us with thy commandments and enjoined us to put on the phylacteries.' He then twists the long leather strap seven times around the arm (in the form of two *Shins*, one with three prongs and the other with four), and puts on the phylactery on the head, placing it exactly in the centre between the eyes so as to touch the spot where the hair begins to grow, and before he secures it pronounces the following benediction: 'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, king of the universe, who hast sanctified us with thy commandments, and enjoined upon us the command about the phylacteries;' and immediately after adjusting it says, 'Blessed be the name of the glory of his kingdom for ever and ever' (Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chetzaka, Hilchoth Tephillin*, iv. 5). He then winds the end of the long leather strap three times round his middle finger, and the remainder round the hand, saying, 'I will betroth thee unto me for ever, yea, I will betroth thee unto me in righteousness and in judgment, and in loving-kindness, and in mercy, and thou shalt know the Lord' (Hos. ii. 19).



435. The Arm.

There is no special canon about the size of the boxes (בתים) which contain the slips, and thus constitute the phylacteries. They are generally made an inch and a half square, and are worn during morning prayer, except on Sabbath and festivals, because these days being themselves a sign (אות) require no other sign or pledge (Maimonides, *ibid.* iv. 10). The pious Jews who are engaged in the study of the law, and in meditations, also wear them during these hallowed engagements; they make the phylacteries a little larger than the ordinary ones to give more space, and hence more distinctness to every letter and word composing the writing inside, and walk with the phylacteries on from one place to another. The hypocrites among the Pharisees imitated this and made their phylacteries more than ordinarily large so as to make them conspicuous and visible to any one at a distance, thereby to indicate that they were praying or in holy meditation, which our Saviour rebuked (Matt. xxiii. 5). If the phylacteries are written by an infidel they must be burnt; and if



written by a Samaritan, an informer, a slave, a woman, or a minor, they are unlawful and must be shut up (Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chezaka, Hilchoth Tephillin*, i. 13). The Sadducees wore the phylacteries on the forehead or brow, and on the palm of the hand (Maimonides, *ibid.* iv. 3).

3. *Origin and design of the Phylacteries.*—It is the unanimous voice of Jewish tradition that the phylacteries are enjoined in Exod. xiii. 9, 16; Deut. vi. 8; xi. 18. It is true that Rashbam and Ibn Ezra (on Exod. xiii. 9), who are followed by De Lyra, Calvin, Bishop Patrick, H. Michaelis, Hengstenberg, Keil, etc., take the passages in question in a figurative sense. But against this is to be urged that—1. It is utterly inconceivable that the same declaration should be used four times figuratively, there being no parallel for such a usage throughout the whole Pentateuch. 2. In two cases out of the four (Deut. vi. 9; xi. 20), the injunction is followed immediately by the command about *the Mezuzah*, which is admitted to be literal [MEZUZA], and it is against all sound rules of exegesis to take one command in a figurative and the other in a literal sense. 3. In every one of the four instances wherein the injunction is given, the expression *אוֹת* is used, which in all other passages of Scripture invariably denotes a *visible sign*, given either to attest an event or doctrine stated in the foregoing passage, or to serve as a remembrance. Now, on the supposition that the whole commandment is to be taken figuratively, it would be

no sign whatever, and the term *לִזְכֹּרֶן* could not have been substituted for the technical expres-

sion *לְטוֹטֶפֶת*, as it is in Exod. xiii. 9. 4. The end of the external action enjoined in the first clause of Exod. xiii. 9, is immediately introduced in the

second clause by *לִמְעַן*, 'that the law of the Lord may be in thy mouth'; whereas, as Philippsohn rightly remarks, the simple conjunction *ו* would be required if the preceding words had the same internal figurative meaning. 5. It was a common custom in ancient days for those who engaged in military service, or devoted themselves to the worship of a special deity, to be marked either on the forehead or on the hand, or on both (Veget. *de Milit.*, ii. 5; Herod., ii. 113; Lucian, *de Syr. dea*, 59; *Asiat. Res.*, vii. p. 281, *seq.*) Thus the high-priest, as being especially consecrated to the service of Jehovah, had inscribed in the plate on the front of his head 'Holiness to the Lord' (Exod. xxviii. 36), the ordinary servants of Jehovah were commanded to have a mark (Ezek. ix. 4, 6); and at the ingathering of Israel we are told that even the horses shall have written upon their bells 'Holiness to the Lord' (Zech. xiv. 20); whilst the worshippers of the beast are represented as bearing his inscription on their foreheads and arms (Rev. vii. 3; xiii. 16-18; xiv. 9-11; xvi. 2; xix. 20; xx. 4). The Moslems, Nusairieh and Bedawin Arabs, to the present day, either tie, or have tattooed, on their hands and foreheads, select passages of the Koran. Sir Stamford Raffles presented to his cousin, the Rev. Dr. Raffles, a small circular copy of the Koran, the size of half a crown, which a prince of Djocjarta, in the isle of Java, wore on his arm, and which was taken from him when he lay slain on the ground. This remarkable copy of the Koran, which is smaller than an ordinary phylactery, is now in the possession of T.

Stamford Raffles, Esq., the son of the late Dr. Raffles. It was therefore natural that the Mosaic law, which forbids tattooing (Lev. xix. 28), should appropriate, for the service of the Most High, the innocent and generally prevailing custom, which the lawgiver could not eradicate, of wearing ornaments and tokens, with inscriptions declaring that they belonged to Jehovah, and that the Lord is their Redeemer (Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, ed. London, pp. 67, 98). This universal custom would of itself be sufficient argument for taking the injunction in its literal sense, even if we had not the support of the ancient versions and the undeviating practice of the synagogue; and be it remembered, that even the Sadducees, who rejected tradition, and adhered to the simple meaning of the law, also wore phylacteries. As to the phrase

*כְּתָבָם עַל לֶחֶם לֶכֶךְ*, Prov. iii. 3, etc., which is frequently quoted in support of the spiritual meaning, it must be observed that it too is to be taken literally,

inasmuch as *לֶחֶם* does not denote the *external front of the breast*, but the *tablet* which the ancients wore on their hearts. It is the same as *פָּנֵקֶם*, which so frequently occurs in the *Mishna* (comp. *Kelim*, xxiv. 7), and which the Greeks called *Ilvaß*, and the Romans *Pugillares*. This *tablet*, when made of wood, was called *לֶחֶם* (Is. xxx. 8; Habak. ii. 2);

when of metal, was termed *גִּלְיוֹן* (Is. viii. 1), and when it was of stone it was denominated *אֲבָנִים*. The argument of Spencer, that because the Septuagint renders *טוֹטֶפֶת* by *ἀσδλεντα*, and not *φυλακτήρια*, therefore this version did not understand it literally, 'inter eos (qui legem illam sensu tantum metaphoricis exponendam censuerunt) LXX. cum primis notandi verunt, qui quod in Moysi est *טוֹטֶפֶת* ipsi non *φυλακτήρια* sed *ἀσδλεντα* translulerunt' (*de Leg. Hebræor. ritual.*, L. iv. c. 2), ignores the fact that *φυλακτήρια* is a term which obtained at a much later period as an equivalent

for *הַפָּלִי*. Josephus, too, who like all the ancient and modern Jews takes the injunction literally, does not render *טוֹטֶפֶת* by *φυλακτήρια* (*Antiq.* iv. 8. 13). The fact is, that in very early days there was no fixed and technical term for those frontlets. Hence Herzfeld (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. 223) has rightly pointed out that the phylacteries are meant in 2 Kings xi. 12, where the high-priest is said to have put upon Joash 'the crown and the *עֲדוֹת*;' and Duschak (*Josephus und die Tradition*, p. 85) supposes that the *Tephillin* are meant by *צִוֵּר תְּעוּדָה* (Is. viii. 16). The injunction about the phylacteries was so generally observed among the Jews after the Babylonish captivity, that the writers of them found it a most lucrative business. Hence we are told that 'twenty-four fast days were ordained by the Great Synagogue, in order that the writers of the scrolls of the law, the phylacteries, and the mezuzas, might not grow rich, inasmuch as they were not allowed to write them on these days' (*Pesachim*, 50 b). In harmony with the design of the phylacteries, Maimonides beautifully propounds their utility, when he remarks: 'the sacred influence of the phylacteries is very great; for as long as one wears them on his head and arm he is obliged to be meek, God-fearing, must not suffer himself to be carried away by laughter or idle talk, nor indulge in evil thoughts; but must turn his attention to the words of truth and uprightness.' The blunder which has



been propagated by the learned Spencer, and which is repeated by Winer (*Biblisches Realwörterbuch*, s. v. *Phylakterien*), Dean Alford (on Matt. xxiii. 5), and others, based upon a misunderstanding of the Chaldee paraphrase of the Song of Songs viii. 3, has led Mr. Farrar (in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*) to make the positive but erroneous assertion—'that phylacteries were used as amulets is certain, and was very natural.' Now a careful perusal of the said passage in the Chaldee paraphrase will show that it was not the *phylacteries* but the *Mezuzas* which were used as charms. The whole passage is given in English in the article MEZUZA.

4. *Literature*.—Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chezaka, Hilchoth Tephillin*, sections i.-iv., vol. i. p. 84-92, ed. Amsterdam 1702; Spencer, *De Leg. Hebræorum ritual.*, lib. iv. c. 1-7, p. 1201-1232, ed. Cantabrigiæ 1727; Herzfeld, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. ii. p. 223, seq., Nordhausen 1837; Jewish Ritual entitled *Derech Ha-Chajim*, Vienna 1859, p. 24, seq.; Hochmuth in *Ben Chananja*, vol. i. p. 215, etc., Szegedin 1858.—C. D. G.

PHYSIC; PHYSICIANS. There can be no question that the Israelites brought some knowledge of medicine with them from Egypt, whose physicians were celebrated in all antiquity. To the state of medical knowledge in that country there are indeed some allusions in Scripture, as contained in the notice of the corps of physicians in the service of Joseph (Gen. i. 2); of the use of artificial help and practised midwives in childbirth (Exod. i. 16); and of the copious materia medica, the 'many medicines,' which their medical practice had brought into use (Jer. xlv. 11). On the strength of these notices, and in the absence of equally detailed information respecting the state of medicine among the Hebrews, it has become usual to bring under the present head all that Wilkinson and others tell us respecting the medical service of the Egyptians; but in truth all this has little connection with the Hebrews, and tends nothing to the illustration of Scripture, except in the particular instances to which we have referred; for nothing can be more manifest than that the state of medicine was very different among the Egyptians from what it was among the Hebrews. It is, therefore, better to bring together the few facts which are really available, than to occupy our space with irrelevant matter. This will embrace so much of the Egyptian matter as is properly applicable to the subject.

In Gen. i. 2, it is said that Joseph 'commanded his servants, the physicians, to embalm his father; and the physicians embalmed Israel.' By this we are not to understand that all the physicians of Joseph took part in the operation. The command must be considered as addressed to those among them to whom this business belonged. It seems rather remarkable to find in the household of Joseph a considerable number of physicians. Warburton (*Divine Legation*, b. iv. 3-83) compares with this account what Herodotus (ii. 84) says of the Egyptian physicians—'The medicine practice is divided among them as follows: each physician is for one kind of sickness, and no more; and all places are crowded with physicians: for there are physicians for the eyes, physicians for the head, physicians for the teeth, physicians for the stomach, and for internal diseases.' Therefore, remarks

Warburton, it ought not to appear strange that Joseph had a considerable number of family physicians. 'Every great family, as well as every city, must needs, as Herodotus expresses it, swarm with the faculty. A multitude of these domestics would now appear an extravagant piece of state even in a first minister, but we see it could not be otherwise, when each distemper had its proper physician.' The renown of the Egyptian physicians, in ancient times, may be sufficiently illustrated by the fact that Cyrus had a physician sent him from Egypt, and Darius always had Egyptian physicians at his court (Herodot. iii. i. 291). On this subject see Plin. *Hist. Nat.*, vii. 57, xxvi. 3, xxix. 30; Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians*, iii. 390-394; Hengstenberg, *D. Bücher Moses u. Aegypten*, pp. 70, 71; Sprengel, *Gesch. d. Alte Welt.*, i. 62.

In the early stage of medical practice attention was confined among all nations to surgical aid and external applications: even down to a comparatively late period outward maladies appear to have been the chief subjects of medical treatment among the Hebrews (Is. i. 6; Ezek. xxx. 21; 2 Kings viii. 29; ix. 15); and although they were not altogether without remedies for internal or even mental disorders (2 Chron. xvi. 12; 1 Sam. xvi. 16), they seem to have made but little progress in this branch of the healing art. The employment of the physician was, however, very general both before and after the exile (2 Chron. xvi. 12; Jer. viii. 22; Sirach xxxviii. 1; Mark v. 26; comp. Luke iv. 23; v. 31; viii. 43).

The medicines most in use were salves, particularly balms (Jer. viii. 21; xlv. 11; comp. Prosper Alpinus, *Med. Aegypt.*, p. 118), plasters or poultices (2 Kings xx. 7; comp. Plin. xxiii. 63), oil-baths (Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* i. 33. 5; ii. 21. 6; *T. Bab. tit. Berachoth*, i. 2), mineral baths (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 6. 5; *Vita*, 16; *De Bell. Jud.* i. 33. 5; ii. 21. 6; comp. John v. 2, seq.), river bathing (2 Kings v. 10). Of remedies for internal complaints, some notion may be formed from the Talmudical intimations of things lawful and unlawful to be done on the Sabbath day. They were mostly very simple, such as our old herbalists would have been disposed to recommend. For instance:—'It is unlawful to eat Greek hyssop on the Sabbath, because it is not food fit for healthy people; but man may eat wild rosemary, and drink רועה אבום ('bloom of the herbs'; some plant regarded as an antidote against pernicious liquids); a man may eat of any kind of food as medicine, and drink any

kind of herbage, except water of דקלים, *dekalim* (i. e., 'water of trees,' that is, from a spring between two trees, the first draught of which was believed to promote digestion, the second to be laxative, and the third an emetic), and of עקרים, *cos ikkarim* (a mucilage or ointment of pulverised herbs and gum in wine), as these are only remedies for the jaundice; but a man may drink the water of *dekalim* for thirst, and may anoint himself with the oil of *ikkarim*, but not as a remedy. He who has the toothache must not rinse his teeth with vinegar, but he may wash them as usual (i. e., dip something in vinegar, and rub them), and if he gets cured, he does get cured. He who has pains in his loins must not rub them with wine or vinegar; he may, however, anoint them with any kind of oil, except rose-oil. Princes may anoint (dress) their wounds with rose-oil, as they are in the habit



of anointing themselves on other days' (*T. Bab. tit. Sabbath.*, fol. 110; comp. Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.* in Matt. v. 26).

Amulets were also much in use among the Jews; the character of which may be shown from the same source:—'It is permitted [even on the Sabbath] to go out with the egg of a grasshopper, or the tooth of a fox, or the nail of one who has been hanged, as medical remedies' (*T. Bab. tit. Sabbath.*, fol. 4. 2). Strict persons, however, discountenanced such practices as belonging to 'the ways of the Amorites.' Enchantments were also employed by those who professed the healing art, especially in diseases of the mind; and they were much in the habit of laying their hands upon the patient (2 Kings v. 11; Joseph. *Antiq.* ii. 5).

The part taken by the priest in the judgment on leprosy, etc., has led to an impression that the medical art was in the hands of the Levitical body. This may in some degree be true; not because they were Levites, but because they, more than any other Hebrews, had leisure, and sometimes inclination, for learned pursuits. The acts prescribed for the priest by the law do not, however, of themselves prove anything on this point, as the inspection of leprosy belonged rather to sanitary police than to medicine—although it was certainly necessary that the inspecting priest should be able to discriminate, according to the rules laid down in the law, the diagnosis of the disease placed under his control (Lev. xiii. 13; xiv. 15). The priests themselves were apt to take colds, etc., from being obliged to minister at all times of the year with naked feet; whence there was in latter times a medical inspector attached to the temple to attend to their complaints (Kall, *De Morbis Sacerdot.* V. T.; Lightfoot, p. 781).

Of anatomical knowledge some faint traces may be discerned in such passages as Job x. 8, *seq.* It does not appear that the Hebrews were in the habit of opening dead bodies to ascertain the causes of death. We know that the Egyptians were so, and their practice of embalmment must have given them much anatomical knowledge (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.*, iii. 392). But to the acquisition of such knowledge there were great obstacles among a people to whom simple contact with a corpse conveyed pollution. Besides the authorities cited, see F. Börner, *Dissert. de Statu Medicinæ ap. Vett. Ebr.*, 1755; Sprengel, *De Medicina Ebraeor.*, 1789; Mead, *Medica Sacra*, 1755; Schmidt, *Bibl. Medic.*; Norberg, *De Medicina Arabum*, in *Opusc. Acad.* iii. 404, *seq.*; see also DISEASES OF THE JEWS, and the names of diseases in the present work.—J. K.

PI-BESETH (פִּי בֶּסֶת; Sept. Βούβαστος), a city of Egypt, named with several others in Ezek. xxx. 17. According to the Sept., which is followed by the Vulgate, it is the same with Bubastus, which was the principal town of the Nomos Bubastites (Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, v. 9; Ptol. iv. 5). Bubastus itself is evidently a corruption of Pi-bast, Pi being the Egyptian article; and Pi-beseth seems also to be manifestly no other than a corrupt reading of the same Egyptian name (Wilkinson's *Modern Egypt.*, i. 427). That name was derived from the goddess Bubastis (Copt. *Pascht*), whom the Greeks identified with their Artemis. A great festive pilgrimage was yearly made to her temple in this place by great numbers of people (Herod., ii. 5-9).

Bubastus is described with unusual minuteness by Herodotus (ii. 137, 138); and Wilkinson assures us that the outlines of his account may still be verified. The city was taken by the Persians, who destroyed the walls (Diod. Sic., xvi. 51); but it was still a place of some consideration under the Romans. It was near Bubastus that the canal leading to Arsinoë (Suez) opened to the Nile (Herod. ii. 138); and although the mouth was afterwards often changed and taken more southward, it has now returned to its first locality, as the present canal of Tel-el-Wadee commences in the vicinity of Tel Basta. This Tel Basta, which undoubtedly represents Bubastus, is in N. lat. 30° 36'; E. long. 31° 33'. The site is occupied by mounds of great extent, which consist of the crude brick houses of the town, with the usual heaps of broken pottery. The temple, of which Herodotus states that, although others in Egypt were larger and more magnificent, none were more beautiful, is entirely destroyed; but the remaining stones, being of the finest red granite, confirm the historian's testimony (Wilkinson, *Modern Egypt.*, i. 300, 427-429; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, i. 825).—J. K.

PIECE OF GOLD. This phrase occurs only once in the A. V. in a passage respecting Naaman the Syrian, who takes on his visit to the king of Israel, 'ten talents of silver and six thousand pieces of gold and ten changes of raiment' (2 Kings v. 5). In several other passages of a similar kind, the A. V. supplies the word 'shekels' (Num. vii. 14, 20, 26, 32, 38, 44, 50, 56, 62, 68, 74, 80, 86; Judg. viii. 26; 1 Kings x. 16; 2 Chron. iii. 9; 1 Chron. xxi. 25; for this last passage see PIECE OF SILVER); and as similar expressions are also found respecting silver, the word understood in the case of Naaman would also probably be 'shekels,' rather than an indefinite word like 'pieces.' There is not much doubt that a weight is intended in all the passages above given, where the A. V. has supplied the word 'shekels,' and it is extremely likely that a weight of gold is also meant in the passage relating to Naaman, for coined money was not invented at the time, nor can it have existed in Palestine before the taking of Samaria by the Assyrians (B.C. 721). Indeed, it is more probable that it was unknown till the Persian period [ADARCONIM; MONEY]. Rings of gold may have been employed, as among the Egyptians, but there is no evidence that they bore any name, since the practice was to weigh money (cf. Is. xlvi. 6; Deut. xxv. 15; Gen. xliii. 21), though as regards the silver, it seems almost impossible that large sums could have been weighed (Exod. xxxviii. 26), and individual pieces of different denominations are more than once alluded to (Exod. xxx. 15; 1 Sam. ix. 8, 9) [MONEY]. Taking these facts into consideration, it seems preferable to render what the A. V. gives as 'pieces of gold' by 'shekels of gold.'—F. W. M.

PIECE OF SILVER. This phrase occurs both in the A. V. of the O. T. and N. T., and consequently must be separately considered.

1. The word 'pieces' has been supplied in the A. V. for a word understood in the Hebrew. The rendering is always 'a thousand,' or the like, 'of silver' (Gen. xx. 16; xxxvii. 28; xlv. 22; Judg. ix. 4; xvi. 5; 2 Kings vi. 25; Song of Solomon viii. 11; Hos. iii. 2; Zech. xi. 12, 13). The phrase in these passages, excepting the first three,



is rendered by the LXX. ἀργύριον or ἄργυρος (Zech. i. c.), and all by the Vulg. *argenteus*. The first is rendered by the LXX. ὀδραχμία, whilst the two following are given as χρυσούς, but apparently without any reason. In similar passages, the word 'shekels' occurs in the Hebrew, and they are either in the Pentateuch, or speak of important purchases, taxation, etc. The purchase of the cave of Machpelah by Abraham (Gen. xxiii. 15, 16), that of the threshing-floor and oxen of Araunah by David for fifty shekels of silver (2 Sam. xxiv. 24, elsewhere stated to have been purchased for six hundred shekels of gold, 1 Chron. xxi. 25), and that of the field of Hanameel by Jeremiah (Jer. xxxii. 9); taxation (Lev. xxvii. 3, 6, 16; 2 Kings xv. 20; Neh. v. 15); fines for offences (Exod. xxi. 32); and, lastly, the robbery by Achan (Josh. vii. 21). In other passages, the A. V. supplies the word 'shekels' instead of 'pieces' (Deut. xxii. 19, 29; Judg. xvii. 2, 3, 4, 10; 2 Sam. xviii. 11, 12), and no doubt correctly. Nearly all these passages relate to weight, one may allude to actual 'coin' (Neh. v. 15), and the term 'pieces' is inaccurate when applied to either. Hence it may be assumed that 'shekel' or 'shekels' is the word understood in all cases.

There are, however, two exceptional passages, where a word equivalent to 'piece' or 'pieces' is found in the Hebrew. The first occurs in 1 Sam. ii. 36, where the phrase 'piece of silver' is taken from the Hebrew אֶגְרוֹת כֶּסֶף, rendered in the LXX. by ὀβολοῦ ἀργυρίου, and in the Vulg. by *nummum argenteum*. The אֶגְרוֹת, so called from אָגַר, 'to collect,' may be the same as the נִגְרָה. It is also translated by the LXX. ὀβολος, and by the Vulg. *obolus*. The second is in the Psalms (lxviii. 30), and the phrase 'pieces of silver' is translated from the Hebrew רֵצִי-כֶסֶף (*Heb.* ver. 32), which is rendered in the LXX. and Vulg. simply by ἀργύριον and *argentum*. The word רֵצִי, from רָצַץ, 'to break in pieces,' must mean a fragment or piece broken off. In neither case can these passages imply a coin.

We must also notice the employment in the A. V. of the word 'piece,' or 'pieces of money,' or 'silver,' in the three following passages (Gen. xxxiii. 19; Josh. xxiv. 22; Job xlii. 11), being the translation of the Hebrew קֶסֶיטָה, rendered by the LXX. and Vulg. 'lambs.' The *Kesitah* was evidently a piece of silver of unknown weight [KESITAH].

2. Two words are rendered in the N. T. by the phrase 'piece of silver,' δραχμή, Vulg. *drachma*, and ἀργύριον, Vulg. *argenteus*, *denarius*.

(i.) The first occurs in St. Luke xv. 8, 'Either what woman having ten pieces of silver (δραχμαὶ δέκα), if she lose one piece, doth not light a candle, and sweep the house, and seek diligently till she find it?' Here it is correctly rendered, as at the time of St. Luke the Attic drachm was equivalent to the Roman denarius [DRACHM; DENARIUS].

(ii.) The second word occurs in two passages (A), the account of the betrayal of our Lord for 'thirty pieces of silver' (Matt. xxvi. 15; xxvii. 3, 5, 6, 9). These have usually been considered to have been denarii, but another suggestion has recently been made by Mr. Poole (Dr. Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, art. 'Piece of Silver'). The parallel

passage in Zechariah (xi. 12, 13), where we have supposed 'shekels' to be understood (see above), and which is translated by the LXX. 'thirty silvers' (τριάκοντα ἀργυρῶν), may throw some light upon the subject; whilst it is observable that 'thirty shekels of silver' was the price of blood to be paid in the case of a servant accidentally killed (Exod. xxi. 32). Mr. Poole proposes to explain the passage in St. Matthew as 'thirty shekels of silver'; not as current shekels, but as tetradrachms of the Attic standard of Greek cities of Syria and Phœnicia. These, at the time of Augustus, had fallen to be equal to the Phœnician didrachm, and the shekels and half shekels of Simon Maccabæus [MONEY] are uniformly of the same weight as this Attic tetradrachm and its half, so that Josephus (*Antiq.* iii. 8. 2) speaks of the shekel as equal to four Attic drachms (or denarii) [DRACHM]. These tetradrachms were common at the time of our Lord, and of them the *stater* (rendered in the A. V. 'piece of money,' Matt. xvii. 27), was no doubt a specimen [STATER]. It is therefore most likely that the 'thirty pieces of silver' for which our Lord was betrayed, were rather Attic tetradrachms than denarii. In the A. V. of St. Matthew the prophecy as to the 'thirty pieces of silver' is ascribed to Jeremiah. It has been thought to have been quoted from memory and inaccurately (Alford, *in loc.*); but it is to be remarked, that the Syriac version omits the proper name, and merely says, 'the prophet,' hence a copyist might have inserted the wrong name. (B) The second passage where the word ἀργύριον occurs is in the Acts (xix. 19), where the price of the conjuring books that were burnt is valued at 'fifty thousand pieces of silver.' The Vulgate has accurately rendered the phrase by *denarii*, as there is no doubt that these pieces are intended.

The word ἀργύριον in the N. T. has been in many other cases translated in the A. V. 'money' (Matt. xxv. 18, 27; xxviii. 12, 15; Mark xiv. 11; Luke ix. 3; xix. 23; xxii. 5; Acts iii. 6; vii. 16; viii. 20; xix. 19; xx. 33; 1 Pet. i. 18), though for the same English word the Greek χαλκοῦς (Mark vi. 8; xii. 41) and χρῆμα (Acts iv. 37; viii. 18, 20; xxiv. 26) also occur [MONEY].—F. W. M.

PIGEON. [YONEH; TOR.]

PI-HAHIROTH (פִּי הַחִירֹת), a place near the northern end of the Gulf of Suez, east of Baalzephon (Exod. xiv. 2, 9; Num. xxxiii. 7). The Hebrew signification of the words would be equivalent to 'mouth of the caverns,' but it is doubtless an Egyptian name, and as such would signify a 'place where grass or sedge grows.' Jablonsky, *Opusc.*, i. 447; ii. 159, comp. Gesen., *Thesaur.*, s. v. [EXODUS.]

PILATE, PONTIUS, was the sixth Roman Procurator of Judæa (Matt. xxvii. 2; Mark xv. 1; Luke iii. 1; John xviii. xix.), under whom our Lord taught, suffered, and died (Acts iii. 13; iv. 27; xiii. 28; 1 Tim. vi. 13; Tacit. *Annal.* xv. 44). The testimony of Tacitus on this point is no less clear than it is important; for it fixes beyond a doubt the time when the foundations of our religion were laid. The words of the great historian are: Auctor nominis ejus Christus, Tiberio imperitante, per Procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus est—'The author of that name (Christian) or sect was Christ, who was capitally punished in the reign of Tiberius by Pontius Pilate.'



Pilate was the successor of Valerius Gratus, and governed Judæa, as we have seen, in the reign of Tiberius. He held his office for a period of ten years. The agreement on this point between the accounts in the N. T. and those supplied by Josephus is entire and satisfactory. It has been exhibited in detail by the learned, accurate, and candid Lardner (vol. i. 150-389, Lond. 1827).

Pilate's conduct in his office was in many respects highly culpable. Josephus has recorded two instances in which Pilate acted very tyrannically (*Antiq.* xviii. 3. 1; comp. *De Bell. Jud.* ii. 9. 2, *seq.*) in regard to the Jews. 'But now Pilate, the Procurator of Judæa, removed the army from Cæsarea to Jerusalem, to take their winter quarters there, in order to abolish the Jewish laws. So he introduced Cæsar's effigies, which were upon the ensigns, and brought them into the city; whereas our law forbids us the very making of images; on which account the former procurators were wont to make their entry into the city with such ensigns as had not those ornaments. Pilate was the first who brought those images to Jerusalem, and set them up there: which was done without the knowledge of the people, because it was done in the night-time; but, as soon as they knew it, they came in multitudes to Cæsarea, and interceded with Pilate many days, that he would remove the images; and when he would not grant their requests, because this would tend to the injury of Cæsar, while they yet persevered in their request, on the sixth day he ordered his soldiers to have their weapons privately, while he came and sat upon his judgment-seat; which seat was so prepared in the open place of the city, that it concealed the army that lay ready to oppress them: and when the Jews petitioned him again, he gave a signal to the soldiers to encompass them round, and threatened that their punishment should be no less than immediate death, unless they would leave off disturbing him, and go their ways home. But they threw themselves on the ground, and laid their necks bare, and said they would take their death very willingly, rather than the wisdom of their laws should be transgressed; upon which Pilate was deeply affected with their resolution to keep their laws inviolable, and presently commanded the images to be carried back from Jerusalem to Cæsarea.'

'But Pilate undertook to bring a current of water to Jerusalem, and did it with the sacred money, and derived the origin of the stream from a distance of 200 furlongs. However, the Jews were not pleased with what had been done about this water; and many ten thousands of the people got together, and made a clamour against him, and insisted that he should leave off that design. Some of them also used reproaches, and abused the man, as crowds of such people usually do. So he habited a great number of his soldiers in their habit, who carried daggers under their garments, and sent them to a place where they might surround them. He bid the Jews himself go away; but they boldly casting reproaches upon him, he gave the soldiers that signal which had been beforehand agreed on, who laid upon them much greater blows than Pilate had commanded them, and equally punished those that were tumultuous and those that were not; nor did they spare them in the least; and since the people were unarmed, and were caught by men prepared for what they were about, there were a great number of them

slain by this means, and others of them ran away wounded. And thus an end was put to this sedition.'

'We have,' says Lardner, 'another attempt of Pilate's of the same nature, mentioned in the letter which Agrippa the elder sent to Caligula, as this letter is given us by Philo. In some particulars it has a great resemblance with the story Josephus has told of Pilate's bringing the ensigns into Jerusalem, and in others it is very different from it; which has given occasion to some learned men to suppose that Philo has been mistaken. For my own part, as I make no doubt but Josephus's account of the ensigns is true, so I think that Philo may also be relied on for the truth of a fact he has mentioned, as happening in his own time in Judæa, and, consequently, I judge them to be two different facts.'

Agrippa, reckoning up to Caligula the several favours conferred on the Jews by the imperial family, says: 'Pilate was Procurator of Judæa. He, not so much out of respect to Tiberius as a malicious intention to vex the people, dedicates gilt shields, and places them in Herod's palace within the holy city. There was no figure upon them, nor anything else which is forbidden, except an inscription, which expressed these two things—the name of the person who dedicated them, and of him to whom they were dedicated. When the people perceived what had been done, they desired that this innovation of the shields might be rectified; that their ancient customs, which had been preserved through so many ages, and had hitherto been untouched by kings and emperors, might not now be violated. He refused their demands with roughness, such was his temper, fierce and untractable. They then cried out, Do not you raise a sedition yourself? do not you disturb the peace by your illegal practices? It is not Tiberius's pleasure that any of our laws should be broken in upon. If you have received any edict or letter from the emperor to this purpose, produce it, that we may leave you, and depute an embassy to him, and entreat him to revoke his orders. This put him out of all temper; for he was afraid that if they should send an embassy they might discover the many mal-administrations of his government, his extortions, his unjust decrees, his inhuman cruelties. This reduced him to the utmost perplexity. On the one hand, he was afraid to remove things that had been once dedicated, and was also unwilling to do a favour to men that were his subjects; and, on the other hand, he knew very well the inflexible severity of Tiberius. The chief men of the nation observing this, and perceiving that he repented of what he had done, though he endeavoured to conceal it, wrote a most humble and submissive letter to Tiberius. It is needless to say how he was provoked when he read the account of Pilate's speeches and threatenings, the event showing it sufficiently. For he soon sent a letter to Pilate, reprimanding him for so audacious a proceeding; requiring, also, that the shields should be removed. And, accordingly, they were carried from the metropolis to Cæsarea by the sea-side, called Sebaste, from your great-grandfather, that they might be placed in the temple there consecrated to him, and there they were repositied.'

To the Samaritans, also, Pilate conducted himself unjustly and cruelly. His own misconduct led



the Samaritans to take a step which in itself does not appear seditious or revolutionary, when Pilate seized the opportunity to slay many of the people, not only in the fight which ensued, but also in cold blood after they had given themselves up. 'But when this tumult was appeased, the Samaritan senate sent an embassy to Vitellius, now president of Syria, and accused Pilate of the murder of those who had been slain. So Vitellius sent Marcellus, a friend of his, to take care of the affairs of Judæa, and ordered Pilate to go to Rome to answer before the emperor to the accusations of the Jews. Pilate, when he had tarried ten years in Judæa, made haste to Rome, and this in obedience to the orders of Vitellius, which he durst not contradict; but, before he could get to Rome, Tiberius was dead' (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 4. 2). This removal took place before the Passover in A.D. 36, probably about September or October A.D. 35; Pilate must, therefore, as he spent ten years in Judæa, have entered on his government about October A.D. 25, or at least before the Passover A.D. 26, in the twelfth year of Tiberius's sole empire (compare Lardner, i. 391, *seq.*; Winer, *Real-wörterb.*)

To be put out of his government by Vitellius, on the complaints of the people of his province, must have been a very grievous mortification to Pilate; and though the emperor was dead before he reached Rome, he did not long enjoy such impunity as guilt permits; for, as Eusebius (*Chron.*, p. 78) states, he shortly afterwards made away with himself out of vexation for his many misfortunes (ποικίλαις περιπέσων συμφοραῖς).

It is a matter of considerable importance in regard to the exposition of the N. T., to define accurately what relation the Jews stood in during the ministry of Christ in particular to their Roman masters. Lardner has discussed the question with a learning and ability which have exhausted the subject, and he concludes that the Jews, while they retained for the most part their laws and customs, both civil and religious, untouched, did not possess the power of life and death, which was in the hands of the Roman governor, and was specifically held by Pilate. Pilate, indeed, bore the title of procurator, and the procurator, as being a fiscal officer, had not generally the power of life and death. 'But,' says Lardner (i. comp. pp. 83-164), 'Pilate, though he had the title of procurator, had the power of a president. The evangelists usually give Pilate, Felix, and Festus the title of governor, a general word, and very proper, according to the usage of the best writers, and of Josephus in particular, in many places.' According to the evangelists, the Jewish council having, as they pretended, convicted Jesus of blasphemy, and judged him guilty of death, led him away to Pilate, and seem to have expected that he should confirm their sentence, and sign an order that Jesus should be punished accordingly. Indeed, the accounts found in the Gospels and in other authorities, touching the civil condition of the Jews at this time, are in strict agreement. We proceed to mention another instance of accordance, which is still more forcible, as being on a very minute point.

From Matt. xxvii. 19, it appears that Pilate had his wife (named probably Procla, or Claudia Procula) with him. A partial knowledge of Roman history might lead the reader to question the his-

toric credibility of Matthew in this particular. In the earlier periods, and, indeed, so long as the Commonwealth subsisted, it was very unusual for the governors of provinces to take their wives with them (Senec. *De Controv.* 25), and in the strict regulations which Augustus introduced he did not allow the favour, except in peculiar and specified circumstances (Sueton. *Aug.* 24). The practice, however, grew to be more and more prevalent, and was (says Winer, *Real-wört.* in 'Pilate') customary in Pilate's time. It is evident from Tacitus, that at the time of the death of Augustus, Germanicus had his wife Agrippina with him in Germany (*Annal.*, i. 40, 41; comp. iii. 33-59, Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 10. 1; Ulpian, iv. 2). Indeed, in the beginning of the reign of Tiberius, Germanicus took his wife with him into the East. Piso, the prefect of Syria, took his wife also along with him at the same time (Tacit., *Annal.*, ii. 54, 55). 'But,' says Lardner (i. 145), 'nothing can render this (the practice in question) more apparent than a motion made in the Roman Senate by Severus Cæcina, in the fourth consulship of Tiberius, and second of Drusus Cæsar (A.D. 21), that no magistrate to whom any province was assigned should be accompanied by his wife, except the Senate's rejecting it, and that with some indignation' (Tacit., *Annal.*, iii. 33, 34). The fact mentioned incidentally, or rather implied, in Matthew, being thus confirmed by full and unquestionable evidence, cannot fail to serve as a corroboration of the evangelical history.

Owing to the atrocity of the deed in which Pilate took a principal part, and to the wounded feelings of piety with which that deed has been naturally regarded by Christians, a very dark idea has been formed of the character of this Roman governor. That character was undoubtedly bad; but moral depravity has its degrees, and the cause of religion is too sacred to admit any spurious aid from exaggeration. It is therefore desirable to form a just conception of the character of Pilate, and to learn specifically what were the vices under which he laboured. For this purpose a brief outline of the evangelical account seems necessary. The narratives on which the following statement is founded may be found in John xviii. xix.; Matt. xxvii.; Mark xv.; Luke xxiii.

Jesus, having been betrayed, apprehended, and found guilty of blasphemy by the Jewish Sanhedrim, is delivered to Pilate in order to undergo the punishment of death, according to the law in that case provided. This tradition of Jesus to Pilate was rendered necessary by the fact that the Jews did not at that time possess on their own authority the power of life and death. Pilate could not have been ignorant of Jesus and his pretensions. He might, had he chosen, have immediately ordered Jesus to be executed, for he had been tried and condemned to death by the laws of the land; but he had an alternative. As the execution of the laws, in the case at least of capital punishments, was in the hands of the Roman procurator, so, without any violent straining, might his tribunal be converted into a court of appeal in the last instance. At any rate, remonstrance against an unjust verdict was easy and proper on the part of a high officer, who, as having to inflict the punishment, was in a measure responsible for its character. And remonstrance might easily lead to a revision of the grounds on

which the verdict had been given, and thus a cause might virtually be brought, *de novo*, before the procurator: this took place in the case of our Lord. Pilate gave him the benefit of a new trial, and pronounced him innocent.

This review of the case was the alternative that lay before Pilate, the adoption of which speaks undoubtedly in his favour, and may justify us in declaring that his guilt was not of the deepest dye.

That the conduct of Pilate was, however, highly criminal, cannot be denied. But his guilt was light in comparison of the criminal depravity of the Jews, especially the priests. His was the guilt of weakness and fear, theirs the guilt of settled and deliberate malice. His state of mind prompted him to attempt the release of an accused person in opposition to the clamours of a misguided mob; theirs urged them to compass the ruin of an acquitted person by instigating the populace, calumniating the prisoner, and terrifying the judge. If Pilate yielded against his judgment under the fear of personal danger, and so took part in an act of unparalleled injustice, the priests and their ready tools originated the false accusation, sustained it by subornation of perjury, and when it was declared invalid, enforced their own unfounded sentence by appealing to the lowest passions. Pilate, it is clear, was utterly destitute of principle. He was willing, indeed, to do right, if he could do right without personal disadvantage. Of gratuitous wickedness he was perhaps incapable; certainly, in the condemnation of Jesus, he has the merit of being for a time on the side of innocence. But he yielded to violence, and so committed an awful crime. In his hands was the life of the prisoner. Convinced of his innocence, he ought to have set him at liberty, thus doing right regardless of consequences. But this is an act of high virtue which we hardly require at the hands of a Roman governor of Judea; and though Pilate must bear the reproach of acting contrary to his own declared convictions, yet he may equally claim some credit for the apparently sincere efforts which he made in order to defeat the malice of the Jews, and procure the liberation of Jesus.

If now we wish to form a judgment of Pilate's character, we easily see that he was one of that large class of men who aspire to public offices, not from a pure and lofty desire of benefiting the public and advancing the good of the world, but from selfish and personal considerations, from a love of distinction, from a love of power, from a love of self-indulgence; being destitute of any fixed principles, and having no aim but office and influence, they act right only by chance and when convenient, and are wholly incapable of pursuing a consistent course, or of acting with firmness and self-denial in cases in which the preservation of integrity requires the exercise of these qualities. Pilate was obviously a man of weak, and therefore, with his temptations, of corrupt character. The view given in the *Apostolical Constitutions* (v. 14) where unmanliness (*ἀνδρεία*) is ascribed to him, we take to be correct. This want of strength will readily account for his failing to rescue Jesus from the rage of his enemies, and also for the acts of injustice and cruelty which he practised in his government—acts which, considered in themselves, wear a deeper dye than does the conduct which he observed in surrendering Jesus

to the malice of the Jews. And this same weakness may serve to explain to the reader how much influence would be exerted on this unjust judge, not only by the stern bigotry and persecuting wrath of the Jewish priesthood, but specially by the not concealed intimations which they threw out against Pilate, that if he liberated Jesus he was no friend of Tiberius, and must expect to have to give an account of his conduct at Rome. And that this was no idle threat, nothing beyond the limits of probability, Pilate's subsequent deposition by Vitellius shows very plainly; nor could the procurator have been ignorant either of the stern determination of the Jewish character, or of the offence he had by his acts given to the heads of the nation, or of the insecurity, at that very hour, when the contest between him and the priests was proceeding regarding the innocent victim whom they lusted to destroy, of his own position in the office which he held, and which, of course, he desired to retain. On the whole, then, viewing the entire conduct of Pilate, his previous iniquities as well as his bearing on the condemnation of Jesus; viewing his own actual position and the malignity of the Jews; we cannot, we confess, give our vote with those who have passed the severest condemnation on this weak and guilty governor.

That Pilate made an official report to Tiberius of the condemnation and punishment of Jesus Christ is likely in itself, and becomes the more likely if the view we have given of Pilate's character is substantially correct, for then the governor did not regard the case of Jesus as an ordinary, and therefore inconsiderable one, but must have felt its importance alike in connection with the administration of justice, the civil and religious character of the Jews, and therefore with the tenure of the Roman power. The voice of antiquity intimates that Pilate did make such a report; the words of Justin Martyr are: 'That these things were so done you may know from the *Acts* made in the time of Pontius Pilate' (*Apol.* i. 76). A similar passage is found a little further on in the same work. Now, when it is considered that Justin's *Apology* was a set defence of Christianity, in the shape of an appeal to the heathen world through the persons of its highest functionaries, it must seem very unlikely that the words would have been used had no such documents existed; and nearly as improbable that those *Acts* would have been referred to had they not been genuine. Tertullian also uses language equally decisive (*Apol.* v. 21). Eusebius gives a still fuller account (*Hist. Eccles.* ii. 2). These important passages may be found in Lardner (vi. 606, *seq.*). See also Ord's *Acta Pilati*, or *Pilate's Report* (vii. 4), long circulated in the early church, being received without a suspicion (Chrysost. *Hom. viii. in Pasch.*; Epiphani. *Her.* l. i.; Euseb. i. 9 and ii. 9, 5, and 7). There can be little doubt that the documents were genuine (Hencke, *Opusc. Acad.*, p. 201, *seq.*). Such is the opinion of Winer (*Real-wörterb.*) Lardner, who has fully discussed the subject, decides, that 'it must be allowed by all that Pontius Pilate composed some memoirs concerning our Saviour, and sent them to the emperor' (vi. 610). Winer adds, 'What we now have in Greek under this title (*Pilate's Report*), see Fabricii *Apocr.*, i. 237, 239; iii. 456, as well as the two letters of Pilate to Tiberius,



are fabrications of a later age.' So Lardner: 'The Acts of Pontius Pilate, and his letter to Tiberius, which we now have, are not genuine, but manifestly spurious.' We have not space here to review the arguments which have been adduced in favour of and against these documents; but we must add, that we attach some importance to them, thinking it by no means unlikely that, if they are fabrications, they are fabricated in some keeping with the genuine pieces, which were in some way lost, and the loss of which the composers of our actual pieces sought as well as they could to repair. If this view can be sustained, then the documents we have may serve to help us, in the use of discretion, to the substance of the original Acts. At all events, it seems certain that an official report was made by Pilate; and thus we gain another proof that 'these things were not done in a corner.' Those who wish to enter into this subject should first consult Lardner (*ut supra*), and the valuable references he gives. See also J. G. Altman, *De Epist. Pil. ad Tiber.*, Bern. 1755; Van Dale, *De Orac.*, p. 609, *seq.*; Schmidt, *Einkleitung ins N. T.*, ii. 249, *seq.* Of especial value is Hermansson, *De Pontio Pilat.*, Upsal 1624; also Burger, *De Pontio Pilat.*, Misen. 1782.

On the general subject of this article, the reader may refer to Germar, *Docteur ad loca P. Pilati facinora, cat.*, Thorun 1785; J. M. Müller, *De P. Christum servandi Studio*, Hamb. 1751; Niemeyer, *Charakt.*, i. 129, *seq.*; Paulus, *Comment.*, iii. 697, *seq.*; Lücke, *On John XIX.*; Götter, *De Conjugis Pilati Somnio*, Jen. 1704; Kluge, *De Somnio Uxoris Pilati*, Hal. 1720; Herbart, *Examen Somnii Ux. Pil.*, Oldenb. 1735; Schuster's *Urtheil üb. Pilatus*, in Eichhorn's *Biblioth. d. Bibl. Liter.*, x. 823, *seq.*; Olshausen, *Comment.*, ii. 453, *seq.*; Mounier, *De Pilati in Causa Servat. agendi ratione*, 1825. Hase, in his *Leben Jesu*, p. 245, affords valuable literary references on this, as on so many other N. T. subjects.—J. R. B.

**PILLAR.** Pillars are mentioned in Scripture as used

1. *For monuments.*—Thus Jacob set up the stone on which he had rested his head at Bethel for a pillar (מַצֵּבָה, Gen. xxviii. 18); he erected a pillar as a memorial of the agreement between Laban and him (xxx. 46, 51, 52); and he raised one as a memorial of God's appearing and promise to him (xxxv. 14). He erected a mortuary pillar also over Rachel's grave (xxxv. 20). To the class of monumental pillars are to be referred the twelve stones raised by Moses at Sinai (Exod. xxiv. 4) and the stones set up by Joshua to commemorate the crossing of Jordan by the Israelites (Josh. iv. 8, 9). Absalom's pillar was an erection of a more elaborate kind, but belonging to the same class (2 Sam. xviii. 18). [ABSALOM'S TOMB; HAND.]

2. *In building.*—Thus Moses was commanded to spread the veil of the tabernacle on four pillars (עַמֻּדִים) of shittim wood; and the flat roofs of the houses were often supported by pillars (Judg. xvi. 25; 1 Kings vii. 2, 6). Pillars were also set up at doorways (1 Kings vii. 21).

3. *As objects of idolatrous worship* (Deut. xii. 3); and in several other places where the A. V. has *image* or *statue*, as Exod. xxxiii. 24; Lev. xxvi. 1; Deut. vii. 5; xvi. 22, etc. Originally the idol was

but a block of wood or stone; subsequently it was shaped into a figure and adorned with carving and ornaments.

4. *Figuratively or symbolically.*—So the presence of God as the guide and strength of Israel during their march through the desert was represented by the pillar of cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night (Exod. xxxiii. 9, 10; Neh. ix. 12; Ps. xcix. 7). A pillar is the emblem of firmness and steadfastness (Jer. i. 18; Rev. iii. 12); and of that which sustains or supports (Gal. ii. 9; 1 Tim. iii. 15).—W. L. A.

**PILLAR, PLAIN OF.** [PLAINS.]

**PINE TREE.** [OREN; TIDHAR.]

**PINNACLE.** In the account of our Lord's temptation (Matt. iv. 5), it is stated that the devil took him to Jerusalem, 'and set him on a pinnacle of the temple' (ἐπὶ τὸ πτερύγιον τοῦ ἱεροῦ). The part of the temple denoted by this term has been much questioned by different commentators, and the only certain conclusion seems to be that it cannot be understood in the sense usually attached to the word (*i. e.*, the point of a spiral ornament), as in that case the article would not have been prefixed. Grotius, Hammond, Doddridge, and others, take it in the sense of balustrade or pinnacled battlement. But it is now more generally supposed to denote what was called the king's portico, which is mentioned by Josephus (*Antiq.* xv. 11. 5), and is the same which is called in Scripture 'Solomon's porch.' Of this opinion are Wetstein, Kuinoel, Parkhurst, Rosenmüller, and others [TEMPLE]. Krebs, Schleusner, and some others, however, fancy that the word signifies the ridge of the roof of the temple; and Josephus (*Antiq.* xv. 11. 5) is cited in proof of this notion. But we know that iron spikes were fixed all over the roof of the temple to prevent the holy edifice from being defiled by birds; and the presence of these spikes creates an objection, although the difficulty is perhaps not insuperable, as we are told that the priests sometimes went to the top of the temple (*Middoth.*, ch. 4; *T. Bab. tit. Taanith.*, fol. 29). Dr. Bloomfield asks: 'May it not have been a lofty spiral turret, placed somewhere about the centre of the building, like the spire in some cathedrals, to the topmost look-out of which the devil might take Jesus?' (*Recons. Synopt.* in Matt. iv. 5). We answer, No: steeples do not belong to ancient or to Oriental architecture, and it is somewhat hazardous to provide one for the sole purpose of meeting the supposed occasion of this text.

Lightfoot, whose opinion on this point is entitled to much respect, declares his inability to judge whether the part denoted should be considered as belonging to the holy fabric itself, or to some building within the holy circuit. If the former, he can find no place so fitting as the top of the אֹרֶן, or porch of the temple; but if the latter, the royal porch or gallery (στοά βασιλική) is the part he would prefer. He adds, that above all other parts of the temple, the porch thereof, and indeed the whole pronaos, might not unfitly be called τὸ πτερύγιον τοῦ ἱεροῦ, the wing (for that is the literal meaning) of the temple, 'because, like wings, it extended itself in breadth on each side far beyond the breadth of the temple. If, therefore, the devil had placed Christ on the very precipice of this part

of the temple, he may well be said to have placed him 'upon the wing of the temple;' both because this part was like a wing to the temple itself, and because that precipice was the wing of this part' (*Hor. Hebr.* ad Matt. iv. 5). With regard to the other alternative, it is only necessary to cite the description of Josephus to show that the situation was at least not inappropriate to Satan's object: 'On the south part (of the court of the Gentiles) was the *στοὰ βασιλική*, 'the royal gallery,' that may be mentioned among the most magnificent things under the sun; for above the profoundest depth of the valley, Herod constructed a gallery of a vast height, from the top of which if any one looked down, *σκοτοδυνάειν οὐκ ἐξικουμένης τῆς ὄψεως εἰς ἀμέτρητον τὸν βυθόν*, 'he would become dizzy, his eyes being unable to reach so vast a depth.'—J. K.

PINON (פִּינֹן), one of the dukes of Edom. The *Onomasticon* places the site of the tribe descended from him at Punon. [PUNON.]

PIPE. [MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.]

PIRATHON, PIRATHONITE (פִּרְעָתוֹן, פִּרְעָתוֹנִי; *Φαραθών*; Alex. *Φαραθών*: and *Φαραθωνίτης*; Alex. *Φαραθωνίτης*; *Pharathon*, and *Pharathonites*). We read in the book of Judges that 'Abdon the son of Hillel, a *Pirathonite*, judged Israel. . . and was buried in *Pirathon*, in the land of Ephraim, in the mount of the Amalekites' (xii. 13, 15). The city is not again mentioned in the Bible; but among David's mighty men was 'Benaiah the *Pirathonite*, of the children of Ephraim' (1 Chron. xxvii. 14; xi. 31; 2 Sam. xxiii. 30). The city of Pirathon was therefore situated in the territory of Ephraim, and among the mountains, apparently where a colony of the wandering Amalekites had settled. Jerome mentions it (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Fraaton*), but does not appear to have known anything of it. About six miles W. S. W. of Nābulus, upon the summit of a tell among low hills, stands the little village of *Fer'ata*, which is doubtless identical with the ancient Pirathon (Robinson, *Bib. Res.*, iii. 134; *Benj. of Tud.*, by Asher, ii. p. 486).

Josephus mentions a *Pharathon* (*Φαραθών*), grouping it between Timnah and Tecoa (*Antiq.* xiii. 1. 3); and the same name occurs in 1 Maccab. ix. 50 (*Φαραθωνί*); but it could scarcely have been identical with the Pirathon of Ephraim, though the names are the same. This city was probably situated somewhere in the wilderness of Judah; but the site has not been discovered.—J. L. P.

PISCATOR (FISCHER), JOHN. A learned divine and voluminous writer of the Reformed Church, born at Strasburg, March 27, 1546. Losing his father when five years old, his mother wished him to follow some handicraft trade, but the Pastor Thomas seeing his desire for study, took him into his house to teach his children. He afterwards studied at the universities of Strasburg and Tübingen, and became lecturer in the former in the room of Marbach. His adherence to the Reformed faith caused his dismissal, and he left Strasburg and became successively professor of philosophy at Heidelberg 1574-77, of theology at Neustadt 1578, and co-rector at the newly-founded university of Herborn. This foundation owed its reputation and success to the ability of his teach-

ing; and he maintained its reputation as a school of theology till his death, July 26, 1626. The tone of his theology was moderately Calvinistic.

His chief Biblical works were—(1.) *A new German Translation of the Bible*, Herborn 1602-4. The translation followed that of Tremellius and Junius almost servilely. Arguments were prefixed to the chapters, and annotations appended, which provoked the attacks of the opponents of the Reformed opinions. This went through many editions. To that of 1610 an appendix was added, containing an index and tables of geography, history, coins, etc. (2.) *Commentaries on the whole of the O. and N. T.*, Herborn 1601, in twenty-four vols. 8vo, and subsequently in folio. These contain an analysis of every book and chapter of the Bible, doctrinal observations, the Latin version of Junius and Tremellius, and a new one of his own. This was a work of no common merit for the time, and deserves credit for its impartiality and freedom from prejudice. (3.) *Analyses logicae theologiae in plerosque S. Cod. libros*, fol.—E. V.

PISGAH (הַפִּסְגָּה, 'a section,' from פָּסַג = פָּסַק, 'to divide,' and hence it may mean 'an isolated hill or peak.' The rendering of the LXX. is not uniform. In Deut. iii. 17; xxxiv. 1; Josh. xii. 3; xiii. 20, it is *Φαργά*; but in Num. xxi. 20; xxiii. 14, and Deut. iii. 27, the phrase *רֹאשׁ הַפִּסְגָּה* is rendered *κορυφή τοῦ λελαξευμένου*, which is a translation of the Hebrew, *vertex excisi montis*. The Vulgate has everywhere *Phasga*—the name of a mountain in Moab. Its situation is minutely described by the sacred writers. It is first mentioned in connection with the approach of the Israelites to Palestine. They marched 'from Ramoth in the valley that is in the country of Moab, to the top of *Pisgah which looketh toward Jeshimon*' (Num. xxi. 20). *Pisgah* was thus on the plateau of Moab, and commanded a view of the eastern desert [JESHIMON]. Another passage (xxiii. 13, 14) proves that it commanded a view of the Israelitish camp in the valley on the east bank of the Jordan; and from other incidental notices we learn that it was opposite to and in sight of (עַל פְּנֵי) Jericho (Deut. xxxiv. 1), and overhanging the north-eastern angle of the Dead Sea (iv. 49; Josh. xii. 3).

The names Abarim, Nebo, and Pisgah are connected in such a way by the sacred writers as to create some difficulty to the geographer. In Deut. xxxii. 49 the Lord commands Moses, 'Get thee up into this mountain *Abarim*, *Mount Nebo*,' etc.; and in chap. xxxiv. 1 we read that Moses, obeying, 'went up from the plains of Moab, unto the mountain of *Nebo*, the top of *Pisgah*' (אֶל-הָרֵךְ נֶבֹו, רֹאשׁ הַפִּסְגָּה). From these passages we may infer: (1.) That *Abarim* was the name of a range or group of mountains; (2.) That *Nebo* was one of its peaks; and (3.) That the name *Pisgah* was either equivalent to *Abarim*, or that it is (as represented in some passages in the LXX., and in the margin of the A. V.) a common noun, signifying 'an isolated hill or peak.' If the latter view be taken, then Deut. xxxiv. 1 may be rendered, '*Moses went up to Mount Nebo, to the top of the hill.*' The construction rather favours the view that *Pisgah*, like *Abarim*, was the name of the range, and that *Nebo* was one of its peaks. Upon *Pisgah* Balaam built altars and offered sacrifices, so that it was probably one of the ancient 'high-places' of Moab (Num.



xxiii. 14). From its summit Moses obtained his panoramic view of the Holy Land, and there he died (Deut. xxxiv. 1-5). Beneath the mountains were celebrated 'springs' or 'torrents' (אֵי־שָׁרָה), which are several times mentioned in defining the boundaries of Reuben, as *Ashdath-Pisgah* (Deut. iii. 17; iv. 49 in the Hebrew; Josh. xii. 3; xiii. 20; see *ASHDOTH-PISGAH*). Eusebius and Jerome state that the name Pisgah was still, in their day, applied to a region around Mount Nebo (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Abarim*; Reland, *Pal.*, pp. 496, 497). The name has now disappeared, and the name of the headland, *Ras el-Feshkkeh*, on the western side of the Dead Sea, appears to be only an accidental resemblance. (See, however, De Saulcy, *Voyage*, ii. 60.) For the site of Pisgah, see *NEBO* and *ABARIM*.—J. L. P.

**PISHTAH** (פִּשְׁתָּה) no doubt refers to the flax plant, if we may judge from the context of the passages in which it occurs. Thus, in Exod. ix. 31, in the plague of the hail-storm, it is related: 'And the flax (*pishtah*) and the barley was smitten: for the barley was in the ear, and the flax was balled,' or in blossom, according to Gesenius. As the departure of the Israelites took place in the spring, this passage has reference no doubt to the practice adopted in Egypt, as well as in India, of sowing these grains partly in the months of September and October, and partly in spring, so that the wheat might easily be in blade at the same time that the barley and flax were more advanced.



436. Flax.

From the numerous references to flax and linen, there is no doubt that the plant was extensively cultivated, not only in Egypt, but also in Palestine. As to Egypt we have proof in the mummy cloth being made of linen, and also in the representations of the flax cultivation in the paintings of the Grotto of El Kab, which represent the whole process with the utmost clearness; and numerous testimonies might be adduced from ancient authors of the esteem in which the linen of Egypt was held. Flax continues to be extensively cultivated in the present day. That it was also much cultivated in

Palestine, and well known to the Hebrews, we have proofs in the number of times it is mentioned; as in Josh. ii. 6, where Rahab is described as concealing the two Hebrew spies with the stalks of flax which she had laid in order upon the roof. In several passages, as Lev. xiii. 47, 48, 52, 59; Deut. xxii. 11; Jer. xiii. 1; Ezek. xl. 3; xlv. 17, 18, we find it mentioned as forming different articles of clothing, as girdles, cords, and bands. In Prov. xxxi. 13, the careful housewife seeketh 'wool and flax, and worketh it willingly with her hands.' The words of Isaiah (xlii. 3), 'A bruised reed shall he not break, and the smoking flax shall he not quench,' are evidently referred to in Matt. xii. 20, where *λινον* is used as the name of flax, and as the equivalent of *pishtah*. But there can be no doubt of this word being correctly understood, as it has been well investigated by several authors (Cels. *Hierobot.* ii. p. 283; Yates, *Textrinum Antiquorum*, p. 253).—J. F. R.

**PISIDIA** (Πισιδία), a province of Asia Minor, bounded on the north by Phrygia, on the west by Caria and Lycia, on the south by Pamphylia, and on the east by Cilicia and Isauria (Strabo, xii., p. 569; Ptol. v. 5). It was a mountainous region; but high up among the peaks of Taurus were some fertile valleys and little upland plains. The province was subdivided into minute sections, and held by tribes of wild and warlike highlanders, who were the terror of the whole surrounding country (Strabo, l. c.; Xen. *Anab.* i. 1, 11; ii. 5, 13). It was probably among the defiles of Pisidia that the apostle Paul experienced some of those 'perils of robbers,' of which he speaks in 2 Cor. xi. 26; and perhaps fear of the bandits that inhabited them had something to do with John's abrupt departure from Paul and Barnabas just as they were about to enter Pisidia (Acts xiii. 13, 14). The Pisidian tribes had rulers of their own, and they maintained their independence, in spite of the repeated attacks of more powerful neighbours, and of the conquests of the Greeks, and even of the Romans. The latter were content to receive from them a scanty tribute, allowing them to remain undisturbed amid their mountain fastnesses.

The scenery of Pisidia is wild and grand. The mountains are mostly limestone, and are partially clothed with forests of oak, pine, and juniper. The lower slopes are here and there planted with olives, vines, and pomegranates. Many of the ravines are singularly grand—bare cliffs rising up a thousand feet and more on each side of the bed of a foaming torrent. In other places fountains gush forth, and streams brawl along amid thickets of oleander. The passes from the sea-coast to the interior are difficult, and have always been dangerous (Arundell, *Asia Minor*, ii.; Sir C. Fellows, *Asia Minor*; Spratt, *Travels in Lycia*; see also full extracts in Conybeare and Howson, *Life of St. Paul*, i. pp. 176, seq., and article *ANTIOCH* of Pisidia).

St. Paul paid two visits to Pisidia. In company with Barnabas he entered it from Pamphylia on the south, and crossed over the mountains to Antioch, which lay near the northern border (Acts xiii. 14). Their mission was successful; but the enemies of the truth soon caused them to be expelled from the province (ver. 50). After an adventurous journey through Lycaonia and Isauria, they again returned through Pisidia to Pamphylia, apparently by the same route (xiv. 21-24).—J. L. P.

PIT is the English rendering of at least four distinct Hebrew words—a fact which may account for its repeated and various use in the Bible.

1. Of these בֹּר (root בָּאָר, cognate בִּאָר, *beer*, a well) occurs most frequently, and means a deep hole or pit, dug in the first instance for a well, but which, becoming dry or miry, was used apparently for three purposes:—(1.) As a place of sepulture (Ps. xxviii. 1; xxx. 4; Is. xxxviii. 18), hence יוֹרְדֵי-בֹר, 'they that go down to the pit'—a phrase of frequent occurrence, employed sometimes to denote dying without hope; but commonly, a simple going down to the place of the dead (see Gesen. *Lex.*, s. v.); also, 'the graves set in the sides of the pit' (Exod. xxxii. 23), the recesses cut out for purposes of burial; or they might be the natural fissures in the rocks, abounding in all limestone formations, of which the rocks of Syria and Palestine chiefly consist. (2.) A prison: 'they shall be gathered as prisoners are gathered in the pit, and shall be shut up' (Is. xxiv. 22; also Jer. xxxvii. 16; Exod. xii. 29). The pit or dungeon was a common place of punishment in the East, and very dreadful it was, as the case of Jeremiah illustrates (Jer. xxxviii. 4, 9). To be doomed to the pit was often to be left to a slow death by starvation; and to be saved from such a doom was regarded as the greatest of all deliverances. Hence it was used (3) as a place of destruction (Zech. ix. 11). In the case of Joseph, Reuben suggested the pit as a device for saving his brother; the others hostile to Joseph adopted it as the most secret, and, they might think, the least guilty method of making away with him (Gen. xxxvii. 22-29).

2. שָׁחַת (root שָׁחַת, to sink down, to be sunk into mire), literally a pit made by digging into the earth. *Shachath* was the kind of pit used as a snare. Covered over with the branches of a tree, or matting slight and deceptive, the pit was made to serve as a snare to entrap both animals and men. Used figuratively, it signified the sudden and confused overthrow of evil men, and also their utter and final destruction (Job xxx. 18, 24).

3. נִבְּאָה (from an unused root נָבָא, to gather together), a fountain or cistern properly, but rendered pit in Is. xxx. 14. [CISTERN.]

4. שְׂאֵל, rendered pit, Num. xvi. 30, 33; Job xvii. 16, and used to signify the shadowy dwelling-place of disembodied spirits, is fully explained under HELL. נִבְּיָן is rendered pit in Eccles. x. 18, but occurs nowhere else. 'The bottomless pit' (τὸ φέαρ τῆς ἀβύσσου), repeatedly mentioned in the book of Revelation, is the place of Satan's punishment. It is a prison or dungeon having a key. The time is foretold when the arch-deceiver will be bound in it with a chain (Rev. xx. 1, 2).—W. J. C.

#### PITCH. [ASPHALTUM.]

PITCHER (בֵּר, *cad*, from בָּרַר, 'to labour severely, to toil hard': pr., in the manner of smiths and other artisans; spec., to draw out of a well, to draw water' (Ges.); hence, a vessel for drawing from a well; LXX. ὕδρια; Vulg. *hydria*, *lagena*, (Ges. and Fürst. in verbo)), a vessel with one or two handles, used principally, but not exclusively, by women, for drawing and carrying water from

neighbouring wells\* (Gen. xxiv. 14, 17, 19). It was ordinarily, if not always, of earthenware, as is curiously illustrated by Gideon's successful stratagem of 'lamps' and 'empty pitchers' (Judg. vii. 16, 19). In 1 Kings xvii. 12, and xviii. 33, the Hebrew word is rendered in the A. V. 'barrel'; in the former case the vessel is made to serve for holding 'meal'; the poor widow's poverty furnishing nothing better for the purpose, and her store of provisions reduced so low as to require nothing larger. In Eccles. xii. 6 the Hebrew word is employed figuratively, —'or the pitcher be broken at the fountain,'—where 'the pitcher is the image of the individual life; the well of the general life' (Hengs.), whence the individual life is drawn. In the N. T. the 'pitcher,' *κεράμιον*, is also simply an earthen vessel (Mark xiv. 13; Luke xxii. 10), where a 'man' bears it full of water. Wordsworth makes it here the symbol of baptism preceding and leading to the holy supper!

In many parts of India women of the first quality draw water daily from the public wells; and bearing the pitcher on the shoulder instead of the head seems to be a distinction; for an intelligent native inferred, from Rebecca's so carrying it, that she was a woman of high caste (see Kitto's *Pict. Bib.*, Gen. xxiv.)—I. J.

PITDAH (פִּטְדָּה; Sept. *τοπάδιον*), a precious stone; one of those which were in the breastplate of the high-priest (Exod. xxviii. 17), and the origin of which is referred to Cush (Job xxviii. 19). It is, according to most ancient versions, the topaz (*τοπάδιον*; Joseph. *τοπάσις*), which most of the ancient Greek writers describe as being of a golden yellow colour (Strabo, xvi. p. 770; Diod. Sic. iii. 39); while Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xxxvii. 32) states its colour to be green. Relying on this last authority, several modern authors have asserted that the ancient gem thus named was no other than the modern chrysolite. But this notion has been confuted by Bellarmann (*Urim and Thummin*, p. 39), who shows that the hues ascribed by the ancients to the topaz are found in the gem to which the moderns have applied that name. This is a precious stone, having a strong glass lustre. Its prevailing colour is wine-yellow of every degree of shade. The dark shade of this colour passes over into carnation red, and sometimes, although rarely, into lilac; the pale shade of the wine-yellow passes into grayish; and from yellowish-white into greenish-white and pale green, tincal and celadon-green. It may thus be difficult to determine whether the pitdah in the high-priest's breastplate was the yellow topaz; but that it was a topaz there is little reason to doubt.

It is clear that the stone was highly prized by the Hebrews. Job declares that wisdom was more precious than the pitdah of Cush (Job xxviii. 19); and as the name Cush includes Southern Arabia, and the Arabian Gulf, the intimation coincides with the statement of Pliny and others, that the topazes known to them came from the Topaz Island in the Red Sea (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxvii. 8; comp. vi. 29; Diod. Sic. iii. 30; Strabo, xvi. p. 770), whence it was probably brought by the Phœnicians. In

\* When water was carried from a distance, leather 'bottles' were used. The 'water-pots' at the marriage of Cana were not pitchers, nor used for either drawing or carrying water.



Ezek. xxviii. 13, the *pitdah* is named among the precious stones with which the king of Tyre was decked.

It may be added that Von Bohlen seeks the origin of the Hebrew word in the Sanscrit language, in which *pita* means 'yellowish,' 'pale;' and, as Gesenius remarks, the Greek *τοπαῖον* itself might seem to come from the Hebrew *פִּטְרָה*, by transposition into *טִפְרָה* (see *Thesaurus*, p. 1101; Braunius, *De Vestitu*, p. 508; Hofmann, *Mineral.*, i. 337; Pareau, *Comment on Job*, p. 333; Ritter, *Erdrkunde*, ii. 675).—J. K.

PITHOM (פִּתּוֹם; Sept. Πειθώμ), one of the 'treasure-cities' which the Israelites built in the land of Goshen 'for Pharaoh' (Exod. i. 11) [EGYPT; GOSHEN]. The site is by general consent identified with that of the Patumos (Πάτωμος) of Herodotus (ii. 158). Speaking of the canal which connected the Nile with the Red Sea, this author says, 'The water was admitted into it from the Nile. It began a little above the city Bubastis [PI-BESETH], near the Arabian city Patumos, but it discharged itself into the Red Sea.' According to this, Patumos was situated on the east side of the Pelusiac arm of the Nile, not far from the canal which unites the Nile with the Red Sea, in the Arabian part of Egypt. The *Itinerarium* of Antoninus furnishes a further limitation. It cannot be doubted that the Thum (Θούμ) which is there mentioned is identical with Patumos and *Pithom*. The *Pi* is merely the Egyptian article. Now this Thum was twelve Roman miles distant from Heropolis, the ruins of which are found in the region of the present Abu-Keisheid. All these designations are appropriate if, with the scholars who accompanied the French expedition, we place Pithom on the site of the present Abhaseh, at the entrance of the Wady Fumilat, where there was at all times a strong military post. (Hengstenberg, *Die Bücher Moses und Aegypten*; Du Bois Ayme, in *Descript. de l'Égypte*, xi. 377; xviii. 1, 372; Champollion, *L'Égypte sous les Pharaons*, i. 172; ii. 58).—J. K.

#### PLAGUE. [PESTILENCE.]

PLAGUES OF EGYPT. [EGYPT, PLAGUES OF.]

PLAINS. There are no less than eight Hebrew words which the translators of our A. V. have represented by the English 'plain,' or its pl. 'plains.' Their rendering is not uniform. We frequently find two, three, and even more equivalents for the same Hebrew term; and, besides, some of the words are manifestly mistranslated, and some of them are proper names. This tends to create confusion, and to prevent the ordinary reader from fully understanding God's word. It is with a desire to throw light upon some obscure passages that the several Hebrew words translated 'plain' are here arranged and explained. They are taken in alphabetical order.

1. אֲבֵל, *Abel*, like the Arabic أَبِل, signifies 'moisture' and the 'verdure' produced by it, as in a meadow. Hence it came to be applied to a low green plain. It occurs frequently as a proper name in Scripture; chiefly, however, in composition, as *Abel-beth-maachah* (2 Kings xv. 29; 1 Kings xv. 20), *Abel-meholah* (Judg. vii. 22), *Abel-maim* (2

Chron. xvi. 4), *Abel-shittim* (Num. xxxiii. 49); also alone, as in 2 Sam. xx. 14, 18. [ABEL.] In 1 Sam. vi. 18 the A. V. reads 'unto the great

stone of Abel;' but the Hebrew is אֶבֶן הַגְּדוֹלָה, 'unto Abel the great.' Several MSS. read אֶבֶן, 'stone' (the LXX. has Ἀβου), and this is probably the true reading (De Rossi, *Var. Lect.*, ad loc.) Judg. xi. 33 is the only passage in which it is rendered 'plain,' 'and he smote them from Aroer, even till thou come to Minnith . . . and unto the

plain of the vineyards' (עַד אֶבֶן כְּרָמִים; εὗς ἑβελχαρμύμ; Alex. Ἀβελ ἀμπελώνων; *Abel quæ est vineis consita*). There can scarcely be a doubt that this is a proper name, and it should be rendered *Abel-keramim*. Eusebius and Jerome mention it as a village of the Ammonites still existing in their day, situated six miles from Philadelphia in the midst of vineyards (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Abelavinearum*).

2. אֵלֶן, *Eln*. This word is derived from the root אָלַל, 'to be strong;' and hence it is used in Scripture to signify 'a strong tree,' and most probably the 'oak,' which grows to a great size in central and southern Palestine (Gesenius, *Thes.*, pp. 42, and 50, 51). In the A. V. it is rendered 'plain' (Gen. xii. 6; xiii. 18, etc.), or 'plains' (xviii. 1; Deut. xi. 30), but in one place the margin has 'oak' (Judg. ix. 6). It is difficult to account for this rendering. Probably it was adopted from the Vulgate, which translates *convallis* in four places, *vallis* in two, and *quercus* in three. The LXX. has ὄρυς, except in Judg. ix. 6, where it has βάλανος; and ver. 37, Ἠλωνμασωνιμ. The word should be always rendered 'oak.' It was considered a sacred tree. Under 'the oak of Moreh,' at Mamre, Abraham pitched his tent, and worshipped God (Stanley, *S. and P.*, p. 508). [MAMRE.]

3. בִּקְעָה, *Bik'â*, the Chaldee form of בִּקְעָה, found only in Dan iii. Nebuchadnezzar set up the golden image 'in the plain of Dura.'

4. בִּקְעָה, *Bik'âh*, is from the root בָּקַע, 'to cleave asunder,' and signifies literally 'a cleft,' or place formed by dividing mountains, then a valley between mountains. It is equivalent to the Arabic بَقْعَة and بَقَاع. It is generally used in the Bible to

denote a low widely-extended plain: as 'the plain' of Shinar (Gen. xi. 2; LXX. πεδον; *campus*); 'the valley of Jericho' (Deut. xxxiv. 3); 'the valley of Megiddo' (2 Chron. xxxv. 22; Zech. xii. 11); 'the valley of Lebanon' (Josh. xi. 17, called in Amos i. 5 'the plain of Aven'), which is now called *el-Bukda*; 'the plain of Ono' (Neh. vi. 2), which appears to have been a portion of southern Sharon, where the town of Ono was situated. [ONO.] This word is rendered 'plain' in the following passages:—Gen. xi. 2; Neh. vi. 2; Is. xl. 4; Ezek. iii. 22, 23; viii. 4; Amos i. 5; elsewhere it is translated 'valley.' It is generally rendered πεδον in the LXX., and *campus* in the Vulgate.

5. כִּכָּר, *Kikkar*, seems to be equivalent to כִּכְרָר, from the root כָּרַר, 'to move in a circle;' כִּכָּר therefore signifies 'a circuit,' or 'the region round about any place' (allied to which are κύκλος, *circus*, and *circle*; Gesen. *Thes.*, p. 717). Hence, with the article הַכִּכָּר, *Ha-kikkar*, it was applied topographically to 'the region of the Jordan,' especially

the southern part of it, in which the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah once stood. It is so used seven times in Genesis (xiii. 10, 11, 12; xix. 17, 25, 28, 29); also in 2 Sam. xviii. 23; 1 Kings vii. 46; 2 Chron. iv. 17; and apparently in Neh. iii. 22; xii. 28. Reland suggests that the name may have been derived from the windings of the river (*Pal.*, p. 274; cf. Stanley, *S. and P.*, p. 278). Though uniformly rendered plain in the A. V., and *πεπλωμένος* or *πεπλοῦκος* in the LXX., it appears to have all the definiteness of a proper name.

The word is also very frequently used in Scripture to signify 'a piece of money,' generally 'a talent' in the A. V. (Exod. xxv. 39; 1 Chron. xx. 2, etc.); also 'a cake' or 'loaf of bread' (1 Sam. x. 3; Prov. vi. 26). Their circular form doubtless suggested the name.

6. מִישׁוֹר, *Mishôr*, with the article מִישׁוֹר.

This word comes from the root יָשַׁר, 'to be straight or even;' hence *Mishôr* signifies 'a plain,' or 'level country;' thus in Ps. xxvi. 12, 'My foot standeth in an even place,' that is, 'in a plain;' also, figuratively, 'rectitude' or 'justice,' as in Ps. lxxvii. 4, 'Thou shalt judge the people righteously' (with justice). With the article it has a topographical signification, and has usually the definiteness of a proper name, as has already been shown in the article MISHOR. In the A. V. it is uniformly rendered plain.

7. עֲרֵבָה, *Arabah*, pl. עֲרֵבוֹת (from the root עָרַב, 'to be dry'), signifies 'an arid region.' In poetry it is applied to any dry pasture land, like Midbar; but with the article it means 'the valley of the Jordan,' and has the force of a proper name, as already shown. [ARABAH; DESERT, 4.] In the A. V. it is commonly rendered 'plain' (Deut. i. 1, 7, etc.); but in Deut. xi. 30, 'champaign,' in Ezek. xlvii. 8, 'desert;' and in Josh. xv. 6, xviii. 18, 'Arabah' (Gesen., *Thes.*, p. 1066; Stanley, *S. and P.*, p. 481). The LXX. usually has *Ἀραβα*, but sometimes *δυσμῆ*. The physical features of the Arabah are described fully in the article PALESTINE.

8. שְׁפֵלָה, *Shephelah*, 'a low plain,' from the root שָׁפַל, 'to be depressed.' In the A. V. it is rendered 'plain' in Jer. xvii. 26; Obad. 19; Zech. vii. 7; 'low plains' in 1 Chron. xxvii. 28; 2 Chron. ix. 27; but elsewhere 'vale' or 'valley.' It has all the definiteness of a proper name, being the specific designation of the maritime plain of Philistia; it is therefore described in a separate article. [SHEPHELAH.]-J. L. P.

PLANCK, HEINRICH LUDWIG, the eldest son of Gottlieb Jacob Planck, was born at Göttingen, July 19, 1785. He studied in the university of his native town, where he had for his teachers Stäudlin, Eichhorn, Heyne, and Heeren. Whilst still a student, he attracted notice by a prize-essay which was published under the title, *Commentatio de principijs et causis interpretationis Philoniana allegorica*, Götting. 1807, 4to. New Testament exegesis was the department of study to which he devoted himself; and his next appearance as an author was a defence of the genuineness of the first epistle to Timothy from the attacks of Schleiermacher, *Bemerkungen über den ersten Paulinischen Brief an den Timotheus*, Götting. 1808, 8vo. In the following year appeared his *Entwurf*

einer neuen synoptischen Zusammenstellung der drei ersten Evangelien, nach Grundsätze der höhern Kritik, Götting. 1809, 8vo. In 1810 he was appointed extraordinary professor of theology at Göttingen; and his introductory programme, *De vera natura atque indole orationis græcæ Novi Testamenti commentatio*, Götting. 1810, 4to, added greatly to his reputation. The value of this essay can scarcely be overrated, and its influence has been equal to its worth. It has wrought an entire change of opinion respecting the N. T. Greek, and upon the views which it enforced all subsequent investigations have been based. An English translation is published in the second volume of the *Edinburgh Biblical Cabinet*. It was Planck's intention, as stated in this essay, to exhibit his views in a more perfected form, in a work to be entitled, *Isagoge Philologica in Novum Testamentum*; but from this he was diverted by an engagement into which he entered, upon the strong recommendation of Gesenius—namely, to prepare a lexicon of the N. T. similar to that which the latter had published of the O. T. Unhappily the expectations awakened by his early promise were unfulfilled. His health was undermined by frequent attacks of epilepsy, and it was with difficulty that he could go through the duties of his office as ordinary professor of theology, to which he was appointed in 1823. He died Sept. 23, 1831.—S. N.

#### PLANE-TREE. [ARMON.]

PLANTAVITIUS, JOHN, *de la Pause*, or *Plantavitus Pausanus*, was born 1576 of a noble Protestant family in the diocese of Nismes, studied theology and Oriental literature, and became pastor at Beziers, where he embraced Roman Catholicism, 1604. He was made bishop of Lodève 1625, retired from his ecclesiastical functions 1648, in consequence of advanced age and great infirmities, and died 1651, in the Palace Margon. Few literati, not Hebrews by birth, have devoted themselves more earnestly to, and laboured more successfully in, the department of Hebrew literature than Plantavitus, and his works will continue to be a monument to his learning and industry as long as the sacred language of the O. T. continues to be studied. His works are as follows:—(1.) *Thesaurus synonymus Hebraico-Chaldaico-Rabbinicus*, Lodovæ 1644-45. In this Thesaurus, which the author also entitled נֶטֶע הַנֶּפֶץ, *planta vitis*, after himself, the whole apparatus of the Hebrew language is divided into synonyms, and arranged alphabetically, according to the most frequently occurring expressions. Thus, for instance, all the verbs signifying to see must be looked for under רָאָה. Each group of synonyms is discussed in six columns, the first and second of which give the Hebrew and Chaldee words, with a Latin explanation; the third and fourth, references to the O. T. for each point in question, with a Latin translation; whilst the fifth and sixth give the Rabbinic synonyms, with a Latin explanation. A most elaborate and most useful Index vocabula Hebr., Chald., Rabb., Græca, Lat., complectens amplissimum, adeo ut instar dictionarii integri inservire possit, entitled

עוֹלֶלֶת הַנֶּפֶץ, *racematio vitis*, is appended to it. The author spent thirty years over this stupendous work; and when it is borne in mind that this is one of the extremely few works on Hebrew syno-



nymys, the great importance of this lexicon to the student of the Hebrew Scriptures cannot be over-rated. (2.) *Florilegium Biblicum Hebraico-Latinum*, Lodovæ 1645; and (3.) *Florilegium Rabbinicum, complectens præcipuas vet. Rabbinorum sententias, vers. Lat. et scholiis illustratas cum Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, Lodovæ 1645. Comp. Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, i. 5, etc.; Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, col. 2107; Geiger, in *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, xvii. 330, Leipzig 1863.—C. D. G.

PLEDGE. [LOAN.]

PLEIADES. [ASTRONOMY.]

PLOUGH. [AGRICULTURE.]

POCOCK, EDWARD, was born at Oxford, in the year 1604. Having studied at Magdalen Hall, and Corpus Christi College, in the university of his native city, he became B.A. in 1622; M.A., 1626; B.D., 1636; and D.D., 1660. In the year 1628 he was admitted Probationer Fellow of C. C. College, and shortly afterwards was admitted into holy orders, for which he had qualified himself by a careful study of theology in all its branches. His favourite pursuits were the Oriental languages, especially Arabic and Hebrew, in the critical knowledge of which he obtained a world-wide reputation, the splendour of which has not yet faded. Having laid the foundation of these attainments at home, and having given proof of the solidity of his early studies by publishing the 2d Ep. of St. Peter, 2d and 3d Epp. of St. John, and the Ep. of St. Jude in their hitherto unpublished Syriac version, with an original Latin translation, he proceeded to the East, in the capacity of chaplain to the English merchants at Aleppo, after being ordained priest by Corbet, Bishop of Oxford, in 1629. During his six years' residence in the East, he found opportunity not only to improve his Syriac, Hebrew, and Arabic learning, but to collect Greek coins and accumulate MSS., both Oriental and Greek, such as would be valuable for the library of his university. In these researches he acted under the instructions of his munificent patron, Archbishop Laud; and on his return home, in 1636, he was appointed the first Laudian Professor of Arabic in the chair which the archbishop had just founded. To satisfy his intense desire to become perfectly qualified for his professorial duties, he again visited the East, and remained at Constantinople and its neighbourhood no less than four years, enjoying the assistance of the best instructors and the society of celebrated men, among whom should be mentioned Cyril Lucar, patriarch of Constantinople, to whom we owe the valuable Greek MS. the *Codex Alexandrinus*. In 1643, Pocock was presented by his college to the living of Childrey, in Berkshire, and five years afterwards was appointed Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford, and Canon of Christ Church. The troubles of the times, however, bore heavily on our learned professor, who was a very steadfast, though not ostentatious, adherent of the royal cause. In November 1650 he was ejected from his canonry, and it was proposed to deprive him of his professorships. He was saved from the latter loss by the strong remonstrance of the authorities of the university, who were adherents of the existing government. Meanwhile nothing had sufficed to check either his pious care of his parish or his pursuit of

sacred and Oriental learning. In Arabic and Hebrew learning he was allowed to be second to none of his age. From the first he made his Oriental attainments subservient to Biblical illustration; and his contributions, directly and indirectly, to Biblical learning were numerous and extremely valuable. [I.] Of his connection with Walton's *Polyglott*, his biographer says: 'From the beginning scarce a step was taken in that work [not excepting even the *Prolegomena*] till communicated to Mr. Pocock, and without whose assistance it must have wanted much of its perfection;' he collated the Arabic Pentateuch, with two copies of Saadias' translation; drew up an account of the Arabic versions of that part of the Bible which is to be found in the Appendix to the *Polyglott*, and lent some of his own rich store of MSS. to the conductors of the work, viz., a Syriac MS. of the entire O. T., an Ethiopic MS. of the Psalms, two Syriac MSS. of the Psalms, and a Persian MS. of the Gospels. [II.] His *Porta Mosis*, or Moses Maimonides' Dissertations prefixed to his commentaries on the Mishna, with the original Arabic text [in Hebrew characters], and a Latin translation. Pocock made this work the more useful to Biblical students by his copious *Appendix Notarum Miscellanea*, where he discusses many points of interest to Biblical scholars. Pocock reaped golden opinions on the publication of this now neglected though still very valuable work. For some time he entertained thoughts of publishing Rabbi Tanchum's expositions [written in Arabic] on the O. T. Although he did not carry out his intention, probably from want of means, he contrived to reproduce much of what is valuable from this Rabbinical author in his own subsequent commentaries on some of the prophets. [III.] Of these commentaries (which seem to have been suggested by Bishop Fell, as a part of a complete exposition of the O. T., to be contributed by various learned writers), the first published was that on *Micah*, in 1677, followed in the same year by that on *Malachi*; in 1685 by that on *Hosea*; and in 1691 by that on *Joel*. In these commentaries, which are all in English, Pocock's skill in his favourite subject of Biblical Hebrew is very apparent. The notes, no doubt, are too diffuse, but they exhibit much profound learning in Rabbinical as well as sacred Hebrew. In his critical principles he warmly defends the general purity of the Masoretic text against the aspersions of Isaac Vossius and the theory of Capellus; but although his Masoretic predilections are excessive, he did not depreciate the Septuagint. His scheme ever was to *reconcile* by learned explanations the sacred original, and the most venerable of its versions. This great and good man laboured on, harassed by enemies and neglected by friends, but respected for his purity of life, and admired for his matchless learning, in his professional and pastoral pursuits, to the very end of his life of 87 years—his only distemper being extreme old age, which yet hindered him not even the night before he died from his invariable custom of praying from the Liturgy with his family. His death took place on the 10th of September 1691. His theological works, comprising the *Porta Mosis* and the Commentaries, with his life, by Leonard Twells, M.A., form two folio volumes.—P. II.

POETRY, HEBREW; the poetry which is found in the Bible, and which, rich and multifari-

ous as it is, appears to be only a remnant of a still wider and fuller sphere of Shemitic literature. The N. T. is intended to be comprised in our definition, for, besides scattered portions, which, under a prosaic form, convey a poetic thought, the entire book of the Apocalypse abounds in poetry.

The term 'Biblical poetry' may find little acceptance in the ears of those who have identified poetry with fiction, fable, and profane delights, under the impression that as such things are of the earth earthy, so religion is too high in its character, and too truthful in its spirit, to admit into its province mere creations of the human fancy. But whatever opinion may be entertained of the character and tendency of poetry in general, the poetry of the Hebrews is, as we shall presently remark more at length, both deeply truthful and earnestly religious; nor are we without a hope, that by the time the reader has arrived at the end of this article, he will then, if he is not before, be of the opinion that the poetry which we are about to consider was and is an eminently worthy channel for expressing and conveying the loftiest and holiest feelings of the human heart. Meanwhile we direct attention to a fact—there is poetry in the Bible. In one sense the Bible is full of poetry; for very much of its contents which is merely prosaic in form, rises, by force of the noble sentiments which it enunciates, and the striking or splendid imagery with which these sentiments are adorned, into the sphere of real poetry. Independently of this poetic prose, there is in the Bible much writing which has all the ordinary characteristics of poetry. This statement the present article will abundantly establish. But even the unlearned reader, when once his mind has been turned to the subject, can hardly fail to recognise at once the essence, if not somewhat of the form, of poetry in various parts of the Bible. And it is no slight attestation to the essentially poetic character of Hebrew poetry that its poetical qualities shine through the distorting coverings of a prose translation. If, however, the reader would at once satisfy himself that there is poetry in the Bible, let him turn to the book of Job, and after having examined its prose introduction, begin to read the poetry itself, as it commences at the third verse of the third chapter.

Much of the Biblical poetry is, indeed, hidden from the ordinary reader by its prose accompaniments, standing, as it does, undistinguished in the midst of historical narrations. This is the case with some of the earliest specimens of Hebrew poetry. Snatches of poetry are discovered in the oldest prose compositions. Even in Gen. iv. 23, *seq.*, are found a few lines of poetry, which Herder incorrectly terms 'the song of the sword,' thinking it commemorative of the first formation of that weapon. To us it appears to be a fragment of a longer poem, uttered in lamentation for a homicide committed by Lamech, probably in self-defence. It has been already cited in this work. [LAMECH.] Herder finds in this piece all the characteristics of Hebrew poetry. It is, he thinks, lyrical, has a proportion between its several lines, and even assonance; in the original the first four lines terminate with the same letter, making a single or semi-rhyme.

Another poetic scrap is found in Exod. xxxii. 18. Being told by Joshua, on occasion of descending from the mount, when the people had made the

golden calf, and were tumultuously offering it their worship—

'The sound of war is in the camp;'

Moses said,

'Not the sound of a shout for victory,  
Nor the sound of a shout for falling;  
The sound of a shout for rejoicing'

do I hear.

The correspondence in form in the original is here very exact and striking, so that it is difficult to deny that the piece is poetic. If so, are we to conclude that the temperament of the Israelites was so deeply poetic that Moses and Joshua should find the excitement of this occasion sufficient to strike improvisatore verses from their lips? Or have we here a quotation from some still older song, which occurred to the minds of the speakers by the force of resemblance? Other instances of scattered poetic pieces may be found in Num. xxi. 14, 15; also ver. 18 and ver. 27; in which passages evidence may be found that we are not in possession of the entire mass of Hebrew, or, at least, Shemitic literature. Further specimens of very early poetry are found in Num. xxiii. 7, *seq.*; xviii. *seq.*; xxiv. 3, 15.

The preceding will suffice to satisfy the reader that there is poetry in the Bible. With this as a fact it is the business of the theologian to deal, whether the fact be or be not in accordance with any preconceived ideas of fitness and propriety. We must take the Bible as we find it; and so taking it, endeavour to understand its claims, and form a just appreciation of its merits.

The ordinary train of thought and feeling presented in Hebrew poetry is entirely of a moral or religious kind; but there are occasions when other topics are introduced. The entire Song of Solomon the present writer is disposed to regard, on high authority, as purely an erotic idyll, and considered as such it possesses excellences of a very high description. In Amos vi. 3, *seq.*, may be seen a fine passage of satire in a denunciation of the luxurious and oppressive aristocracy of Israel. Subjects of a similar secular kind may be found treated, yet never without a moral or religious aim, in Is. ix. 3; Jer. xxv. 10; xlvi. 33; Rev. xviii. 22, *seq.* But, independently of the Song of Solomon, the most worldly ode is perhaps the forty-fifth Psalm, which Herder and Ewald consider an epithalamium. The latter critic, in the account which he gives of it, states that it was sung during the time when the new queen was led in pomp to take her seat in her husband's palace.

The literature of the Bible, as such, is by no means adequately appreciated in the minds of many. Owing, in part, to the higher claims of inspiration, its literary merits have not received generally the attention which they deserve, while the critical world, whose office it is to take cognizance of literary productions, have nearly confined their attention to works of profane authors, and left the Biblical writings to the exclusive possession of the religious public. This severance of interests is to be regretted as much for the sake of literature as of religion. The Bible is a book—a literary production—as well as a religious repository and charter; and ought, in consequence, to be regarded in its literary as well as in its religious bearings, alike by those who cultivate literature and by those who study religion. And when men regard and contemplate it as it is, rather than as fancy or ignorance makes it, then will it be found



to present the loftiest and most precious truths enshrined in the noblest language. Its poetry is one continued illustration of this fact. Indeed, but for the vicious education which the first and most influential minds in this country receive, Biblical literature would long ere now have held the rank to which it is entitled. What is the course of reading through which our divines, our lawyers, our statesmen, our philosophers, are conducted? From early youth up to manhood it is almost entirely of a heathen complexion. Greek and Latin, not Hebrew, engage the attention; Homer and Horace, not Moses and Isaiah, are our class-books, skill in understanding which is made the passport to wealth and distinction. Hence Hebrew literature is little known, and falls into a secondary position. Nor can a due appreciation of this priceless book become prevalent until, with a revival and general spread of Hebrew studies, the Bible shall become to us, what it was originally among the Israelites, a literary treasure as well as a religious guide. Nor, in our belief, can a higher service be rendered either to literature or religion than to make the literary claims of the Bible understood at the same time that its religious worth is duly and impressively set forth. The union of literature and religion is found in the Bible, and has, therefore, a divine origin and sanction. Those who love the Bible as a source of religious truth should manifest their regard both towards the book and towards him whose name and impress it bears, by carefully preserving that union, and causing its nature, requirements, and applications to be generally understood. No better instrument can be chosen for this purpose than its rich, varied, and lofty poetry.

There is no poetic cyclus that can be put into comparison with that of the Hebrews but the cyclus of the two classic nations, Greece and Rome, and that of India. In form and variety we grant that the poetry of these nations surpasses that of the Hebrews. Epic poetry and the drama, the two highest styles as far as mere art is concerned, were cultivated successfully by them, whilst among the Israelites we find only their germs and first rudiments. So in execution we may also admit that, in the higher qualities of style, the Hebrew literature is somewhat inferior. But the thought is more than the expression; the kernel than the shell; and, in substance, the Hebrew poetry far surpasses every other. In truth, it dwells in a region to which other ancient literatures did not, and could not, attain—a pure, serene, moral, and religious atmosphere; thus dealing with man in his highest relations, first anticipating, and then leading onwards, mere civilisation. This, as we shall presently see more fully, is the great characteristic of Hebrew poetry; it is also the highest merit of any literature, a merit in which that of the Hebrews is unapproached. To this high quality it is owing that the poetry of the Bible has exerted on the loftiest interests and productions of the human mind, for now above two thousand years, the most decided and the most beneficial influence. Moral and religious truth is deathless and undecaying; and so the griefs and the joys of David, or the far-seeing warnings and brilliant portrayings of Isaiah, repeat themselves in the heart of each successive generation, and become coexistent with the race of man. Thus of all moral treasures the Bible is incomparably the

richest. Even for forms of poetry in which it is defective, or altogether fails, it presents the richest materials. Moses has not, as some have dreamed, left us an epic poem, but he has supplied the materials out of which the *Paradise Lost* was created. The sternly sublime drama of *Samson Agonistes* is constructed from a few materials found in a chapter or two which relate to the least cultivated period of the Hebrew republic. Indeed, most of the great poets, even of modern days, from Tasso down to Byron, all the great musicians, and nearly all the great painters, have drawn their best and highest inspiration from the Bible. This is a fact as creditable to religion as it is important to literature, of which he who is fully aware will not easily be turned aside from faith to infidelity by the shallow sarcasms of a Voltaire, or the low ribaldry of a Paine. That book which has led civilisation, and formed the noblest minds of our race, is not destined to be disowned for a few real or apparent chronological inaccuracies; or because it presents states of society and modes of thought, the very existence of which, however half-witted unbelief may object, is the best pledge of its reality and truth. The complete establishment of the moral and spiritual pre-eminence of the Bible, considered merely as a book, would require a volume, so abundant are the materials.

It may have struck the reader as somewhat curious that the poetical pieces of which we spoke above should, in the common version of the Bible, be scarcely, if at all, distinguishable from prose. We do not know whether there is anything extraordinary in this. Much of classical poetry, if turned into English prose, would lose most of its poetic characteristics; but, in general, the Hebrew poetry suffers less than perhaps any other by transference into a prosaic element: to which fact it is owing that the Book of Psalms, in the English version, is, notwithstanding its form, eminently poetic. There are, however, cases in which only the experienced eye can trace the poetic in and under the prosaic attire in which it appears in the vulgar translation. Nor, until the subject of Hebrew poetry had been long and well studied, did the learned succeed in detecting many a poetic gem contained in the Bible. In truth, poetry and prose, from their very nature, stand near to each other, and in the earlier stages of their existence are discriminated only by faint and vanishing lines. If we regard the thought, prose sometimes even now rises to the loftiness of poetry. If we regard the clothing, the simpler form of poetry is scarcely more than prose; and rhetorical or measured prose passes into the domain of poetry. A sonnet of Wordsworth could be converted into prose with a very few changes; a fable of Krummacher requires only to be distributed into lines in order to make blank verse, which might be compared even with that of Milton. Now, in translations, the form is for the most part lost; there remains only the substance, and poetic sentiment ranges from the humblest to the loftiest topics. So with the Hebrew poetry in its original and native state. Whether in its case poetry sprang from prose, or prose from poetry, they are both branches of one tree, and bear in their earlier stages a very close resemblance. The similarity is the greater in the literature of the Hebrews, because their poetic forms are less determinate than those of some other nations: they had, indeed, a rhythm; but so had



their prose, and their poetic rhythm was more like that of our blank verse than of our rhymed metre. Of poetical feet they appear to have known nothing, and in consequence their verse must be less measured and less strict. Its melody was rather that of thought than of art and skill—spontaneous, like their religious feelings, and therefore deep and impressive, but less subject to law, and escaping from the hard limits of exact definition. Rhyme, properly so called, is disowned as well as metre. Yet Hebrew verse, as it had a kind of measured tread, so had it a jingle in its feet, for several lines are sometimes found terminating with the same letter. In the main, however, its essential form was in the thought. Ideas are made to recur under such relations that the substance itself marks the form, and the two are so blended into one that their union is essential to constitute poetry. It is, indeed, incorrect to say that 'the Hebrew poetry is characterised by the recurrence of similar ideas' (Latham's *English Language*, p. 372), if by this it is intended to intimate that such a peculiarity is the sole characteristic of Hebrew poetry. One, and that the chief, characteristic of that poetry, such recurrence is; but there are also characteristics in form as well as in thought. Of these it may be sufficient to mention the following:—(1) There is a verbal rhythm, in which a harmony is found beyond what prose ordinarily presents; but as the true pronunciation of the Hebrew has been long lost, this quality can be only imperfectly appreciated. (2) There is a correspondence of words, *i.e.*, the words in one verse, or member, answer to the words in another; for as the sense in the one echoes the sense in the other, so also form corresponds with form, and word with word. This correspondence in form will fully appear when we give instances of the parallelism in sentiment; meanwhile, an idea of it may be formed from these specimens:—

'Why art thou cast down, O my soul?  
And why art thou disquieted in me?'

Ps. xliii. 5.

'The memory of the just is a blessing;  
But the name of the wicked shall rot.'

Prov. x. 7.

'He turneth rivers into a desert,  
And water-springs into dry ground.'

Ps. cvii. 33.

In the original this similarity in construction is more exact and more apparent. At the same time it is a free, and not a strict correspondence that prevails; a correspondence to be caught and recognised by the ear in the general progress of the poem, or the general structure of a couplet or a triplet, but which is not of a nature to be exactly measured or set forth by such aids as counting with the fingers will afford. (3) Inversion holds a distinguished place in the structure of Hebrew poetry, as in that of every other; yet here again the remark already made holds good; it is only a modified inversion that prevails, by no means (in general) equalling that of the Greeks and Romans in boldness, decision, and prevalence. Every one will, however, recognise this inversion in the following instances, as distinguishing the passages from ordinary prose:—

'Amid thought in visions of the night,  
When deep sleep falleth upon men,  
Fear and horror came upon me.'—Job iv. 13.

'To me men gave ear and waited,  
To my words they made no reply.'

Job xxix. 21.

'For three transgressions of Damascus,  
And for four will I not turn away its punishment.'

Amos i. 3.

'His grave was appointed with the wicked,  
And with the rich man was his sepulchre.'

Is. liii. 9.

(4) The last verbal peculiarity of Hebrew poetry which we notice is, that its language betrays an archaical character, a licence, and in general a poetic hue and colouring which cannot be confounded with the simple, lowly, and unrhymical diction of prose. The formation of a poetic diction is, in any nation, dependent on the possession by that nation of a poetical temperament, as much as of a poetical history. Wherever these two elements are found, the birth of poetry and the formation of a poetical language are certain. Great events give rise to strong passions, and strong passions are the parents of noble truths; which, when they spring from and nestle in a poetic temperament, cannot fail to create for themselves an appropriate phraseology, in which the tame and quiet march of prose is avoided, and all the loftier figures of speech are put into requisition. For a time, indeed, the line of demarkation between the diction of prose and that of poetry will not be very strongly marked; for poetry will predominate, as in men's deeds so in their words, and if they as yet have any, in their literature. Soon, however, the passions grow cool, enthusiasm wanes, a great gulf opens between the actual and the ideal—the ideal having ceased to be actual in ceasing to be possible—and a separate style of language for prose and poetry becomes as inevitable as the diversity of attire in which holy and ordinary days have their respective duties discharged.

In no nation was the union of the two requisites of which we have spoken found in fuller measure than among the Hebrews. Theirs was eminently a poetic temperament; their earliest history was an heroic without ceasing to be an historic age, whilst the loftiest of all truths circulated in their souls, and glowed on and started from their lips. Hence their language, in its earliest stages, is surpassingly poetic. Let the reader peruse, even in our translation, the first chapters of Genesis, or parts of the Book of Job, and he cannot but perceive the poetic element in which these noble compositions have almost their essence. And hence the difficulty of determining with accuracy the time when a poetic diction, strictly so termed, began to make its appearance. Partially, such a diction must be recognised in the earliest specimens we have of Hebrew poetry, nor is it hard to trace, if not in words, yet in colouring and manner, signs of this imaginative dress; but the process was not completed, the diction was not thoroughly formed, until the Hebrew bard had produced its highest strains, and tried his powers on various species of composition. The period when this excellence was reached was the age of Solomon, when the rest, peace, opulence, and culture which were the fruits of the lofty mind and proud achievements of David, had had time to bring their best fruits to maturity—a ripeness to which the Israelite history had in various ways contributed during many successive generations.



The chief characteristics, however, of Hebrew poetry are found in the peculiar form in which it gives utterance to its ideas. This form has received the name of 'parallelism.' Ewald justly prefers the term 'thought-rhythm,' since the rhythm, the music, the peculiar flow and harmony of the verse and of the poem, lie in the distribution of the sentiment in such a manner that the full import does not come out in less than a distich. It is to this peculiarity, which is obviously in the substance and not the mere form of the poetry, that the translation of the Psalms in our Bibles owes much of its remarkable character, and is distinguished from prose by terms clearly and decidedly poetic; and many though the imperfections are which attach, some almost necessarily, to that version, still it retains so much of the form and substance, of the simple beauty and fine harmony of the original Hebrew, that we give it a preference over most poetic translations, and always feel disposed to warn away from this holy ground the rash hands that often attempt, with no fit preparation, to touch the sacred harp of Zion.

Those who wish to enter thoroughly into the subject of Hebrew rhythm are referred to the most recent and best work on the subject, by the learned Hebrew scholar Ewald, who has translated into German all the poetical books of the O. T. (*Die Poet. Bücher des Alten Bundes*, 1835-39, 4 vols. 8vo, vol. i., pp. 57-92). A shorter and more simple account will better suit these pages; which we take in substance from Gesenius (*Hebräisches Lesebuch*, 17th edit. by De Wette, Leipzig 1844). The leading principle is, that a simple verse or distich consists, both in regard to form and substance, of two corresponding members: this has been termed Hebrew rhythm or Parallelismus membrorum. Three kinds may be specified. There is first the *synonymous parallelism*, which consists in this, that the two members express the same thought in different words, so that sometimes word answers to word: for example—

'What is man that thou art mindful of him,  
And the son of man that thou carest for him?'  
Ps. viii. 4.

There is in some cases an inversion in the second line—

'The heavens relate the glory of God,  
And the work of his hands the firmament declares.' Ps. xix. 2.

'He maketh his messengers the winds,  
His ministers the flaming lightning.' Ps. civ. 4.

Very often the second member repeats only a part of the first—

'Woe to them that join house to house,  
That field to field unite.' Is. v. 8.

Sometimes the verb which stands in the first member is omitted in the second—

'O God, thy justice give the king,  
And thy righteousness to the king's son.'  
Ps. lxxii. 1.

Or the verb may be in the second member—

'With the jawbone of an ass heaps upon heaps,  
With the jawbone of an ass have I slain a  
thousand men.' Judg. xv. 16.

The second member may contain an expansion of the first—

'Give to Jehovah, ye sons of God,  
Give to Jehovah glory and praise.' Ps. xxix. 1.

Indeed the varieties are numerous, since the synonymous parallelism is very frequent.

The second kind is the *antithetic*, in which the first member is illustrated by some opposition of thought contained in the second. This less customary kind of parallelism is found mostly in the Proverbs—

'The full man treadeth the honeycomb under  
foot,  
To the hungry every bitter thing is sweet.'  
Prov. xxvii. 7.

Under this head comes the following, with other similar examples—

'Day to day uttereth instruction,  
And night to night sheweth knowledge.'

The third kind is denominated the *synthetic*; probably the term *epithetic* would be more appropriate, since the second member not being a mere echo of the first, subjoins something new to it, while the same structure of the verse is preserved; thus—

'He appointed the moon for seasons;  
The sun knoweth his going down.' Ps. civ. 19.  
'The law of Jehovah is perfect, reviving the soul;  
The precepts of Jehovah are sure, instructing  
the simple.' Ps. xix. 7.

This correspondence of thought is occasionally found in Greek and Latin poetry, particularly in the interlocutions of the eclogues of Theocritus and Virgil. The two following distichs are specimens of the antithetic parallelism:—

'*Dam.* Triste lupus stabulis, maturis frugibus  
imber,  
Arboribus venti; nobis Amaryllidis iræ.  
'*Men.* Dulce satis humor, depulsis arbutus hædis,  
Lenta salix fæto pecori; mihi solus  
Amyntas.'

Pope's writings present specimens which may be compared with the antithetical parallelism. In his *Rape of the Lock*, passages of the kind abound. We opened his *Essay on Criticism*, and the first lines our eye fell on were these—

'A little learning is a dang'rous thing:  
Drink deep, or taste not the Pierian spring:  
There shallow draughts intoxicate the brain,  
And drinking largely sobers us again.'

So in his *Messiah*, where he was likely to copy the form in imitating the spirit of the original—

'The lambs with wolves shall graze the verdant  
mead,  
And boys in flow'ry bands the tiger lead;  
The steer and lion at one crib shall meet,  
And harmless serpents lick the pilgrim's feet.'

This correspondence in thought is not, however, of universal occurrence. We find a merely rhythmical parallelism in which the thought is not repeated, but goes forward, throughout the verse, which is divided midway into two halves or a distich—

'The word is not upon the tongue,  
Jehovah thou knowest it altogether.'  
Ps. cxxxviii. 4.

'Gird as a man thy loins,  
I will ask thee; inform thou me.'  
Job xxxix. 3.

Here poetry distinguishes itself from prose chiefly by the division into two short equal parts. This peculiarity of poetic diction is expressed by the word *חֵצֵל*, which properly denotes dividing the matter, and so speaking or singing in separated portions. Among the Arabians, who, however, have syllabic measure, each verse is divided into two hemistichs by a cæsura in the middle. What is termed 'service metre' in English versification is not unlike this in the main: it is the 'common metre' of the Psalm-versions, and of ordinary hymn-books, though in the latter it is arranged in four lines—

'But one request I make to him | that sits the  
skies above,  
That I were fairly out of debt | as I were out of  
love.' *Suckling.*

The simple two-membered rhythm hitherto described prevails, especially in the book of Job, the Proverbs, and a portion of the Psalms; but in the last, and still more in the Prophets, there are numerous verses with three, four, or yet more members.

In verses consisting of three members (tristicha) sometimes all three are parallel—

'Happy the man who walketh not in the paths  
of the unrighteous,  
Nor standeth in the way of sinners,  
Nor sitteth in the seat of scoffers.' Ps. i. 1.

Sometimes two of the members stand opposed to the third—

'To all the world goes forth their sound,  
To the end of the world their words;  
For the sun he places a tabernacle in them.'  
Ps. xix. 4.

Verses of four members contain either two simple parallels—

'With righteousness shall he judge the poor,  
And decide with equity for the afflicted of the  
people;  
He shall smite the earth with the rod of his  
mouth;  
With the breath of his lips shall he slay the  
wicked.' Is. xi. 4.

Or the first and third answer to each other; also the second and fourth—

'That smote the people in anger  
With a continual stroke;  
That lorded it over the nations in wrath  
With unremitted oppression.' Is. xiv. 6.

If the members are more numerous or disproportionate (Is. xi. 11), or if the parallelism is imperfect or irregular, the diction of poetry is lost and prose ensues; as is the case in Is. v. 1-6, and frequently in the later prophets, as Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

It is not to be supposed that each poem consists exclusively of one sort of verse; for though this feature does present itself, yet frequently several kinds are found together in one composition, so as to give great ease, freedom, and capability to the style. We select the following beautiful specimen, because a chorus is introduced—

DAVID'S LAMENT OVER SAUL AND JONATHAN.

The Gazelle, O Israel, has been cut down on  
thy heights!

*Chorus.* How are the mighty fallen!

Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets  
of Ascalon,  
Lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoice,  
Lest the daughters of the uncircumcised exult.

Hills of Gilboa, no dew nor rain come upon you,  
devoted fields!

For there is stained the heroes' bow,  
Saul's bow, never anointed with oil.

From the blood of the slain, from the fat of the  
mighty,

The bow of Jonathan turned not back,  
And the sword of Saul came not idly home.

Saul and Jonathan! lovely and pleasant in life!

And in death ye were not divided;

Swifter than eagles, stronger than lions!

Ye daughters of Israel! Weep for Saul;

He clothed you delicately in purple,

He put ornaments of gold on your apparel.

*Chorus.* How are the mighty fallen in the midst  
of the battle!

O Jonathan, slain in thy high places!

I am distressed for thee, brother Jonathan,

Very pleasant wast thou to me,

Wonderful was thy love, more than the love  
of woman.

*Chorus.* How are the mighty fallen,

And the weapons of war perished!

We have chosen this ode not only for its singular beauty, but also because it presents another quality of Hebrew poetry—the strophe. In this poem there are three strophes marked by the recurrence three times of the dirge sung by the chorus. The chorus appears to have consisted of three parts, corresponding with the parties more immediately addressed in the three several portions of the poem. The first choral song is sung by the entire body of singers, representing Israel; the second is sung by a chorus of maidens; the third, by first a chorus of youths in a soft and mournful strain, and then by all the choir in full and swelling chorus. But in order to the reader's fully understanding with what noble effect these 'songs of Zion' came on the souls of their hearers, an accurate idea must be formed of the music of the Hebrews [MUSIC]. Referring to the articles which bear on the subject, we merely remark that both music and dancing were connected with sacred song in its earliest manifestations, though it was only at a comparatively late period, when David and Solomon had given their master-powers to the grand performances of the temple-service, that poetry came forth in all its excellence, and music lent its full aid to its solemn and sublime sentiments.

Lyrical poetry so abounds in the Bible, that we almost forget that it contains any other species. Doubtless lyrical poetry is the earliest, no less than the most varied and most abundant. Yet the lyrical poetry of the Israelites contains tokens of proceeding from an earlier kind. It is eminently sententious—brief, pithy, and striking in the forms of language, and invariably moral or religious in its tone. Whence we infer that it had its rise in a species of poetry analogous to that which we find in the book of Proverbs. Read the few lines addressed by Lamech to his wives: do they not bear a correspondence with the general tone of the Proverbs?



We do not by this intend to intimate that the book so called was the earliest poetic production of the Hebrew muse. In its actual form it is of a much later origin than many of the odes. Yet the elements out of which it was formed may have existed at a very early day. Indeed, the Oriental genius turns naturally to proverbs and sententious speeches. In its earliest, its most purely native state, the poetry of the Easterns is a string of pearls. Every word has life; every proposition is condensed wisdom; every thought is striking and epigrammatic. The book of Proverbs argues the influence of philosophy. Early poetry is too spontaneous to speak in this long retinue of glittering thoughts. But Eastern imaginations may at first have poured forth their creations, not in a continued strain, but in showers of broken light, on which the lyrist would seize to be worked as sparkling gems into his odes. It is, however, certain, that a general name for poetic language, מִשָּׁל (*maskal*), signifies also a saying, a proverb, a comparison, a similitude. The last is indeed the primary signification, showing that Hebrew poetry in its origin was a painting to the eye; in other words, a parable, a teaching by likenesses, discovered by the popular mind, expressed by the popular tongue, and adopted and polished by the national poet. And as a sententious form of speech may even by its very condensation become dark, so that the wisdom which it contains may have to be patiently

and carefully sought for, what was מִשָּׁל may become hidden knowledge, and pass into חֵידָה (*chidah*), a secret or a riddle; which, as being intended to baffle and so to deride, may in its turn be appropriately termed מְלִיצָה (*m'licah*), derision, satire, or irony.

Lyrical poetry embraced a great variety of topics, from the shortest and most fleeting effusion, as found in specimens already given, and in Ps. xv., cxxxi., cxxxiii., to the loftiest subjects treated in a full and detailed manner; for instance, Deborah's song (Judg. v.), and Ps. xvii. and lxviii. It ran equally through all the moods of the human soul, nothing being too lowly, too deep, or too high for the Hebrew lyre. It told how the horse and his Egyptian rider were sunk in the depths of the sea; it softly and sweetly sang of the benign effects of brotherly love. It uttered its wail over the corpse of a friend, and threw its graceful imagery around the royal nuptial couch. Song was its essence. Whatever its subject, it forewent neither the lyre nor the voice. Indeed, its most general name, שִׁיר (*shir*), signifies 'song'; song and poetry were the same. Another name for lyrical poetry is מִזְמוֹר (*mizmor*), which the LXX. render ψαλμός, 'psalm,' and which from its etymology seems to have a reference not so much to song as to the numbers into which the poet by his art wrought his thoughts and emotions. The latter word describes the making of an ode, the former its performance on the lyre. Another general name for lyrical poetry is מִשְׁכִּיל (*maskil*), which is applied to poems of a certain kind (Ps. xxxii., xlii., xlv., lii., lv., lxxiv., lxxviii., lxxxviii., cxlii.), and appears to denote an ode lofty in its sentiments and exquisite in its execution. Under these general heads there were several species, whose specific differences it is not easy to determine.

1. תְּהִלָּה (*thillah*), 'a hymn,' or 'psalm of praise.' The word is used as a title only to one psalm (cxlv.),

but really describes the character of many, as may naturally be expected when we consider the origin of the ode as springing from victory, deliverance, the reception of bounties, and generally those events and occasions which excited joy and gladness in the soul, and were celebrated with music, often accompanied by dancing in the public assemblies of the people, or after a more sacred manner, in the solemn courts of the temple. To this class of joyous compositions belong the lofty hymns which commemorated great national events, such as the deliverance from Pharaoh (Exod. xv.; Judg. v.; Ps. xviii., lxviii.), which were appointed for set holyday seasons, and became a part at once of the national worship and of the best national property. Other songs of this kind were used on less distinguished occasions, and by individuals on presenting their thank-offerings, and were pitched at a lower key, being expressive rather of personal than general emotions (Ps. xxx., xxxii., xli., cxxxviii.; Is. xxxviii.) There are occasionally briefer songs of victory, sung by the general congregation in the temple, as Ps. xli. and lxviii.

2. קִינָה (*qinah*), θρήνος, 'a dirge,' or 'song of sorrow,' accompanied by exclamations of grief, as וְאֵי, וְאֵי, or very often by וְאֵי, *O how!* and distinguished from songs of joy by mournful strains of music. The Hebrew heart was as much open to sorrow as to joy, tender and full as were its emotions, and simple as was the ordinary mode of life. Adversity and bereavement were therefore keenly felt, and as warmly and strikingly expressed. Indeed so great was the regard held due to the dead, that mourners did not consider their own sorrow sufficient, but used to engage others to mourn for their lost friends, so that in process of time there arose a profession whose business it was to bewail the departed. In Amos v. 16, these persons are named as יוֹדְעֵי נֶחֱם, those who are skilful in wailing (Jer. ix. 17). Distinguished heroes, and persons who were tenderly beloved, found in the sorrowful accents of the Hebrew muse the finest and most lasting memorial (2 Sam. i. 17-27; iii. 33, 34). From 1 Sam. i. 18, it appears that these dirges (*neniaz*) were taught to the children of Israel *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*; and so heroic deeds lived through successive generations on the lips of the people, whose hearts were thus warmed with emulation, while they were softened with gentleness and love. In this class of lamentations may be ranked the songs of sorrow over the misfortunes of Israel, such as Ps. xlv., lx., lxxiii., which seem to have borne the general name of 'a weeping and wailing' (Jer. vii. 29; ix. 19). In the same class stand lamentations poured forth on the desecration or destruction of the holy city (Jer. ix. xix.; Ezek. xxvii. xxxii.; Is. i. xxi.) Jeremiah has put together and united in one book, executed with great skill and presenting an altogether unique specimen of writing, which indeed could have had its birth nowhere but in a Hebrew soul, all possible lamentations and wailings on the ruin and fall of Jerusalem.

3. שִׁנְיָן (*shiggion*) is found only as the title of a poem (Ps. vii.), and once in the plural (Hab. iii. 1), as a description of this species of poetry in general. The word is not easy to understand. The Septuagint render it by ψαλμός, a general term which seems to betray their own ignorance. It had doubtless a specific meaning. The root שִׁנָּה denotes bewilderment, so that the term may indicate

a sort of dithyrambic poetry—poetry in which the emotions are put forth in wild confusion, betokening an agitated, confused, and worried state of mind. This description corresponds with the character of the two compositions to which the epithet is applied in Ps. vii. and Hab. iii. That the melody employed in singing these pieces answered, in wild hurrying confusion, to the train of the thought, may be conjectured naturally, and inferred with good reason, from the heading of Hab. iii.

4. פְּלִלָּה (*ḥ'phillah*), 'prayer,' is the name of certain odes in the titles given to Ps. xvii., lxxxvi., xc., cii., cxlii., Hab. iii. In Ps. cii. and in Hab. iii. it seems not to denote the ode so much as the general tendency of the sentiment of the poet, and in the other headings it may import merely the use to which these compositions may be applied. It is not therefore so much a term of art as a term of religion. Yet may it be applied to compositions in general, designed for use in divine worship, whatever their form or strain, inasmuch as it regards in a general way the religious element which constituted their essence; and accordingly it is found in Ps. lxxii. 20 applied as a general name to an entire collection of the poems of David—'the prayers of David, the son of Jesse, are ended.'

In these four classes we have not pretended to exhaust all the species and forms which lyric poetry took, but merely to present the chief facts. Respecting other kinds little need be said, as the lyrical comprehends the greatest and best part of Hebrew poetry, nor are learned men so much of one mind regarding the compositions to which we allude.

Dramatic poetry in the sense in which the phrase is applicable to productions such as those of Euripides, Shakspeare, or Schiller, had no place in the literature of the Hebrews. This defect may be owing to a want of the requisite literary cultivation. Yet we are not willing to assign this as the cause, when we call to mind the high intellectual culture which the Hebrews evinced in lyric and didactic poetry, out of which the drama seems naturally to spring. We rather look for the cause of this in the earnest nature of the Hebrews, and in the solemnity of the subjects with which they had to do in their literary productions. Nor is it any objection to this hypothesis that the drama of modern times had its birth in the religious mysteries of the middle ages, since those ages were only secondary in regard to religious truth, stood at a distance from the great realities which they believed and dramatised; whereas the objects of faith with the Israelites were held in all the fresh vividness of primitive facts and newly-recognised truths. Elements however for dramatic poetry and first rudimental efforts are found in Hebrew; as in the Song of Solomon, in which several *dramatis personæ* will be discovered speaking and acting by the diligent and unprejudiced reader. Ewald asserts that the poem is divisible into four acts. In the book of Job, however, the dramatic element of the Hebrew muse is developed in a more marked form and a more decided degree. Here the machinery and contrivances of the drama, even to the plot and the *Deus Vindex*, lie patent to a reader of ordinary attention. For epic poetry the constituent elements do not appear to have existed during the classic period of the Hebrew muse, since epic poetry requires an heroic age—an age,

that is, of fabulous wonders and falsely so called divine interpositions. But among the Israelites the patriarchal, which might have been the heroic age, was an age of truth and reality; and it much raises the religious and historical value of the Biblical literature, that neither the singular events of the age of the patriarchs, nor the wonderful events of the age of Moses, nor the confused and somewhat legendary events of the age of the Judges, ever degenerated into mythology, nor passed from the reality which was their essence, into the noble fictions into which the imagination, if unchastened and unchecked by religion, might have wrought them; but they retained through all periods their own essential character of earnest, lofty, and impressive realities. At a later period, when the religion of Moses had, during the Babylonish captivity, been lowered by the corruptions of the religion of Zoroaster, and an entirely new world of thought introduced, based not on reality but fancy, emanating not from the pure light of heaven but from the mingled lights and shadows of primitive tradition and human speculation,—then there came into existence among the Jews the elements necessary for epic poetry; but the days were gone in which the mind of the nation had the requisite strength and culture to fashion them into a great, uniform, and noble structure; and if we can allow that the Hebrews possessed the rudimental outlines of the epic, we must seek for them not in the canonical but the apocryphal books; and while we deny with emphasis that the term Epos can be applied, as some German critics have applied it, to the Pentateuch, we can find only in the book of Judith, and with rather more reason in that of Tobit, anything which approaches to epic poetry. Indeed fiction—which, if it is not the essence, enters for a very large share into both epic and dramatic poetry—was wholly alien from the genius of the Hebrew muse, whose high and noble function was not to invent but to celebrate the goodness of God, not to indulge the fancy but to express the deepest feelings of the soul, not to play with words and feign emotions but to utter profound truth and commemorate real events, and pour forth living sentiments.

These remarks imply that art, though subordinate, was not neglected, as indeed is proved by the noble relics which have come down to us, and in which the art is only relatively small and low—that is, the art is inconsiderable and secondary, merely because the topics are so august, the sentiments so grand, the religious impression so profound and sacred. At later periods, when the first fresh gushing of the muse had ceased, art in Hebrew, as is the case in all other poetry, began to claim a larger share of attention, and stands in the poems for a greater portion of their merit. Then the play of the imagination grew predominant over the spontaneous outpourings of the soul, and among other creations of the fancy alphabetical poems were produced, in which the matter is artistically distributed sometimes under two-and-twenty heads or divisions, corresponding with the number of the Hebrew letters. This is of course a peculiarity which cannot be preserved in any ordinary prose translation; but it is indicated in Ps. cxix., as found in the common Bibles; and other specimens may be seen in Ps. ix. x. xxv. xxxiv. xxxvii. cxi. cxii.

If, now, from these details we consider for a



moment what are the essential peculiarities of Hebrew poetry, we find we have to offer to the reader's attention the following observations.

The source of all true poetry is in the human mind. Even where there is a divine inspiration, this higher element must enter into the soul of man, and, blending with its workings, conform also to its laws. But every thought is not poetical. Thought and emotion become poetical only when they rise to the ideal. Poetry, in its source, is thought which ascends to a high if not perfect (relatively) conception of moral and spiritual realities. Mere intensity is not poetry, any more than strength of muscle is beauty. Still less is passion either poetry or eloquence, as Blair teaches. Passion is of a suspicious origin, and represents the soul as being mastered; whereas in all true poetry the soul is a sovereign. There may be intensity in poetry, however, and the soul, when in a poetic state, may be impassioned; but these are only accidents—results, not causes, ensuing (sometimes) from the ideal conceptions which for the time being constitute the soul, and make up consciousness. Hence all true poetry is religious; for religion is the contemplation of the highest perfection as at once holy, lovely, honourable, formative, and guiding, the object of adoration, the fountain of law, the source of obligation. But in the Hebrew poetry, the religion which constituted its essence had attributes of truth and reality such as no other poetry ever did or could possess. The intimate relation in which the nation of Israel, and the still more intimate relation in which distinguished individuals of that nation, stood to the Deity, made the religious the predominant element, and gave to that element a living and quickening fire as from heaven, which burnt from the first with the true vestal purity, and on to the last with more than vestal constancy and duration. A divine and imperishable power was thus the chief constituent of Hebrew poetry: divine truth, divine energy, divine life, are all found in the earliest productions of Hebrew song. Its chief characteristic—that by which, more than any other thing, it is contradistinguished from the poetry of all other nations—is its pure and rich religious element.

But this divine power lay not merely in the truths conveyed, nor in the facts commemorated by the songs of Zion, but equally in the strong, deep, and overflowing emotions with which the Hebrew harp thrilled sometimes to ecstasy. The origin of this religious sensibility is to be chiefly looked for in the Hebrew temperament, which was and is peculiarly rich in all the sentiments of the heart, so that devotion was as natural—as much a necessity of the character of the Israelites—as domestic affection. It is in the main owing to the religious and devotional qualities of Hebrew poetry that the Book of Psalms still, after the lapse of so many centuries, and the rise and fall of so many modes of thought and forms of social life, holds an empire over the heart of man, far wider, deeper, and more influential than what any other influence has possessed, save only that which is and will ever be exercised by 'David's greater son.'

Nor is the wonder at all diminished when we learn that the Hebrew was an essentially national muse. There is no poetry which bears a deeper or broader stamp of the peculiar influences under

which it was produced. It never ceases to be Hebrew in order to become universal, and yet it is universal while it is Hebrew. The country, the clime, the institutions, the very peculiar religious institutions, rites, and observances, the very singular religious history of the Israelites, are all faithfully and vividly reflected in the Hebrew muse, so that no one song can ever be mistaken for a poem of any other people. Still it remains true that the heart of man, at least the heart of all the most civilised nations of the earth, has been moved and swayed, and is still pleasingly and most beneficially moved and swayed by the strains of Biblical poesy. Others may, but we cannot, account for this indubitable fact, without admitting that some specially divine influence was in operation amidst the Jews.

Its originality is also a marked characteristic of Hebrew poetry. Homer had his teachers, but who taught Moses? Yet 'the divine song of Troy' is less divine than the ode of triumph over Pharaoh. The Hebrew poetry is original in this sense, that it is self-educated and self-developed. It is an indigenous plant in Palestine. Like Melchizedek, it is, in regard to an earlier culture, *ἀπάτωρ ἀμήτωρ, ἀγενεαλόγητος*; and if we cannot say that it has strictly *μήτε ἀρχὴν ἡμερῶν*, there is no danger in predicting of it, *μήτε ζωῆς τέλος ἔχων, μένει λερεὺς εἰς τὸ διηνεκές* (Heb. vii. 3).

Connected with its originality, as in part its cause, is the fact that the Hebrew muse stood nearer than any other to the first days and the earliest aspects of creation, 'when the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy' (Job xxxviii. 7). Those stars that Muse saw in the maiden purity of their earliest radiance; that song the same Muse heard when first it struck the canopy of heaven and was reverberated to earth. The rose of Sharon blushed with its first loveliness on her glad sight, and the dews of Hermon were first disturbed by her unsandalled feet. Thus there is a freshness as of morn about all her imagery. In her best days there were no stock figures of speech, no *loci communes*, nor universal recipes for forming poetry. Not even at second hand did she receive her stores, but she took what she had out of the great treasure-house of nature, and out of the fulness of her own heart. To be a master, therefore, to other poesies is the divine right and peculiar function of the Hebrew muse. Other bards may borrow and imitate; the poetry of the Bible copies nature and creates.

Hence there is a spontaneousness in its poetry. Open the Psalter at any place; you find streams pouring forth like the brooks and waterfalls that trickle and gush down the hills of Palestine after the latter rain. Nature you behold at work. All therefore is ease, and, as ease, so grace. There is no constraint, no effort, no affectation. The heart itself speaks, and it speaks because it is full and overflowing.

If we add that simplicity is another marked character of Hebrew poetry, we do little more than state that which is already implied. But such is its simplicity that it seems never to have known, in its age of purity, anything of the artificial distinctions by which critics and rhetoricians have mapped out the domain of poesy and endeavoured to supply the deficiencies of fancy by the laborious efforts of varied culture. Hebrew poetry was the voice of man communing with God, and thought as little



of the one as of the other of the two purposes which Horace ascribes to artistic poets—

'Aut prodesse volunt aut delectare poetæ.'

It was, indeed, wholly unconscious of anything but the satisfaction of a high and urgent want, which made worship a necessity, and devotion a delight. A striking confirmation of these facts is found in the circumstance that among the earliest of the 'sweet singers of Israel,' women are found. The great event which Moses, in his sublime triumphal ode, had celebrated, was forthwith taken up by Miriam, whose poetic skill could not be singular, as she is described by a general name, and was supported by other females; 'And Miriam the prophetess, the sister of Aaron' (a remarkable family was that of Amram, 'Aaron, and Moses, and Miriam their sister,' Num. xxvi. 59), 'took a timbrel in her hand; and all the women went out after her with timbrels and with dances. And Miriam answered them, Sing ye to the Lord,' etc. (Exod. xv. 20, *seq.*; see also Judg. v. 1; xi. 34; xxi. 21; 1 Sam. xviii. 7; Ps. lxxviii. 25).

Were it a matter to be determined by authority, we could easily prove that the Hebrew poetry is written in hexameters and pentameters. Josephus more than once asserts that the triumphal ode of Moses was written in hexameter verse (*Antiq.* ii. 16. 4; iv. 8. 44); and in *Antiq.* vii. 12. 3, he expressly says, 'And now David, being freed from wars and dangers, composed songs and hymns to God, of several sorts of metre; some of those which he made were trimeters and some were pentameters;' in which statement he is as much in error in regard to the verse as he is in regard to his implication that David wrote his Psalms at some one set period of his life. Not improbably Josephus was influenced in this representation regarding the alleged metres by his Grecising propensities, by which he was led to assimilate the Hebrew laws and institutions to Grecian models, with a false view of thus gaining honour to his country, and by reflection, to himself as well. Even in his day the true pronunciation of the Hebrew was lost, so that it was easy to make this or that assertion on the subject of its versification. Certainly all the attempts to which these misstatements of Josephus (see also Euseb., *Præp. Ev.* xi.; Hieron., *Præf. ad Chron.*; Euseb., p. 1; Isidor., *Orig.*, i. 38) chiefly led, have utterly failed; and whatever the fact may be, whether or not these poems were written in stricter measure than the doctrine of this article supposes, we are little likely to form an exact idea of the Hebrew measures unless we could raise David from the sleep of centuries; and at a time when, like the present, it is beginning to be felt that there has been far too much dogmatizing about even the classical versification, and that speculation and fancy have outstripped knowledge, we do not expect to find old attempts to discover the Hebrew hexameters and pentameters revived. Those who may wish to pursue the subject in its details are referred to the following works: Carpov, *Introd. in V. T.*, ii. England has the credit of opening a new path in this branch by the publication of Bishop Lowth's elegant and learned *Praelectiones de Sacra Poesi Hebraeorum*, Oxon. 1753; which may be found also in Ugolini, *Thesaur.*, xxxi.; the editions having Michaelis's *Nota ad Epimetra* are to be preferred; that of Oxon. 1810 is good: the work was translated into English by Gregory. On the

didactic poetry of the Hebrews the reader may consult Umbreit, *Sprüche Sal. Einleitung*; Rhode, *De Vet. Poetar. Sapientia Gnom. Hebraeor. imp. et Græcor.*, Havn. 1800; Unger, *De Parabolar. Jesu natura*, etc., Leips. 1828. Le Clerc, in his *Biblioth. Univers.*, ix. 226, *seq.*, has given what is worth attention; see also *Hist. Abrégée de la poésie chez les Hébr.* in the History of the Academy of Inscriptions, tom. xxiii. 92, *seq.* But the work which has, next to that of Lowth, exerted the greatest influence, is a posthumous and unfinished piece of the celebrated Herder, who has treated the subject with extraordinary eloquence and learning: *Von Geist der Ebräischen Poesie*, 1782, to be found in his collected writings; also Tübing. 1805, and Carlsruhe 1826; see also Gügler, *Die Heil. Kunst der Hebräer.*, Landshut 1814; and B. F. Guttenstein, *Die Poet. Literar. alten Israelit.*, Mannh. 1835. The subject of metre has been skilfully handled by Bellermann, *Versuch über d. Metrik der Hebräer.*, Berl. 1813. Much useful information may be found in De Wette's *Einleitung in d. A. Test.*, Berlin 1840, translated into English by Theodore Parker, Boston (U. S.) 1843. In Well-beloved's Bible translations of the poetical portions may be found, in which regard is paid to rhythm and poetical form; a very valuable guide in Hebrew poetry, both for form and substance, may be found in Noyes's *Translation of Job*, Cambridge (U. S.) 1827; of the *Psalms*, Boston (U. S.) 1831; and of the *Prophets*, Boston (U. S.) 1833; but the best, fullest, and most satisfactory work on the subject is by Ewald, *Die Poet. Bücher des Alten Bundes*, 4 vols. 8vo, Göttingen 1835-39.—J. R. B.

**POISON.** There is no reference either in the O. or N. T. to the use of poison for taking away life. The word occurs only once in the N. T. (James iii. 8), and but seldom in the O. T., and always in poetical passages, and in a metaphorical sense. In Job vi. 4 there may be an allusion to the practice, so common among barbarous nations of all times, of poisoning arrows. The words *φάρμακός* (Rev. xxi. 8) and *φάρμακον* (Gal. v. 20; Rev. ix. 21; xviii. 23) have been sometimes referred to the employment of poisonous drugs, but such is not their use in the LXX., and there can be no doubt that the A. V. is right in understanding them of 'sorcery.' There is one instance of suicide by poison in the Apocrypha (2 Maccab. x. 13), in the case of Ptolemy Macron.

The two words translated 'poison' in the A. V. are—(1.) *קֶחֶךְ*, from the unused root *קָחַ*, *incaluit*, used generally of 'heat,' 'anger' (Gen. xxvii. 44; Jer. vi. 11), but sometimes, metaphorically, of 'serpents' poison' (Deut. xxxii. 24, 33; Ps. lviii. 4 (5); cxl. 3 (4)), from its inflammatory effects on the system. The LXX. almost invariably translate it *Θυμός*, but Ps. cxl. 4, *ὁς ἀσπίδων*. (2.) *זָאֵר*, generally of vegetable poison (Deut. xxix. 18; xxxii. 32; Hos. x. 4), but sometimes of the venom of serpents (Deut. xxxii. 33; Job xx. 16). Comparing the passages in which it is found, 'rôsh' was probably a plant springing up among the corn (Hos. x. 4; Amos vi. 12) bearing a berry or fruit (Deut. xxxii. 32, 'grapes of rôsh'), either yielding a very bitter juice, or imparting the same flavour to water in which it was steeped (Jer. viii. 14; ix. 15; xxiii. 15, 'water of rôsh'). Its bitterness is evident from its constant association with 'wormwood' (Deut. xxix. 18; Lam. iii. 19; Amos



vi. 12; A. V., 'hemlock'). And since among the Jews 'bitterness' and 'poison' were kindred terms (cf. מַרְרָה, Job xx. 14; מָרִיר, Deut. xxxii. 24, for the poison of serpents'), its deadly properties may be inferred. Until our knowledge of the flora of Palestine is more complete, the identification of this plant must be merely conjectural. In the LXX. it is rightly translated by the general term *χολή*, except Hos. x. 4, where we find *ἀγρωστis*, 'couch grass' (Ven., *τιθύμαλος*, 'spurge'). The usual Vulgate rendering is 'amaritudo,' that of the A. V., 'gall;' our translators in the margin of Deut. xxix. 18 giving the alternative rendering 'rosh, or a poisonous herb.' Edmann (iv. 83) identifies the plant with the colocynth, '*Cucumis colocynthi*;' Michaelis (*Fragen.*, 145), the henbane, '*Hyoscyamus*;' or (*Suppl.*, 2220) the darnel, '*Lolium temulentum*;' Celsius, *Hierobot.*, ii. 46, the hemlock, '*Cicuta*;' Gesenius, simply on etymological grounds, *עֵרָא*, also meaning 'a head,' is in favour of the opium poppy, '*Papaver somniferum*,' from the large capsules from which the juice is obtained. None of these suggestions carry conviction with them, and we wait for fuller information.—E. V.

POL (פּוֹל) occurs twice in Scripture, and no doubt signifies 'beans,' as translated in the A. V. The first occasion is in 2 Sam. xvii. 28, where beans are described as being brought to David, as well as wheat, barley, lentils, etc., as is the custom at the present day in many parts of the East when a traveller arrives at a village. So in Ezek. iv. 9, the prophet is directed to take wheat, barley, *beans*, lentils, etc., and make bread thereof. This meaning of *pol* is confirmed by the Arabic *فول*, *ful*, which

is the same word (there being no *pe* in the Arabic), and is applied to the *bean* in modern times, as ascertained by Forskal in Egypt, and as we find in old Arabic works. The common bean, or at least one of its varieties, has been employed as an article of diet from the most ancient times, since, besides the mention of it in Scripture, we find it noticed by Hippocrates and Theophrastus under the names of *κίσμος ἑλληνικός*, to distinguish it from *κίσμος αἰγύπτιος*, the Egyptian bean, or bean of Pythagoras, which was no doubt the large farinaceous seed of *Nelumbium speciosum*. Beans were employed as articles of diet by the ancients, as they are by the moderns; and are considered to give rise to flatulence, but otherwise to be wholesome and nutritious. 'Mélangee à la quantité d'une livre sur dix à douze de farine de froment, elle fournit un assez bon pain, et donne de la consistance à la pâte lorsqu'elle est trop molle.' So Pliny: 'Inter legumina maximus honos fabæ: quippe ex qua tentatus etiam sit panis. Frumento etiam miscetur apud plerasque gentes.' Beans are cultivated over a great part of the old world, from the north of Europe to the south of India; in the latter, however, forming the cold-weather cultivation, with wheat, peas, etc. They are extensively cultivated in Egypt and Arabia. Mr. Kitto states that the extent of their cultivation in Palestine he had no means of knowing. In Egypt they are sown in November, and reaped in the middle of February (three and a half months in the ground; but that in Syria they may be had throughout the spring. The stalks are cut down with the scythe; and these are afterwards cut and crushed, to fit them for the food of camels, oxen,

and goats. The beans themselves, when sent to a market, are often deprived of their skins. Basnage reports it as the sentiment of some of the Rabbins, that beans were not lawful to the priests, on account of their being considered the appropriate food of mourning and affliction; but he does not refer to the authority; and neither in the sacred books nor in the Mishna can be found any traces of the notion to which he alludes. So far from attaching any sort of impurity to this legume, it is described as among the first-fruit offerings; and several other articles in the latter collection prove that the Hebrews had beans largely in use, after they had passed them through the mill (*Phys. Hist. of Palestine*, cccix.)—J. F. R.

POLLUX. [CASTOR AND POLLUX.]

POLYGAMY. [MARRIAGE.]

POLYGLOTT. Although the earliest specimen of a Polyglott was that of a projected work of the celebrated printer Aldus Manutius, of which one page only was published, the first of this kind was the *Complutensian Polyglott*, entitled *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta, nunc primum impressa*, etc., comprised in 6 vols. fol. We are indebted for this work to the celebrated cardinal, statesman, and general, Francis Ximenes de Cisneros, who published it at his own expense, at the cost of 50,000 ducats. It was commenced in 1502, completed in 1517, and published in 1522. The editors were Ælius Antonius, Ducas, Pincianus, Stunica, Zamora, Coronellus, and Johannes de Vergera. The three last were originally Jews. The first four volumes contain the O. T., with the Hebrew, Latin, and Greek, in three columns, the Targum, and a Latin version of the same. The fifth volume contains the Greek Testament, with the Latin Vulgate. The last volume consists of Vocabularies, Indexes, etc. etc. The Greek Testament was finished in 1517; but the MSS. were modern and not of much critical value (See Dr. Bowring's letter, *Monthly Repository* for 1827, p. 572). There is little doubt that the celebrated text of the Three Witnesses in this edition was translated from the Latin. There were 600 copies only printed of this splendid work, of which three were on vellum. One of these was sold in England, in 1829, for 600 guineas.

The *Antwerp Polyglott* was published in 1569-72, in 8 vols. fol., at the expense of Philip II., king of Spain. It contains, in addition to the Complutensian texts, a Chaldee Paraphrase, the Syriac version, and the Latin translation of Arias Montanus, which was a correction of that of Pagninus. It also contains lexicons and grammars of the various languages of the originals and versions.

The *Paris Polyglott*, in addition to the contents of the former works, has a Syriac and Arabic version of both the O. T. and N. T., with the Samaritan Pentateuch, now published for the first time, and edited by J. Morinus. This Polyglott also contains the Samaritan version of the same. It was published in 1645, in 10 vols. large folio. The editor of this valuable, but unwieldy work, was Michael le Jay, who was ruined by the publication. [LE JAY.]

The *London Polyglott*, edited by Brian Walton, afterwards Bishop of Chester, is much more comprehensive than any of the former. It was

published in 1657, in 6 vols. fol. The first volume, besides prolegomena, contains the Pentateuch, exhibiting on one page the Hebrew text, with the interlinear Latin version of Arias Montanus, the Latin Vulgate of the Clementine edition, the Septuagint of the Roman edition, and the various readings of the Cod. Alex., the Latin version of Flaminius Nobilius, the Syriac with a Latin version, the Targum of Onkelos with a Latin version, the Samaritan Pentateuch with the Samaritan version of the same, and a Latin translation serving for both, and the Arabic with a Latin version. The second volume comprises the historical books, with the Targums of Jonathan. The third volume contains the books from Job to Malachi, and, besides the versions in all the former languages, the Psalms in Ethiopic, and a Latin translation. The fourth volume has all the Deutero-canonical books in Greek, Latin, Arabic, and Syriac; the two Hebrew texts of Tobit [TOBIT], and two Chaldee and a Persian Targum on the Pentateuch, with Latin versions. The fifth volume has the N. T., with Arias Montanus's translation; the Syriac, Persic, Latin, Vulgate, Arabic, and Ethiopic versions. These, with separate Latin versions of the Oriental translations, are all given on one page. The sixth volume contains various readings and critical remarks. The whole of this stupendous labour was completed in four years. It was published by subscription, under the patronage of Oliver Cromwell, who died before its completion. This gave occasion to the cancelling of two leaves of the preface, in order to transfer to king Charles II. the compliments addressed to Cromwell. There are, in consequence, both *Republican* and *Royal* copies, the former of which are the most scarce and valuable. For the variations between these, see Butler's *Hora Biblica* and Adam Clark's *Succession of Sacred Literature*. This Polyglott was accompanied by Castell's *Hep-taglott Lexicon*, in 2 vols. fol. [CASTELL; WALTON.]

Mr. Bagster's *Polyglott*, fol., London 1831, contains in one volume the Hebrew text, the Samaritan Pentateuch, the Septuagint, Vulgate, and Syriac versions, the Greek text of Mill in the N. T., together with Luther's German, Diodati's Italian, Ostervald's French, Scio's Spanish, and the English A. V. of the Bible. The cheapest and most generally useful polyglott is one entitled *Polyglotten-Bibel zum Praktischen Handgebrauch*, edited by Drs. Stier and Theile. It contains the Hebrew, Septuagint, Vulgate, and German, in the O. T., and the Greek, Vulgate, and German, in the N. T.

There are also polyglotts of several portions of the Bible, of which one of the most valuable is that published at Constantinople, in Hebrew, Chaldee, Persian, and Arabic, in 1546.—W. W.

#### POMEGRANATE. [RIMMON.]

POMIS, DAVID DE, was born, 1525, in Spoleto, of the celebrated family called in Hebrew כֹּהֵן הַחַפְזִים, which, like the families הַנְּעָרִים and בְּנֵי הָעֲנָיִים, traced their origin to those Jews who were led into captivity after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus and Vespasian. He received his first instruction from his father, who was a very eminent and literary man, and who initiated him in all the cycle of Biblical and Talmudic lore in Mevenia. After the death of his father, De Pomis devoted himself to the study of medicine, in which

department he greatly distinguished himself. He went, in 1545, to Perugia, where he remained till 1552, prosecuting his studies in medicine, philosophy, and philology; entered into official service at Maghans in Sabionetta till 1555; became physician to Count Nicolo Ursino (1555-1560), and to Prince Sforza (1560-1563); went to Rome, and then to Venice, where he died. In the midst of all his numerous engagements, and whilst discharging the responsible duties of a high office, De Pomis was an ardent student of the Bible, and left behind him the following important works:—(1.) A Hebrew and Talmudic lexicon, entitled צִמְח דָּוִד, *the Offspring of David*, in three languages, viz., Hebrew, Latin, and Italian, Venice 1587. De Pomis made large use of R. Nathan's *Aruch*, Kimchi's *Sepher Ha-Sherashim*, and Levita's *Meturgeman* and *Tishbi*. The work is dedicated to Sixtus V. (2.) An Italian commentary on Ecclesiastes (קְהִלֶּת, *tradoto ed dichiarato*, etc.), with a translation and the Hebrew text, Venice 1571. (3.) *Discorso à l'humana misera*, etc., being a supplement to the commentary on Ecclesiastes, Venice 1572. (4.) A commentary on the Book of Job; and (5.) A commentary on the Book of Daniel, which are after the model of the commentary on Ecclesiastes, but which have not as yet been published. Comp. Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, iii. 111-113.—C. D. G.

POND, אֲנָנִים, from the obsolete אָנַן 'to burn,' or 'be hot,' and thence 'to ferment' and 'become corrupt,' as stagnant water. Properly used of the swampy pools of putrescent water left by the inundations of the Nile (Exod. vii. 19; viii. 1 (5); LXX. δῶρυγες, Vulg. 'paludes'). In Is. xix. 10, אֲנָנֵי נֶפֶשׁ, which the A. V. translates 'ponds for fish,' following the Vulg. 'lacunas ad capiendos pisces,' Diodati and Luther, is rendered by the LXX. τὰς ψυχὰς πνέουσας (the writer in Smith's *Dictionary* has failed to perceive that ζύθον = 'beer' is the translation of שָׂכָר). This rendering is supported by the authority of Gesenius, Vatablus, and Ewald; 'alle Lohnarbeiter' עֲשֵׂי שֶׂכֶר = 'they that earn wages'), 'sind seelenbetäubt'; אֲנָנִים being taken as equivalent to עֲנָנִים (Job xxx. 25), 'to be sad.' The word occurs several times of marshy pools, in contradistinction to the dry sands of the desert (Ps. cvii. 35; cxiv. 8); 'standing water' (Is. xxxv. 7; xli. 18), 'a pool.' Such pools being commonly reedy, it is rendered 'reeds' (Jer. li. 32).—E. V.

#### PONTIUS PILATE. [PILATE.]

PONTUS (Πόντος), the north-eastern province of Asia Minor, which took its name from the sea [Pontus Euxinus] that formed its northern frontier. On the east it was bounded by Colchis, on the south by Cappadocia and part of Armenia, and on the west by Paphlagonia and Galatia. Ptolemy (*Geog.* v. 5) and Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* vi. 4) regard Pontus and Cappadocia as one province; but Strabo (*Geog.* xii. p. 541) rightly distinguishes them, seeing that each formed a distinct government with its own ruler or prince. The family of Mithridates reigned in Pontus, and that of Ariarathes in Cappadocia. The two countries were also separated naturally from each other by the



Lithrus and Ophlimus mountains. The kingdom of Pontus became celebrated under Mithridates the Great, who waged a long war with the Romans, in which he was at length defeated, and his kingdom annexed to the Roman empire by Pompey (Appian, *Mithrid.*, p. 121). That Jews had settled in Pontus previous to the time of Christ, is evident from the fact that strangers from Pontus were among those assembled at Jerusalem at the Feast of Pentecost (Acts ii. 9). Christianity also became early known in this country, as the strangers 'in Pontus' are among those to whom Peter addressed his first epistle (1 Pet. i. 1). Of this province Paul's friend Aquila was a native (Acts xviii. 2). The principal towns of Pontus were Amasia, the ancient metropolis and the birth-place of the geographer Strabo, Themiscyra, Cerasus, and Trapezus; which last is still an important town under the name of Trebizond (Cellarius, *Notit.* ii. 287; Mannert. vi. 350; Rosenmüller, *Bibl. Geog.* iii. 5-9; *Encyclop. Method.*, Sect. *Geog. Ancienne*, art. 'Pontos').—J. K.

POOL in the A. V. is the rendering of three Hebrew words.

1. אֵי (Is. xiv. 23; xxxv. 7; xli. 18; xlii.

15). See POND.

2. בִּרְכָה, probably from בָּרַךְ, 'to bend the knee,' an artificial tank or cistern at which camels kneel to drink; LXX. κρήνη, κολυμβήθρα; once Cant. vii. 4, λίμνη, Vulg. 'piscina'; once Neh. ii. 14, 'aquæductus.' Akin to the Arabic 'Birkeh' and its Spanish form 'Al-berca.' 'Berêchâh' in the O. T. stands for the larger reservoirs of rain or spring-water; while 'B'or,' 'cistern,' is used for the smaller domestic tanks, of which every house had one or more. The importance of these reservoirs in a country possessing scarcely more than one perennial stream, and where wells are few and inconsiderable, can hardly be estimated by those accustomed to an unfailling abundance of the precious fluid. In Jer. xiv. 3 we have a powerful description of the disappointment caused by the failure of the water in the cisterns (נְבִים; A. V. 'pits,' cf.

Is. xlii. 15; Jer. ii. 13). The word is used of the large public reservoirs, corresponding to the tanks of India, belonging to the towns of Gibeon (2 Sam. ii. 13), Hebron (iv. 12), Samaria (1 Kings xxii. 38), and Jerusalem; 'the upper pool,' 2 Kings xviii. 17; Is. vii. 3; xxxvi. 2 (now the 'Birket Mamilla'); 'the lower pool,' Is. xxii. 9, 11 ('Birket es Sultan'); 'Hezekiah's pool,' 2 Kings xx. 20 ('Birket el-Hammâm'); 'the king's pool,' Neh. ii. 14 ('the Fountain of the Virgin'); and 'the pool of Siloah,' Neh. iii. 15, or 'the old pool,' Is. xxii. 11 ('Birket Silwân'). We read also, Eccles. ii. 6, of the 'pools' or cisterns made by Solomon to irrigate his gardens. These are doubtless the famous 'Solomon's pools' near Bethlehem, now called 'el-Burâk,' 'the tanks.' They are described as three immense tanks, partly excavated in the rocky bed of the valley, partly built up with huge stones, the bottom of the upper pool being above the top of the next, and so with the second and third. Their dimensions are respectively—length, 380, 423, 582 feet; breadth, east end, 236, 236, 207; west end, 229, 229, 148; depth, east end, 25, 39, 50 feet. An aqueduct leads from them, which terminates in the area of the Harâm, the site of the Temple.

The pools of Bethesda and Siloam, κολυμβήθρα, are mentioned in the N. T. (John v. 2, 4, 7; ix. 7). [BETHESDA; SILOAM.]

3. מִקְוֵה (Exod. vii. 19; LXX. πάν συνεστηκός ὕδωρ; Vulg. 'omnes lacus aquarum'), from קָוָה in Niph., 'to gather themselves together'; used for any collection of waters (Gen. i. 10; Lev. xi. 36).—E. V.

POOLE, MATTHEW, a learned and laborious nonconformist divine, was born at York, in 1624, of parents in affluent circumstances. Having studied at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, he afterwards became minister of Mary le Querne, London, from which he was ejected in 1662 for nonconformity. Deprived of his cure, he devoted himself to Biblical labours, especially to the great work of his life, just now to be mentioned. He engaged in many controversies, published many works of great merit, and died in 1679 at Amsterdam, whither he had retired to enjoy the toleration denied him in his native land. His greatest work is: *Synopsis Criticorum Aliorumque Scripturæ Sacre Interpretum et Commentatorum*, etc., London, 5 vols. folio, 1669-1674. To the completion of this voluminous work he devoted ten years. It was reprinted at Utrecht 1684, 5 vols. folio, and at Frankfort 1694, 5 vols. large 4to; followed, at the same place, in 1712, by another edition, 5 vols. folio. These two Frankfort editions have been unjustly depreciated by Horne (*Manual of Biblical Bibliography*, p. 249). The work must have been peculiarly valuable when it first appeared. Briefer and more accessible than the *Critici Sacri*, it has the additional advantage of exhibiting the views of other noted authors besides those in the work just named. It is a storehouse of interpretation and criticism; and notwithstanding the progress of Biblical science since its first appearance, which has necessarily lessened its value, it may still be consulted with profit.

Besides the *Synopsis* he also wrote *Annotations upon the Holy Bible, wherein the Sacred Text is inserted, and various readings annexed*, etc., the more difficult terms explained, etc., London, 2 vols., 1683; Edinburgh, 4 vols. 4to, 1803. This work, however, he did not live to complete. From the 58th chapter of Isaiah it is the joint production of several other hands.—I. J.

POOR. [ALMS.]

POPLAR. [LIBNEH.]

PORCH. 1. אֵילָם, from אָל, before, a vestibule or hall. It is used of the entrance-hall of a building (Ezek. xl. 7, 48); of the place where the throne was placed, and where judgment was administered (1 Kings vii. 7 [PALACE]); and of the verandah surrounding a court (Ezek. xli. 15). 'The porch of the Lord' (2 Chron. xv. 8; xxix. 17) seems to stand for the Temple itself.

2. מִסְדָּרֵן, a sort of colonnade or balcony with pillars (Judg. iii. 23).

3. Πυλὼν (Matt. xxvi. 71), probably the passage from the building surrounding the court to the fore-court (προαύλιον). According to Mark (xiv. 68) it was in this fore-court that the denial took place.—W. L. A.

PORCIUS FESTUS. [FESTUS.]

PORTER (שַׁעַר or שַׁעֲרָה, from שַׁעַר, a gate; LXX. θυρωρός, πυλῶρος, πύλη; Vulg. *Janitor*, *Portarius*), a person who has charge of the doors or gates of public buildings, or private houses, or of a city—a door-keeper. Thus, in 2 Kings vii. 10, 11, and 2 Sam. xviii. 26, we meet with the שַׁעַר, or porter, at the gates of a town. In the palace of the high-priest (John xviii. 17), the porter was a female, ἡ παιδίσκη, ἡ θυρωρός. See also Acts xii. 13.

The word occurs most frequently in connection with the Temple, of which the *She'arim*, who were *guards* as well as porters, were very numerous; for in 1 Chron. xxiii. 5, no less than 4000 are mentioned. They were divided into courses (1 Chron. xxvi. 1-19), and had their posts assigned them by lot (1 Chron. xxvi. 13). Besides attending to the gates and keeping order there, they seem, as Lightfoot says, to have had charge of certain treasures\* (1 Chron. xxvi. 15, compared with 2 Chron. xxv. 24, and Lightfoot's *Prospect of the Temp.*, c. 5, s. 6). Their service was required by night as well as by day, and a man called 'the Man of the Mountain of the House,' went round every night to see that all were in their places, and that none of them slept. If he found any one asleep he struck him, and had liberty to burn his clothes. To this Lightfoot thinks there is a reference in Rev. xv. 16, 'Blessed is he that watcheth and keepeth his garments' (*Temple Service*, c. 7, s. 1.)

A porter seems to have been usually stationed at the doors of sheep-folds (John x. 3). To what or whom does this θυρωρός correspond? Is it to the *Holy Spirit*, who opens the way for the true ministers of Christ?—I. J.

POSSESSION. [DEMONIACS.]

POT. [BASON; BOWL; CALDRON; CUP; POTTER.]

POTIPHAR (פּוֹטִיפָר, contract. of פּוֹטִי פָרַע, POTIPHERAH, which see; Sept. Πετεφρής), an officer of Pharaoh, probably the chief of his body-guard (Gen. xxxix. 1). Of the Midianitish merchants he purchased Joseph, whose treatment by him is described under that head. The keeper of the prison into which the son of Jacob was eventually cast treated him with kindness, and confided to him the management of the prison; and this confidence was afterwards sanctioned by the 'captain of the guard' himself, as the officer responsible for the safe custody of prisoners of state. It is sometimes denied, but more usually maintained, that this 'captain of the guard' was the same with the Potiphar who is before designated by the same title. We believe that this 'captain of the guard' and Joseph's master were the same person. It would be in accordance with Oriental usage that offenders against the court, and the officers of the court, should be in custody of the captain of the guard; and that Potiphar should have treated Joseph well after having cast him into prison, is not irreconcilable with the facts of the case. After having imprisoned Joseph in the first transport of his choler he might possibly

discover circumstances which led him to doubt his guilt, if not to be convinced of his innocence. The mantle left in the hands of his mistress, and so triumphantly produced against him, would, when calmly considered, seem a stronger proof of guilt against her than against him: yet still, to avoid bringing dishonour upon his wife, and exposing her to new temptation, he may have deemed it more prudent to bestow upon his slave the command of the state prison, than to restore him to his former employment.—J. K.

POTIPHERAH (פּוֹטִי פָרַע), the priest of On, or Heliopolis, whose daughter Asenath became the wife of Joseph [ASENATH]. The name is Egyptian, and is in the Septuagint accommodated to the analogy of the Egyptian language, being in the Cod. Vatican. Πετεφρῆ; Alex. Πετεφρῆ, al. Πετεφρῆ, Πετεφρί; which corresponds to the Egyptian ΠΕΤΕ-ΦΡΗ, qui Solis est, i. e., Soli proprius (Champollion, *Précis, Tabl. Général*, p. 23). The name is found written in various forms on the monuments, which are copied by Gesenius in his *Thesaurus*, p. 1094, from Rossellini, *Monum. Storici*, i. 117.—J. K.

POTSHERD. Potsherd is figuratively used in Scripture to denote a thing worthless and insignificant (Ps. xxii. 15; Prov. xxvi. 23; Is. xlv. 9). It may illustrate some of these allusions to remind the reader of the fact, that the sites of ancient towns are often covered, at the surface, with great quantities of broken pottery. The present writer has usually found this pottery to be of coarse texture, but coated and protected with a strong and bright-coloured glaze, mostly bluish green, and sometimes yellow. These fragments give to some of the most venerable sites in the world the appearance of a deserted pottery rather than of a town. The fact is, however, that they occur only upon the sites of towns which were built with crude brick; and this suggests that the heaps of ruin into which these had fallen being disintegrated, and worn at the surface by the action of the weather, bring to view and leave exposed the broken pottery, which is not liable to be thus dissolved and washed away. This explanation was suggested by the actual survey of such ruins; and we know not that a better has yet been offered in any other quarter. It is certainly remarkable, that of the more mighty cities of old time, nothing but potsherds now remains visible at the surface of the ground.

Towns built with stone, or kiln-burnt bricks, do not exhibit this form of ruin, which is, therefore, not usually met with in Palestine.—J. K.

POTT, DAVID JULIUS, was born at Nettelrode, in Hanover, 10th Oct. 1760. He was successively a teacher at Göttingen, professor of theology at Helmstädt, and professor of theology and consistorial-rath at Göttingen, where he died 18th Oct. 1838. He edited one of the volumes of the *Nov. Test. Koppianum* (vol. ix., containing the epistle of James and 1 and 2 Peter). He also, along with Ruperti, edited *Sylloge Comment. Theol.*, 8 vols., Helmst. 1800-7.

POTTER. The potter, and the produce of his labours, are often alluded to in the Scriptures. The fragility of his wares, and the ease with which they are destroyed, supply apt emblems of

\* The 'house of *Asuppin*,' i. e., of collections, or treasures, was committed to their care. See Keil *in loco*.



the facility with which human life and power may be broken and destroyed. It is in this figurative use that the potter's vessels are most frequently noticed in Scripture (Ps. ii. 9; Is. xxx. 14; Jer. xix. 11; Rev. ii. 27). In one place, the power of the potter to form with his clay, by the impulse of his will and hand, vessels either for honourable or for mean uses, is employed with great force by the apostle to illustrate the absolute power of God in moulding the destinies of men according to his pleasure (Rom. ix. 21). The first distinct mention of earthenware vessels is in the case of the pitchers in which Gideon's men concealed their lamps, and which they broke in pieces when they withdrew their lamps from them (Judg. vii. 16, 19). Pitchers and bottles are indeed mentioned earlier; but the 'bottle' which contained Hagar's water (Gen. xxi. 14, 15) was undoubtedly of skin; and although Rebekah's pitcher was possibly of earthenware (Gen. xxiv. 14, 15), we cannot be certain that it was so.

The potter's wheel is mentioned only once in the Bible (Jer. xviii. 2); but it must have been in use among the Hebrews long before the time of that allusion; for we now know that it existed in Egypt before the Israelites took refuge in that



437. Modern Egyptian Potter.

country (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt*, iii. 165). The processes employed by the Hebrews were probably not in any way dissimilar to those of the Egyptians, from whom the use of the wheel may be supposed to have been adopted. There is the greater probability in this, as the materials, forms, and manufacture of earthenware vessels are still very similar throughout Western Asia, and are also the same which were anciently in use. This we know from the comparison of ancient paintings and sculptures with modern manufactures, as well as from the vast quantities of broken pottery which are found upon the sites of ancient cities. The ancient potters 'frequently kneaded the clay with their feet, and after it had been properly worked up, they formed it into a mass of convenient size with the hand, and placed it on the wheel, which, to judge from that represented in the paintings, was of very simple construction, and turned with the hand. The various forms of the vases were made out by the finger during the revolution; the handles, if they had any, were afterwards affixed to them; and the devices and other ornamental parts were traced with a wooden or metal instrument, previously to their being baked. They were then

suffered to dry, and for this purpose were placed on planks of wood; they were afterwards arranged with great care on trays, and carried, by means of the usual yoke, borne on men's shoulders, to the oven' (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians*, iii. 163-167).—J. K.

#### POTTER'S-FIELD. [ACELDAMA.]

POUND. [MONEY; WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.]

PRÆTORIUM (Πραιτώριον). This word denotes the general's tent in the field, and also the house or palace of the governor of a province, whether a prætor or not. In the Gospels it is applied to the palace built by Herod the Great, at Jerusalem, and which eventually became the residence of the Roman governors in that city (Matt. xxvii. 27; Mark xv. 16; John xviii. 28, 33; xix. 9). In the two first of these texts it may, however, denote the court in front of the palace, where the procurator's guards were stationed [JERUSALEM]. Herod built another palace at Cæsarea, and this also is called the Prætorium in Acts xxiii. 35, probably because it had, in like manner, become the residence of the Roman governor, whose head-quarters were at Cæsarea. In Philip. i. 13, the word denotes the Prætorian camp at Rome—*i. e.*, the camp or quarters of the Prætorian cohort at Rome.

PRATENSIS, FELIX. Very little is known of this famous editor of the *editio princeps* of Bomberg's Rabbinic Bible beyond that he was born a Jew, was corrector of the press in Bomberg's famous printing-office, embraced Christianity in Rome 1513, was created Magister Theologus 1523, and that he died in 1539. The Rabbinic Bible, which immortalised him, was published in four parts, Venice 1516-17, four years after his embracing Christianity; and besides the Hebrew text contains as follows:—

i. In *the Pentateuch*, the Chaldee paraphrase of Onkelos, and the commentaries of Rashi.

ii. *The Prophets*, the Chaldee paraphrase, and the commentaries of Kimchi.

iii. *The Hagiographa*, the Chaldee paraphrase, and Kimchi's commentary on *the Psalms*, the Chaldee paraphrase and Ibn Jachja's commentary on *Proverbs*, the Chaldee paraphrase and Nachmanides and Farissol's commentaries on *Job*; the reputed Chaldee paraphrases of Joseph the Blind and Rashi's commentary on *the Five Megilloth*; Levi b. Gershom's commentary on *Daniel*; Rashi's and Simon Darshan's (פ"ה דשמעוני) commentary on *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, and *Chronicles*, the latter consisting of excerpts from the Jalkut Shimoni [CARA; MIDRASH]. Appended to the volume are the Targum Jerusalem on the Pentateuch, the Second Targum on Esther, the variations between Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali, the differences between the Eastern and Western Codd., Aaron b. Asher's Dissertation on the Accents, Maimonides' thirteen articles of faith [MAIMONIDES], the six hundred and thirteen precepts [EDUCATION], a Table of the Parshoth and Haptharoth, both according to the Spanish and German ritual. Considering that this was the first effort to give some of the Masoretic apparatus, it is no wonder that the work is imperfect, and that it contains many blunders. Pratensis also published a Latin translation of the Psalms, with annotations, first printed at Venice 1515, then

Hazenau 1522, Basle 1526. Comp. Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, ii. 363; iii. 935, *seq.*; Masch's ed. of Le Long's *Bibliotheca Sacra*, i. 96, *seq.*; Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, col. b, 2111, *seq.*—C. D. G.

PRAYER (תַּחֲנִיחַ, from תָּנַח, to incline to one; Hithp. to pray, to supplicate; תַּפִּלָּה, from פָּלַל, to bow down; Piel and Hithp., to pray; LXX. usually δέσους, but frequently προσευχή).

1. The Hebrew idea of prayer was that of an invocation of God for help or blessing. The Divine Being was regarded as accessible by men (Deut. iv. 29; 1 Chron. xxviii. 9, etc.), as graciously inclined to listen to their cry (Ps. cxv. 18, 19; lxxxvi. 5-7; cii. 17; Jer. xxxiii. 3; Neh. i. 11, etc.), as able and willing to supply all their need (Ps. lvii. 2; xxxiv. 10; lxxv. 2), and as granting blessing in answer to prayer (Ps. l. 15; lvii. 2; Ezek. xxxvi. 24-37, etc.). Hence the act of prayer is sometimes called a *seeking of the Lord* (Deut. iv. 29; 1 Chron. xvi. 10; 2 Chron. xx. 3; Ps. xxxiv. 10; Is. lv. 6, etc.); an *intreating of the face of the Lord* (Exod. xxii. 11; 1 Kings xiii. 6); a *pouring out of the heart or soul before him, or before his face* (Ps. lxii. 8; 1 Sam. i. 15; Lam. ii. 19); a *crying or calling unto God* (Ps. lv. 16, 17; cxx. 1; cxlv. 18, 19; Is. lviii. 6, 7, 9, etc.); a *beseeching of God* (Exod. xxxii. 11; xxxiii. 18; Num. xii. 19; Ps. lxxx. 14, etc.); and prayer itself is called a *cry* (תַּחֲנִיחַ, δέσους, 1 Kings viii. 28; Ps. xvii. 1; lxi. 1; cxlii. 7; Jer. xi. 14: שִׁנְיָה, Ps. xxxix. 12; comp. Jer. viii. 19; 1 Sam. v. 12); a *complaint* (תַּחֲנִיחַ, δέσους, Ps. cxlii. 2); and a *roaring* (תַּחֲנִיחַ, Ps. xxii. 1). In the N. T. this idea of prayer as an approach of the soul unto God, with desire and request for help, is even more explicitly enunciated (comp. Matt. vi. 5, ff.; vii. 7, ff.; xviii. 19; xxi. 22; Luke x. 2; xviii. 1-8; John xiv. 13; xvi. 23-26; Eph. vi. 18, 19; Phil. iv. 6; Col. iv. 2, 3; 2 Thess. i. 11; 2 Thess. iii. 1, 2, 5; James i. 5-7; v. 13, 16, etc.). But in neither the O. T. nor the N. T. is any explanation given of the rationale of prayer, or any attempt made to solve the speculative difficulties by which the subject is beset.

In the progress of spiritual degeneracy, this idea of prayer perished out of the minds of the mass of the people, and for it was substituted a belief in the worth of the mere outward form as a mode of pleasing God (Tob. xii. 8, 9; Ecclus. xxviii. 2; Matt. vi. 7). With the carnal Pharisees of our Lord's time prayer was valued more as a means of securing the praise of men than as a means of obtaining blessing from God (Matt. vi. 5, ff.; Luke xi. 1, ff.; xx. 46, 47).

2. The *postures* in prayer commonly used by the Hebrews were—*standing* (1 Sam. i. 26; 1 Kings viii. 22; Luke xviii. 11), or *kneeling* (1 Kings viii. 34; 2 Chron. vi. 13; Ezra ix. 5; Dan. vi. 10; Luke xxii. 41); in both cases with the hands lifted up (Ps. xviii. 2; cxxxiv. 2; Lam. ii. 19; iii. 41; 2 Maccab. iii. 20), or spread out towards heaven (Ezra ix. 5; Is. i. 15). [ATTITUDES.] In cases of deep contrition the hands might be employed to smite on the breast (Luke xviii. 13); under the burden of anxiety or grief the head might sink on the breast (Ps. xxxv. 12), or be buried between the knees

(1 Kings xviii. 42); and even, under the influence of deep emotion, the whole body might be prostrated on the ground (Gen. xxiv. 26; Exod. xxxiv. 8; Neh. viii. 6; Judith ix. 1). The Jew prayed with his head covered—a usage still followed by the Jews even in occidental countries. In private prayer they might sometimes retire to an inner chamber (Matt. vi. 6), but they usually preferred the open air, and their favourite place was the upper chamber or flat roof of the house (Dan. vi. 11; Judith viii. 5; Tob. iii. 12; Acts i. 13; x. 9); though sometimes they sought some retired height (1 Kings xviii. 42; Matt. xiv. 23; Mark vi. 46; Luke vi. 12). Those resident in Jerusalem sought the temple for prayer (Luke xviii. 10; Acts iii. 1, comp. Is. lvi. 7); those at a distance seem to have turned in the direction of the temple (2 Chron. vi. 34; Ezra iv. 58; Dan. vi. 11); so far as might be, to look unto the holy of holies where Jehovah dwelt (Ps. v. 7).

3. As to *seasons of prayer*, nothing is prescribed in Scripture; nor in the earlier ages do there seem to have been any fixed times for prayer. David tells us that he prayed three times a day—morning, mid-day, and evening (Ps. lv. 18); and Daniel followed the same usage (vi. 10). What was probably a voluntary habit on the part of pious Jews in the earlier times, seems to have become at a later period matter of prescription; and the stated hours for prayer were the third, the sixth, and the ninth (Acts ii. 15; x. 9; iii. 1; x. 30); i.e., according to our reckoning, at nine o'clock A.M. (the hour of the morning sacrifice), twelve o'clock noon, and three o'clock P.M. (the hour of the evening sacrifice (comp. Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 4. 3)). The Jews were wont to offer prayer on extraordinary occasions, such as the dedication of the temple (1 Kings viii. 22); also when they were engaged or about to engage in battle (1 Chron. v. 20; 1 Maccab. v. 33; xi. 71, ff.), and generally before any important undertaking (Prov. iii. 6; xvi. 3; Ps. xxxvii. 5; Acts ix. 40; Judith xiii. 7). A thanksgiving prayer seems also to have been usually offered by them before eating or drinking (Matt. xv. 36; John vi. 11; Acts xxvii. 35).

For the synagogue service of prayer, see SYNAGOGUE. For rabbinical opinions and prescriptions, see Otho, *Lex. Rabbin. Philol.*, s.v. Preces.—W. L. A.

PRICÆUS OR PRICE, JOHN, LL.D., was a learned divine of the 17th century. He was born in London in 1600, and educated at Westminster School. Soon after completing his studies at Oxford he went over to the church of Rome. Having gone to Italy he was appointed superintendent of the museum at Florence; and afterwards held the Greek chair at Pisa. He died in St. Augustine's convent at Rome in 1676. His works are—*Commentarii in Varios Novi Testamenti libros Matth. Luc. Acta, Tim. i. et ii., Titum, Philem. Jac. Joannis Epistolas tres, etc.*; *Annotationes in Psalmorum librum*, folio, Lond. 1660. These works were first published separately. They also appeared in the *Critici Sacri*. The notes are both learned and judicious. Dr. Harwood says, 'This is a book of great character abroad; it contains many valuable observations, particularly illustrating the modes of diction which occur in the sacred classics from profane authors' (Orme's *Bib.*)—W. J. C.



PRIDEAUX, HUMPHREY, D.D., was born at Padstow in Cornwall in the year 1648, and after his education, first at Liskeard and Bodmin, and subsequently at Westminster School and Christ Church, Oxford, he became successively rector of St. Clement's, Oxford; prebendary of Norwich; rector of Bladen, Oxfordshire; vicar of Saham, Norfolk; archdeacon of Suffolk; vicar of Trowse, Norfolk; and in 1702 dean of Norwich. It is said that it was owing to ill-health alone that he was not raised to the episcopal dignity. In passing through his various offices, he published, from time to time, many well-known works, which proved him to possess great classical attainments, as well as theological knowledge and polemical divinity, and the more special acquisition of ecclesiastical law. These works would, indeed, have kept his name from oblivion; but what secures him lasting reputation is his *Connection of the Old and New Testaments, in the History of the Jews and Neighbouring Nations, from the declaration of the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah to the time of Christ*. This admirable work, notwithstanding the increased knowledge of recent discoveries in Oriental literature, is not likely to be supplanted, so thoroughly has the author illustrated his subject with all sorts of suitable learning—Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and rabbinic. It was published in two several portions, the former of which serves, in Prideaux's own words, 'as an epilogue to the Old Testament,' and the latter 'as a prologue to the New.' Considered, indeed, in this point of view, the work may well be deemed the earliest of English contributions to what the Germans call *Einleitung*, very much of its contents having passed into the *Introductions* of modern times. Of the sterling qualities of the author and of his book, in its own particular department of Biblical science, the late learned Dr. M'Caul, who was himself an accomplished scholar in that line, thus writes:—'It is an example and specimen of profound and varied reading and scholarship, and is therefore not merely a compendium of information convenient to the student, but by laying open to him the sources, the knowledge of whose existence is the first condition to becoming learned, an introduction to learning itself' (*An Account of the Rabbinic Authorities*, prefixed to Tegg's edition of the *Connection* [London 1858], vol. i. p. xxxvi.) One proof of the excellence of this great work is its frequent republication. Besides the useful edition with notes and analyses, and introduction by Dr. M'Caul and Mr. Wheeler, which we have referred to above, the work is found in a very recent edition of the Oxford University press [1851], which has often reprinted it. The eleventh edition of 1749, in four vols. 8vo, is the best of the old editions. Dean Prideaux died in the year 1724.—P. H.

PRIEST, HIGH-PRIEST, etc. (כֹּהֵן, *priest*; Sept. ἱερεύς; Vulg. sacerdos). The English word is generally derived from the N. T. term presbyter [elder], the meaning of which is, however, essentially different from that which was intended by the ancient terms. It would come nearer, if derived from προΐστημι or προϊστάμαι, 'to preside,' etc. It would then correspond to Aristotle's definition of a priest, τῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς κύριος, 'presiding over things relating to the gods' (*Polit.* iii. 14), and with the very similar one in Heb. v. 1; 'every high-priest taken from among men, is constituted

on the behalf of men, with respect to their concerns with God (τὰ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν), that he may present both gifts and sacrifices for sins.' It would then adequately represent the ἱερεὺς (ὁ ἱερεὺς ῥέζων) of the Greeks, and the sacerdos (a sacris faciundis) of the Latins. The primitive meaning of the Hebrew word is not easily determined, because the verb, in its radical form, nowhere occurs. Gesenius observes: 'In Arabic it denotes to prophesy, to foretell as a soothsayer, and among the heathen Arabs the substantive bore the latter signification; also that of a mediator or middle person who interposed in any business, which seems to be its radical meaning, as prophets and priests were regarded as mediators between men and the Deity. In the earliest families of the race of Shem, the offices of priest and prophet were undoubtedly united; so that the word originally denoted both, and at last the Hebrew idiom kept one part of the idea and the Arabic another' (*Hebräisches und Chaldäisches Handwörterbuch*, Leipz. 1823). It is worthy of remark, that all the persons who are recorded in Scripture as having legally performed priestly acts, but who were not strictly sacerdotal, come under the definition of a prophet, viz., persons who received supernatural communications of knowledge generally, as Adam, Abraham (Gen. xx. 7), Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Job, Samuel, Elijah (comp. Luke i. 70). The primary meaning of the Hebrew word is regarded by Kimchi, Castell, Giggeius, Ernesti, Simonis, Tittmann, and Eichhorn, to be the rendering of honourable and dignified service, like that of ministers of state to their sovereign. Nearly similar is the idea adopted by Cocceius and Schultens, viz., drawing near, as to a king or any supreme authority. The following definition of a priest may be found sufficiently comprehensive:—A man who officiates or transacts with God on behalf of others, statedly, or for the occasion.

It will now be attempted to trace the *Biblical origin and development* of the subject, for which purpose the inquiry will be pursued upon the plan of Townsend's *Historical and Chronological Arrangement of the Scriptures*, London 1827, notwithstanding the doubts which may be entertained respecting the true chronological order of certain books and passages. We accede to the Jewish opinion, that Adam was the first priest. The divine institution of sacrifices, immediately after the fall, seems connected with the event, that 'the Lord God made coats of skins to Adam and his wife, and clothed them' (Gen. iii. 21)—that is, with the skins of animals which had been offered in sacrifice (for the permission to eat animal food was not given till after the Deluge, comp. Gen. i. 29, ix. 3), expressive of their faith in the promise of the victorious yet suffering 'seed of the woman' (ver. 15): and judging from the known custom of his immediate descendants, we infer that Adam now also became the head and ruler of the woman (ver. 16), officiated in offering the sacrifice as well on her behalf as his own. Judging from the same analogy, it seems further probable that Adam acted in the same capacity on behalf of his sons Cain and Abel (and possibly of their children), who are each said to have 'brought' his respective offering, but not to have personally presented it (iv. 3-5). The place evidently thus indicated would seem to have been the situation of 'the cherubim' at the east of the garden of Eden (iii. 24), called



'the face' (iv. 14), and 'the presence of the Lord' (ver. 16; comp. Hebrew of Exod. xxxiv. 24; Lev. ix. 5); and from which Jehovah conferred with Cain (ver. 9): circumstances which, together with the name of their offering, מִנְחָה, which, sometimes at least, included bloody sacrifices in after times (1 Sam. ii. 17; xxvi. 19; Mal. i. 13, 14), and the appropriation of the skins to the offerer (comp. Lev. vii. 8), would seem like the rudiments of the future tabernacle and its services, and when viewed in connection with many circumstances incidentally disclosed in the brief fragmentary account of things before the Exodus, such as the Sabbath (Gen. ii. 2, 3), the distinction observed by Noah, and his burnt-offerings upon the altar of clean and unclean beasts (viii. 20), the prohibition of blood (ix. 4), tithes (xiv. 20), priestly blessing (ver. 19), consecration with oil, and vows (xxviii. 18-22), the Levirate law (xxxviii. 8), weeks (xxix. 27), distinction of the Hebrews by their families (Exod. ii. 1), the office of elder during the bondage in Egypt (iii. 16), and a place of meeting with Jehovah (v. 22; comp. xxv. 22), would favour the supposition that the Mosaic dispensation, as it is called, was but an authoritative re-arrangement of a patriarchal church instituted at the fall. The fact that Noah officiated as the priest of his family, upon the cessation of the Deluge (B. C. 2347) is clearly recorded (Gen. viii. 20), where we have an altar built, the ceremonial distinctions in the offerings already mentioned, and their propitiatory effect, 'the sweet savour,' all described in the words of Leviticus (comp. i. 9; xi. 47). These acts of Noah, which seem like the resumption rather than the institution of an ordinance, were doubtless continued by his sons and their descendants, as *heads of their respective families*. Following our arrangement, the next glimpse of the subject is afforded by the instance of Job (B. C. 2130), who 'sent and sanctified his children' after a feast

they had held, and offered burnt-offerings, עֹלֹת, 'according to the number of them all,' and 'who did this continually,' either constantly or after every feast (i. 5). A direct reference, possibly to priests, is lost in our translation of xii. 19, 'he leadeth *princes* away spoiled,' כְּהֹנִים; Sept. *lepr̄is*; Vulg. *sacerdotes*; a sense adopted in Dr. Lee's *Translation*, London 1837. May not the difficult passage, xxxiii. 23, contain an allusion to priestly duties? A case is there supposed of a person divinely chastised in order to improve him (xix. 22); 'If then there be a messenger with him,' מַלְאָךְ, which means priest (Eccles. v. 6;

Mal. ii. 7), 'an interpreter,' מְלִיץ, or mediator generally (2 Chron. xxxii. 31; Is. xliii. 27); 'one among a thousand,' or of a family (Judg. vi. 15), 'my family,' literally 'my thousand' (comp. Num. i. 16), 'to show to man his uprightness,' or rather 'duty' (Prov. xiv. 2), part of the priest's office *in such a case* (Mal. ii. 7; comp. Deut. xxiv. 8), then such an individual 'is gracious,' or rather will supplicate for him, and *saith*, 'Deliver him from going down into the pit,' or grave, for 'I have found a ransom,' a cause or ground in him for favourable treatment—namely, the penitence of the sufferer, who consequently recovers (xxv. 29). The case of Abraham and Abimelech is very similar (Gen. xx. 3-17), as also that of Job himself and his three misjudging friends, whom the Lord commands to avert chastisement from themselves by

taking to him bullocks and rams, which he was to offer for them as a burnt-offering, and to *pray* for them (xlii. 8). The instance of Abram occurs next in historical order, who, upon his first entrance into Canaan, attended by his family (B. C. 1921), 'built an altar, and called upon the name of the Lord' (Gen. xii. 7, 8). Upon returning victorious from the battle of the kings, he is congratulated by Melchizedek, the Canaanitish king of Salem, and 'priest of the most high God' (xiv. 18). For the ancient union of the royal and sacerdotal offices, in Egypt and other countries, see Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, Lond. 1842, i. 245. Abram next appears entering into covenant with God as the head and representative of his seed; on which occasion those creatures only are slain which were appointed for sacrifice under the law (xv. 9-21). Isaac builds an altar (B. C. 1804), evidently as the head of his family (Gen. xxvi. 25); his younger son Jacob offers a sacrifice, זָבַח (xxxi. 54), and 'calls his brethren to eat of it' (comp. Lev. vii. 15); builds an altar at Shalem (xxxiii. 20), makes another by *divine command*, and, evidently as the head of his household, at Bethel (xxxv. 1-7), and pours a drink-offering, נֹסֵךְ (comp. Num. xv. 7, etc.), upon a pillar (ver. 14). Such was the state of the institution we are considering during the patriarchal times. *It henceforth becomes connected with Egypt, and materially modified in consequence.* The marriage of Joseph (B. C. 1715) incidentally discloses the existence of priests in that country; for it is recorded that 'Pharaoh gave Joseph to wife a daughter of Potipherah, priest of On' (xli. 45). The priests of Egypt had evidently been endowed with lands by the Egyptian kings; for when the reigning Pharaoh, by the advice of Joseph, took all the land of the Egyptians in lieu of corn (xlvii. 20), the priests were not compelled to make the same sacrifice of theirs (ver. 22); nor was the tax of the fifth part of the produce entailed upon it (ver. 26), as on that of the other people (ver. 24). They seem also to have had a public maintenance besides (ver. 22; Herod. ii. 37). It may be serviceable, in the sequel, if we advert at this point to some of the numerous and truly important points of resemblance between the Egyptian and Jewish priests—viz., that the sacerdotal order constituted one of the four principal casts, of the highest rank, next to the king, and from whom were chosen his confidential and responsible advisers (comp. 2 Sam. viii. 18; 1 Chron. xviii. 17; Is. xix. 11; Diodorus, i. 73); they associated with the monarch, whom they assisted in the performance of his public duties, to whom they explained from the sacred books those lessons which were laid down for his conduct. Each deity had *several priests* and a *high-priest* (Herod. ii. 37); the latter, of whatever deity, held the first and most honourable station. The minor priests were divided into various grades, having distinct offices, as well as the scribes and priests of the kings. The same office usually descended from father to son, but was sometimes changed. They enjoyed important privileges, which extended to their whole family. They were exempt from taxes. Wine was allowed to them only in the strictest moderation, and entire abstinence from it was required during the fasts, which were frequent (Plut., *De Isid.*, sec. 6). Each grade of the priests was distinguished by its peculiar cos-



tume. The high-priest, who, among other official duties, anointed the king, wore a mantle made of an entire leopard-skin; as did the king when engaged in priestly duties. The under-dresses of priests, of all orders, were made of linen, and they were not allowed to wear woollen in a temple (Herod., ii. 81). The undeniable similarity between the dresses of the Egyptian and Jewish priests will be hereafter illustrated. Besides their religious duties, the priests fulfilled the offices of judges, legislators, and counsellors of the king; and the laws, forming part of their sacred books, could only be administered by members of that order (Wilkinson, i. 237, 257-282).

In returning to the Biblical history, we next find Jethro, priest of Midian, the father-in-law of Moses, possibly a priest of the true God (Exod. iii. 1), and probably his father in the same capacity (ii. 16). In Exod. v. 1, 3, the whole nation of the Israelites is represented as wishing to sacrifice and to hold a feast to the Lord. The first step, though *very* remote, towards the formation of the Mosaic system of priesthood, was the consecration of the first-born, in memory of the destruction of the first-born of Egypt (xiii. 2, 14-16); for, instead of these, God afterwards took the Levites to attend upon him (Num. iii. 12). As to the popular idea, both among Jews and Christians, that the right of priesthood was thus transferred from the first-born generally to the tribe of Levi, or rather to one family of that tribe, we consider, with Patrick, that it is utterly groundless (*Commentary on Exod.* xix. 22; Num. iii. 12; see Campegi. Vitringa, *Observ. Sacrae*, ii. 33; Outram, *De Sacrificiis*, i. 4). The substance of the objection is, that Aaron and his sons were consecrated *before* the exchange of the Levites for the first-born, that the Levites were *afterwards* given to minister unto them, but had nothing to do with the priesthood, and that the peculiar right of God in the first-born originated in the Exodus. The last altar, before the giving of the law, was built by Moses, probably for a memorial purpose only (xvii. 15; comp. Josh. xxii. 26, 27). At this period the office of priest was so well understood, and so highly valued, that Jehovah promises, as an inducement to the Israelites to keep his covenant, that they should be to him 'a kingdom of priests' (xix. 6), which, among other honourable appellations and distinctions originally belonging to the Jews, is transferred to Christians (1 Pet. ii. 9). The first introduction of the word *priests*, in this part of the history, is truly remarkable. It occurs just previous to the giving of the law (B.C. 1491), when, as part of the cautions against the too eager curiosity of the people, lest they should 'break through unto the Lord and gaze' (Exod. xix. 21), it is added, 'and let the priests which come near unto the Lord sanctify themselves, lest the Lord break through upon them' (ver. 22). Here, then, priests are incontestably spoken of as an already existing order, which was now about to be remodified. Nor is this the last reference to these ante-Sinaitic priests. Selden observes that the phrases 'the priests the Levites' (Deut. xvii. 9), and 'the priests the sons of Levi' (xxi. 5), and even the phrase, 'the Levites alone' (xviii. 6, comp. 1), are used to include all others who had been priests before God took the sons of Aaron peculiarly to serve him in this office (*De Synedr.* ii. 8, pp. 2, 3). Aaron is summoned at this juncture to go up with Moses unto the Lord

on Mount Sinai (Exod. xix. 24). Another remarkable circumstance is then recorded. Moses, now acting as 'mediator,' and endowed with an extraordinary commission, builds an altar under the hill, and sends 'young men of the children of Israel, who offered burnt-offerings, and sacrificed peace-offerings of oxen unto the Lord' (xxiv. 5). Various interpretations are given to the phrase 'young men'; but, upon a view of all the circumstances, we incline to think that they were young *laymen*, purposely selected by Moses for this act, in order to form a complete break between the former priesthood and the new, and that the recommencement and re-arrangement of the priesthood under divine authority might be made more palpably distinct. In the same light we consider the many priestly acts performed by Moses himself, at this particular time, as in ch. xxix. 25; xl. 25, 27, 29; like those of Gideon, Judg. vi. 25-27; of Samuel, 1 Sam. vii. 9; of David, 1 Chron. xxi. 26. Yet these especial permissions, upon emergencies and extraordinary occasions, had their limits, as may be seen in the fate of 'the men of Bethshemesh,' 1 Sam. vi. 19; and of Uzzah, 2 Sam. vi. 7.

The designation and call of Aaron and his sons to the priesthood are commanded in Exod. xxviii. 1, and holy garments to be made for Aaron, 'for glory and for beauty' (ver. 2), and for his sons (ver. 40), by persons originally skilful, and now also inspired for the purpose (ver. 3), the chief of whom were Bezaleel and Aholiab (xxx. 2-6). As there were some garments common both to the priests and the high-priest, we shall begin with those of the former, taking them in the order in which they would be put on. 1. The first was כִּנְדָּשִׁי בָר, 'linen breeches,' or drawers (xxviii. 42; Sept. περισκελῆ λινά; Vulg. *feminalia linea*). These were to be of fine twined linen, and to reach from the loins to the middle of the thighs. According to Josephus—whose testimony, however, of course,

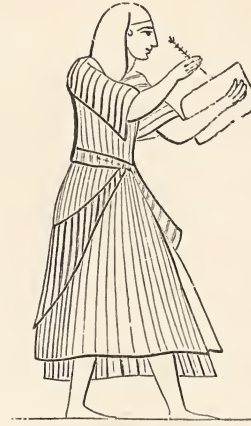


438. Drawers and Girdle.

relates only to his own time—they reached only to the middle of the thigh, where they were tied fast (*Antiq.* iii. 7. 1). Such drawers were worn universally in Egypt. In the sculptures and paintings of that country, the figures of workmen and servants have no other dress than a short kilt or apron, sometimes simply bound about the loins and lapping over in front; other figures have short loose

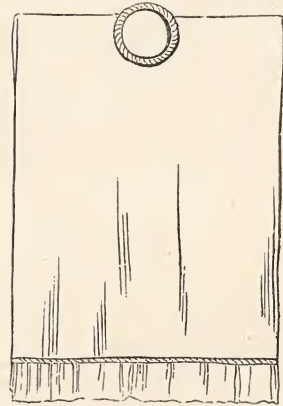
drawers; while a third variety of this article, fitting closely and extending to the knees, appears in the figures of some idols, as in No. 438. This last sort of drawers seems to have been peculiar in Egypt to the gods and to the priests, whose attire was often adapted to that of the idols on which they attended. The priests, in common with other persons of the upper classes, wore the drawers under other robes. No mention occurs of the use of drawers by any other class of persons in Israel except the priests, on whom it was enjoined for the sake of decency. 2. The coat of fine linen or cotton, כתנת שש (Exod. xxxix. 27), *tunica byssina*. This was worn by men in general (Gen. xxxvii. 3); also by women (2 Sam. xiii. 18; Cant. v. 3), next to the skin. It was to be of woven work. Josephus states that it reached down to the feet, and sat close to the body, and had sleeves, which were tied fast to the arms, and was girded to the breast a little above the elbows by a girdle. It had a narrow aperture about the neck, and was tied with certain strings hanging down from the edge over the breast and back, and was fastened above each shoulder (*Antiq.* iii. 7. 2). But this garment, in the case of the priests and high-priest, was to be brodered (xxviii. 4), כתנת תשבץ, 'a brodered coat,' by which Gesenius understands a coat of cloth worked in checkers or cells. Braunius compares it to the reticulum in the stomach of ruminant animals (*De Vestitu*, i. 17). The Sept. gives χιτων κοσμηβωρος, which seems to refer to the tassels or strings; Vulg. *linea stricta*, which seems to refer to its close fitting. 3. The girdle, אבנט (xxviii. 40); Sept. ζώνη; Vulg. *baltus*. This was also worn by magistrates (Is. xxii. 21). The girdle for the priests was to be made of fine twined linen, and blue, and purple, and scarlet, of needlework (xxxix. 29). Josephus describes it as often going round, four fingers broad, but so loosely woven that it might be taken for the skin of a serpent; and that it was embroidered with flowers of scarlet, and purple, and blue, but that the warp was nothing but linen. The beginning of its circumvolution was at the breast; and when it had gone often round, it was there tied, and hung loosely down to the ankles while the priest was not engaged in any laborious service, for in that position it appeared in the most agreeable manner to the spectators; but when he was obliged to assist at the offering of sacrifices, and to do the appointed service, in order that he might not be hindered in his operations by its motion, he threw it to the left hand, and bore it on his right shoulder (*Antiq.* iii. 7. 2). The mode of its hanging down is illustrated by the cut No. 441, where the girdle is also richly embroidered; while the imbricated appearance of the girdle, רקם מעשה, may be seen very plainly in No. 438. The next cut, No. 439, of a priestly scribe of ancient Egypt, offers an interesting specimen of both tunic and girdle. Other Egyptian girdles may be seen under ABNET. 4. The bonnet, cap, or turban, מנבעה (xxviii. 40); Sept. κίδαρις; Vulg. *tiara*. The bonnet was to be of fine linen (xxxix. 28). In the time of Josephus it was circular, covering about half the head, something like a crown, made of thick linen swathes doubled round many times, and sewed together, surrounded by a linen cover to hide the seams of the swathes, and sat so close that it would not fall off when the body was bent down (*Antiq.* iii. 7. 3). The dress of the high-priest was precisely the same with that of the common priests in all the foregoing parti-

culars, in addition to which he had (1) a robe, מעיל (xxviii. 4), ποδήρη, *tunica*. This was not a mantle, but a second and larger coat without sleeves; a kind of surtout worn by the laity, especially persons



439. Girdle and Tunic.

of distinction (Job i. 20; ii. 12), by kings (1 Sam. xv. 27; xviii. 4; xxiv. 5, 12). This garment, when intended for the high-priest, and then called אה מעיל האפד, 'the robe of the ephod,' was to be of one entire piece of woven work, all of blue, with an aperture for the neck in the middle of the upper part, having its rim strengthened and adorned with a border. The hem had a kind of fringe, composed of tassels, made of blue, purple, and scarlet, in the form of pomegranates; and between every two pomegranates there was a small golden bell, so



440. Egyptian Tunic.

that there was a bell and a pomegranate alternately all round (xxviii. 31-35). The use of these bells may have partly been, that by the high-priest shaking his garment at the time of his offering incense on the great day of expiation, etc., the people without might be apprised of it, and unite their prayers with it (comp. Eccles. xlv. 9; Luke i. 10; Acts x. 4; Rev. viii. 3, 4). Josephus describes this robe of the ephod as reaching to the feet, and consisting of one entire piece of woven work, and



parted where the hands came out (John xix. 23). He also states that it was tied round with a girdle, embroidered with the same colours as the former, with a mixture of gold interwoven (*Antiq.* iii. 7. 4). It is highly probable that this garment was also derived from Egyptian usage. There are instances at Thebes of priests wearing over the coat a loose sleeveless robe, and which exposes the sleeves of the inner tunic. The fringe of bells and pomegranates seems to have been the priestly substitute for the fringe bound with a blue riband, which all the Israelites were commanded to wear. Many traces of this fringe occur in the Egyptian remains. The use assigned to it, 'that looking on this fringe they should remember the Lord's commandments,' seems best explicable by the supposition that the Egyptians had connected some superstitious ideas with it (*Num.* xv. 37-40). (2) The ephod, **עֶפֹד**, *épōuls*, *superhumeral* (*Exod.* xxviii. 4). This was a short cloak covering the shoulders and breast.



441. Ephod and Girdle.

It is said to have been worn by Samuel while a youth ministering before the Lord (1 Sam. ii. 18); by David while engaged in religious service (2 Sam. vi. 14); and by inferior priests (1 Sam. xxii. 18). But in all these instances it is distinguished as a linen ephod, and was not a sacred but honorary vestment, as the Sept. understands it in 2 Sam. vi. 14, *στολήν ἔξαλλον*; but the ephod of the high-priest was to be made of gold, of blue, of purple, of scarlet, and fine twined linen, with cunning work, **הָיָה**. Though it probably consisted of one piece, woven throughout, it had a back part and a front part, united by shoulder-pieces. It had also a girdle; or rather strings went out from each side and tied it to the body. On the top of each shoulder was to be an onyx stone, set in sockets of gold, each having engraved upon it six of the names of the children of Israel, according to the precedence of birth, to memorialise the Lord of the promises made to them (*Exod.* xxviii. 6-12, 29). Josephus gives sleeves to the ephod (*Antiq.* iii. 7. 5). It may be considered as a substitute for the leopard-skin worn by the Egyptian high-priests in their most sacred duties, as in No. 441, where the ephod appears no less plainly. In other figures of Egyptian priests, the shoulder-pieces are equally apparent. They are even perceptible in No. 439. The Egyptian

ephod is, however, highly charged with all sorts of idolatrous figures and emblems, and even with scenes of human sacrifices. The Sept. rendering of **עֶפֹד**, 'cunning work,' is *ἐργον ὑφαντὸν ποιητοῦ*, 'woven-work of the embroiderer,' a word which especially denotes a manufacturer of tissues adorned with figures of animals (Strabo, xvii., p. 547, Sieb.) Then came (3) the breastplate, **חֹשֶׁן**, *peristhḗthion*; Vulg. *rationale*: a gorget, ten inches square, made of the same sort of cloth as the ephod, and doubled so as to form a kind of pouch or bag (*Exod.* xxxix. 9), in which was to be put the URIM and THUMMIM, which are also mentioned as if already known (xxviii. 30). The external part of this gorget was set with four rows of precious stones: the first row, a sardius, a topaz, and a carbuncle; the second, an emerald, a sapphire, and a diamond; the third, a figure, an agate, and an amethyst; and the fourth, a beryl, an onyx, and a jasper—set in a golden socket. Upon each of these stones was to be engraved the name of one of the sons of Jacob. In the ephod, in which there was a space left open sufficiently large for the admission of this pectoral, were four rings of gold, to which four others at the four corners of the breastplate corresponded; the two lower rings of the latter being fixed inside. It was confined to the ephod by means of dark blue ribands, which passed through these rings; and it was also suspended from the onyx stones on the shoulder by chains of gold, or rather cords of twisted gold threads, which were fastened at one end to two other larger rings fixed in the upper corners of the pectoral, and by the other end going round the onyx stones on the shoulders, and returning and being fixed in the larger ring. The breastplate was further kept in its place by a girdle, made of the same stuff, which Josephus says was sewed to the breastplate, and which, when it had



442. Breastplate.

gone once round, was tied again upon the seam and hung down. It appears in No. 444. Here is another adaptation and correction of the costume of the higher Egyptian priests, who wore a large splendid ornament upon the breast, often a winged scarabaeus, the emblem of the sun, as in the cut No. 442, which exhibits the connecting ring and chain to fasten it to the girdle. 4. The remaining portion of dress peculiar to the high-priest was the mitre, **כִּטְמֹנֶת**, *kīdapis*, *cidaris* (xxviii. 4). The

Bible says nothing of the difference between this and the turban of the common priests. It is, however, called by a different name. It was to be of fine linen (ver. 39). Josephus says it was the same in construction and figure with that of the common priest, but that above it there was another, with swathes of blue, embroidered, and round it was a golden crown, polished, of three rows, one above another, out of which rose a cup of gold, which resembled the calyx of the herb called by Greek botanists *hyoscyamus*. He ends a most laboured description by comparing the shape of it to a poppy (iii. 7. 6). Upon comparing his account of the bonnet of the priests with the mitre of the high-priests, it would appear that the latter was conical. The cut, No. 443, presents the principal forms of the mitres worn by the ancient priests of Egypt, and affords a substantial resemblance of that prescribed to the Jews, divested of idolatrous symbols, but which were displaced to make way for a simple plate of gold, bearing the inscription, 'Holiness to Jehovah.' This *ῥάβδος*, *πέραλον*, *lamina*, extended from one ear to the other, being bound to the forehead by strings tied behind, and further secured in its position by a blue riband attached to the mitre (Exod. xxviii. 36-39; xxxix. 30; Lev. viii. 9). Josephus says this plate was preserved to his own day (*Antiq.* viii. 3-8; see Reland, *De Spol. Templi*, p. 132). Such was the dress of the high-priest :



443. Egyptian Mitres.

see a description of its magnificence in corresponding terms in Eccles. i. 5-16. Josephus had an idea of the symbolical import of the several parts of it. He says, that being made of linen signified the earth; the blue denoted the sky, being like lightning in its pomegranates, and in the noise of its bells resembling thunder. The ephod showed that God had made the universe of four elements, the gold relating to the splendour by which all things are enlightened. The breastplate in the middle of the ephod resembled the earth, which has the middle place of the world. The girdle signified the sea, which goes round the world. The sardonyxes declare the sun and moon. The twelve stones are the twelve months or signs of the zodiac. The mitre is heaven, because blue (iii. 7. 7). He appears, however, to have had two explanations of some things, one for the Gentiles and another for the Jews. Thus, in this section he tells his Gentile readers that the seven lamps upon the golden candlesticks referred to the seven planets; but to the Jews he represents them as an emblem of the seven days of the week (*De Bell. Jud.* vii.

5. 5; Whiston's notes *in loc.*) The magnificent dress of the high-priest was not always worn by him. It was exchanged for one wholly of linen, and therefore white, though of similar construction, when on the day of expiation he entered into the Holy of Holies (Lev. xvi. 4, 23); and neither he nor the common priests wore their appropriate dress except when officiating. It was for this reason, according to some, that Paul, who had been long absent from Jerusalem, did not know that Ananias was the high-priest (Acts xxiii. 5). In Ezek. xlii. 14; xlv. 17-19, there are directions that the priests should take off their garments when they had ministered, and lay them up in the holy chambers, and put on other garments; but these directions occur in a visionary representation of a temple, which all agree has never been realised, the particulars of which, though sometimes derived from known customs, yet at other times differ from them widely. The garments of the inferior priests appear to have been kept in the sacred treasury (Ezra ii. 69; Neh. vii. 70).

The next incident in the history is, that Moses receives a command to consecrate Aaron and his sons to the priests' office (Exod. xxviii. 41), with the following ceremonies. They were to be washed at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation (xxix. 4), where the altar of burnt-offering stood (xl. 6, 29). Aaron was then robed in his pontifical garments (vers. 4-6), and anointed with a profusion of oil (ver. 7); whence he was called 'the priest that is anointed' (Lev. iv. 3, etc.; Ps. cxxxiii. 2). This last act was the peculiar and only distinguishing part of Aaron's consecration; for the anointing of his sons (xxx. 30) relates only to the unction (xxix. 31), by a mixture made of the blood of the sacrifice and of the anointing oil, which was sprinkled upon both Aaron and his sons, and upon their garments, as part of their consecration. Hence then Aaron received two unctions. In after times the high-priest took an oath (Heb. vii. 21) to bind him, as the Jews say, to a strict adherence to established customs (*Mishna*, tit. *Yoma*, i. 5). The other details of this ceremony of consecration are all contained in one chapter (Exod. xxix.), to which we must be content to refer the reader. The entire ceremony lasted seven days, on each of which all the sacrifices were repeated (Lev. viii. 33), to which a promise was added, that God would sanctify Aaron and his sons—that is, declare them to be sanctified, which he did, by the appearance of his glory at their first sacrifice, and by the fire which descended and consumed their burnt-offerings (Lev. ix. 23, 24). Thus were Aaron and his sons and their descendants separated for ever, to the office of the priesthood, from all other Israelites. There was consequently no need of any further consecration for them or their descendants. The first-born son of Aaron succeeded him in the office, and the elder son among all his descendants; a rule which, though deviated from in after times, was ultimately resumed. The next successor was to be anointed and consecrated in his father's holy garments (ver. 29), which he must wear seven days when he went into the tabernacle of the congregation to minister (ver. 30; comp. Num. xx. 26-28; xxxv. 25), and make an atonement for all things and persons (Lev. xvi. 32-34), and for himself (comp. ver. 11), besides the offering (vi. 20-22). The common priests were required to prove their descent from Aaron. No age was



prescribed for their entrance on their ministry, or retirement from it.

We shall now give a summary of the *duties and emoluments* of the high-priest and common priests respectively. Besides his lineal descent from Aaron, the high-priest was required to be free from every



444. High-priest.

bodily blemish or defect (Lev. xxi. 16-23); but though thus incapacitated, yet, his other qualifications being sufficient, he might eat of the food appropriated to the priests (ver. 22). He must not marry a widow, nor a divorced woman, or profane, or that had been a harlot, but a virgin Israelitess (ver. 14). In Ezekiel's vision a general permission is given to the priests to marry a priest's widow (xlv. 22). The high-priest might not observe the external signs of mourning for any person, or leave the sanctuary upon receiving intelligence of the death of even father or mother (ver. 10-12; comp. x. 7). Public calamities seem to have been an exception, for Joacim the high-priest and the priests in such circumstances ministered in sackcloth with ashes on their mitres (Judith iv. 14, 15; comp. Joel i. 13). He must not eat anything that died of itself, or was torn of beasts (Lev. xxii. 8); must wash his hands and feet when he went into the tabernacle of the congregation, and when he came near to the altar to minister (Exod. xxx. 19-21). At first Aaron was to burn incense on the golden altar every morning when he dressed the lamps, and every evening when he lighted them, but in later times the common priest performed this duty (Luke i. 8, 9); to offer, as the Jews understand it, daily, morning and evening, the peculiar meat-offering he offered on the day of his consecration (Exod. xxix.); to perform the ceremonies of the great day of expiation (Lev. xvi.); to arrange the shew-bread every Sabbath, and to eat it in the holy place (xxiv. 9); must abstain from the holy things during his uncleanness (xxii. 1-3); also if he became leprous, or contracted uncleanness (ver. 4-7). If he committed a sin of ignorance he must offer a sin-offering for it (iv. 15, 16); and so for the people

(ver. 12-22); was to eat the remainder of the people's meat-offerings with the inferior priests in the holy place (vi. 16); to judge of the leprosy in the human body or garments (xiii. 2-59); to adjudicate legal questions (Deut. xvii. 12). Indeed when there was no divinely-inspired judge, the high-priest was the supreme ruler till the time of David, and again after the captivity. He must be present at the appointment of a new ruler or leader (Num. xxvii. 19), and ask counsel of the Lord for the ruler (ver. 21). Eleazar with others distributes the spoils taken from the Midianites (Num. xxxi. 21, 26). To the high-priest also belonged the appointment of a maintenance from the funds of the sanctuary to an incapacitated priest (1 Sam. ii. 36, margin). Besides these duties, peculiar to himself, he had others in common with the inferior priests. Thus, when the camp set forward, 'Aaron and his sons' were to take the tabernacle to pieces, to cover the various portions of it in cloths of various colours (iv. 5-15), and to appoint the Levites to their services in carrying them; to bless the people in the form prescribed (vi. 23-27), to be responsible for all official errors and negligences (xviii. 1), and to have the general charge of the sanctuary (ver. 5).

*Emoluments of the High-priest.*—Neither the high-priest nor common priests received 'any inheritance' at the distribution of Canaan among the several tribes (Num. xviii. 20; Deut. xviii. 1, 2), but were maintained, with their families, upon certain fees, dues, perquisites, etc., arising from the public services, which they enjoyed as a common fund. Perhaps the only distinct prerogative of the high-priest was a tenth part of the tithes assigned to the Levites (Num. xviii. 28; comp. Neh. x. 38); but Josephus represents this also as a common fund (*Antiq.* iv. 4. 4).

*Duties of the Priests.*—Besides those duties already mentioned as common to them and the high-priests, they were required to prove their descent from Aaron, to be free from all bodily defect or blemish (Lev. xxi. 16-23); must not observe mourning, except for near relatives (xxi. 1-5); must not marry a woman that had been a harlot, or divorced, or profane. The priest's daughter who committed whoredom was to be burnt, as profaning her father (xxi. 9). The priests were to have the charge of the sanctuary and altar (Num. xviii. 5). The fire upon the altar being once kindled (Lev. i. 7), the priests were always to keep it burning (vi. 13). In later times, and upon extraordinary occasions, at least, they slayed the burnt-offerings (2 Chron. xxix. 34), and killed the Passover (Ezra vi. 20). They were to receive the blood of the burnt-offerings in basins (Exod. xxiv. 6), and sprinkle it round about the altar, arrange the wood and the fire, and to burn the parts of the sacrifices (Lev. i. 5-10). If the burnt-sacrifice were of doves, the priest was to nip off the head with his finger-nail, squeeze out the blood on the edge of the altar, pluck off the feathers, and throw them with the crop into the ash-pit, divide it down the wings, and then completely burn it (ver. 15-17). He was to offer a lamb every morning and evening (Num. xxviii. 3), and a double number on the Sabbath (ver. 9), the burnt-offerings ordered at the beginning of months (ver. 11), and the same on the feast of unleavened bread (ver. 19), and on the day of the first-fruits (ver. 26); to receive the meat-offering of the offerer, bring it to the altar, take of

it a memorial, and burn it upon the altar (Lev. ii.) ; to sprinkle the blood of the peace-offerings upon the altar round about, and then to offer of it a burnt-offering (iii.) ; to offer the sin-offering for a sin of ignorance in a ruler or any of the common people (iv. 22-25) ; to eat the sin-offering in the holy place (vi. 26 ; comp. x. 16-18) ; to offer the trespass-offering (ver. 6-19 ; vi. 6, 7), to sprinkle its blood round about the altar (vii. 2), to eat of it, etc. (ver. 6) ; to eat of the shew-bread in the holy place (xxiv. 9) ; to offer for the purification of women after child-birth (xii. 6, 7) ; to judge of the leprosy in the human body or garments ; to decide when the leper was cleansed, and to order a sacrifice for him (xiv. 3, 4) ; to administer the rites used at pronouncing him clean (ver. 6, 7) ; to present him and his offering before the Lord, and to make an atonement for him (ver. 10-32) ; to judge of the leprosy in a house (xiv. 33-47), to decide when it was clean (ver. 48), and to make an atonement for it (ver. 49-53) ; to make an atonement for men cleansed from an issue of uncleanness (xv. 14, 15), and for women (ver. 29, 30) ; to offer the sheaf of first-fruits (xxiii. 10, 11) ; to estimate the commutation in money for persons in cases of a singular or extraordinary vow (xxvii. 8), or for any devoted unclean beast (ver. 11, 12), or for a house (ver. 14), or field (xviii. 23) ; to conduct the ordeal of the bitter water (Num. v. 12-31) [JEALOUSY, WATER OF] ; to make an atonement for a Nazarite who had accidentally contracted uncleanness (vi. 13) ; to offer his offering when the days of his separation were fulfilled (ver. 14, 16) ; to blow with the silver trumpets on all occasions appointed (vi. 13-17), and ultimately at morning and evening service (1 Chron. xvi. 6) ; to make an atonement for the people and individuals in case of erroneous worship (Num. xv. 15, 24, 25, 27) (see Outram, *de Sacrificiis*, i. 14. 2) ; to make the ointment of spices (1 Chron. ix. 30) ; to prepare the water of separation (Num. xix. 1-11) ; to act as assessors in judicial proceedings (Deut. xvii. 9 ; xix. 7) ; to encourage the army when going to battle, and probably to furnish the officers with the speech (xx. 1-4) ; to superintend the expiation of an uncertain murder (xxi. 5), and to have charge of the law (xxx. 9).

The *emoluments of the priests* were as follows :—1. Those which they might eat only at the sanctuary ; viz., the flesh of the sin-offering (Lev. vi. 25, 26), and of the trespass-offering (vii. 1, 6) ; the peace-offerings of the congregation at Pentecost (xxiii. 19, 20) ; the remainder of the omer or sheaf of the first-fruits of barley-harvest (ver. 10), and the loaves offered at wheat-harvest (ver. 17) ; the shew-bread (xxiv. 9) ; the remainder of the leper's log of oil (xiv. 10, etc.) ; the remnants of the meat-offerings (vi. 16). 2. Those which might be eaten only in the camp in the first instance, and afterwards in Jerusalem—viz., the breast and right shoulder of the peace-offerings (vii. 31, 34) ; the heave-offering of the sacrifice of thanksgiving (ver. 12-14) ; the heave-offering of the Nazarite's ram (Num. vi. 17, 20) ; the firstling of every clean beast (xviii. 15) ; whatsoever was first ripe in the land (ver. 13). 3. Those due to them only from inhabitants of the land—viz., the first-fruits of oil, wine, wheat (ver. 12) ; a cake of the first dough made of any kind of grain (xv. 20) ; the first fleece (Deut. xviii. 4). 4. Those due to them everywhere within and

without the land—viz., the shoulder, two cheeks and maw, of an ox or sheep, offered in sacrifice (ver. 3) ; the redemption of man and of unclean beasts (Num. xviii. 15) ; of the firstling of an ass (Exod. xxiv. 20) ; the restitution in cases of injury or fraud when it could not be made to the injured party or his kinsman (Num. v. 8) ; all devoted things. 5. The skins of the burnt-offerings (Lev. vii. 8), which Philo calls a very rich perquisite (*De Sacerd. Honor.*, p. 833, ed. 1640). Many of these dues were paid in money. The priests might also incidentally possess lands (1 Kings ii. 26 ; Jer. xxxii. 7, 8) ; and they most likely shared in occasional donations and dedications (Num. xxxi. 25-29, 50-54 ; 2 Sam. viii. 11, 12 ; 1 Chron. xxvi. 27, 28). Their revenues were probably more extensive than they appear, owing to the ambiguity with which the term Levite is often used. If the regular and ascertained incomes of the priests seem large, amounting, as it has been computed, to one-fifth of the income of a Jew (comp. Gen. xlvii. 24), it must be considered that their known duties were multifarious and often difficult. Michaelis calls them 'the literati of all the faculties.' The next event in the history of the subject is the *public consecration* of Aaron and his sons (B.C. 1490), according to the preceding regulations (Lev. viii.) At their first sacerdotal performances (ix.) the Divine approbation was intimated by a supernatural fire which consumed their burnt-offering (ver. 24). The general satisfaction of the people with these events was, however, soon dashed by the miraculous destruction of the two elder sons of Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, for offering strange fire (x. 1), probably under the influence of too much wine, since the prohibition of it to the priests when about to enter the tabernacle seems to have originated in this event (ver. 9). Moses forbade Aaron and his sons to uncover their heads, or to rend their clothes on this occasion ; but the whole house of Israel were permitted to bewail the visitation (ver. 6). The inward grief, however, of Eleazar and Ithamar caused an irregularity in their sacerdotal duties, which was forgiven on account of the occasion (ver. 16-20). Aaron now appears associated with Moses and the leading men of the several tribes in taking the national census (Num. i. 3, etc.), and on other grand state occasions (xxvi. 2, 3 ; xxxi. 13-26 ; xxxii. 2 ; xxxiv. 17). The high-priest appears ever after as a person of the highest consequence. The dignity of the priesthood soon excited the emulation of the ambitious ; hence the penalty of death was denounced against the assumption of it by any one not belonging to the Aaronic family (ver. 10), and which was soon after miraculously inflicted upon Korah, Dathan, and Abiram for this crime (xvi. 40). Its restriction to that family was further demonstrated by the blossoming of Aaron's rod (xvii. 5, 8 ; comp. xxviii. 5-7). The death of Aaron (B.C. 1452) introduces the installation of his successor, which appears to have simply consisted in arraying him in his father's pontifical garments (xx. 28). Thus also Jonathan the Asmonæan contented himself with putting on the high-priest's habit, in order to take possession of the dignity (1 Maccab. x. 21 ; comp. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 2. 3). The high esteem in which the priesthood was held may be gathered from the fact that it was promised in perpetuity to Phinehas and his family as a reward for his zeal (xxv. 13). At the



entrance into Canaan the priests appear bearing the ark of the Lord, at the command of Joshua (iii. 6), though this was ordinarily the duty of the Levites. It was carried by the priests on other grand occasions (2 Chron. v. 4, 5, 7). At the distribution of the land the priests received thirteen cities out of the tribes of Judah, Simeon, and Benjamin (xxi. 4). The *first idolatrous priest in Israel* was a man consecrated by his own father to officiate in his own house (B.C. 1413); he also afterwards consecrated a Levite to the office (Judg. xvii. 5-13). This act seems like a return to the ancient rites of Syria (ver. 5; comp. x. 6; Gen. xxxi. 19, 30; Hosea iii. 4). This Levite became afterwards the idolatrous priest of the whole tribe of Dan (Judg. xviii. 19), and his successors long held the like office in that tribe (ver. 30). The abuse of the sacerdotal office in Shiloh is evinced by the history of Eli the high-priest, and his two sons, Hophni and Phinehas (B.C. 1156). According to Josephus, Eli was not of the posterity of Eleazar, the first-born son of Aaron, but of the family of Ithamar; and Solomon took the office of high-priest away from Abiathar, a descendant of Ithamar, and conferred it upon Zadok, who descended from Eleazar (1 Kings ii. 26, 27; *Antiq.* v. 11. 5; viii. 1. 3). The sons of Eli introduced a new exaction from the peace-offering, of so much as a flesh-hook with three teeth brought up; for which and other rapacities (1 Sam. ii. 12-17) their death was threatened (ver. 34), and inflicted (iv. 11). The capture of the ark of God by the Philistines (B.C. 1116) affords us an insight into the state of sacerdotal things among that people (1 Sam. v.), viz., a temple (ver. 2), priests (ver. 5), who are consulted respecting the disposal of the ark (vi. 2, 3). Ahiah, the great-grandson of Eli, succeeded to the high-priesthood (B.C. 1093) (1 Sam. xiv. 3); he asks counsel of God for Saul, but it is not answered (ver. 37); is succeeded in office by his brother Ahimelech (xxi. 1-9). Saul appears to have appointed Zadok, of the family of Eleazar, to the high-priesthood, and who, with his brethren the priests, officiated before the tabernacle at Gibeon (1 Chron. xvi. 39). David, at his elevation to the throne, sent for all the priests and Levites to bring the ark of God to Jerusalem (B.C. 1051) (1 Chron. xiii. 2, 3; comp. the Psalm he wrote on the occasion, cxxii. 9-16). At this period, therefore, there were two high-priests at Jerusalem (1 Chron. xv. 11; xviii. 16). A peculiar use of the Hebrew word signifying priest occurs in 2 Sam. viii. 18, 'and David's sons were כהנים, *cohenim*, chief rulers; Sept. ἀρχαῖ, 'chamberlains'; Vulg. *sacerdotes*. The writer of the first book of Chronicles, however, did not choose to give the name to any but a priest, and renders it 'the sons of David were chief (or heads) on the side of the king' (xviii. 17). The word seems, however, certainly applied to some persons who were not priests (1 Kings iv. 5, 'principal officer'; Sept. ἐταῖρος; Alex. ἱερεὺς ἐταῖρος; Vulg. *sacerdos*; comp. 2 Sam. xx. 26; 1 Chron. xxvii. 5; Ps. xcix. 6). These 'sons of David' were, therefore, probably ecclesiastical councillors, or chief church lawyers. During the reign of David, both Zadok and Abiathar steadily adhered to his interests, accompanied him out of Jerusalem when he fled before Absalom (2 Sam. xv. 24), and, after having at his desire returned to Jerusalem (ver. 29), still maintained private correspondence

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with him (ver. 35), and ultimately negotiated his restoration (xix. 11). David introduced the *division of the priests into twenty-four classes or courses* by lot (1 Chron. xxiv.), B.C. 1015. He appointed sixteen courses of the descendants of Eleazar, under as many heads of their families, and eight of those of Ithamar (ver. 4). This distribution took place in the presence of the king, the princes, Zadok, and the principal priests and Levites. The first of these courses was that which had Jehoiarib at the head of it (ver. 7). It was reckoned the most honourable. Josephus values himself on his descent from it (*Vita*, sec. 1). Mattathias, the father of the Maccabees, descended from it (1 Maccab. ii. 1). Abijah was the head of the eighth course (ver. 10), to which Zacharias, the father of the Baptist, belonged (Luke i. 5). All these courses were placed under the jurisdiction of the high-priest, called Aaron, on this occasion (ver. 19). Each course served a week, alternately, under a subordinate prefect (2 Kings xi. 5, 7); and in the time of Zacharias, at least, the duties of each individual seem to have been determined by lot (Luke i. 9); but all attended at the great festivals (2 Chron. v. 11). This arrangement continued till the time of Josephus (*Antiq.* vii. 14. 7). At the close of David's life, Abiathar sided with Adonijah in his effort to gain the throne; but Zadok adhered to Solomon (1 Kings i. 7, 8), and anointed him king (ver. 39). Accordingly, when Solomon became established in the government, he deposed Abiathar (ii. 26), and put Zadok in his place, who appears to have been anointed to the office (1 Chron. xxix. 22) owing to the interruption already alluded to, which had taken place in the proper succession of the high-priesthood. Frequent references to the priests occur in the Psalms written upon the dedication of the temple (B.C. 1004) (see Ps. cxxxv. 1, 19, etc.) The priests were now installed in their offices (2 Chron. viii. 14, 15). At the revolt of the ten tribes from Rehoboam (B.C. 975), all the priests repaired to him to Jerusalem (2 Chron. xi. 13) and there continued their services in the legal manner (xiii. 11). On the other hand, Jeroboam, now become king of Israel, deposed them from their office in his dominions, and consecrated priests of his own idolatrous worship (xi. 15), persons of the lowest class, not of the sons of Levi (1 Kings xii. 31); 'whosoever would he consecrated him' (xiii. 33), provided that the candidate could only bring a young bullock and seven rams for the purpose (2 Chron. xiii. 9). It was during this depression of the true religion and worship that Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, made the celebrated attempt to restore and confirm it in his own dominions, recorded in 2 Chron. xvii. 7-9. For this purpose he sent priests and Levites, who 'took with them the book of the law,' under the convoy of certain princes, to teach its contents throughout all the cities of Judah. This, which seems the nearest approach of any on record to *teach* the people by the priests or Levites, really amounts to no more than the declaring the obligations of the law by the appointed expositors of its requirements (comp. Deut. xvi. 18; xvii. 9-13; xxiv. 8; xxxiii. 10; Ezek. xlv. 23, 24; Hag. ii. 11-13; Hosea iv. 6; Micah iii. 11; Mal. ii. 6-9; and even Neh. viii. 7-9). It may be collected from this incident, that the Scriptures were not then in common circulation (for the deputation 'took the book of the



law with them'), and that there was then no religious instruction in synagogues (Campegius Vitringa, *Synag. Vet.*, pt. ii. lib. i. c. 9). Although the priests, by the ceremonies they performed, no doubt *incidentally* revived religious principles in the minds of the people, yet they were *never* public teachers of religion in the customary sense of the words. Those of the prophets who collected assemblies on the Sabbaths and new moons, approached the nearest of any to religious teachers under the Gospel (comp. Ezek. xxxiii. 30, 31; Jahn, *Biblisches Archäol.*, sec. 371, 372). Jehoshaphat shortly afterwards (B.C. 897) established a permanent court at Jerusalem, composed of priests and Levites, and of the chief of the Fathers of Israel, for the decision of all causes, with the high-priest presiding over them in regard to ecclesiastical concerns (2 Chron. xix. 8-11). About 120 years after, Jehu destroyed all the priests of Baal, and extirpated his worship from Israel (2 Kings x. 15-29). The account of this incident affords additional illustration of the general resemblance observable between idolatrous worship and that of the true God, viz., 'prophets of Baal,' 'priests,' 'servants' who waited on the latter in the capacity of Levites, 'a solemn assembly,' 'a temple' for the god, 'sacrifices,' 'burnt-offerings,' 'vestments for the priests.' About B.C. 884 the high-priest Jehoiada recovers the throne of Judah for its youthful heir Joash; and, after a long life of influence and usefulness, dies, aged 130 years, and is buried in the royal sepulchre at Jerusalem (2 Kings xi. 12; 2 Chron. xxiii. 31; xxiv. 15, 16). During this reign the priests were empowered, under royal authority, to raise money for the repair of the temple, but at last forfeited this commission by their negligent discharge of it (2 Kings xii. 4-12). At the public humiliation for the famine, ordered by the prophet Joel (B.C. 787), a form of prayer is delivered for the use of the priests (ii. 17; comp. Hosea xiv. 2).

Some time between B.C. 787 and 765, the attempt of Uzziah, king of Judah, to burn incense in the temple, calls forth the resistance of the high-priest Azariah and eighty of the priests, and ends with the king becoming leprous for life (2 Chron. xxvi. 16, 21). The ignorance and depravity of the idolatrous priests of Israel at this period are vividly described (Hosea iv. 6-8; vi. 9). These priests are called כִּמְרִים, *Kemarim* (2 Kings xxiii. 5; Hosea

x. 5; Zeph. i. 4), from the Syr. כִּמְרִים, *Kumro*, the idolatrous priests of Palestine being, as might be expected, derived from Syria. The abandoned character of the priests of Judah nearly at the same period is described, Is. xxviii. 7, 8; Micah iii. 11. In the reign of Ahaz, king of Judah (B.C. 739), a flagrant violation of divine commands is permitted by Urijah the high-priest, by the introduction into the temple of an altar similar to one which the king had seen at Damascus (2 Kings xvi. 10-16; comp. Exod. xxvii. 1, 2). The prophecy of Hosea, addressed to the priests (v. 1, etc.), is referred to this period. Better things marked the reign of Hezekiah, who reinstated the priests in their office (2 Chron. xxix. 4); they restore the Passover (xxx.), and are reinstated in their revenues (xxxi. 4-10), are also properly provided for in their own cities (ver. 15), and have the care of their genealogies restored (ver. 16-21), B.C. 726. During the captivity of the ten tribes, at

least one priest was sent back from Assyria to teach the Assyrian colonists in Samaria 'the manner of the God of the land' (2 Kings xvii. 27); but the colonists themselves also appointed priests for this purpose (ver. 32). Josiah, king of Judah, degrades idolatry by burning the bones of its priests upon their altars (2 Chron. xxxiv. 5), expels some of the survivors (2 Kings xxiii. 8), yet affords some of them an allowance (ver. 9), but puts others to death (ver. 20). Jeremiah, a sacerdotal prophet, flourishes B.C. 630; he is informed that his commission was partly directed against the priests of Judah (i. 18), whose degeneracy is adverted to (iii. 8), and even idolatry (ver. 26, 27). In his time the office of *second priest*, or *sagan*, as he is called by the Jews in later times, is referred to (Jer. lii. 24; 2 Kings xxv. 18). This was a sort of deputy, or *vice high-priest*, whose duty it was to officiate for his superior in case of sudden illness, etc. Many references to the depravity of the priests mark this period (2 Chron. xxxvi. 14; vi. 13; Ezek. xxii. 26), in which they were joined by the prophets (Jer. v. 31; viii. 10; xxvi. 8; Lam. iv. 13). Jeremiah records the attempt of a false prophet, Shemaiah, the Nehelamite, to induce *Zephaniah*, the *second priest*, to assume the office of high-priest at Jerusalem during the captivity of Judah (B.C. 597). He predicts the restoration of the sacerdotal office (xxix. 24-32). About this time Seraiah, the high-priest, and his sagan Zephaniah, were carried to Babylon, and put to death (2 Kings xxv. 18, 20). Jeremiah describes the miseries of the priests at this period (Lam. i. 4, 19). At the decree of Cyrus to rebuild Jerusalem (B.C. 536), some of the priests in exile at Babylon, with the fathers and Levites, avail themselves of the royal permission to return (Ezra i. 5). These belonged to *four of the courses* which retained the names of their original heads (comp. ii. 36-39; 1 Chron. xxiv. 7, 8, 14; 1 Chron. ix. 12), amounting in all to 4289 priests, besides others who could not produce their genealogy, and whom 'the governor' would not allow to eat the priests' portion till their claim should be verified by a priest with Urim and Thummim (ver. 61-64). These were followed by a second company (vii. 7). The proportion of the priests who returned seems large in comparison with the number of the people who returned, and who scarcely amounted to 50,000. Some of the fathers who returned presented a hundred priests' garments (Ezra ii. 69). The priests were restored to their cities (ver. 70); the service was restored (iii. 3-5); and, under Joshua, the son of Josedech, the temple was rebuilt (Hagg. i. 1) and dedicated (B.C. 519). The priests who had married strange wives were compelled to separate from them (Ezra x. 18-22). Ezra the scribe publicly reads the law (Neh. viii. 4), and the priests translate the passages read into the Aramaean dialect (ver. 7). They revive the feast of tabernacles (ver. 13-18), and the chief of them signed the covenant of the Lord as representatives of the rest (ix. 38, etc.). At the distribution of the inhabitants, 1760 priests remained at Jerusalem (1 Chron. ix. 13). In Neh. xii. 10, 11, an account is given of the succession of the high-priests from the return of the captivity to Jaddua, or Jaddus, who held an interview with Alexander the Great. Thus, as Grotius observes, 'the Scripture history ends where the very light of times, viz., the affairs of Alexander, begin, from which time profane history



becomes clear.' Then follows a list of all those chief of the priests who officiated in the lifetime of Jehoiakim, son of Joshua, either as assistants or successors of their fathers (ver. 12). Again, however, the negligence and wickedness of the restored priests are complained of by Malachi (i. 6-13). A heavy threatening is denounced against them (ii. 1-9). The fault of Eliashib, the high-priest, in the misappropriation of a sacred storehouse to the use of one of his relations (Neh. xiii. 4-10), and whose family was much corrupted (ver. 28, 29), closes the information furnished by the canonical books of the O. T. The high-priesthood and government of Judaea continued in the lineage of Eleazar, son of Aaron (subject, however, to the Persians), in the family of Josedech, by which it was transmitted down to Onias III. He was supplanted by Jason, his brother, as Jason was by his brother Menelaus; at whose death Alcimus, of a different family, was put into the office by the king of Syria. In the year B.C. 152, Alexander, king of Syria, bestowed it upon the heroic general Jonathan (1 Maccab. x. 18-20), who belonged to the class Jehoiarib (ii. 1), and in whose family it became settled, and continued for several descents till the time of Herod, who took the liberty to change the incumbents of the office at his pleasure—a liberty which the Romans exercised without restraint, so that at last the office was often little more than annual. At the entrance of the Christian history, we are met with the priest Zacharias, the father of the Baptist, of the course of Abia, and married to a daughter of Aaron (Luke i. 5). 'The chief priests,' mentioned in Matt. ii. 4, and elsewhere, so frequently, included, beside the high-priest properly so called and then in office, all that had already held it, who, for the reason just mentioned, were numerous, and the chiefs of the twenty-four courses, who also enjoyed this title. The acting high-priest also usually had for his coadjutor some influential senior who had previously filled the station. Hence the association of Annas and Caiaphas (Luke iii. 2). Josephus speaks of many contemporary high-priests (*Vita*, sec. 38); and alludes to the influence they possessed (*De Bell. Jud.* iv. 3, 6, 7, 9); and as even wearing the archieratical robe (10). By virtue of his office, the high-priest Caiaphas is said to have prophesied (John xi. 51). He appears as chairman of the Sanhedrim at our Lord's trial (Matt. xxvi. 57). The chief priests appear as assessors in the court (ver. 59). The common priests still retain the exercise of their ancient functions, in judging of the leprosy, etc. (Mark i. 44). Christians are figuratively called priests (Rev. i. 6; xx. 6). The student will observe the important distinction, that the term *ιερεύς* is never applied to the *pastor of the Christian church*; with which term the idea of a sacrifice was always connected in ancient times. Thus Hesychius, *ἱερεῖς, σφάξαι*. *ἱερεῖς, ὁ διὰ θυσίων μαρτυρούμενος*. We submit the following inferences from the foregoing particulars to the judgment of the reader. The patriarchal form of the priesthood was of divine origin, and the purest. This was carried at the dispersion of the nations into every part of the globe, and became everywhere corrupted in some degree, and ultimately even among the ancient Canaanites. Hence the unquestionable resemblances to it traceable in the religions of all nations. The legation of Moses was directed to the revival of all the important

truths comprised in the early revelations, and which were shrouded under the system of Egypt. Hence it was proper that he should become 'learned in all the wisdom' of that country. In the accomplishment of this mission, Moses retained also such innocent adaptations to the old system as were required by the fixed associations of the people whom he was destined to deliver. Among these adaptations we incline to consider the peculiar office of the high-priest, of which we find no rudiments in the patriarchal church. Nor does the *use and illustration* made of that office in the Epistle to the Hebrews disturb our view, because the same writer finds more points of resemblance between the performances of Christ and the priesthood of the patriarchal Melchizedek than between the office of Aaron and that of Christ (chap. vii.; see Jer. vii. 21-23). The resemblances between the religious customs of the ancient Egyptians and those of the Jews are numerous, decided, peculiar, and most important. Besides those laid before the reader in this article, we refer him to the articles *ARK*, *CHERUBIM*, etc., but especially to Kitto's *Pictorial History of Palestine*, London 1844, which contains all the most valuable illustrations of this nature derived from the best and most modern works on Egypt. To this work the reader is indebted for the valuable cuts which have been now submitted to his consideration. For the similarity in the religion of ancient Greece, see Potter's *Archæologia*, vol. i., p. 202, Lond. 1775; of ancient Rome, Adam's *Antiquities*, p. 293, sec. *ministri sacrorum*, Edin. 1791. (Ugolini, *Thesaur.* xii. and xiii.; Reland, *Antiq. Sac.*, ii. 4; Bähr, *Mos. Cultus*, bk. ii.; Fairbairn, *Typology*; Winer, *R. W. B.*, s. v. *Priester*; Kiesling, *De Legibus Mos. circa Sacerd. Vitio Corpores laborantes*; T. C. Kall, *De Morbis Sacerdot. V. T. ex ministerii eor. conditione oriundis*, Hafn. 1745; Jablonskii *Pantheon, proleg.*, sec. 29, 41, 43; Munch, *De Matrimonio Sacerd. V. T. cum filiis. Sacer.*, Norimb. 1747; J. P. Smith, *Discourses on the Sacrifice and Priesthood of Christ*, London 1842; Wilson on the same subject).—J. F. D.

PRIMOGENITURE (בְּכוֹרָה; Sept. Πρωτογονία, Gen. xxv. 31, 34; xxvii. 36; Deut. xxi. 17; 1 Chron. v. 1) [BIRTHRIGHT]. It occurs in the N. T. only in Heb. xii. 16. Πρωτότοκος, always rendered 'firstborn' in the English version, is found in the Sept. in Gen. iv. 4, Deut. xxi. 17, and several other passages of the O. T., as the representative of the Hebrew בְּכוֹר, signifying 'one who openeth the womb,' whether an only child, or whether other children follow. 'Primogenitus est, non post quem alii, sed ante quem nullus alius genitus' (Pareus). Πρωτότοκος is found nine times in the N. T.—viz., Matt. i. 25 (if the passage be genuine, and not introduced from the parallel passage in Luke); Luke ii. 7; Rom. viii. 29; Col. i. 15, 18; Heb. i. 6; xi. 28; xii. 23; Rev. i. 5. Except in the Gospels, and Heb. xi. 28, the word always bears a metaphorical sense in the N. T., being generally synonymous with *heir* or *lord*, and having, in Heb. i. 6, an especial reference to our Lord's Messianic dignity. In Heb. xii. 23, 'the assembly of the first-born,' it seems to be synonymous with 'elect,' or 'dearly beloved,' in which sense it is also used on one occasion in the O. T. (Jer. xxxi. 9). In the 4th century, Helvidius among the Latins, and Eunomius among the



Greeks, wished to attach a signification to *πρωτότοκος* in Matt. i. and Luke ii., different from the O. T. usage, maintaining, in order to support their hypothesis—(viz., that Joseph and Mary had children after the birth of our Lord)—that the word *πρωτότοκος*, by reason of its etymology, could not be applied to an *only child*. Jerome replied to the former by appealing to the usage of the word in the O. T. (*adv. Helvid. in Matt. i. 9*). The assertion of Eunomius was equally refuted by the Greek fathers, Basil (*Hom. in Nat.*), Theophylact (*in Luc. ii.*), and Damascenus (*De fid. Orthod.*, l. iv.). In reference to this controversy, Drusius (*Ad Difficiliora loca Num.*, cap. 6) observes: 'Sic sane Christus vocatur *Πρωτότοκος*, licet mater ejus nullos alios postea liberos habuerit. Notet hoc juvenis propter Helvidium, qui ex eâ voce inferebat Mariam ex Josepho post Christum natum plures filios suscepisse.' 'Those entitled to the prerogative' [viz., of birthright], observes Campbell (*On the Gospels*), 'were invariably denominated the first-born, whether the parents had issue afterwards or not.' Eunomius further maintains, from Col. i. 15, that our Lord was 'a creature'; but his arguments were replied to by Basil and Theophylact. Some of the Fathers referred this passage to Christ's pre-existence, others to his baptism. In Is. xiv. 30, the 'first-born of the poor' signifies the poorest of all; and in Job xviii. 13, the 'first-born of death' means the most terrible of deaths. See Suicer's *Thesaurus*; Leigh's *Critica Sacra*; Wahl's *Clavis Philolog.*; Rose's edition of Parkhurst's *Lexicon*; and Cruden's *Concordance*.—W. W.

PRINCE. 1. נָגִיד (from נָגַד, *to be in front, to precede*), one who has the precedence, a leader, or chief; used of persons set over any undertaking, superintending any trust, or invested with supreme power (1 Kings xiv. 7; Ps. lxxvi. 13; 1 Chron. xxvi. 24 [A. V. 'ruler']; 1 Sam. ix. 16 [A. V. 'captain'], etc.) In Dan. ix. 25, it is applied to the Messiah; and in xi. 22, to Ptolemy Philometor, King of Egypt.

2. נָדִיב (from נָדַב, which in Hithp. signifies *to volunteer, to offer voluntarily or spontaneously*), generous, noble-minded, noble by birth (1 Sam. ii. 8; Ps. xlvii. 10; cvii. 40; cxiii. 8; cxviii. 9; Prov. xxv. 7, etc.) This word is the converse of the preceding; נָגִיד means primarily a chief, and derivatively what is morally noble, excellent (Prov. viii. 6); נָדִיב means primarily what is morally noble, and derivatively one who is noble by birth or position.

3. נִשְׂאִי (from נָשָׂא, *to lift up*, Niph. *to be elevated*), one exalted; used as a general term for princes, including kings (1 Kings xl. 24; Ezek. xii. 10, etc.), heads of tribes or families (Num. i. 44; iii. 24 [A. V. 'chief']; vii. 10; xxxiv. 18; Gen. xvii. 20; 1 Chron. vii. 40, etc.) In Gen. xxiii. 6, Abraham is addressed by the sons of Heth as נִשְׂאִי אֱלֹהִים (*Nasi Elohim*), a prince of God, i. e., constituted, and consequently protected by God [A. V. 'mighty prince'].

4. שָׂר (from שָׁרַר, *to rule, to have dominion*), the chief of any class, the master of a company, a prince or noble; used of Pharaoh's chief butler and baker (Gen. xl. 2, ff.); of the taskmasters set over the Israelites in Egypt (Exod. i. 11); even of chief herdsmen (Gen. xlvii. 6). It is frequently used

for military commanders (Exod. xviii. 21 [A. V. 'rulers']; 2 Kings i. 9 [A. V. 'captain']; Is. iii. 3, etc.), and for princes both supreme and subordinate (1 Sam. xxix. 3; Job xxix. 1, 9; Is. xlix. 7; Jer. li. 59, etc.) In Dan. viii. 11, God is called שָׂר הַצְבָּא (*Sar hatsaba*), Prince of the host; and in ver. 25 the title שָׂר שָׂרִים (*Sar Sarim*), Prince of princes, is applied to the Messiah. The 'princes of the provinces' (שָׂרֵי הַמְּדִינֹת), *Sarei Hammedinoth*, 1 Kings xx. 14) were probably the district magistrates who had taken refuge in Samaria, and by whose attendants victory was to be won.

5. אַחַשְׁדָּרְפָּנִי. [ACHASDARPANIM.]

6. Ἀρχων in the LXX. appears as the rendering of all the Hebrew words above cited, and in the N. T. it is used of earthly princes (Matt. xx. 25; 1 Cor. ii. 6), of Jesus Christ (Rev. i. 5), and of Satan (Matt. ix. 34; xii. 24; Mark iii. 22; John xii. 31; xiv. 30; xvi. 11; Eph. ii. 2).

7. Ἀρχηγός in Theodotion is the rendering of נָשִׂיא (Num. xiii. 3; xvi. 2); in the LXX. is the rendering of שָׂר (Judg. v. 15; Neh. ii. 9; Is. xxx. 4); and in the N. T., where it is applied only to our Lord (Acts iii. 15; v. 31; Heb. ii. 10 [A. V. 'captain']; xii. 2 [A. V. 'author']).

8. ἡγεμών is used Matt. ii. 6 in a general sense for a chief or ruler.—W. L. A.

PRISCA. [PRISCILLA.]

PRISCILLA (Πρίσκιλλα), or PRISCA (Πρίσκα), wife of Aquila, and probably, like Phœbe, a deaconess. She shared the travels, labours, and dangers of her husband, and is always named along with him (Rom. xvi. 3; 1 Cor. xvi. 19; 2 Tim. iv. 19) [AQUILA].

PRISON. [PUNISHMENT.]

PRITIUS or PRITZ, JOHN GEORGE, was a learned divine of the Lutheran school. He was born at Leipsic in 1662. He became professor of divinity and minister at Griefswalde in 1707, and was promoted to be principal minister at Franckfort-on-the-Maine in 1711. He died there in 1732. Pritz was author of the *Introductio in Lectionem Novi Testamenti, in qua, quæ ad rem criticam, historiam, chronologiam, et geographiam pertinent, breviter et perspicue exponuntur*; Editio nova et quibusdam aucta accessionibus, sm. 8vo, Lips. 1722. The author's edition was first published in 1704, Kapp's edition in 1722; and a still further improved edition was published by Hoffmann of Leipsic in 1737, and again in 1764. This work of Pritz was in its day highly valued as an introduction to the study of the N. T., and contains many useful hints on various points of interpretation. Bishops Marsh and Watson have commended it much.—W. J. C.

PRIZE. [GAMES.]

PROCHORUS (Πρόχορος), one of the seven first deacons of the Christian church (Acts vi. 5). Nothing is known of him.

PROCONSUL, a Roman officer appointed to the government of a province with consular authority. He was chosen out of the body of the senate; and it was customary, when any one's consulate expired, to send him as a proconsul into some province. He enjoyed the same honour with the consuls, but was allowed only six lictors with the fasces before him.

The proconsuls decided cases of equity and



justice, either privately in their palaces, where they received petitions, heard complaints, and granted writs under their seals; or publicly in the common hall, with the formalities generally observed in the courts at Rome. These duties were, however, more frequently delegated to their assessors, or other judges of their own appointment. As the proconsuls had also the direction of justice, of war, and of the revenues, these departments were administered by their lieutenants, or *legati*, who were usually nominated by the senate. The office of the proconsuls lasted generally for one year only, and the expense of their journeys to and from their provinces was defrayed by the public. After the partition of the provinces between Augustus and the people, those who presided over the provinces of the latter were especially designated proconsuls, for whom it appears to have been customary to decree temples (Suet. *Aug.*) Livy (viii. and xxvi.) mentions two other classes of proconsuls: those who, being consuls, had their office continued beyond the time appointed by law; and those who, being previously in a private station, were invested with this honour, either for the government of provinces, or to command in war. Some were created proconsuls by the senate without being appointed to any province, merely to command in the army, and to take charge of the military discipline; others were allowed to enter upon their proconsular office before being admitted to the consulship, but having that honour in reserve.

When the Apostle Paul was at Corinth, he was brought before Gallio, the proconsul of Achaia, one of the provinces of Greece, of which Corinth was the chief city, and arraigned by the Jews as one who 'persuadeth men to worship God contrary to the law' (Acts xviii. 13); but Gallio refused to act as a judge of such matters, and 'drove them from the judgment-seat' (ver. 16).—G. M. B.

**PROCURATOR.** This word does not occur in the Vulgate or in the A. V., nor is its accurate Greek equivalent, *ἐντροπος* (though used by Philo, *Leg. ad Caium*, and by Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 6, 2, etc.), found in this sense in the Greek Testament, where it is represented by the vaguer term *ἡγεμὼν*, rendered by our translators 'governor' (Luke ii. 2; Matt. xxvii. 2; xxviii. 14, etc.)\* The word is generally applied both in the original and in our version to the Procurators of Judæa, Pontius Pilate (Matt. xxvii., etc.), Felix (Acts xxiii.), and Festus (Acts xxvi. 30); but it is also used of Cyrenius (Quirinus), who held the more responsible and distinguished office of *Præses* or *Legatus Cæsaris* over the province of Syria (Luke ii. 2). Procurators were chiefly despatched to the imperial, and not to the senatorial provinces [PROVINCE]. The revenues of the latter flowed into the *Ærarium* or exchequer, while those of the former belonged to the *Fiscus*, or privy purse. The *Procuratores Cæsaris* were specially intrusted with the interests of the *fiscus*, and therefore managed the various

taxes and imposts, performing similar duties to those exercised by the *quæstors* in the provinces administered by the senate.\* Sometimes, however, the Procurators were invested with the dignity of *legati*, or *procuratores cum jure gladii* (τῇ ἐπὶ πᾶσι ἐξουσίᾳ, Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 8. 1), and this was the case with the Procurators of Judæa, which had been made a sub-province of Syria (προσθηκὴ τῆς Συρίας; Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 1. 1) since the deposition of the ethnarch Archelaus, A.D. 6. There is therefore no inaccuracy in the use of *ἡγεμὼν* in the N. T., since we find from inscriptions that *Præses* and Procurator were often interchangeable (Gruter, 493, b). In one respect, indeed, the *ἡγεμῶνες* were even more powerful than the proconsuls themselves (*ἀνθύπατοι*); for, being regarded as the immediate emissaries and representatives of the Cæsar, by whom they were appointed to an indefinite tenure of office (Dio Cass., liii. 13-15), they had the power of inflicting capital punishment at their own discretion (John xix. 10; Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 8. 1). They also governed the province when the proconsul was dead or absent, 'vice proconsulum,' as we see from many inscriptions (Murat. 907, 4, etc.) In a turbulent and seditious province like Judæa, their most frequent functions were of a military or judicial character. It was before Roman procurators that both our Lord and St. Paul were tried. The former trial took place in Jerusalem, where the procurators usually resided during the winter, and during the celebration of the great Jewish festivals (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 3. 1; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 14. 3). Their presence was necessary at these seasons to overawe the turbulent fanaticism of the vast multitudes of pilgrims from all countries, who on such occasions thronged to the centre of the national worship. The trial of St. Paul took place at Cæsarea, which was regarded as the capital of the sub-province, and where the procurators ordinarily held their court (Acts xxv.). Both at Cæsarea and at Jerusalem the prætorium belonged to the palace of Herod (Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 14. 8; Acts xxiii. 35). The pomp and dignity of the procurators may be inferred from the narrative of these trials, and from the titles of 'most excellent,' and 'most noble' (κράτιστε), applied to them by such different lips as those of Claudius, Lysias, Tertullus, and St. Paul; yet they were usually chosen from no higher rank than that of the equites, or even the freedmen of the emperor; and the 'most noble Felix,' in particular, was a mere manumitted slave.† It is satisfactory to find that even in the minutest details the glimpses of their position afforded to us by the N. T. are corroborated by the statements of heathen writers. The violence (Luke xiii. 1), the venality (Acts xxiv. 26), the insolence (John xix. 22), and the gross injustice (Acts xxiv. 27), which we see exemplified in their conduct towards our Lord and his apostles, are amply illustrated by contemporary historians (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 3. 1; *Bell. Jud.*

\* *ἡγεμὼν* also occurs in a perfectly general sense, Matt. x. 18; 1 Pet. ii. 14. In Matt. ii. 6 it is rendered 'princes,' and corresponds to the Hebrew מְלָכִים. See GOVERNOR, vol. i., p. 167. 'Governor' in the A. V. is also used for ἐθνάρχης, 2 Cor. xi. 32. Διοικητής is another Greek term for procurator.

\* Procurators were, however, sometimes sent as well as quæstors to the senatorial provinces (Tac., *Ann.*, xiii. 1; Dio Cass., liii. 15); but these were doubtless offices of less dignity, though bearing the same title. 'Procurator' is also used for steward (Plaut., *Pseud.*, 2. 2. 14), attorney (Ulp., *Dig.*, 3. 3), regent (Cæs., *B. C.*, 3. 112), etc.

† 'Jus regium servili ingenio exercuit' (Tac., *Il.*, v. 9; *Ann.*, xii. 54; Sueton., *Claud.*, 28).

ii. 9; Cic. in Verrem, *passim*, etc. etc.); and they weighed so heavily on the mind of the Emperor Trajan, that he called the extortions of provincial governors 'the spleen of the empire' (*lien imperii*).<sup>\*</sup> The presence of the wives of Pilate (Matt. xxvii. 19) and Felix (Acts xxiv. 24) reminds us of the famous debate on the proposition of Cæcina to forbid the proconsuls and procurators to be accompanied by their wives (Tac., *Ann.*, iii. 33, 34). This had been the old, and perhaps the wise regulation of earlier days, since the cruelty, ambition, and luxury of these ladies was often more formidable to the provincials than that of the governors themselves. But the rule had been often violated, and had of late been deliberately abandoned. We see, too, in the ready handing over of the prisoner from one authority to another (*ἀνέπεμψεν, remisit*, Luke xxiii. 7; Acts xxvi. 32), some trace of that salutary dread of being denounced after their term of office was over, which alone acted as a check upon the lawlessness of even the most unscrupulous governors. Even the mention made of things at first sight so trivial as the tribunal (*βήμα*), and the tessellated pavement (*λιθόστρωτον*) on which it was elevated,<sup>†</sup> derive an interest and importance from the fact that they were conventional symbols of wealth and dignity, and that Julius Cæsar thought it worth while to carry one about with him from place to place (Suet., *Jul.*, c. 46). Both in our Lord's case and that of St. Paul, it was necessary for the accusing Jews to frame a *political* charge (Luke xxiii. 3; Acts xxiv. 5; xxv. 18), since their proceedings would otherwise have been rejected by Pilate or Felix with as much contempt as they were by the proconsul Gallio (Acts xviii. 14). Yet the procurators took care to keep under their own absolute control the appointment of the high-priest (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 2); and this became a constant source of violent contention between them and the Jews.

The following is a list of the procurators of Judæa, with their approximate dates, so far as they are ascertainable, omitting Sabinus, who was only a temporary procurator:—

1. Coponius, A.D. 6-10.
2. Marcus Ambivius, A.D. 10 (?)
3. Annus Rufus, A.D. (?)
4. Valerius Gratus, A.D. 14-25.
5. Pontius Pilate, A.D. 25-36.
6. Marcellus, A.D. 37.

After this, in A.D. 41, Agrippa was established in the kingdom of Judæa, and, on his death, a procurator was again appointed, viz.:

7. Cuspius Fadus, A.D. 44-46.
8. Tiberius Alexander, A.D. 46-48.

<sup>\*</sup> 'Quia sicut crescente *liene* reliqui artus tabescent, sic aucto fisco, *improbis exactionibus* civium paupertas augetur' (Aurel. Vict., *Epit.*, 42). Vespasian (*more suo*) took a more humorous view of the matter, and said that the procurators were like sponges, 'quod quasi et siccos madefaceret et exprimeret humentes' (Suet., *Vesp.*, 16).

<sup>†</sup> This was outside the prætorium (John xix. 13), as the Roman prætors often heard causes in the open air.

<sup>‡</sup> On the death of Herod the Great (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 9. 3). The leading πέμπτος (fifth) for πέμπτος (sent) in the passage of Josephus which refers to Valerius Gratus (*Antiq.* xviii. 2. 2), seems to have led to Sabinus being generally counted.

9. Ventidius Cumanus, A.D. 48-52.

10. Antonius\* Felix, A.D. 52-60.

11. Porcius Festus, A.D. 60-62 (?)

12. Albinus, A.D. 62-64.

13. Gessius Florus, A.D. 65-66.

[See PILATE; FESTUS; FELIX; PROVINCE, etc.]  
—F. W. F.

PROGNOSTICATORS. The phrase 'monthly prognosticators' occurs in the A. V. of Is. xlvii. 13, where the prophet is enumerating the astrological superstitions of the Chaldeans. In the later Hebrew, חֹזֵה denotes a 'seer,' or 'prophet;' and to express the sense in which it is employed in this text, a better word than prognosticator could not well be chosen. The original, חֹזֵה כְּכֹכְבִּים, might perhaps be more exactly rendered, as by Dr. Henderson, 'prognosticators at the new moons.' It is known that the Chaldean astrologers professed to divine future events by the positions, aspects, and appearances of the stars, which they regarded as having great influence on the affairs of men and kingdoms; and it would seem, from the present text, that they put forth accounts of the events which might be expected to occur from month to month, like our old almanac-makers. Some carry the analogy further, and suppose that they also gave monthly tables of the weather; but *such* prognostications are only cared for in climates where the weather is uncertain and variable; while in Chaldaea, where (as we know from actual experience) the seasons are remarkably regular in their duration and recurrence, and where variations of the usual course of the weather are all but unknown, no prognosticator would gain much honour by foretelling what every peasant knows. [DIVINATION.]

PROPERTY. It has been the custom to regard the Hebrews as a pastoral people until they were settled in Palestine. In a great degree they doubtless were so; and when they entered agricultural Egypt, the land of Goshen was assigned to them expressly because that locality was suited to their pastoral habits (Gen. xlvii. 4-6). These habits were substantially maintained; but it is certain that they became acquainted with the Egyptian processes of culture; and it is more than probable that they raised for themselves such products of the soil as they required for their own use. We may, indeed, collect that the portion of their territory which lay in the immediate vicinity of the Nile was placed by them under culture (Deut. xi. 10), while the interior, with the free pastures of the desert beyond their immediate territory, sufficed abundantly for their cattle (1 Chron. vii. 21). This partial attention to agriculture was in some degree a preparation for the condition of cultivators, into which they were destined eventually to pass. While the Israelites remained in a state of subjection in Egypt, the maintenance of their condition as shepherds was highly instrumental in keeping them distinct and separate from the Egyptians, who were agriculturists, and had a strong dislike to pastoral habits (Gen. xlv. 34). But when they became an independent and sovereign nation, their separation from other nations was to be promoted by inducing them to devote their chief attention to

<sup>\*</sup> He is so called by Tacitus; Suidas and Zonaras calls him Claudius. His prænomen does not occur elsewhere.



the culture of the soil. A large number of the institutions given to them had this object of separation in view. Among these, those relating to agriculture—forming the agrarian law of the Hebrew people—were of the first importance. They might not alone have been sufficient to secure the end in view; but no others could have been effectual without them; for without such attention to agriculture as would render them a self-subsisting nation, a greater degree of intercourse with the neighbouring and idolatrous nations must have been maintained than was consistent with the primary object of the Mosaic institutions. The commonest observation suffices to show how much less than others agricultural communities are open to external influences, and how much less disposed to cultivate intercourse with strangers.

It was, doubtless, in subservience to this object, and to facilitate the change, that the Israelites were put in possession of a country already in a state of high cultivation (Deut. vi. 11). And it was in order to retain them in this condition, to give them a vital interest in it, and to make it a source of happiness to them, that a very peculiar agrarian law was given to them. In stating this law, and in declaring it to have been in the highest degree wise and salutary, regard must be had to its peculiar object with reference to the segregation of the Hebrew people: for there are points in which this and other Mosaic laws were unsuited to general use, some by the very circumstances which adapted them so admirably to their special object. When the Israelites were numbered just before their entrance into the land of Canaan, and were found (exclusive of the Levites) to exceed 600,000 men, the Lord said to Moses: 'Unto these the land shall be divided for an inheritance, according to the number of names. To many thou shalt give the more inheritance, and to few thou shalt give the less inheritance; to every one shall his inheritance be given according to those that were numbered of him. Notwithstanding the land shall be divided by lot: according to the names of the tribes of their fathers shall they inherit' (Num. xxvi. 53, 54). This equal distribution of the soil was the basis of the agrarian law. By it provision was made for the support of 600,000 yeomanry, with (according to different calculations) from sixteen to twenty-five acres of land to each. This land they held independent of all temporal superiors, by direct tenure, from Jehovah their sovereign, by whose power they were to acquire the territory, and under whose protection they were to enjoy and retain it. 'The land shall not be sold for ever, for the land is mine, saith the Lord: ye are strangers and sojourners with me' (Lev. xxv. 23). Thus the basis of the constitution was an equal agrarian law. But this law was guarded by other provisions equally wise and salutary. The accumulation of debt was prevented, first, by prohibiting every Hebrew from accepting of interest from any of his fellow-citizens (Lev. xxv. 35, 36); next, by establishing a regular discharge of debts every seventh year; and, finally, by ordering that no lands could be alienated for ever, but must, on each year of Jubilee, or every seventh Sabbatic year, revert to the families which originally possessed them. Thus, without absolutely depriving individuals of all temporary dominion over their landed property, it re-established, every fiftieth year, that original and equal distribution of

it, which was the foundation of the national polity; and as the period of this reversion was fixed and regular, all parties had due notice of the terms on which they negotiated; so that there was no ground for public commotion or private complaint.

This law, by which landed property was released in the year of Jubilee from all existing obligations, did not extend to houses in towns, which if not redeemed within one year after being sold, were alienated for ever (Lev. xxv. 29, 30). This must have given to property in the country a decided advantage over property in cities, and must have greatly contributed to the essential object of all these regulations, by affording an inducement to every Hebrew to reside on and cultivate his land. Further, the original distribution of the land was to the several tribes according to their families, so that each tribe was, so to speak, settled in the same county, and each family in the same barony or hundred. Nor was the estate of any family in one tribe permitted to pass into another, even by the marriage of an heiress (Num. xxvii.); so that not only was the original balance of property preserved, but the closest and dearest connections of affinity attached to each other the inhabitants of every vicinage.

It often happens that laws in appearance similar have in view entirely different objects. In Europe the entailment of estates in the direct line is designed to encourage the formation of large properties. In Israel the effect was entirely different, as the entail extended to all the small estates into which the land was originally divided, so that they could not legally be united to form a large property, and then entailed upon the descendants of him by whom the property was formed. This division of the land in small estates among the people, who were to retain them in perpetuity, was eminently suited to the leading objects of the Hebrew institutions. It is allowed on all hands that such a condition of landed property is in the highest degree favourable to high cultivation, and to increase of population, while it is less favourable to pasturage. The two first were objects which the law had in view, and it did not intend to afford undue encouragement to the pastoral life, while the large pastures of the adjacent deserts and of the commons secured the country against such a scarcity of cattle as the division of the land into small heritages has already produced in France.

For this land a kind of quit-rent was payable to the sovereign proprietor, in the form of a tenth or tithe of the produce, which was assigned to the priesthood [TITHES]. The condition of military service was also attached to the land, as it appears that every freeholder (Deut. xx. 5) was obliged to attend at the general muster of the national army, and to serve in it, at his own expense (often more than repaid by the plunder), as long as the occasion required. In this direction, therefore, the agrarian law operated in securing a body of 600,000 men, inured to labour and industry, always assumed to be ready, as they were bound, to come forward at their country's call. This great body of national yeomanry, every one of whom had an important stake in the national independence, was officered by its own hereditary chiefs, heads of tribes and families (comp. Exod. xviii. and Num. xxxi. 14); and must have presented an insuperable obstacle to treacherous ambition and political intrigue, and to every attempt to overthrow the Hebrew com-



monwealth and establish despotic power. Nor were these institutions less wisely adapted to secure the state against foreign violence, and at the same time prevent offensive wars and remote conquests. For while this vast body of hardy yeomanry were always ready to defend their country when assailed by foreign foes, yet being constantly employed in agriculture, attached to domestic life, and enjoying at home the society of the numerous relatives who peopled their neighbourhood, war must have been in a high degree alien to their tastes and habits. Religion also took part in preventing them from being captivated by the splendour of military glory. On returning from battle, even if victorious, in order to bring them back to more peaceful feelings after the rage of war, the law required them to consider themselves as polluted by the slaughter, and unworthy of appearing in the camp of Jehovah until they had employed an entire day in the rites of purification (Num. xix. 13-16; xxxi. 19). Besides, the force was entirely infantry; the law forbidding even the kings to multiply horses in their train (Deut. xvii. 16); and this, with the ordinance requiring the attendance of all the males three times every year at Jerusalem, proved the intention of the legislator to confine the natives within the limits of the Promised Land, and rendered long and distant wars and conquests impossible without the virtual renunciation of that religion which was incorporated with their whole civil polity, and which was, in fact, the charter by which they held their property and enjoyed all their rights (Graves's *Lectures on the Pentateuch*, lect. iv.; Lowman's *Civ. Gov. of the Heb.*, c. iii. iv.; Michaelis, *Mos. Recht*, i. 240, seq.)—J. K.

**PROPHECY.** The principal considerations involved in this important subject may be arranged under the following heads:—

I. *The nature of Prophecy, and its position in the economy of the O. T.*—The view commonly taken of the prophets is, that they were mere predictors of future events; but this view is one-sided and too narrow, though, on the other hand, we must beware of expanding too much the acceptation of the term prophet. Not to mention those who, like Hendewerk, in the introduction to his *Commentary on the Prophet Isaiah*, identify the notion of a prophet with that of an honest and pious man, the conception of those is likewise too wide who place the essential feature of a prophet in his divine inspiration. That this does not meet the whole subject, appears from Num. xii. 6, seq., where Moses, who enjoyed divine inspiration in its highest grade, is represented as differing from those called prophets in a stricter sense, and as standing in contrast with them. Divine inspiration is only the general basis of the prophetic office, to which two more elements must be added:—

1. Inspiration was imparted to the prophets in a *peculiar form*. This appears decisively from the passage in Numbers above cited, which states it as characteristic of the prophet, that he obtained divine inspiration in *visions and dreams*, consequently in a state extraordinary and distinguished from the general one. This mode was different from that in which inspirations were conveyed to Moses and the apostles. The same thing is shown by the names usually given to the prophets, viz., *רֵאִים* and *חֲזִים*, *seers*, and from this that all prophecies which have come down to us have a poetical

character, which points to an intimate affinity between prophecy and poetry; a subject further illustrated by Steinberk, in his work, *Der Dichter, ein Seher*, Leipzig 1836; though the materials which he gives are not sufficiently digested. The prophetic style differs from that of books properly called poetical, whose sublimity it all but outvies, only in being less restrained by those external forms which distinguish poetical language from prose, and in introducing more frequently than prose does plays upon words and thoughts. This peculiarity may be explained by the practical tendency of prophetic addresses, which avoid all that is unintelligible, and studiously introduce what is best calculated for the moment to strike the hearers. The same appears from many other circumstances, *ex. gr.*, the union of *music* with prophesying, the demeanour of Saul when among the prophets (1 Sam. x. 5), Balaam's description of himself (Num. xxiv. 3) as a man whose eyes were opened, who saw the vision of the Almighty, and heard the words of God, the established phraseology to denote the inspiring impulse, viz., 'the hand of the Lord was strong upon him' (Ezek. iii. 14; comp. Is. viii. 11; 2 Kings iii. 15), etc. All these facts prove that there essentially belonged to prophecy a state of mind worked up—a state of being beside one's self—an ecstatic transport, in which ideas were immediately imparted from heaven. Acute remarks on the subject will be found in the works of Novalis (vol. ii. p. 472, seq.), from which we give the following passage: 'It is a most arbitrary prejudice to suppose that to man is denied the power of going out of himself, of being endued with a consciousness beyond the sphere of sense: he may at any moment be a supersensuous being (*ein übersinnliches Wesen seyn*), else he would be a mere brute, not a rational free-man of the universe. There are, indeed, degrees in the aptitude for revelations; one is more qualified for them than another, and certain dispositions are particularly capable of receiving such revelations; besides, on account of the pressure of sensible objects on the mind, it is in this state difficult to preserve self-possession. Nevertheless there are such states of mind, in which its powers are strengthened, and, so to speak, armed.' The state of ecstasy, though ranking high above the ordinary sensual existence, is still not the highest, as appears from Num. xii., and the example of Christ, whom we never find in an ecstatic state. To the prophets, however, it was indispensable, on account of the frailty of themselves and the people. The forcible working upon them by the Spirit of God, would not have been required if their general life had already been altogether holy; for which reason we also find ecstasy to manifest itself the stronger the more the general life was ungodly; as, for instance, in Balaam, when the spirit of God came upon him (Num. xxiv. 4, 16), and in Saul, who throws himself on the ground, tearing his clothes from his body. With a prophet whose spiritual attainments were those of an Isaiah, such results are not to be expected. As regards the people, their spiritual obtuseness must be considered as very great, to have rendered necessary such vehement excitations as the addresses of the prophets caused. Thus it appears that prophecy has a predominant place in the O. T. Under the N. T. it could take only a subordinate place; although even then it could not be dispensed with,



and hence we find it in the apostolic age. It had to prepare the soil on which the peculiar gifts of the N. T. might flourish, and the lower the church's state, the more it resembled that of the O. T., the greater the need of this. It had also to counteract the risk of barrenness and inefficiency to which the unexciting form of the N. T. system was exposed. To the church in the present day one could wish a copious supply of the prophetic gifts!

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As to prophecy in its circumscribed sense, or the foretelling of future events by the prophets, some expositors would explain all predictions of special events, while others assert that no prediction contains anything but general promises or threatenings, and that the prophets knew nothing of the particular manner in which their predictions might be realised. Both these classes deviate from the correct view of prophecy; the former resort often to the most arbitrary interpretations, and the latter are opposed by a mass of facts against which they are unable successfully to contend; *ex. gr.*, when Ezekiel foretells (ch. xii. 12) that Zedekiah would try to break through the walls of the city and to escape, but that he would be seized, blinded, and taken to Babylon. The frailty of the people, under the O. T., required external evidence of the real connection of the prophets with God, and the predictions of particular forthcoming events were to them *σημεία*, signs. These were the more indispensable to them, because the ancients generally, and the Orientals in particular, showed the greatest tendency towards the exploration of futurity, which tended to foster superstition and forward idolatry. All other methods of



was also proved by miracles, but this occurred only at important crises, when the existence of the kingdom of Israel was in jeopardy, as in the age of Elijah and Elisha. Miracles are mentioned as criteria of true prophets (Deut. xiii. 2), still with this caution, that they should not be trusted alone, but that the people should inquire whether the negative criteria were extant.

(e.) Those prophets whose divine commission had been sufficiently proved, bore testimony to the divine mission of others. It has been observed above, that there was a certain gradation among the prophets; the principals of the colleges of prophets procured authority to the 'sons' of prophets. Thus the deeds of Elijah and Elisha at the same time authenticated the hundreds of prophets whose superiors they were. Concerning the relation of the true prophets to each other the passage 2 Kings ii. 9 is remarkable; Elisha says to Elijah, 'I pray thee, let a double portion of thy spirit be upon me.' Here Elisha, as the first-born of Elijah in a spiritual sense, and standing to him in the same relation as Joshua to Moses, asks for a double portion of his spiritual inheritance, alluding to the law concerning the hereditary right of the lawfully-begotten first-born son (Deut. xxi. 17). This case supposes that other prophets also of the kingdom of Israel took portions of the fullness of the spirit of Elijah. It is plain, then, that only a few prophets stood in immediate communion with God, while that of the remaining was formed by mediation. The latter were spiritually incorporated in the former, and on the ground of this relation, actions performed by Elisha, or through the instrumentality of one of his pupils, are at once ascribed to Elijah, *ex. gr.*, the anointing of Hazael to be king over Syria (1 Kings xix. 15; comp. 2 Kings viii. 13); the anointing of Jehu to be king over Israel (1 Kings xix. 16, comp. 2 Kings ix. 1, *seq.*); the writing of the letter to Joram, etc. Thus, in a certain sense it may be affirmed that Elijah was in his time the only prophet of the kingdom of Israel. Similarly of Moses it is recorded, during his passage through the desert, that a portion of his spirit was conveyed to the seventy elders. The history of the Christian church itself offers analogies; look, *ex. gr.*, at the relation of the second class reformers to Luther and Calvin.

#### VI. *Promulgation of the Prophetic Declarations.*

—Usually the prophets promulgated their visions in public places before the congregated people. Still some portions of the prophetic books, as the entire second part of Isaiah and the description of the new temple (Ezek. xl.-xlviii.), probably were never communicated orally. In other cases the prophetic addresses first delivered orally were next, when committed to writing, revised and improved. Especially the books of the lesser prophets consist, for the greater part, not of separate predictions, independent of each other, but form, as they now are, a whole—that is, give the quintessence of the prophetic labours of their authors. In this case it is certain that the authors themselves caused the collection to be made. But it is so, likewise, in some cases where their books really consist of single declarations, and in others it is at least highly probable. Further particulars concerning the manner in which prophetic rolls were collected and published, we have only respecting Jeremiah, who, being in prison, called Baruch, 'to write from his mouth his predictions, and to read them

in the ears of the people' (Jer. xxxviii. 4-14). There is evidence to prove that the later prophets sedulously read the writings of the earlier, and that a prophetic canon existed before the present was formed. The predictions of Jeremiah throughout rest on the writings of earlier prophets, as Kiiper has established in his *Jeremias librorum sacrarum interpres atque vindex*, Berlin 1837. Zechariah explicitly alludes to writings of former prophets; 'to the words which the Lord has spoken to earlier prophets, when Jerusalem was inhabited and in prosperity' (Zech. i. 4; vii. 7, 12). In all probability we have complete those predictions which were committed to writing; at least the proofs which Dr. Ewald gives (p. 43, *seq.*) for his opinion of prophecies having been lost do not stand trial. The words 'as the Lord hath said,' in Joel ii. 32, refer to the predictions of Joel himself. In Is. ii. and Micah iv. nothing is introduced from a lost prophetic roll, but Isaiah borrows from Micah. Hosea alludes (ch. viii. 12), not to some unknown work, but to the Pentateuch. In Is. xv. and xvi. the prophet repeats, not another's prediction, but his own, previously delivered, to which he adds a supplement. Obadiah and Jeremiah do not avail themselves of the written address of a former prophet, but Jeremiah makes the prophecy of Obadiah the groundwork of his own. The opinion that in Is. lvi. 10; lvii. 11, there was inserted, unaltered, a long remnant of an older roll, is founded on erroneous views respecting the time of its composition. The same holds good of Is. xxiv., where Ewald would find remnants of several older rolls. The very circumstance, that in the prophets there nowhere occurs a tenable ground for maintaining that they referred to rolls lost and unknown to us, but that they often allude to writings which we know and possess, clearly proves that there is no reason for supposing, with Ewald, that a great number of prophetic compositions has been lost, 'and that of a large tree, only a few blossoms have reached our time.' In consequence of the prophets being considered more organs of God, much care was bestowed on the preservation of their publications. Ewald himself cannot refrain from observing (p. 56), 'We must see in Jer. xxvi. 1-19 a clear proof of the exact knowledge which the better classes of the people had of all that had, a hundred years before, happened to a prophet, of his words, misfortunes, and accidents.'

The collectors of the Canon arranged the prophets chronologically, but considered the whole of the twelve lesser prophets as one work, which they placed after Jeremiah and Ezekiel, inasmuch as the three last lesser prophets lived later than they. Daniel was placed in the Hagiographa, because he had not filled the prophetic office. The collection of the lesser prophets themselves was again chronologically disposed; still Hosea is, on account of the extent of his work, allowed precedence before those lesser prophets, who, generally, were his contemporaries, and also before those who flourished at a somewhat earlier period.

On the general subject of prophecy no comprehensive or altogether satisfactory treatise has yet been produced. Some good remarks will be found in the essay of John Smith, *On Prophecy (Select Discourses)*, disc. vi. p. 181, 8vo, ed. Lond. 1821, which was translated into Latin and reprinted at the end of Le Clerc's *Commentary on the Prophets*, Amsterdam 1731. It contains interesting passages



the culture of the soil. A large number of the institutions given to them had this object of separation in view. Among these, those relating to agriculture—forming the agrarian law of the Hebrew people—were of the first importance. They might not alone have been sufficient to secure the end in view; but no others could have been effectual without them; for without such attention to agriculture as would render them a self-subsisting nation, a greater degree of intercourse with the neighbouring and idolatrous nations must have been maintained than was consistent with the primary object of the Mosaic institutions. The commonest observation suffices to show how much less than others agricultural communities are open to external influences, and how much less disposed to cultivate intercourse with strangers.

It was, doubtless, in subservience to this object, and to facilitate the change, that the Israelites were put in possession of a country already in a state of high cultivation (Deut. vi. 11). And it was in order to retain them in this condition, to give them a vital interest in it, and to make it a source of happiness to them, that a very peculiar agrarian law was given to them. In stating this law, and in declaring it to have been in the highest degree wise and salutary, regard must be had to its peculiar object with reference to the segregation of the Hebrew people: for there are points in which this and other Mosaic laws were unsuited to general use, some by the very circumstances which adapted them so admirably to their special object. When the Israelites were numbered just before their entrance into the land of Canaan, and were found (exclusive of the Levites) to exceed 600,000 men, the Lord said to Moses: 'Unto these the land shall be divided for an inheritance, according to the number of names. To many thou shalt give the more inheritance, and to few thou shalt give the less inheritance; to every one shall his inheritance be given according to those that were numbered of him. Notwithstanding the land shall be divided by lot: according to the names of the tribes of their fathers shall they inherit' (Num. xxvi. 53, 54). This equal distribution of the soil was the basis of the agrarian law. By it provision was made for the support of 600,000 yeomanry, with (according to different calculations) from sixteen to twenty-five acres of land to each. This land they held independent of all temporal superiors, by direct tenure, from Jehovah their sovereign, by whose power they were to acquire the territory, and under whose protection they were to enjoy and retain it. 'The land shall not be sold for ever, for the land is mine, saith the Lord: ye are strangers and sojourners with me' (Lev. xxv. 23). Thus the basis of the constitution was an equal agrarian law. But this law was guarded by other provisions equally wise and salutary. The accumulation of debt was prevented, first, by prohibiting every Hebrew from accepting of interest from any of his fellow-citizens (Lev. xxv. 35, 36); next, by establishing a regular discharge of debts every seventh year; and, finally, by ordering that no lands could be alienated for ever, but must, on each year of Jubilee, or every seventh Sabbatic year, revert to the families which originally possessed them. Thus, without absolutely depriving individuals of all temporary dominion over their landed property, it re-established, every fiftieth year, that original and equal distribution of

it, which was the foundation of the national polity; and as the period of this reversion was fixed and regular, all parties had due notice of the terms on which they negotiated; so that there was no ground for public commotion or private complaint.

This law, by which landed property was released in the year of Jubilee from all existing obligations, did not extend to houses in towns, which if not redeemed within one year after being sold, were alienated for ever (Lev. xxv. 29, 30). This must have given to property in the country a decided advantage over property in cities, and must have greatly contributed to the essential object of all these regulations, by affording an inducement to every Hebrew to reside on and cultivate his land. Further, the original distribution of the land was to the several tribes according to their families, so that each tribe was, so to speak, settled in the same county, and each family in the same barony or hundred. Nor was the estate of any family in one tribe permitted to pass into another, even by the marriage of an heiress (Num. xxvii.); so that not only was the original balance of property preserved, but the closest and dearest connections of affinity attached to each other the inhabitants of every vicinage.

It often happens that laws in appearance similar have in view entirely different objects. In Europe the entailment of estates in the direct line is designed to encourage the formation of large properties. In Israel the effect was entirely different, as the entail extended to all the small estates into which the land was originally divided, so that they could not legally be united to form a large property, and then entailed upon the descendants of him by whom the property was formed. This division of the land in small estates among the people, who were to retain them in perpetuity, was eminently suited to the leading objects of the Hebrew institutions. It is allowed on all hands that such a condition of landed property is in the highest degree favourable to high cultivation, and to increase of population, while it is less favourable to pasturage. The two first were objects which the law had in view, and it did not intend to afford undue encouragement to the pastoral life, while the large pastures of the adjacent deserts and of the commons secured the country against such a scarcity of cattle as the division of the land into small heritages has already produced in France.

For this land a kind of quit-rent was payable to the sovereign proprietor, in the form of a tenth or tithe of the produce, which was assigned to the priesthood [TITHES]. The condition of military service was also attached to the land, as it appears that every freeholder (Deut. xx. 5) was obliged to attend at the general muster of the national army, and to serve in it, at his own expense (often more than repaid by the plunder), as long as the occasion required. In this direction, therefore, the agrarian law operated in securing a body of 600,000 men, inured to labour and industry, always assumed to be ready, as they were bound, to come forward at their country's call. This great body of national yeomanry, every one of whom had an important stake in the national independence, was officered by its own hereditary chiefs, heads of tribes and families (comp. Exod. xviii. and Num. xxxi. 14); and must have presented an insuperable obstacle to treacherous ambition and political intrigue, and to every attempt to overthrow the Hebrew com-



monwealth and establish despotic power. Nor were these institutions less wisely adapted to secure the state against foreign violence, and at the same time prevent offensive wars and remote conquests. For while this vast body of hardy yeomanry were always ready to defend their country when assailed by foreign foes, yet being constantly employed in agriculture, attached to domestic life, and enjoying at home the society of the numerous relatives who peopled their neighbourhood, war must have been in a high degree alien to their tastes and habits. Religion also took part in preventing them from being captivated by the splendour of military glory. On returning from battle, even if victorious, in order to bring them back to more peaceful feelings after the rage of war, the law required them to consider themselves as polluted by the slaughter, and unworthy of appearing in the camp of Jehovah until they had employed an entire day in the rites of purification (Num. xix. 13-16; xxxi. 19). Besides, the force was entirely infantry; the law forbidding even the kings to multiply horses in their train (Deut. xvii. 16); and this, with the ordinance requiring the attendance of all the males three times every year at Jerusalem, proved the intention of the legislator to confine the natives within the limits of the Promised Land, and rendered long and distant wars and conquests impossible without the virtual renunciation of that religion which was incorporated with their whole civil polity, and which was, in fact, the charter by which they held their property and enjoyed all their rights (Graves's *Lectures on the Pentateuch*, lect. iv.; Lowman's *Civ. Gov. of the Heb.*, c. iii. iv.; Michaelis, *Mos. Recht*, i. 240, seq.)—J. K.

**PROPHECY.** The principal considerations involved in this important subject may be arranged under the following heads:—

I. *The nature of Prophecy, and its position in the economy of the O. T.*—The view commonly taken of the prophets is, that they were mere predictors of future events; but this view is one-sided and too narrow, though, on the other hand, we must beware of expanding too much the acceptation of the term prophet. Not to mention those who, like Hendewerk, in the introduction to his *Commentary on the Prophet Isaiah*, identify the notion of a prophet with that of an honest and pious man, the conception of those is likewise too wide who place the essential feature of a prophet in his divine inspiration. That this does not meet the whole subject, appears from Num. xii. 6, seq., where Moses, who enjoyed divine inspiration in its highest grade, is represented as differing from those called prophets in a stricter sense, and as standing in contrast with them. Divine inspiration is only the general basis of the prophetic office, to which two more elements must be added:—

I. Inspiration was imparted to the prophets in a *peculiar form*. This appears decisively from the passage in Numbers above cited, which states it as characteristic of the prophet, that he obtained divine inspiration in *visions and dreams*, consequently in a state extraordinary and distinguished from the general one. This mode was different from that in which inspirations were conveyed to Moses and the apostles. The same thing is shown by the names usually given to the prophets, viz., *רֵאִים*, and *חֲזִים*, *seers*, and from this that all prophecies which have come down to us have a poetical

character; which points to an intimate affinity between prophecy and poetry; a subject further illustrated by Steinberg, in his work, *Der Dichter, ein Seher*, Leipzig 1836; though the materials which he gives are not sufficiently digested. The prophetic style differs from that of books properly called poetical, whose sublimity it all but outvies, only in being less restrained by those external forms which distinguish poetical language from prose, and in introducing more frequently than prose does plays upon words and thoughts. This peculiarity may be explained by the practical tendency of prophetic addresses, which avoid all that is unintelligible, and studiously introduce what is best calculated for the moment to strike the hearers. The same appears from many other circumstances, *ex. gr.*, the union of *music* with prophesying, the demeanour of Saul when among the prophets (1 Sam. x. 5), Balaam's description of himself (Num. xxiv. 3) as a man whose eyes were opened, who saw the vision of the Almighty, and heard the words of God, the established phraseology to denote the inspiring impulse, viz., 'the hand of the Lord was strong upon him' (Ezek. iii. 14; comp. Is. viii. 11; 2 Kings iii. 15), etc. All these facts prove that there essentially belonged to prophecy a state of mind worked up—a state of being beside one's self—an ecstatic transport, in which ideas were immediately imparted from heaven. Acute remarks on the subject will be found in the works of Novalis (vol. ii. p. 472, seq.), from which we give the following passage: 'It is a most arbitrary prejudice to suppose that to man is denied the power of going out of himself, of being endued with a consciousness beyond the sphere of sense; he may at any moment be a supersensuous being (*ein übersinnliches Wesen seyn*), else he would be a mere brute, not a rational free-man of the universe. There are, indeed, degrees in the aptitude for revelations; one is more qualified for them than another, and certain dispositions are particularly capable of receiving such revelations; besides, on account of the pressure of sensible objects on the mind, it is in this state difficult to preserve self-possession. Nevertheless there are such states of mind, in which its powers are strengthened, and, so to speak, armed.' The state of ecstasy, though ranking high above the ordinary sensual existence, is still not the highest, as appears from Num. xii., and the example of Christ, whom we never find in an ecstatic state. To the prophets, however, it was indispensable, on account of the frailty of themselves and the people. The forcible working upon them by the Spirit of God, would not have been required if their general life had already been altogether holy; for which reason we also find ecstasy to manifest itself the stronger the more the general life was ungodly; as, for instance, in Balaam, when the spirit of God came upon him (Num. xxiv. 4, 16), and in Saul, who throws himself on the ground, tearing his clothes from his body. With a prophet whose spiritual attainments were those of an Isaiah, such results are not to be expected. As regards the people, their spiritual obtuseness must be considered as very great, to have rendered necessary such vehement excitations as the addresses of the prophets caused. Thus it appears that prophecy has a predominant place in the O. T. Under the N. T. it could take only a subordinate place; although even then it could not be dispensed with,



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was also proved by miracles, but this occurred only at important crises, when the existence of the kingdom of Israel was in jeopardy, as in the age of Elijah and Elisha. Miracles are mentioned as criteria of true prophets (Deut. xiii. 2), still with this caution, that they should not be trusted alone, but that the people should inquire whether the negative criteria were extant.

(a.) Those prophets whose divine commission had been sufficiently proved, bore testimony to the divine mission of others. It has been observed above, that there was a certain gradation among the prophets; the principals of the colleges of prophets procured authority to the 'sons' of prophets. Thus the deeds of Elijah and Elisha at the same time authenticated the hundreds of prophets whose superiors they were. Concerning the relation of the true prophets to each other the passage 2 Kings ii. 9 is remarkable; Elisha says to Elijah, 'I pray thee, let a double portion of thy spirit be upon me.' Here Elisha, as the first-born of Elijah in a spiritual sense, and standing to him in the same relation as Joshua to Moses, asks for a double portion of his spiritual inheritance, alluding to the law concerning the hereditary right of the lawfully-begotten first-born son (Deut. xxi. 17). This case supposes that other prophets also of the kingdom of Israel took portions of the fulness of the spirit of Elijah. It is plain, then, that only a few prophets stood in immediate communion with God, while that of the remaining was formed by mediation. The latter were spiritually incorporated in the former, and on the ground of this relation, actions performed by Elisha, or through the instrumentality of one of his pupils, are at once ascribed to Elijah, *ex. gr.*, the anointing of Hazael to be king over Syria (1 Kings xix. 15; comp. 2 Kings viii. 13); the anointing of Jehu to be king over Israel (1 Kings xix. 16, comp. 2 Kings ix. 1, *seq.*); the writing of the letter to Joram, etc. Thus, in a certain sense it may be affirmed that Elijah was in his time the only prophet of the kingdom of Israel. Similarly of Moses it is recorded, during his passage through the desert, that a portion of his spirit was conveyed to the seventy elders. The history of the Christian church itself offers analogies; look, *ex. gr.*, at the relation of the second class reformers to Luther and Calvin.

#### VI. *Promulgation of the Prophetic Declarations.*

—Usually the prophets promulgated their visions in public places before the congregated people. Still some portions of the prophetic books, as the entire second part of Isaiah and the description of the new temple (Ezek. xl.-xlviii.), probably were never communicated orally. In other cases the prophetic addresses first delivered orally were next, when committed to writing, revised and improved. Especially the books of the lesser prophets consist, for the greater part, not of separate predictions, independent of each other, but form, as they now are, a whole—that is, give the quintessence of the prophetic labours of their authors. In this case it is certain that the authors themselves caused the collection to be made. But it is so, likewise, in some cases where their books really consist of single declarations, and in others it is at least highly probable. Further particulars concerning the manner in which prophetic rolls were collected and published, we have only respecting Jeremiah, who, being in prison, called Baruch, 'to write from his mouth his predictions, and to read them

in the ears of the people' (Jer. xxxviii. 4-14). There is evidence to prove that the later prophets sedulously read the writings of the earlier, and that a prophetic canon existed before the present was formed. The predictions of Jeremiah throughout rest on the writings of earlier prophets, as Küper has established in his *Jeremias librorum sacrorum interpres atque vindex*, Berlin 1837. Zechariah explicitly alludes to writings of former prophets; 'to the words which the Lord has spoken to earlier prophets, when Jerusalem was inhabited and in prosperity' (Zech. i. 4; vii. 7, 12). In all probability we have complete those predictions which were committed to writing; at least the proofs which Dr. Ewald gives (p. 43, *seq.*) for his opinion of prophecies having been lost do not stand trial. The words 'as the Lord hath said,' in Joel ii. 32, refer to the predictions of Joel himself. In Is. ii. and Micah iv. nothing is introduced from a lost prophetic roll, but Isaiah borrows from Micah. Hosea alludes (ch. viii. 12), not to some unknown work, but to the Pentateuch. In Is. xv. and xvi. the prophet repeats, not another's prediction, but his own, previously delivered, to which he adds a supplement. Obadiah and Jeremiah do not avail themselves of the written address of a former prophet, but Jeremiah makes the prophecy of Obadiah the groundwork of his own. The opinion that in Is. lvi. 10; lvii. 11, there was inserted, unaltered, a long remnant of an older roll, is founded on erroneous views respecting the time of its composition. The same holds good of Is. xxiv., where Ewald would find remnants of several older rolls. The very circumstance, that in the prophets there nowhere occurs a tenable ground for maintaining that they referred to rolls lost and unknown to us, but that they often allude to writings which we know and possess, clearly proves that there is no reason for supposing, with Ewald, that a great number of prophetic compositions has been lost, 'and that of a large tree, only a few blossoms have reached our time.' In consequence of the prophets being considered more organs of God, much care was bestowed on the preservation of their publications. Ewald's some cannot refrain from observing (p. 56), 'We have in Jer. xxvi. 1-19 a clear proof of the exact knowledge which the better classes of the people had of all that had, a hundred years before, happened to a prophet, of his words, misfortunes, and accidents.'

The collectors of the Canon arranged the prophets chronologically, but considered the whole of the twelve lesser prophets as one work, which they placed after Jeremiah and Ezekiel, inasmuch as the three last lesser prophets lived later than they. Daniel was placed in the Hagiographa, because he had not filled the prophetic office. The collection of the lesser prophets themselves was again chronologically disposed; still Hosea is, on account of the extent of his work, allowed precedence before those lesser prophets, who, generally, were his contemporaries, and also before those who flourished at a somewhat earlier period.

On the general subject of prophecy no comprehensive or altogether satisfactory treatise has yet been produced. Some good remarks will be found in the essay of John Smith, *On Prophecy (Select Discourses*, disc. vi. p. 181, 8vo, ed. Lond. 1821), which was translated into Latin and reprinted at the end of Le Clerc's *Commentary on the Prophets*, Amsterdam 1731. It contains interesting passages



and hence we find it in the apostolic age. It had to prepare the soil on which the peculiar gifts of the N. T. might flourish, and the lower the church's state, the more it resembled that of the O. T., the greater the need of this. It had also to counteract the risk of barrenness and inefficiency to which the unexciting form of the N. T. system was exposed. To the church in the present day one could wish a copious supply of the prophetic gifts!

2. Generally speaking, every one was a prophet to whom God communicated his mind in this peculiar manner. Thus, *ex. gr.*, Abraham is called a prophet (Gen. xx. 7), not, as is commonly thought, on account of general revelations granted him by God, but because such as he received were in the special form described; as indeed in ch. xv. it is expressly stated that divine communications were made to him in *visions and dreams*. The body of the patriarchs are in the same manner called prophets (Ps. cv. 15). When the Mosaic economy had been established, a new element was added; the prophetic gift was after that time regularly connected with the prophetic office, so that the latter came to form part of the idea of a prophet. Thus Daniel's work was not placed in the collection of prophetic books, because, though eminently endowed with prophetic gifts, he still had not filled the prophetic office. Speaking of office, we do not of course mean one conferred by men, but by God; the mission to Israel, with which the certainty of a continued, not temporary, grant of the *donum propheticum* was connected.

That the Lord would send such prophets was promised to the people by Moses, who by a special law (Deut. xviii. 1) secured them authority and safety. As his ordinary servants and teachers, God appointed the Priests: the characteristic mark which distinguished the prophets from them was inspiration; and this explains the circumstance that, in times of great moral and religious corruption, when the ordinary means no longer sufficed to reclaim the people, the number of prophets increased. The regular religious instruction of the people was no part of the business of the prophets: their proper duty was only to rouse and excite. The contrary, viz., that part of the regular duty of the prophets was to instruct the people, is often argued from 2 Kings iv. 23, where it is said that the Shunamite on the Sabbaths and days of new moon used to go to the prophet Elisha; but this passage applies only to the kingdom of Israel, and admits of no inference with respect to the kingdom of Judah. As regards the latter, there is no proof that prophets held meetings for instruction and edification on sacred days. Their position was here quite different from that of the prophets in the kingdom of Israel. The agency of the prophets in the kingdom of Judah was only of a subsidiary kind; these extraordinary messengers of the Lord only filled there the gaps left by the regular servants of God, the priests and the Levites; the priesthood never became there utterly degenerate, and each lapse was followed by a revival of which the prophets were the vigorous agents; the divine election always vindicated itself, and in the purity of the origin of the priesthood lay the certainty of its continued renewal. On the contrary, the priesthood in the kingdom of Israel had no divine sanction, no promise; it was corrupt in its very source; to reform itself would have been to dissolve itself; the priests there were

the mercenary servants of the king, and had a brand upon their own consciences. Hence in the kingdom of Israel the prophets were the regular ministers of God; with their office all stood or fell, and hence they were required to do many things besides what the original conception of the office of a prophet implied—a circumstance from the oversight of which many erroneous notions on the nature of prophecy have sprung. This led to another difference, to which we shall revert below, viz., that in the kingdom of Judah the prophetic office did not, as in Israel, possess a fixed organization and complete construction.

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knowing future events, by necromancy, conjuration, passing through the fire, etc., having been strictly forbidden (Deut. xviii. 10, 11), it might be expected that the deep-rooted craving for the knowledge of forthcoming events would be gratified in some other and nobler manner. The success of a prophet depended on the gift of special knowledge of futurity; this it is true was granted comparatively to only few, but in the authority thus obtained all those shared who were likewise invested with the prophetic character. It was the seal impressed on true prophecy, as opposed to the false. From 1 Sam. ix. 6, it appears that, to inspire uncultivated minds with the sense of divine truths, the prophets stooped occasionally to disclose things of common life, using this as the means to reach a higher mark. On the same footing with definite predictions stand miracles and tokens, which prophets of the highest rank, as Elijah and Isaiah, volunteered or granted. These also were requisite to confirm the feeble faith of the people; but Ewald justly remarks, that with the true prophets they never appear as the chief point; they only assist and accompany prophecy, but are not its object, not the truth itself, which supersedes them as soon as it gains sufficient strength and influence.

Some interpreters, misunderstanding passages like Jer. xviii. 8; xxvi. 13, have asserted, with Dr. Köster (p. 226, *seq.*), that all prophecies were conditional, and have even maintained that their revocability distinguished the true predictions (*Weissagung*) from soothsaying (*Wahrsagung*). But beyond all doubt, when the prophet denounces the divine judgments, he proceeds on the assumption that the people will not repent, an assumption which he knows from God to be true. Were the people to repent, the prediction would fail; but, because they will not, it is uttered *absolutely*. It does not follow, however, that the prophet's warnings and exhortations are useless. These serve 'for a witness against them;' and besides, amid the ruin of the mass, individuals might be saved. Viewing prophecies as conditional predictions nullifies them. The Mosaic criterion (Deut. xviii. 22), that he was a false prophet who predicted 'things which followed not nor came to pass,' would then be of no value, since recourse might always be had to the excuse, that the case had been altered by the fulfilling of the condition. The fear of introducing fatalism, if the prophecies are not taken in a conditional sense, is unfounded; for God's omniscience, his foreknowledge, does not establish fatalism, and from divine omniscience simply is the prescience of the prophets to be derived. The prophets feel themselves so closely united to God, that the words of Jehovah are given as their own, and that to them is often ascribed what God does, as slaying and reviving (Hos. vi. 5), rooting out nations and restoring them (Jer. i. 10; xviii. 7; Ezek. xxxii. 18; xliii. 3); which proves their own consciousness to have been entirely absorbed into that of God.

The sphere of action of the prophets was absolutely limited to Israel, and there is only one case of a prophet going to the heathen to preach among them, that of Jonah sent to Nineveh. He goes, however, to Nineveh, to shame the Hebrews by the reception which he meets with there, and acting upon his own nation was thus even in this case the prophet's ultimate object. Many pre-

dictions of the O. T. concern, indeed, the events of foreign nations, but they are always uttered and written with reference to Israel, and the prophets thought not of publishing them among the heathens themselves. The conversion of the pagans to the worship of the true God was indeed a favourite idea of the prophets; but the Divine Spirit told them, that it was not to be effected by their exertions, as it was connected with extensive future changes, which they might not forestall.

It needs hardly to be mentioned, that before a man could be a prophet he must be converted. This clearly appears in the case of Isaiah, 'whose iniquity was taken away, and his sin purged,' previous to his entering on his mission to the people of the covenant. For a single momentary inspiration, however, the mere beginning of spiritual life sufficed, as instanced in Balaam and Saul.

The most usual appellation of a prophet is נביא, and Exod. iv. 1-17 is the classical passage as to the meaning of this word. There God says to Moses, 'Aaron shall be thy נביא unto the people, and thou shalt be unto him instead of God.' The sense is: Aaron shall speak what thou shalt communicate to him. This appellation implies, then, the prophet's relation to God: he speaks not of his own accord, but what the Spirit puts into his mouth. This accords also with the etymology of the word, as נבא signifies in the Arabic *produxit*, and next, *protulit verba*, *nunciavit*, *indicavit*. Thus נביא is an adjective of passive signification; he who has been divinely inspired, who has received from God the revela-

tions which he proclaims: it is of the form קטיל, which cannot be proved ever to have an active signification; and hence the common opinion that נביא signifies originally a *speaker*, which has recently been again set up by Dr. Ewald (p. 6), cannot be maintained. While this name refers to divine inspiration, the others are derived from the particular form in which this was communicated to the prophets. These names are חזה and ראה, differing only in the former being more poetical and august. From 1 Sam. ix. 9, some expositors have inferred that the name נביא sprang up after the age of Samuel, and that before this the name ראה had been exclusively in use. But that this view is wrong has been proved in Hengstenberg's 'Contributions towards an Introduction to the Old Testament' (*Beiträge zur Einleitung ins A. T.*, vol. iii. p. 335). Other names, as 'man of God,' etc., do not belong to the prophets as such, but only in so far as they are of the number of servants and instruments of God.

II. *Duration of the Prophetic office.*—Although we meet with cases of prophesying as early as the age of the patriarchs, still the roots of prophetism among Israel are properly fixed in the Mosaic economy. Moses instilled into the congregation of Israel those truths which form the foundation of prophecy, and thus prepared the ground from which it could spring up. In the time of Moses himself we find prophesying growing out of those things which through him were conveyed to the minds of the people. The main business of Moses was not that of a prophet; but sometimes he was in the state of prophetic elevation. In such a state originated



his celebrated song (Deut. xxxii.), which Eichhorn justly calls the Magna Charta of prophecy; and his blessings (Deut. xxxiii.) Miriam, the sister of Aaron, is called a prophetess (Exod. xv. 20; comp. Num. xii. 2, 6), when she took a timbrel and sang to the Lord, who had overthrown the enemy of the children of Israel. The seventy elders are expressly stated to have been impelled by the spirit of God to prophesy. In the age of the Judges, prophecy, though existing only in scattered instances, exerted a powerful influence. Those who would deny this, in spite of the plain evidence of history, do not consider that the influential operation of prophets, flourishing in later times, requires preparatory steps. 'Now only,' says Ewald justly, 'we are able to perceive how full of strength and life was the ground in which prophecy, to attain such an eminence, must have sprung up.' The more conspicuous prophetic agency begins with Samuel, and the prophets' schools which he founded. From this time to the Babylonian exile, there happened hardly any important event in which the prophets did not appear as performing the leading part. But although the influential operation of the prophets begins with Samuel, none of the prophets up to the year B.C. 800 left any written prophecies. This was certainly not a mere accident. Only when the more important and extensive divine judgments approached, it became necessary, by their announcement, to arouse the impious from their slumber of listlessness, and to open to the faithful the stores of consolation and hope. Before this time, the living oral speech of the prophets was the most important thing; but now, when the Lord revealed to them more extensive prospects, when their calling was not restricted to present events merely, but forthcoming momentous changes were conveyed to their notice and consideration, their written words became equally important. About a hundred years after the return from the Babylonian exile, the prophetic profession ceased. The Jewish tradition uniformly states that Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi were the last prophets. In the first book of the Maccabees (ch. ix. 27) the discontinuance of the prophetic calling is considered as forming an important era in Jewish history; while at the same time an expectation of the renewal in future ages of prophetic gifts is avowed (iv. 46; xiv. 41). After the Babylonian exile the sacred writings were collected, which enabled every one to find the way of salvation; but the immediate revelations to the people of Israel were to cease for awhile, in order to raise a stronger longing for the appearance of the Messiah, and to prepare for him a welcome reception. For the same reason the ark of the covenant had been taken away from the people. The danger of a complete apostasy, which in earlier times might have been incurred by this withdrawal, was not now to be apprehended. The external worship of the Lord was so firmly established, that no extraordinary helps were wanted. Taking also into consideration the altered character of the people, we may add that the time after the exile was more fit to produce men learned in the law than prophets. Before this period, the faithful and the unbelieving were strongly opposed to each other, which excited the former to great exertions. These relaxed when the opposition ceased, and pious priests now took the place of prophets. The time after the exile is characterized by weakness and dependance; the people looked up to the past as to a height which they

could not gain; the earlier writings obtained unconditional authority, and the disposition for receiving prophetic gifts was lost.

III. *Manner of Life of the Prophets.*—The prophets went about poorly and coarsely dressed (2 Kings i. 8), not as a mere piece of asceticism, but that their very apparel might teach what the people ought to do; it was a 'sermo propheticus realis.' Compare 1 Kings xxi. 27, where Ahab does penance in the manner figured by the prophet: 'And it came to pass, when Ahab heard these words, that he rent his clothes, and put sackcloth upon his flesh, and fasted.' Generally the prophets were not anxious of attracting notice by ostentatious display; nor did they seek worldly wealth, most of them living in poverty and even want (1 Kings xiv. 3; 2 Kings iv. 1, 38, 42; vi. 5). The decay of the congregation of God deeply chagrined them (comp. Micah vii. 1, and many passages in Jeremiah). Insult, persecution, imprisonment, and death, were often the reward of their godly life. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews says (ch. xi. 37): 'They were stoned, they were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slain with the sword: they wandered about in sheep-skins and goat-skins, being destitute, afflicted, tormented' (comp. Christ's speech, Matt. xxiii. 29, *seq.*; 2 Chron. xxiv. 17, *seq.*) The condition of the prophets, in their temporal humiliation, is vividly represented in the lives of Elijah and Elisha in the books of the Kings; and Jeremiah concludes the description of his sufferings in the 20th chapter, by cursing the day of his birth. Repudiated by the world in which they were aliens, they typified the life of Him whose appearance they announced, and whose spirit dwelt in them. They figured him, however, not only in his lowness, but in his elevation. The Lord stood by them, gave evidence in their favour by fulfilling their predictions, frequently proved by miracles that they were his own messengers, or retaliated on their enemies the injury done them. The prophets addressed the people of both kingdoms: they were not confined to particular places, but prophesied where it was required. For this reason they were most numerous in capital towns, especially in Jerusalem, where they generally spoke in the temple. Sometimes their advice was asked, and then their prophecies take the form of answers to questions submitted to them (Is. xxxvii.; Ezek. xx.; Zech. vii.) But much more frequently they felt themselves inwardly moved to address the people without their advice having been asked, and they were not afraid to stand forward in places where their appearance, perhaps, produced indignation and terror. Whatever lay within or around the sphere of religion and morals, formed the object of their care. They strenuously opposed the worship of false gods (Is. i. 10, *seq.*), as well as the finery of women (Is. iii. 16, *seq.*) Priests, princes, kings, all must hear them—must, however reluctantly, allow them to perform their calling as long as they spoke in the name of the true God, and as long as the result did not disprove their pretensions to be the servants of the invisible King of Israel (Jer. xxxvii. 15-21). There were institutions for training prophets; the senior members instructed a number of pupils and directed them. These schools had been first established by Samuel (1 Sam. x. 8; xix. 19); and at a later time there were such institutions in



different places, as Bethel and Gilgal (2 Kings ii. 3; iv. 38; vi. 1). The pupils of the prophets lived in fellowship united, and were called 'sons of the prophets;' whilst the senior or experienced prophets were considered as their spiritual parents, and were styled fathers (comp. 2 Kings ii. 12; vi. 21). Samuel, Elijah, and Elisha, are mentioned as principals of such institutions. From them the Lord generally chose his instruments. Amos relates of himself (vii. 14, 15), as a thing uncommon, that he had been trained in no school of prophets, but was a herdsman, when the Lord took him to prophesy unto the people of Israel. At the same time, this example shows that the bestowal of prophetic gifts was not limited to the schools of the prophets. Women also might come forward as prophetesses, as instanced in Miriam, Deborah, and Huldah, though such cases are of comparatively rare occurrence. We should also observe, that only as regards the kingdom of Israel we have express accounts of the continuance of the schools of prophets. What is recorded of them is not directly applicable to the kingdom of Judah, especially since, as stated above, prophecy had in it an essentially different position. We cannot assume that the organization and regulations of the schools of the prophets in the kingdom of Judah should have been as settled and established as in the kingdom of Israel. In the latter, the schools of the prophets had a kind of monastic constitution: they were not institutions of general education, but missionary stations; which explains the circumstance that they were established exactly in places which were the chief seats of superstition. The spiritual fathers travelled about to visit the training schools; the pupils had their common board and dwelling, and those who married and left, ceased not on that account to be connected with their colleges, but remained members of them. The widow of such a pupil of the schools of prophets, who is mentioned in 2 Kings iv. 1, *seq.*, considered Elisha as the person bound to care for her. The offerings which, by the Mosaic law, were to be given to the Levites, were by the pious of the kingdom of Israel brought to the schools of the prophets (2 Kings iv. 42). The prophets of the kingdom of Israel stood in a hostile position to the priests. These points of difference in the situation of the prophets of the two kingdoms must not be lost sight of; and we further add, that prophecy in the kingdom of Israel was much more connected with extraordinary events than in the kingdom of Judah: the history of the latter offers no prophetic deeds equalling those of Elijah and Elisha. Prophecy in the kingdom of Israel not being grounded on a hierarchy venerable for its antiquity, consecrated by divine miracles, and constantly favoured with divine protection, it needed to be supported more powerfully, and to be legitimized more evidently. In conclusion, it may be observed, that the expression 'schools of the prophets' is not exactly suited to their nature, as general instruction was not their object. The so-called prophets' schools were associations of men endowed with the spirit of God, for the purpose of carrying on their work, the feeble powers of junior members being directed and strengthened by those of a higher class. To those who entered these unions the Divine Spirit had been already imparted, which was the imperative condition of their reception.

IV. *Symbolic Actions of the Prophets.*—In the midst of the prophetic declarations symbolic actions are often mentioned, which the prophets had to perform. The opinions of interpreters on these are divided. Some assert that they always, at least generally, were really done; others assert that they had existence only in the mind of the prophets, and formed part of their visions. The latter view, which was espoused by Calvin, is proved to be correct by a considerable number of such symbolic actions as are either impossible, or inconsistent with decorum. Thus Hosea relates (i. 2-11) of himself 'that the Lord had ordered him to take a wife of whoredoms, for the land had committed great whoredom, departing from the Lord; and that he then had taken Gomer, by whom he had several children. That this is not to be taken as a real fact, is proved by Hengstenberg's *Christologie*, vol. iii. [E. T. i. 158, ff.], where it is shown that the prophet intended only symbolically to depict the idolatrous disposition of his nation. Another symbolic action of Jeremiah prefigures the people's destruction. He says (xiii. 1-10) he had been by the Lord directed to get a linen girdle, to put it on his loins, to undertake a long tour to the Euphrates, and to hide the girdle there in a hole of the rock. He does so, returns, and after many days the Lord again orders him to take the girdle from the place where it was hidden, but 'the girdle was marred and good for nothing.' In predicting the destruction of Babylon and a general war (xxv. 12-38), he receives from the Lord a wine-cup, to cause a number of kings of various nations, among whom the sword would be sent, to drink from it till they should be overcome. He then goes with this cup to the kings of Egypt, Arabia, Persia, Media, and many other countries. When the prophet Ezekiel receives his commission and instructions to prophesy against the rebellious people of Israel, a roll of a book is presented to him, which he eats by the direction of the Lord (Ezek. ii. 9; iii. 2, 3). He is next ordered to lie before the city of Jerusalem on his left side three hundred and ninety days; and when he had accomplished them, on his right side forty days. He must not turn from one side to the other, and he is ordered to bake with dung of man the bread which he eats during this time (Ezek. iv. 4, 8, 12). Isaiah is ordered to walk naked and barefoot, for a sign upon Egypt and Ethiopia (Is. xx. 2, 3). Many other passages of this kind might be adduced from the books of the prophets, which compel us to admit that they state internal, not external facts. This may also further be supported by other reasons. In the records of the prophets, their seeing the Lord, hearing him speak, and addressing him, are no doubt inward acts. Why then not likewise their symbolic representations? The world in which the prophets moved was quite different from the ordinary one; it was not the sensible but the spiritual world. Vision and symbolic action are not opposed; the former is the general class, comprehending the latter as a species. We must, however, not refer all symbolic actions to internal intuition; at least, of a false prophet we have a sure example of an externally performed symbolic action (1 Kings xxii. 11), and the false prophets always aped the true ones (comp. Jer. xix. 1, *seq.*) Inward actions were sometimes, when it was possible and proper, materialized by external performance. They are always at the bottom, and form



the regular, natural explanation of the symbolic actions of the prophets. To attain the intended object, external performance was not always required; the internal action was narrated, and committed to writing. It made a naked statement more intuitive and impressive, and by presenting the subject in a concentrated form, it was preferable to external performance, which could only take place when the sphere of internal action was circumscribed, and did not extend over long periods of time.

V. *Criteria by which True and False Prophets were distinguished.*—As Moses had foretold, a host of false prophets arose in later times among the people, who promised prosperity without repentance, and preached the gospel without the law. The writings of the prophets are full of complaints of the mischief done by these impostors. Jeremiah significantly calls them 'prophets of the deceit of their own heart;' *i. e.*, men who followed the suggestions of their own fancy in prophesying (Jer. xxiii. 26; comp. ver. 16, and chap. xiv. 14). All their practices prove the great influence which true prophetism had acquired among the people of Israel. But how were the people to distinguish true and false prophets? In the law concerning prophets (Deut. xviii. 20; comp. xiii. 7-9), the following enactments are contained:—

1. The prophet *who speaks in the name of other Gods*—*i. e.*, professes to have his revelations from a God different from Jehovah—is to be considered as false, and to be punished capitally; and this even though his predictions should come to pass.

2. The same punishment is to be inflicted on him who speaks in the name of the true God, but *whose predictions are not accomplished.*

These enactments established a peculiar right of the prophets. He who prophesied in the name of the true God was, even when he foretold calamity, entitled to be tolerated, until it happened that a prediction of his failed of accomplishment. He might then be imprisoned, but could not be put to death, as instanced in Jeremiah (xxvi. 8-16), who is apprehended and arraigned, but acquitted: 'Then said the princes and the people unto the king and the prophets, This man is not worthy to die, for he has spoken to us in the name of the Lord our God.' Ahab is by false prophets encouraged to attack Ramoth-gilead, but Micaiah prophesied him no good; on which the king becomes angry, and orders the prophet to be confined (1 Kings xxii. 1-27): 'Take Micaiah and put him in prison, and feed him with bread of affliction, and with water of affliction, until I come in peace.' Micaiah answers (ver. 28), 'If thou return at all in peace, the Lord has not spoken by me.' Until the safe return of the king, Micaiah is to remain in prison; after that, he shall be put to death. The prophet agrees to it, and the king goes up to Ramoth-gilead, but is slain in the battle.

3. From the above two criteria of a true prophet, flows the third, that *his addresses must be in strict accordance with the law.* Whoever departs from it cannot be a true prophet, for it is impossible that the Lord should contradict himself.

4. In the above is also founded the fourth criterion, that *a true prophet must not promise prosperity without repentance;* and that he is a false prophet, 'of the deceit of his own heart,' who does not reprove the sins of the people, and

who does not inculcate on them the doctrines of divine justice and retribution.

In addition to these negative criteria, there were positive ones to procure authority to true prophets. First of all, it must be assumed that the prophets themselves received, along with the divine revelations, assurance that these were really divine. Any true communion with the Holy Spirit affords the assurance of its divine nature; and the prophets could, therefore, satisfy *themselves* of their divine mission. There was nothing to mislead and delude them in this respect; for temporal goods were not bestowed upon them with the gift of prophesying. Their own native disposition was often much averse to this calling, and could be only conquered by the Lord forcibly impelling them, as appears from Jer. xx. 8, 9: 'Since I spake, the word of the Lord was made a reproach unto me, and a derision daily. Then I said, I will not make mention of him, nor speak any more in his name: but his word was in mine heart as a burning fire shut up in my bones, and I was weary with forbearing, and I could not stay.' Now, when the prophets themselves were convinced of their divine mission, they could in various ways prove it to others, whom they were called on to enlighten.

(a.) To those who had any sense of truth, the Spirit of God gave evidence that the prophecies were divinely inspired. This *testimonium spiritus sancti* is the chief argument for the reality of a divine revelation, and he who is susceptible of it does not, indeed, disregard the other proofs suiting the wants of unimproved minds, but lays less stress on them.

(b.) The prophets themselves utter their firm conviction that they act and speak by divine authority, not of their own accord (comp. the often-recurring phrase *יְהוָה אִמְרָה*, Jer. xxvi. 12, etc.) Their pious life bore testimony to their being worthy of a nearer communion with God, and defended them from the suspicion of intentional deception; their sobriety of mind distinguished them from all fanatics, and defended them from the suspicion of self-delusion; their fortitude in suffering for truth proved that they had their commission from no human authority.

(c.) Part of the predictions of the prophets referred to proximate events, and their accomplishment was divine evidence of their divine origin. Whoever had been once favoured with such a testimonial, his authority was established for his whole life, as instanced in *Samuel*. Of him it is said (1 Sam. iii. 19): 'The Lord was with him, and let none of his words fall to the ground (*i. e.*, fulfilled them); and all Israel knew (from this) that Samuel was established to be a prophet of the Lord.' Of the divine mission of Isaiah no doubt could be entertained after, for instance, his prophecies of the overthrow of Sennacherib before Jerusalem had been fulfilled. The credentials of the divine mission of Ezekiel were certified when his prediction was accomplished, that Zedekiah should be brought to Babylon, but should not see it, for the king was made prisoner and blinded (Ezek. xii. 12, 13); they were further confirmed by the fulfilment of his prediction concerning the destruction of the city (Ezek. xxiv.) Jeremiah's claims were authenticated by the fulfilment of his prediction that Shallum, the son of Josiah king of Judah, should die in his prison, and see his native country no more (Jer. xxii. 11, 12).

(d.) Sometimes the divine mission of the prophets



was also proved by miracles, but this occurred only at important crises, when the existence of the kingdom of Israel was in jeopardy, as in the age of Elijah and Elisha. Miracles are mentioned as criteria of true prophets (Deut. xiii. 2), still with this caution, that they should not be trusted alone, but that the people should inquire whether the negative criteria were extant.

(2.) Those prophets whose divine commission had been sufficiently proved, bore testimony to the divine mission of others. It has been observed above, that there was a certain gradation among the prophets; the principals of the colleges of prophets procured authority to the 'sons' of prophets. Thus the deeds of Elijah and Elisha at the same time authenticated the hundreds of prophets whose superiors they were. Concerning the relation of the true prophets to each other the passage 2 Kings ii. 9 is remarkable; Elisha says to Elijah, 'I pray thee, let a double portion of thy spirit be upon me.' Here Elisha, as the first-born of Elijah in a spiritual sense, and standing to him in the same relation as Joshua to Moses, asks for a double portion of his spiritual inheritance, alluding to the law concerning the hereditary right of the lawfully-begotten first-born son (Deut. xxi. 17). This case supposes that other prophets also of the kingdom of Israel took portions of the fulness of the spirit of Elijah. It is plain, then, that only a few prophets stood in immediate communion with God, while that of the remaining was formed by mediation. The latter were spiritually incorporated in the former, and on the ground of this relation, actions performed by Elisha, or through the instrumentality of one of his pupils, are at once ascribed to Elijah, *ex. gr.*, the anointing of Hazael to be king over Syria (1 Kings xix. 15; comp. 2 Kings viii. 13); the anointing of Jehu to be king over Israel (1 Kings xix. 16, comp. 2 Kings ix. 1, *seq.*); the writing of the letter to Joram, etc. Thus, in a certain sense it may be affirmed that Elijah was in his time the only prophet of the kingdom of Israel. Similarly of Moses it is recorded, during his passage through the desert, that a portion of his spirit was conveyed to the seventy elders. The history of the Christian church itself offers analogies; look, *ex. gr.*, at the relation of the second class reformers to Luther and Calvin.

VI. *Promulgation of the Prophetic Declarations.*—Usually the prophets promulgated their visions in public places before the congregated people. Still some portions of the prophetic books, as the entire second part of Isaiah and the description of the new temple (Ezek. xl.-xlviii.), probably were never communicated orally. In other cases the prophetic addresses first delivered orally were next, when committed to writing, revised and improved. Especially the books of the lesser prophets consist, for the greater part, not of separate predictions, independent of each other, but form, as they now are, a whole—that is, give the quintessence of the prophetic labours of their authors. In this case it is certain that the authors themselves caused the collection to be made. But it is so, likewise, in some cases where their books really consist of single declarations, and in others it is at least highly probable. Further particulars concerning the manner in which prophetic rolls were collected and published, we have only respecting Jeremiah, who, being in prison, called Baruch, 'to write from his mouth his predictions, and to read them

in the ears of the people' (Jer. xxxviii. 4-14). There is evidence to prove that the later prophets sedulously read the writings of the earlier, and that a prophetic canon existed before the present was formed. The predictions of Jeremiah throughout rest on the writings of earlier prophets, as Küper has established in his *Jeremias librorum sacrorum interpres atque vindex*, Berlin 1837. Zechariah explicitly alludes to writings of former prophets; 'to the words which the Lord has spoken to earlier prophets, when Jerusalem was inhabited and in prosperity' (Zech. i. 4; vii. 7, 12). In all probability we have complete those predictions which were committed to writing; at least the proofs which Dr. Ewald gives (p. 43, *seq.*) for his opinion of prophecies having been lost do not stand trial. The words 'as the Lord hath said,' in Joel ii. 32, refer to the predictions of Joel himself. In Is. ii. and Micah iv. nothing is introduced from a lost prophetic roll, but Isaiah borrows from Micah. Hosea alludes (ch. viii. 12), not to some unknown work, but to the Pentateuch. In Is. xv. and xvi. the prophet repeats, not another's prediction, but his own, previously delivered, to which he adds a supplement. Obadiah and Jeremiah do not avail themselves of the written address of a former prophet, but Jeremiah makes the prophecy of Obadiah the groundwork of his own. The opinion that in Is. lvi. 10; lvii. 11, there was inserted, unaltered, a long remnant of an older roll, is founded on erroneous views respecting the time of its composition. The same holds good of Is. xxiv., where Ewald would find remnants of several older rolls. The very circumstance, that in the prophets there nowhere occurs a tenable ground for maintaining that they referred to rolls lost and unknown to us, but that they often allude to writings which we know and possess, clearly proves that there is no reason for supposing, with Ewald, that a great number of prophetic compositions has been lost, 'and that of a large tree, only a few blossoms have reached our time.' In consequence of the prophets being considered as organs of God, much care was bestowed on the preservation of their publications. Ewald himself cannot refrain from observing (p. 56), 'We see in Jer. xxvi. 1-19 a clear proof of the exact knowledge which the better classes of the people had of all that had, a hundred years before, happened to a prophet, of his words, misfortunes, and accidents.'

The collectors of the Canon arranged the prophets chronologically, but considered the whole of the twelve lesser prophets as one work, which they placed after Jeremiah and Ezekiel, inasmuch as the three last lesser prophets lived later than they. Daniel was placed in the Hagiographa, because he had not filled the prophetic office. The collection of the lesser prophets themselves was again chronologically disposed; still Hosea is, on account of the extent of his work, allowed precedence before those lesser prophets, who, generally, were his contemporaries, and also before those who flourished at a somewhat earlier period.

On the general subject of prophecy no comprehensive or altogether satisfactory treatise has yet been produced. Some good remarks will be found in the essay of John Smith, *On Prophecy (Select Discourses)*, disc. vi. p. 181, 8vo, ed. Lond. 1821, which was translated into Latin and reprinted at the end of Le Clerc's *Commentary on the Prophets*, Amsterdam 1731. It contains interesting passages



on the nature of the predictions in the O. T., extracted from Jewish authors, of whom Maimonides is the most distinguished. Of less importance is the essay of Hermann Witsius, *De Prophetia et Prophetis*, in vol. i. of his *Miscellan. Sacra*, Utrecht 1692, pp. 1-392: he digresses too much and needlessly from the main question, and says little applicable to the point; but he still supplies some useful materials. The same remark also applies in substance to Knibbe's *History of the Prophets*. Some valuable remarks, but much more that is arbitrary and untenable, will be found in Crusius's *Hypomnemata ad Theologiam Prophet.*, 3 vols. Lips. 1764. In the *Treatise on Prophecy*, inserted by Jahn in his *Introduction to the O. T.*, he endeavours to refute the views of the Rationalists, but does not sift the subject to the bottom. Kleuker's work *De Nexu Proph. inter utrumque Fœdus*, possesses more of a genuine theological character. The leader of the Rationalists is Eichhorn, in his *Introduction to the O. T.*, and in his dissertation, *De Prophet. Poes. Hebr.* Their views on this subject are most fully explained by Knobel, in his *Prophetismus der Hebræer vollständig dargestellt*, Breslau 1837, 2 vols.: the work contains, however, little original research, and is valuable only as a compilation of what the Rationalists assert concerning prophecy. The work of Köster, *Die Propheten des A. und N. T.*, Leipzig 1838, bears a higher character: on many points he approaches to sounder views; but he is inconsistent and wavering, and therefore cannot be said to have essentially advanced the knowledge of this subject. Of considerable eminence is the treatise by Ewald on prophecy, which precedes his work on the prophets, published in 1840 at Stuttgart. But to the important question, whether the prophets enjoyed supernatural assistance or not? an explicit answer will here be sought for in vain. His view of the subject is in the main that of the Rationalists, though he endeavours to veil it: the Spirit of God influencing the prophets is in fact only their own mind worked up by circumstances; their enthusiasm and ecstasy are made to explain all. Finally, the work of Hoffmann, *Weissagung und Erfüllung im A. und N. T.*, Nördlingen 1841, vol. i., is chargeable with spurious and affected originality; his views are often in their very details forced and strained; and it is to be regretted that the subject has by this work gained less than from the author's talent might have been expected.—E. W. H.

[English works on Prophecy, besides that of Smith above mentioned:—Sherlock, *Discourses on the Use and Intent of Prophecy*, 8vo, 1755; Hurd, *Introd. to the Study of the Prophecies*, etc., 8vo, 1772; Apthorp, *Discourses on Prophecy*, 2 vols. 8vo, 1786; Smith (John), *Summary View of the Prophets*, Edin. 1787; Davison, *Discourses on Prophecy, in which are considered its Structure, Use, and Inspiration*, 8vo, 1824; Smith (J. Pye), *Principles of Interpretation as applied to the Prophecies of Holy Scripture*, 8vo, 1829; Brooks, *Elements of Prophetical Interpretation*, 12mo, 1837; Horne, *Introduction*, vol. ii. p. 534; iv. p. 140; S. Lee, *Enquiry into the Nature, Progress, and End of Prophecy*, 1849; Alexander, *Connection of the O. and N. T.*, Lect. iv.-vii. pp. 168-382, 2d ed. 1853; Fairbairn, *Prophecy, Its Nature, Functions, and Interpretation*, 1856; W. Lee, *Inspiration of Holy Scripture*, 3d ed. 1864; Garbett, *Divine Plan of Revelation*, Lond. 1864.]

PROPHIAT DURAN (פרופיית דורן), whose Hebrew name was Isaac b. Moses Ha-Levi, and who is called by Christian writers Ephodi, Ephodaus = אפר, being a contraction of the initials of אפרח אפרח פרופיית דורן or אפר, thus said, or I, *Prophiat Duran*, which was the signature of this celebrated grammarian and polemical writer against Christianity. He flourished A.D. 1360-1412, and was driven by the bitter persecutions of the Jews in Catalonia, 1391, outwardly to embrace Christianity to save his life. It was this which embittered him against the benighted Christianity of those days, and which made him employ his great learning and keen sarcasm against a religion which, in the name of love, nearly exterminated all his co-religionists. His works which are of importance to the Biblical student and to Christology, are as follows:—(1.) A Hebrew grammar called אפרח אפרח, *the Work of Ephodi*, divided into thirty-two chapters, with an interesting and elaborate introduction. He was the first who demonstrated that the *Niphal* has a reflexive or reciprocal instead of the passive meaning. This important grammar, which he finished in 1403, has not as yet been published entire. Some fragments of it are printed in the notes to Goldberg's edition of Ibn Ganach's *Sepher Ha-Rikma*, p. 15; in Filippowski's edition of Menachen Ibn Saruk's Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon, p. 76, London 1854, and by Jacob b. Chajim in his *Introduction to the Rabbinic Bible*, pp. 6, 11, ed. Ginsburg, London 1865. (2.) A commentary on two sections of Ibn Ezra's Exposition of the Pentateuch, De Rossi, No. 835. (3.) A commentary on Ibn Ezra's enigma on the quiescent letters. (4.) The celebrated polemical work against Christianity, entitled כליות הגוים, *the Reproach of the Gentiles*, in twelve chapters, which has not as yet been published. An extract of it, as well as the contents of the chapters, are given in the Catalogue of Michael's Library, p. 364-65, Hamburg 1848; and (5.) The polemical epistle entitled אל תהי כאבתך, *Be not like thy Fathers*, called by Christian writers *Altiabotica*, which is a corruption of the Hebrew name. This celebrated work was first published in Constantinople 1577, in a collection of other treatises. It was then republished by A. Günzburg in the collection קובץ ויכוחים, Breslau 1844; the name of the editor and the place of printing are not given. Geiger published a German translation of it in his *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift*, vol. iv., p. 452, seq., Stuttgart 1839. Comp. Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, i. 215; Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, col. 2112-2119; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. viii., pp. 94, etc.; 403, etc.; Leipzig 1864.—C. D. G.

PROSELYTE (προσηλυτος), the name applied in the N. T. and the Sept. to converts from heathenism to Judaism (προσηλυτος οἱ ἐξ ἐθνῶν προσεληλυθότες καὶ κατὰ τοὺς θελοὺς πολιτευόμενοι νόμους, Suidas, *in voc.*) The Hebrew word for which the LXX. use this is גֵר, *stranger, advena*.

Of these גֵרִים there were always from the earliest periods of Israelitish history numbers who on various accounts were settled among the people of Israel, and were distinguished from such foreigners as merely visited the land (נָכַר, נְכָרִי), and such as dwelt in it, but had no rights as citizens (תּוֹשֵׁב). They were incorporated with the chosen people



by circumcision (מְתִיזִים, *loudaizōtes*), and shared with them in the privileges of the covenant. It is probable that slaves who were circumcised, being thereby privileged to partake of the pass-over (Exod. xii. 44), were in a sense counted proselytes; and certainly the children of heathen slaves 'born in the house' (וְלִדְי בֵּית) were circumcised, and as part of the household reckoned among the worshippers of Jehovah, though being still retained in bondage they could not stand on an equal footing with a freeborn Israelite. There was no law or regulation which forbade any foreigner (excepting an Ammonite or Moabite, Deut. xxiii. 3) who chose to accept the prescribed conditions to enter the community of Israel, and become a partaker of its advantages; only in the case of an Egyptian and an Edomite this could not be done till the third generation (Deut. xxiii. 7, 8). Those thus received into the congregation had the same privileges as born-Israelites (Exod. xii. 48, 49; Num. xv. 14). It was, however, forbidden to a priest to marry the daughter of a proselyte (Lev. xxi. 14; comp. Ezek. xlv. 22), a prohibition which probably had respect to the ceremonial purity and sanctity of the priestly office (Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* in Luc. i. 5; Joseph. *Cont. Ap.* i. 7; *Antiq.* xi. 3. 10). Nor could a proselyte hold any public office, or be a member of the Sanhedrim, unless his mother was an Israelite; and even in this case he could not be king, or general, or president of the supreme council (Maimon., *Hilk. Sanh.*, ii. 9; *Melach.* i.) Even when a stranger did not become a proselyte, he might reside in the land, and even be employed near the person of the sovereign (comp. 2 Sam. xi. 6; xv. 18; xxiv. 16-24; 1 Chron. xi. 39, 46), provided he did not offend by indulging in heathen abominations or blasphemy (Lex. xvii. 10, ff.; xx. 2; xxiv. 16). Among proselytes to Judaism, though of an inferior class, may be ranked the Nethinim [NETHINIM]. When the Jews returned from Babylon, a number of proselytes went up with them (Neh. x. 28; comp. Esther viii. 17). The whole Jewish state was considered as composed of the two classes, Jews, and strangers within their gates, or proselytes. In later years this distinction was observed even to the second generation; a child of pure Jewish descent on both sides being designated עברי בן עברי, 'Ἑβραῖος ἐξ Ἑβραίων' (Phil. iii. 5), whilst the son of a proselyte was denominated בְּנֵי גֵר; and if both parents were proselytes he was styled by the Rabbins בְּנֵי גֵר, a contraction for בְּנֵי גֵר וּבְנֵי גֵרָה (*Pirke Avoth.* cap. 5).

In the earlier and better ages of Judaism, though in accordance with the law (Exod. xii. 48; Lev. xvii. 8; Num. xv. 15, etc.), which made provision for the reception of strangers, they were freely admitted, no special encouragement seems to have been given to proselytism; on the contrary, the fear of tempting to it by improper motives those who still retained the taint of heathenism, induced a disposition rather to throw impediments in the way of converts uniting themselves to the Jewish community. At a later period this strictness became greatly relaxed, and even a fanatical desire to make proselytes by any means took possession of the minds of Jewish religionists. Our Lord charges it on the Pharisees, that they compassed sea and land to make one proselyte, and declares that the result of their unprincipled zeal was

only to make him twofold more the child of hell than themselves (Matt. xxiii. 15)—a charge the truth of which may be amply substantiated from the pages of the historian (cf. Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 9. 1; 11. 3; xviii. 3. 4; *Vit.* 23; *Hor.*, *Sal.* i. 4. 142; Dio, xxxviii. p. 21, and the other passages cited by Wetstein in his note on Matt. xxiii. 15). These proselytes were not respected either by the heathen whom they had left, or by the Jews to whom they had gone over; while the former applied to them opprobrious epithets, such as 'curtus' and 'verpes' (*Hor.*, *Sal.* i. 4. 142; *Mart.*, vii. 29, 34, 81, etc.), and subjected them to various indignities and oppressions (Sueton., *Claud.*, 25; *Domit.* 12; *Tacit.*, *Ann.*, ii. 85); the latter, if we may judge from the Talmud, regarded them with aversion and suspicion, speaking of them as a leprous scab on Israel (לִישָׁאֵל כִּנְנֵעַ צֶרַע, *Jeſam.* xlvii. 4), classing them with the most flagitious characters (Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* in Matt. xxiii. 15), and pronouncing them unworthy of trust even to the 24th generation (Jalkuth Ruth f. 163, etc.) That many of the proselytes, however, were true converts, drawn by purely religious motives to join the Jewish community, we have the best assurance in the notices given of them in the N. T., where they were spoken of as φοβούμενοι or σεβόμενοι τὸν Θεόν, εὐσεβεῖς, and εὐλαβεῖς (Acts x. 2, 7; xiii. 16, 26, 43, 50; xvi. 14; xvi. 4, 17; xviii. 7; ii. 5; comp. John xii. 20; Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 7. 2); though it may be doubted if all to whom these terms are applied had formally become Jews by circumcision; many of them probably were persons who had accepted the religious beliefs of the Jews without having incorporated themselves with the Jewish nation.

The Rabbins have introduced a distinction between Proselytes of Righteousness (בְּרִי הַצֶּדֶק), called also Sons of the Covenant (בְּנֵי הַבְּרִית) or Full Israelites (יִשְׂרָאֵלִים גְּמֹורִים), and Proselytes of the Gate (בְּרִי הַשַּׁעַר), so called, according to some, in allusion to the phrase, stranger within thy gates (Exod. xx. 10, etc.); according to others, because they could not come beyond the door of the temple. Under the latter they included those converts from heathenism who had so far renounced idolatry as to become worshippers of the one God, and to observe, generally, what have been called the seven Noachic precepts, viz., against idolatry, profanity, incest, murder, dishonesty, eating blood, or things strangled, and allowing a murderer to live, but had not formally enrolled themselves in the Jewish state. The former they composed of those who had submitted to circumcision, and in all respects become converts to Judaism. The accuracy of this distinction, however, has been called in question by several, especially by Lardner, whose arguments appear decisive of the question (*Works*, vol. vi., pp. 522-533; vol. xi., pp. 313-324, 8vo edit. 1788). That there were, in later times especially, many among the Jews who had renounced the grosser parts of heathenism without having come over entirely to Judaism, is beyond all doubt; but that these were ever counted *proselytes* admits of question. It is probable that the distinction above mentioned was introduced by the later Rabbins for the sake of including among the conquests of their religion those who, though indebted probably to the Jewish Scriptures for their im-



proved faith, were yet not inclined to submit to the ritual of Judaism, or to become incorporated with the Jewish nation. That this, however, was not the ancient view is clearly apparent from a passage in the Babylonian Gemara, quoted by Lightfoot (*Hor. Heb. et Talm. in Matt.* iii. 6), where it is said expressly that 'No one is a proselyte until such time as he has been circumcised.' Fürst, himself a Jew, confirms our suggestion; for in a note upon the word גר, in his *Concordantiæ Libb. V. T.*, he says: 'Judæi, interpretatione magis dogmatica quam historica, de eo interpretantur qui superstitiones barbaras repudiavit.'

The rites by which a proselyte was initiated are declared by the Rabbins to have been, in the case of a man, three, viz., *circumcision, baptism, and a free-will sacrifice* (במילה ובטבילה ובהוצאת) (דמים של קרבן); in the case of a woman the first was of necessity omitted. Circumcision was performed as in the case of a child, only that the presence of three witnesses was required: where a heathen already circumcised was admitted, a slight incision was made in the foreskin and a few drops of blood drawn forth. The proselyte then received a new name, which was the one that first presented itself on the opening of the Bible. It was not, however, until he had been baptized that the convert was fully received. According to the Rabbins, baptism was even more essential than circumcision. The ceremony was performed after the healing of the wound caused by the circumcision, in the presence of three persons who had acted as the instructors of the convert, and were regarded as not only witnesses for his baptism, but, with reference to the idea of a new birth therewith connected, as his fathers. Having stripped himself, cut his hair, and pared the nails on his hands and feet, he went into the water up to the arms; the laws were then read to him, and having promised to obey them, he immersed himself wholly. Females were attended to the bath by persons of their own sex, while their teachers stood outside the door. After their immersion they received a new name. When a proselyte had young children, these were baptized with their parents. Having been thus by circumcision and baptism received into the Israelitish community, the convert had to celebrate his entrance by the presentation of an offering unto God, without which no one could approach the Lord. The offering consisted of a bullock, or a pair of turtle doves, or two pigeons. After the destruction of the temple a vow to present an offering was accepted instead of the offering which could no longer be presented (Maimon. *Hilc. Issur.*, c. 13, l. 4, 5).

As to the first and last of these observances, their claim to be regarded as accordant with the ancient practice of the Jews has been on all hands admitted without scruple; but it has been matter of keen question whether the second can be admitted to have been practised before the Christian era. The substance of much learned discussion on this head we shall attempt summarily to state.

There is no *direct* evidence that this rite was practised by the Jews before the 2d or 3d century of the Christian era; but the fact that it was practised by them then necessitates the inquiry, when and how did such a custom arise among

them? That they borrowed it from the Christians is an opinion which, though supported by De Wette (in his treatise *De Morte Christi expiatoriâ*, p. 60), cannot be admitted when we consider the implacable hatred with which the Jews for many centuries regarded Christianity, its ordinances, and its professors. Laying aside this view, there are only two others which have been suggested. The one is that proselyte baptism was practised among the Jews from a period long anterior to the birth of Christ; the other is that the custom of baptizing proselytes arose gradually out of the habit which the Jews had of purifying by ablution whatever they deemed unclean, and came to be raised for the first time to the importance of an initiatory ordinance after the destruction of the temple-service, and when, in consequence of imperial edicts, it became difficult to circumcise converts. This latter opinion is that of Schneckenburger (*Ueb. das Alter d. Jüd. Proselytentaufe*, Berlin 1828), and has been espoused by several eminent German scholars. To us, however, it appears exceedingly unsatisfactory. The single fact adduced in support of it—viz., the difficulty of circumcising converts in consequence of the imperial edicts against proselytism—is a singularly infelicitous piece of evidence; for, as the question to be solved is, How came the later Rabbins to prescribe *both* baptism and circumcision as initiatory rites for proselytes? it is manifestly absurd to reply that it was because they could only baptize and could not circumcise: such an answer is a contradiction, not a solution of the question. Besides, this hypothesis suggests a source of proselyte baptism which is equally available for that which it is designed to supersede; for, if the practice of baptizing proselytes on their introduction into Judaism had its rise in the Jewish habit of ablution, why might not this have operated in the way suggested, two hundred years before Christ, as well as two hundred years after Christ? And in fine, this hypothesis still leaves unremoved the master difficulty of that side of the question which it is designed to support, viz., the great improbability of the Jews adopting for the first time subsequently to the death of Christ, a religious rite which was well known to be the initiatory rite of Christianity. Assuming that they practised that rite before, we can account for their not giving it up simply because the Christians had adopted it; but, trace it as we please to Jewish customs and rites, it seems utterly incredible that *after* it had become the symbol and badge of the religious party which of all others perhaps the Jews most bitterly hated, any consideration whatever should have induced them to *begin* to practise it. On the other hand we have, in favour of the hypothesis that proselyte baptism was practised anterior to the time of our Lord, some strongly corroborative evidence. We have, in the first place, the unanimous tradition of the Jewish Rabbins, who impute to the practice an antiquity commensurate almost with that of their nation. 2dly, We have the fact that the baptism of John the Baptist was not regarded by the people as aught of a novelty, nor was represented by him as resting for its authority upon any special divine revelation. 3dly, We have the fact that the Pharisees looked upon the baptism both of John and Jesus as a mode of proselyting men to their religious views (John iv. 1-3), and that the dispute between the Jews and some of John's disciples about purifying was apparently a dispute as to the competing claims of John and

Jesus to make proselytes (John iii. 25, *seq.*) 4thly, We have the fact, that on the day of Pentecost Peter addressed to a multitude of persons collected from several different and distant countries, Jews and proselytes, an exhortation to 'repent and be baptized' (Acts ii. 38), from which it may be fairly inferred that they all knew what baptism meant, and also its connection with repentance or a change of religious views. 5thly, We have the fact, that according to Josephus, the Essenes were in the habit, before admitting a new convert into their society, solemnly and ritually to purify him with waters of cleansing (*De Bell. Jud.* ii. 8. 7), a statement which cannot be understood of their ordinary ablutions before meals (as Mr. Stuart proposes in his *Essay on the Mode of Baptism*, p. 67); for Josephus expressly adds, that even after this lustration two years had to elapse before the neophyte enjoyed the privilege of living with the Proficients. And, 6thly, We have the mode in which Josephus speaks of the baptism of John, when, after referring to John's having exhorted the people to virtue, righteousness, and godliness, as preparatory to baptism, he adds, 'For it appeared to him that baptism was admissible not when they used it for obtaining forgiveness of some sins, but for the purification of the body when the soul had been already cleansed by righteousness' (*Antiq.* xviii. 5. 2); which seems to indicate the conviction of the historian that John did not *introduce* this rite, but only gave to it a peculiar meaning. A passage has also been cited from Arrian's *Discourses of Epictetus* (ii. 9), in which, after stating that some who called themselves Jews yet played a double part, he adds, 'But if any one assume the condition (or endure the suffering, ἀναλάβῃ τὸ πάθος) of one who has been baptized and convicted (ἡγημένον, instead of which some have conjectured that περιηρημένον, *circumcised*, is the true reading), then is he indeed a Jew, and is called such.' Were one sure that in this passage Arrian did not confound Jews with Christians, his testimony would be of great value in regard to the antiquity of Jewish baptism; but the doubt attaching to this point, and the general obscurity of the passage (which we have translated somewhat differently from the usual rendering, but as the words seem to us to require), make it unsafe to lay much stress upon it.

On these grounds we adhere to the opinion that proselyte baptism was known as a Jewish rite anterior to the birth of Christ. The reader will find the whole subject amply discussed in the following works: Selden, *De Jure Nat. et Gent.*, ii. 2; Otho, *Lex. Rab.*, p. 65; Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb. et Talm. in Talm.* iii. 6; Danz in Meuschenii *Nov. Test. ex Talm. Illust.*, p. 233, *seq.*; Witsius, *Oecon. Foed.*, iv. 15; Kuinoel, *Comm. in Libros N. T. Histor. ap. Matt.* iii. 6; Jahn, *Bibl. Archæol.*, Pt. III., p. 219; and Halley, *The Sacraments*, Pt. I. *Baptism*, Lond. 1844, p. 114, ff.—all of whom contend for the antiquity of Jewish proselyte baptism, whilst the following take the opposite side: Ernesti, *Opusc. Thecoll.*, p. 255, ff.; Wernsdorff, *Controuv. de Bapt. Recent.*, sec. 18; Carpzov, *Apparat.*, p. 47, *seq.*; Paulus, *Comment.*, i. 279; Bauer, *Gottesdienst. Verfassung der Alten Heb.*, ii. 392; Schneckenburger, *Lib. sup. cit.*; De Wette, *do.*; and Moses Stuart, *do.* (*American Bib. Rep.*, No. X.)

It is worthy of notice that it was chiefly among the female sex that the proselytising Jews made

converts, a fact which has been ascribed to the dislike of the males to submit to circumcision. Josephus tells us that nearly all the women at Damascus were attached to Judaism (*Ibid.* ii. 20. 2; comp. *Antiq.* xviii. 4. 5; xx. 7. 11; *De Bell. Jud.* ii. 18. 2, etc.; *Juv. Sat.*, vi. 543, ff.; *Tacit. Hist.* v. 5; *Dion. Cass.* 37, p. 21).

On the subject of this article generally, besides the works of Carpzov, Bauer, and Otho, already referred to, the reader may consult Jahn, *Archæologie*, iii. 215, ff.; Leusden, *Phil. Hebr. Mixt.*, p. 142, *seq.*; Altling, *Diss. de Proselytis*; Ugolino, *Thes.* 27; Schröder, *Satzungen und Gebräuche des Talm. Rabb. Judenthums*; Saalschütz, *Mosaisch. Recht*, ii. 690, ff., 704, ff., and the article 'Proselyten,' by Leyrer in Herzog's *Real Encycl.*, xii. 237.—W. L. A.

PROSEUCHA (προσευχή), a word signifying 'prayer,' and always so translated in the A. V. It is, however, applied, *per meton.*, to a place of prayer,—a place where assemblies for prayer were held, whether a building or not. In this sense it seems also to be mentioned in Luke vi. 12, where it is said that our Saviour went up into a mountain to pray, and continued all night ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ, which can hardly bear the sense our translators have put upon it, 'in prayer to God.' This is admitted by Whitby and others, who infer, from the use of parallel phrases, such as 'the mount of God,' 'the bread of God,' 'the altar of God,' 'the lamp of God,' etc., which were all things consecrated or appropriated to the service of God, that the phrase προσευχῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ might here signify 'an oratory of God,' or a place that was devoted to his service, especially for prayer. In the same sense the phrase must, still more certainly, be understood in Acts xvi. 13, where we are informed that Paul and his companions, on the sabbath day, went out of the city, by the river side, οὗ ἐνομιζέτο προσευχῇ εἶναι, which the A. V. renders 'where prayer was wont to be made.' But the Syriac here has, 'because there was perceived to be a house of prayer;' and the Arabic, 'a certain place which was supposed to be a place of prayer.' In both these versions due stress is laid upon οὗ ἐνομιζέτο: where there was taken or supposed to be, or where according to received custom there was, or where there was allowed by law, a proseucha or oratory; and where, therefore, they expected to meet an assembly of people. Bos contends (*Exercit. Philol.*, in loc.), however, that the word ἐνομιζέτο is redundant, and that the passage ought simply to be, 'where there was a proseucha;' but in this he is ably opposed by Elsner (*Observ. Sacr.*, in loc.)

That there really were such places of devotion among the Jews is unquestionable. They were mostly outside those towns in which there were no synagogues, because the laws or their administrators would not admit any. This was, perhaps, particularly the case in Roman cities and colonies (and Philippi, where this circumstance occurred, was a colony); for Juvenal (*Sat.* iii. 296) speaks of proseuchæ, not synagogues, at Rome:

'Ede, ubi consistas; in qua te quæro proseucha?'

They appear to have been usually situated near a river, or the sea-shore, for the convenience of



ablution (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 23). Josephus repeatedly mentions proseuchæ in his Life, and speaks of the people being gathered *eis tîn proseuchên* (*Vita*, sec. 44. 46). Sometimes the proseucha was a large building, as that at Tiberias (*l. c.* sec. 54), so that the name was sometimes applied even to synagogues (Vitringa, *Synag. Vet.*, p. 119). Proseuchæ are frequently mentioned as buildings by Philo, particularly in his oration against Flaccus, where he complains that the *προσευχαι* of the Jews were pulled down, and that no place was left them in which to worship God and pray for Cæsar (Philo, in *Flacc. Opera*, p. 752). But, for the most part, the proseuchæ appear to have been places in the open air, in a grove, or in shrubberies, or even under a tree, although always, as we may presume, near water, for the convenience of those ablutions which with the Jews always preceded prayer, as, indeed, they did among the pagans, and as they do among the Moslems at the present day. The usages of the latter exhibit something answering to the Jewish proseuchæ, in the shape of small oratories, with a niche indicating the direction of Mecca, which is often seen in Moslem countries by the side of a spring, a reservoir, or a large water-jar, which is daily replenished for the use of travellers (Whitby, *De Dieu*, Wetstein, Kuinoel, on Acts xvi. 13; Jennings's *Jewish Antiquities*, pp. 379-382; Prideaux's *Connection*, ii. 556).—J. K.

PROVERBS, BOOK OF. *Title*.—As in the Pentateuch, the Book of Proverbs takes its Hebrew title from its opening words—*מִשְׁלֵי שְׁלֹמֹה*, or *מִשְׁלֵי* simply. From this are directly derived the titles it bears in the LXX. (*παραβολαι Σαλομωνος*) and Vulgate ('Liber Proverbiorum quam Hebræi 'Misle' appellant'), and the name by which it is universally known. Another title, perhaps more appropriate to the book as a whole, is derived from its chief subject, 'Wisdom.' In the Tosaphoth to Baba Bathra we find Proverbs and Ecclesiastes combined under the name *סֵפֶר הַחִכְמָה*, 'the book of wisdom,' and this title appears to have passed thence into the early church. Clemens Rom. (c. 57) when quoting i. 23-31 says, *οὕτως λέγει ἡ πανάρετος σοφία*, 'wisdom which is the sum of all virtues,' a name which, according to Eusebius (*H. E.*, iv. 22), was adopted by Hegesippus, Irenæus, and 'the whole band of the ancients,' following the unwritten Jewish tradition, and by Clem. Alex. (*Strom.* ii., sec. 22). It is styled by Gregory Naz. (*Orat.* xi.) *παιδαγωγικὴ σοφία*, and by Dion. Alex. *σοφὴ βιβλος*. In the catalogue of canonical books compiled by Melito of Sardis preserved by Euseb. (*H. E.*, iv. 26), we find *Παρ. Σαλομ. ἢ καὶ Σοφία*, a name which, as well as 'Sapientia,' is of frequent occurrence in the early Fathers (see Cotelierus in Clem. Rom., *l. c.*; Vales. ad Euseb., *l. c.*), though by no means restricted to the Book of Proverbs, being equally used, as Cotelierus proves, of 'Ecclesiasticus' and 'the Wisdom of Solomon'; a circumstance from which some confusion has arisen.

The word *מִשְׁלֵי*, by which the so-called 'Proverbs' of Solomon are designated (Prov. i. 1, 6; x. 1; xxv. 1; and 1 Kings iv. 32 [v. 12]), is more appropriately translated in the Vulgate 'parabola.'

It is akin to the verb *מִשַׁל*, corresponding with the Arabic *مَثَلَ*, and the Syriac *ܡܫܠܐ*, 'to be like,' and primarily signifies 'a comparison,' 'similitude,' 'parable' (Ezek. xvii. 2; xxiv. 3); whence it easily passed to those pithy sententious maxims which in the East so often appear in the form of a terse comparison, of which many are to be found in the book before us—*ex. gr.*, xxvi. 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 14, 17, and then to 'proverbs' in general, whether containing a similitude or not (1 Sam. x. 12; xxiv. 13 [14]; Eccles. xii. 9). Its scope was still further enlarged by its application to longer compositions of a poetical and figurative character—*ex. gr.*, that of Balaam (Num. xxiii. 7, 18, etc., and Job xxvii. 1; cf. Ps. xlix. 5; lxxviii. 2), and particularly to taunting songs of triumph over fallen enemies—*ex. gr.*, against the king of Babylon (Is. xiv. 4), the Chaldeans (Hab. ii. 6); cf. also Mic. ii. 4; Deut. xxviii. 37; 1 Kings ix. 7.

2. *Canonicity*.—The canonical authority of the Book of Proverbs has never been called in question, except among the Jews themselves. We learn from the Talmud that the school of Shammai, thus early adopting the principle of the free handling of Scripture, were led by some apparent contradictions in the book (*ex. gr.*, Prov. xxvi. 4, 5) to question its inspiration, and to propose to cast it out of the canon. It is indeed certain, if we credit the Jewish tradition, that it did not at once take its place on a level with the other canonical Scriptures, but, like the Antilegomena of the N. T., remained for a time in suspense. According to Wolf (*Bibl. Hebr.*, ii. 119; and Zunz, *Gott. Vortr.*, p. 14, apud Bertheau, p. xlvi.) it was not till the period of the Persian rule that 'the men of the great synagogue' admitted it to an equal rank with the other Hagiographa. In the remarkable passage of the Talmud, however, which contains the most ancient opinion of the Jews on the formation of the O. T. Canon (*Baba Bathra*, p. 14, apud Westcott, *Bible in the Church*, p. 36), its recognition is fixed earlier: the Proverbs ('Meshalim') being included with Isaiah, Canticles ('Shir hashirim') and Ecclesiastes ('Kohelet') in the memorial word Jamshak, specifying the books 'written'—*i. e.*, reduced to writing—by Hezekiah and his learned men. With the trifling exception mentioned above, its right to a place in the canon has never been questioned since its admission into it, and there is no book of Holy Scripture whose authority is more unshaken. The amount of inspiration in the book has been a matter of speculation since the days of Theodoret of Mopsuestia, who believed that the wisdom contained in it was that of Solomon only, not of the Spirit of God; even as some of the Rabbins found in Ecclesiastes no divine wisdom, but merely that of Solomon. Leaving such vain and impracticable distinctions, the canonical authority of the book is attested to us by the frequent use of it in the N. T. The following is a list of the principal passages:—

Prov. i. 16	Rom. iii. 10, 15.
iii. 7	Rom. xii. 16.
* iii. 11, 12	Heb. xii. 5, 6; Rev. iii. 19.
* iii. 34	James iv. 6.
x. 12	1 Pet. iv. 8.
* xi. 31	1 Pet. iv. 18.
xvii. 13	Rom. xii. 17; 1 Thess. v. 15; 1 Pet. iii. 9.

- Prov. xvii. 27 . . . James i. 19.  
 xx. 9 . . . 1 John i. 8.  
 xx. 20 . . . Matt. xv. 4; Mark vii. 10.  
 xxii. 8; LXX. 2 Cor. ix. 7.  
 \* xxv. 21, 22 . . . Rom. xii. 20.  
 \* xxvi. 11 . . . 2 Pet. ii. 22.  
 xxvii. 1 . . . James iv. 13, 14, 16.

Of these only those marked with an asterisk are actual quotations; in the others there is a more or less direct allusion.

3. *Divisions.*—The thirty-one chapters of the Book of Proverbs may be roughly divided into four sections:—(1.) The hortatory introduction (i.-ix.); (2.) The first collection of 'the Proverbs of Solomon,' properly so called, with its appendices (x.-xxiv.); (3.) The second collection, compiled by Hezekiah's scribes (xxv.-xxix.); (4.) An appendix by different writers.

(1.) The first of these sections has no continuous connection, and is hardly capable of any very accurate subdivision. The separate chapters form in some instances a connected whole (*ex. gr.*, ii. v. vii. viii. ix.); sometimes the connection does not extend beyond a few verses (*ex. gr.*, iii. 1-10, 13-26; iv. 14-19; vi. 1-5, 6-11). There is little coherence between the separate chapters, and little unity beyond that of the general subject or the mode of treating it, so that if one chapter were to be removed the organisation of the whole would not be affected, and it would hardly be missed. Ewald, however, who, somewhat in defiance of the internal evidence, looks on this portion as 'an original whole, thoroughly connected, and cast as it were at one gush,' after the general introduction (i. 1-7) discovers three subdivisions, marked as well by the contents as by the position of the imperative verb at the beginning of the sections (*ex. gr.*, i. 8; iv. 1; vi. 20); while in the smaller divisions 'my son' stands before the verb (*ex. gr.*, i. 10, 15; ii. 1; iii. 1, 11, 20; iv. 21, etc.) Ewald's divisions are—(1.) A general admonition to the pursuit of wisdom, not fully completed, but running off into particulars (i. 8-iii.); (2.) An exhaustive enumeration of the particular points of his admonition (iv. 1-vi. 29), until (3.) the discourse, gradually rising in power and grandeur, at last attains an almost lyrical flight (vi. 20-ix.). According to Delitzsch (in Herzog's *Encyclop.*) this section is divisible into fifteen separate strains—(1) i. 7-19; (2) i. 20-33; (3) ii.; (4) iii. 1-18; (5) iii. 19-26; (6) iii. 27-35; (7) iv. 1-v. 6; (8) v. 7-23; (9) vi. 1-5; (10) vi. 6-11; (11) vi. 12-19; (12) vi. 20-35; (13) vii.; (14) viii.; (15) ix.

(2.) The second section (x.-xxiv.) evidently contains three subdivisions—(a). The collection of unconnected proverbs or gnomes (x. 1-xxii. 16); (b), 'The words of the wise' (cf. i. 6; Eccles. ix. 7; xii. 11), consisting of a more connected series of maxims, with a hortatory preface recalling the style of the first section (xxii. 17-xxiv. 22); (c), A shorter appendix of proverbial sayings, with the title 'these also belong to the wise,' ending with a description of a sluggard (xxiv. 23-34).

(3.) The third section is a continuous series of gnomic sayings without any subdivision (xxv.-xxvii.)

(4.) The fourth section, like the second, separates into three parts—(a), 'The words of Agur,' a collection of proverbial and enigmatical sayings (xxx.); (b), 'The words of King Lemuel' (xxxi. 1-9); and (c), A short alphabetical poem in praise of a virtuous woman (xxxii. 10-31).

Of the date and probable authorship of these divisions we shall speak hereafter.

4. *History of the Text.*—The variations from the existing Masoretic text of the Book of Proverbs presented by the versions of the LXX., Peshito-Syriac, the Targum, and to some extent by the Vulgate, bear witness to the former existence of copies differing in many and not unimportant points from that which has become the authoritative text. The text, as preserved in these ancient versions, differs from that of our Hebrew bibles both in excess and defect. They contain clauses, verses, and sometimes paragraphs not to be found in our extant copies, for the existence of which it is difficult to account, unless they formed part of the book which was before the translators; while other portions are wanting, for the absence of which no sufficient account can be given, except that they were not read in the ancient Hebrew MSS. they employed. The very large number of minor discrepancies, both in language and arrangement, which we meet with, all tend to confirm this view, and it well deserves consideration what influence these variations, which every student knows are not confined to this book, should have on the ordinarily received hypothesis of the integrity and purity of the present Hebrew text. This, however, is not the place for the prosecution of this investigation. We shall content ourselves with pointing out the principal points of variation.

To commence with the LXX., the earliest of the existing versions. The translation of this book, like that of Job, proves a more competent acquaintance with the Greek language and literature than is usual with the Alexandrine translators. The rendering is more free than literal: giving what the writer conceived to be the general spirit of the passage without strict adherence to the actual words. Bertheau remarks that the version of this book appears to have been undertaken rather with a literary than a religious object, as it was not read in the synagogues or required for their internal regulation. It is to this freedom of rendering that not a few of the apparent discrepancies are due, while there are others which are attributable to carelessness, misconception of the writer's meaning, or even possibly to arbitrary alterations on the part of the translators. In some cases also we find two incompatible translations fused into one—*ex. gr.*, vi. 25; xvi. 26; xxiii. 31. Of the majority, however, of the variations, no explanation can be offered but that they represent a different original, and therefore deserve the utmost consideration for the history of the text.

In the first division, i.-ix., these variations are less considerable than in the second. Two verses appended to ch. iv. remove the abruptness of the close, and complete the sense. To the simile of the ant, vi. 8, that of the bee is added. The insertion after viii. 21 seems out of place, and disturbs the continuity. In ch. ix. there are two considerable additions to the description of the wise and foolish women, which seem to complete the sense in a very desirable manner. The variations are much more considerable in the section x.-xxiv. A large number of verses is wanting (xi. 4; xiii. 6; xvi. 1-4; xviii. 23, 24; xix. 1, 2; xx. 14-19; xxi. 5; xxii. 6; xxiii. 23—which comes in very awkwardly in the Hebrew text; xxiv. 8); the arrangement of others is dislocated—*ex. gr.*, ch. xv. closes with ver. 29, vers. 30, 32, 33, standing at the begin-



ning of ch. xvi., while a verse very similar to ver. 31 is found after xvi. 17; xix. 3 stands as the last verse of ch. xviii.; in ch. xx. vers. 20-22 come between vers. 9 and 10. The most extraordinary dislocation, hardly to be ascribed to anything but an error of the scribe, appears in ch. xxiv. After ver. 22 is introduced xxix. 27, to which succeed four distichs descriptive of the wrath of a king and urging attention to the writer's words, not found in the Hebrew. We then find, xxx.-xxxi. 9 (*i.e.*, the prophecy of Agur, and of Lemuel), with the remainder of ch. xxiv. foisted in between vers. 14, 15 of ch. xxx. The remainder of ch. xxxi., the acrostic on a virtuous woman, stands in its right place at the end of the book. The additions in this section are also numerous and important. We find proverbs intercalated between the following verses, x. 4, 5; xi. 16, 17 (by which a very imperfect antithesis in the Hebrew is rectified); xii. 11, 12; 13, 14; xiii. 9, 10; 13, 14 (found in the Vulgate, xiv. 15, 16); xiv. 22, 23; xv. 5, 6; 18, 19; 27, 28; 28, 29; xvii. 6, 7, 16, 17; xviii. 22, 23; xix. 7, 8; xxii. 8, 9 (found with slight variations 2 Cor. ix. 7); 9, 10; 14, 15. In the dislocated ch. xvi. five or perhaps six new proverbs appear. Intercalated proverbs are also found in the section xxv.-xxix.—*ex.gr.*, xxv. 10, 11; 20, 21; xxvi. 11, 12 (found also Eccles. iv. 21); xxvii. 20, 21; 21, 22; xxix. 25, 26. Besides these, a careful scrutiny will discover a large number of smaller interpolations throughout, many of which are only explanatory clauses.

To specify the words and clauses which vary from the Hebrew would carry us far beyond our limits. For these and the comparison of the two versions generally, the student may be referred to Jäger, *Observ. in Prov. Salom. vers. Alex.*, and Schleusner, *Opusc. critic.* In many of these cases the LXX. has probably preserved the true reading (*ex.gr.*, x. 10, b); but, on the whole, Ewald and Bertheau agree that the Masoretic text is the better and purer.

The Peshito-Syriac version, like the LXX., while it agrees with the Hebrew text generally, presents remarkable deviations in words and clauses, and contains whole verses of which there is no trace in the Hebrew. Some of the variations only prove a different interpretation of the text, but others are plainly referable to a difference in the text itself (*ex.gr.*, vii. 22, ff.; xv. 4-15; xix. 20; xxi. 16; xxii. 21, etc.), and thus confirm the view that at the time the version was executed—*i.e.*, anterior to the 4th century—the present Hebrew text was not universally recognised.

The Vulgate translation of Proverbs, hastily executed by Jerome in three days (together with Ecclesiastes and Canticles), offers many of the same phenomena as the LXX. version. Many of the additions of the LXX. are to be found in it—*ex.gr.*, x. 4; xii. 11, 13; xv. 5, 27 (cf. xvi. 6); xvi. 5, etc.; and in one or two instances it has independent additions—*ex.gr.*, xiv. 21; xviii. 8. There can be little doubt that in these points it preserves an authentic record of the state of the text at a period anterior to any existing Hebrew MS.

We may conclude this hasty review with the Targum. That on the Proverbs is considered by Zunz (p. 64), on linguistic grounds, to be nearly contemporaneous with those on the Psalms and

Job, and is assigned by Bertheau to the latter half of the 7th century, though it is not quoted before the 12th. The version is close, and on the whole follows the original text very faithfully, though with some remarkable deviations (the following are quoted by Bertheau—vii. 22; x. 3; xiv. 14; xxv. 1, 20, etc.) Its similarity to the Peshito is too remarkable to be accidental (Mr. Deutsch instances the following [Smith's *Dict. of Bible, Ancient Versions*], i. 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12, 13; ii. 9, 10, 13-15; iii. 2-9, etc.), and is probably to be accounted for by the supposition of a subsequent recension of the text, which is very corrupt, based upon that version; cf. Wolf, *Biblioth. Heb.*, ii. 1176; Dathe, *de rat. consens. vers. Chald. et Syr. Prov. Sal.*; Zunz, *Gottesdienst. Vorträge*.

5. *Form and Style.*—The difference of style and structure between the first and second divisions is apparent on the most cursory perusal. Instead of the detached gnomes of the latter, we find a succession of hortatory addresses, varying in length and differing in subject, though for the most part on the same plan and with the same general object, in which the writer does not so much define wisdom as enlarge upon the blessings to be derived from its possession, and the lasting misery which is the consequence of the violation of its precepts, and in the most powerful and moving language urge the young to the earnest pursuit of it as the best of all good things. Whether originally written as a poem or introduction or not, it is certainly well fitted to occupy its present place, and prepare the mind of the reader for the careful consideration of the moral and practical precepts which follow. The style is of a much higher and more dignified character than in the succeeding portions; the language is more rhetorical; it abounds in bold personifications and vivid imagery. The concluding chapters (viii.-ix.) are cast in the grandest mould of poetry, and are surpassed in true sublimity by few portions of Holy Scripture. At the same time, when this portion is viewed as a whole, a want of artistic skill is discoverable. The style is sometimes diffuse and the repetitions wearisome. The writer returns continually on his steps, treating of the same topic again and again, without any apparent plan or regular development of the subject. As regards the form, we find but little regularity of structure. The paragraphs consist sometimes of no more than two or three verses (i. 8-9; iii. 11-12; vi. 1-5, 6-11, 12-15, 16-19); sometimes the same thought is carried through a long succession of verses, or even an entire chapter (ii. 1-22; v. 1-20; vi. 20-35; vii. viii. ix.) A very favourite arrangement is a paragraph of ten verses (i. 10-19; iii. 1-10; 11-20; iv. 10-19; viii. 12-21; 22-31), a form which, if we may trust the LXX. version, existed also in the copies employed by them in iv. 20-27; v. 6-11; and, according to the Peshito Syriac in iv. 1-9. The parallelism of members is sometimes maintained, but frequently neglected. The parallels are usually synonymous (*ex.gr.*, i. 8-9, 11, 12, etc.) The antithetical parallels found iii. 32-35 belong to a series of gnomes which disturb the harmony of the passage, and appear scarcely in their appropriate place. It may be remarked that the name 'Elohim' only occurs six times in the whole book, and thrice in this section (ii. 5-17; iii. 4). The other places are, xxv. 2; xxx. 5-9. Other unusual words are תְּכִמּוֹת, 'wisdoms,' for

wisdom in the abstract (i. 20; ix. 1; found also xxiv. 7); זָרָה, 'the strange woman,' which occurs repeatedly (*ex. gr.*, ii. 16; v. 3, 20, etc., found nowhere else save xxii. 14; xxiii. 23); and נִכְרִי, 'the stranger' (ii. 16; vii. 5, etc.; found also xx. 16; xxiii. 27; xxvii. 13); ז.ע., the foreign prostitute, then as now lurking at the dark corners of the streets, taken as the representative of the harlot sense seducing the young and inexperienced from true wisdom. Ewald also notices the unusual construction of שְׂפָתַי, a dual fem. with a verb in the masc. pl. (v. 2); while in the next verse it has properly a fem. pl., and the unusual pl. אִשִּׁים (viii. 4).

In the second division, 'the Proverbs of Solomon,' which form the kernel of the book, (x.-xxii. 17), we find a striking similarity of structure throughout. Every verse (reckoned by Delitzsch at 375) in its normal form consists of two members, each containing three, four, or more rarely five short words. (The one exception to this rule (xix. 7) is probably due to the loss of a member, which is supplied by the LXX.) Every verse is independent, with no necessary connection with those that precede or follow, and, generally speaking, no attempt at arrangement. Ewald's theory of a continuous thread of connection running through this collection in its original form, and binding together the scattered sayings, has absolutely no evidence in its favour, and can only be sustained by supposing an almost total dismemberment of this portion of the book. It is true there are cases in which the same subject recurs in two or three successive verses (*ex. gr.*, x. 2-5; 18-21; xi. 4-8; 24-26), but these are the exceptions, and only occur, as Ewald elsewhere allows, when, from the studied brevity of the proverbial form, a thought cannot be expressed in all its fulness in a single verse. The cases in which the same characteristic word or words recur in successive proverbs are more frequent (*ex. gr.*, x. 6, 7; 8, 10; xi. 5, 6; 10, 11, etc.) But in every instance each verse gives a single definite idea, nor do we ever meet with two verses so connected that the latter contains the reason of the counsel, or the application of the illustration given in the former.

Nearly the whole of the proverbs in the earlier part of this collection are *antithetical*; but after the middle of ch. xv. this characteristic gradually disappears, and is almost entirely lost in the concluding chapters. A large number are *synonymous* (*ex. gr.*, xi. 7, 25, 30; xii. 14, 28; xiv. 13, 17, 19, etc.), some *aphoristic* (*ex. gr.*, xi. 31; xiii. 14), especially with the comparative and כֵּן (*ex. gr.*, xii. 9; xv. 16, 17; xvi. 8, 9, etc.), or אַף כֵּן, 'much more' (*ex. gr.*, xi. 31; xv. 11; xvii. 7). Others are *synthetic* (x. 18; xi. 29; xiv. 17, etc.); only two are *parabolic* (x. 26; xi. 22).

The style is lower and more prosaic than in the former section. Ewald regards it as an example of the most ancient and simplest poetical style, full of primeval terseness, and bearing the visible stamp of antiquity in its language and imagery without any trace of later colouring. He remarks very justly that the proverbs in this collection are not to be looked on as a collection of popular sayings, embodying mere prudential wisdom, but that they belong to the higher life, and are as broad in their grasp of truth as in their range of thought.

The germ of many of them may have been found in popular sayings; but the skill and delicacy with which they have been fashioned into their present shape, though of the simplest kind, displays the hand of a master.

Ewald remarks the following peculiar phrases as occurring in this section. 'Fountain of life,' x. 11; xiii. 14; xiv. 27; xvi. 22 (*cf.* Ps. xxxvi. 9 (10)): 'tree of life,' iii. 18; xi. 30; xiii. 12; xv. 4: 'snares of death,' xiii. 14; xiv. 27 (*cf.* Ps. xviii. 5 (6)); and the following favourite words—מְרַפֵּא, 'healing,' in various similes and applications, xii. 18; xiii. 17; xvi. 24 (but this also occurs in the former section, iv. 22; vi. 15): כְּהַתָּה, 'destruction,' x. 14, 15, 29; xiii. 3; xiv. 28; xviii. 7; xxi. 15; and only in four other places in the whole Bible: בָּנִי, part. from בָּנָה, 'to blow,' xii. 17; xiv. 5, 25; xix. 5-9 (*cf.* vi. 19; Ps. xii. 6; xxvii. 11): the unfrequent roots, סָלַף, 'perverse-ness,' xi. 3; xv. 4; and the verb סָלַף, 'to pervert,' 'destroy,' xiii. 6; xix. 3; xxi. 12; xxii. 12: the phrase לֹא יִנָּקָה, 'shall not go unpunished,' xi. 21; xvi. 5; xvii. 5 (*cf.* xxviii. 20; vi. 29): דָּרַךְ, 'he that pursueth,' xi. 19; xii. 11; xiii. 21; xv. 9; xix. 7 (*cf.* xxviii. 19), and nowhere else. Ewald instances also as archaic phrases not met with elsewhere, עַד אֲרֻנֶּיָּה, 'but for a moment,' xii. 19; יָד לִיד, 'hand join in hand,' xi. 21; xvi. 5; הִתְנַעַץ, 'meddled with,' xvii. 14; xviii. 1; xx. 3; נִרְנָן, 'whisperer,' xvi. 28; xviii. 8 (*cf.* xxvi. 20-22). The word יֵשׁ, 'there is,' though frequent elsewhere, scarcely occurs in Proverbs, save in this section, xi. 24; xii. 18; xiii. 7, 23; xiv. 12, etc.

With xxii. 17, 'the words of the wise' (*cf.* i. 6), we are carried back to the style and language of the poem (i.-ix.), of which we are also reminded by the continued address in the second person singular, and the use of 'my son.' There is, however, a difference in the phraseology and language; and, as Maurer remarks, the diction is not unfrequently rugged and awkward, and somewhat laboured. Parallelism is neglected. The moral precepts are longer than those of x.-xxii., but not so diffuse as those of the first section. We find examples of the distich, xxii. 28; xxiii. 9; xxiv. 7-10: the tristich, xxii. 29; xxiv. 29: but the tetrastich is the most frequent, the favourite form being that in which the second member gives the ground of the first, xxii. 22, 23; 24, 25; 26, 27, etc. We also find proverbs of five members, xxiii. 4, 5; xxiv. 3, 4: several of six, xxiii. 1-3, 12-14, 19-21; xxiv. 11, 12: and one of seven, xxviii. 6-8. We have a longer strain, xxiii. 29-35, against drunkenness.

The short appendix, xxiv. 23-34, comprising more 'words of the wise,' can hardly be distinguished in style or form from the preceding. It closes with a 'proverb-lay' of five verses on the evils of sloth.

The second collection of 'the Proverbs of Solomon' (ch. xxv.-xxx.), transcribed מִתְּתִיקָה, μετήφαν, Aq.; μετήφεικαν, Gr. Ven.; ἐξεργάσαντο, LXX.: *cf.* Pusey, *Daniel*, p. 322, note) by the scribes of Hezekiah, closely resembles the former one. They are, according to Pusey, 'identical in language.'



It has, however, some very decided points of difference. The 'parabolic' proverb is much more frequent than the 'antithetical,' the two members of the comparison being sometimes set side by side without any connecting link (*ex. gr.*, xxv. 12, 13), which is in other cases given merely by ו' 'and' or וְ

(xxvi. 1, 2, 18-19; xxvii. 8, etc.) The parallelism is sometimes strict, sometimes loose and free. There is a want of the sententious brevity of the former collection, and the construction is looser and weaker. The proverbs are not always completed in a single verse (xxv. 6, 7; 9, 10; 21, 22; xxvi. 18, 19); and more frequently than in the former section we have series of proverbs with an internal connection of subject (xxvi. 23-25; xxvii. 15, 16, 23-27), and others in which the same key-word recurs (xxv. 8-10; xxvi. 3-12; 13-16). This is not found so often after xxvii. 5; but a close examination of the text suggests the idea that this may be due to a disturbance of the original order (*cf.* xxvii. 7, 9; xxviii. 4, 7, 9; xxix. 8, 10, etc.) Ewald discovers a want of the figurative expressions of the earlier collection, and a difference of language and phraseology, while Rosenmüller remarks that the meaning of the proverbs is more obscure and enigmatical. The greater part of them are moral precepts. 'The earlier collection may be called 'a book for youth'; this 'a book for the people' (Delitzsch); 'the wisdom of Solomon in the days of Hezekiah' (Stier).

The three supplemental writings with which the book closes (xxx. xxxi.) are separated from the other portions and from one another no less by style and form than by authorship. Ewald somewhat arbitrarily divides ch. xxx. after ver. 14 (a division, however, sanctioned by the LXX.), and thinks it not improbable that xxx. and xxxi. 1-9 are from the same pen. He also regards the opening verses of xxx. as a dialogue, vers. 2-4 being the words of an ignorant disciple of Agur, to which the teacher replies. The difference between the enigmatical sayings of Agur (which find a counterpart in the collections of Oriental proverbs) and the simple admonitions of Lemuel's mother is too great to allow us to assign them to one author. In ch. xxx. we have, in Ewald's words, instead of moral aphorisms, a succession of elegant little pictures illustrative of moral truths, evidencing a decay of creative power, the skill of the author being applied to a novel and striking presentation of an old truth. The ancient terse proverbial form is entirely lost sight of, and the style rises to a height and dignity warranting the use of the term נִפְתָּח (cf. Is. xiii. 1; Hab. i. 1, etc.) applied to both.

In 'the words of king Lemuel,' we find much greater regularity. The parallelism is synonymous, and is maintained throughout.

The alphabetical ode in praise of a virtuous woman—'a golden ABC for women' (Döderlein)—has all its verses of about the same compass. The parallelism is very similar to that of the Psalms, especially those in which the same alphabetical arrangement is found.

6. *Authorship and date.*—On these points the most various opinions have been entertained, from that of the Rabbins and the earlier school of commentators, with whom some modern writers (*ex. gr.*, Keil) agree, who attribute the whole book to Solomon (even ch. xxx. xxxi. are assigned to him

by Rashi and his school), to those of Hitzig and other representatives of the advanced critical school, who, however widely at variance with one another, agree in reducing to a minimum the wise king of Israel's share in the book which from the remotest antiquity has borne his name. In the face of such wide discrepancies, where the same data lead careful investigators (*ex. gr.*, Ewald and Hitzig) to exactly opposite conclusions, a satisfactory decision of the question of authorship and date is hardly to be hoped for. It may rather be doubted whether the evidence at present before us is such as to admit of a determination of the question at issue. Where so much indefiniteness exists, all we can do is to balance probabilities and to abstain from dogmatic decisions.

The evidence in favour of a composite origin of the book appears, we must confess, irresistible. No unprejudiced person, we think, accustomed to the consideration of such questions, could read the book for the first time, even in English, without seeing in it the traces of several different authors. Irrespective of the two concluding chapters, the express reference to other sages (חֲכָמִים, in xxii.

17; xxiv. 23; cf. i. 6) indicates a diversity of authorship, while the difference of style between various divisions of the work strengthens the hypothesis. Indeed, a careful observer will find at the very outset an indication of the composite character of the book in the introductory verses which profess to give the contents and character (i. 1-7). These prepare us to find in it, not merely 'proverbs' and 'eloquent speeches' (margin: A. V. 'interpretation'), but also such 'words of the wise' as those we have just referred to, and 'dark sayings' like those of Agur.

Are we then to discard the title, 'the Proverbs of Solomon,' and to consider that the designation has been given to the book erroneously? To us this appears rash in the extreme. We know from historical sources that Solomon was the author of a very large number of proverbs; and nothing but that restlessness of speculation which discards old beliefs simply, as it would seem, because they are old, and seeks to unsettle all that has been hitherto held certain, can discover any sufficient reason for questioning that Solomon was the composer of the greater part of those contained in our present book, especially in the sections x.-xxii. 16; xxv.-xxix. However much these collections may have been modified in successive redactions, though too much has probably been conceded to this hypothesis, of which there is no definite trace, and by which a work may be made to assume any form that may suit the theory to be supported, we have no sufficient reason for doubting that Solomon was the originator of the peculiar style of poetry in which they are composed, and that even if they are not *all* to be referred to him, the mass are his, and that they are all pervaded with his spirit, and may be assigned to his epoch. Eichhorn finds in them no trace of language or thought subsequent to the time of Solomon. Even Ewald, who insists most on the collection as we have it having suffered from abbreviations, transpositions, and unauthorised additions, remarks that the proverbs all breathe the happy peace and growing civilisation of Solomon's age, nor is there any epoch either earlier or later to which we could preferably assign them.



The proverbs in the later collection (xxv.-xxix.), though they present some diversities, do not differ so essentially from the earlier ones as to give any sufficient grounds for questioning the accuracy of the superscription (xxv. 1). The title itself informs us that the compilation was not made till four centuries after Solomon, and the differences are not greater than might be looked for in sayings that had been so long floating about among the common people, and thereby subjected to disfigurement and change. The indications of an altered state of society and a decrease of confidence in the rulers, in which Ewald discovers such unmistakable proofs of a later date, are hardly so evident to others as to himself. We know too little of the internal economy of Solomon's reign to enable us to pronounce authoritatively that such and such expressions are inconsistent with the state of the people and tone of thought at that period.

The objection brought by Eichhorn and others against assigning the proverbs in the two collections to Solomon, that the genius of no one man, not even one as divinely gifted with wisdom as Solomon, is sufficient for the production of so large a number, is puerile in the extreme. Those we possess are but a portion of the 3000 ascribed to him (1 Kings iv. 32), and scarcely give 20 for each of the forty years of his reign.

Similar and equally futile objections have been based, by Bertholdt and others, on the familiarity displayed in the proverbs with circumstances and conditions in life with which it is supposed that Solomon as a king could have had no experimental acquaintance. For example, it is maintained that x. 5; xii. 10, 11; xiv. 4; xx. 4, must have been written by a landowner or husbandman; x. 15, by a poor man; xi. 14, xiv. 19, by a citizen of a well-ordered state; xi. 26, by a tradesman; xii. 4, by one who was not a polygamist; xiv. 1, xv. 25, xvi. 11, xvii. 2, xix. 13, 14, xx. 10, 14, 23, by an ordinary citizen; xxv. 2-7, not by a king, but by one who had lived some time at a court; xxvii. 11, by a teacher of youth; xvii. 23-27, by a sage who lived a nomadic life; xxviii. 16, by one free from those errors which weakened Solomon's throne, and robbed his son of his kingdom. It is needless to point out the weakness of these fancied arguments which would affect no one who had not a theory of his own to support. They are akin to those which have been used with as little success to prove that no one man could have written the plays of Shakspeare, and display the most marvellous ignorance of that many-sidedness and keenness of perception and insight which are characteristic of the highly-gifted among mankind.

As little weight is to be assigned to the objections drawn from the repetitions. It is true that we find the same idea, and even the same words, recurring not only in the two collections (*ex. gr.*, xxi. 9, xxv. 24; xviii. 8, xxvi. 22; xxii. 3, xxvii. 12; xxii. 13, xxvi. 13; xix. 24, xxvi. 15; xix. 1, xxviii. 6), but in the same collection (*ex. gr.*, xiv. 12, xvi. 25; x. 1, xv. 20; xvi. 2, xxi. 2; x. 2, xi. 4; xiii. 14, xiv. 27; xxvi. 12, xxix. 20). This latter is, however, no more, as Umbreit remarks, than is natural in such a compilation, in the formation of which one is very apt to forget what had been already set down; while the former class of repetitions is easily to be accounted for by the anxiety of the collectors to lose nothing which had the stamp of Solomon's authorship,

even though the same idea had been already expressed in the earlier collection, and goes far to confirm the view that Solomon was the composer of the whole.

The internal evidence—derived from language, construction, ideas, historic background, and the like—varies with every successive critic, and is entirely inadequate to warrant any decisive verdict. Its precariousness is proved by the opposite results to which the same data lead various commentators. Keil maintains that every part of the book, with the exception of the last two chapters, corresponds to the epoch of Solomon, and that only. Eichhorn agrees with this to a certain extent, but limits the correspondence to i.-xxiv.; while Ewald, Hitzig, and Bertheau, and other minor critics, arrive at conclusions, expressed with equal confidence, and at variance with these and with one another. There is, however, one evidence which speaks strongly in favour of an early date—the entire absence of all reference to idolatry. The form of religion appearing throughout is purely Jehovistic (as we have noticed above, Elohim occurs only four times in the body of the work), and false gods and foreign faiths are not even referred to.

The above remarks refer chiefly to the collection of proverbs properly so called, which we have no difficulty in ascribing, on the whole, to Solomon as their ultimate author.

The case is different with regard to the introductory chapters (i.-ix.), and there is more ground for the diversity of opinion as to their date and authorship. It is certainly quite possible that the whole or a considerable portion of this section may have been written by Solomon. The differences of style, of which Ewald makes much, are, as Bertheau has shown, somewhat exaggerated by him, and are not perhaps greater than may be accounted for by the different nature of the compositions. The terse simplicity of a proverb would be out of place in a series of hortatory addresses such as those which characterise this section. Ewald dwells with emphasis on the internal evidence of a late date afforded by the state of society, and the tone of feeling as portrayed here. But we repeat our former remark, that we know too little of the internal history of Judæa at this time to allow us to speak with so much confidence on these points, and express our conviction that the conclusions drawn by Ewald are not warranted by the premises. The imagery all points to a large and profligate city, such as Jerusalem may well have become during the middle of Solomon's prosperous reign; and the vivid representation of the habits of the foreign prostitutes and lawless freebooters who roamed its streets, as Professor Plumptre has well remarked, is hardly more than could have been attained by one who, like Haroun Alraschid, was fond of laying aside his kingly state and visiting his city in disguise.

It is evident, from what we have remarked in a former section, that we regard the proem (i.-ix.) in its present form as a composite work, though very possibly proceeding from one pen. The similarity of style, subject, and treatment, is strongly in favour of unity of authorship, while the internal evidence favours the view that it is compiled of various unconnected members, collected and arranged subsequently to the time of their composition. The date of this compilation it is impossible to fix. The evidence on this point is



faint and untrustworthy, and has led different investigators to very opposite conclusions. Ewald places it in the 7th, Hitzig in the 9th century B.C., while Keil, as we have seen, ascribes it to the time of Solomon. The resemblance that may be traced in this portion of the work to the spirit and teaching of the Book of Job, and the recurrence of some of the words and images found there, is employed both by Hitzig and Ewald to aid in determining the date of this section (cf. Job xv. 7, Prov. viii. 25; Job xxi. 17, Prov. xiii. 9; Job xxviii. 18, Prov. viii. 16; Job v. 17, Prov. iii. 11; see Pusey, *Daniel*, p. 323, note 7). But as there is no unanimity as to the date of the composition of Job, little help is to be expected from this source, nor can we be surprised at the diversity of opinion among those who have employed it; Ewald maintaining that the writer of Proverbs had read and made use of Job; Hitzig, on the contrary, believing that the former is the earlier work, and that the author of Job borrowed from Proverbs. The adoption of such expedients proves most forcibly the complete want of any decisive testimony which will enable us to arrive at any trustworthy conclusion as to the date of this section.

The similarity in style between i.-ix. and the appendix to the first collection of proverbs (xxii. 17-xxiv.), appears to favour the view that this supplement is due to the 'redacteur' by whom the poem was prefixed to the book. Ewald enumerates several reasons for ascribing the two to the same writer (p. 42), but finally decides against the unity of authorship. The proverbs themselves, designated as 'words of the wise,' are evidently distinguished from those of Solomon, and are probably to be regarded as the adages of other sages, which the compiler of the work thought too valuable to be lost, and therefore appended to his larger collection. The short supplement (xxiv. 23-34) is accounted for by Umbreit on the supposition that the compiler had laid aside his work for a time, and took it up again on the discovery of fresh sayings worthy of preservation. He renders לְחִכְמִים, 'for,' not 'of the wise,' and regards them as directed to the compiler's scholars. Ewald, Bertheau, Delitzsch, etc., defend the received translation.

It only remains for us to speak of the threefold supplement (xxx. xxxi.), with regard to the authorship and date of which again nothing can be determined. It would be hardly profitable to discuss the marvellous fabric of fanciful history and biography which has been evolved from the scantiest materials by Hitzig, Bunsen, and Bertheau. Those who desire it may refer to their works to see the grounds on which 'Massa' (A. V. 'the prophecy') is identified with a district in Arabia (Gen. x. 30; xxv. 14; 1 Chron. i. 30) of which Lemuel was king, and Agur with a descendant of the Simeonites, who in the reign of Hezekiah drove out the Anakites from Mount Seir (1 Chron. iv. 42); or, again, on which it is sought to prove that Agur and Lemuel were brothers, sons of the reigning queen of Massa. We would rather commend to our reader Eichhorn's sensible words, that 'Agur should remain Agur, and belong to the wise men of the old world of whom history gives us no further information,' and with him deprecate 'spinning a long thread of tedious conjectures about a name which do not advance us an inch

in our insight into the literature of the old world, or any profitable learning.' As little to the purpose is the fancy of Döderlein that the opening part of ch. xxx. is a dialogue: that Ithiel is a heathen; Agur a much valued servant of Ithiel, to whom, as his master, his prayer (v. 7-9) is addressed. We can say no more than that Agur was an unknown Hebrew sage, the teacher of Ithiel and Ucal—names from which also many unprofitable speculations have been built—and that he lived subsequently to the reign of Hezekiah. [AGUR.]

Lemuel—'to God,' 'devoted to God,' after the analogy of לְחִי, Num. iii. 24 (Pusey)—may certainly be regarded as a figurative name descriptive of an ideal king, 'a monarch as he should be' (Ewald, Eichhorn; cf. Pusey, *Lect. on Daniel*, p. xiii., note 1, p. 323, note 5). [LEMUEL.]

The alphabetical lay which concludes the whole belongs probably to the latest period of Hebrew poetry, and can hardly be placed higher than the 7th century. Its style and language sufficiently distinguish it from the words of Lemuel, with which it has been sometimes confounded.

The results of our inquiry may be thus summed up. The nucleus of the book is the larger collection of proverbs (x.-xxii. 16). These may be safely regarded as really what they profess to be, 'the proverbs of Solomon.' Whether they were arranged as we now have them and published by him, there is not sufficient evidence to determine. It is probable, however, that the collection was either contemporaneous with, or not long subsequent to him. The greater part of the hortatory introduction (i.-ix.) may also be, with great probability, ascribed to Solomon, though we incline to the belief that its present form is due to a later compiler, who collected the admonitions of the wise king, and prefixed them to his book of proverbs. The same author also appears to have added the appendix (xxii. 17; xxiv. 22), containing proverbs of which Solomon was not the author, and after this had been closed the few supplementary sayings (xxiv. 23-34). The time when this was done cannot be fixed, but there are cogent arguments in favour of a late date. The second collection, as its name declares, was formed by the scribes of Hezekiah, *circa* 725 B.C. The two last chapters contain compositions of the dates and authors of which nothing certain can now be known. They belong to the latest period of Hebrew literature.

It will not be worth while to enumerate the many and widely varying theories of recent critics as to the dates of the composition of the different parts of this book, and the time when it assumed its present form. One or two of the most characteristic may be specified. Suffice it to say that Ewald would place the publication of x.-xxii. 16 about two centuries after Solomon, and i.-ix. in the first half of the 7th century. Not much later the second collection of proverbs, xxv.-xxix., was added, the sections xxii. 17-xxiv. being due to the same compiler. Hitzig, on the contrary, views i.-ix. as the earliest part of the book; x.-xxii. 16, and xxviii. 17-xxix., being added about 750 B.C. Twenty-five years later Hezekiah's collection followed; the gaps being filled up and the volume completed by some unknown compiler at a later period. The theory of Delitzsch (Herzog, *Encyclop.*, 'Sprüche') is marked by more calm sense. Rightly

regarding x.-xxii. 16 as the kernel of the book, and mainly composed by Solomon, he divides the whole into two portions—(1.), i.-xxiv. 22 put forth in the time of Jehoshaphat; the introduction (i.-ix.) and appendix (xxii. 16-xxiv. 22) being written by the compiler, whom he regards as 'a highly gifted didactic poet, and an instrument of the spirit of revelation;' and (2.), xxiv. 23-xxxi., published in the reign of Hezekiah; the introductory and closing portions (xxiv. 23-34, and xxx. xxxi.) being set on either side of the collection of Solomon's proverbs to serve as a kind of foil. Our space forbids our particularising the theories of Umbreit, Keil, Bertheau, etc.

*Commentaries.*—Perhaps the most comprehensive commentary ever attempted on this book is that of the Jesuit De Salazar (2 vols. fol., Par. 1619-21), containing a literal, moral, and allegorical exposition of the text. Other Romanist commentaries deserving mention are those of Jansenius (Louvain 1568), and Maldonatus (Par. 1643). From Lutheran divines we have the commentaries of Melancthon, Geier (Lips. 1653)—long considered the ablest work existing on the subject—and C. B. Michaelis. From those of the Reformed Church, that of Munster (Bas. 1525), Lavater (Tigur. 1562), with copious illustrative parallels from profane as well as sacred sources; Mercer (Genev 1573), showing diligence and learning; and Schultens (Lugd. Bat. 1748), with a Latin version rather more obscure than the Hebrew, in interpreting which the author has given too much weight to supposed Arabic derivations. Of later commentaries that of Umbreit (1826) is sound and sensible, and specially valuable for indicating the points of contact with the genuine wisdom of the last. The Latin notes of Maurer are clear and scholarlike. The translation and introductory dissertations of Ewald (*Poet. Büch.*, t. ii.) need no commendation here. The student may also be referred to the works of Hitzig, Bertheau (*Kurzg. Ex. Hübch.*), Eichel in Mendelssohn's Bible (excellent), Löwenstein, Moses Stuart, as well as the introductions of Carpzov, Eichhorn, De Wette, Bertholdt, Keil, Bleek, and Rosenmüller's *Scholia*. The comments of Hodgson and Holden are useful aids, and that of the Rev. C. Bridges is characterised by sound common sense, a vein of fervid piety, and rich scriptural illustration, but is devoid of philological or exegetical power.—E. V.

PROVINCE (מְרִינָה; N. T. *ἐπαρχία*, and LXX.;

Vulg. *Provincia*). 1. This word, which occurs most frequently in the book of Esther, is derived from מֶרֶץ, judgment, and is generally applied to the Persian satrapies (Esther i. 1, *et passim*). The returning exiles are called 'sons of the provinces' (Ezra ii. 1; Neh. vii. 6). It is also used of the Babylonian (Ezra iv. 15; Dan. iii. 12, ff.) and of the Median provinces (Ezra vi. 2), and is applied to Elam (Dan. vii. 2), to Egypt (Dan. xi. 24; Lam. i. 1), and even apparently to some districts of the kingdom of Samaria, in the obscure expression, 'young men of the princes of the provinces' (1 Kings xx. *passim*). The word is also twice used in a general sense in Eccles. ii. 8; v. 8.

In Esther i. 1, the kingdom of Ahasuerus is said to consist of 127 provinces, and as the number of *satrapies* in the Persian empire was only 20

(Herod. iii. 95), it is clear that the provinces were subdivisions of satrapies under governors who were subordinate to the satraps. The מְרִינָה or governor (N. T. ἡγεμὼν; Luther, *Landpfleger*) of a province seems to have stood in nearly the same relation to the satrap (אַחֲשֵׁרָרִים; Luther, *Landvoigt*; Esther

viii. 9), as the procurator of a Roman province (A. V. governor) did to the proconsul (A. V. Deputy; PROCURATOR). Thus both Zerubbabel and Nehemiah, who were sub-prefects of Judæa (Haggai i. 14; Ezra ii. 63, etc.), had to submit to the counsels and decisions of the satrap of the district beyond the Euphrates [TATNAI], who, on important occasions, was advised by a council of assessors (Neh. iv. 7), and who could appeal for a ratification of his acts to the three superior ministers (of whom Daniel was one; Dan. vi. 3), or to the great king himself (Ezra v.) The title of the 'governor' was Tirshatha, a Persian word meaning 'the dreaded' (cf. *Gestranger Herr*, Gesen. s. v.) The various particulars respecting the management of Persian provinces which we learn from the Book of Esther may all be corroborated by the statements of Herodotus and Xenophon [GOVERNOR, vol. ii. p. 166; ACHASHDAR-PENIM, etc.]

2. In the N. T. the word *ἐπαρχία* occurs but twice—Acts xiii. 34; xxv. 1—being there applied to Cilicia and Judæa; but, as we shall see, a study of the manner in which the Roman provinces were organised will confirm in a very remarkable manner the accuracy and trustworthiness of St. Luke.

Strabo, in the *locus classicus* respecting this subject, informs us that Augustus, on coming to the empire, divided all the provinces into two classes. For his own management he reserved all those half-civilised and disturbed districts which needed the protection of military garrisons, and these were called *provinciae Caesaris*, or *imperatoriae*, and were governed by a præses or legatus (ἡγεμὼν) and by procurators (δικοιταί). To the care of the senate he delivered the peaceful provinces ('inermes prov.'), which required an easier government, and were called *senatoriae* or *populares*, two of which were governed by proconsuls (ἀνθύπατοι) and ten by pro-prætors (ἀντι-στρατηγός), and which were hence distinguished as *ὑπατικά* and *στρατηγικά* (Strabo, xvii. 840, cf. Suet. *Oclav.* 47; Dio Cass. liii. 12). Now, the word ἀνθύπατοι, with the verb ἀνθυπατεύω, occurs three times in the N. T.—viz., in Acts xix. 38, of Asia Minor; in Acts xiii. 7, 8, of Cyprus, where Sergius Paulus was proconsul; and in Acts xviii. 12, of Achaia, where Gallio was proconsul. The A. V. renders it by 'deputy,' a word they may have chosen, not (as has been suggested) from some doubt as to the accuracy of the term 'proconsul' in the two latter cases, but as Professor Plumptre has pointed out, from the use of the title in Queen Elizabeth's time of 'Lord Deputy of Ireland.' Grotius, Hammond, and other commentators, distinctly impugned the accuracy of St. Luke; because in the lists of the provinces given by Strabo and Dio Cassius, both Cyprus and Achaia are assigned to the emperor, and therefore could not have been governed by proconsuls, but by legati or procurators. A little more diligent research turned the historical error into an 'undesigned coincidence' with fact. For Dio Cassius (liii. 12, liv. 4) distinctly adds that Cyprus afterwards became a senatorial province, since



it was given to the senate with Gallia Narbonensis in exchange for Dalmatia (Bishop Marsh, *Lectures*, p. 85). There is similar evidence respecting Achaia. In the original division (Dio Cass., liii. 12) it had been assigned to the senate, but on the growth of various complaints, Tiberius took it under his own care (Tac. *Ann.* i. 76), and it was then governed by a legatus; it was, however, in the reign of *Claudius* that St. Paul visited Achaia, and Claudius, as we find from a notice fortunately preserved by Suetonius (*Claud.* 25), restored both it and Macedonia to the senate. That Gallio—the ‘dulcis Gallio’ of his brother Seneca’s affectionate address—was proconsul of Achaia at this time is indisputable (Tac. *Ann.* xv. 73; xvi. 17; Sen. *Nat. Quat. pref.* 4, etc.) The statements of historians are confirmed in the case of Cyprus by other and unsuspicious evidence. Both in inscriptions (Boeckh, No. 2632; Gruter, cccx. 3; Brotier in *Tac.* xii. 45) and on coins of the period (Akerman, *Numism. Illust. of the N. T.*, p. 41) the proconsuls of Cyprus have recorded their dignity. To avoid all chance of error, it should be observed that, although of the senatorial provinces Asia and Africa were *necessarily* governed by men of proconsular rank, yet the governors of *all* these provinces were *called* proconsuls, as is expressly asserted by Dio Cassius (liii. 13. See Conybeare and Howson’s *Life of St. Paul*, i. p. 154, where the original passages are given at length). It is to be regretted that the extreme accuracy with which these terms, ἡγεμὼν and ἀνθύπατος, are used in the N. T., in spite of the complex arrangements of the Roman provincial system, is obscured in the A. V. by the vague renderings ‘governor’ and ‘deputy.’ The word praetor (στρατηγός) does not occur in the N. T. except as the ambitious title assumed by the duumviri (A. V. ‘magistrates’) of the colony of Philippi (Acts xvi. 20), who also have their attendant lictors (βαβδούχοι, *id.*) The ‘chiefs of Asia’ (Ἀσιαρχοί), mentioned in Acts xix. 31, had an office very similar to that of the Roman aediles, and were the presidents of the public games. For further information on the manner in which the provinces were organized, see Walther, *Gesch. der Röm. Rechts*; Merival, *Roman Empire*, ch. xxxi.; *Dict. of Antiquities*, p. 967; Winer, *s. v. Landpfleger*, etc.—F. W. F.

PRUNING-HOOK, only used in the plural, כּוֹמְרוֹת (Is. ii. 4; xviii. 5; Joel iii. (iv.) 10; Mic. iv. 3), from כּוֹר, to prune the vine (cf. Lev. xxv. 3, 4; Is. v. 6). In the LXX. it is always rendered δρέπανα, and the alternative rendering of the A. V. is ‘scythes;’ but Gesenius and other lexicographers support the usual translation, which is that also of the Vulgate, ‘falces.’—E. V.

PSALMODY is the singing of sacred songs as an act of worship. In this article we shall speak only of its use in public worship, and we shall use the term in its most inclusive sense. The simple idea of psalmody is the expression of religious feeling in lyrical poetry and in musical cadence. Rhythmical song seems to be the instinctive utterance of all strong emotion. Savage nations express themselves in language of natural poetry, uttered in the cadence of a rude chant or musical recitative. In worship, the use of poetry and music is coeval with society (Plato, *de Legib.*, lib. iii., c. 15; Lowth’s *Heb. Poetry*, lect. 1). Homer wrote hymns to the

gods; Orpheus was a priest-musician—the tamer and sanctifier by his lyre of whatever was rude and godless. The muses were chiefly employed in the service of the gods (Phurnutus, *de natura deorum*, p. 157, ed. Gale), from which some of them—*ex. gr.*, Melpomene, Terpsichore, Polymnia—derived their names. Clemens Alexandrinus tells us that a chief part of the worship of the Egyptians consisted in singing hymns to their gods—‘First, a singer goes before, bringing forth some one thing of the symbols of music; and they say that he ought to take two books out of those of Hermes, the one containing the hymns of the gods, the other the method of a royal life . . . . There are ten things which are suitable to the honour of their gods, and comprise the Egyptian religion, viz., sacrifices, first-fruits, hymns, prayers, shows, feasts, and such like things’ (*Stromata*, lib. vi., p. 633, ed. Paris). Porphyry confirms this—The Egyptians, he says, devote ‘the day to the worship of their gods; in which three or four times, viz., morning and evening, noon and sunset, they sing hymns unto them’ (*De Abstem.*, lib. iv., sec. 8). Concerning the Indians he says, ‘they spend the greatest part of the day and night in prayers and hymns to the gods’ (*ibid.*, sec. 12, see also sec. 18; also *Vita Pythag.*, p. 200, ed. Cantab.) A remarkable passage occurs in the writings of Arrianus the stoic philosopher. ‘If,’ says he, ‘we are intelligent creatures, what else should we do, both in public and private, than to sing a hymn to the Deity, to speak well of him, and give thanks unto him? Should we not, whether digging or ploughing, or eating, sing a hymn to God?’ etc. (Arrian, *Epictet.*, lib. i. c. 16; also lib. iii. c. 26). Herodotus tells us that Homer got great credit for composing hymns to the gods (*de vita Homeri*, c. 9). Rewards were given in the Pythian games to those who sung the best hymns to the gods (Pausanias in *Phocicis*, lib. x.) The apostate Julian recommends that many of the excellent hymns to the gods be committed to memory, most of which he says were composed by the gods; some few by men inspired by a divine spirit (*Opera*, p. 551, ed. Paris). Sacred song, therefore, is no peculiarity of revealed religion. It rests upon deep instincts of human nature, perhaps of all intelligent moral nature, for at the creation ‘the morning stars sang together for joy;’ at the nativity, angelic song was heard by the shepherds of Bethlehem; and in the final heaven both angels and redeemed men are represented as singing rapturous songs before the throne.

In defining sacred song as the utterance of strong emotion, we do not restrict it to praise, although praise is the most natural and prominent form of it. Deep sorrow and earnest prayer may also find their fitting expression in musical song. Augustine thus defines the more technical and Christian conception of a hymn: ‘Hymnus est cantus cum laude Dei; si cantus est et non laudas Deum, non dicis hymnum; si laudas aliquid quod non pertinet ad laudem Dei, non dicis hymnum,’ Ps. 148. Church song is restricted to lyrical poetry, for this alone can express the simultaneous emotion of a congregation. It excludes, therefore, didactic poetry, which expounds doctrines, or analyses feelings, or inculcates duties; and it excludes dramatic poetry, which expresses passion by action. It is also more than mere lyrical poetry: it is lyrical poetry which assumes the pure truth of God, and gives expression

to the deep religious feeling which it excites. A hymn is an outburst of religious life.

In its form, worship-song may be either rhythmical or metrical; the former was its primitive and more uncultured form; the latter is its subsequent and more artistic form. The former is exemplified in the Hebrew psalms and the Greek Christian hymns; the latter in the Latin hymns of Ambrose and Gregory, and in the subsequent hymnology of the Western Church. Each of course requires a corresponding form of music—the rhythmical hymn, a musical and *ad libitum* recitative, closing with a cadence, technically known as a ‘chant’; the metrical hymn, a metrical tune. The anthem differs from both, in that it consists of certain rhythmical or metrical words set to specific music, which seeks to bring out their special emphasis, and is incapable of being used in any other. The anthem is, characteristically, the performance of choirs, and not the worship of the congregation. In public worship, sacred song may be either the singing of a choir to which the congregation are auditors, or the united act of the entire body of worshippers, the choir and organ simply leading and accompanying it. Without denying to the former the character of worship, it is obvious that it is worship only in a very restricted and imperfect sense. It is worship of a much higher and catholic character for the whole congregation to unite in the utterance of religious feeling. Hence, as a rule, no composition should be allowed in congregational worship too artistic or too intricate for congregational use. On the other hand, every kind of composition is legitimate that a congregation can use, and through which it can express the emotions of its spiritual life. Neither rhythmical psalm nor metrical hymn has any natural or legislative prerogative or sacredness in the church of God.

The manner of singing, again, whether unisonal, as in the early church, or in part harmony as in the modern church; whether antiphonal, between choir and congregation, or between one part of the congregation and another, as in many of the Jewish psalms, or universal and continuous by the whole congregation, is immaterial, so long as the best expression of religious feeling is secured.

In the Bible, the use and importance of sacred song are fully recognised, and large provision for it is made. The earliest fragment of song in the Bible is not sacred. Lamech expresses himself in a snatch of song which has all the characteristics of later temple poetry.

The Jews seem almost to have restricted their use of poetry and music to divine worship, probably because their theocracy so identified their national and their religious life, as that the expression of the one was the expression of the other. Music and song were joined in holy marriage, and presented themselves hand in hand to worship before the Lord.

The first record of Hebrew worship-song is the great outburst of the newly liberated life of the people on the borders of the Red Sea, where Miriam provided for the expression of their praise in her magnificent song. This is the earliest specimen of choral song that the world possesses. It was evidently sung antiphonally—Miriam and the women on the one side, answered by Moses and the men on the other.

We have minute accounts of the musical service

of the Tabernacle and of the Temple, as arranged by David and Solomon; and especially of the great musical celebration at the dedication of the latter, when we are told that Jehovah especially responded to the invocation of worshipping song (2 Chron. v. 12-14).

Beyond all question the Temple-service was the most magnificent choral worship that the world has seen. On great occasions the choir consisted of 4000 singers and players (1 Chron. xxiii. 5; xxv.); the statements of Josephus (*Antiq.* viii. 3) are evidently greatly exaggerated. Its psalmody would consist, first, of such compositions as had been written by Moses and others, with those of David, Asaph, etc. Some of David's early psalms seem to have been adapted for Temple use (comp. Ps. xviii. with 2 Sam. xxii.) Others were doubtless composed specially for it. Hence most of David's psalms, in the collection of Hebrew poetry so designated, are inscribed ‘To the chief musician.’ From time to time fresh contributions of sacred song would be made. As we possess it, the book of Psalms was certainly not the Temple psalter. It is a collection, or rather a combination of four or five separate collections, of Hebrew poetry, of long and gradual accumulation, containing the Temple psalms, but containing, also, many pieces neither meant nor fitting to be sung. Hence the ritual and religious absurdity of singing indiscriminately through the whole. Hippolytus, writing in the 3d century, assigns the various authorship of the collection as a reason why no author's name is affixed to it (Hippolytus on the *Psalms*, quoted by Bunsen, *Christianity and Mankind*, vol. i. p. 458; see also *ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 176; Joseph. *Antiq.* vii. 12. 3).

From the structure of some of the psalms, as well as from some expressions contained in them, it is certain that they were sung antiphonally, probably by two choirs responding to each other. Some of the psalms, the 24th for instance, were evidently alternated between the priest and the people. Among the various suppositions concerning the meaning of the word ‘selah’; one is that it is the sign of a great chorus shout of the people. See also 1 Sam. xviii. 6; Neh. ix.; Ezra iii. 10; Is. vi. 1-3; Bishop Lowth on *Hebrew Poetry*, lect. xix.; Wheatley on the *Common Prayer*, ch. iii., sec. 9.

From 1 Chron. xxv. 7 it appears that church music was formally taught in the Jewish schools.

That Jewish song was celebrated throughout the East, is implied in the ironical request of the Babylonians, that their poor captives would ‘sing them one of the songs of Zion.’

It is to be observed that the singing of the Temple was no part of the Levitical ritual; it was a fitting worship, independent of the specific economy with which it was connected. It has, therefore, a certain permanent authority as a scriptural precedent of worship song.

Concerning the music used in the Jewish Temple we have no certain traditions. The very meaning of the musical accents in the book of Psalms is unknown. Carl Engel (*Music of the most Ancient Nations*, ch. vi.) supposes that the musical system of the Hebrews, as indeed of all the East, was derived from the Assyrians, concerning whose musical knowledge, hitherto unsuspected, much interesting information has been derived from the sculptures discovered by Mr. Layard and Mr.



Botta. It is probable that David, who was musician as well as poet, composed music for the use of his Psalms in public worship. From the structure of Hebrew poetry this would necessarily be a musical recitative, or 'chant'; and as adapted for the use of worshipping thousands, it would probably be very simple in character. Whether the Jews had any form of written music or not, or whether the music of their Temple psalms was learnt by the ear, and traditionally handed down from generation to generation, is unknown. Certainly no trace of written music has come down to us. It is to be presumed that the music originally set to David's Psalms would be perpetuated from age to age; and that therefore the music to which our Lord and his disciples sang the lesser Hallel on the 'night on which he was betrayed,' and the music to which Paul and Silas sang their prison songs, would be the old traditional temple music. The tradition is that the Peregrine Tone was the music to which the lesser Hallel was sung. All this, however, is pure conjecture. There is not a particle of historical proof to throw light upon it. Nor is this to be wondered at, considering the dispersions and the unparalleled sufferings of the Jews; and when it is remembered that we are equally ignorant of the music of the Greeks and the Romans.

At the dispersion, temple-song ceased. Burney says, some Hebrew high-priest being his informant, 'that all instrumental, and even vocal performances, have been banished the synagogue ever since the destruction of Jerusalem; that the little singing now in use there is an innovation and a modern license; for the Jews, from a passage in one of the prophets, think it unlawful, or at least unfit, to sing or rejoice before the coming of the Messiah, till when they are bound to mourn and repent in silence' (*Hist. of Music*, vol. i., p. 251). It is probable, however, that although at the dispersion the temple music was for ever silenced, yet that synagogue worship would be speedily restored, and that, as far as possible, its services would be based upon the old temple prayers and psalms, and that the traditional melodies of the latter would be sung to them.

The first recorded uninspired psalmody of the synagogue is not earlier than the 10th century, when Saadiah Gaon first introduced rhyme into Hebrew poetry. On this subject, see *Prayers of the Spanish and Portuguese Israelites, with English translation*, by the Rev. D. A. de Sola; Steinschneider's *Jewish Lit.*, London 1857; Charisi's *Jewish Lit. from the eighth to the eighteenth century*, ch. xviii.

No existing Jewish melodies can be proved to be of any antiquity, compared with some Christian melodies. Purely traditional, their origin is unknown. The utmost that can be said is, that for some four or five centuries they have been handed down *memoriter*. As we possess them they are unmistakably modern in their forms; but then it is possible that beneath these modern forms there may be a very ancient substance. The Rev. D. A. de Sola (*Ancient Melodies of the Liturgy of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews*) says, that a tradition exists that the 'Birchat Cohanim' is identical with the melody used in the temple for the blessing of the priests (Num. vi. 22-26), and that it is supported by great probability, almost amounting to direct proof. The 'Song of Moses' is also sup-

posed to be the melody sung by Miriam. But this is pure conjecture. See also Maimonides, ch. xiv. sec. 14; Lightfoot's *Temple Service*; Bingham's *Antiquities*, vol. xiv.; Carl Engel's *Music of the most Ancient Nations*, ch. vi.

In the N. T. very little is said concerning sacred song. Matthew and Mark very touchingly record the conformity of our Lord, not to any divine command, but to a traditional custom, when, before going to the Mount of Olives, he sang a hymn with his disciples; probably the usual Passover psalms of thanksgiving. In his epistles to the Ephesians (v. 19) and to the Colossians (iii. 16), the apostle Paul recognises and enjoins the use of sacred song. So does the apostle James (v. 13). Michaelis and others suppose that such passages as Acts iv. 24-30 are fragments of apostolic hymns. The Apocalypse contains some of the most magnificent bursts of worship song.

The early Christians used the Jewish psalms in their worship, which would almost certainly be sung to their traditional temple music. G. B. Martini, says (*Storia della Musica*, t. i. p. 351): 'This is the Hebrew chant of the psalmodies which ever since the time of David and Solomon have been transmitted from one generation to another, and [therefore] goes beyond the first half of the first age of the church. These have not materially varied, but have been substantially preserved by the Hebrew nation. Is it not, then, sufficient to convince us, that the apostles who were born Hebrews, brought up in the customs of their nation, wont to frequent the temple and engage in the prayers and divine praises therein recited, should retain the same method and use the same chants with which the people used to respond to the Levitical choir.' Förfel (*Geschichte der Musik*, vol. ii. p. 188) says, 'This mode of reading the Scriptures with cantillation or chant has been adopted in the Christian church from the Temple, and is still preserved in the mode of chanting the collects, responses, etc. See also Dr. Saalschütz, *Geschichte und Würdigung der Musik bei den Hebräern*, sec. 61.

So that while the destruction of the Temple, and the dispersion of the Jews suspended Jewish worship, the singing of the psalms and the traditions of their melodies would be preserved in the Christian church. If, therefore, we possess any vestiges of Jewish music at all, they are to be found in the Ambrosian or Gregorian tones. The Rev. J. W. Blakesley (*Four Months in Algeria*, p. 36) visited a synagogue in Algiers, and was surprised to find that 'the air to which the Psalms were chanted coincided almost exactly with one of the Gregorian tones.' Hardly can we suppose that the early Christians either originated a new music, or adopted heathen music.

We have no record of the introduction into the Christian church of uninspired hymnody. It would be only very gradually that Greek hymns, with corresponding music, would come into use. At first, probably, Christian hymns would be little more than centos of the Hebrew psalms, or evangelical imitations of them, or compositions after their model—the angels' song at the nativity, and the songs of Zacharias and Simeon leading the way. The earliest Christian hymns seem to have been simple glorifications of Christ.

Eusebius intimates that private individuals wrote hymns to Christ as God, which were generally



sung (*H. E.*, book v., ch. 28; vii. 24; ii. 17). In his letter to Trajan, Pliny says, 'the Christians are accustomed to sing alternately between themselves, and to praise Christ as a God' (Pliny, *Epist.*, lib. x. ep. 39), alluding probably to the 'Gloria in Excelsis,' the morning hymn of the early church.

The earliest extant fragment of Greek hymnody is found in the *Pedagogue* of Clemens Alexandrinus (*Op.*, pp. 312, 313. Potter's ed.) Bunsen says, however, that this was never used in the public worship of the church (*Christianity and Mankind*, vol. ii. p. 156).

Three early Christian hymns are preserved in the venerable Alexandrine MS. as an appendix to the O. T. psalms. The first is the morning hymn of the primitive church, commencing with the introductory verse of the nativity song of the angels, hence called the Angelical Doxology. It is found in the liturgy of the Greek Church, whence, about the year 380, it was transferred by Hilary to the communion service of the Latin Church, thence again to the communion service of the English Church.

The other two are another short morning hymn in which the verse occurs, 'Vouchsafe, O Lord, to keep us this day without sin,' afterwards incorporated in the Latin *Te Deum*; and an evening psalm, consisting of a cento of verses of the O. T. Psalms.

Besides these, there is an evening hymn of the Greek Christians, *ᾠδὴ τοῦ λυχνικοῦ*, the 'Hymn of the Kindling of the Lamp,' corresponding to the 'Ave Maria' hymns of Italy; concerning which Basil says, it is 'so ancient that he knows not who is the author of it' (Bingham, B. xiii. c. 5, sec. 5, 6).

The Ter Sanctus, or Seraphic Hymn, also belongs to the first three centuries, and is found in almost all the ancient liturgies. It is little more than the Trisagium of the seraphim in Is. vi.—See Palmer's *Origines Liturgicæ*, vol. ii. p. 126.

These are the only fragments of Greek hymnody that have been presented to us. Of course they are rhythmical, and would require a rhythmical tune or chant. Much of early Christian song was probably antiphonal; Socrates, *H. E.*, lib. vi. cap. 8; Theodoret, *H. E.*, lib. ii. cap. 24; as also Hahn, *Ueber den Gesang in der Syrischen Kirche*, p. 54.

The hymnody of the Syrian churches was much more copious. They had an ampler music, and poets of higher inspiration. Its invention is attributed by Ephræm Syrus to the Gnostic Bardesanes. *Hom. ad Heret.*, 53, quoted by Dr. Burgess in his *Introduct. to the Select Metrical Hymns and Homilies of Ephræm Syrus*, p. 30. Metres were called after his name. Next to him as an author of Syrian hymnody stands his son Harmonius, who is said to have invented new metres. Ephræm Syrus flourished in the 4th century. For an account of his contributions, see Burgess's *Metrical Hymns*, and *Introduct.* The Benedictine preface to the works of Ephræm Syrus, vol. v., says, 'While the Greeks reduced their sacred hymnology to about eight tunes, and to this day confine themselves to these limits, the Syrians expatiate on two hundred and seventy-five, which their ecclesiastical books exhibit here and there, inscribing the proper tunes at the beginning of individual hymns.' The Syrians are said to have possessed a hymnology of twelve or fourteen thousand hymns.

Great use was made of hymnody by the early

heretics;—by the Gnostic Bardesanes, who endeavoured to supersede the Hebrew Psalter by one of his own, containing also one hundred and fifty psalms (Theodoret, *Heret. Fab.* 209);—by Paul of Samosata, who largely beguiled the faithful by his captivating hymns and music (Euseb. *H. E.*, lib. vii. cap. 30);—by the Donatists in Africa, who adapted their hymns to common airs of a wild and passionate character, thereby inflaming the enthusiasm of the people as with a trumpet (August. *Confess.*);—and by Arius, who made the streets of Constantinople resound with ballads written to well-known and seductive melodies, sung in torch-light processions.

Patristic notices of early Christian hymnology are very numerous; our limits forbid more than mere references to a few in addition to those already given. Justin Martyr, *Apol.* ii.; Tertullian, *Apol. Contra Gent.*, c. 39; *De Anima*, c. 3; *De Jejunio*; Cyprian, *Epist. ad Donat.*; Origen, *Contra Cels.*, lib. viii. c. 67; Eusebius, *E. H.*, lib. ii. c. 17, lib. v. c. 28, lib. vii. c. 24, lib. viii. c. 9; *Apost. Const.*, lib. xx. c. 57; Athanasius, *Ep.* 7, *ad Lat.*; Basil in *Psalms*; Gregory of Nyssa, *Ps.* ii.; Jerome, *Comm. Eph.*, lib. iii. c. 5; *Epist. 17 ad Marcell.*; *Epist. ad Uxorem*, lib. ii. c. 8; Ambrose, *Hexam.*, lib. iii. c. 5; Augustine, *Confess.*, lib. ix. sec. 14, 15, 31, lib. x. sec. 49, 50; Chrysostom on 41st *Ps.*; Hilary, quoted by Bingham, book xiii. c. 5, sec. 7. See also Neander, Kurtz, and other church histories; Milman's *History of Christianity*, vol. iii. book ii. c. 3, 4; Bingham, *Orig. Eccl.*, book xiv. c. 2. [MUSIC; MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS; PSALMS.]—H. A.

**PSALMS, BOOK OF.** This collection of sacred poetry received its name, *Ψαλμοί*, in consequence of the *lyrical* character of the pieces of which it consists, as intended to be sung to stringed and other instruments of music. The word (from *ψάλλω*, to touch or strike a chord) is thus aptly defined by Gregory of Nyssa (*Tract. ii. in Psalmos*, cap. 3): *ψαλμός ἐστὶν ἡ διὰ τοῦ ὄργανου τοῦ μουσικοῦ μελωδία*. Another name, *Psalter*, was given to this book from the Greek *ψαλτήριον*, the stringed instrument to which its contents were originally sung. The Hebrew title *תהלים* (Rab-

binic form, with the ה elided, *תלים* or *תלן*) signifies *hymns* or *praises*, and was probably adopted on account of the use made of the collection in divine service, though only a part can be strictly called songs of praise, not a few being lamentations and prayers. There is evidently no proper correspondence between the titles in the two languages, though each is suitable. The word answering to *תהלים* is *ᾠδοί*, and not *ψαλμοί*, which rather corresponds to *מוֹנוֹרִים*, *lyrical odes*—a name which, though so plainly appropriate, does not appear to have been generally given to the book, at least so far as the Hebrew usage can now be ascertained. This is the more singular, inasmuch as no fewer than sixty-five of the songs distinctly bear the title of *מוֹנוֹר*, while only one (*Ps.* cxlv. 1) is styled *תהלה*. That the name *מוֹנוֹרִים* did, however, obtain in ancient times, rather than the present title *תהלים*, may be presumed from the use of *ψαλμοί* in the Septuagint and the N. T., and of *פססם* in the Peshito.



In Ps. lxxii. 20 we find all the preceding compositions (Ps. i.-lxxii.) styled *Prayers of David*, because many of them are strictly prayers, and most, if not all, are pervaded by the spirit and tone of supplication or devotion.

All the best judges—as Lowth, Herder, De Wette, Ewald, Tholuck, Delitzsch, and others—pronounce the poetry of the Psalms to be of the *lyric* order. ‘They are,’ says De Wette (*Einleitung in die Psalmen*,\* p. 2), ‘lyric in the proper sense; for among the Hebrews, as among the ancients generally, poetry, singing, and music were united, and the inscriptions to most of the Psalms determine their connection with music, though in a way not always intelligible to us. Also as works of taste these compositions deserve to be called lyric. The essence of lyric poetry is the immediate expression of feeling; and feeling is the sphere in which most of the Psalms move. Pain, grief, fear, hope, joy, trust, gratitude, submission to God, everything that moves and elevates the heart, is expressed in these songs. Most of them are the lively effusions of the excited susceptible heart, the fresh offspring of inspiration and elevation of thought; while only a few are spiritless imitations and compilations, or unpoetic forms of prayer, temple hymns, and collections of proverbs.’ For fuller information on this subject, see POETRY.

TITLES.—All the Psalms, except thirty-four, bear superscriptions. According to some there are only twenty-five exceptions, since they reckon

הללויה as a title in all the Psalms which commence with it. To each composition that has no title, the Talmud (*Babyl. Cod. Avoda Sarah*, fol. 24, col. 2) gives the name מְזוֹמָרָא יְתוֹכָחָא, *Orphan Psalm*.

The *authority* of the titles is a matter of doubt. By most of the ancient critics they were considered genuine, and of equal authority with the Psalms themselves, while most of the moderns reject them wholly or in part. They were wholly rejected at the close of the 4th century by Theodore of Mopsuestia, one of the ablest and most judicious of ancient interpreters (Rosenmüller, *Hist. Interpretationis Librorum Sacrorum*, P. iii. p. 256). On the other hand it deserves to be noticed that they are substantially received by Tholuck, Hengstenburg, and Delitzsch in their works on the Psalms. Of the *antiquity* of the inscriptions there can be no question, for they are found in the Sept. They are supposed to be even much older than this version, since they were no longer intelligible to the translator, who often makes no sense of them. Their obscurity might, however, have been owing not so much to their antiquity as to the translator’s residence in Egypt, and consequent ignorance of the psalmody of the temple-service in Jerusalem. At any rate the appearance of the titles in the Sept. can only prove them to be about as ancient as the days of Ezra. Then it is argued by many that they must be as old as the Psalms themselves, since it is customary for Oriental poets to prefix titles to their songs. Instances are found in Arabic poems, but these are very unlike the Hebrew inscriptions. Much more important traces of the custom appear in Is. xxxviii. 9, in Hab. iii.

1, and in 2 Sam. i. 17, 18 (Tholuck’s *Psalmen*, p. xxiv.) The other instances commonly appealed to in Exod. xv. 1; Deut. xxxi. 30; Judg. v. 1; 2 Sam. xxii. 1, furnish no evidence, since they are not proper titles of the songs so much as brief statements connecting them with the narrative. But in 2 Sam. xxiii. 1, and Num. xxiv. 3, there is strong proof of the usage, if, with Tholuck, we take the verses as inscriptions, and not as integral parts of the songs, which most hold them justly to be from their poetical form.

The following considerations militate against the authority of the titles. 1. The analogy between them and the *subscriptions* to the Apostolical Epistles. The latter are now universally rejected: why not the former? 2. The Greek and Syriac versions exhibit them with great and numerous variations, often altering the Hebrew (as in Ps. xxvii.), and sometimes giving a heading where the Hebrew has none (as in Ps. xciii.-xcvii.) Would the ancient translators have taken such liberties, or could such variations have arisen, if the titles had been considered sacred like the Psalms themselves? At any rate the existence of these glaring variations is sufficient to induce a distrust of the titles in their present form, even though they had been once sanctioned by inspired authority. If ever Ezra settled them, the variations in versions and manuscripts (Eichhorn’s *Einleitung*, iii., pp. 490, 495) have tended since then to make them doubtful. 3. The inscriptions are occasionally at variance with the contents of the Psalms. Sometimes the author is incorrectly given, as when David is named over Psalms referring to the captivity, as in Ps. xiv. 7; xxv. 22; li. 20, 21; lxix. 36. It is possible, however, as Tholuck thinks, that these references to the exile were added during that period to the genuine text of the royal singer. Others, as Calvin and Hengstenberg, with far less probability, take these passages in a figurative or spiritual sense. Also Ps. cxxxix. cannot well be David’s, for its style is not free from Chaldaisms. Then sometimes the occasion is incorrectly specified, as in Ps. xxx., unless indeed this refers to the dedication of the *site of the Temple* (1 Chron. xxii. 1), as Rosenmüller, Tholuck, and Hengstenberg think after Venema.

On the whole, as the result of this investigation, it seems the part of sober criticism to receive the titles as historically valid, except when we find strong internal evidence against them.

The *design* of these inscriptions is to specify either the author, or the chief singer (never the latter by name, except in Ps. xxxix.), or the historical subject or occasion, or the use, or the style of poetry, or the instrument and style of music. Some titles simply designate the author, as in Ps. xxv., while others specify several of the above particulars, as in Ps. li. The longest and fullest title of all is prefixed to Ps. lx., where we have the author, the chief musician (not by name), the historical occasion (comp. 2 Sam. viii.), the use or design, the style of poetry, and the instrument or style of music. It is confessedly very difficult, if not impossible, to explain all the terms employed in the inscriptions; and hence critics have differed exceedingly in their conjectures. The difficulty, arising no doubt from ignorance of the Temple music, was felt, it would seem, as early as the age of the Septuagint; and it was felt so much by the translators of our A. V., that they generally re-

\* Of this valuable *Einleitung* a translation, rather too free to be faithful, is given in the American *Biblical Repository*, vol. iii.

tained the Hebrew words, even though Luther had set the example of translating them to the best of his ability. It is worth observing that the difficulty appears to have determined Coverdale, 1535, to omit nearly all except names of authors; thus in Ps. lx., which is lix. in his version, he gives only —a *Psalm of David*.

Of the terms left *untranslated* or *obscure* in our Bible, it may be well to offer some explanation in this place, taking them in alphabetical order for the sake of convenience. On this subject most commentators offer instruction, but the reader may especially consult Rosenmüller, *Scholia in Comp. Redacta*, vol. iii. 14-22; De Wette, *Commentar über die Psalmen*, pp. 27-37; Ewald, *Poet. Bücher*, i. 169-180, 195; and Davidson, *Introduction*.

*Aijeeth shahar*, אֵילֵת הַשָּׁחַר, *hind of the morning*—i. e., the sun, or the dawn of day. This occurs only in Ps. xxii., where we may best take it to designate a song, perhaps commencing with these words, or bearing this name, to the melody of which the psalm was to be sung. So most of the ablest critics after Aben-Ezra. Yet Tholuck and Hengstenberg, after Luther, suppose it to denote the subject of the psalm, meaning David himself, or typically the Messiah.

*Alamoth*, עֲלָמוֹת, Ps. xlvi., probably signifies *virgins*, and hence denotes music for female voices, *soprano* or *treble*. So Gesenius, Delitzsch, and Hengstenberg, after Gueset, who, in *Comment.*

*Ling. Hebr.* sub voce עֲלָמִים, explains it—*vox clara et acuta, quasi virginum* (see below under *Sheminith*).

*Al-taschith*, אַל-תַּשְׁחִית, *destroy thou not*, is found over Ps. lvii. lviii. lix. lxxv., and signifies, by general consent, some well-known ode beginning with the expression, to the tune of which these compositions were to be sung.

*Degrees*, הַמַּעֲלוֹת, *the ascents*, appears over fifteen Psalms (cxx.—cxxxiv.), called *Songs of Degrees*, and has been explained in various ways, of which the following are the chief. 1. The ancients understood by it *stairs* or *steps*, as appears from the Sept. version of the title, *ὁδὴ τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν*, and the Vulgate, *carmen graduum, song of the steps*; and in accordance with this, Jewish writers relate (Mishna, *Sucah*, cap. v. 4), that these fifteen Psalms were *sung on fifteen steps* (one on each), leading from the court of the women to the court of Israel. This explanation is now exploded, though Fürst, in his *Concordance*, sanctions it. 2. Luther, whom Tholuck is inclined to follow, renders the title *a song in the higher choir*, supposing the Psalms to have been sung from an elevated place or ascent, or with elevated voice. 3. Gesenius and De Wette think the name refers to a peculiar rhythm in these songs, by which the sense advances by *degrees*, and so *ascends* from clause to clause. Thus in Ps. cxxi.—

1. I will lift up my eyes to the hills,  
From whence cometh my help.
2. My help cometh from the Lord,  
The maker of heaven and earth.
3. He will not suffer thy foot to be moved,  
Thy keeper will not slumber:
4. Behold, he will neither slumber nor sleep,  
The keeper of Israel.

5. *Jehovah* is thy keeper,  
*Jehovah*, thy shade on thy right hand.

7. *Jehovah* will keep thee from all evil,  
He will keep thy soul:

8. *Jehovah* will keep thy going out and thy coming in,  
From this time even for evermore.

To this very ingenious explanation it is objected, that this *rhythm by gradation* (as De Wette calls it) is not at all obvious in the structure of most of these songs, and therefore could hardly suggest the name. 4. According to the most prevalent and probable opinion, the title signifies *song of the ascents*, or *pilgrim song*, meaning a song composed for, or sung during, the journeyings of the people up to Jerusalem, either as they returned from Babylon, or as they stately repaired to the national solemnities. So Herder (*Geist der Ebr. Poesie*, ii. 353-357), Ewald (*Poet. Bücher*, i. 195), Hengstenberg and Hupfeld. Journeys to Jerusalem are generally spoken of as *ascents*, on account of the elevated situation of the city and temple (see Ezra vii. 9, and especially Ps. cxxii. 4). This explanation of the name is favoured by the brevity and the contents of these songs, and by the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, who render מעלות by ἀναβάσεις.

*Eduth*, see below under *Shushan*.

*Githith*, גִּיטִית, appears over Ps. viii. lxxxi. lxxxiv., and is of very uncertain meaning, though not improbably it signifies an instrument or tune brought from the city of *Gath*. So Rosenmüller, De Wette, Ewald, Hengstenberg, and Delitzsch. In the opinion of not a few the word comes from גַּת, *winepress*, and denotes either an instrument or a melody used in the vintage. So the Sept. renders it ὑπὲρ τῶν λαγῶν. Gesenius in his *Thesaurus*, and Fürst in his *Lexicon*, prefer other explanations. [MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS].

*Higgaion*, הִגְּגִיִן, is found in Ps. ix. 16, and probably means either *musical sound*, according to the opinion of most, and the Sept. ὁδὴ; or *meditation* according to Tholuck and Hengstenberg (see more below, under *Selah*).

*Jeduthun*, יְדֻתָּן, is found over Ps. xxxix. lxii. lxxvii., and is generally taken for the name of choristers descended from Jeduthun, of whom we read in 1 Chron. xxv. 1, 3, as one of David's three chief musicians or leaders of the Temple music. This use of the name Jeduthun for Jeduthunites is just like the well-known use of Israel for the Israelites. It is most probable that in Ps. xxxix. Jeduthun himself is meant, and not his family. So Rosenmüller and Hengstenberg [JEDUTHUN].

*Jonath-elm-rechokim*, יוֹנָת אֵלֶם רְחוֹקִים, *the mute dove among strangers*, found only over Ps. lvi., may well denote the subject of the song—viz., David himself, 'when the Philistines took him in Gath;' or it is the name or commencement of an ode to the air of which this psalm was sung, as Dr. Davidson thinks, who translates it *dove of the distant terebinths*.

*Leannoth*, לַעֲנוֹת, in the title of Ps. lxxxviii. means to *sing* or *respond*, denoting that it was to be recited in the way described.

*Mahalath*, מַחֲלֵת, occurs in Ps. liii. and lxxxviii., and denotes, according to some, a sort of



*flute*, according to Gesenius in his *Thesaurus*, a *harp*, but in the opinion of Fürst, a *tune*, named from the first word of some popular song. Upon *Mahalah Leannoth*, Ps. lxxxviii., is accordingly a direction to chant it to the instrument or tune called *mahalah*.

*Maschil*, מִשְׁכִּיל, is found in the title of thirteen psalms. According to De Wette, Delitzsch, and others, it means a *poem*, so called either for its *skilful* composition or for its *wise and pious* strain. The common interpretation, which Gesenius, Tholuck, and Hengstenberg favour, makes it a *didactic poem*, from הִשְׁכִּיל, *to teach* or *make wise*. There seems very little to choose between the two opinions.

*Micham*, מִכְתָּם, is prefixed to Ps. xvi., lvi.-lx., and is subject to many conjectures. Many, after Aben-Ezra, derive it from כֶּתֶם, *gold*, and understand a *golden psalm*, so called either on account of its *excellence*, or because written in *golden letters*. Hengstenberg understands *mystery*, and supposes that these psalms, more than others, have a deep or *occult* sense. Others, after the Sept., which gives στήλογραφία, fancy that the word means a *poem engraved on a pillar* or monument. But the true explanation is most likely that offered by Gesenius, De Wette, Rosenmüller, and Delitzsch, who hold מִכְתָּם to be only another form of מִכְתָּב, by the familiar interchange of the kindred letters מ and ב, and to signify a *writing* or *poem*. It is actually found in this form over Hezekiah's song in Is. xxxviii. 9.

*Muth-labben* (Ps. ix.) presents a perfect riddle, owing to the various readings of MSS., and the contradictory conjectures of the learned. Besides the common reading עַל-מוֹת לִבִּי, *upon death to the son* (or, *death makes white*: so Delitzsch), we have עַל-מוֹת and עַל-מוֹת, the same word that is used in Ps. xlii. (see above, *Alamoth*). Some explain it as the *subject* or *occasion* of the song, but most refer it to the music. Gesenius, in his last edition, renders it *with virgins' voice for the boys*—i.e., to be sung by a choir of boys in the *soprano* or *treble*. Dr.

Davidson holds that לִבִּי must be taken for to *Ben*, one of the singers named in 1 Chron. xv. 18.

*Neginoth*, נְגִינוֹת, Ps. iv. and four others; over Ps. lxi. *neginah* in the singular, though some MSS. give *neginoth* here also. This name, from נָגַן, *to strike* a chord, like ψάλλω, clearly denotes *stringed instruments* in general.

*Nehiloth*, נְחִילוֹת (Ps. v.), comes most likely from חָלַל, *to perforate*, and denotes *pipes* or *flutes*. Hengstenberg, however, fancies it means *lots* or *heritages*, from נָחַל, *to possess*, and points out the subject of the psalm.

*Selah*, סֵלָה, is found seventy-three times in the Psalms, generally at the end of a sentence or paragraph; but in Ps. lv. 19 and lvii. 3 it stands in the middle of the verse. While most authors have agreed in considering this word as somehow relating to the *music*, their conjectures about its precise meaning have varied greatly. But at present these two opinions chiefly obtain. Some, including Herder, De Wette, Ewald (*Poet. Bücher*, i. 179), and Delitzsch, derive it from סָלַח or סָלַל, *to raise*, and understand an *elevation* of the voice or music;

others, after Gesenius, in *Thesaurus*, derive it from

סָלַח, *to be still* or *silent*, and understand a *pause* in the singing. So Rosenmüller, Hengstenberg, and Tholuck. Probably *selah* was used to direct the singer to be silent, or to pause a little, while the instruments played an interlude (so Sept. διάψαλμα) or symphony. In Ps. ix. 16 it occurs in the expression *higgaion selah*, which Gesenius, with much probability, renders *instrumental music, pause*—i.e., let the instruments strike up a symphony, and let the singer pause. By Tholuck and Hengstenberg, however, the two words are rendered *meditation, pause*—i.e., let the singer meditate while the music stops.

*Sheminith*, שְׁמִינִית (Ps. vi. and xii.), means properly *eighth*, and denotes either, as some think, an instrument with *eight* chords, or, more likely, music in the lower notes, *octave*, or *bass*. So Gesenius, De Wette, Delitzsch, and Hengstenberg. This is strongly favoured by 1 Chron. xv. 20, 21, where the terms *alamoth* and *sheminith* clearly denote different *parts* of music; the former answering to our *treble*, and the latter to the *bass*, an *octave* below.

*Shiggaion*, שִׁגְגָּיוֹן (Ps. vii.), denotes, according to Gesenius and Fürst, a *song* or *hymn*; but Ewald, Delitzsch, and Hengstenberg derive it from שָׁגָה, *to err* or *wander*; and hence the two former understand a *dithyrambic song, uttered in the greatest excitement*; but the latter, *error* or *wandering*, supposing that the *aberrations* of the wicked are the subject of the psalm. According to Rosenmüller, De Wette, and Tholuck, it means a *plaintive song* or *elegy*.

*Shushan*, שֹׁשָׁן (Ps. lx.), and in plural *shoshanim* (Ps. xlv., lxix., lxxx.) This word commonly signifies *lily*, and probably denotes either an instrument bearing some resemblance to a lily (perhaps *cymbal*), or a melody named lily for its pleasantness. Hengstenberg contends that it expresses the subject—i.e., some delightful theme. *Eduth*, עֲדוּת, is joined to it in Ps. lx. and lxxx., giving the sense *lily of testimony*, the name of a tune, according to Tholuck and Delitzsch, or *lily of song*, according to others, who understand a *lyric poem*.

AUTHORS.—Many of the ancients, both Jews and Christians, maintained that all the psalms were written by David: which is one of the most striking proofs of their *uncritical* judgment. So the Talmudists (*Cod. Pesachim*, c. x., p. 117); Augustine, who is never a good critic (*De Civ. Dei*, xvii. 14); and Chrysostom (*Prol. ad Psalmos*). But Jerome, as might be expected, held the opinion which now universally prevails (*Epist. ad Sophronium*). The titles and the contents of the psalms most clearly show that they were composed at different and remote periods, by several poets, of whom David was only the largest and most eminent contributor. In the titles the author is indicated

by לְ, *to*, i.e., 'belonging to,' prefixed to his name, hence called *lamed auctoris*. Some suppose, with-

out good reason, that לְ prefixed to a musician's name—*ex. gr.*, Asaph—indicates, not the author, but simply the head singer. According to the inscriptions, we have the following list of authors:—

1. *David*, 'the sweet Psalmist of Israel' (2 Sam. xxiii. 1). To him are ascribed seventy-three psalms in the Hebrew text (not seventy-four, as De Wette and Tholuck state; nor seventy-one, as most others have counted); and at least eleven



others in the Sept.—namely, xxxiii., xliii., xci., xciv.-xcix., civ., cxxxvii.; to which may be added Ps. x., as it forms part of Ps. ix. in that version. From what has been advanced above respecting the authority of the titles, it is obviously injudicious to maintain that David composed all that have his name prefixed in the Hebrew, or to suppose that he did not compose some of the eleven ascribed to him in the Sept., and of the others which stand without any author's name at all. We cannot feel sure that Ps. cxxxix. is David's, for its Chaldaisms (ver. 2, 8, 16, 17) betray a later age; and Ps. cxxii. can scarcely be his, for its style resembles the later Hebrew, and its description of Jerusalem can hardly apply to David's time. Besides, it is worthy of notice that the Sept. gives this and the other Songs of Degrees without specifying the author. Of those which the Sept. ascribes to David, it is not improbable that Ps. xcix. and civ. are really his; and of those which bear no name in either text, at least Ps. ii. appears to be David's.

When we consider David's eminence as a poet, and the delight he took in sacred song, we cannot wonder that he should be the author of so many of the psalms—no fewer, in all likelihood, than half the collection: the wonder rather should be, that we do not find more of his fine odes, for it is certain he wrote some which are not in this book; see in 2 Sam. i. 19-27 his lament over Saul and Jonathan, and in 2 Sam. xxiii. 1-7 his last inspired effusion.

His character and merit as the father of Hebrew poetry and music—for it was in his hands and under his auspices that these flourished most\*—are thus set forth by the Son of Sirach (ch. xlvii. 8-10), 'In all his work he gave thanks. To the Holy and Most High he sang songs with all his heart, in words of praise (ῥήματα δόξης), and he loved his Maker. He set singers also before the altar, and from their music (ᾠχου) sweet melody resounded. He gave splendour to the feasts, and adorned the solemn seasons unto perfection (μέχρι συντελείας), in that they praised his holy name, and the sanctuary pealed with music from early morn.'

David's compositions are generally distinguished by sweetness, softness, and grace; but sometimes, as in Ps. xviii., they exhibit the sublime. His prevailing strain is plaintive, owing to his multiplied and sore trials, both before and after his occupation of the throne. How often was he beset with dangers, harassed by foes, and chastised of God! And, under these circumstances, how was his spirit bowed down, and gave vent to its plaints and sorrows on the saddened chords of the lyre! But in the midst of all he generally found relief, and his sorrow gave place to calm confidence and joy in God. What wonder that a soul so susceptible and devout as his should manifest emotions so strong, so changeable, and so various, seeing that he passed through the greatest vicissitudes of life? God took him from the sheep-folds to feed Jacob his people and Israel his inheritance (Ps. lxxviii. 70, 71). See Herder's *Geist der Ebr. Poesie*, ii. 297-301; and especially Tholuck (*Psalmen, Einleitung*, sec. 3), who gives a most admirable exhibition of the Psalmist's history and services.

\* It was he, as Herder observes, that collected the scattered wild field-flowers and planted them as a royal parterre on Mount Zion.

The example and countenance of the king naturally led others to cultivate poetry and music. It appears from Amos vi. 5 that lovers of pleasure took David's compositions as a model for their worldly songs: how much more would the lovers of piety be induced to follow him by producing sacred songs and hymns! The fine psalm in Hab. iii. is a striking imitation of his style as seen in Ps. xviii. And the celebrated singers of his day were men, like himself, moved by the divine afflatus not only to excel in music, but also to indite hallowed poetry. Of these psalmists the names of several are preserved in the titles.

2. *Asaph* is named as the author of twelve psalms—viz., l., lxxiii.-lxxxiii. He was one of David's chief musicians [ASAPH]. All the poems bearing his name cannot be his; for in Ps. lxxiv., lxxix., and lxxx., there are manifest allusions to very late events in the history of Israel. Either, then, the titles of these three psalms must be wholly rejected, or the name must be here taken for the 'sons of Asaph,' which is not improbable, as the family continued for many generations in the choral service of the Temple. Asaph appears from Ps. l., lxxiii., and lxxviii., to have been the greatest master of didactic poetry, excelling alike in sentiment and in diction.

3. The *sons of Korah* was another family of choristers (see KORAH, at the end), to whom eleven of the most beautiful psalms are ascribed. The authorship is assigned to the Korahites in general, not because many of them could have been engaged in composing one and the same song, but because the name of the particular writer was unknown or omitted. However, in Ps. lxxxviii. we find, besides the family designation, the name of the individual who wrote it, viz.—

4. *Heman*, another of David's chief singers (1 Chron. xv. 19): he is called the Ezrahite, as being descended from some Ezrah, who appears to have been a descendant of Korah; at least Heman is reckoned a Kohathite (1 Chron. vi. 33-38), and was therefore probably a Korahite; for the Kohathites were continued and counted in the line of Korah; see 1 Chron. vi. 22, 37, 38 [HEMAN]. Thus Heman was both an Ezrahite and of the sons of Korah. That Ps. lxxxviii. was written by him is not unlikely, though many question it.

5. *Ethan* is reputed the author of Ps. lxxxix. He also is called the Ezrahite, but this is either a mistake, or he as well as Heman had an ancestor named Ezrah, of whom nothing is known. The Ethan intended in the title is doubtless the Levite of Merari's family whom David made chief musician along with Asaph and Heman (1 Chron. vi. 44; xxv. 1, 6). The psalm could not, however, be composed by him, for it plainly alludes (ver. 38-44) to the downfall of the kingdom.

6. *Solomon* is given as the author of Ps. lxxii. and cxxvii., and there is no decided internal evidence to the contrary, though most consider him to be the subject, and not the author, of Ps. lxxii.

7. *Moses* is reputed the author of Ps. xc., and there is no conclusive reason to doubt the tradition, as De Wette, Hupfeld, and Olshausen do. But the Talmudists—whom Origen, and even Jerome, follows—ascribe to him also the ten succeeding psalms (xci.-c.), on the principle that the anonymous productions belonged to the last-named author. This principle is manifestly false, since in several of



these psalms we find evidence that Moses was not the author. In Ps. xcv. the forty years' wandering in the wilderness is referred to as past; in Ps. xcvi. 8 mention is made of Zion and Judah, which proves that it cannot be dated earlier than the time of David; and in Ps. xcix. 6, the prophet Samuel is named, which also proves that Moses could not be the writer.

*Jeduthun* is sometimes, without just ground, held to be named as the author of Ps. xxxix. (see above, under that head.) Many conjectures have been formed respecting other writers, especially of the anonymous psalms. The Sept. seemingly gives, as authors, Jeremiah (Ps. cxxxvii.), and Haggai and Zechariah (Ps. cxxxviii.) Hitzig (*Comment. über die Psalmen*) ascribes to Jeremiah a large number of the elegiac or plaintive psalms, and some to Isaiah (Ps. xli.-xlviii.); but these are mere surmises, though perhaps consonant with fact.

The *dates* of the Psalms, as must be obvious from what has been stated respecting the authors, are very various, ranging from the time of Moses to that of the Captivity in Babylon, and even later—a period of nearly 1000 years. In the time of king Jehoshaphat (about B.C. 896) Ps. lxxxiii., setting forth the dangers of the nation, as we read in 2 Chron. xx. 1-25, was composed either by himself, as some suppose, or most likely, according to the title, by Jahaziel, 'a Levite of the sons of Asaph,' who was then an inspired teacher (see 2 Chron. xx. 14). In the days of Hezekiah, who was himself a poet (Is. xxxviii. 9-20), we may date, with great probability, the Korahitic Psalms xli. and xlviii., which seem to celebrate the deliverance from Sennacherib (2 Kings xix. 35). In the period of the Captivity were evidently written such laments as Ps. xli., lxxix., cii., and cxxxvii.; and after its close, when the captives returned, we must manifestly date Ps. lxxxv. and cxxvi.

Some have maintained that several psalms, especially lxxiv., were written even in the days of the Maccabees. This view is urged by Hitzig, Olshausen, Davidson, and others; whilst it is opposed not only by such men as Hengstenberg, Hävernick, and Keil, but even by bolder critics, such as Gesenius, Ewald, Thenius, and others. Delitzsch, however, seems inclined to admit the existence of some psalms of so late a date (see his 'Psalmen' in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopædie*, p. 273).

**COLLECTION AND ARRANGEMENT.**—As the Psalms are productions of different authors in different ages, we are led to inquire *how* and *when* they were collected. The book has been styled by some moderns the *Anthology of Hebrew lyric poetry*, as if it consisted of a selection of the most admired productions of the sacred muse; but the name is not altogether appropriate, since several pieces of the highest poetic merit are, to our knowledge, not included—namely, the songs of Moses in Exod. xv. and Deut. xxxii.; the song of Deborah in Judg. v.; the prayer of Hannah in 1 Sam. ii. 1-10; and even David's lament over Saul and Jonathan in 2 Sam. i. 18-27. To these may be added the song of Hezekiah in Is. xxxviii. 9-20; and the prayer of Habakkuk in Hab. iii. The truth seems to be, as Ewald and Tholuck maintain, that the collection was made not so much with reference to the beauty of the pieces as to their adaptation for devotional use in public worship. This view sufficiently accounts for omitting most of the above pieces, and

many others, as being either too individual or too secular in their application. It may account for not including the lament over Jonathan, and for the fact that only two of Solomon's compositions (Ps. lxxii. and cxxvii.) are professedly given, though 'his songs were a thousand and five' (1 Kings iv. 32, 33). His themes were secular, and therefore not suitable for this collection.

When the Psalms were collected and by whom, are questions that cannot be confidently answered. The Talmudists most absurdly considered David the collector (*Cod. Beracoth*, c. i. p. 9). It is certain that the book, as it now stands, could not have been formed before the building of the second temple, for Ps. cxxvi. was evidently composed at that period. In all probability it was formed by Ezra and his contemporaries, about B.C. 450 (Ewald's *Poet. Bücher*, ii. 205), or by Simon the Just, about B.C. 300. But in the arrangement of the book there is manifest proof of its gradual formation out of several smaller collections, each ending with a kind of doxology.

The Psalter is divided in the Hebrew into five books, and also in the Sept. version, which proves the division to be older than B.C. 200. Some have fancied that this five-fold division did not originally exist, but that it arose simply from a desire to have as many parts in the Psalms as there are in the law of Moses. But strong reasons demand the rejection of such a fancy. Why should this conformity to the Pentateuch be desired and effected in the Psalms, and not also in Proverbs, or in the Prophets? The five books bear decided marks of being not arbitrary divisions, but distinct and independent collections by various hands.

The *first book* (i.-xli.) consists wholly of David's songs, his name being prefixed to all except i., ii., x., and xxxiii.; and it is evidently the first collection, having been possibly made in the time of Hezekiah, who is known to have ordered a collection of Solomon's proverbs (Prov. xxv. 1), and to have commanded the Levites to sing the words of David (2 Chron. xxix. 30).

The *second book* (xlii.-lxxii.) consists mainly of pieces by the sons of Korah (xlii.-xlix.), and by David (li.-lxxv.), which may have been separate minor collections. At the end of this book is found the notice—'The prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended;' and hence some have thought that this was originally the close of a large collection comprising Ps. i.-lxxii. (Carpzov, *Introductio*, etc., ii. 107). But that the second was *originally* distinct from the first book, is proved by the repetition of one or two pieces; thus Ps. liii. is plainly the same as Ps. xiv., with only a notable variation in the divine name *God*, אלהים, being used in the former wherever *Lord*, יהוה, is found in the latter.\* So also Ps. lxx. is but a repetition of Ps. xl. 13-17, with the same singular variation in the divine name. It is not likely that this collection was made till the period of the Captivity, if interpreters are right in referring Ps. xlv. to the days of Jeremiah.

The *third book* (lxxiii.-lxxxix.) consists chiefly of Asaph's psalms, but comprises apparently two

\* On the variation in the use of the divine names יהוה and אלהים in the Psalms (as in the Pentateuch), the reader may consult Delitzsch's able tractate called *Symbolæ ad Psalmos Illustrandos Isagogicae*.



smaller collections, the one Asaphitic (lxxiii.-lxxxiii.), the other mostly Korahitic (lxxxiv.-lxxxix.) The collector of this book had no intention to bring together songs written by David, and therefore he put the above notice at the end of the second book (see De Wette's *Psalmen, Einleitung*, p. 21). The date of this collection must be as late as the return from Babylon, for Ps. lxxxv. implies as much.

The *fourth book* (xc.-cvi.) and the *fifth* (cvii.-cl.) are made up chiefly of anonymous liturgic pieces, many of which were composed for the service of the second temple. In the last book we have the Songs of Degrees (cxx.-cxxxiv.), which seem to have been originally a separate collection. The five books may, with some propriety, be thus distinguished: the first *Davidic*, the second *Korahitic*, the third *Asaphitic*, and the two others *Liturgic*.

In the mode of dividing and numbering the Psalms, some Hebrew MSS. vary from the printed text. In some, Ps. i. and ii. are given as one, the first being reckoned as only introductory; which accounts for the various reading in Acts xiii. 33. So also Ps. xlii. and xliii. are sometimes joined into one, as they evidently ought to be. In the Septuagint also, which the Vulgate follows, the arrangement varies from the common order, for it joins Ps. ix. and x. together, and thus its numbering falls one behind the Hebrew as far as Ps. cxlvii., which it cuts into two at ver. 12, and thus returns to the common enumeration. There is also in the Sept. an apocryphal psalm, numbered cli., on David's victory over Goliath.

Various *classifications* of the Psalms have been proposed (Carpzov, *Introductio*, etc., ii. 132-134). Tholuck would divide them, according to the matter, into songs of *praise*, of *thanksgiving*, of *complaint*, and of *instruction*. De Wette suggests another method of sorting them (*Einleitung*, p. 3),

into—1. *Hymns* (לְהַלֵּל in the proper sense), as viii. xviii.; 2. *National Psalms*, as lxxviii. cv.; 3. *Psalms of Zion and the Temple*, as xv. xxiv.; 4. *Psalms respecting the King*, as ii. cx.; 5. *Psalms of complaint*, as vii. xxii.; and 6. *Religious Psalms*, as xxiii. xci. It is obvious, however, that no very accurate classification can be made, since many are of diversified contents and uncertain tenor.

**CANONICITY AND USE.**—The inspiration and canonical authority of the Psalms are established by the most abundant and convincing evidence. They never were, and never can be, rejected, except by impious impugnors of all divine revelation. Not to mention other ancient testimonies [CANON], we find complete evidence in the N. T., where the book is quoted or referred to as divine by Christ and his apostles at *least seventy times*. No other writing is so frequently cited; Isaiah, the next in the scale of quotation, being cited only about fifty-five times. Twice (Luke xx. 42 and Acts i. 20) we find distinct mention of the *Book of Psalms* (βιβλος ψαλμῶν). Once, however (Luke xxiv. 44), the name *Psalms* is used not simply for this book, but for the Haglographa, or the whole of the third division of the Hebrew Scriptures [HAGIOGRAPHIA], because in it the Psalms are the first and chief part; or possibly, as Hävernick suggests (*Einleitung*, sec. xiv. p. 78), because the division consists mainly of *poetry*. It deserves notice that in Heb. iv. 7, where the quotation is taken from the anonymous Ps. xcvi., the book is

indicated by *David*, most likely because he was the largest and most eminent contributor, and also the patron and model of the other psalmists. For the same reasons many ancient and modern authors often speak of the book as the *Psalms of David* (Carpzov, *Introd.*, ii. 98), without intending to ascribe all the productions to him.

In every age of the church the Psalms have been extolled for their excellence and their use for godly edifying (Carpzov, *l. c.*, pp. 109-116). Indeed, if Paul's estimate of ancient inspired Scripture (2 Tim. iii. 15-17) can be justly applied to any single book, that book must be the Psalms. Even in the N. T. there is scarcely a work of equal practical utility. Basil the Great and Chrysostom, in their homilies (see Suiceri *Thes. Eccles.*, sub ψαλμός), expatiate most eloquently, and yet judiciously, on its excellence. The close of Basil's eulogy is to this effect: 'In it is found a perfect theology (ἐνταῦθα ἐνι θεολογία τελεία); prophecy of Christ's sojourn in the flesh, threatening of judgment, hope of resurrection, fear of retribution, promises of glory, revelations of mysteries—all things are treasured in the book of Psalms, as in some great and common store-house.' Among the early Christians it was customary to learn the book by heart, that psalmody might enliven their social hours, and soften the fatigues and soothe the sorrows of life. They employed the Psalms not only in their religious assemblies—of which use we find probable mention in 1 Cor. xiv. 26—but also at their meals and before retiring to rest, as Clement of Alexandria testifies: θυσία τῷ θεῷ ψαλμοὶ καὶ ὕμνοι παρὰ τὴν ἐστίαν, πρὸς τὴν κοίτην. Of their use at meals we find an example also in the institution of the Lord's Supper (Matt. xxvi. 30).

The great doctrines and precepts embodied in the Psalms, what views they give of God and his government, of man and his sinfulness, of piety and morals, of a future state, and of the Messiah, are most ably set forth by Tholuck in his *Einleitung*, sec. 4, and also by Delitzsch in his *Commentar*.

In this connection it may be well to notice what are called the *vindictive Psalms*, such as Ps. lix., lxix., lxxix., which present utterances of anger and imprecation against the enemies of God and his people. These and similar portions of Scripture, which indicate the spirit of resentment, if not of revenge, are very apt to shock the feelings of certain Christian readers, and to call forth the insidious cavils of men who discredit divine revelation. To avoid this offence, and to silence these objections, most of our devout commentators insist that the expressions in question are not maledictions, but mere declarations or predictions of what will come to pass. This explanation is, however, quite inadmissible; for in several of the most startling passages—such as Ps. lix. 14; lxix. 25, 28; lxxix. 6—the verbs in the original are plainly imperative and not indicative. It is possible, as Tholuck thinks (*Psalmen*, p. lxiii.), that in some of these utterances, especially the imprecations in Ps. cix., unholy personal feeling may have been mingled with godly zeal, as was the case seemingly with the two disciples James and John, when the Lord chided their desire for vengeance (Luke ix. 54-56.) But, in reality, the feeling expressed in these psalms may well be considered as virtuous anger, such as Bishop Butler explains and justifies in his sermons on *Resentment and the Forgiveness of Injuries*, and such as Paul teaches in Eph. iv.



26, 'Be ye angry and sin not.' Anger against sin and a desire that evil-doers may be punished are not opposed to the spirit of the Gospel, or that love of enemies which our Lord both enjoined and exemplified. If the emotion and its utterance were essentially sinful, how could Paul wish the enemy of Christ and the perverter of the Gospel to be accursed (*ἀνάθεμα*, 1 Cor. xvi. 22; Gal. i. 8); and especially, how could the spirits of the martyred saints in heaven call on God for vengeance (Rev. vi. 10), and join to celebrate its final execution (Rev. xix. 1-6)? Yea, resentment against the wicked is so far from being necessarily sinful, that we find it manifested by the Holy and Just One himself, when in the days of his flesh he looked around on his hearers 'with anger, being grieved for the hardness of their hearts' (Mark iii. 5); and when in 'the great day of his wrath' (Rev. vi. 17), he shall say to 'all workers of iniquity' (Luke xiii. 27), 'Depart from me, ye cursed' (Matt. xxv. 41). On this subject (*The Imprecations in the Scriptures*), the reader may find an admirable article from the accomplished pen of the amiable and much lamented Prof. B. B. Edwards, in the *American Bibliotheca Sacra* for February 1844.

The following are among the chief exegetical works on this book:—Venema, *Comment. in Psalmos*; Poli *Synopsis*; De Wette, *Commentar über die Psalmen*; Rosenmüller, *Scholia in Epit. Redacta*, vol. iii.; Maurer, *Comment. Crit. Grammaticus*, vol. iii.; Stier, *Siebzig ausgewählte Psalmen*; Ewald, *Poet. Bücher*, vol. ii.; Tholuck, *Uebersetzung und Auslegung der Psalmen*; Hengstenberg, *Commentar über die Psalmen*. This last, together with the commentaries of Hupfeld and Delitzsch, may be recommended as the best German helps for the thorough study of the book. Among English and American works the chief are by Ainsworth, Hammond, Horne, Horsley, Phillips, Noyes, Bush, and Alexander.—B. D.

#### PSALTERY. [MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.]

PTOLEMAIS (*Πτολεμαῖς*). 1. A maritime town in Palestine. [ACCHO.] 2. A place described as *ροδοφόρος*, *rose-producing* (3 Maccab. vii. 17), and supposed to be the *ἄρμος Πτολεμαῖς* of Ptolemy (iv. 5. 57), in central Egypt, in the Arsinoite nome, a district still abounding in roses (Mannert, *Geogr. der Griechen u. Romanen*, x. 1, p. 419; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, i. 795, 797).—W. L. A.

PTOLEMY or PTOLEMEUS (*Πτολεμαῖος*), the name of several persons mentioned in the Apocrypha. Macedonian in its origin, it became the dynastic name of the Greek kings of Egypt. Of these the only one mentioned by name is Ptolemæus VI. Philometor, B.C. 181-146 (1 Maccab. i. 17; x. 51, ff.; xi. 1-18; xv. 16, ff.; 2 Maccab. i. 10; iv. 21; ix. 29; probably also Esther x. 20, sec. LXX.) This Ptolemy is referred to as 'the king of the south' in Dan. xi. 25. In this chapter also other princes of the same dynasty are alluded to—namely, Ptolemæus I. Soter, B.C. 323-283, or 285 (ver. 5); Ptol. II. Philadelphus, B.C. 285-247 (ver. 6); Ptol. III. Evergetes, B.C. 247-222 (ver. 7); Ptol. IV. Philopator, B.C. 222-205 (ver. 11, cf. 3 Maccab. i. 1-5); and Ptol. V. Epiphanes, B.C. 205-181 (ver. 14, 15).

Other persons of the name of Ptolemy mentioned in the Apocrypha are:—1. The son of Dorymeus, a courtier of influence under Antiochus Epiphanes

(1 Maccab. iii. 18; 2 Maccab. iv. 45-50; vi. 8). 2. The son of Agesarches, surnamed Macron, governor of Cyprus during the minority of Ptolemy Philometor (2 Maccab. viii. 8; x. 11-13; comp. Athenæus, vi. p. 246). 3. The son of Abubus, and son-in-law of Simon Maccabæus, who with two of his sons was murdered by him (1 Maccab. xvi. 11-16; comp. Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 7. 4; viii. 1). 4. The father of Lysimachus, by whom the letter [book] of Esther was translated (Esther x. 20, ap. LXX.) Whether this is the same Ptolemy who is mentioned in the same verse as the carrier of the book to Egypt remains uncertain.—W. L. A.

PUAH (*פּוּאָה*; Sept. *Φουά*). 1. The father of Tola, one of the judges of Israel (Judg. x. 1). 2. One of the sons of Issachar (1 Chron. vii. 1), elsewhere called Pua and Phurah.

PU'AH (*פּוּעָה*), one of the two midwives appointed by Pharaoh to attend on the Hebrew women (Exod. i. 15). Josephus (*Antiq.* ii. 9. 9) intimates that these were Egyptian women, and this has been adopted by some interpreters in recent times. But when it is considered that no Egyptian woman was likely to pollute herself by rendering such offices to a Hebrew woman—that Puah and Shiprah are described as fearing Jehovah (ver. 17)—that their names are Hebrew—and that though the words *לְמִיִּלֹת הַעֲבֵרִית* may be translated 'midwives of the Hebrews,' they more probably mean, as the A. V. gives them, 'Hebrew midwives,' and that had Moses intended to convey the other meaning he would have written *"לְמִיִּלֹת אֶת הָעֵבֶר"*; reason will be found for preferring the opinion that they were Hebrew women. Probably they were the heads of their profession, and so are named *instar omnium*.—W. L. A.

PUBLICAN (Gr. *τελώνης*; among the Romans *publicanus*), a person who farmed the taxes and public revenues. This office was usually held by Roman knights, an order instituted as early as the time of Romulus, and composed of men of great consideration with the government, 'the principal men of dignity in their several countries,' who occupied a kind of middle rank between the senators and the people (Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 4). Although these officers were, according to Cicero, the ornament of the city and the strength of the commonwealth, they did not attain to great offices, nor enter the senate, so long as they continued in the order of knights. They were thus more capable of devoting their attention to the collection of the public revenue.

The publicans were distributed into three classes: the farmers of the revenue, their partners, and their securities, corresponding to the Mancipes, Socii, and Prædes. They were all under the Quæstor *Ærarii*, who presided over the finances at Rome. Strictly speaking, there were only two sorts of publicans, the Mancipes and the Socii. The former, who were generally of the equestrian order, and much superior to the latter in rank and character, are mentioned by Cicero with great honour and respect (*Orat. pro Plancio*, 9); but the common publicans, the collectors or receivers of the tribute, as many of the Socii were, are covered both by heathens and Jews with opprobrium and contempt.



The name and profession of a publican were, indeed, extremely odious among the Jews, who submitted with much reluctance to the taxes levied by the Romans. The Galileans or Herodians, the disciples of Judas the Gaulonite, were the most turbulent and rebellious (Acts v. 37). They thought it unlawful to pay tribute, and founded their refusal to do so on their being the people of the Lord, because a true Israelite was not permitted to acknowledge any other sovereign than God (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 2). The publicans were hated as the instruments by which the subjection of the Jews to the Roman emperor was perpetuated; and the paying of tribute was regarded as a virtual acknowledgment of his sovereignty. They were also noted for their imposition, rapine, and extortion, to which they were, perhaps, more especially prompted by having a share in the farm of the tribute, as they were thus tempted to oppress the people with illegal exactions, that they might the more speedily enrich themselves. Theocritus considered the bear and the lion the most cruel among the beasts of the wilderness; and among the beasts of the city the publican and the parasite. Those Jews who accepted the office of publican were execrated by their own nation equally with heathens: 'Let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican' (Matt. xviii. 17). It is said they were not allowed to enter the temple or synagogues, to engage in the public prayers, fill offices of judicature, or even give testimony in courts of justice. According to the Rabbins, it was a maxim that a religious man who became a publican was to be driven out of the religious society (Grotius, *ad Matt.* xviii.; Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb. ad Matt.* xviii.) They would not receive their presents at the temple any more than the price of prostitution, of blood, or of anything wicked and offensive.

There were many publicans in Judæa in the time of our Saviour, of whom Zacchæus was probably one of the principal, as he is called 'chief among the publicans' (Luke xix. 2), a phrase supposed to be equivalent to our Commissioner of the Customs. Matthew appears to have been an inferior publican, and is described as 'sitting at the receipt of custom' (Luke v. 27). Jesus was reproached by the Jews as the friend of publicans and sinners, and for eating with them (Luke vii. 34); but such was his opinion of the unbelieving and self-righteous chief-priests and elders who brought these accusations, that he replied unto them, 'The publicans and the harlots go into the kingdom of God before you' (Matt. xxi. 31). The parable of the Pharisee and the Publican who went up in to the temple to pray (Luke xviii. 10) is a beautiful illustration of the distinction between hypocrisy and true piety. When Jesus visited the house of Zacchæus, who appears to have been eminently honest and upright, he was assured by him that he was ready to give one-half of his goods to the poor; and if he had taken anything from any man by false accusation, to 'restore him fourfold' (Luke xix. 8). This was in reference to the Roman law, which required that when any farmer was convicted of extortion, he should return four times the value of what he had fraudulently obtained. There is no reason to suppose that either Zacchæus or Matthew had been guilty of unjust practices, or that there was any exception to their characters beyond that of being engaged in an odious employment. Some other examples of this occur. Suetonius (*Vesp.*) mentions

the case of Sabinus, a collector of the fortieth penny in Asia, who had several statues erected to him by the cities of the province, with this inscription, 'To the honest tax-farmer.'

It has been imagined by some commentators that by the Jewish laws it was forbidden to pay tribute to foreigners, or to be employed as publicans under them (Deut. xvii. 15); but publicans that were Jews are so often mentioned in the N. T., that Dr. Lardner inclines to think the Roman tribute was collected chiefly by Jews. He conceives that in most provinces the natives were employed in the towns as under-collectors, and that the receivers-general or superior officers only were Romans. As the office was so extremely odious, the Romans might deem it prudent to employ some natives in collecting the taxes; and there is little doubt that in every district they would find Jews willing to profit by the subjection of their country, and to accept appointments from their conquerors.—G. M. B.

PUBLIUS (Πόπλιος), governor of Melita at the time of Paul's shipwreck on that island (Acts xxviii. 7, 8). Paul, having healed his father, probably enjoyed his hospitality during the three months of his stay in the island. An inscription found in Malta designates the governor of the island by the same title (πρώτος, 'first' or 'chief') which Luke gives to Publius. [MELITA.]

PUDENS (Πούδης), one of the persons whose salutations Paul, writing from Rome, sends to Timothy (2 Tim. iv. 21). Nothing is really known of him; but the martyrologies make him to have been a person of figure at Rome, of the senatorial order, and father of two pious virgins, Praxis and Pudencia. Yet, by a strange incongruity, he is also deemed to have been one of the seventy disciples. A female disciple, of the name of Claudia (Κλαυδία), is mentioned in the same verse; and as a poet of the time, Martial, speaks of the marriage of a Pudens and Claudia, the same persons are supposed to be intended. But this sort of identification requires little notice; and if Pudens and Claudia were husband and wife, it is unlikely that the apostle would have interposed another name between theirs. [CLAUDIA.]—J. K.

PUL (פול; Sept. Φουά, Φαλώχ, Φαλώς), the first of the series of Assyrian monarchs whose invasions of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah are mentioned in the Bible (2 Kings xv. 19, 20; 1 Chron. v. 26). Menahem, having succeeded in mounting the throne of Israel, proceeded to make himself master of the whole territory belonging to that kingdom. Setting forth from Tirzah he attacked and took by storm Tiphshah, or Thapsacus, on the Euphrates, which had once more been made a border town of Israel by the conquests of Jeroboam II., whose victorious career had restored the ancient boundaries of the land in that direction as they had been in the days of Solomon (2 Kings xv. 16; xiv. 25, 28; 1 Kings iv. 24). He appears to have thus drawn on himself the notice of Pul. The Assyrian monarch, having marched against him, was induced by the payment of a heavy tribute not only to withdraw his invading forces, but also to give Menahem his support 'to confirm the kingdom in his hand' against all other aspirants to the crown. There is great difficulty in determining what Assyrian king is referred to under the



name Pul. He must have ruled over Assyria as the immediate predecessor of Tiglath-pileser II., for this latter monarch, according to Sir H. Rawlinson (*Athenaeum*, No. 1793), is recorded to have received tribute in his eighth year from Menahem, whose reign occupied only ten years. For some time Sir H. Rawlinson identified him with a king whose cuneiform name he has variously represented as Iva-lush, Vul-lush, and Yama-zala-khus, and who reckoned among the countries tributary to himself that of Khumri or Samaria (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, i. 467). This identification, however, he gave up on ascertaining that the lately deciphered Assyrian canon interposed the reigns of three kings, comprising 37 years, in addition to a probable interregnum of two or three years, between this king and Tiglath-pileser (*Athenaeum*, No. 1805). Subsequently he suggested that one and the same individual is denoted by the names Pul and Tiglath-pileser in the sacred narrative. His chief argument for this is that in 1 Chron. v. 26, the same event—namely the deportation of the tribes beyond the Jordan—is attributed to the two kings associated together as if they were one and the same individual (*Athenaeum*, No. 1869). But, as already remarked by Winer (*Realw.*, ii. 259), the passage in 1 Chron. does not necessarily ascribe to the two kings the accomplishment of the same measure. Pul is mentioned in it as the first Assyrian king who came into collision with the Israelites, and thus prepared the way for the subsequent deportation of the trans-Jordanic tribes. But that this measure is attributed solely to Tiglath-pileser, as in 2 Kings xx. 29, is manifest from the

use of the singular **יְהוֹשִׁעַ**. Dr. Julius Oppert, who accepts the account of Ctesias, and takes it to refer to the subversion of the first Assyrian empire, supposes Pul to be the Babylonian Belesys. The eminent Assyriologist Dr. Hincks maintains that 'Pul became king of Babylon, holding Assyria in subjection, in 787 B.C. Tiglath-pileser revolted from him and established an independent kingdom of Assyria in 768 B.C.' (*Athenaeum*, No. 1810). The main difference between this view and that of Dr. Oppert is, that Dr. Hincks supposes a considerable interval to have elapsed between Belesys, the conqueror of Nineveh, and Pul. It certainly appears the most plausible opinion; and it seems safest to acquiesce in it until further discoveries of cuneiform students lead to a more exact determination. It is in accordance with the scriptural chronology, and it falls in with what we can glean of Assyrian history from classical and monumental sources. The account of Ctesias, as found in Diodorus Siculus (*Hist.* ii.), though rejected by Sir H. Rawlinson and his followers (comp. Prof. Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.*, ii. 521), has received the support of many eminent modern critics. It has been shown to be reconcilable with the narrative of Herodotus (*Hist.*, i. 102, 106), which contains intimations that there had been a subversal of the Assyrian empire prior to its final overthrow alluded to by that historian (see Winer, *Realw.*, i. 104). It is admitted that the Assyrian canon, in the period between Iva-lush IV. and Tiglath-pileser II., gives indication 'of troublous times, and of a disputed, or at any rate a disturbed succession' (Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.*, ii. 386). The writer last cited also asserts that the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser II. 'support the

notion of a revolution and change of dynasty in Assyria at this point of its history' (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, i. p. 468). That Pul was a Babylonian holding rule in Assyria at this time is confirmed by the notice of Alexander Polyhistor (Euseb., *Chron.*, p. i. c. iv.) 'Post hos ait exstitisse Chaldæorum regem, cui nomen Phulus erat;' and also by the form of the name. The name Pul, while having, according to Professor Rawlinson, its counterpart among known Babylonian names, is wholly alien to the rules on which Assyrian names are formed. They are 'always compounds, consisting of two, three, or more characters' (*Anc. Mon.*, ii. 388, note).—H. C. G.

PUL (**פּוּל**; **Φούδ**; *Africa*), a country mentioned only in Is. lxvi. 19, and grouped between Tarshish and Lud. Hitzig, Knobel, and some others suppose that the true reading is **פּוּל**, which is elsewhere joined with Lud (Ezek. xxvii. 10; Jer. xli. 9; A. V. *Libyans*); and which is sometimes rendered in the LXX. **Φούδ** (Gen. x. 6; 1 Chron. i. 8), the same form which occurs here in that version; for this, however, there is no MS. authority, and we are therefore bound to receive the Masoretic reading as correct.

Bochart would identify Pul with *Phila*, an island in the Nile on the confines of Egypt and Ethiopia. The Egyptian name of that island is *Pelak*, which certainly bears some resemblance to the Hebrew *Pul*. Bochart says: *Phul* pro *Phil* scripsit Esaias permutatione literarum *Vau* et *Fod*, quâ nihil frequentius . . . Pro *Phul* Chaldaeus habet plurali numero **פּוּלַי**, *Phula*, cui proxime accedit **Φύλαι**, *Phila* (*Geogr. Sac.* in *Opp.* i. p. 269; cf. Michaelis, *Spicil.* i. p. 257). This is all very true; but it must be kept in mind that the other names here mentioned are those of great countries, while *Phila* is a very small island. Isaiah would scarcely speak of the Jewish people being driven to it. It seems much more probable that Pul was the name of some distant province of Africa; and perhaps the suggestion of Gesenius may be right, that we have a vestige of the old name in the word **Πολο**, which appears on inscriptions (*Thesaurus*, p. 1094).—J. L. P.

#### PULSE. [POL.]

PUNISHMENTS. This subject is properly restricted to the penalty imposed on the commission of some crime or offence against law. It is thus distinguished from private retaliation or revenge, cruelty, torture, popular violence, certain customs of war, etc. Human punishments are such as are inflicted immediately on the person of the offender, or indirectly upon his goods, etc. For the leading points in the literature of the question concerning future and divine punishment, see SOUL. *Capital punishment* is usually supposed to have been instituted at the deluge (Gen. ix. 5, 6): 'At the hand of every man's brother will I require the life of man: whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed; for in the image of God made he man.' Arnheim, however, contends that the words **אִישׁ אֶחָיו** must be rendered *his kinsman*, or near relative (compare xiii. 8, **אֲנָשִׁים אֶחָיו**, or margin), and thus explains the precept: if **הָאָדָם**, one stranger slay another, the kinsmen of the murdered man are the avengers of blood; but if he be slain by **אִישׁ אֶחָיו**, one of his own kindred, the other kinsmen must not spare the murderer,



for if they do, then divine providence will require the blood—that is, will avenge it. Certainly capital punishment for murder was not inflicted on Cain, who was purposely preserved from death by divine interposition (iv. 14, 15), and was simply doomed to banishment from the scene of his crime to a distant country, to a total disappointment in agricultural labour, and to the life of a fugitive and a vagabond, far from the manifested presence of the Lord (11, 14); although the same reason existed in equal force in his case, namely, the creation of man in the image of God. We are inclined to regard the whole of the ‘blessing’ pronounced upon the *Noachidae*, including this precept, as intended to encourage them to re-people the earth, by promises, etc., corresponding to the misgivings which were naturally created by the catastrophe they had just escaped; such as a *continuation* of the dread of man in the inferior creatures, a reinstatement of man in dominion over them (comp. i. 28), an assurance of God’s high regard for human life, notwithstanding his late destruction of all but themselves, and the institution of the most natural and efficient mode of preserving it, by assigning the punishment of homicide to the nearest of kin—no doubt, however, under the superintendence of the head of every family, who appears to have been the legislator till the reconstitution of things, spiritual and civil, at Sinai, when this among other ancient laws was retained, perhaps unavoidably, but at the same time regulated (Num. xxxv. 9-34). This interpretation would account for the custom of blood-revenge among all the ancient and Asiatic nations. Certainly those who *generalise* this precept into an authority for capital punishment by courts of law in *Christian* nations, ought, by parity of reason, to regard the prohibition of blood (Gen. ix. 4) of equal obligation. The punishment of death appears among the legal powers of Judah, as the head of his family, and he ordered his daughter-in-law Tamar to be burnt (xxxviii. 24). It is denounced by the king of the Philistines, Abimelech, against those of his people who should injure or insult Isaac or his wife (xxvi. 11, 29). Similar power seems to have been possessed by the reigning Pharaoh in the time of Joseph (xli. 13).

In proceeding to consider the punishments enacted by Moses, reference will be made to the Scriptures only, because, as Michaelis observes, the explanation of the laws of Moses is not to be sought in the Jewish commentators. Nor will it be necessary to specify the punishments ordered by him for different offences, which will be found under their respective names. [ADULTERY; IDOLATRY, etc.] The extensive prescription of capital punishment by the Mosaic law, which we cannot consider as a dead letter, may be accounted for by the peculiar circumstances of the people. They were a nation of newly-emancipated slaves, and were by nature perhaps more than commonly intractable; and if we may judge by the laws enjoined on them, which Mr. Hume well remarks are a safe index to the manners and disposition of any people, we must infer that they had imbibed all the degenerating influences of slavery among heathens. Their wanderings and isolation did not admit of penal settlements or remedial punishments. They were placed under immediate divine government and surveillance. Hence, wilful offences evinced an incorrigibleness which rendered

death the only means of ridding the community of such transgressors; and which was ultimately resorted to in regard to all individuals above a certain age, in order that a better class might enter Canaan (Num. xiv. 29, 32, 35). If capital punishment in Christian nations be defended from the Mosaic law, it ought in fairness to be extended to all the cases sanctioned by that law, and among the rest, as Paley argues, to the doing of any work on the Sabbath day (*Mor. Phil.*, b. v. ch. 7). We have the highest authority for saying, that the Mosaic law of divorce was a condescension to circumstances (Matt. xix. 8)—a condescension which may have extended somewhat further.

The *mode of capital punishment*, which constitutes a material element in the character of any law, was probably as humane as the circumstances of Moses admitted. It was probably restricted to lapidation or stoning, which, by skilful management, might produce instantaneous death. It was an Egyptian custom (Exod. viii. 26). The public effusion of blood by decapitation cannot be proved to have been a Mosaic punishment, nor even an Egyptian; for, in the instance of Pharaoh’s chief baker (Gen. xl. 19), ‘Pharaoh shall lift up thine head from off thee,’ the marginal rendering seems preferable, ‘shall reckon thee and take thine office from thee.’ He is said to have been ‘hanged’ (xli. 13); which may possibly mean posthumous exposure, though no independent evidence appears of this custom in ancient Egypt (Wilkinson’s *Manners and Customs*, vol. ii. p. 45). The appearance of decapitation, ‘slaying by the sword,’ in later times (2 Sam. iv. 8; xx. 21, 22; 2 Kings x. 6-8), has no more relation to the Mosaic law than the decapitation of John the Baptist by Herod (Matt. xiv. 8-12); or than the hewing to pieces of Agag before the Lord by Samuel, as a punishment *in kind* (1 Sam. xvi. 33); or than the office of the Cherethites, כרתים (2 Sam. viii. 18; xv. 18; xx. 7, 23), or headsmen, as Gesenius understands by the word, from כרת, ‘to chop off’ or ‘hew down’ (executioners belonging to the body-guard of the king); whereas execution was ordered by Moses, probably adopting an ancient custom, to be begun first by the witnesses, a regulation which constituted a tremendous appeal to their moral feelings, and afterwards to be completed by the people (Deut. xiii. 10; xvii. 7; Josh. vii. 25; John viii. 7). It was a later innovation that immediate execution should be done by some personal attendant, by whom the office was probably considered as an honour (2 Sam. i. 15; iv. 12). Stoning, therefore, was probably the only capital punishment ordered by Moses. It is observable that neither this nor any other punishment was, according to his law, attended with insult or torture (comp. 2 Maccab. vii.). Nor did his laws admit of those horrible mutilations practised by other nations. For instance, he prescribed stoning for adulterers (comp. Lev. xx. 10; Ezek. xxiii. 25; xvi. 38, 40; John viii. 5); but the Chaldeans cut off the noses of such offenders (Ezek. xxiii. 25). According to Diodorus, the Egyptian monarch Actisanes punished robbers in like manner, and banished them to the confines of the desert, where a town was built called Rhinocolura, from the peculiar nature of their punishment, and where they were compelled to live by their industry in a barren and inhospitable region (i. 60). Mutilation of such a nature amounts to a perpetual condemnation to infamy and



crime. It will shortly be seen that the *lex talionis*, 'an eye for an eye,' etc., was adopted by Moses as the *principle*, but not the mode of punishment. He seems also to have understood the true end of punishment, which is not to gratify the antipathy of society against crime, nor moral vengeance, which belongs to God alone, but prevention. 'All the people shall hear and fear, and do no more so presumptuously' (Deut. xvii. 13; xix. 20). His laws are equally free from the characteristic of savage legislation, that of involving the family of the offender in his punishment. He did not allow parents to be put to death for their children, nor children for their parents (Deut. xxiv. 16), as did the Chaldeans (Dan. vi. 24) and the kings of Israel (comp. 1 Kings xxi. ; 2 Kings ix. 26). Various punishments were introduced among the Jews, or became known to them by their intercourse with other nations—viz., *precipitation*, or throwing or causing to leap from the top of a rock, to which 10,000 Idumæans were condemned by Amaziah, king of Judah (2 Chron. xxv. 12). The inhabitants of Nazareth intended a similar fate for our Lord (Luke iv. 29). This punishment resembles that of the Tarpeian rock among the Romans. *Dichotomy*, or *cutting asunder*, appears to have been a Babylonian custom (Dan. ii. 5; iii. 29; Luke xii. 46; Matt. xxiv. 51); but the passages in the gospels admit of the milder interpretation of scourging with severity, discarding from office, etc. *Beating to death*, *τυμωανσμός*, was a Greek punishment for slaves. It was inflicted on a wooden frame, which probably derived its name from resembling a drum or timbrel in form, on which the criminal was bound and beaten to death (2 Maccab. vi. 19, 28; comp. v. 30). In Josephus (*de Maccab.*) the same instrument is called *τροχός*, or 'wheel' (secs. 5, 9). Hence to beat upon the tympanum, to drum to death, is similar to 'breaking on the wheel' (Heb. xi. 35). David inflicted this among other cruelties upon the inhabitants of Rabbath-ammon (1 Chron. xx. 3). *Fighting with wild beasts* was a Roman punishment, to which criminals and captives in war were sometimes condemned (Adam, *Roman Antiq.*, p. 344; 2 Tim. iv. 17; comp. 1 Cor. xv. 32). *Drowning* with a heavy weight around the neck, was a Syrian, Greek, and Roman punishment. This, therefore, being the custom of the enemies of the Jews, was introduced by our Lord to heighten his admonitions (Matt. xviii. 6). Josephus records that the Galileans, revolting from their commanders, drowned the partizans of Herod (*Antiq.* xiv. 15. 10). The Persians had a singular punishment for great criminals. A high tower was filled a great way up with ashes, the criminal was thrown into it, and the ashes, by means of a wheel, were continually stirred up and raised about him till he was suffocated (2 Maccab. xiii. 4-6). *The lion's den* was a Babylonian punishment (Dan. vi.), and is still customary in Fez and Morocco (see accounts of by Hoest, c. ii. p. 77). *Bruising and pounding to death in a mortar* is alluded to in Prov. xxvii. 22. For crucifixion, see the Article.

*Posthumous insults* offered to the dead bodies of criminals, though common in other nations, were very sparingly allowed by Moses. He permitted only hanging on a tree or gibbet; but the exposure was limited to a day, and burial of the body at night was commanded (Deut. xxi. 22). Such persons were esteemed 'cursed of God' (comp.

Josh. viii. 29; x. 26; 2 Sam. iv. 12)—a law which the later Jews extended to crucifixion (John xix. 31, etc.; Gal. iii. 13). *Hanging alive* may have been a Canaanitish punishment, since it was practised by the *Gibeonites* on the sons of Saul (2 Sam. xxi. 9). Another posthumous insult in later times consisted in heaping stones on the body or grave of the executed criminal (Josh. vii. 25, 26). To 'make heaps' of houses or cities is a phrase denoting complete and ignominious destruction (Is. xxv. 2; Jer. ix. 11). *Burning the dead body* seems to have been a very ancient posthumous insult. It was denounced by Judah against his daughter-in-law Tamar, when informed that she was with child (Gen. xxxviii. 24). Selden thinks that this means merely branding on the forehead (*De Jure N. et G.*, vii. 5). Moses retained this ancient ignominy for two offences only, which from the nature of things must have been comparatively rare—viz., for *bigamy* with a mother and her daughter (Lev. xx. 14), and for the case of a priest's daughter who committed whoredom (xxi. 9). Though 'burning' only be specified in these cases, it may be safely inferred that the previous death of the criminals, probably by lapidation, is to be understood (comp. Josh. vii. 25). Among the heathens this merciful preliminary was not always observed, as, for instance, in the case of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego (Dan. iii.)

Among the *minor corporal punishments* ordered by Moses, was scourging, or the infliction of blows on the back of an offender with a rod. It was limited by him to forty stripes—a number which the Jews in later times were so careful not to exceed, that they inflicted but thirty-nine (2 Cor. xi. 24). It was to be inflicted on the offender lying on the ground, in the presence of a judge (Lev. xix. 20; Deut. xxii. 18; xxv. 2, 3). We have abundant evidence that it was an ancient Egyptian punishment. Nor was it unusual for Egyptian superintendents to stimulate labourers to their work by the persuasive powers of the stick. Women received the stripes on the back, while sitting, from the hand of a man; and boys also, sometimes with their hands tied behind them. The modern inhabitants of the valley of the Nile retain the predilection of their forefathers for this punishment. The Moslem say, 'Nezel min e'semma e'nebóot báraka min Allah:' 'The stick came down from heaven a blessing from God.' Corporal punishment of this kind was allowed by Moses, by masters to servants or slaves of both sexes (Exod. xxi. 20). Scourging was common in after times among the Jews, who associated with it no disgrace or inconvenience beyond the physical pain it occasioned, and from which no station was exempt (Prov. xvii. 26; comp. x. 13; Jer. xxxvii. 15-20). Hence it became the symbol for correction in general (Ps. lxxxix. 32). Solomon is a zealous advocate for its use in education (Prov. xiii. 24; xxiii. 13, 14; comp. Eccles. xxx. 1). In his opinion 'the blueness of a wound cleanseth away evil, and stripes the inward parts of the belly' (Prov. xx. 30). It was inflicted for ecclesiastical offences in the synagogue (Matt. x. 17; Acts xxvi. 11). The Mosaic law, however, respecting it, affords a pleasing contrast to the extreme and unlimited scourging known among the Romans, but which, according to the Porcian law, could not be inflicted upon a Roman citizen (Cicero, *Pro Rabirio*, 3; *ad Famil.* x. 32; *in Verrem*, v. 53; comp. Acts



xvi. 22-37; xxii. 25). Reference to the scourge with scorpions—*i.e.*, a whip or scourge armed with knots or thorns—occurs in 1 Kings xii. 11. So in Latin, *scorpio* means 'virga nodosa vel aculeata.'

*Retaliation*, the lex talionis of the Latins, and the ἀντιπεπονθός of the Greeks, is doubtless the most natural of all kinds of punishment, and would be the most just of all, if it could be instantaneously and universally inflicted. But, when delayed, it is apt to degenerate into revenge. Hence the desirableness that it should be regulated and modified by law. The one-eyed man, mentioned by Diodorus Siculus (xii.), complained that if he lost his remaining eye, he would then suffer more than his victim, who would still have one left. Phavorinus argues against this law, which was one of the twelve tables, as not admitting literal execution, because the same member was more valuable to one man than another: for instance, the right hand of a scribe or painter could not be so well spared as that of a singer. Hence that law, in later times, was administered with the modification, 'Ni cum eo pacet,' except the aggressor came to an agreement with the mutilated person, *de talione redimenda*, to redeem the punishment by making compensation. Moses accordingly adopted the principle, but lodged the application of it in the judge. 'If a man blemish his neighbour, as he hath done so shall it be done to him. Life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, wound for wound, stripe for stripe, breach for breach' (Exod. xxi. 23-25; Lev. xxiv. 19-22). His system of compensations, etc., occurs in Exod. xxi. He, however, makes wilful murder, even of a slave, always capital, as did the Egyptians. Roman masters had an absolute right over the life of their slaves (Juvenal, vi. 219). The Egyptians doomed the false accuser to the same punishment which he endeavoured to bring on his victim, as did Moses (Deut. xix. 19). Imprisonment, not as a punishment, but custody till the royal pleasure was known, appears among the Egyptians (Gen. xxxix. 20, 21). Moses adopted it for like purposes (Lev. xxiv. 12). In later times it appears as a punishment inflicted by the kings of Judah and Israel (2 Chron. xvi. 10; 1 Kings xxii. 27; Jer. xxxvii. 21); and during the Christian era, as in the instance of John (Matt. iv. 12), and Peter (Acts xii. 4). Murderers and debtors were also committed to prison; and the latter 'tormented' till they paid (Matt. xviii. 30; Luke xxiii. 19). A common prison is mentioned (Acts v. 18); and also an inner prison or dungeon, which was sometimes a pit (Jer. xxxviii. 6), in which were 'stocks' (Jer. xx. 2; xxix. 26; Acts xvi. 24). Prisoners are alluded to (Job iii. 18), and stocks (xiii. 27). Banishment was impracticable among the Jews. It was inflicted by the Romans on John (Rev. i. 9). *Cutting or plucking off the hair* is alluded to (Is. l. 6; Neh. xiii. 25). *Excision*, or 'cutting off from his people,' is denounced against the uncircumcised as early as the covenant with Abraham (Gen. xvii. 14). This punishment is expressed in the Mosaic law by the formulæ—'that soul shall be destroyed from its people' (Lev. xvii. 9, 10); 'from Israel' (Exod. xii. 15); 'from the midst of the congregation' (Num. xix. 20); 'it shall be destroyed' (Lev. xvii. 14; xx. 17); which terms sometimes denote capital punishment (Exod. xxxi. 14; comp. xxxv. 2; Num. xv. 32, etc.) [ANATHHEMA.]

*Ecclesiastical punishments* are prescribed, as might be expected, under a theocracy, but these were moderate. Involuntary transgressions of the Levitical law, whether of omission or commission, were atoned for by a sin-offering (Lev. iv. 2, etc.; v. 1, 4-7). This head embraced a rash or neglected oath, keeping back evidence in court (Lev. iv. 2, etc.; v. 1; iv. 7), breach of trust, concealment of property when found, or theft, even when the offender had already cleared himself by oath, but was now moved by conscience to make restitution. By these means, and by the payment of twenty per cent beyond the amount of his trespass, the offender might cancel the crime as far as the church was concerned (Lev. vi. 1-7; Num. v. 6-10). Adultery with a slave was commuted from death to stripes and a trespass-offering (Lev. xix. 20-22). All these cases involved public confession and the expenses of the offering.

*Future punishment*.—Though the doctrine of a future state was known to the ancient Hebrews, yet temporal punishment and reward were the immediate motives held out to obedience. Hence the references in the O. T. to punishment in a future state are obscure and scanty. [See HADES; HEAVEN; HELL.]—J. F. D.

PUNON, one of the stations of the Israelites in the desert. [WANDERING.]

PURIFICATIONS. [ABLUTIONS; UNCLEANNES.]

PURIM (פּוּרִים), the annual festival instituted by Mordecai, at the suggestion of Esther, to commemorate the wonderful deliverance of the Jews from the destruction with which they were threatened through the designs of Haman.

1. *Name of the Festival and its Signification*.—The name פּוּרִים (singular פּוּר), which is derived from the Persian *parē*, cognate with *pars*, *part*, and which is explained in Esther (iii. 7; ix. 24) by the Hebrew גּוּרַל, *lot*, has been given to this festival because it records the casting of lots by Haman to ascertain when he should carry into effect the decree which the king issued for the extermination of the Jews (Esther ix. 24). The name Φορπαλ, which, as Schleusner (*Lex. in LXX.*, s. v. Φορπαλ) and others rightly maintain, is a corruption of Φορπαλ, is the Greek pronunciation of the Hebrew term. In 2 Maccab. xv. 36, this festival is denominated ἡ Μαρδοχαϊκὴ ἡμέρα.

2. *The manner in which it was and still is observed*.—All that the Bible tells us about it is that Mordecai ordered the 14th and 15th of Adar to be kept annually by the Jews, both night and day, that these two days are to be made days of feasting and of joy as well as of interchange of presents and of sending gifts to the poor, and that the Jews agreed to continue to observe this festival every year in the same manner as they had begun it (Esther ix. 17-24). No further directions are given about its observance, and the Bible here, as elsewhere, left the rites and ceremonies to develop themselves with the circumstances of the nation. The following is the mode in which this festival is kept at the present day. The day preceding the festival—*i.e.*, the 13th of Adar—is kept as a fast day, and is called the *Fast of Esther*, תַּעֲנִית אֶסְתֵּר, in accordance with the command of this Jewish queen (Esther iv. 5, 6); and sundry prayers expressive of repentance, humiliation, etc. (סְלִיחוֹת), are intro-



duced into the regular ritual for the day. As on all the fast days, Exod. xxxii. 11-14; xxxiv. 1-11, is read as the lesson from the Law, and Is. lv. 6-lvi. 9, as the Haphtara. If the 13th of Adar falls on a Sabbath, the fast takes place on the Thursday previous, as no fasting is allowed on this sacred day, nor on the preparation-day for the Sabbath. Some people fast three days, as Esther enjoined it at first. On the evening of this fast day—i.e., the 13th of Adar—the festival commences, when all the Israelites resort to the synagogue, and after the evening service the Book of Esther, called *kar'*

ἐξοχὴν, the *Megilla* (מגילה, the *Roll*), is read by the prelector. Before commencing to read it he pronounces the following benediction: 'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, king of the universe, who hast sanctified us with thy commandments, and hast enjoined us to read the *Megilla*! Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, king of the universe, who hast wrought miracles for our forefathers in those days and at this time. Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, king of the universe, who hast preserved us alive, sustained us, and brought us to this season! The *Megilla* is then read. As often as the reader pronounces the name of Haman, the congregation stamp on the floor, saying, 'Let his name be blotted out. The name of the wicked shall rot!' whilst the children spring rattles. The passage in which the names of Haman and his sons occur (ix. 7-9) is read very rapidly, and if possible in one breath, to signify that they were all hung at the same time, the congregation stamping and rattling all the time. It is for this reason that this passage is written in the MSS. in larger letters than the rest, and that the names are arranged under one another. After the *Megilla* is read through, the following benediction is pronounced by the reader, 'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, king of the universe, who hast contended our contest, judged our cause, hast avenged our wrongs, requited all the enemies of our souls, and hast delivered us from our oppressors. Blessed art thou who hast delivered thy people from all their oppressors, thou Lord of salvation!'

In the morning of the 14th of Adar the Jews again resort to the synagogue, insert several appointed prayers into the ordinary daily ritual; Exod. xvii. 8-16 is read as the lesson from the Law, and the *Megilla* or the Book of Esther as the Haphtara, under the same circumstances as those of the previous evening. The rest of the festival is spent in great rejoicings, presents are sent backwards and forwards amongst friends and relations, and gifts are liberally forwarded to the poor.

From the canons which obtained in the time of Christ, we learn that the *Megilla* had to be written in Hebrew characters, on good parchment, and with ink (*Mishna, Megilla*, ii. 2); that if the 14th of Adar fell on a Tuesday or Wednesday, the inhabitants of villages read the *Megilla* on the Monday in advance, or a Thursday, because the country people came to town to attend the markets and the synagogues in which the law was read and tribunals held (*Megilla*, i. 1-3); that any one was qualified to read it except deaf people, fools, and minors (*Ibid.*, ii. 4), and that it was lawful to read it in a foreign language to those who understood foreign languages (*Ibid.* ii. 1). But though the *Mishna* allows it to be read in other languages, yet the *Megilla* is generally read in Hebrew, and

Mr. S. Clark, the writer of the article PURIM in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, is certainly wrong when he says that the reader 'makes comments on particular passages,' as any one may convince himself by going to the synagogue on this festival. The rejoicings continue on the 15th, and the festival terminates on the evening of this day. During the whole of the festival the Jews may engage in trade, or any labour, if they are so inclined, as there is no prohibition against it. So popular was this festival in the days of Christ, that Josephus tells us, 'that even now, all the Jews that are in the habitable earth keep these days festivals, and send portions to one another' (*Antiq.* xi. 6. 13), and certainly its popularity has not diminished in the present day. For the much-disputed question whether ἐορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων in John v. 1 means the feast of Purim, we must refer to the commentaries on St. John's Gospel.—C. D. G.

#### PURPLE. [COLOURS.]

PURVER, ANTHONY, was born at Up-Hursborn, in Hampshire, about 1702. Though his early education was very limited, his capacity and inclination for the acquisition of learning were very great. Determined to study the original languages of the Scriptures, he secured the assistance of a Jew in the acquisition of Hebrew, Chaldee, etc., and other aid for learning Greek and Latin. He joined the Society of Friends, and was a minister among them. Whilst labouring as a schoolmaster he occupied himself in preparing a new version of the Scriptures; and this, after spending more than 30 years over it, he published, by the aid of Dr. Fothergill, who gave him £1000, and carried it through the press at his own expense. It appeared in 1764, entitled, *A New Translation of the O. and N. T., with Notes, Critical and Explanatory*, in two volumes fol., beautifully got up. Notwithstanding the enormous labour bestowed upon it by its author, and though there is now and then a better rendering to be found in it than in the A. V., Purver's translation, as a whole, is not of much critical value. The style is crude and bombastic, the very reverse of what might have been expected from a member of the society whose language is so simple; whilst the notes, though containing much valuable matter, abound in contemptuous expressions about the labours of others in the same department. Purver's Bible is therefore deservedly scarce. He died in 1777, in the seventy-fifth year of his age.—C. D. G.

PURVEY, JOHN, the friend and fellow-labourer of Wycliffe, with whom he lived in his latter years. His denunciations of the errors of the Romish Church, as well as his endeavours to make the Bible accessible to the people at large, by translating it into English, drew upon him the severest penalties which it was in the power of the hierarchy to inflict. He was forbidden, by a mandate of the Bishop of Bristol, dated Aug. 1387, to preach in the diocese where he officiated after the death of Wycliffe; his books were declared as erroneous and heretical, and were among those which the bishops of Worcester, Salisbury, and Hereford were authorised to seize (May 29, 1388; Jan. 18, Dec. 16, 1389). Some years after, however, he made a recantation at St. Paul's Cross (Sunday, March 6, 1401), and was admitted (Aug. 11, 1401), on the presentation of the Archdeacon of Canterbury, to

the vicarage of Westthite in Kent, which he resigned Oct. 8, 1403. He then returned to the simple teaching of the Bible, denouncing the erroneous doctrines of the church, for which he was again imprisoned, and, in 1421, recanted a second time at Saltwood before Archbishop Arundel. He is supposed to have died about 1427. Purvey immortalised his name through his translation of the Scriptures into English. As the Bible, of late translated by Wycliffe, required correction, he tells us in the general introduction that he undertook to make the version more faithful, intelligible, and popular. The plan which he adopted to effect this, according to his own description, was as follows:—With the assistance of several fellow-labourers he (*i.*) corrected the Latin text by comparison of Bibles, doctors, and glosses; (*ii.*) Studied the text thus corrected with the gloss and other authorities, particularly de Lyra on the O. T. [LYRA]; (*iii.*) Made special reference to the works of grammarians and theologians for the meaning of difficult words and passages; and (*iv.*) Did not translate literally but according to the sense and meaning as clearly as he could, taking care to have many persons of ability present at the correction of the translation. He inserted numerous textual glosses in the O. T., and only occasionally omitted those of Wycliffe's version, but made no such insertions in the N. T., and carefully excluded all the glosses which were introduced into the former version. That he improved upon Wycliffe's translation is beyond doubt, as may be seen from a comparison of the following passages in the respective versions:—Gen. ix. 13; Exod. xxix. 2; Deut. xxxii. 2; xxxiii. 7; Josh. v. 15; vi. 25; Job x. 1; xi. 12; xiv. 12; Matt. xii. 5; xiii. 52; 1 Cor. iii. 13-15; which are pointed out by the erudite editors, the Rev. Josiah Forshall and Sir Frederic Madden, who for the first time published this early English version, together with Wycliffe's translation, in an entire form, in parallel columns, four volumes 4to, Oxford University Press, 1850. Purvey's translation of the N. T. was first published by Lewis, London 1731, fol., as Wycliffe's translation; it was then erroneously reprinted as Wycliffe's by Baber, London 1810, 4to, and by Bagster in the English Hexapla. Comp. Foxe, *The Acts and Monuments*, Townsend's edition, vol. iii. pp. 285, 292, 822, 826, London 1844; and the elaborate preface by Forshall and Madden to their edition of Wycliffe's and Purvey's translations of the Bible.—C. D. G.

PUTEOLI (Ποιόλοι), a maritime town of Campania, in Italy, on the north shore of the bay of Naples, and about eight miles north-west from the city of that name, where it still exists under the name of Pozzuoli. It derived its name from its tepid baths, whence the district in which it exists is now called Terra di Lavoro. The ancient Greek name of the place was Δικαίρχεια. It was a favourite watering-place of the Romans, as its numerous hot-springs were judged efficacious for the cure of various diseases. It was also the port where ships usually discharged their passengers and cargoes, partly to avoid doubling the promontory of Circeium, and partly because there was no commodious harbour nearer to Rome. Hence the ship in which Paul was conveyed from Melita landed the prisoners at this place, where the apostle stayed for a week (Acts xxviii. 13). The harbour

was protected by a celebrated mole, the remains of which are still to be seen.

PYGARG. [DISHON.]

PLYLE, THOMAS, born at Stodey in Norfolk in 1674, was ordained in 1698 to a curacy at King's Lynn, where he became greatly distinguished as a preacher, and was appointed lecturer at the chapel of St. Nicholas. He published, before 1718, six sermons in defence of the succession of the House of Brunswick. He afterwards distinguished himself in the famous Bangorian controversy, which arose out of a sermon preached by Hoadley, bishop of Bangor, before George I., on the text, 'My kingdom is not of this world,' to prove that the clergy ought to have no temporal jurisdiction. He sided with the bishop, who rewarded him with the gift of a canonry in Salisbury cathedral, when he was himself translated to that see. His views of Christian doctrine, like those of Hoadley, were strongly tainted with Socinianism—so much so, as to be a bar to that advancement in the church which his talents and political principles might otherwise have gained for him. His Biblical works were—1. *A Paraphrase, with Notes on the Acts of the Apostles and Epistles*, London 1737 and 1765, 2 vols. 8vo. This is a supplement to Dr. Samuel Clarke's *Paraphrase on the Four Gospels*. 2. *The Scripture Preservative against Popery; being a Paraphrase with Notes on the Revelation of St. John*, 1735, 1795, 8vo.. 3. *A Paraphrase, with Short and Useful Notes on the Books of the Old Testament*, published from time to time between 1715 and 1725, and united under one title in an edition of 1738, 4 vols. 8vo. Father Chais has made use of this work in the Bible, with a commentary drawn from several English authors, which he published at the Hague, in 8 vols., from 1763 to 1790.—M. H.

Q.

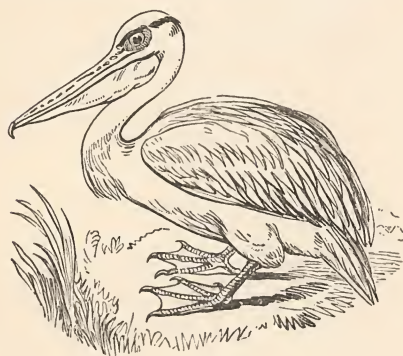
QAATH (קֶאֶת; Syr. ܩܐܬܐ, *qogo*; Arab. قوق, *quq*; LXX. πελεκάν). By this is denoted the *Pelican*. The name is supposed to be derived from the action of throwing up food, which the bird really effects when discharging the contents of the bag beneath its bill (*vomitor*, from נִקֵּי, Ges.) But it may be suggested, as not unlikely, that all the above names are imitative of the voice of the pelican, which, although seldom heard in captivity, is uttered frequently at the periods of migration, and is compared to the braying of an ass. It may be likewise that this characteristic has influenced several translators of the Hebrew text in substituting on some, or on all occasions, where *Qaath* occurs, *bittern* for *pelican*, but we think without sufficient reason [KIPPOD; BITTERN]. *Qaath* is found in Lev. xi. 18; Deut. xiv. 17; Ps. cii. 6; Is. xxxiv. 11; Zeph. ii. 14.

Pelicans are chiefly tropical birds, equal or superior in bulk to the common swan; they have powerful wings, fly at a great elevation, are partially gregarious, and though some always remain in their favourite subsolar regions, most of them migrate to our hemisphere with the northern spring, occupy Syria, the lakes and rivers of temperate Asia, and extend westward into Europe up the



Danube into Hungary, and northward to some rivers of southern Russia. They likewise frequent salt-water marshes, and the shallows of harbours, but seldom alight on the open sea, though they are said to dart down upon fish from a considerable height.

The face of the pelican is naked; the bill long, broad, and flat, is terminated by a strong crooked and crimson-coloured nail, which, when fish is pressed out of the pouch, and the bird is at rest, is seen reposing upon the crop, and then may be



445.

fancied to represent an ensanguined spot. This may have occasioned the fabulous tale which represents the bird as wounding her own bared breast to revive its young brood; for that part of the bag which is visible then appears like a naked breast, all the feathers of the body being white or slightly tinged with rose colour, except the great quills, which are black. The feet have all the toes united by broad membranes, and are of a nearly orange colour. *Pelicanus onocrotalus*, the species here noticed, is the most widely spread of the genus, being supposed to be identical at the Cape of Good Hope and in India, as well as in western Asia. It is very distinctly represented in ancient Egyptian paintings, where the birds are seen in numbers congregated among reeds, and the natives collecting basketfuls of their eggs. They still frequent the marshes of the Delta of the Nile, and the islands of the river high up the country, and resort to the lakes of Palestine, excepting the Dead Sea. With regard to the words 'of the wilderness or desert,' often added to the pelican's name in consequence of their occurrence in Ps. cii. 6, there is not sufficient ground to infer from them any peculiar capability in the genus to occupy remote solitudes; for they live on fish, and generally nestle in reedy abodes; and man, in all regions, equally desirous to possess food, water, and verdure, occupies the same localities for the same reasons. We think the Psalmist refers to one isolated by circumstances from the usual haunts of these birds, and casually nestling among rocks, where water, and consequently food, begins to fail in the dry season, as is commonly the case eastward of the Jordan—a such a supposition offering an image of misery and desolation forcibly applicable to the context.—C. H. S.

QALI (קָלִי). [FOOD.]

QANEH. [KANEH.]

QAYITS (קַיִץ). [FRUITS.]

QERACH. [KERACH.]

QETSACH. [KETZACH.]

QETZIAH. [KETZIOTH.]

QIDDAH. [KIDDAH.]

QINNAMON. [KINNAMON.]

QIPPOD. [KIPPOD.]

QIPPOZ (קִּפּוֹז). This is rendered in the A. V. by 'great owl' (Is. xxxiv. 15). Bochart has shewn, however, that the word denotes the *arrow-snake*, *serpens jaculus*, the same as the Arab. قَفَاةٌ, *qiphphaza* (Hieroz., bk. i. ch. 9). It abounds in Arabia; it springs suddenly and with much vigour on its victim, and its sting is fatal.—W. L. A.

QIQAYON. [KIKAYON.]

QISHUIM. [KISHUIM.]

QORE (קֹרֶה, 1 Sam. xxvi. 20; Jer. xvii. 11; Sept. κέρδιξ; Vulg. *perdix*, Ecclus. xi. 30). Late commentators state that there are four species of the *tetrao* (grouse) of Linnæus abundant in Palestine; the francolin (*T. francolinus*), the katta (*T. alchata*), the red-legged or Barbary partridge (*T. petrosus*), and the Greek partridge (*T. saxatilis*). In this now obsolete classification there are included not less than three genera, according to the more correct systems of recent writers, and not one strictly a grouse occurs in the number, though the real *T. Urogallus*, or cock of the woods, is reported to frequent Asia Minor in winter, and in that case is probably no stranger in Libanus. There is, however, the genus *Pterocles*, of which the *P. alchata* is the katta, ganga, cata, and pin-tailed grouse of authors, a species very common in Palestine, and innumerable in Arabia; but it is not the only one, for the sand-grouse of Latham (*P. arenarius*) occurs in France, Spain, Barbary, Arabia, Persia, and on the north side of the Mediterranean, or all round Palestine. *P. Arabicus*, and probably *P. exustus*, or the Arabian and singed gangas, occur equally in the open districts of the south, peopling the desert along with the ostrich. All are distinguished from other genera of *Tetraonidae* by their long and powerful wings, enabling them to reach water, which they delight to drink in abundance; and by this propensity they often indicate to the thirsty caravan in what direction to find relief. They feed more on insects, larvæ, and worms than on seeds, and none of the species having a perfect hind toe that reaches the ground, they run fast: these characteristics are of some importance in determining whether they were held to be really clean birds, and consequently could be the *selav* of the Israelites, which our versions have rendered 'quail.' [SELAV.]

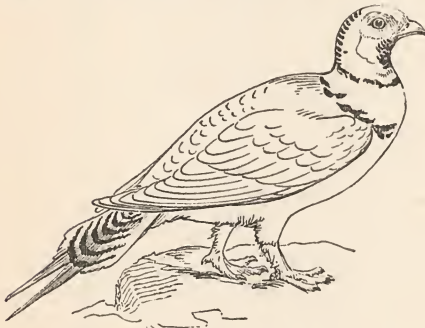
The Francolin forms a second genus, whereof *F. vulgaris*, or the common tree-partridge, is the Syrian species best known, though most likely not the only one of that country. It is larger than the ganga; the male is always provided with one pair of spurs (though others of the genus have two), and has the tail longer than true partridges. This species is valued for the table, is of handsome plumage, and common from Spain and France, on both sides of the Mediterranean, eastward to Bengal.

The partridge is a third genus, reckoning in Syria the two species before named, both red-legged and furnished with orange and black cres-



446. Partridge of Syria. *Francolinus Vulgaris*.

cents on the sides; but the other markings differ, and the Barbary species is smaller than the Greek. They are inferior in delicacy to the common partridge, and it is probable that *Perdix rufa*, and the



447. The Katta. *Pterocles Alchata*.

Caspian partridge, both resembling the former in many particulars, are no strangers in Syria.

The expostulation of David with Saul, where he says, 'The king of Israel is come out to seek a flea, as when one doth hunt a partridge on the mountains,' is perfectly natural; for the red-legged partridges are partial to upland brushwood, which is not an uncommon character of the hills and mountains of Palestine; and the koria sitting on her eggs and not hatching them (Jer. xvii. 11), we take to allude to the liability of the nest being trodden under foot, or robbed by carnivorous animals, notwithstanding all the care and interesting manœuvres of the parent birds to save it or the brood; for this genus is monogamous, nestles on the ground, and both male and female sit and anxiously watch over the safety of their young.

The name *Qorè*, is, we think, derived from the voice of a bird, and more than one species of bustard is thereby indicated in various tongues to the extremity of Africa and of India; among which *Otis cory* and *Otis Arabs* are so called at this day, although the first-mentioned resides on the plains of Western India, the second in Arabia. We take both these, however, to be the same species. 'Cory' is likewise applied in Caffraria to a bustard, which from an indigenous word has been converted

by the Dutch into knorhaan. Notwithstanding the pretended etymology of the word, by which it is made to indicate a long beak, none of the genus, not even *Otis Denhami* (a large bird of Northern Africa), has it long, it being, in fact, middle-sized in all. Thus it would appear that the type of the name belongs to *Otis*, and it might be maintained that species of that genus were known to the Hebrews, by their name קֹרָא, *kora* or *koria*, were it not for the fact that birds bearing this name were hunted by the Hebrews, which could not well have been the case had they not included other genera; for bustards, being without a hind toe, were considered unclean, while partridges having it were clean. The ganga or katta, being provided with a small incomplete one, may have offered an instance where the judgment of the priesthood must have decided. We give figures of both *Francolinus vulgaris* and *Pterocles alchata*.—C. H. S.

QOTZ. [KOTZ.]

QUAIL. [SELAV.]

QUARTUS (*Kobaptos*), a Christian, resident a Corinth, and, from his name, apparently a Roman, whose salutations Paul communicated to the church of Rome in his epistle thereto (Rom. xvi. 23). In the old church books he is alleged to have been one of the seventy disciples, which is altogether unlikely; and it is on the same authority stated that he was eventually bishop of the church at Berytus.—J. K.

QUATERNION (*τετραδιον*), 'a quaternion of soldiers' (Acts xii. 4), was a detachment of four men, which was the usual number of a Roman night-watch. Peter, therefore, was guarded by four soldiers, two within the prison, and two outside the doors; and as the watch was usually changed every three hours, it was necessary that the 'four quaternions' mentioned in the text should be appointed for the purpose (Veget., *De Re Milit.*, ii. 8; Philo, *In Flacc.*, p. 98).—J. K.

QUEEN. The Hebrews had no word properly answering to our term 'queen,' which is the feminine of 'king;' neither had they the dignity which that word denotes. The Hebrew word usually translated 'queen' is מַלְכָּה, *gebirah*, which means 'mistress,' or 'lady,' being the feminine of מַלִּיךְ, *gebir*, 'master,' or 'lord.' The feminine is to be understood by its relation to the masculine, which is not applied to kingly power, or to kings, but to general authority and dominion. It is, in fact, the word which occurs twice with reference to Isaac's blessing of Jacob:—'Be *lord* over thy brethren;' and, 'I have made him thy *lord*' (Gen. xxvii. 29-37).

The limited use which is made even of the restricted term *gebirah* is somewhat remarkable. It is only employed twice with reference to the wife of a king. In one of these two cases it is applied to the wife of the king of Egypt, where the condition of the royal consort was more *queenly* than in Palestine (1 Kings xi. 19; comp. Wilkinson, *A. Egypt.*, ii. 59; iii. 64; v. 28); and in the other to Jezebel, the wife of Ahab, who, as the daughter of a powerful king, appears to have enjoyed peculiar privileges in her matrimonial state (2 Kings x. 13). In two other places it is not clear whether the king's wife or mother is intended (Jer. xiii. 18;



xxix. 2) ; and in the remaining passages it is pointedly referred to the king's mother in such terms as clearly show that the state which *she* held was one of positive dignity and rank (1 Kings xv. 13 ; 2 Chron. xv. 16).

There is another word, שֶׁגֹּל, *shegol*, also translated 'queen,' which simply denotes the king's wife or (in the plural) his wives, as distinguished from his concubines. It occurs in Ps. xlv. 9 ; Neh. ii. 6 ; Dan. v. 2, 3, 23.

The result of all inquiry into the subject seems to show that among the Jewish kings the usages bearing on this point were not different from those which are still exhibited in Western Asiatic courts. Where woman never becomes the head of the state, there can be no queen regnant ; and where polygamy is allowed or practised, there can be no queen consort. There will, however, be a chief wife in the harem ; and this is no doubt the rank indicated in the Bible by the words which we render 'queen.' This rank may be variously acquired. The first wife of the king, or the first whom he took *after his accession*, usually obtained it ; and if she is both of high birth and becomes the mother of the first son, her position is tolerably secure : but if she possesses neither of these advantages, she may be superseded in her position as head of the harem by a wife of higher birth and connections, subsequently espoused, or by one who becomes the mother of the heir-apparent. The king, however, will sometimes act according to his own pleasure in this matter, promote any favourite lady to this dignity, and also remove her from it at his pleasure ; but more generally he finds it convenient to follow the established routine. The king of Egypt's daughter was, doubtless, from her high rank, the chief wife of Solomon ; as was Jezebel, for the same reason, the chief wife of Ahab. In like manner the high-born mother of Absalom was probably the chief wife of David, although it is possible that the mother of the eldest son Amnon at first enjoyed that distinction, which, we may safely presume, eventually devolved on Bathsheba, after her son Solomon had been recognised as the heir (comp. Chardin, *Voyages*, edit. Langles, vi., ch. xii. ; Thornton's *Turkey*, ii. 264-286).

Very different was, and is to this day, in Western Asia, the position of the king's mother, whose state is much the nearest to that of an European queen of any with which the East is acquainted. It is founded on that essential principle of Oriental manners which in all cases considers the mother of the husband as a far superior person to his wife, and as entitled to more respect and attention. This principle should be clearly understood, for it extends throughout the Bible, and is yet entirely different from our own social arrangements, under which the mother, as soon as she becomes widowed, abandons her place as head of the family to the daughter-in-law (Urquhart, *Spirit of the East*, ii. 387, seq.)

This usage is by no means peculiar to the modern East, or to the Jews among the ancient Orientals. Heeren, indeed, thinks that the power 'of the queen-mother' was even more considerable among the ancient Persians than among the modern Turks (*Hist. Researches*, i. 400) ; and the narratives of Herodotus and Ctesias respecting the tyrannical influence exercised by Parysatis, Amestris, and others, bear ample testimony to this fact. The

careful reader of Scripture will easily be able to trace the same ideas respecting the position of the king's mother among the Israelites (comp. 1 Kings i. ii. ; xv. 13 ; 2 Kings ix. 22, 30, 37 ; x. 13 ; xi. 1, ii.)—J. K.

QUEEN OF HEAVEN. [ASHTORETH.]

QUEEN OF SHEBA. [SHEBA.]

QUESNEL, PASQUIER, was born at Paris 14th July 1634. He studied at the Sorbonne ; in 1657 he entered the congregation of the Oratory ; and two years after he was ordained priest. Having been appointed to the office of President of the Institute of the order, he composed for the benefit of the pupils a work containing moral reflections on the four gospels (Paris 1671). He subsequently extended these notes over all the N. T. books, and re-wrote those on the gospels ; the whole work appeared in 2 vols. 12mo, at Paris, in 1687, and having passed through many editions was finally revised and much enlarged by the author, and issued in 8 vols. in 1736, with the title *N. T. en françois avec des reflexions morales*. This work, at first received with much fame, was afterwards denounced, and gave rise to the famous Bull Unigenitus, in which 101 propositions from it are condemned. This, together with his having attached himself to the Jansenists, exposed Quesnel to much persecution, from which he had to take refuge in Holland. He died at Amsterdam 2d Dec. 1719. His notes have been translated into German by J. A. Gramlich, Frankf. 1718, 4to, and into English, Lond. 1719-25, 4 vols. 8vo. The part on the gospels was translated in an expurgated form ['the Popish errors expunged'] by 'a presbyter of the Church of England,' 2 vols. 8vo, Bath 1790. This was republished, with an introductory essay by Dr. D. Wilson, late Bishop of Calcutta, 3 vols. 12mo. These notes are much esteemed for their spirituality and richness.—W. L. A.

QUICKSAND (σύρτις). In Acts xxvii. 17, it is mentioned that when the ship in which Paul was embarked was driven past the Isle of Clauda on the south, the mariners, as would now be said, struck the sails and scudded under bare poles, lest they 'should fall into the quicksands.' The original word *syrtis* denotes a sandbank or shoal, dangerous to navigation, *drawn*, or supposed to be *drawn* (from σύρω, 'to draw') together by the currents of the sea. Two syrtis, or gulfs with quicksands, were particularly famous among the ancients ; one called Syrtis Major, between Cyrene and Leptis, and the other, Syrtis Minor, near Carthage. Both then lay nearly to the south-west of the west end of Crete, adjoining which, on the south, lay the Isle of Clauda. These Syrtis were the great dread of those who navigated the seas in which the vessel was driven, and one of them was probably in this case the object of alarm to the mariners. The danger was not so imaginary in this case, we apprehend, as Dr. Falconer (*Dissert. on St. Paul's Voyage*, p. 13) conceives. For the apprehension does not appear to have been entertained till the ship had been driven *past* the isle of Clauda ; which, as we take it, is mentioned merely as the last point of land which had been seen till the ship was wrecked on the isle of Melita. The position of that island must be regarded as indicating the course in which they were driven ; and if that were Malta, it is



clear, that had that course not been arrested by the intermediate shipwreck, they would in all probability have been driven upon the Syrtis Minor, which we may therefore conclude to have been the subject of their apprehension. That apprehension only becomes 'imaginary' when Meleda in the Adriatic is taken, as Dr. Falconer himself takes it, for the Melita of Scripture. It may therefore be added to the arguments in favour of Malta, that its identification with Melita gives reality to the fear entertained by the mariners, which under the other alternative must be supposed to have been imaginary. [MALTA.]

QUIRINUS. [CYRENIUS.]

QUIVER. [ARMOUR; ARMS.]

QUOTATIONS. The quotations contained in Scripture are of three classes—I. Those which the later writers of the O. T. make from the earlier, such as Micah iv. 1-3 from Is. ii. 2-4; Heb. ii. 14 from Is. xi. 9; Jon. ii. 3 from Ps. xlii. 8; ii. 5 from Ps. lxxix. 2; Obad. i. 8 from Jer. xlix. ; and several passages in the later Psalms, which are found also in the earlier. 2. The quotations made by St. Paul from heathen authors—viz., Acts xvii. 28; from Aratus, *Phaenomena*. 5; or Cleanthes, *Hymn. ad Jov.* 5; 1 Cor. xv. 33 from Menander's *Thais*; and Tit. i. 12 from Callimachus *Hymn. ad Jov.* 8, according to Theodoret, or Epimenides according to Jerome, Chrysostom, Epiphanius, and others. To these may be added Gal. v. 23, where the words *κατὰ τῶν τοιοῦτων οὐκ ἔστι νόμος* are identical with the words of Aristotle, *Pol.* iii. 8 (Gill, *Notes and Queries*, v. 175). Perhaps also Acts xiv. 17, and James i. 17, from their rhythmical form, may be quotations. 3. Those which the N. T. contains from the O. T. This third class is the most important, and the only one demanding special notice here. In regard to it there are three points requiring to be considered—I. The sources whence these quotations are taken; 2. The mode of their introduction; and 3. The purpose for which they are made.

I. *Sources whence the quotations are made.*—These are two, the Hebrew original and the Septuagint translation. On comparing the passages in order to apportion the quotations between these two sources, we find that by far the larger number are taken either wholly or chiefly from the Septuagint, while a very few materially differ from both the Septuagint and the Hebrew. The latter were probably quoted from memory; the occasion not requiring punctilious accuracy in the citation. For the most part the deviations from the text of the Hebrew or the Septuagint are not material. They may be classed as follows:—

1. Changes of person, number, or tense, in particular words. Thus in Matt. xxvi. 31, we read, *πατάξω τὸν ποιμένα, καὶ διασκορπισθήσεται τὰ πρόβατα τῆς ποιμνῆς*, whilst the LXX. gives it, *πάταξον τὸν ποιμένα, καὶ διασκορπισθήσονται,\* κ.τ.λ.*, Zech. xiii. 7. John xix. 36, *Ὅστος οὐ συντρίβεται αὐτοῦ*, for *Ὅστος οὐ συντρίψεται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ*, Exod. xii. 46. 1 Pet. ii. 24, *Ὁὐ τῷ μῶλωπι αὐτοῦ ἰδὼντες, for τῷ μῶλωπι αὐτοῦ ἰδθηνεν*, Is. liii. 5, etc. Comp. also Matt. xi. 10 with Mal. iii. 1; and John xix. 37 with Zech. xii. 4.

\* This is the reading of the Alexandrine Codex; that of the Vatican differs considerably: *πατάξατε τοὺς ποιμένας καὶ ἐκσπάσατε τὰ πρόβατα*.

2. Substitution of synonymous words or phrases for those used in the LXX. or Heb.: *ex. gr.*, John xiii. 18, *Ὁ τρώγων μετ' ἐμοῦ τὸν ἄρτον, ἐπῆρεν ἐπ' ἐμὲ τὴν πτέρην αὐτοῦ*, for *Ὁ ἐσθίων ἄρτους μου ἐμεγάλυνεν ἐπ' ἐμὲ πτερνισμόν*, Ps. xl. (xli.) 9.

Comp. Heb. viii. 8, ff. Matt. xii. 20, where *ἡμεῖς* *ἐκβάλλει εἰς νίκος τὴν κρίσιν*. Sometimes the words thus substituted are synonymous with those for which they are used only *historically*; as when Paul (Gal. iv. 30) calls Isaac *ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἐλευθέρας*, in a passage quoted from Gen. xxi. 10, where, in the words of Abraham, he is mentioned by name as *ὁ υἱὸς μου Ἰσαάκ*. Occasionally also this kind of substitution is effected by the use of a word describing a species for one designating the genus to which it belongs; as when Paul, in 1 Cor. iii. 20, substitutes the words *τῶν σοφῶν* for the more general expression *τῶν ἀνθρώπων*, used in the passage (Ps. xix. 11) which he quotes; or as in Matt. xxii. 37, where *διανοία* is put for *ἦν*, the special kind of strength intended being that of the mind.

3. Words and phrases transposed: *ex. gr.*, Rom. x. 20, *Εὐρέθην τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ζητοῦσιν, ἐμφανὲς ἐγενήθη τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ἐπερωτῶσιν*, for *Ἐμφανὲς ἐγενήθη τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ἐπερωτῶσιν, εὐρέθην τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ζητοῦσιν*, Is. lxxv. 1,\* etc.

4. Words and clauses interpolated or added: *ex. gr.*, John vi. 31, *ἄρτον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς φαγεῖν*, where the words *ἐκ τοῦ* and *φαγεῖν* are an addition (comp. Ps. lxxviii. 24). 1 Cor. xv. 45, *Ἐγένετο ὁ πρῶτος ἀνθρώπος Ἀδάμ εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν*, where the words *πρῶτος* and *Ἀδάμ* are added by the apostle (comp. Gen. ii. 7). These additions are made sometimes from parallel passages, and sometimes of the writer's own device, for the purpose of rendering the meaning of the passage clearer, or connecting it more readily with the preceding or subsequent context.

5. Words omitted, and passages abridged: *ex. gr.*, Matt. iv. 6, *τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ ἐντελεῖται περὶ σοῦ, καὶ ἐπὶ χειρῶν ἀρουσί σε, μήποτε προσκύψῃς πρὸς λίθον τὸν πόδα σου*, for *τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ ἐντελεῖται περὶ σοῦ, τοῦ διαφυλάξαι σε ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς σου ἐπὶ χειρῶν ἀρουσί σε, μήποτε προσκύψῃς πρὸς λίθον, τ. π. σ.* Ps. xc. 11, 12. Comp. also Matt. xxii. 24 with Deut. xxv. 5; Rom. ix. 27, 28, with Is. x. 22, 23; Heb. iv. 4 with Gen. ii. 3, etc.

6. Passages paraphrastically rendered, or the general sense only given: *ex. gr.*, Rom. ix. 25, where we have a paraphrastic rendering of Hosea ii. 23; Rom. x. 6, ff., a free rendering of Deut. xxx. 12, ff.; 1 Cor. i. 31, where the general sense of Jer. ix. 24 is given; comp. also 1 Pet. ii. 22 with Is. lix. 9.

7. Several passages quoted together, so as to form one connected sense: *ex. gr.*, in 2 Cor. vi. 16-18 we have a passage made up of no less than three different passages—Lev. xxvi. 11; Is. liii. 11; Jer. xxxi. 1; comp. also Mark i. 2, 3, where Mal. iii. 1 and Is. xl. 3 are combined; also Rom. xi. 8, where Is. xxix. 10 and Deut. xxix. 4 are strangely mixed together.

8. Several of these species of deviations combined together: *ex. gr.*, Rom. ii. 24, *τὸ γὰρ ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ δι' ὑμῶν διασφμεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι*, for *δι'*

\* The Codex Alex. gives this passage exactly as cited by Paul.



οὐμὰς διὰ παντὸς τὸ ὄνομά μου βλασφημεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι. Here we have the substitution of τοῦ Θεοῦ for μου, and the omission of διὰ παντὸς. Comp. also Rom. xi. 3 with 1 Kings xix. 14, for an instance of the combination of omission, substitution, and transposition.

9. Passages rather indicated, or hinted at, than formally quoted: *ex. gr.*, Eph. v. 14, Ἐγείραι ὁ καθεύδων, καὶ ἀνάστα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ ἐπιφαύσει σοι ὁ Χριστός. The difficulty of assigning this quotation to any passage in the O. T. has been felt by all interpreters, and various theories have been proposed for the sake of removing it. The most probable, however, seems that which regards these words as formed upon Is. lx. 1-3, and the passage as rather hinted at than quoted.\* Comp. also Heb. xiii. 15, with Hos. xiv. 2. To this head may be also referred John vii. 38, where no particular passage is quoted, but such passages as Is. xlv. 3; lv. 1; lviii. 11; Zech. xiv. 8; xiii. 1, are alluded to.

Of these none, it is obvious, amounts to a destruction of the identity of the quotation. Some of them are evidently the result of intention on the part of the writer or speaker; as, for instance, where a word or phrase is added for the fuller exposition of the passage, or when such grammatical changes are made as are required by the context into which the quotation is introduced. Many of them may be attributable to various readings, so that we cannot be certain that at the time the autographs of the N. T. were issued, all the discrepancies existed which we now find on comparing their quotations with the LXX, or Heb. In fine, it is to be remembered that the N. T. writers appear to have, in the majority of cases, quoted from memory, which will easily account for their transposing and altering words and phrases, omitting words, or indicating in a general way, instead of fully quoting the passage to which they refer. That they chiefly quoted from memory must be admitted when we consider the circumstances in which their writings were, for the most part, composed—sometimes on a journey—sometimes in prison—very seldom if ever where access to books could be had,—and observe the vagueness and generality which frequently characterise their references to the O. T. Scriptures; as when, instead of naming the book from which they cite, they merely say ἔστι γεγραμμένον, or ἡ γραφή λέγει, or still more vaguely, διεμαρτύρητο δέ που τις, 'some one has somewhere testified,' Heb. ii. 6; Εἶρηκε γὰρ πον, 'he hath somewhere said,' iv. 4. Comp. Σόλων γὰρ πον εἶπε, κ.τ.λ. Plato, *Erast.*, *Opp.*, ed. Stallbaum, vi. 2, p. 276.

Some passages appear in the N. T. as quotations which are not to be found in the O. T. Of these the most remarkable are Matt. ii. 15; ii. 23; John vii. 38; James iv. 5. The two first we think are best accounted for by supposing them to be quotations of prophecies traditionally handed down and current among the Jews. That there must have been many such, no one who remembers the names of Samuel, and Nathan, and Gad, and Elijah, and Elisha, and others who are mentioned in Scripture, all of whom doubtless prophesied concerning Christ, will see much reason to doubt.†

That Matthew should refer to any of these it may be more difficult to admit; but when it is considered, in the first place, that, supposing such to exist, it was as natural and as desirable to show their fulfilment in Christ as it was to show that of the written prophecies; and secondly, that it is just as probable that the evangelist should have referred to traditional prophecies, as that the apostles should have referred to traditional facts, as they repeatedly do,—this difficulty may, perhaps, be surmounted.

The attempts that have been made to trace these quotations to parts of the O. T. have only succeeded in showing how futile such attempts are. It is true that Matt. ii. 15 finds a parallel in Hos. xi. 1, but beyond a verbal correspondence the two passages have nothing in common. The subject of the one is entirely different from that of the other; the one being the deliverance of the Israelites from their bondage in Egypt, the other being the return of our Saviour from his place of safety in Egypt. Nor does the language of the prophet bear the remotest semblance of a prediction, but on the contrary is entirely expostulatory and historical. And, in fine, if his words are to be viewed as containing a prediction of Christ, they must mean, that though God loved him when a child and called him out of Egypt, yet when he grew up he ceased to please Jehovah and departed from him. This is plainly the statement of the prophet, but who would by any means apply this to Christ? Various attempts have been made to show that Matthew merely accommodated this passage to the case of our Saviour; but this appears to be forbidden by the obviously argumentative purpose for which he introduces it. Nearly akin to this is the opinion of those who argue that as Israel was a type of Christ, what was said of the one might be applied to the other; for this after all just amounts to the assertion that Matthew accommodated what Hosea said of the literal Israel to what is supposed to have been the antitype of that people. Had the evangelist quoted the supposed type itself as fulfilled in the antitype, his reasoning would have been direct and free from any accommodation; but to suppose him to affirm that Hosea foretold Christ's being carried into Egypt, because he referred to the fact of the deliverance of the type of Christ from Egypt, is only to affirm in a roundabout way that he accommodated the prophet's words to suit his own purpose. Besides, how absurd to talk of the deliverance of Israel from Egypt being a type of our Saviour's being carried down to Egypt and back again by his parents! One historical fact the type of another! and that, when hardly any analogy subsists between them!

With regard to Matt. ii. 23 it is admitted that no such prophecy as that here cited occurs in the O. T.; but, nevertheless, attempts have been made to trace it somehow to the written prophecies. The favourite hypothesis appears to be that, since many prophets foretold the mean and despised estate of the Messiah, and as 'Nazarene' was a synonym with the Jews for a mean and despicable person, so the affixing of this name to our Lord was a fulfilment of these prophecies concerning him. The assumption here made as to the use

\* See Bloomfield *in loc.* Greek N. T., 3d ed.

† 'Non dubitandum est,' says Surenhusius, 'quin apud Judæos multa veterum prophetarum oracula VOL. III.

memoria tantum conservata fuerint sine scriptis eaque interdum ad memoriam juvandam a quibusdam annotata fuisse.'—*Bib. Kat.*, p. 25.

of the term Nazarene among the Jews is entirely without authority; but, passing this by, let us see what this hypothesis involves. It would follow from it—1st, that the *only* way in which our Lord fulfilled these prophecies was by bearing the name of Nazarene; for Matthew does not say that he thereby fulfilled *part* of what was spoken, but the *whole*; and 2dly, that Joseph was divinely directed to take up his abode in Nazareth, in order that our Lord might acquire a nickname for the fulfilment of prophecies which make no allusion to his bearing such a name, and which would have been fulfilled, whether he had borne that name or not! It is amazing that a supposition fraught with such consequences should have found any quarter.

No less futile appears to be the hypothesis that Matthew here refers to Is. xi. 1. The reasoning of those who support this opinion seems to be this—Nazareth was originally and properly called *Nezer*; but Isaiah in that passage calls the Messiah *Nezer*; therefore, when Jesus Christ was taken down to Nazareth and was called a Nazarene, this prediction was fulfilled. It may be allowed, for the reasons advanced by Hengstenberg (*Christology*, ii. 106 ff., E. T.), that Nezer or Netser was probably the original name of Nazareth. But conceding this, what follows? It follows that what Matthew calls a fulfilment of prophecy, was really nothing better than a sort of play upon words. Isaiah said that the Messiah should be a Nezer, and in fulfilment of this, says Matthew, he was carried to Nezer that he might be called a Nazarene. Can we really suppose that this is the meaning of the sacred writer?

A recent learned and devout writer has advanced the opinion that the term Nazarene was applied to our Lord as a sort of aggregate of all that is said in the prophets concerning the Messiah that may fairly be expressed by the word *Ναζωραῖος*; and thus he proposes to include the נָצִיר of Is. xi. 1, etc., the references to circumstances of humiliation under which the Messiah was to appear, and the general reproach attaching to the town of Nazareth (Ellicott, *Life of our Lord*, p. 81, note). Now, if the learned prelate had *proved* that *Ναζωραῖος* includes these ideas—the idea of נָצִיר, a branch, and also the idea of humiliation and contumely, and had he shown in any articulate way how by becoming and being called a Nazarene our Lord fulfilled certain prophecies in the O. T. concerning him, he would have done something of importance towards establishing his hypothesis. As it is, he assumes the very things that require to be proved, and so leaves his hypothesis without a basis.

It has been alleged as a fatal objection to the hypothesis we have embraced that the phrase 'by the prophets' in the N. T. refers exclusively to the canonical books of the O. T. (Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, s.v. *Nazarene*.) To this it may be replied—(1.) That the phrase *διὰ τῶν προφητῶν*, without any qualifying adjunct, occurs only *once* besides in the N. T.—viz., Rom. iii. 21—and even there it is so coupled with *τοῦ νόμου* that its application to the written prophecies is *specially* indicated; (2.) So far is the phrase by itself from indicating properly the canonical prophets, that the apostle, when he wishes to specify these, finds it necessary to add *ἐν γραφαῖς ἀγλαῖς* (Rom. i. 1); (3.) The altogether equivalent phrase, 'by [or by the mouth of] his holy prophets,' occurs where others besides

the canonical prophets are included (comp. Luke i. 70; Acts iii. 21); (4.) The appellation of *προφήται* is used so as include many besides the canonical prophets (Matt. v. 12; xxiii. 37; Luke xi. 50; 1 Thess. ii. 15); and the mere addition of *διὰ* cannot affect the meaning or application of the word; (5.) Even supposing it proved that the phrase in question invariably elsewhere in the N. T. refers to the canonical prophets, this is accounted for by the fact that they had no occasion to refer to any others, and can never be held to prove that a writer who had occasion to refer to others to whom it was equally applicable was thereby precluded from so using it.

On John vii. 38 it may suffice here to remark that perhaps the best solution of the difficulty is to regard our Lord as not making any direct quotation from any part of the O. T., but as only referring in metaphorical language, suited to the strain of his previous address (comp. ver. 37), to a fact which in plainer style is unquestionably announced in the ancient prophecies—viz., the abundant possession of divine knowledge by those who should live under the Messiah's reign.

The passage James iv. 5 is beset with difficulty. Not only is there doubt as to what 'Scripture' is cited, but much obscurity hangs over the meaning of the words themselves so adduced. We cannot enter into the details of the investigation. Referring for these to Huther's note on the passage in Meyer's *Kommentar*, Abt. 15, the substance of which is given by Dean Alford in his notes, we content ourselves here with saying, that some interpreters understand *πνεῦμα* of the human spirit, and translate 'the spirit [temper, feeling of mind] which dwells in us lusts to envy [covetousness];' while others understand it of the Holy Spirit, or the Spirit implanted in the soul by God, and translate either, 'The Spirit which dwelleth in us lusts (desires, inclines) against envy;' or, 'The Spirit which he [God] hath placed in us jealously desireth [us for himself]. In neither case can the statement be referred to any single passage in the O. T.; but, if the last rendering be adopted, the writer may be supposed to refer generally to those parts of the O. T. in which God is represented as dwelling in his people (Num. xxxv. 34; Ezek. xxxvi. 27), and as desiring them with a jealous affection (Deut. xxxii. 10, ff.) This is far from satisfactory, but it seems the best solution that has been offered.

II. *Mode in which quotations from the O. T. in the N. T. are introduced.*—For this purpose certain formulæ are employed, of which the following is a list: *καθὼς* or *οὕτω* *γράφεται*, *πὼς* *γράφεται*; *Ἔστι* *γεγραμμένον*, *Ὁ λόγος* *ὁ γεγραμμένος*, *κατὰ* *τὸ* *γεγραμμένον*, *Ἐβρήθη*, *καθὼς* *εἴρηται*, *κατὰ* *τὸ* *εἰρημένον*, *Ἡ γραφή* *εἶπε* or *λέγει*, or simply *λέγει* (sup. *Θεὸς* vel *προφήτης*), *περιέχει* *ἐν* *τῇ* *γραφῇ*, *Ὁ νόμος* *ἔλεγεν*, *Ἐῖρηκε* *δέ* *τις*, *Βλέπετε* *τὸ* *εἰρημένον*, *Οὐδέποτε* *ἀνέγνωτε*; *Καθὼς* *ἐλάλησε*, *Τότε* *ἐπληρώθη* *ἡ* *γραφῇ*, *Ἦνα* (*ὅπως*) *πληρωθῇ* (*τελειωθῇ*) *τὸ* *ῥηθὲν* (*ἡ* *γραφῇ*). Surenhusius is of opinion, and labours to prove, that by attending to the force of these different formulæ, we may ascertain with what intent the words they respectively introduce are quoted, as each formula, he asserts, involves a different meaning (*Præf. in Bib. Catal.*) A fatal objection, however, to this opinion is, that we find the very *same* quotations, expressed in the same words, and brought to prove the very same points, introduced



by *different* formulæ in different gospels (Horne, *Introd.*, ii. 339). At the same time, there are obviously two classes of these formulæ, the difference between which is distinctly marked by the circumstance that, whilst some of them merely express the fact that what follows is a quotation, others of them intimate the existence of a material relation between the passage quoted and the subject of which the writer quoting it is treating. Thus, when it is simply said, 'The Scripture saith,' nothing more is *necessarily* implied than that what follows is taken from the O. T.; but when it is said, 'Then was the Scripture fulfilled which saith,' or 'This was done that the Scriptures might be fulfilled,' we immediately perceive that the writer would intimate a real connection of some sort between the event he is recording and the statement with which he compares it in the passage quoted. We may, therefore, so far adopt the hypothesis of Surenhusius, as to admit a distinction between these two classes, and expect to find in the passages introduced by the latter of them something more than a mere verbal quotation.

Beside the quotations introduced by these formulæ there is a considerable number scattered through the writings of the apostles which are inserted in the train of their own remarks without any announcement whatever of their being cited from other writers. To the cursory reader the passages thus quoted appear to form a part of the apostle's own words, and it is only by intimate acquaintance with the O. T. Scriptures, and a careful comparison of these with those of the N. T., that the fact of their being quotations can be detected. In the common version every trace of quotation is in many of these passages lost, from the circumstance that the writer has closely followed the LXX., whilst our version of the O. T. is made from the Hebrew. Thus, for instance, in 2 Cor. viii. 21, Paul says, *προνοούμενοι καλὰ οὐ μόνον ἐνώπιον Κυρίου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνώπιον ἀνθρώπων*, which, with a change in the mood of the verb, is a verbatim citation of the LXX. version of Prov. iii. 4. Hardly any trace of this, however, appears in the common version, where the one passage reads, 'Providing for honest things not only in the sight of the Lord, but also in the sight of men;' and the other, 'So shalt thou find favour and good understanding in the sight of God and man.' So also in 1 Pet. iv. 18, the apostle quotes word for word from the LXX. version of Prov. xi. 31, the clause, *εἰ δὲ δίκαιος μόλις σώζεται, ὁ ἀσεβὴς καὶ ἀμαρτωλὸς ποῦ φανείται*;—a quotation which we should in vain endeavour to trace in the common version of the Proverbs, where the passage in question is rendered, 'Behold, the righteous shall be recompensed in the earth; much more the wicked and the sinner.' Such quotations evidently show how much the minds of the N. T. writers were imbued with the sentiments and expressions of the O. T., as exhibited in the Alexandrine version.

III. *Purposes for which these quotations are introduced.*—These, as appears from an examination of the passages, are three.

1. *For the explanation or proof of some doctrinal position.*—Thus Paul, for the sake of explaining and confirming his doctrine of the efficacy of faith, quotes repeatedly from Habak. ii. 4, the sentence 'The just shall live by faith.' So also, in order to prove that mere natural descent from Abraham did

not of itself entitle any one to the divine favour, the same apostle quotes the terms of God's promise to Abraham, in which he expressly declares that in Isaac alone of all Abraham's family was the *seed* of Abraham—*i.e.*, the spiritual Israel—to be called or chosen. Comp. also Rom. iv. 7, 8; ix. 12, 13, 15, 17, 20, 21; xii. 19, 20; xiv. 10, 11, etc. It is to be observed that the passages thus adduced are almost always found in writings addressed to Jews, and are therefore to be regarded as containing *argumenta e concessis*. They are always applied, if not in the words, at least in the sense of the original from which they are taken.

2. *For the purpose of pointing out the application of the passage quoted to some statement or description in the context into which it is introduced.* From the circumstance that several of the passages thus adduced are in the phraseology of the N. T., as well as in that of the Rabbinical writings, said to be 'fulfilled,' it has been hastily inferred by some that they are all to be regarded as designed prophecies of the events to which they are applied. For this opinion, however, no adequate support seems to be afforded by the phrase in question. The general idea attached to the verb *πληρῶω* is that of filling up to its full capacity anything of which it is predicated. Thus the Jews are said by Christ to have filled up the measure (*πληρώσατε τὸ μέτρον*) of their fathers, Matt. xxiii. 32. The phrase in question consequently is susceptible of application to whatever is thought of as supplying the complement of any given capacity, and that whether it is used in a literal or tropical sense. Hence it is appropriately used in the N. T. with respect to passages quoted from the O. T. in the following cases:—

*First*, when it announces the accomplishment of a prophecy contained in the words quoted. As the prediction is a mere empty declaration, as it were, until the fact predicted has occurred; so that fact, by giving meaning and force to the prediction, is viewed as its complement or filling up. Thus the N. T. writers, in recording the facts of our Lord's history, when they come to any which formed the subject of ancient prophecy, whether explicit or typical, direct the attention of their readers to the circumstance by adducing the prediction and intimating its *fulfilment* in the fact they have recorded.

*Secondly*, when it introduces some description or statement which affords a *parallel* to what the writer has been saying. Such a description being regarded as involving a fact of general applicability to the human race, or to certain portions of it, is thought of as being, so to speak, in a state of deficiency until the measure of its applicability has been filled up. Each new case, therefore, which affords a parallel to that to which the description was originally applied goes so far to supply this deficiency, by affording another instance in which the description holds; and hence the N. T. writers are in the habit of quoting such descriptions as having been fulfilled in the cases to which they are applied by them. Thus a passage from the prophecies of Jeremiah, in which a description is given of the desolation caused by the divine judgments upon the Jews, under the beautiful personification of Rachel rising from the dead looking in vain for her children, and refusing to be comforted because they are not, is adduced by Matthew (ii. 17, 18)

as fulfilled in the sorrow which was produced by the massacre of the babes in Bethlehem by order of Herod. No person who studies the context of the passage as it occurs in the O. T. can suppose for a moment that it contains a *prediction* of the cruelties which were perpetrated on the occasion related by the evangelist. The sole purport of the quotation seems to be to intimate, as Bishop Kidder remarks, that 'such another scene of sorrow appeared then (upon the murder of the innocents) as was that which Jeremy mentions upon another sad occasion' (*Demonstration of the Messiah*, Pt. ii. p. 215; see also Sykes, *Essay on the Truth of the Christian Religion*, etc., pp. 217, 218; Blaney, *in loc.*; Henderson, *in loc.*, and on Hos. ii. 1; De Wette, on Matt. ii. 17, 18; and Marsh's *Notes to Michaelis*, vol. i. p. 473). Comp. Matt. xv. 7, 8, with Is. xxix. 13; Matt. xiii. 14 with Acts xxviii. 25 and Is. vi. 9, etc.

It appears, then, that even when a quotation is introduced by a part of the verb *πληρώω*, it does not necessarily follow that it is to be regarded as containing a prophecy. This is true as well of the conditional formula *ἵνα* (*ὅπως*) *πληρωθῇ*, as of the more direct *τότε* *ἐπληρώθη*, for these particles, as used in the N. T., frequently express nothing more than that occasion is given for a particular action or remark.

Besides the passages introduced as *fulfilled*, there are others referable to the same general head, which are introduced by others of the formulæ above mentioned. Of these, some belong to both the classes just described—*prophecies* of which the N. T. announces the fulfilment, and *general descriptions* to which something parallel is brought forward. Another class consists of moral and religious maxims, which are adduced as applicable to the state of things of which the writer or speaker is discoursing, and which, though not said to be fulfilled thereby, are quoted under essentially the same idea. Such sentences embody, as it were, certain laws of human nature and conduct, certain general facts in the human economy, of which we are to expect the verification wherever the necessary conditions are exemplified. Like the laws of physical science, therefore, they are dependent for their verification upon the examination of the phenomena appropriate to that region to which they belong; and as no law of science can be said to lie absolutely beyond the possibility of refutation until every one of the phenomena which it embraces has been examined and been found to support it, every experiment or occurrence that favours it may be said to fill up what is wanting to its perfect and undeniable certainty. Hence the N. T. writers, in recording events or describing characters which accord with and so exemplify the truth of the moral maxims of the O. T., speak of these as if they had contained actual pre-intimations of the occurrence to which they are applied. They contain, in fact, the *norm* or *rule* according to which the matter in question has occurred.

The usage of the N. T. writers in the cases we have been considering is illustrated by that of the Rabbinical writers in their quotations from the O. T., as Surenhusius has largely shown in his work upon this subject (*Βίβλος Καταλλαγῆς*, etc. etc., lib. i.; see also Waehner, *Antiquitates Hebraeorum* vol. i. p. 527, ff.) Instances have also been adduced of a similar usage by the classical and ecclesiastical writers. Thus, Ælian introduces

Diogenes Sinopensis as saying that 'he fulfilled and endured the curses out of the tragedy' (*ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐκπλήροι καὶ ὑπομένει τὰς ἐκ τῆς τραγωδίας ἀράς*). Olympiodorus says of Plato that 'a swarm of bees made honey on his lips (*ἵνα ἀληθὲς περὶ αὐτοῦ γένηται*,

Τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέεν αὐδῇ,  
Il., A. 249),

that it might become true concerning him, 'And from his tongue flowed a strain sweeter than honey,' which is what Homer says of Nestor. Epiphanius says of Ebion, 'But in him is fulfilled that which is written: I had nearly been in all mischief, between the church and the synagogue' (*ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῷ πληροῦται τὸ γεγραμμένον*, κ. τ. λ. *Hæresis Ebion.*, cap. i.) So also the Latin *implere* is used by Jerome: 'Cæterum Socraticum illud impletur in nobis, Hoc tantulum scio, quod nescio' (*Ep. 103 ad Paulin.* (Cf. Clem. Rom., *Ep. I. ad Cor.*, sec. 3.)

Thirdly, the N. T. writers make quotations from the Old, for the purpose of *clothing their own ideas in language already familiar to their readers, or attractive from its beauty, force, or dignity*. The writings of the O. T. were the great classics of the Jewish nation, venerable at once for their literary value and their divine authority. In these the youth of Judæa were carefully instructed from their earliest years, and with their words all their religious thoughts and feelings were identified. Hence it was natural, and nearly unavoidable, that in discoursing of religious subjects they should express their thoughts in language borrowed from the books which had formed the almost exclusive objects of their study. Such quotations are made for merely literary purposes—for ornament of style, for vigour of expression, for felicity of allusion, or for impressiveness of statement. The passages thus incorporated with the writer's own thoughts and words, are not appealed to as proving what he says, or as applying to any circumstance to which he refers; their sole use appears to be to express in appropriate language his own thoughts. Thus, when Paul, after dissuading the Roman Christians from the indulgence of vindictiveness, adds in the words of Solomon (Prov. xxv. 21, 22), 'Therefore, if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink, for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head;' the quotation evidently serves no other purpose than to express in language of an appropriate and impressive kind, the duty which the apostle would enjoin, and which would have been equally intelligible and equally binding if expressed in his own words, as when uttered in those of the inspired author of the Proverbs. On what other principle, moreover, are we to account for the quotation made by Paul, in Rom. x. 18, from the 19th Psalm, where, in speaking of the diffusion of the gospel among the Jews, he says, 'But I say, have they not heard? Yes, verily, their sound went into all the earth, and their words into the end of the world'—a passage originally applied by the Psalmist to the heavenly bodies? To insist upon regarding this as a prediction of the diffusion of the gospel, or as furnishing even a parallel to it, is surely to sacrifice reason and common sense to prejudice or some favourite theory.

It has appeared to some that the hypothesis of an *accommodation* of words originally used of one



thing to designate another, is inconsistent with due reverence to the divine word. But wherein does the alleged irreverence of such a practice lie? To employ the words of Scripture to express low and unworthy ideas, or for the sake of giving point to mere worldly reasonings, is to use them irreverently; but to use them to convey ideas as elevated as those originally attached to them, if not more so (which is the case, *ex. gr.*, in Rom. x. 18), has but little appearance of treating them with irreverence. The only ground on which such a charge could be maintained is, that words once employed by an inspired writer in a peculiar combination become thenceforward *sacred to the expression in that combination of the one idea they were first used to designate*, whatever others they may be susceptible of expressing. But who is there who could seriously attempt to defend such a position as this? If this were the case, every quotation not made expressly as authority would be liable to censure; and, as the number of such in the N. T. is indisputably considerable, hardly any of its writers would stand clear of blame. [ACCOMMODATION.]

The truth is, the practice of making use, in this way, of previous and popular writers, is one which was common, not only in the days of the apostles, but which can hardly fail to be common wherever an established national literature exists. In proof of this, we have only to examine the writings of the later classics of Greece and Rome, which abound in quotations direct and accommodated from their earlier authors. We see the same course pursued by the Rabbinical writers towards the O. T., and by the Christian Fathers towards both the O. T. and the N. T., as well as towards the profane classics. Indeed, such quotations form so apt and natural an ornament of style, that writers of all ages and countries, where the means of doing so exist, have availed themselves of it. Why, then, should we wonder that such a practice should have been followed by the sacred writers, who in other respects appear to have obeyed in the preparation of their works the ordinary rules and usages, both grammatical and rhetorical, of literary composition?

Surenhusius, *Βιβλος Καταλλαγῆς, in quo secundum Vet. Theol. Hebræorum Formulas allegandi et Modos interpretandi conciliantur Loca ex V. in N. T. allegata*, 1713, 4to; Drusius, *Parallela Sacra: h. e. Locorum V. T. cum iis quæ in N. citantur conjuncta Commemoratio, Ebraice et Græce, cum Notis*, 1616, 4to, published also in the 8th vol. of the *Critici Sacri*; Hoffmann, *Demonstratio Evangelica per ipsum Scripturarum Consensum ex Oraculis V. T. in N. allegatis declarata*, Edidit T. G. Hegelmaier, 1773-79-81, 3 vols. 4to; Michaelis, *Einleitung in die Göttlichen Schriften des N. B. Erster Theil*, s. 203-265, E. T. by Marsh, vol. i. p. 200-246; Owen, *Modes of Quotation used by the Evangelical Writers Explained and Vindicated*, 1789, 4to; Randolph, *Prophecies and other Texts cited in the N. T. compared with the Hebrew original, and with the Septuagint Version*, 1782, 4to; Koppe, *Excursus I. in Ep. ad Romanos*, N. T. Koppianum, vol. iv. p. 346, 1806; Horne, *Introduction*, vol. ii. p. 281, 8th edit.; Davidson, *Hermeneutics*, ch. xi.; Gough, *N. T. Quotations collated with the O. T.*, Lond. 1853; Alexander, *Connection and Harmony of the O. and N. T.*, Lond. 1853, 2d ed.—W. L. A.

## R.

RAAMAH (רַעְמָה or רַעְמָא; *Regmá*; but in Ezek. xxvii. 22, *Ῥαμμά*; Alex. *Ῥαγμά*; *Regma*, and *Reema*), the fourth son of Cush, and the father of Sheba and Dedan (Gen. x. 7; 1 Chron. i. 9). It appears that the descendants of Cush colonised a large part of the interior of Africa, entering that great continent probably by the straits of Babel-mandeb. A section of the family, however, under their immediate progenitor Raamah, settled along the eastern shores of the Arabian peninsula. There they founded nations which afterwards became celebrated, taking their names from Raamah's two sons, Sheba and Dedan [CUSH]. Though Sheba and Dedan became nations of greater importance and notoriety, yet the name Raamah did not wholly disappear from ancient history. Ezekiel, in enumerating the distinguished traders in the marts of Tyre, says, 'The merchants of Sheba and *Raamah*, they were thy merchants; they occupied in the fairs with chief of all spices, and with all precious stones, and gold' (xxvii. 22). The eastern provinces of Arabia were famed in all ages for their spices. The position of Sheba is well known [SHEBA], and Raamah must have been near it.

There can be little doubt that in the classic name Regma (*Regmá*), which is identical with the Septuagint equivalent for Raamah, we have a memorial of the O. T. patriarch and of the country he colonised. The town of Regma was situated on the Arabian shore of the Persian Gulf, on the northern side of the long promontory which separates it from the ocean. And it is interesting to note that, on the southern side of the promontory, a few miles distant, was a town called *Dadena*, evidently identical with *Dedan*. Around Regma Ptolemy locates an Arab tribe of the Anariti (*Geog.* vi. 7). Pliny appears to call them *Epimaranite* (vi. 26), which, according to Forster (*Geog. of Arabia*, i. 64), is just an anagrammatic form of *Ramanite*, the descendants of *Raamah*—an opinion not improbable. Forster traces the migrations of the nation from Regma along the eastern shores of Arabia to the mountains of Yemen, where he finds them in conjunction with the family of Sheba (*Id.*, pp. 66-71). There the mention of the *Rhamanite* tribe by Strabo, in connection with the expedition of Galkus (xvi., p. 781), seems to corroborate the view of Forster [SHEBA]. Be this as it may, however, there can be no doubt that the original settlements of the descendants of Raamah were upon the south-western shores of the Persian Gulf. Probably, like most of their brethren, while retaining a permanent nucleus, they wandered with their flocks, herds, and merchandise, far and wide over Arabia. For the different views entertained regarding Raamah, see Bochart, *Opp.* i. 218; Michaelis, *Spicileg.* i. 193.—J. L. P.

## RAAMESSES. [RAMESES.]

RAB, properly *Abba Areka*, or Abba of Areka, a city on the borders between Susiana and Babylon, on the river Tigris. This eminent expositor of the Pentateuch was born about 165 A.D., and obtained the Babylonian appellation *Rab* (רב) = *the Teacher*, in consequence of the great reverence in which

he was held by his numerous disciples; just as Jehudah the Holy was called in Palestine *Rabbi* (רַבִּי), i.e., *the Teacher*, or *Rabbenu* (רַבֵּנוּ), i.e., *our Teacher*. After the death of his father Aibu, he went to Judæa and became the disciple of R. Jehudah, whose redaction of the Mishna he afterwards took back with him to Babylon, where it became the basis of discussion, and of the Babylonian Talmud. Having brought a codex of the Mishna with him, Rab now founded the celebrated college at Sora (219 A.D.), which maintained its celebrity for nearly 800 years, and which attracted about 1200 students from all parts of Babylon in the lifetime of its founder. In this college, which was called *Be-Rab* (בֵּרַב), being an abbreviation of *Beth-Rab* (בֵּית רַב), the school of Rab, the disciples assembled two months in the year—viz., *Adar* and *Elul*—in autumn and spring, for which they were denominated *Farhe Kalla* (יֹרְהֵי כֵלָה), the months of assembly; and into it all the people were admitted a whole week before each principal festival, when this distinguished luminary delivered expository lectures for the benefit of the nation at large. So eager were the people to hear him, and so great were the crowds, that many could find no house accommodation, and were obliged to take up their abode in the open air on the banks of the Sora river (*Succa*, 26 a). These festival discourses were

denominated *Rigle* (רִגְלֵי), and during the time in which they were delivered all courts of justice were closed (*Baba Kama*, 113 a). After holding the presidency of the college for twenty-eight years (219–247 A.D.), and raising the literature and authority of Babylon to that of Palestine, Rab died, A.D. 247, lamented by the whole nation (*Berachoth*, 43 b; *Sabbath*, 110 a). His contributions to Biblical literature and exegesis are contained in his compilation and redaction of the ancient traditional expositions of Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, in two volumes, which bear his name—viz., (i.), *Siphra of the school of Rab* (סִפְרָא דְּבֵי רַב), or simply *Siphra*, being a commentary on Leviticus; and (ii.), *Siphri D'be Rab* (סִפְרֵי דְּבֵי רַב), on Numbers and Deuteronomy. When it is remembered that these works embody the ancient principles of interpretation which guided the authors of the Sept., the Syriac version, the Chaldee paraphrases, etc., their importance to the criticism of the O. T. will be apparent. An analysis of these works is given in the article *MIDRASH*. Comp. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. iii. p. 312, etc., Berlin 1853; Fürst, *Kultur und Literaturgeschichte der Juden in Asien*, p. 33, etc., Leipzig 1853; and by the same author, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, iii. 125, etc. See also the article *EDUCATION*.—C. D. G.

**RABBAH** (רַבָּה; Sept. 'Ραββᾶθ). This name, which properly denotes a great city or metropolis, is given in Scripture to the capital of the Ammonites (Josh. xiii. 25; 2 Sam. xi. 1; xii. 27; 1 Chron. xx. 1; Jer. xlix. 3); the full name of which, however, as given in Deut. iii. 11, appears to have been Rabbath-beni-Ammon. It was in this place that the great iron bedstead of Og king of Bashan was preserved (Deut. iii. 11). Here also, during the siege of the place by Joab, the unsuspecting Uriah was slain, through the contrivance of David, that he might possess himself of his wife Bathsheba; after which the king went in person and took the city, the im-

portance of which is shown by the solicitude of the monarch thus to appropriate to himself the glory of its subjugation (2 Sam. xi. xii.) After this Rabbah was included in the tribe of Gad. After the separation of the ten tribes, Rabbah, with the whole territory beyond the Jordan, adhered to the kingdom of Israel, till it was ravaged by the Assyrians under Tiglath-pileser, and the inhabitants expatriated to Media. The Ammonites then recovered possession of Rabbah and the other cities and territories which had in former times been taken from them by the Israelites (Jer. xlix. 3; Ezek. xxv. 2-5) [*AMMONITES*]. Some centuries later, when these parts were subject to Egypt, Rabbah was restored or rebuilt by Ptolemy Philadelphus, and called by him Philadelphia (Euseb. *Onomast.*, s. v. 'Ραμᾶθ and 'Αμμᾶν), and under this name it is often mentioned by Greek and Roman writers (Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, v. 16; Ptol., *Geog.*, v. 15); by Josephus (*De Bell. Jud.*, i. 6. 3; i. 19. 5; ii. 18. 1), and upon Roman coins (Eckhel, iii. 351; Mionnet, v. 335), as a city of Arabia, Coele-Syria, or Decapolis. The old name was not, however, altogether superseded, for Polybius (*Hist.*, v. 7. 4) calls it 'Ραββαῖνα.

Rabbah appears to have consisted, like Aroer, of two parts; the city itself, and 'the city of waters,' or royal city, which was probably a detached portion of the city itself, insulated by the stream on which it was situated. The 'city of waters' was taken by Joab; but against the city itself he was obliged to call for the assistance of David with a reinforcement (2 Sam. xii. 29).

The ancient name has been preserved among the natives of the country. Abulfeda calls it *Amman*, and by that name it is still known. It was in ruins in his time (*Tab. Syr.*, p. 19). The ruins stand about 19 miles south-east of Szalt, in a long valley traversed by a stream, the Moiet Amman, which at this place is arched over, the bed as well as the banks being paved. The ruins are extensive, but there remains nothing of much interest excepting the theatre, which is very large and perfect, and a small odeum close to it. There are also an ancient castle and some vestiges of Roman buildings and of Christian churches. The prophet Ezekiel foretold that Rabbah should become 'a stable for camels,' and the country 'a couching place for flocks' (Ezek. xxv. 5). This has been literally fulfilled, and Burckhardt actually found that a party of Arabs had stabled their camels among the ruins of Rabbah. Too much stress has however been laid upon this minute point by Dr. Keith and others (*Evidence from Prophecy*, p. 150). What the prophet meant to say was that Ammon and its chief city should be desolate; and he expressed it by reference to facts which would certainly occur in any forsaken site in the borders of Arabia; and which are now constantly occurring not in Rabbah only, but in many other places. Seezen, in *Zach's Monat. Corresp.*, xviii. p. 428; Burckhardt's *Syria*, p. 356, seq.; Irby and Mangles, *Travels*, p. 474.

The Rabbah of Josh. xv. 60 was in the tribe of Judah.—J. K.

**RABBATH-AMMON.** [*RABBAH.*]

**RABBATH-MOAB.** [*AR.*]

**RABBI** (רַבִּי; 'Ραββί), a title of honour given by the Jews to their learned men, authorised teachers



of the law, and spiritual heads of the community, and which in the N. T. is frequently given to Christ.

1. *Different forms, and the signification of the Title.*—The term רַבִּי, *Rabbi*, is the noun רַב *Rab* (from רָכַב, *to multiply, to become great, distinguished*), with the pronominal suffix י, and in the Biblical Hebrew denotes a *great man*; *one distinguished either for age, position, office, or skill* (Job xxxii. 9; Dan. i. 3; Prov. xxvi. 10), only that in canonical books it does not occur with the pronominal suffix. It is in post-biblical Hebrew that this term is used as a title, indicating sundry degrees by its several terminations for those who are distinguished for learning, who are the authoritative teachers of the law, and who are the appointed spiritual heads of the Jewish community. Thus, for instance, the simple term רַב, *Rab*, without any

termination, and with or without the name of the person following it, corresponds to our expression *teacher, master*, διδάσκαλος, and is the lowest degree; with the pronominal suffix first person singular י, viz., רַבִּי, *Rabbi*, Παῖσι, *my Rabbi* (Matt. xxiii. 7, 8; xxvi. 25, 49; Mark ix. 5; xi. 21; xiv. 45; John i. 38, 49; iii. 2, 26; iv. 31; vi. 25; ix. 2; xi. 8), it is a higher degree, like the Syriac

ܪܒܝ, and with the pronominal suffix first person plural ִי, viz., רַבֵּנּוּ, *Rabbon*, Παῖσιν, *our teacher, our master*, Chaldee form like the Syriac ܪܒܝܢ, it is the highest degree, and was given to the patriarchs (נְשִׂאִים) or the presidents of the Sanhedrim. Gamaliel I., who was patriarch in Palestine A.D. 30-50, was the first that obtained this extraordinary title, and not Simon b. Hillel as is erroneously affirmed by Lightfoot (*Harmony of the Four Evangelists*, John i. 38), and by Mr. Eddrup (in *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*, s.v. *Rabbi*). This is evident from the following statement in the *Aruch* of R. Nathan (s. v. אַבִּי): 'We do not find that the title *Rabbon* began before the patriarchs Rabbon Gamaliel I., Rabbon Simon his son, who perished in the destruction of the second Temple, and Rabbon Jochanan b. Zakkai, all of whom were presidents.' Lightfoot's mistake is all the more strange since he himself quotes this passage elsewhere (comp. *Hebrew and Talmudical Exercises*, Matt. xxiii. 7). רַבֵּנּוּ, however, which, as we have said, is the noun רַב, with the Chaldee pronominal suffix first person plural, is also used in Aramaic as a noun absolute, the plural of which is רַבֵּנִים and רַבֵּנִין (comp. Chaldee paraphrase on Ps. lxxx. 11; Ruth i. 2); pronominal suffix second person singular רַבֵּנִי (Song of Songs vi. 4); pronominal suffix third person plural רַבֵּיהֶן (Ps. lxxxiii. 12). Accordingly Παῖσιν in Mark x. 51, which in John xx. 16 is spelled Παῖσιν, is the equivalent of רַבֵּנִי, *my master*, giving the Syriac

pronunciation to the *Kametz* under the *Beth*.

2. *Origin and date of these Titles.*—Nathan b. Jehiel tells us, in his celebrated lexicon denominated *Aruch* (s. v. אַבִּי), which was finished A.D. 1101 [NATHAN B. JECHIEL], that Mar Rab Jacob asked Sherira Gaon, and of his son Hai the co-Gaon (A.D. 999), for an explanation of the origin and import of these different titles, and that these spiritual heads of the Jewish community in Babylon

replied as follows:—'The title *Rab* (רַב) is Babylonian, and the title *Rabbi* (רַבִּי) is Palestinian.' This is evident from the fact that some of the Tanaim and Amoraim are simply called by their names without any title—*ex. gr.*, Simon the Just, Antigonus of Soho, Jose b. Jochanan, Rab, Samuel, Abaje and Rabba; some of them bear the title *Rabbi* (רַבִּי)—*ex. gr.*, Rabbi Akiba, Rabbi Jose, Rabbi Simon, etc.; some of them have the title *Mar* (מַר)—*ex. gr.*, Mar Ukba, Mar Januka, etc.; some the title *Rab* (רַב)—*ex. gr.*, Rab Hana, Rab Jehudah, etc.; whilst some of them have the title *Rabbon* (רַבֵּן)—*ex. gr.*, Rabbon Gamaliel, Rabbon Jochanan b. Zakkai, etc. The title *Rabbi* (רַבִּי) is that of the Palestinian sages, who received there of the Sanhedrim the laying on of the hands, in accordance with the laying on of the hands as transmitted in unbroken succession by the elders (זִקְנִים), and were denominated *Rabbi*, and received authority to judge penal cases; whilst *Rab* (רַב) is the title of the Babylonian sages who received the laying on of hands in their colleges. The more ancient generations, however, who were far superior, had no such titles as *Rabbon* (רַבֵּן), *Rabbi* (רַבִּי), or *Rab* (רַב), either for the Babylonian or Palestinian sages, as is evident from the fact that Hillel I., who came from Babylon, had not the title *Rabbon* (רַבֵּן) attached to his name; and that of the prophets, who were very eminent, it is simply said 'Haggai the prophet,' etc.; 'Ezra did not come up from Babylon,' etc., without the title *Rabbon* being affixed to their names. Indeed, we do not find that this title is of an earlier date than the patriarchate. It began with Rabbon Gamaliel the Elder (A.D. 30), Rabbon Simon, his son, who perished in the destruction of the second temple, and Rabbon Jochanan b. Zakkai, all of whom were patriarchs or presidents of the Sanhedrim (נְשִׂאִים). The title *Rabbi* (רַבִּי), too, comes into vogue among those who received the laying on of hands at this period—as, for instance, Rabbi Zaddok, Rabbi Eliezer b. Jacob, etc., and dates from the disciples of Rabbon Jochanan b. Zakkai downwards. Now the order of these titles is as follows—*Rabbi* is greater than *Rab*; *Rabbon* again is greater than *Rabbi*; whilst the simple name is greater than *Rabbon*. No one is called *Rabbon* except the presidents.' From this declaration of Sherira Gaon and Hai, that the title *Rabbi* obtained among the disciples of Jochanan b. Zakkai, the erudite Graetz concludes, that 'we must regard the title *Rabbi*, which in the gospels, with the exception of that by Luke, is given to John the Baptist and to Jesus, as an anachronism. As an anachronism must also be regarded the disapprobation put into the mouth of Jesus against the ambition of the Jewish doctors, who love to be called by this title, and the admonition to his disciples not to suffer themselves to be styled *Rabbi* καὶ φιλοῦσι (οἱ γραμματεῖς)—καλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ῥαββὶν ῥαββῖν. 'Ταῦτ' ἐστὶν κληρονομία ῥαββῖν, Matt. xxiii. 7, 8). This, moreover, shows that when the gospels were written down, namely at the time when the title *Rabbi* stood in so high a repute that the fathers could not but transfer it to Christ' (*Geschichte der Juden*, iv. 500, Berlin 1853). But even supposing that the title *Rabbi* came into vogue in the days of Jochanan b. Zakkai, this would by no means warrant Graetz's conclusion, inasmuch as Jochanan lived upwards of a hundred years, and survived four presidents—viz., Hillel I. (B.C. 30-10), Simon I. (A.D. 10-30), Ga-



maliel I. (A.D. 30-50), and Simon II. (A.D. 50-70), and it might therefore obtain in the early days of this luminary, which would be shortly after the birth of Christ [EDUCATION]. The *Tosaphoth* at the end of *Edujoth*, however, quoted in the *Aruch* in the same article, gives a different account of the origin of this title, which is as follows:—He who has disciples, and whose disciples again have disciples, is called *Rabbi*; when his disciples are forgotten (*i.e.*, if he is so old that his immediate disciples already belong to the past age), he is called *Rabbon*; and when the disciples of his disciples are also forgotten, he is simply called by his own name. This makes the titles coeval with the origin of the different schools, and at the same time accounts for the absence of them among the earliest doctors of the law.—C. D. G.

RABBINIC BIBLES, or MIKRAOTH GEDOLTH (מקראות גדולות)=Great Bibles, as they are called in Hebrew. This name is given to the following seven editions of the Hebrew Scriptures, because they contain the commentaries of sundry Jewish rabbins.

i. The Hebrew Bible (מקרא גדולה), with Jewish commentaries, published by Bomberg, and carried through the press by Felix Pratensis, Venice, Kislev 27, 278 (רעה)=1516-17, fol. This is properly the first edition of the Rabbinic Bible. It consists of four parts, with a separate title-page to each part, and its contents are given in the article PRATENSIS. Comp. also Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, ii. 336; *Bibliotheca Sacra*, i. 96-99, who erroneously dates this edition 1518; Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, col. 6.

ii. The Bible which is entitled (שער יהוה) *Porta Dei Sancta*, was also published by Bomberg, Venice, Kislev 25, 285 (רפה), Tishri 24, 286 (רפו)=1524-25, four vols. fol. This, though properly the second edition of the Rabbinic Bible, is the first edition carried through the press by the celebrated Jacob b. Chajim, who corrected the numerous errors in the text of the foregoing edition, published for the first time the entire Massoretic apparatus, and made sundry other additions detailed in the article JACOB b. CHAJIM. The celebrated Introduction of Jacob b. Chajim, written for this edition, which gives an account of the different views about the origin of the various readings, has recently been published separately in Hebrew, with an English translation and notes by Ginsburg, Longman, 1865. Comp. also Masch, *Ibid.*, i. 100-102; who erroneously dates this edition 1526; Steinschneider, *Ibid.*, col. 11.

iii. The Rabbinic Bible, which is Bomberg's third edition, Venice, Kislev 25, 307 (שן)—Tishri 4, 309 (שט)=1546-48, four vols. fol., and Jacob b. Chajim's second edition. This edition contains as follows:—

The first volume, embracing the Pentateuch (תורה), begins with the elaborate Introduction of Jacob b. Chajim; an Index of the sections of the whole O. T. according to the Massorah, and Ibn Ezra's preface to the Pentateuch. Then follow the five books of Moses in Hebrew, with the Chaldee paraphrase, the commentaries of Rashi, Ibn Ezra, and Jacob b. Asher.

The second volume, comprising the earlier prophets (נביאים ראשונים), with the Chaldee paraphrase, the commentaries of Rashi, David Kimchi,

and Levi b. Gershon, as well as the comments of Isaiah di Trani on Judges and Samuel.

The third volume embraces the later prophets (נביאים אחרונים), with the Chaldee paraphrase and the commentaries of Rashi and Kimchi.

The fourth volume comprises the Hagiographa (כתובים) with the Chaldee paraphrase, the commentaries of Rashi on the Psalms, Proverbs, Job, the Five Megilloth, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles; of Ibn Ezra on the Psalms, Job, the Five Megilloth, Daniel; of Moses Kimchi on Proverbs, Ezra, and Nehemiah, falsely ascribed to Ibn Ezra [KIMCHI, MOSES]; of David Kimchi on Chronicles; of Levi b. Gershon on Proverbs and Job; of Saadia (spurious) on Daniel; the Massorah finalis; the treatise on the points and accents by Moses the Punctuator, the variations of Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali, and the variations between the Western and Eastern Codices. On comparing this edition with the editio princeps of Jacob b. Chajim, as described in the article Jacob b. Chajim, it will be seen that in this second edition, which is undoubtedly the best, are omitted Ibn Ezra's commentaries on Isaiah and the Minor Prophets, some portions of the Massorah, etc., etc.; whilst Jacob b. Asher's commentary on the Pentateuch, and Isaiah di Trani's commentary on Judges and Samuel are inserted. Comp. Masch, *Ibid.*, i. 102, 103, who erroneously dates this edition 1549; Steinschneider, *Ibid.*, col. 24.

iv. Bomberg's fourth Rabbinic Bible, by Di Gora, carried through the press and corrected by

Isaac b. Joseph סלם, and Isaac b. Gershon Treves, Venice, Elul 17, 328 (שכח)=1568, four vols. fol. The correctors remark, at the end, that they have re-inserted in this edition the portion of the Massorah which was omitted in the edition of 1546-48. Appended to this volume is the so-called Jerusalem Targum on the Pentateuch. The assertion that Ibn Ezra's commentaries on Isaiah and the Minor Prophets, which were also omitted in the previous edition, are given in this is incorrect. Wolf (*Bibliotheca Hebraea*, ii. 372), says: 'In catalogo quodam MSto Codicum Hebr. Bibl. Bodlej. observatum vidi, quod hæc editio opera Genebrardi passim sit castrata in iis, quæ contra rem Christianum et præcipue contra Romanos dicuntur.' Masch (*Bibliotheca Sacra*, i. 103) repeats it, and characterises this edition as castrated by Genebrard. No less an authority, however, than Steinschneider, positively states, 'sed. expl. tale in Bodl. non exstat' (*Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, col. 37).

v. *Mikra Gedolah* (מקרא גדולה), or the Great Bible, published in Venice 1617-19, 4 vols. fol., by Pietro and Lorenzo Bragadin, and edited by the celebrated Leo di Modena and Abraham Chaber-Tob b. Solomon Chajim Sopher. It contains the Chaldee paraphrases, the Massorahs, and the Rabbinic commentaries of the foregoing edition, and is preceded by a preface written by Leo di Modena. This edition, however, is of less value to the critical student, being castrated by the Inquisition, under whose censorship it was published, as may be seen from the remark of the censor at the end, 'Visto per me Tr. Renato da Mod. a 1626.' Comp. Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, ii. 375; Masch, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, i. 104; Steinschneider, *Catalogus*, etc., col. 70.

vi. *Biblica Sacra Hebraica et Chaldaica cum Masora*, etc., by John Buxtorf, Basle 1618-19, 2



vols. fol. This Bible is divided into four parts, the latter of which, consisting of the later prophets and Hagiographa, is dated 1619. The title-page is followed by a Latin preface by Buxtorf, a table of the number of chapters in the Bible, and a poem of Ibn Ezra on the Hebrew language. Besides the Hebrew text and the Chaldee paraphrases, it contains as follows:—(1.) Rashi on the whole O. T.; (2.) Ibn Ezra on the Pentateuch, Isaiah, the Minor Prophets, Psalms, Job, the Five Megilloth, and Daniel; (3.) Moses Kimchi on Proverbs, Ezra, and Nehemiah, falsely ascribed to Ibn Ezra, in whose name they are given [KIMCHI, MOSES]; (4.) David Kimchi on Chronicles; (5.) Levi b. Gershon on the Earlier Prophets and Proverbs; (6.) Saadia's spurious commentary on Daniel; (7.) Jacob b. Asher on the Pentateuch; (8.) Jachja on Samuel; (9.) The Massorah finalis and Buxtorf's *Tiberias*, etc.; (10.) The various readings of Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali; (11.) The variations between the Eastern and Western Codices; (12.) A treatise on the Accents. The whole is formed after Jacob b. Chajim's second edition (1546-48), with some corrections and alterations by Buxtorf. There is also a Hebrew edition in three volumes folio, differing from the previous one in the following particulars:—(1.) It has a Hebrew title-page, enumerating the various commentaries inserted; (2.) A Hebrew preface, stating that this edition was published by Lud. Rönicg at Basil, and that it was revised by Abraham b. Eleazar of Brunswick, assisted by Buxtorf; and (3.) At the end of Buxtorf's address on the study of the sacred tongue there is an index to the chapters, a Clavis Massoræ, and an index to the Massoretic commentaries, in the Latin language; whereupon follows an address to the reader on the Massorah by the younger Buxtorf. In the Duke of Sussex's library there was also the first volume of Buxtorf's Bible, dated 1620 on the title-page. Comp. Wolf, *ibid.*, ii. 375; Masch, *ibid.*, i. 105, etc.; Pettigrew, *Bibliotheca Susexiana*, London 1827, vol. i. part ii. pp. 164-167.

vii. Moses Frankfurter's Great Rabbinic Bible, entitled *קהילת משה*, the *Congregation of Moses*, Amsterdam 1724-27, 4 volumes royal folio. This gigantic edition, which is by far the most complete of all the Rabbinic Bibles, is described in the article FRANKFURTER, and it is to this edition that the references in this Cyclopædia are made.—C. D. G.

RABBINICAL LITERATURE. [KAB-BALAH; TALMUD.]

RABBONI. [RABBI.]

RABE. [IBN EZRA.]

RAB-MAG. [NERGAL SHAREZER.]

RAB-SARIS (רַב־סָרִיס; Sept. *'Paphs*), one of the three Assyrian generals in command of the army which appeared before Jerusalem (2 Kings xviii. 17) [RAB-SHAKEH]. The word means 'chief of the eunuchs'; which could scarcely have been a proper name; but whether his office was really that which the title imports, or some other great court office, must be determined by the considerations which have been offered under the article EUNUCH. The chief of the eunuchs is an officer of high rank and dignity in the Oriental courts; and his cares are not confined to the harem, but

many high public functions devolve upon him. In the Ottoman Porte the Kislar Aga, or chief of the black eunuchs, is one of the principal personages in the empire, and in an official paper of great solemnity is styled by the sultan the most illustrious of the officers who approach his august person, and worthy of the confidence of monarchs and of sovereigns' (D'Ohsson, *Tab. Gén.*, iii. 308). It is, therefore, by no means improbable that such an office should be associated with a military commission; perhaps not for directly military duties, but to take charge of the treasure, and to select from the female captives such as might seem worthy of the royal harem.—J. K.

RAB-SHAKEH (רַב־שָׁקֶה; Sept. *'Paphs*).

This name is Aramaic, and signifies *chief-cup-bearer*. Notwithstanding its seemingly official significance, it appears to have been used as a proper name, as butler with us; for the person who bore it was a military chief in high command, under Sennacherib king of Assyria. Yet it is not impossible, according to Oriental usages, that a royal cup-bearer should hold a military command; and the office itself was one of high distinction. He is the last named of three Assyrian generals who appeared before Jerusalem; and was the utterer of the insulting speeches addressed to the besieged. 'He stood and cried with a loud voice in the Jews' language;' perhaps because he was the only one of the three who could speak that language freely. 2 Kings xviii. 17, 19, 26, 28, 37; xix. 4, 8; Is. xxxvi. 2, 4, 12, 13, 22; xxxvii. 4, 8.—J. K.

RACA (רָקָא), a word which occurs in Matt. v. 22, and which remains untranslated in the A. V. It is expressive of contempt, from the Chaldee רִיקָא, and means an empty, worthless fellow. Jesus, contrasting the law of Moses, which could only take notice of overt acts, with his own, which renders man amenable for his motives and feelings, says in effect: 'Whosoever is rashly angry with his brother is liable to the judgment of God; whosoever calls his brother Raca is liable to the judgment of the Sanhedrim; but whosoever calls him fool (*Μωρῶ*) becomes liable to the judgment of Gehenna.' To apprehend the higher criminality here attached to the term fool, which may not at first seem very obvious, it is necessary to observe that while 'raca' denotes a certain looseness of life and manners, 'fool' denotes a wicked and reprobate person: foolishness being in Scripture opposed to spiritual wisdom.—J. K.

RACE. [GAMES.]

RACHAL. [SHEEP.]

RACHAL (רָכַל, *traffic*; omitted in the Vatican Cod.; but in the Alex. *Ραχῆλ*; *Rachal*), a town mentioned only in 1 Sam. xxx. 29, as one of those to which David sent portions of the spoil captured in his raid against the Amalekites. It was situated in the tribe of Judah, and apparently towards the south, but nothing more is known of it.—J. L. P.

RACHAM (רָחַם; Sept. *κύκλον*; Vulg. *porphyrio*; Lev. xi. 18; Deut. xiv. 16) is now admitted to be the white carrion vulture of Egypt, *Pernopterus Neophron Egyptiacus*. Gesner had already figured (*De Aquila quem Pernopterus vocant*, p. 199) the Barbary variety, and pointed

out the Racham of Scripture as the identical species, but Bruce first clearly established the fact. The Rachama of that writer is apparently the Ak-bobha ('white father') of the Turks, and forms one of a small group of Vulturidæ, subgenerically distinguished by the name of *Percnopterus* and *Neophoron*, differing from the other vultures in the bill being longer, straight, more attenuated, and then uncinated, and in the back of the head and neck being furnished with longish, narrow, suberectile feathers, but, like true vultures, having the pouch on the breast exposed, and the sides of the head and throat bare and livid. The great wing-coverts are partly, and the quill-feathers entirely, of a black and blackish ash-colour; those of the head, nape, smaller wing-coverts, body, and tail, in general white, with tinges of buff and rufous; the legs are flesh-colour, and rather long; and the



448. Vultur percnopterus.

toes are armed with sharp claws. The females are brownish. In size the species is little bulkier than a raven, but it stands high on the legs. Always soiled with blood and garbage, offensive to the eye and nose, it yet is protected in Egypt both by law and public opinion, for the services it renders in clearing the soil of dead carcasses putrefying in the sun, and the cultivated fields of innumerable rats, mice, and other vermin. The Racham extends to Palestine in the summer season, but becomes scarce towards the north, where it is not specially protected; and it accompanies caravans, feasting on their leavings and on dead camels, etc.

Gesner's figure represents the Barbary variety; but there are two other species besides—viz., the *Percnopterus Angolensis*, and *Percnopterus Hypoleucus*—both similarly characterised by their white livery, and distinguished from the Egyptian by a different arrangement of colour, a shorter bill, and more cleanly habits.

In our version the name of Gier-eagle is certainly most improper, as such a denomination can apply only to a large species, and is most appropriate to the bearded vulture of the Alps. The Lämmer-geyer of the Swiss (*Gypatus Barbatus*), which in the shape of varieties, or distinct species, frequents also the high snowy ranges of Spain, Macedonia, Asia Minor, Crete, Abyss-

sinia, Caffraria, Barbary, and most likely of Libanus, was no doubt the bird intended by our translators to represent the Racham; nor was the application unreasonable. The *Percnopterus* is somewhat singularly classed, both in Lev. and Deut., along with aquatic birds; and it may be questioned whether any animal will eat it, since, in the parallel case of *Vultur aura*, the turkey-buzzard or carrion-crow of America, we have found even the ants abstaining from its carcase, and leaving it to dry up in the sun, though swarming around and greedy of every other animal substance [NESHER].—C. H. S.

RACHEL (רָחֵל, *a ewe*; Sept. 'Ραχήλ), the most beloved of the two daughters of Laban whom Jacob married (Gen. xxix. 16, *seq.*), and who became the mother of Joseph and Benjamin, in giving birth to the latter of whom she died near Bethlehem, where her sepulchre is shown to this day (Gen. xxx. 22; xxxv. 16). For more minute particulars, see JACOB, with whose history Rachel's is closely involved.—J. K.

RADDAI (רָדַי; Sept. *Zaddai*; Alex. *Zafδai*), one of David's brothers (1 Chron. ii. 14), by Ewald conjectured to be the same as Rei.

RAGAU ('Ραγᾶ), one of the ancestors of our Lord (Luke iii. 35); the same as Reu son of Peleg.

RAGES (this word appears in different forms, as *Ραγή*, *Ραγᾶ*, *Ράγαια*, etc.), a city and province of Media, connected with the later history of the Jews, as one of the places in which they were located during the captivity (Tob. v. 5; vi. 13; ix. 2; Judith i. 5). It stood in the north-eastern part of Media, and not far from the site of the modern Teheren; according to Arrian (*Exped. Alex.*, iii. 20), it was distant eleven days' march from Ekbatana, and near the celebrated pass called the Caspian Gates, which lead across the mountain-range from the central plains of Media to the shores of the Caspian Sea. Strabo states that it received its name from certain *chasms* (*παράς*, *a rent*) made in the ground near the pass by earthquakes (*Geog.*, i. 3; xi. 9). Rages appears to have been one of the chief cities of the country. It suffered much from war, having been repeatedly captured and destroyed. It was always rebuilt again, however (*Id.*, xi. 13, p. 524), and continued to flourish down to the close of Grecian dominion in Western Asia. The history of its decline and fall is unknown. It is now ruined and deserted, little remaining save the massive foundations of the ancient walls, and immense heaps of ruins and rubbish. Sir Ker Porter describes some singular colossal sculptures on the rocks at Rages. The place still bears its ancient name under the form *Rhey*. The modern city of Teheren, a few miles westward, has been built to a large extent of the remains of Rages (See Ker Porter, *Travels*, i. p. 358).—J. L. P.

RAGUEL, or REUEL (רְעוּאֵל, *friend of God*; Sept. 'Ραγουήλ). 1. A son of Esau (Gen. xxxvi. 4, 10). 2. The father of Jethro (Exod. ii. 18; Num. x. 29). Some confound him with Jethro; but, in the text last cited, he is called the father of Hobab, who seems to have been the same as Jethro. In Exod. ii. 18, *seq.*, indeed, the daughters of the 'priest of Midian' relate to 'Reuel



their father' their adventure with Moses; which might seem to support his identity with Jethro; but it is quite a Scriptural usage to call a grandfather 'father,' and a granddaughter 'daughter' (Gen. xxxi. 43; 2 Sam. xix. 25; 1 Kings xiv. 3; xvi. 2; xviii. 3). The Targum in this place reads, 'They came to Reuel their father's father' [HAB]. 3. Another person of this name occurs in 1 Chron. ix. 8.—J. K.

RAHAB (רַהַב; Sept. *Ῥαβ*), a name, signifying 'sea-monster,' which is applied as an appellation to Egypt in Ps. lxiv. 13, 14; lxxvii. 4; lxxxix. 10; Is. li. 9 (and sometimes to its king, Ezek. xxix. 3; xxxiii. 3, comp. Ps. lxxviii. 31); which metaphorical designation probably involves an allusion to the crocodiles, hippopotami, and other aquatic creatures of the Nile.

RAHAB, properly RACHAB (רַחַב, *large*; Sept. *Ῥαχαβ*), a woman of Jericho who received into her house the two spies who were sent by Joshua into that city; concealed them under the flax laid out upon the house-top, when they were sought after; and, having given them important information, which showed that the inhabitants were much disheartened at the miracles which had attended the march of the Israelites, enabled them to escape over the wall of the town, upon which her dwelling was situated. For this important service Rahab and her kindred were saved by the Hebrews from the general massacre which followed the taking of Jericho (Josh. ii. 1-21; vi. 17; comp. Heb. xi. 31).

In the narrative of these transactions Rahab is called זונה, *zonah*, which our own, after the ancient versions, renders 'harlot.' The Jewish writers, however, being unwilling to entertain the idea of their ancestors being involved in a disreputable association at the commencement of their great undertaking, chose to interpret the word 'hostess,' one who keeps a public-house, as if from זון, 'to nourish' (Joseph. *Antiq.* v. 1; ii. and vii.; comp. the Targum, and Kimchi and Jarchi on the text). Christian interpreters also are inclined to adopt this interpretation for the sake of the character of a woman of whom the Apostle speaks well, and who would appear from Matt. i. 4 to have become by a subsequent marriage with Salmon, prince of Judah, an ancestress of Jesus. But we must be content to take facts as they stand, and not strain them to meet difficulties; and it is now universally admitted by every sound Hebrew scholar that זונה means 'harlot,' and not 'hostess.' It signifies harlot in every other text where it occurs, the idea of 'hostess' not being represented by this or any other word in Hebrew, as the function represented by it did not exist. There were no inns; and when certain substitutes for inns eventually came into use, they were never, in any Eastern country, kept by women. On the other hand, strangers from beyond the river might have repaired to the house of a harlot without suspicion or remark. The Bedouins of the desert constantly do so at this day in their visits to Cairo and Baghdad. The house of such a woman was also the only one to which they, as perfect strangers, could have had access, and certainly the only one in which they could calculate on obtaining the information they required without danger from male inmates. This concurrence of analogies in the word, in the thing,

and in the probability of circumstances, ought to settle the question. If we are concerned for the morality of Rahab, the best proof of her reformation is found in the fact of her subsequent marriage to Salmon: this implies her previous conversion to Judaism, for which indeed her discourse with the spies evinces that she was prepared. The Jewish writers abound in praises of Rahab, on account of the great service she rendered their ancestors. Even those who do not deny that she was a harlot, admit that she eventually became the wife of a prince of Israel, and that many great persons of their nation sprang from this union. The general statement is, that she was ten years of age at the time the Hebrews quitted Egypt, that she played the harlot during all the forty years they were in the wilderness, that she became a proselyte when the spies were received by her, and that after the fall of Jericho no less a personage than Joshua himself made her his wife. She is also counted as an ancestress of Jeremiah, Maaseiah, Hanameel, Shallum, Baruch, Ezekiel, Neriah, Seriah, and Huldah the prophetess. (See *T. Babyl. tit. Megilla*, fol. 14, col. 2; *Juchasin*, x. 1; *Shalshet Hakabala*, vii. 2; Abarbanel, Kimchi, etc., on Josh. vi. 25; *Mitzvot Torah*, p. 112; Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* ad Matt. i. 4; Meuschen, *N. T. Talmud*, p. 40).—J. K.

RAIN. See under the head *Climate*, in art. PALESTINE.

RAINBOW (קֶשֶׁף; Sept. *ῥέβων*; N. T. *ῥίς*). This is mentioned in connection with the covenant which God made with Noah as the second father of the race after he came out of the ark. God set his bow in the clouds as the token or assurance of that covenant; not that the rainbow then for the first time *appeared*, but that for the first time this special significance was attached to its appearance. In its symbolical usage the rainbow appears as the symbol of mercy returning after and triumphing over judgment (Ezek. i. 27, 28; Rev. iv. 3).

RAKKATH (רַקַּת, probably = Arabic رَقَّة, *a shore*; *Δακῆ*; Alex. *Ῥακκᾶ*; *Raccath*), a town of Naphtali, mentioned only in Josh. xix. 35, where it is grouped between Hammath and Chinnereth. We may hence infer that it lay on the western shore of the lake of Galilee, not far distant from the warm baths of Tiberias, which, as has been seen [HAMMATH], are on the site of the ancient Hammath. According to the Rabbins, Rakkath stood upon the spot where the city of Tiberias was afterwards built (see the references in Lightfoot, *Opp.*, ii. 223). This is probably true, as has already been stated in the article CHINNERETH. Rakkath appears to have fallen to ruin at an early period; or at least it was not a place of sufficient note to be mentioned in history; and the name passed away altogether when Tiberias was founded. The statement of Josephus that ancient tombs had to be removed to make room for the buildings of Tiberias, does not, as Dr. Robinson supposes, make it impossible that the city stood on the site of Rakkath (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 3; Robinson, *Bib. Res.*, ii. 389). Rakkath may have stood close on the shore where there were no tombs; while Tiberias, being much larger, extended some distance up the adjoining rocky hill-sides, in which the tombs may still be seen.—J. L. P.

RALBAG (ר' ל'בג). This eminent commentator, grammarian, metaphysician, mathematician, astronomer, and philosopher, was born at Banolas, not far from Gerona, in 1288. He is called Ralbag =

רב' לבג, by the Jews, from the initial letters of his

proper name, ר' לוי בן גרשון, *R. Levi b. Gershon*, and is quoted by Christian writers by the name *Magister Leo de Bannolis* or *Gersonides*. Very little is known about the personal history of this remarkable Hebrew, beyond the fact that by virtue of his residence in Orange and Avignon he was providentially exempted from the fearful sufferings inflicted upon his brethren (1306, etc.) by the cruel government of Philip IV. *the Fair* and his successors, and that he was thus enabled quietly to consecrate his extraordinary powers to the elucidation of the Scriptures as well as to the advancement of science. It is beyond the range of this article to notice the peculiar system of moral philosophy propounded by Ralbag, or to describe his valuable contributions to the science of medicine and to astronomy: we must confine ourselves to his exegetical works, and these we shall detail as much as possible in chronological order. Though he began his authorship with philosophical and scientific productions when about thirty (1317), yet he published no exegetical work till he was thirty-seven years of age, from which time he unremittingly devoted himself to the exposition of the Bible. His first commentary is on the Book of Job, and was finished 1325. Twelve months later (1326) he published a commentary on the Song of Songs; and in 1328 a commentary on *Cohemoth* or *Ecclesiastes*. These three books afforded him ample scope for propounding his philosophical theories, inasmuch as Job and *Ecclesiastes* discuss the moral government of God, whilst the Song of Songs by its allegory disclosed to him the profoundest metaphysical secrets,—"Jerusalem" being man—for 'just as man was chosen from the creatures for the service of God, so Jerusalem was selected from all other cities for the worship of the Most High'; 'the daughters of Jerusalem are the powers of the soul'; and King Solomon is 'the spirit in man which rules.' About the same time (1328) Ralbag finished his commentary on the first chapters of Genesis treating on the hexahemeron, and shortly after issued an exposition of Esther (1329). The Pentateuch now engaged his attention; and, after labouring over it eight years (1329-1337), he completed the interpretation of this difficult part of the O. T.—Genesis in 1329; Exodus, 1330; Leviticus—Deuteronomy, 1337. Whilst engaged on this portion of the Bible, he also worked (1334-1338) at a commentary on the Earlier Prophets—*i.e.*, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings—which he finished in 1338, as well as on commentaries on Proverbs, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles, all of which are dated 1338. The following are

the editions of his works:—(1.) פ'וש על התורה, *Commentary on the Pentateuch*, first printed at Mantua before 1480, then by Corn. Adelkind, Venice 1547, and then again in Frankfurter's Great Rabbinic Bible, Amsterdam 1724-1727 [FRANKFURTER]. (2.) פ'וש על נביאים ראשונים, *Commentary on the Earlier Prophets*, Leiria 1494, and in all the Rabbinic Bibles [RABBINIC BIBLES]. Excerpts of the commentaries on the Pentateuch and the Earlier Prophets, entitled תועליות, *Utility*,

have been published 1550, and a Jewish-German version of them is given in Jekutiels German translation of the Bible, Amsterdam 1676-78 [JEKUTIEL].

(3.) פ'וש על משלי, *Commentary on Proverbs*, Leiria 1492, and in all the Rabbinic Bibles. A Latin translation of this commentary by

Giggeius appeared in Milan 1620. (4.) פ'וש על איוב, *Commentary on Job*, Ferrara 1477, Naples 1486; and in the Rabbinic Bibles, ch. i.-v. of this commentary have been translated into Latin by Lud.

Hern. Aquinate, Paris 1623. (5.) פ'וש על שיר

רוח, *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, *Ecclesiastes*, and *Ruth*, with an introduction by Jacob Morkaria, Riva 1560; the commentaries on the Song of Songs, Ruth, and Esther, are also given in Frankfurter's Rabbinic Bible, and the whole four books were published in

Königsberg 1860. (6.) פ'וש על דניאל, *Commentary on Daniel*, published in Italy before 1480, in Pratensis' Rabbinic Bible, and in Frankfurter's Great Bible. The commentaries on Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles, which he finished in 1338, are still in MS., Codd. MSS., Opp. 288 Q, and Mich. 623. As to his mode of interpretation, Ralbag first gives an explanation of the words (ביאור)

(המלות) in each section, then propounds the meaning according to the context (ביאור הפירוש), and finally gives the utility or application of the pas-

sage (תועליות). The extreme liberality of his mind will be seen from the following principle which he enunciates,—'Truth must be brought to light even if it contradicts the revealed law most emphatically; as the Bible is no tyrannical law which intends to impose untruth for truth, but its design is to lead us to true knowledge' (comp. his

philosophical work entitled מלחמות השם, Riva di Trenta 1560, Introduction, p. 2 b, and sec. vi. p. 69 a). Ralbag died about 1342. (Comp. Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebræa*, i. 726, etc.; iv. 892; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, i. 82-84; Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, col. 1607-1615; Joel, in Frankel's *Monatschrift*, vol. ix. p. 223, etc., Leipzig 1860; vol. x. 41-60; 93-111; 137-145; 297-312; 333-344; vol. xi. 20-31; 65-75; 101-114; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. vii. p. 367-373, Leipzig 1863.—C. D. G.

RAM. 1. (רם; Sept. Ῥάμ; Alex. Ῥάβαν in Ruth, Ῥάμ in 1 Chron.; N. T. Ῥάμ), the second son of Hezron, and father of Amminadab (Ruth iv. 9; 1 Chron. ii. 9, 10, 25; Matt. i. 3, 4; Luke iii. 34).

2. (Sept. Ῥάμ.) The nephew of the preceding, and son of Jerahmeel (1 Chron. ii. 25, 27).

3. The chief of the family or sept to which Elihu belonged (Job xxxii. 2). The Targum identifies this Ram with Abraham; an opinion which Rashi and other Rabbins support, on the ground that Abram was first called Ram, *i.e.*, *exaltus*. Cocceius, whom Ewald follows (*Gesch.*, i. 414), suggests that he is the person called Aram (Gen. xxii. 21). By others Ram is supposed to be the same as Aram, the Heb. name for Syria; and they translate 'of the family of Syria,' or 'of an Aramæan family' (comp. 2 Chron. xxii. 5, where the Chetibh has ארמים for רמים, 'Syrians').—W. L. A.



## RAM. [SHEEP.]

RAM, BATTERING (רַמָּה; Sept. Βελδοτασις), an implement used for the purpose of effecting a breach in the wall of a town or fortification. It derived its name—not only among the Hebrews, but also among the Greeks (κρίδος) and the Romans (*aries*)—from its shape; it consisted of a heavy beam of wood fortified with iron plates, and terminating in an iron head made like that of a ram. Either carried by the soldiers or suspended by ropes or chains, it was driven with force against the wall till a breach was effected. It is expressly mentioned by Ezekiel (iv. 2; xxi. 27 [A. V. 22]), and is probably also referred to by him in xxvi. 9

under the words מִחֵי קַבְלֵי, though some would understand this of projectiles. An instrument of this kind was also apparently used by the followers of Joab at the siege of Abel (2 Sam. xx. 15). Vitruvius says (*Architect.*, x. 19) the battering-ram was first used by the Phœnicians. On the Assyrian battering-rams, see Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, ii. 78, ff.—W. L. A.

RAMA (Ραμᾶ), the Greek form of the Hebrew *Ramah* (רָמָה, see below, No. 1), used only in Matt. ii. 18, in the quotation from Jer. xxxi. 15: 'In Rama was there a voice heard, lamentation, and weeping, and great mourning, Rachel weeping for her children,' etc. The allusion is doubtless to Ramah, one of the leading cities of Benjamin, and not, as many have supposed, to some place of that name near Bethlehem. The passage is a difficult one, but the difficulty may be solved by a careful examination of the topography of the district. The difficulties are these:—1. Why is Rachel, the mother of Benjamin, represented as weeping for her children, seeing that Bethlehem was in *Judah* and not in *Benjamin*? The reply is: Rachel died and was buried near Bethlehem (Gen. xxxv. 19); the border of the tribe of Benjamin reached to her sepulchre (1 Sam. x. 2); not only were the children of Bethlehem slain, but also those 'in all the coast thereof,' thus including part of Benjamin. The spirit of the departed Rachel is then represented as rising from the tomb and mourning her slaughtered children. 2. But why was the voice of lamentation heard in Ramah, nearly ten miles distant? The answer is now easy. So deep was the impression made by the cruel massacre, that the cry of distress went through the whole land of Benjamin, reaching to the capital of the tribe.—J. L. P.

RAMAH (רָמָה) signifies a *height*, or a *high place*, from the root רָמָה, *to be high*; and thus it is used in Ezek. xvi. 24. Very many of the ancient cities and villages of Palestine were built on the tops of hills so as to be more secure; and hence, as was natural, such of them as were especially conspicuous were called by way of distinction הַרְמָה (with the article), *the Height*; and this, in the course of time, came to be used as a proper name. We find no less than five Ramahs mentioned in Scripture; and in modern Palestine the equivalent Arabic name is of very frequent occurrence. In regard to most of them the traveller can still see how appropriate the appellation was. In the A. V. we have various forms of the word—*Ramath* (רָמַת),

the *status constructus* (Josh. xiii. 26); *Ramôth* (רָמֹת and רָמֹת), the plural (Josh. xxi. 36; 1 Sam. xxx. 27); and *Ramathaim* (רָמַתַּיִם), a dual form (1 Sam. i. 1). *Remeth* (רֵמֶת) appears to be only another form of the same word.

1. *A city of Benjamin* (Ραμᾶ and Ῥαμᾶ; Alex. Ῥαμᾶ, Παμᾶ and Παμᾶν; *Rama*), frequently mentioned in Scripture. Joshua, in enumerating the towns of Benjamin, groups Ramah between Gibeon and Beeroth (xviii. 25). It is probably this place which is mentioned in the story of Deborah, 'She dwelt under the palm-tree of Deborah, between Ramah and Bethel in Mount Ephraim' (Judg. iv. 5.) Its position is clearly indicated in the distressing narrative of the Levite recorded in Judges xix. He left Bethlehem for his home in Mount Ephraim in the afternoon. Passing Jerusalem he journeyed northward, and crossing the ridge, came in sight of Gibeah and Ramah, each standing on the top of its hill; and he said to his servant, 'Come and let us draw near to one of these places to lodge all night, in Gibeah or in Ramah' (ver. 13). The towns were near the road on the right, and about two miles apart. The position of these two ancient towns explains another statement of Scripture. It is said of Saul (1 Sam. xxii. 6), that 'he abode in Gibeah under a tree in Ramah.' The meaning appears to be that the site of his standing camp was in some commanding spot on the borders of the two territories of Gibeah and Ramah. When Israel was divided Ramah lay between the rival kingdoms, and appears to have been destroyed at the outbreak of the revolt; for we read that 'Baasha king of Israel went up against Judah, and *built* Ramah' (1 Kings xv. 17). It was a strong position, and commanded the great road from the north to Jerusalem. The king of Judah was alarmed at the erection of a fortress in such close proximity to his capital, and he stopped the work by bribing the Syrians to invade northern Palestine (ver. 18-21), and then carried off all the building materials (22). Ramah was intimately connected with one of the saddest epochs of Jewish history. The full story is not told, but the outline is sketched in the words of Jeremiah. In the final invasion of Judæa by the Babylonians, Nebuchadnezzar established his headquarters on the plain of Hamath at Riblah (Jer. xxxix. 5). Thence he sent his generals, who captured Jerusalem. The principal inhabitants who escaped the sword were seized, bound, and placed under a guard at Ramah, while the conquerors were employed in pillaging and burning the temple and palace, and levelling the ramparts. Among the captives was Jeremiah himself (xl. 1, 5, with xxxix. 8-12.) There, in that heartrending scene of captives in chains wailing over slaughtered kindred and desolated sanctuaries, was fulfilled the first phase of the prophecy uttered only a few years before: 'A voice was heard in Ramah, lamentation and bitter weeping; Rachel weeping for her children, refused to be comforted for her children because they were not' (xxxi. 15.) That mourning was typical of another which took place six centuries later, when the infants of Bethlehem were murdered, and the second phase of the prophecy was fulfilled (Matt. ii. 17; see RAMA).

Ramah was rebuilt and reoccupied by the descendants of its old inhabitants after the Captivity

(Ezra ii. 26; Neh. xi. 33). According to Josephus it was forty *stadia* distant from Jerusalem (*Antiq.* viii. 12. 3); and Eusebius and Jerome place it in the sixth mile north of the Holy City (*Onomast.*, s.v. *Rama*; but in his commentary on Hosea v. 8, Jerome says *in septimo lapide*); and the latter states that in his day it was a small village (*ad Sophoniam*, i. 15).

Modern travellers are right in identifying Ramah of Benjamin with the village of *er-Ram* (Brocardus, vii.; Robinson, *B.R.*, i. 576); though Maundrell and a few others have located it at Neby Samwil. *Er-Ram* is five miles north of Jerusalem, and four south of Bethel. The site of Gibeah of Saul lies two miles southward, and Geba about the same distance eastward. Ram is a small miserable village; but in the walls and foundations of the houses are many large hewn stones, and in the lanes and fields broken columns and other remains of the ancient capital. The situation is commanding, on the top of a conical hill, half a mile east of the great northern road, and overlooking the broad summit of the ridge; the eastern view is intercepted by bleak ridges and hill-tops. The whole country round Ramah has an aspect of stern and even painful desolation; but this is almost forgotten in the great events which the surrounding heights and ruins recal to memory.

2. *Ramah of Asher* (Ραμά; *Horma*), a town mentioned only in Josh. xix. 29, in the description of the boundaries of Asher. It would appear to have been situated near the sea-coast, and not far from Tyre, towards the north or north-east. Eusebius and Jerome mention this place, but in such a way as shows they knew nothing of it farther than what is stated by Joshua. In the Vulgate Jerome calls it *Horma*, making the Hebrew article a part of the word. This, however, is plainly an error (*Onomast.*, s.v. *Rama*; and note by Bonfrer.) Robinson visited a village called *Rameh*, situated on the western declivity of the mountain-range, about seventeen miles south-east of Tyre. It 'stands upon an isolated hill in the midst of a basin with green fields, surrounded by higher hills.' In the rocks are numerous ancient sarcophagi, and the village itself has some remains of antiquity. He says, 'There is no room for question, but that this village represents the ancient *Ramah* of Asher' (*Bib. Res.*, iii. 64). Its position, however, notwithstanding the assertion of so high an authority, does not at all correspond with the notice in Scripture; and the name *Ramah* was too common to indicate identity with any degree of certainty. Another *Rameh* has been discovered on a little tell, two miles south-east of modern Tyre, and about one mile north-east of Ras-el-Ain, the site of ancient Tyre (Van de Velde, *Map and Memoir*, p. 342). In position this village answers in all respects to the *Ramah* of Asher. The writer did not visit it, and has not been able to find any description of its site or remains.

3. *Ramah of Naphtali* (Ῥαμήλ; Alex. *Ῥαμά*; *Arama*), one of the strong cities of the tribe, mentioned only in Josh. xix. 36, and situated apparently to the south of Hazor, between that city and the Sea of Galilee. Reland seems inclined to identify it with the *Ramah* of Asher; but they are evidently distinct cities, as indicated both by ancient geographers and the sacred writer. (Reland, *Pal.*, p. 963). Eusebius and Jerome record the name, though they appear to have known nothing

of the place (*Onomast.*, s.v. *Rama*). About six miles west by south of Safed, on the leading road to Akka, is a large modern village called *Rameh*. It stands on the declivity of the mountain, surrounded by olive groves, and overlooking a fertile plain. It contains no visible traces of antiquity; but the name and the situation render it highly probable that it occupies the site of *Ramah* of Naphtali. It was visited by Schultz in 1847 (Ritter, *Pal. und Syr.*, iii. p. 772), and by Robinson in 1852 (*Bib. Res.*, iii. p. 79).

4. *Ramah*, the birth-place and home of the prophet Samuel, and the city elsewhere called *RAMATHAIM-ZOPHIM*, which see (1 Sam. i. 19; ii. 11, etc.).

5. *Ramah, a City of Gilead* (2 Kings viii. 29; 2 Chron. xxii. 6), identical with *RAMOTH-GILEAD*, which see.

It has been supposed that the *Ramah* of Neh. xi. 33 is distinct from *Ramah* of Benjamin (Mr. Grove, in Smith's *Dict. of Bible*, ii. p. 1000); if so this would make a sixth Scripture town of the same name. The only reason for the supposition is that its position in the list of towns seems to remove it farther west than *Ramah* of Benjamin. Mr. Grove is inclined to identify it with *Rameh* in the plain of Philistia. This supposition is of little weight, for the grouping of the names would lead us to place *Ramah* as near to Nob and Anathoth as to Lod and Ono. If the sites of Ananiah, Hazor, and Gittaim were satisfactorily identified we might be able to pronounce more definitely regarding *Ramah*.—J. L. P.

**RAMATH-LEHI** (רַמַּת לֵחִי; Ῥαμαθισ σα- γόβος; *Ramath-lechi*). The origin of this name, which occurs only in Judg. xv. 17, forms one of the most romantic episodes in Scripture history. Samson, having been bound with two new cords, was given up to the Philistines at a place called *Lehi*, a name which signifies 'jaw-bone.' When the enemy attacked him he burst his bonds, seized the *jaw-bone* (*lehi*) of an ass that lay upon the ground, and with this odd weapon slew a thousand of them. Then he threw away the jaw-bone, and, as a memorial of the event, and by a characteristic play upon the old name, he called the place *Ramath-Lehi*, that is the lifting (or wielding?) of the jaw-bone; and so it is interpreted in the Vulgate—*elevatio maxille*; and in the LXX. The same word differently pointed (רַמַּת, from the root רָמַה, 'to cast') would signify 'the casting away' (see Gesenius, *Thes.*, p. 752). For the topography of the place, see *LEHI*.—J. L. P.

**RAMATH-MIZPEH** (רַמַּת הַמִּצְפֶּה), with the art. 'The high-place of the watch-tower;' Ῥαμᾶς κατὰ τὴν Μασσφά; Alex. *Ῥαμᾶς κατὰ τὴν Μασφά*; *Ramoth, Masphe*). In defining the boundaries of the tribe of Gad, Joshua states that Moses gave them inheritance. . . . 'From Heshbon unto Ramath-mizpeh, and Betonim' (Josh. xiii. 26). This place is nowhere else mentioned; and it appears to have constituted one of the landmarks on the northern border of the tribe, which ran from the banks of the Jabbok in the parallel of Jerash to the southern end of the Sea of Galilee. Somewhere in this region therefore *Ramath-mizpeh* must have stood. It was in this region Jacob and Laban had their remarkable



interview and entered into the covenant. The place where they vowed to each other was marked by a heap of stones, and called both *Galeed* and *Mizpah* (Gen. xxxi. 48, 49). This would seem to suggest the identity of the Mizpah of Jacob and Ramath-mizpeh (see GAD and JEGAR-SAHADUTHA). There was, however, another Mizpeh in Gilead, on the north-east border of Gad, and close to the territory of the Ammonites. In later times it became the great gathering-place of Israel east of the Jordan. It may perhaps have been the same as Ramath-mizpeh (see MIZPEH, No. 5). Such minute points of topography cannot be settled until we have a careful survey of the whole country east of the Jordan.—J. L. P.

RAMATH-NEGEB, or RAMATH OF THE SOUTH (רָמַת נֶגֶב; *Βαρεθὰ κατὰ λίβα*; Alex. *Ῥαμὲθ κατὰ λίβα*; *Ramath contra Australem plagam*), a place apparently on the extreme southern border of Simeon. In this form it is only mentioned in Josh. xix. 8, and from the peculiarity of the construction, there being no copulative, it would seem to be only another name for Baalath-beer, as suggested by Reland (*Pal.*, p. 964), and interpreted by Keil (*ad loc.*) Yet the Septuagint makes the places distinct. Be this as it may, Negeb is manifestly the name of a district, and not a general term signifying 'south.' [NEGEB.]

In 1 Sam. xxx. 27, SOUTH RAMOTH (רָמֹתֵי נֶגֶב; in the plural; *Ῥαμὰ νότον*; Alex. *Ῥαμὰς νότον*; *Ramoth ad meridiem*) is mentioned as one of the cities to which David sent portions of the spoils of the Amalekites. Doubtless it is the same place called by Joshua Ramath-negeb. The name should be written *Ramoth-negeb*. The site is unknown, and the region where it stood is in a great measure unexplored.—J. L. P.

RAMATHAIM-ZOPHIM or RAMAH (רָמַתַּיִם זֹפִיִּים; *Ῥαμασαιμ Ζοφιμ*; Alex. *Ῥαμασαιμ Ζωφιμ*, both MSS. making the art 7 part of the word; *Ramathaim Sophim*; and *הָרָמָה*; *Ῥαμασαιμ*; *Ramatha*). In its full form this name only occurs in 1 Sam. i. 1; in all other places it is written simply *Ramah*, of which *Ramathaim* appears to be the dual, and Zophim is added by way of distinction. It was the birth-place of the prophet Samuel (1 Sam. i. 19), his own permanent and official residence (vii. 17; viii. 4), and the place of his sepulture (xxv. 1). This is all we know of it with any degree of certainty.

Gesenius questions the identity of Ramathaim-Zophim and Rama (*Thesaurus*, p. 1275); but a comparison of 1 Sam. i. 1 with ver. 19 shows without doubt that the same place is referred to. This, too, was the view of the Septuagint translators, who uniformly render the name *Ῥαμασαιμ*. The word *Zophim* has been variously explained. The most natural explanation appears to be that *Zuph*, one of Samuel's ancestors, had migrated from his home in Ephrata (1 Sam. i. 1; 1 Chron. vi. 35), and settled in a district to which he gave his own name, and which was afterwards called the land of *Zuph* (1 Sam. ix. 5). Ramah, or Ramathaim, was the chief town of this district, and was hence called *Ramathaim-Zophim*, that is, 'Ramah of the Zuphites' (see Robinson, *B. R.*, ii. 7).

The position of Ramathaim-Zophim is one of the

puzzles of Biblical geography. Though the ablest students have exercised all their learning and ingenuity upon it, it remains to this day without a satisfactory solution. As the city is one of great interest, it may be well to give the principal theories as to its site, and then to state the data on which alone the site can be determined.

(1.) Eusebius and Jerome locate it near Diospolis or Lydda (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Armatha Sophim*) and identify it with the Arimathæa of the N. T. (Matt. xxvii. 57). The latter may be correct, for the Septuagint *Ῥαμασαιμ* seems to be the same name as the N. T. *Ῥιμαθα*, and represents the Hebrew *הֶרְמָתַיִם*, with the article. There is no doubt there was a city called Armatha or Ramathem, on the plain near Lydda, at an early period, and its modern representative may be Ramleh, as suggested by Reland and others (Reland, *Pal.*, pp. 580, 959; see, however, Robinson, *B. R.*, ii. 238); but Ramah of Samuel could not have been so far distant from Gibeah of Saul, and was besides situated in the mountains. (2.) Some would identify this city with Ramah of Benjamin (Gesenius, *Thes.*, p. 1275; Winer, *R. W.*, s. v. *Rama*); but this Ramah was much too close to Saul's residence at Gibeah to suit the requirements of the sacred narrative (1 Sam. ix. xix. 18). (3.) Dr. Robinson has suggested that the site of Ramah may be that now occupied by the village of Sôba, which stands on a lofty and conspicuous hill-top, about six miles west of Jerusalem. Sôba, he thinks, may be a corruption of the old name *Zuph*; its elevation would answer well to the designation *Ramah*; it might be regarded as included in the mountains of Ephraim, or at least as a natural extension of them; and a not very wide detour would take the traveller from Sôba to Gibeah by the tomb of Rachel (*Bib. Res.*, ii. 7-9). The arguments are plausible but not convincing; and it must be admitted that even Dr. Robinson's remarkable geographical knowledge has failed to throw light on the site of Ramathaim-Zophim. (4.) Mr. Wolcott, seeing on the spot the difficulties attending Robinson's theory, and finding a remarkable ruin called *Ramet el Khulil*, near Hebron, concluded that this was the site of Samuel's city. A summary of his reasons is given by Robinson in the *Biblical Cabinet* (vol. xliii. p. 51; see also *Bib. Res.*, iii. 279). They are not more convincing than those advanced in favour of Sôba, yet they have been adopted and expanded by Van de Velde (*Narrat.*, ii. 48-54; *Memoir*, 341). (5.) Gesenius thinks that *Ῥαμα* is, or as it is usually called, *Frank Mountain*, the conspicuous conical hill three miles south-east of Bethlehem, is the true site of Ramah (*Thesaurus*, p. 1276). This, however, is pure conjecture, without any evidence to support it. (6.) Ewald is in favour of the little village of *Ramallah*, a mile west of Beeroth (*Geschichte*, ii. 550, note). It is doubtless situated in Mount Ephraim, retains the old name, and the name *Allah*, 'God,' might be an indication of some old peculiar sanctity; but it is open to the same objections as all others north of Rachel's tomb. (7.) One of the most ancient, and certainly one of the most plausible theories is that which locates Ramathaim-Zophim at *Neby Samwîl*. It is most probably to this place Procopius alludes in the statement that Justinian caused a well and a wall to be erected for the convent of St. Samuel (*De Edific. Just.*, v. 9; cf. Robinson, *B. R.*, i. 459). From the 7th century, when Adamnanus de-

scribed Palestine, and spoke of 'the city of Samuel, which is called Ramatha' (*Early Travels*, Bohn, p. 5), down through the Middle Ages to the present day, the name of the prophet has been connected with this spot, and the uniform tradition of Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans, has made it the place of his birth and burial (see authorities cited in Robinson, *l. c.*) The Crusaders built a church over the alleged tomb, which after the fall of the Latin kingdom was converted into a mosque; and its walls and tall minaret are still visible from afar (Quaresmius, ii. p. 727; Pococke, ii. p. 48). Neby Samwil is unquestionably the site of a very ancient city; its position on the summit of a high conical hill would give it a just title to the name Ramah; it probably lay within the region termed the 'Mountains of Ephraim,' and it would form an appropriate residence for the great judge of Israel. Yet there are very formidable objections to its identification with Ramathaim-Zophim. It appears to be much too near Gibeah, the capital of Saul's kingdom, to form a safe refuge for David when he fled from that monarch. It is not an hour's ride distant, and it is in full view. Then if the scene of Saul's first interview with Samuel when in search of his father's asses be fixed at Samuel's home in Ramah, as appears most natural, Neby Samwil cannot possibly be the place. It has been shown besides, that Neby Samwil is most probably the site of Mizpah (MIZPAH, No. 4).

Those scriptural allusions which tend to indicate the position of Ramathaim-Zophim are the following; and they are our only trustworthy guides. The statements of Eusebius and later writers can have little weight; and indeed it appears that all knowledge of the city was lost before their time.

(a.) In 1 Sam. i. 1 we read: 'There was a certain man of Ramathaim-Zophim, of Mount Ephraim.' From this it would appear at first sight that Ramathaim was situated in the district called Mount Ephraim. The construction of the Hebrew, however, does not make this quite certain. The phrase מְנַדְהֶרֶמְתַּיִם צוֹפִים מוֹהַר אֶפְרַיִם might possibly mean, not that Ramathaim was in Mount Ephraim (which would be expressed rather by מוֹהַר), but that Elkanah was in some way of Mount Ephraim (the Hebrew is מוֹהַר), though residing in Ramathaim. The statement of the sacred writer, therefore, does not form an insuperable objection to a theory that would locate Ramathaim beyond the bounds of Mount Ephraim. And besides, the extent of the region called Mount Ephraim is nowhere defined. It may mean that section of mountain allotted to the tribe of Ephraim, or it may have extended so as to include part, or even the whole of Benjamin. It could scarcely have embraced any portion of Judah, since the two tribes were rivals for sovereignty. The allusions to Mount Ephraim in 1 Sam. ix. 4; Josh. xvii. 15; Judg. xvii. 1; appear to confine the name to the territory of the tribe.

(b.) Ramah would appear to have been at some considerable distance from the residence of Saul at Gibeah; such at least is the conclusion one would naturally draw from the following passages: 1 Sam. xv. 34, 35; xix. 18-23.

(c.) It is generally supposed that the first interview between Saul and Samuel took place at Ramah. This is not directly stated. Dr. Robinson admits that it is not, and says that 'the answer of the maidens (1 Sam. ix. 11, 12) would perhaps

rather imply that Samuel had just arrived, possibly on one of his yearly circuits, in which he judged Israel in various cities' (*Bib. Res.*, ii. 10). Mr. Grove argues that the interview *could not* have taken place in Ramathaim, because the place of the interview was near the sepulchre of Rachel close to Bethlehem, while Mount Ephraim did not extend farther south than Jerusalem (Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, ii. 999). This assumes that Ramathaim-Zophim was in Mount Ephraim, which is not certain. It cannot be questioned that, apart from all theories, the whole course of the narrative leaves the impression that Samuel was in his own house in Ramah when Saul visited him. He was there when the Lord informed him, apparently on the preceding day (cf. 1 Sam. viii. 4, 22; ix. 15, 16), of his intention to appoint a king. The words of Saul's servant, too, convey the same impression: 'When they were come to the land of Zuph, Saul said, Let us return;' but the servant said, 'Behold now, there is *in this city* a man of God . . . let us go thither' (ix. 5, 6). This would scarcely apply to a place in which Samuel was but a casual visitor. And it ought not to be forgotten that the interview took place *in the land of Zuph*. Samuel's ancestor, as has been seen, was called *Zuph*, and his city was Ramathaim-Zophim. The Hebrew words are identical (רַמְתַּיִם צוֹפִים) the plural form of צוֹפִים. It is granted that all this is not conclusive. It is impossible to say with absolute certainty that the interview took place at Ramah. But if it did, it is clear that Neby Samwil cannot occupy the site of that city. The place of the interview could not have been within the tribe of Benjamin, because (a) the Lord, in foretelling to Samuel the coming of Saul, said, 'To-morrow, about this time, I will send thee a man out of the land of Benjamin' (1 Sam. ix. 16); and (b) Saul when in search of the asses 'passed through Mount Ephraim, and passed through the land of Shalisha; then through the land of Shalim; and he passed through the land of the Benjamites' (ver. 6). Then they came 'to the land of Zuph.' The land of Zuph was consequently south of Benjamin. So in returning home (apparently to Gibeah) from the place of the interview, Saul's way led past Rachel's tomb, the site of which is well known near Bethlehem. The city where the interview took place, therefore, must have stood somewhere to the south or south-west of Bethlehem.

This seems to be all that can be said upon the subject. To attempt greater definiteness would be only to put theories in the place of facts.—J. L. P.

RAMBACH, JOHANN JAKOB, was born at Halle 24th Feb. 1693, and died 19th April 1735 at Giessen, where he was professor of theology and first superintendent. During his comparatively short life he devoted himself to sacred studies, and produced some valuable works. Besides assisting Michaelis in the preparation of his Hebrew Bible, and of his *Adnotationes uberores in Hagiographa*, he was the author of *Institutiones Hermeneutice sacrae*, of which the 8th edition appeared in 1764; *Exercitationes Hermen.*, sive p. ii. *Instit. Herm.*, Jena 1728, ed. sec. 1741; *Comment. Herm. de sensus mystici criterii*, Jen. 1728, 1731. His other works are dogmatical and polemical.—W. L. A.

RAMBAM. [MAIMONIDES.]

RAMBAN. [NACHMANIDES.]



RAMESES (רַעַמְסֵס; Sept. 'Ραμεσση), an Egyptian city in the land of Goshen, built, or at least fortified, by the labour of the Israelites (Gen. xlvii. 11; Exod. i. 11; xii. 37; Num. xxxiii. 3-5). The name of the city seems to have been sometimes given to the whole province (Gen. xlvii. 11), by which it would appear to have been the chief city of the district. It has been supposed that it was situated on the watershed between the Bitter Lakes and the Valley of the Seven Wells, not far from Heroöpolis, but not identical with that city (See Robinson's *Bibl. Researches*, i. 70, 547-550). This, however, is very doubtful. In Exod. i. 11, the name is, by a difference in the points, spelt רַעַמְסֵס, Raamses. The name means 'son of the sun,' and was borne by several of the ancient kings of Egypt, one of whom was probably the founder of the city.

RAMMAK (רַמָּאָק). This word occurs once in the plural combined with בָּנִי (Esther viii. 10). In the A. V. the conjoined words are rendered 'young dromedaries;' but for this there is no authority. These words are evidently in apposition with what precedes; and the whole may be rendered thus: 'persons riding on swift horses [RECHESH], mules, sons of brood-mares;' or, as Bertheau (with strong reasons in support of his rendering) gives it, 'riding on runners [horses], noble (or royal) sons of stallions' (*Exeget. Hdb.*, in loc.) The word stands allied with Syr. ܪܡܟܐ, *ramko*, a herd (especially of horses), and the Arab. رماكة, *ramakat*, a mare. *Rammak*, as a strong form, is held by Bertheau to designate 'that animal which in the herd or in the stud is pre-eminent in energy, the stallion.'—W. L. A.

RAMOTH (רָאֲמוֹת), an article of value (Job xxviii. 18), and an object of commerce on the part of the Syrians (Ezek. xxvii. 16). In the A. V. it is rendered by *coral*, an interpretation which is vouched for by tradition, but has little else in its favour. The word properly means 'high things' (Prov. xxiv. 7), and Lee proposes to retain this meaning in Job in the sense of things in *high estimation, costly things*; but both in Job and in Ezekiel it seems to denote some special precious thing. It may have been coral, and the name may be derived from רָאָם, *to be high, to branch out*; or from רָאָם, comp. Arab. رعى, *to be red*; or perhaps from רָאָם, the *Re'em*, or *wild ox*, whose branching horns it may have been thought to resemble.—W. L. A.

RAMOTH-GILEAD and RAMOTH IN GILEAD (רָאֲמוֹת גִּלְעָד and רָאֲמוֹת גִּלְעָד) also written *plene*, רָאֲמוֹת, in 2 Chron. xxii. 5; and simply רָאֲמוֹת in 2 Kings viii. 29 and 2 Chron. xxii. 6; Ραμῶθ ἐν τῇ Γαλααδ; Ραβῶθ Γαλααδ; Ρεμμῶθ; Ρεμμῶθ, etc.; *Ramoth-Galaad*, one of the chief cities of the tribe of Gad, on the east side of the Jordan. It was allotted to the Levites, and appointed a city of refuge (Deut. iv. 43; Josh. xx. 8). The latter fact would seem to indicate that it occupied a central position in the tribe, and also pro-

bably in the country assigned to the Israelites east of the Jordan. If so it could scarcely have stood, as some have supposed, on the extreme north-eastern border of Gad. Ramoth played for a time an important part in Israelitish history, and was the scene of many a hard struggle. It was apparently a strong fortress, and considered the key of the country. Hence when taken by the Syrians the kings of Israel and Judah regarded it as a national loss, affecting both kingdoms; and they combined to drive out the common enemy (1 Kings xxii. 4, *seq.*) The united attack was unsuccessful, and the king of Israel was mortally wounded in the battle (xxii. 34-37).

At a later period, apparently in the reign of Joram (2 Kings ix. 14, 15; with Joseph. *Antiq.* ix. 6. 1), Ramoth was taken from the Syrians, and held notwithstanding all the efforts of Hazael to regain it. Joram having been wounded in the struggle left his army under the command of Jehu, and returned to Jezreel to be healed (2 Kings viii. 29). During his absence Jehu was anointed by order of Elisha (ix. 1, 2), and commissioned to execute vengeance on the wicked house of Ahab (ver. 7-10). Leaving Ramoth, Jehu drove direct to Jezreel. The king, expecting news from the seat of war, had watchmen set on the towers who saw his chariot approaching (16, 17). The rest of the story is well known.

After this incident Ramoth-Gilead appears no more in Jewish history.

The exact position of Ramoth is nowhere defined in Scripture. The name (*Ramoth*, 'heights') would seem to indicate that it occupied a commanding position on the summit of the range of Gilead. In 1 Kings iv. 13 we read that when the districts of Solomon's surveyors were arranged, the son of Geber was stationed in Ramoth, and had charge of all the cities of Jair the son of Manasseh, both in Gilead and Bashan; and these cities extended over the whole north-eastern section of Palestine beyond Jordan. Various opinions have been entertained regarding the site of this ancient city. Some would identify it with *Jerash*, the old Roman *Gerasa*, whose ruins are the most magnificent and extensive east of the Jordan (see *Ben-jamin of Tudela*, by Asher), but this is too far north, and Jerash besides lies in a valley. Ewald would locate it at the village of *Reimun* among the mountains, five miles west of Jerash (*Gesch.*, iii. p. 500; Winer, *R. W.*, s. v. *Ramoth*). For this there is no evidence whatever.

The most probable opinion regarding the site of Ramoth is that which places it at the village or *es-Salt*. This is indicated—(a), by its position on the summit of a steep hill; (b), by its old ecclesiastical name *Salut Hieraticus*, which appears to point to its original 'sacerdotal' and 'holy' character, Ramoth having been both a Levitical city and a 'city of refuge' (see Reland, *Pal.*, p. 213); (c), by the fact that about two miles to the north-west of *es-Salt* is the highest peak of the mountain-range still bearing the name *Jebel Jilad*, 'Mount Gilead;' and (d), by the statement of Eusebius that Ramoth-Gilead lay in the fifteenth mile from Philadelphia towards the west, and this is the exact distance of *es-Salt* from Rabbath-Ammon (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Rammoth*).

It may therefore be concluded that *es-Salt* occupies the place of the celebrated Ramoth-Gilead. The situation is strong and picturesque. The hill

on which it stands is separated by deep ravines from the loftier mountains that encompass it; and its lower slopes are covered with terraced vineyards, while the neighbouring hill-sides and valleys abound with olive groves. On the summit stands the castle, a rectangular building with towers at the corners, and defended by a deep moat hewn in the rock. The foundations appear to be Roman, if not earlier, but the upper walls are Saracenic. In the town itself, which contains some three thousand inhabitants, there are few remains of antiquity. In the cliffs and ravines beneath it are great numbers of tombs and grottoes (*Handbook for S. and P.*, p. 308). Es-Salt is famed for its vineyards; and its raisins are esteemed the best in Palestine. They are carried in large quantities to Jerusalem (Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 349; Irby and Mangles, *Travels*, p. 321; Ritter, *Pal. und Syr.*, pp. 1121-38; Abulfeda, *Tüb. Syr.*, p. 92; Buckingham, *Travels*, p. 20).

Winer and others identify Ramoth-Gilead, Ramath-Mizpah, and Mizpah of Gilead. On this, see the articles MIZPAH, No. 5; and RAMAH.—J. L. P.

RAMS' HORNS. [MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.]

RAMS' SKINS DYED RED (עֲרֹת אֵילִים מֵאֲדָמִים, *Exod.* xxv. 5, and xxxv. 7). One of the materials employed for the covering of the tabernacle. The words may be rendered 'red rams' skins,' and may be understood as the produce of the African Aoudad, the *Ovis tragelaphus* of naturalists, whereof the bearded sheep are a domesticated race. The *tragelaphus* is a distinct species of sheep, having a shorter form than the common species, and incipient tear-pits. Its normal colour is red, from bright chestnut to rufous chocolate; which last is the cause of the epithet *purple* being given to it by the poets. We agree, however, with Dr. Mason Harris, that the skins in question were most likely tanned and coloured crimson; for it is well known that what is now termed red morocco was manufactured in the remotest ages in Libya, especially about the Tritonian Lake, where the original ægis, or goat-skin breastplate of Jupiter and Minerva, was dyed bright red; and the Egyptians had most certainly red leather in use, for their antique paintings show harnessmakers cutting it into slips for the collars of horses and furniture of chariots.—C. H. S.

RANDOLPH, THOMAS, was born at Canterbury in 1701. He was educated at Oxford, where he ultimately became president of Christ Church College, and Lady Margaret professor of divinity. He was also archdeacon of Oxford, and held other pieces of ecclesiastical preferment. He died in 1783. His only contribution to Biblical literature is entitled, *The Prophecies and other texts cited in the N. T., compared with the Hebrew original and with the LXX. version*, Oxf. s. a.; a careful collation of passages, with judicious notes.—W. L. A.

RAPHEL, GEORG, pastor and superintendent at Lüneburg, was born 10th September 1673, at Lüden, in Silesia, and died 7th June 1740. He was the author of *Annotations in S.S. historice in Vet., philol. in N. T. ex Xenophonti, Polybio, Arriano et Herodoto Collectæ*, Lugd. Bat. 1747, 2 vols. 8vo.—W. L. A.

RAPHION (Ῥαφών), a place where Judas Macabæus obtained a victory over Timotheus (1 Maccab. i. 37). Josephus calls it a πῶλις (*Antiq.* xii. 8. 4); and it has been suggested that it is probably the Raphana mentioned by Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, v. 16) as one of the towns of the Decapolis. From ver. 45 it appears it was near to Carnaim—i.e., Ashtaroth-Carnaim. Near to it was a torrent, but there are no means of identifying it.—W. L. A.

RASHBAM (רש"ב) is the acrostic of רבי

שמואל בן מאיר, *Rabbi Samuel b. Meir*, the celebrated commentator and Tosafist, and Rashi's daughter's son. He was born at Ramero about 1085, and died about 1154. Till the beginning of the last century this exquisite scholar was chiefly known as having completed the commentaries on certain tractates of the Talmud (viz., *Pesachim*, *Baba Bathra*, etc.), which his grandfather Rashi had left unfinished, and by his discussions on sundry legal points in the Pentateuch which are embodied in the Tossaphoth. In 1705, however, his *commentary on the Five Books of Moses*, entitled פֶּרֶשׁ הַרֶשֶׁבֶם, *the Exposition of Rashbam*, was for the first time published in the edition of the Hebrew Pentateuch, with the Haphtaroth, the Five Megilloth, the Massorah, the three Chaldee paraphrases, the Chaldee paraphrases of the Megilloth, the second Chaldee paraphrase of Esther, the commentaries of Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Jacob b. Asher, Aaron Pesaro, David Kimchi on the Haphtaroth, etc., Berlin 1705—which at once established his reputation as one of the most distinguished expositors of the Scriptures belonging to the French school. Rashbam's commentary, which was published from Oppenheim's MS., begins with Gen. xviii. and ends with Deut. xxxiii. 3. It was republished in this imperfect condition in the excellent edition of the Hebrew Pentateuch, with the Chaldee paraphrases, sundry commentaries, etc., Amsterdam 1727-29, though it was evident from his quotations (*Gen.* xxv. 27; *Exod.* xiv. 30; xx. 10; *Lev.* ii. 1), as well as from the writings of others (comp. Jacob b. Asher on *Gen.* iv. 26), that the other portions existed in MS. The erudite and indefatigable Geiger published, from a Munich MS., a portion of this missing commentary, extending from *Gen.* i. 1 to 31, in the Hebrew Annual called *Kerem Chemed*, vol. viii. p. 41-51, Berlin 1854, and it is to be regretted that this portion is not inserted in the excellent edition of the Pentateuch, with sundry Rabbinic commentaries, published at Vienna 1859, in which Rashbam's commentary is given. A super-com-

mentary, entitled קֶרֶן שְׁמוּאֵל, *the Horn of Samuel*, on Rashbam's exposition, by S. Hessel, was published in Frankfurt-on-the-Oder 1721. Rashbam also wrote פֶּרֶשׁ הַמֵּשׁ מִנְלוֹת, *A Commentary on the Five Megilloth*, of which only that on two Megilloth—viz., the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes—has been published by Jellinek, Leipzig 1855. Excerpts from the other three Megilloth are given

in פְּרָשִׁים עַל אֶסְתֵּר וְעַל רֹת וְאִיכָה, edited by the same indefatigable scholar, Leipzig 1855. An English translation of the first chapter of the commentary on Ecclesiastes is given by Ginsburg, *Historical and Critical Commentary on Ecclesiastes*, Longman, 1861, p. 42-46. The commentary on the Psalms, edited by Isaac Satanov, Berlin 1794,



and reprinted Vienna 1816, which is ascribed to Rashbam, is not his. He also completed Rashi's commentary on Job, and we learn from the quotations by the expositors of the north of France school, that he both wrote independent commentaries and glosses to Rashi's comments on the whole O. T. The extraordinary influence which his literal, grammatical, and exegetical commentaries exercised upon his contemporary fellow-labourers, may be judged of from the fact, that no less a person than his own grandfather—the immortal Rashi—was convinced by the soundness of Rashbam's principles of interpretation, and declared to him, that if he had to re-write his expositions, he would adopt those principles of interpretation. Comp. Rashbam's *Commentary on Gen.* xxxvii. 2; Geiger, *נכטעני נעמנים*, p. 29-39, Breslau 1847. By the same author, *Parschandata*, p. 20-24; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, iii. 239, etc.—C. D. G.

RASHI (רש"י), formed from the initials of רבי

שלמה יצחקי, *Rabbi Solomon Iachaki* or *Isaaki* = *b. Isaac*, is the name of that eminent commentator and Talmudist who was the founder of the Germano-French school of Biblical exegesis, and who is erroneously called *farchi*. He was born, 1040, at Troyes in Champagne, and not at Lunel in Perpignan, as some will have it, who have been misled by the erroneous assertion of Münster and Buxtorf,

that *Rashi*, רש"י, is the acrostic of שלמה רבי ירחי, *R. Salomon farchi* = of Lunel (from *luna*).<sup>\*</sup> Being the son of a thorough Talmudist, he imbibed from his youth an insatiable desire to become master of all the Rabbinic lore, and for this purpose went to the Rabbinic school at Mayence which was founded by R. Gershon, and which was then conducted by R. Jacob b. Jakar. He after-

wards attended the lectures of R. Isaac Ha-Levi, and Isaac b. Jehudah, at Worms, as well as the school of R. Elijah at Spire, leaving his home and wife, and suffering from want of food and garments in order to acquire divine knowledge. At the age of twenty-five (1064), he permanently settled down at Troyes, where he was already recognised as a high authority in Rabbinic learning, and was consulted by some of the most distinguished Talmudists about difficult civil and religious questions. He soon after became Rabbi of the Jewish community in Troyes, and founded a school to which numerous disciples resorted both from Germany and France (1070). Here he delivered those famous lectures on the Talmud and the Bible which form the substance of his commentary on the Talmud and the Scriptures, and which secured for him the distinguished and witty title of *Parschandata* (פרשנדרה) = *Interpreter of the Law*, which is the name of one of Haman's sons (Esther ix. 7). With the exception of Chronicles and part of Job, Rashi wrote commentaries on the whole O. T. And though the order of his commentaries cannot be traced, as there are no dates affixed to them, internal evidence goes far to show that he began with expounding the Talmud, then wrote his exposition of the traditional commentary on Genesis called *Bereshith Rabba* [MIDRASH], and last of all wrote his comments on the Hebrew Scriptures. As a commentator Rashi combines the traditional exposition contained in the Talmud and Midrashim with a simple and literal explanation of the text; and does not see any inconsistency in putting side by side with the Halachic and Hagadic interpretation his own verbal interpretations, which are sometimes at variance with tradition. Though unacquainted with the labours of the Spanish grammarians and expositors, he incorporates in his commentaries all the lore contained in the cyclopædias of Jewish tradition, as well as the learning of the French expositors. The accents (Num. xi. 9; Deut. xi. 30, *al.*); the Chaldee paraphrases (Gen. iii. 15; vi. 6; xiv. 17, *al.*); the Massorah (Deut. xxxiii. 23; Prov. xiii. 23); the Midrash Bereshith (Gen. i. 5, and almost on every page); Midrash Samuel (Gen. xxxvi. 3; 1 Sam. ii. 30); Midrash Tanchuma (Gen. xi. 5; xiv. 13; Deut. xxxiii. 1, *al.*); Midrash Tillim (Ps. frequently); the Mishna (Gen. xxxvii. 25; Exod. xvi. 31; Num. xxxiv. 3, *al.*); Pesikta (Jer. xl. 1; Lament. i. 14); Siphri (Exod. xviii. 1); Siphri ii. (Levit. x. 19); the Talmuds, both Babylon (Gen. xlviii. 2) and Jerusalem (Gen. xxix. 26); Tosephta (Ezek. xlviii. 8); the expositions and grammatical works of Baruch b. Eliazar (Exod. vi. 9); Dunash b. Labrat (Exod. xxviii. 28; Num. xi. 8, *al.*); Eliazar b. Isaac Gaon (Ps. lxxvi. 11; Job xxiv. 6); Gershon b. Jehudah (Is. xlv. 1); Hai Gaon (Judg. iv. 18; Hos. iii. 3); Jacob b. Jakar (Job xxii. 30); Jacob b. Manachem (Exod. iii. 19); R. Isaac Ha-Levi, one of Rashi's teachers (1 Sam. i. 24; Prov. xix. 24); Jehudah Ha-Darshan (Is. xxxi. 22); Jehudah Ibn Koreish (Jer. xi. 19); Joseph Kara (Prov. iv. 4; v. 14; vi. 20, *al.*); Josippon (2 Kings xx. 13; Is. xxi. 4; xxix. 2, *al.*); Eliazar Kalir (Gen. xxx. 22; Is. xxiv. 22; Ezek. xlii. 20, *al.*); Kalonymos b. Shabtai (Deut. xviii. 2; 1 Sam. xxv. 18; Dan. viii. 14); R. Machir (Gen. xliii. 10); Meier b. Isaac (Ps. lxxiii. 12; Amos iii. 14; Hos. vi. 9); Menachem b. Chelbo (1 Sam. xix. 24; 1 Kings vi. 9; 2 Kings iv. 39,

<sup>\*</sup> Simon (*Hist. Crit. V. T.*, p. 152) and Wolf (*Bibliotheca Hebraea*, i. 1057, etc.) are perfectly right in their assertion that the name *farchi*, by which Christians call this celebrated commentator, is a blunder, and that the Jews of France, and throughout the world, for more than five hundred years after the birth of Rashi, did not even know him by the appellation of *farchi*. The first Jew who mentions Rashi by the name *farchi* is Manasseh b. Israel (1604-1657 [MANASSEH B. ISRAEL]); but even he only uses this name in his Latin works, *De Resurrectione*, 1636; *De Fragilitate*, 1642; and *Spes Israelis*, 1650, which he wrote for Christians who knew this name from Münster and Buxtorf. Sabbatai Bass (1641-1718), who next uses this name in his Bibliographical work, entitled *שפתי שנים*, Amst. 1680, has not only borrowed it from Buxtorf and Bartolucci, but copied it from the Leyden Catalogue, 1674; and he again was followed by Solomon Oliveyra (1640-1708) in his work *דרכי נועם*, Amst. 1683; by Jechiel Heilprin in his *סדר הדורות*, Carlsruhe 1769; and by Abraham Asulai (died 1644) in his *שם הגדולים*, vol. ii., Leghorn 1774. It is therefore astonishing that Pressel (in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie*, s. v. 'Rashi'), who refers to Zunz's researches on *Rashi*, should yet repeat De Rossi's objection to Simon, Wolf, etc., without having seen Zunz's thorough refutation of De Rossi's objection (Jost, *Annalen*, i. 328, 335).



*al.*); Menachen b. Saruk (Gen. xv. 2; Exod. iii. 22; xxi. 13; xxviii. 12, *al.*); Menachem the physician (Job vi. 7); Moses Ha-Darshan (Gen. xxxv. 8; xlviii. 7; Num. viii. 7, *al.*); Nathan Ishmaelite (1 Sam. xiv. 27); Saadia Gaon (Exod. xxiii. 12; Ps. xl. 10; Zech. vi. 10; Dan. vii. 25); R. Simon (Is. lviii. 14; Amos vi. 3); R. Tanchuma (Gen. iv. 24)—are all made tributary to the elucidation and illustration of the Scriptures. So great was Rashi's piety and learning, and so extraordinary was the influence which his expositions exercised upon the Jewish nation, that his comments are almost looked upon as part of the Bible, and his interpretation is to the present day regarded by most orthodox Jews as the authoritative import of Holy Writ. Yet it greatly redounds to his honour that when he, in after life, studied the commentaries of his grandson Rashbam, he frankly confessed that if another opportunity were offered to him he would make his expositions more literal [RASHBAM.] Rashi died July 13, 1105, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. The following are the editions, super-commentaries, and translations of his commentaries:—The Commentary on the Pentateuch was first published in Calabria 1475, then before 1480, then again 1487, and has since been printed in almost every Jewish edition of the Hebrew text. His comments on the other portions of the Bible soon followed. Without entering into particulars about the several editions of the sundry portions, it suffices to say that all Rashi's commentaries are given in the Rabbinic Bibles; that Breithaupt translated the whole of Rashi's commentaries into Latin (four vols. 4to, Gotha 1710-1714), and that this translation is accompanied by very learned and extensive annotations, and contains the super-commentaries entitled *נורי שפת חכמים*, by Löwe, Prague 1578; and *שפת סבבטאי* Bass. The best German translation of the commentary on the Pentateuch is by Leopold Dukes, printed in Hebrew letters with the original of Rashi, and the Hebrew text, Prague 1833-1838, five vols. 8vo. Comp. the elaborate essay on Rashi by the erudite Zunz, *Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, Berlin 1822, p. 277, etc.; by the same author, *Heisst Raschi 'farchi?* in Jost's *Annalen*, vol. i. pp. 328 and 385, etc., Frankfurt-on-the-Maine 1839, and *Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, Berlin 1845, p. 62, etc.; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, ii. 78-90; Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, col. 2340-2357; Geiger, *Parschanda*, Leipzig 1855, p. 12, etc.; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. vi., Leipzig 1861, p. 77, etc.—C. D. G.

RASSES, CHILDREN OF, a people whose country was ravaged by Holofernes (Judith ii. 23). The Vulg. reads *Tharsis*, which has led some to suppose that the original was *תַּרְשִׁישׁ*, and that Tarsus is meant. The Syr. has *Thiras* and *Ra'm-sis*, the old Lat. *Thiras et Rasis*. Fritzsche proposes to find the place in *Pāsoos*, *Pāsoos*, a mountain-range and town south from Amanos (*Exeg. Hdb.*, p. 143).—W. L. A.

RAVEN. [OREB.]

RAZIS (*Pašís*; Alex. *Pašéis* = *רָזִי* or *רִזְנִי*; comp. Syr. *رَازِي*), a patriotic Jew who committed suicide rather than fall into the hands of the enemy (2 Maccab. xiv. 37-46). In dying he pro-

fessed his faith in the resurrection (ver. 46). As suicide was wholly repugnant to Jewish modes of thought, the evident commendation with which the writer records this act has been urged as an argument against the canonicity of the book.—W. L. A.

REBEKAH (*רִבְקָה*, a *noosed cord*; Sept. *Ῥεβέκκα*), daughter of Bethuel, and sister of Laban, who became the wife of Isaac, and the mother of Jacob and Esau. The particulars of her history and conduct, as given in Scripture, chiefly illustrate her preference of Jacob over Esau, and have been related in the article JACOB: see also ISAAC.

RECENSION. After the critical materials at the basis of the N. T. text had accumulated in the hands of Mill and Bentley, they began to be examined with care. Important readings in different documents were seen to possess resemblances more or less striking. Passages were found to present the same form, though the MSS. from which they were derived belonged to various times and countries. The thought suggested itself to Bengel, that the mass of materials might be definitely classified in conformity with such peculiarities. The same idea afterwards occurred to Semler. Bengel classified all the documents from which various readings are collected into two *nations* or *families*—the Asiatic and the African. To the former belonged the codex Alexandrinus as the chief; to the latter the codices Græco-Latini. At first the eminent critic does not seem to have had a very distinct apprehension of the subject; and therefore he speaks in general terms of it in his edition of the Greek Testament published in 1734; but in the posthumous edition of the *Apparatus Criticus* (1763, edited by Burkius) he is more explicit. Semler was the first that used the term *recension* of a particular class of MSS., in his *Hermeneutische Vorbereitung* (1765). This critic, however, though acquainted with Wetstein's labours on the text of the N. T., had nothing more than a dim notion of the subject. He followed Bengel without clearly understanding or enlarging his views. Griesbach was the first scholar who treated the topic with consummate learning and skill, elaborating it so highly that it became a prominent subject in the criticism of the N. T. But he had the benefit of Wetstein's abundant treasures. The term *recension* applied to MSS. quotations by ancient writers, and versions of the Greek Testament bearing an affinity to one another in characteristic readings, became a classical word in his hands; and has continued so. The appellation is not happily chosen. *Family*, *nation*, *class*, or *order*, would have been more appropriate; because *recension* suggests the idea of revision, which is inapplicable. If it be remembered, however, that the word denotes nothing more than a certain class of critical documents characterised by distinctive peculiarities in common, it matters little what designation be employed.

The sentiments of Griesbach, like those of Bengel, developed and enlarged with time. Hence we must not look for exactly the same theory in his different publications. In his *Dissertatio Critica de codicibus quatuor Evangeliorum Origenianis*, pars prima, published in 1771, he says, that there are perhaps three or four recensions into which all



the codices of the N.T. might be divided (*Opuscula Academica*, edited by Gabler, p. 239, vol. i.)

In the preface to his first edition of the Greek Testament (1777) he states that at the beginning of the 3d century there were two recensions of the gospels, the Alexandrian and the Western.

In the prolegomena to the first volume of his second edition of the Greek Testament, the matured sentiments of this able critic are best set forth. There he illustrates the Alexandrian recension, the Western, and the Constantinopolitan. The first two are the more ancient, belonging to the time in which the two collections of the N. T. writings, the *εὐαγγέλιον* and *ὁ ἀπόστολος*, were made. The Alexandrian was an actual recension arising at the time when the two portions in question were put together; the Western was simply the accidental result of carelessness and arbitrary procedure on the part of transcribers and others in the MSS. current before the *ἀπόστολος* or epistles were collected. The Constantinopolitan arose from the intermingling of the other two, and, like the Western, is no proper *recension*, but was rather the result of a condition of the documents brought about by the negligence and caprice of copyists or meddling critics. The Alexandrian is presented by the MSS. C L 33, 102, 106, and by B in the last chapters of the four gospels; by the Memphitic, Ethiopic, Armenian, and Philoxenian versions; and the quotations of Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, Eusebius, Athanasius, Cyril of Alexandria, and Isidore of Pelusium. The Western accords with the codices Graeco-Latini, with the Ante-Hieronymian Latin version, and with B in the gospel of St. Matthew; also with i. 13, 69, 118, 124, 131, 157; with the Thebaic and Jerusalem-Syriac versions, and the quotations of Irenæus in Latin, Cyprian, Tertullian, Ambrose, and Augustine. The third or Constantinopolitan is shown in A E F G H S of the gospels, the Moscow codices of the Pauline epistles, the Gothic and Slavonic versions; and in the quotations of such fathers as lived during the 4th, 5th, and 6th centuries in Greece, Asia Minor, and the neighbouring provinces.

The text in Chrysostom he describes as a mixed one; and of P Q and T he says, that they accord sometimes with the Alexandrian, sometimes with the Western. The Alexandrian recension sought to avoid and change whatever might be offensive to Greek ears; but the Western preserved the harsher genuine readings when opposed to the genius of the Greek language; Hebraising ones; readings involving solecism or unpleasant to the ear. The Alexandrian sought to illustrate words and phrases rather than the sense: the Western endeavoured to render the sense clearer and less involved by means of explanations, circumlocutions, additions gathered from every side, as well as by transpositions of words and sentences. It also preferred the readings which are more full and verbose, as well as supplements taken from parallel passages; sometimes omitting what might render the sense obscure or seem repugnant to the context or parallel passages; in all which respects the Alexandrian is purer. The Alexandrian critic acted the part of a grammarian; the Western that of an interpreter. In all these points Griesbach asserts that the Constantinopolitan commonly agrees with the Alexandrian; but with this difference, that it is still more studious of Greek propriety, admits

more glosses into the text, and intermingles either Western readings, which differ from the Alexandrian, or else readings compounded of Alexandrian and Western. No recension is exhibited by any codex in its original purity (*Prolegomena in Novum Testamentum*, 3d edition, by Schulz, vol. i. p. lxx., *et seqq.*)

Michaelis thinks that there have existed four principal editions:—

1. The Western, used in countries where the Latin language was spoken.

2. The Alexandrian or Egyptian, with which the quotations of Origen coincide, and the Coptic version.

3. The Edessene edition, embracing the MSS. from which the old Syriac was made.

4. The Byzantine, in general use at Constantinople after that city became the capital of the Eastern empire.

This last is subdivided into the ancient and the modern (*Introduction to the N. T.*, translated by Marsh, vol. ii. p. 175, *et seq.*, 2d edition).

Assuredly this classification is no improvement upon Griesbach's.

Somewhat different from Griesbach's system is that of Hug, which was first proposed in his *Einführung in das Neue Testament* (1808).

1. The *κοινή* *ἐκδοσις*, i.e., the most ancient text, unrevised, which came into existence in the 2d century, found in D, 1, 13, 69, 124, of the gospels; in D E F G of Paul's epistles; in D E of the Acts; and in the old Latin and Thebaic versions. The Peshito also belongs to this class of text; though it differs in some respects from D.

2. About the middle of the 3d century, Hesychius, an Egyptian bishop, made a recension of the *κοινή* *ἐκδοσις*. To this belong B C L of the gospels; A B C, 40, 30, 367, in the Acts; A B C, 40, 367, in the Catholic epistles; A B C, 46, 367, 17, of the Pauline epistles; and A C of the Apocalypse. It appears in the citations of Athanasius, Marcus and Macarius the monks, Cyril of Alexandria, and Cosmas Indicopleustes. This recension had ecclesiastical authority in Egypt and Alexandria.

3. About the same time, Lucian, a presbyter of Antioch in Syria, revised the *κοινή* *ἐκδοσις* as it then existed in the Peshito, comparing different MSS. current in Syria. In this way he produced a text which did not wholly harmonise with the Hesychian, because he was less studious of elegant Latinity. It appears in E F G H S V of the gospels, and b h Moscow *Evangelistaria* collated by Matthæi, with most of the cursive MSS.; in f, a, i, b, d, c, m, k (Matthæi), of the Acts; in g (Matthæi), f, k, l, m, c, d, of the Pauline and Catholic epistles; in r, k, p, l, o, Moscow MSS., of the Apocalypse; in the Gothic and Slavonic versions, and the quotations of Theophylact, though his text is no longer pure.

4. A fourth recension Hug attributes to Origen during his residence at Tyre. To it belong A K M, 42, 106, 114, 116, and 10 of Matthæi in the gospels, the Philoxenian Syriac, the quotations of Theodoret and Chrysostom.

From this summary it appears that Hug's *κοινή* *ἐκδοσις* agrees substantially with the Western recension of Griesbach. It is more comprehensive, as including the Peshito, with the quotations of Clement and Origen. The Hesychian recension of Hug coincides with the Alexandrian of Griesbach.



Eichhorn's system is substantially that of Hug, with one important exception. He assumed an unrevised form of the text in Asia, and, with some differences, in Africa also. This unrevised text may be traced in its two forms as early as the 2d century. Lucian revised the first, Hesychius the second. Hence, from the close of the 3d century there was a threefold phase of the text—the African or Alexandrian, the Asiatic or Constantinopolitan, and a mixture of both. Eichhorn denied that Origen made a new recension (*Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, vol. iv. sec. 35 and following).

In 1815 Nolan published an *Inquiry into the integrity of the Greek Vulgate*, in which he propounded a peculiar theory of recensions. He divided all the documents into three classes—the Palestinian, equivalent to Griesbach's Alexandrian; the Egyptian, identical with Griesbach's Western; and the Byzantine. The three forms of the text are represented, as he assumed, by the Codex Vaticanus and Jerome's Vulgate, with the Codices Vercellensis and Brixianus of the Latin version. The last two contained a more ancient text than that represented by the version of Jerome. The Palestinian recension, which he attributes to Eusebius of Cæsarea, is greatly censured as having been executed by this Father with arbitrariness and dishonesty, since he tampered with passages because of their opposition to his Arian opinions. At the end of the 5th century this recension was introduced into Alexandria by Euthalius, and was circulated there.

Scholz made two classes or families—the Alexandrian or Occidental, and Constantinopolitan or Oriental. Griesbach's western class is contained in the former. He referred to the Alexandrian, several of the ancient MSS., and a few later ones—the Memphitic, Thebaic, Ethiopic, and Latin versions, and the ecclesiastical writers belonging to western Europe with those of Africa. To the Constantinopolitan he referred the MSS. belonging to Asia Minor, Palestine, Syria, eastern Europe, especially Constantinople, with the Philoxenian, Syriac, Gothic, Georgian, and Slavonic versions, besides the fathers of these regions. To the latter he gave a decided preference, because of their alleged mutual agreement, and also because they were supposed to be written with great care after the most ancient exemplars; whereas the Alexandrian documents were arbitrarily altered by officious grammarians. Indeed, he traces the Constantinopolitan to the autography of the original writers.

Rinck agrees with Scholz in classifying all documents under two heads—the Occidental and the Oriental—the former exhibited in A B C D E F G in the Epistles; the latter containing the cursive MSS. The former he subdivides into two families—the African (A B C) and the Latin codices (D E F G). He finds in it the result of arbitrary correction, ignorance, and carelessness.

Tischendorf's view, given in the prolegomena to the seventh edition of his Greek Testament, is, that there are two pairs of classes, the Alexandrian and Latin, the Asiatic and Byzantine. The oldest form of the text, and that which most bears an Alexandrian complexion, is presented in A B C D I L P Q T X Z Δ, perhaps also R in the gospels. A later form, bearing more of an Asiatic complexion, is in E F G H K M O S U V Γ Δ. For the Acts and catholic epistles the oldest text is

given in A B C; for Acts probably D and I also. For the Pauline epistles the oldest text is represented by A B C H I D F G, the first five being Alexandrian, the last two Latin; D standing between the two classes. A and C in the Apocalypse have a more ancient text than B.

Lachmann has disregarded all systems of recensions, and proceeded to give a text from ancient documents of a certain definite time—the text which commonly prevailed in the 3d and 4th centuries, drawn from Oriental MSS.; with the aid of Occidental ones in cases where the former disagree among themselves. In his large edition he follows the united evidence of eastern and western MSS. His merits are very great in the department of N. T. criticism; but this is not the place to show them. He does not, however, profess to give a text as near as possible to that which he judges to proceed from the sacred writers themselves, as Griesbach and Tischendorf have done. On the contrary, he has simply undertaken to present that form of the text which is found in documents belonging to a certain period, as a basis contributing to the discovery of the authentic text itself. His text is an important aid to the work of finding out the original words; not the original itself, as he would have given it. For this reason his edition contains readings which, in his own opinion, could not have been original. His object was therefore somewhat different from that of most editors. But he set an example of rigid adherence to the task proposed, and of critical sagacity in eliminating the true text from ancient documents of the time, evincing the talents and skill of a master. Since his time it has been the fashion among inferior critics and imitators to attach undue weight to antiquity. Uncial MSS. and their readings have been too implicitly followed by some.

Tischendorf has recently adopted the same views as those of Lachmann, holding that the most ancient text alone should be edited; though it may not always be what the sacred authors wrote. If this principle be laid at the basis of his eighth edition now in progress, it will make a considerable difference between it and the *seventh*. The internal goodness of readings, the context, and sound judgment, are thus excluded. And they are excluded at the expense of something more valuable; for mere outward and ancient testimony can never elicit what ought to be an editor's chief object—the presentation of a text as near the original one as can be procured. The oldest text of the best MSS. and versions is valuable only as far as it assists in attaining that object. It is owing to the undue elevation of antiquity that such a reading as *ὁ μονογενὴς θεός* in John i. 18 has been given in the text of a recent edition. The same excessive veneration for antiquity has led to the separation of *ὁ γέγονεν* from *οὐδὲ ἐν* (John i. 3) in modern times. Lachmann is exceeded by smaller followers; not in his own exact line.

To Griesbach all must allow distinguished merit. He was a consummate critic, ingenious, acute, candid, tolerant, and learned. His system was elaborated with great ability. It exhibits the marks of a sagacious mind. But it was assailed by many writers, whose combined attacks weakened its basis. In Germany, Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Hug, Schulz, Gabler, and Schott, made various objections to it. In consequence of Hug's acute remarks the venerable scholar himself modified his



views. He did not, however, give up the three recensions, but still maintained that the Alexandrian and Western were distinct. He admitted that the Syr ac, which Hug had put with the *κοινή*, was nearer to that than to the Alexandrian class; but he hesitated to put it with the Western, because it differed so much. He denied that Origen used the *κοινή*; maintaining that the Alexandrian, which existed before his time, was that which he employed. He conceded, however, that Origen had a western copy of Mark besides an Alexandrian one; that in his commentary on Matthew, though the readings are chiefly Alexandrian, there is a great number of such as are western, and which therefore appear in D 1, 13, 28, 69, 124, 131, 157, the old Italic, Vulgate, and Syriac. Thus Origen had various copies at hand, as he himself repeatedly asserts. Griesbach also conceded that Clemens Alexandrinus had various copies, differing in the forms of their texts. Hence his citations often agree with the *κοινή ἑκδοσις* and D. Thus Origen and Clement cease in some measure to be standard representatives of the Alexandrian recension. The concessions of Griesbach, resulting from many acute observations made by Hug and others, amounted to this, that the nearness of MSS. and recensions to one another was greater than he had before assumed—that his two ancient recensions had more points of contact with one another in existing documents than he had clearly perceived. The line between his Alexandrian and Western classes became less perceptible. This indeed was the weak point of the system; as no proper division can be drawn between the two. In the *application* of his system he professed to follow the consent of the Alexandrian and Western recensions, unless the internal marks of truth in a reading were so strong as to outweigh this argument. But he departed from his principle in several instances, as in 1 Cor. iii. 4; Gal. iv. 14; Philip. iii. 3; 1 Thes. ii. 7; Heb. iv. 2.

In the year 1814, Dr. Laurence published objections to Griesbach's system, many of which are unfounded. Some of his observations are pertinent and fair; more are irrelevant. He does not show much appreciation of the comparative value of MSS. and texts; and reasons in a sort of mechanical method against Griesbach. It is evident that he was somewhat prejudiced against the Alexandrian recension. Observations like the following show an animus against the German critic: 'Too much dazzled, perhaps, by the splendour of intricate and perplexing research, he overlooked what lay immediately before him. When he threw his critical bowl among the established theories of his predecessors, he too hastily attempted to set up his own, without having first totally demolished theirs; forgetting that the very nerve of his criticism was a principle of hostility to every standard text' (*Remarks upon the Systematic Classification of MSS. adopted by Griesbach*, p. 57). The pamphlet of the Oxford scholar is now almost forgotten; yet it produced considerable effect at the time of its appearance, when the reprinting of Griesbach's Greek Testament in England was associated with the active dissemination of Unitarian tenets, and the accomplished German himself was unjustly charged with leaning to similar views.

In America, Mr. Norton subsequently animadverted upon the same system with considerable acuteness and plausibility. It is evident, however, that he did not fully understand all Griesbach's

sentiments. He had not studied the peculiar readings of MSS., the quotations of the Fathers, and the characteristics of ancient versions. Yet he has urged some objections forcibly and conclusively against the adoption of the system.

Hug's theory of recensions, as far as it differs from Griesbach's, is without foundation. It makes Origen use the *κοινή ἑκδοσις*; whereas his usual text agrees with the Alexandrian. The Hesychian recension was employed at least a hundred years previously by Clement of Alexandria; and that Hesychius was really the author of a recension is historically baseless. He may have corrected, in some places, a few copies which he used. The recension attributed to Lucian is also destitute of historical proof. The basis of this is supposed to have been the *κοινή ἑκδοσις* as it existed in Syria. Again, it is very improbable that Origen undertook to revise the *κοινή ἑκδοσις*. It is true that Jerome appeals to the *exemplars* of Origen; but this does not imply that the latter made a revision of existing copies. The Alexandrian father used copies of the N. T. selected with care, and probably corrected them in various places; but he did not undertake in his old age the laborious task of making a peculiar revision. The silence of ancient writers, especially of Eusebius, who is most copious in his praises of Origen, speaks strongly against the critical studies of the Alexandrian father in the N. T. text. We believe, therefore, that the recension-system of Hug is unsustained by historical data. Succeeding critics have refused to adopt it. Griesbach himself made several pertinent objections to it. It was also assailed by Schott, Kinck, Gabler, and others. Mr. Norton, too, opposed it.

Nolan's system is fundamentally wrong. There is no evidence that the Codex Brixianus contains the Latin version in its oldest form; and therefore the assumed connection of it with the Byzantine text fails to show that the latter is the most ancient and best representative of the original Greek. The Codex Brixianus, on the contrary, is itself a revision of the old Latin text. Nolan thinks that the Codex Vercellensis has a text corrected by Eusebius of Vercelli, after that which he brought from Egypt on his return from exile. But this form of the text circulated in the West before Eusebius; and the Palestinian recension, which he supposes to have been introduced into Alexandria by Euthallus, was there before. Thus the system so ingeniously elaborated by the critic is historically erroneous. It introduces arbitrary and baseless conjectures into the department of criticism, ignores facts, and deals in unjust accusations against ancient writers, such as Eusebius of Cæsarea, who were as honest as the zealous upholder himself of the Byzantine text. All attempts to maintain the most recent, in opposition to the most ancient text, must necessarily fail.

Thoroughly erroneous as Nolan's theory is, it was eagerly welcomed by some advocates of the received text in England. Mr. Horne could say of it, even in the ninth edition of his *Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Scriptures*, 'The integrity of the Greek Vulgate he has confessedly established by a series of proofs and connected arguments, the most decisive that can be reasonably desired or expected!'

With regard to Scholz's system, which is identical with Bengel's, it may be preferable to



Griesbach's as far as it allows but two classes of documents. It is certainly simpler. His estimate, however, of the value of families is erroneous. He failed to prove that the particular form of the text current in Asia Minor and Greece during the first three centuries was the same as that presented by the Constantinopolitan MSS. of a much later date. He did not show that the Byzantine family was derived from the autographs of the original writers in a very pure state; and he was obliged to admit that the text which obtained at Constantinople in the reigns of Constantine and Constantine was collated with the Alexandrian; a circumstance which would naturally give rise to a mingling of readings belonging to both. Eusebius states that he made out fifty copies of the N. T. for the use of the churches at Constantinople, at the request of Constantine; and as we know that he gave a decided preference to Alexandrian copies, it cannot be doubted that he followed those sanctioned by Origen's authority. Constantinopolitan codices differ in their characteristic readings from the Alexandrian; but the preference belongs to the latter, not the former. Why should junior be placed above older documents? Antiquity may be overbalanced by other considerations; and certainly the Alexandrian MSS. are neither faultless nor pure. But the Byzantine and later MSS. are more corrupt. Numbers must not be considered decisive of right readings in opposition to antiquity; yet numbers had an undue influence on Scholz's mind. Rinck has refuted his supposed proofs of the superiority of Constantinopolitan MSS.; and Tischendorf has more elaborately done the same, in the preface to his first edition of the Greek Testament (1841). In fact, Scholz's historical proofs are no better than fictions which true history rejects.

No definite system of recensions, such as those of Griesbach, Hug, and Scholz, can be made out, because lines of division cannot be drawn with accuracy. Our knowledge of the ways in which the early text was deteriorated, of the influences to which it was exposed, the corrections it underwent in different places at different times, the methods in which it was copied, the principles, if such there were, on which transcribers proceeded, is too meagre to build up a secure structure. The subject must, therefore, remain in obscurity. Its genius is such as to give rise to endless speculation, without affording much real knowledge. It is vague, indefinite, shadowy; awakening curiosity without satisfying it. Yet we are not disposed to reject the entire system of classification as visionary. It is highly useful to arrange the materials. The existence of certain characteristic readings may be clearly traced in various monuments of the text; however much we may speculate on their causes. It is true that in several cases it is very difficult to distinguish the family to which a particular reading belongs, because its characteristics may be divided between two classes. Or they may be so mixed that it is almost impossible to detect the family with which it should be united. The evidences of its relationship may be so obscure as to render the determination of its appropriate recension a subtle problem. It is also unquestionable, that no one MS. version or Father exhibits a recension in a pure state; but that each form of the text appears more or less corrupted.

The speculations of the critics to which we have

referred have had one advantage—viz., that they have made the characteristic readings of MSS. better understood, and enabled us to group together certain documents presenting the same form of text. Thus in the gospels—

Ν Α Β C D I L P Q T X Z present an older form of the text than Ε F G H K M S U V I'. Among the former, Ν Β Ζ have a text more ancient and correct than that of the others.

Matthæi repudiated the whole system of recensions as useless and absurd. We question whether he was warranted by learning, penetration, or judgment, to use the contemptuous language which he applied. His industry in collating MSS. and editing their text, was praiseworthy; but he had not the genius to construct a good text out of the materials within his reach. He over-estimated his Moscow codices, and looked on Griesbach's merits with envious eye. Hence his diatribe on recensions shows more ardent zeal than discretion. What sentence can show the spirit of the man better than this?—'Griesbach has been hammering, filing, and polishing for thirty years at this masterpiece of uncriticism, unbelief, and irreligiousness, in Semler's recension - manufactory' (*Ueber die sogenannten Recensionen welche der Herr Abt Bengel, Der Herr Doctor Semler, und der Herr Geheim-Kirchenrath Griesbach, in dem Griechischen Texte der N. T. wollen entdeckt haben*, p. 28). Professor Lee employed language equally strong as Matthæi's, but not so scurrilous, though of the same tendency—'Ingeniosæ illæ familiarum fabricæ, ut mihi videtur, in unum tantummodo finem feliciter extructæ sunt; ut se rem in seipsa haud valde obscuram, tenebris Ægyptiacis obscuriorem reddant; Editoresque eos qui se omnia rem acu tetigisse putent, supra mortalium labendi statum, nescio quantum, evehere' (*Prolegomena in Biblia Polyglotta Londinensia minora*, p. 69). Neither is sufficiently eminent to be justified in the employment of phraseology from which masters in criticism, like Griesbach, would refrain. Hear the veteran scholar, in his last publication, speaking of Hug—'Dubitationis igitur causas exponere mihi liceat, sed paucis et modeste, nec eo animo, ut cum viro doctissimo quem permagni me facere ingenue profiteor, decerem, sed ut tum alios viros harum rerum peritos, tum in primis ipsum excitem et humanissime invitem ad novum instituendum causæ, quæ in universa re critica Novi Testamenti maximi momenti est, examen, quo ea, si ullo modo fieri id possit, ad liquidum tandem perducatur' (*Meletemata de vetustis textus Novi Testamenti recensionibus*, particula ii. p. 42).

The preceding observations will help to account for the varying schemes of different critics. Some may look for greater exactness and nicety than others. Hence they will make more families of documents. Others, with less acuteness or ingenuity, will rest satisfied with classes more strongly marked by the number of materials they embrace, or the breadth of territory over which they were supposed to circulate. There is no possibility of arriving at precision. The commingling of readings has obliterated many peculiarities in the progress of time; though enough has been left to form the basis of a rough classification.

It is more difficult to classify the ancient versions, such as the Peshito Syriac, because their texts have suffered frequent interpolations and changes.



In the quotations of the fathers we must make allowance for *memoriter* citation, without expecting great care or attachment to the letter. Griesbach, however, denies that Origen quoted from memory; and none has investigated the citations of the Alexandrian father with equal labour. But the state of his commentaries is far from being what we could wish; and the original is often lost or corrupted.

The term *recension* is sometimes applied to the O. T. as well as the N. T. There the materials hitherto collated all belong to one recension—viz., the Masoretic. Some, indeed, have divided them into Masoretic and Ante-Masoretic; but the latter cannot be traced. At present, we are acquainted with only one great family; though it is probable that particular revisions of parts of the O. T. preceded the labours of the Masoretes. Whether the Karaite Hebrew MSS., of which many have been recently brought to St. Petersburg, present a different form of the text from the Masoretic, will be seen after they have been collated. It is certain that their vowel-system is different from the present one. We expect, therefore, that important readings may be furnished by these very ancient codices.

(See Bengel's *Introductio in Crisin N. T.*, prefixed to his edition of the Greek Testament, Tübingen 1734, 4to; Semler's *Vorbereitungen zur Hermeneutik*, Halle 1760-69, 8vo; Michaelis's *Introduction to the N. T.*, by Marsh, vol. ii. p. 173, *et seq.*; Griesbach's *Opuscula*, edited by Gabler, with the Preface of the latter, Jena 1824-25, 2 vols. 8vo; Griesbach's *Commentarius Criticus in Textum Græcum*, particule i. and ii., Jena 1798, 1811, 8vo; Griesbach's *Prolegomena* to the second edition of his Greek Testament, 1796, 8vo; Eichhorn's *Einleitung*, vol. iv., Göttingen 1827, 8vo; Bertholdt's *Einleitung*, vol. i., Erlangen 1812, 8vo; Schulz's *Prolegomena* to the third edition of Griesbach, Berlin 1827, 8vo; Hug's *Einleit.*, vol. i., Stuttgart 1847, fourth edition, 8vo; De Wette's *Einleit. in das Neues Testament*, Berlin 1860, 8vo, sixth edition; Schott's *Isagoge Historico-Critica*, Jena 1830, 8vo; Matthæi, *Ueber die sogenannten Recensionen*, u. s. w., Leipzig 1804, 8vo; Scholz's *Biblisch-Kritische Reise*, u. s. w., Leipzig 1823, 8vo; Scholz's *Prolegomena to the N. T.*, vol. i. 1830; Laurence's remarks on Griesbach's *Systematic Classification of MSS.*, Oxford 1814, 8vo; Rinck's *Lucubratio critica in Acta Apost., Epp. Cathol., et Paulin.*, u. s. w., Basel 1830, 8vo; Tischendorf's *Prolegomena* to his edition of the Greek Testament, Lipsiæ 1841, 8vo, with the *Prolegomena* to his seventh edition, Leipzig 1859, and his article *Bibeltext* in Herzog's *Encyklopædie*; Reuss's *Die Geschichte der heiligen Schriften Neuen Testaments*, fourth edition, Brunswick 1864; Norton's *Genuineness of the Gospels*, vol. i., Boston 1837, 8vo; Davidson's *Treatise on Biblical Criticism*, vol. ii., Edinburgh 1852.)—S. D.

RECHAB (רֶכָב, *rider*; Sept. Ῥηχάβ), son of Hemath the Kenite, and probably a descendant of Jethro [KENITES]: he is only known as the father of Jonadab, the founder of the sect of Rechabites, which took from him its name (2 Kings x. 15; 1 Chron. ii. 55; Jer. xxxv. 6).

RECHABITES. The tribe or family of Kenites, whom Jonadab, the son of Rechab, subjected

to a new rule of life; or rather bound to the continued observance of ancient usages which were essential to their separate existence, but which the progress of their intercourse with towns seemed likely soon to extinguish. By thus maintaining their independent existence as a pastoral people, they would keep themselves from being involved in the distractions and internal wars of the country, would be in no danger of becoming objects of jealousy and suspicion to the Israelites, and would be able at all times to remove from a country in which they were strangers. The Rechabites found so much advantage in these rules, that they observed them with great strictness for about 300 years, when we first become aware of their existence. Jeremiah brings some Rechabites into one of the chambers of the Temple, and sets before them pots full of wine, and cups, saying, 'Drink ye wine;' on which it is well observed by Gataker and others that the prophet omits the usual formula, 'Thus saith the Lord,' which would have constrained obedience in men so pious as the Rechabites, even at the expense of infringing their rule of life. But now they answer, 'We will drink no wine; for Jonadab, the son of Rechab, our father, commanded us, saying, Ye shall drink no wine, neither ye nor your sons for ever. Neither shall ye build house, nor sow seed, nor plant vineyard, nor have any: but all your days ye shall dwell in tents, that ye may live many days in the land where ye be strangers' (Jer. xxxv. 6, 7). They added that to the present time they had observed these injunctions, although they had been constrained to take refuge in Jerusalem when the Chaldaean armies swept the face of the land. The Vulgate, by *translating* all the proper names in 1 Chron. ii. 55, has given currency to an impression that the Rechabites were employed in some of the inferior offices of the temple; and has led to the inference that they were taken as captives to Babylon, from which they returned, and resumed their duties under the second temple, Jabesh in Gilead being the chief place of their residence. There is no shade of authority, beyond this assumption of proper names as appellatives, for a statement every point in which is contrary to the probabilities of the case. The Septuagint, though prone to regard Hebrew proper names as appellatives, does not do so in this text, with the exception of Sopherites, which it renders by 'scribes,' in which it is followed by the A. V. But there is no apparent ground for thus taking one only as an appellative in a list of proper names, unless an intelligible sense could not be otherwise obtained. But the sense is better with this also as a proper name than as an appellative. We may then read, much as in Geddes' version, 'But the Sopherite families who inhabited Jabesh, the Tirathites, the Shimathites, and the Suchathites, were Kenites who came from Hemath Abi-Beth-Rechab.' The translator remarks on the last words, 'I do not translate these words, because I do not understand them. There is probably some corruption of the text. The literal version would be, 'Hemath, father of the house of Rechab.' This Rechab was doubtless the same from whom the Rechabites took their name; and it appears to us that the text is far from meaning to say that the families at Jabesh (whether 'scribes' or not) were Rechabites in the limited sense; their residence at Jabesh being indeed conclusive against that notion: but that these families



were Kenites descended from the Hemath who was *also* the progenitor of that Rechab from whom the Rechabites took their name. We doubt if a clearer explanation of this difficult text can be obtained: and if so, it conveys no other information concerning the Rechabites than that their progenitor was a descendant of Hemath, who was likewise the founder of other Kenite families.

What eventually became of the Rechabites is not known. The probability is that, when they found themselves no longer safe among the Hebrews, they withdrew into the desert from which they at first came, and which was peopled by men of similar habits of life, among whom, in the course of time, they lost their separate existence. The various attempts to identify them with the Assideans, mentioned in the books of Maccabees (1 Maccab. ii. 42; vii. 13; 2 Maccab. xiv. 6), and with the later Jewish sect of Essenes, will not bear examination. We can as little recognise as Rechabites the body of people in Arabia of whom Benjamin of Tudela (*Itinerary*, i. 112-114, ed. Asher), Niebuhr, Wolf (*Journals*, ii. 276, 331-334; iii. 17), and others, have given hearsay accounts. The details, however, whether correct or not, apply to Talmudical Jews more than to Rechabites. They are described as living in caverns and low houses, not in tents—and this in Arabia, where Bedouin habits would cease to be singular; nor are any of the Rechabite rules observable in them except that of refraining from wine—an abstinence which ceases to be remarkable in Arabia, where no one does drink wine, and where, among the strongholds of Islam, it could probably not be obtained without danger and difficulty. There were large numbers of Talmudical Jews in Arabia in the time of Mohammed, and these supposed Rechabites are probably descended from a body of them. It is to be hoped that some competent traveller will penetrate to the spot which they are said to inhabit, and bring back some more satisfactory accounts than we yet possess. (See Witsius, *Dissert. de Rechabitis*, in *Miscell. Sacra*, ii. 176, seq.; Carpzov, *Apparat.*, p. 148; Calmet, *Dissert. sur les Rechabites*, in *Commentaire Littéral*, vi. 18-21.)—J. K.

RECHESH (רֶכֶשׁ), an animal for riding and draught. The A. V. (Esther viii. 10, etc.) renders by 'mules,' but the word rather denotes a swift horse, from רָכַשׁ, to run swiftly. See Bochart, *Hieroz.*, i. p. 100. In Micah i. 13 the A. V. has 'swift beast.'

RECORDER (מְזַכֵּר; Sept. ἀναμνησκων or ὑπομνηματογράφος), the title of a high officer in the court of the kings of Judah (2 Sam. viii. 16; 1 Kings iv. 3; 2 Kings xviii. 18; 1 Chron. xviii. 15; Is. xxxvi. 3). As the idea of memory, memorials, is prevalent in the etymology of the word, 'remembrancer' would perhaps be a more exact translation of it. We have no office with which it can be compared; for the functions of the Master of the Rolls do not sufficiently correspond with the title to warrant the parallel which it might suggest. The Hebrew *mazkir* seems to have been not only the grand custodian of the public records, but to have kept the responsible registry of the current transactions of the government. This was an employment of the very first rank and dignity in the courts of the ancient East.—J. K.

RED HEIFER. [SACRIFICE.]

RED SEA. [SEA.]

RED SEA, PASSAGE OF. [EXODUS.]

REDAK. [KIMCHI.]

REED. [KANEH.]

RE'EM (רֵעֵם) or REYM (רֵיִם). A wild animal

of fierce and untamable character. The word is always rendered *unicorn* in the A. V., our translators in this following the LXX. (μυροκέρας); but this may be at once set aside, on the ground that the unicorn, if not certainly a fabulous animal, is so exceedingly rare and doubtful, as not to answer to the allusions made in Scripture to the Re'em, which was evidently well known to the inhabitants of Palestine and the neighbouring countries—not to mention that in Deut. xxxiii. 17 the re'em is said to have *horns*, not a *horn*. By some the *rhinoceros* is supposed to be the animal intended; but this also is open to the objection that it does not suit the allusions. Bochart contends (*Hieroz.*, ii. 952, ff.) for the *oryx*, a large and fierce kind of antelope; but his conclusion rests mainly on the application to this animal of the Arab. ريم, *rim*, which, though corresponding to

the Hebrew word, is not identical with it, and is by the Arabs widely used, so as to include animals of the bovine as well as the cervine class. From the fact that the re'em is classed in Scripture with bulls or bullocks (comp. Deut. xxxiii. 17; Ps. xxii. 12-21; xxix. 6; Is. xxxiv. 7), and that he is presented as untamable, so as not to be used for agricultural purposes (Job xxxix. 9, 10), it has been concluded that he was of the *bovine* species, and probably the buffalo or the wild ox. From the last-cited passage, it would appear that the re'em stood to the domestic ox in the same relation as the wild ass and the wild goat to the domesticated ass and goat. In Num. xxiii. 22, the re'em appears as the emblem of strength; and emphasis is laid on its horns as the instruments of its power (Deut. xxxiii. 17; Ps. xcii. 10). All this accords with the supposition that it is the buffalo or the wild ox (*ulcephalus bubalus*) that is meant. The latter is common in Arabia.—W. L. A.

REFINER. [METALS.]

REFUGE, CITIES OF. [ASYLUM; CITIES OF REFUGE.]

REGEM-MELECH (רֵגֶם מֶלֶךְ), a person sent with Sherezer by Bethel (*i.e.*, the Jews dwelling in Bethel) to entreat the face of the Lord and make enquiry concerning fasting and humiliation (Zech. vii. 2). The whole passage is obscure; see Henderson, *Minor Prophets*, in loc.

REGGIO, ISAAC SAMUEL, was born August 15, 1784, at Görz, in Illyria. His father, as the Rabbi of the place, gave him a thorough Jewish education, and Reggio, with his brilliant powers, soon became master of the literature of his nation, and acquired an extraordinary knowledge of Hebrew. His talents and fame secured for him the government appointment to the professorship of literature, history, and geography, at the Lyceum, when Illyria became a French province. At the death of his father Reggio succeeded to the Rabbinate of his native place, when he conceived the plan of founding a Rabbinic college. The govern-



ment having sanctioned the plan (1825), the representatives of the Jewish communities throughout Lombardy met at Venice (1826), drew up the constitution, and the *Collegium Rabbinicum* was opened at Padua in 1829. In the midst of all his professional duties Reggio devoted himself to the elucidation of the Scriptures and the advancement of Hebrew literature. The results of his labours in these departments are—(1.) A treatise on the inspiration of the Mosaic law, entitled *מאמר תורה*, being an introduction to the Pentateuch, Vienna 1818; (2.) An Italian translation of the Pentateuch, with a Hebrew commentary and a most elaborate introduction, in which he gives an account of one hundred and forty-eight Hebrew expositions of the Pentateuch, of various ages, Vienna 1821, 5 vols. 8vo; (3.) *Il libro d'Isaia. Versione poetica fatta sull' original texte ebraico*, Vienna 1831; (4.) A historico-critical introduction to the book of Esther, entitled, *מפתח אל מוגלת אסתר*, Vienna 1841. Besides these Reggio wrote numerous treatises on various points connected with the Hebrew Scriptures and literature in the different Jewish periodicals. He died August 29, 1855, at the age of seventy-one. Comp. Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, col. 2135-2137; and Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, iii. 139-142, where a complete list of Reggio's various treatises is given. See also Geiger, *Leo da Modena*, Breslau 1856, pp. 57-63.—C. D. G.

REHOB (רחוב; Sept. *Padβ*), the father of Hadadezer, king of Zobah, in Syria (2 Sam. viii. 3).

REHOB. 1. רחוב, 'a street'; also written *רְחוֹב*; *Ῥοβ*; *Ῥοῦβ*; Alex. *Ῥοῦβ*; *Rohob*), a city on the northern border of Palestine. It is first mentioned in connection with the mission of the spies:—They 'searched the land, from the wilderness of Zin unto *Rehob*, as men come to Hamath' (Num. xiii. 21). Rehob was thus the extreme point of their journey northward. Its situation is described as on the leading route to Hamath. From southern and central Palestine there was just one way to Hamath, leading up the valley between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon. That valley, however, extends from the base of Hermon to the fountain of the Orontes, a distance of eighty miles; but it seems probable that the spies did not proceed farther than its southern end, and there Rehob may have been situated. From 2 Sam. x. 6, 8, we learn that it was a city of the Syrians; and it is grouped with Zoba and Maacah. The latter province lay at the base of Hermon [MAACAH]. One other incidental notice appears to fix its position definitely at the southern end of the great valley. In describing Laish, or Dan, the sacred writer says, 'it was in the valley that lieth by Beth-Rehob' (Judg. xviii. 28). These statements led Dr. Robinson to suggest that the site of Rehob may be marked by the village and castle of Hunin [BETH-REHOB].

2. (רחב; *Ῥαβ*; Alex. *Ῥοῦβ*; *Rohob*), a town on the northern or north-eastern border of Asher, and apparently not far distant from 'Great Zidon.' It is mentioned only in Josh. xix. 28; and its site is unknown.

3. (*Ῥαῦ*; *Ῥαβ*; *Ῥεῶ*; *Ῥοῦβ*; Alex. *Ῥαῦβ* and *Ῥοῦβ*; *Rohob*), another city of Asher,

situated on the southern border of the tribe (Tosh. xix. 30). It was assigned to the Levites (xxi. 31; 1 Chron. vi. 75); the Israelites, however, were unable to drive out the old Canaanites (Judg. i. 31). Eusebius and Jerome identify the Rehob of Asher with the Syrian city of Rehob, or Beth-Rehob, and locate it at the distance of four miles from the Scythopolis (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Rehob*). In this they are in part followed by Reland (*Pal.*, p. 119) and Winer (*R. W.*, s. v. *Rehob*). But the cities of Asher are manifestly distinct from Beth-Rehob, as the territory of that tribe lay along the shore of the Mediterranean. The site of Rehob is unknown.—J. L. P.

REHOBOAM (רְחִבְעָם, *he enlarges the people*;

Sept. *Ῥοβοῦμ*), only son of Solomon, born of an Ammonitess called Naamah (1 Kings xiv. 21, 31). His reign commenced B.C. 975, when he was at the age of forty-one, and lasted seventeen years. This reign was chiefly remarkable for the political crisis which gave rise to it, and which resulted in the separation of the previously single monarchy into two kingdoms, of which the smaller, which took the name of Judah, adhered to the house of David. All the points involved in this important event, and its immediate results, have been considered in the articles ISRAEL, JEROBOAM, JUDAH, and little remains to be added in this place. It is highly probable, from the considerations adduced in those articles, that the imprudent and imperious answer of the misguided son of Solomon to the public cry for redress of grievances only precipitated a separation which would in any case have occurred, and could not have been long delayed. The envy of Ephraim at the sceptre being in the house of Judah naturally led to this result; and the popular voice was, moreover, represented by a man whose presence was an insult to Rehoboam, and whose interest and safety lay in widening the difference, and in producing the separation. Although this consideration may relieve Rehoboam from the sole responsibility of the separation, it cannot excuse the unwise and foolish answer which threatened a heavier yoke to those who sought to have their existing burdens lightened (1 Kings xii. 1-16). Rehoboam at first thought of nothing less than of bringing back the revolted tribes to their obedience by force of arms; but the disastrous war thus impending was arrested by the interference of a prophet (1 Kings xii. 21-24); and the ample occupation which Jeroboam found in settling his own power left the king of Judah some years in peace, which he employed in fortifying his weakened kingdom. Concerning this, and the invasion of the land in the fifth year of Rehoboam's reign, by Shishak, king of Egypt, see JUDAH, KINGDOM OF. Jeroboam, king of Israel, being in alliance with Egypt, not only escaped this storm, but may possibly have instigated the invasion as the most effectual means of weakening his adversary. The treasures which David and Solomon had laid up in, or lavished on, the temple of God and the royal palaces, offered an adequate temptation to the Egyptian king, and they became his prey. The brass with which Rehoboam replaced the plundered gold of Solomon furnished no inapt emblem of the difference between his own power and that of his glorious predecessors (1 Kings xiv. 27). Idolatry, and the worshipping in high places, which had grown up in the last days of Solomon,



gained strength in the early years of his son's reign, and were not discouraged by the example or measures of the king (1 Kings xiv. 22-24); and it is probably for the sake of indicating the influence of early education in producing this culpable indifference that it is so pointedly recorded in connection with these circumstances that his mother was Naamah an Ammonitess (2 Chron. xii. 13). The invasion of the land by Shishak seems to have been intended as a punishment for these offences, and to have operated for their correction; which may account for the peace in which the subsequent years of this king's reign appear to have been passed.

REHOBOTH (רְחֹבֹת, also רְחֹבָת). This name occurs in three passages in Scripture. It is derived from the root רָחַב, 'to be wide,' or 'spacious'; and may thus signify 'open, roomy places,' as plains (it is a plural form) or 'streets.' It is applied by the sacred writers to three distinct places.

1. *Rehoboth the City, or Rehoboth-Ir* (רְחֹבֹת עִיר); *ῥῥωβῶν πῶλις*; Alex. *ῥωβῶν*; *placas civitatis*). The passage in which this word occurs may be rendered in two ways: 'Out of the land came he (that is Nimrod) forth to Asshur, and builded Nineveh, and *Rehoboth-Ir*,' etc.; or, 'Out of that land came forth Asshur, and builded Nineveh, and the city Rehoboth,' etc. The former rendering is more in accordance with the general scope of the context; but the latter is grammatical, and is supported by the Septuagint and Vulgate. However this may be, Rehoboth was one of the four cities then founded. It has been supposed by recent commentators that these four constituted *one great city*. They argue that the first name, *Nineveh*, is the chief, and that the other three are subordinate. 'He built Nineveh, with (taking *ἡ*, not as a copulative, but as the sign of subordination) *Rehoboth-ir*, Calah, and Resen between Nineveh and Calah.' From this it would follow that the four places formed a large composite city, or range of towns, to which the general name 'Nineveh' was given (see Keil and Delitzsch, *ad loc.*) This appears to put too great a strain upon the passage; and it is better, because more natural, to take them as distinct places. They were most probably not far distant from each other; and as Nineveh and Calah stood on the Tigris, the others may be looked for there also. [CALAH.] This prevents us from identifying Rehoboth-ir with Rehoboth of the river, which must have stood on the Euphrates (see below, No. 2). The name Rehoboth has not been discovered upon the Tigris's plain; and no ruins or mounds have yet been found that would seem to mark its site (Michaelis, *Spicileg.*, p. 240).

2. *Rehoboth by the river*, or more accurately, *Rehoboth of the river* (רְחֹבֹת הַנָּהָר); *ῥῥωβῶν τῆς παραποταμοῦ*; in 1 Chron. *ῥῥωβῶν*; but Alex. *ῥωβῶν*; *de fluvio Rehoboth*; but in Chron. *Rohoboth, quæ juxta amnem sita est*). In enumerating the kings who reigned in Edom before the time of the Israelitish monarchy, the following occurs: 'And Samlah died, and Saul of Rehoboth by the river reigned in his stead' (Gen. xxxvi. 37; 1 Chron. i. 48). The kings of Edom were not all natives of that country. *The river* is doubtless the

Euphrates (cf. Gen. xxxi. 21; xv. 18; Deut. i. 7; Exod. xxiii. 31). The Targum of Onkelos adds, 'Rehoboth, *which is on the Phrat*.' Though some have attempted to identify the city with that founded by Nimrod, there are no good grounds for it; and as the Euphrates was far distant from the site of Nineveh, there is a strong probability against it (Bochart, *Opp.*, i. 225; Winer, *R. W.*, s.v. *Rechoboth*).

Rehoboth has been identified with a ruin called *Rahabah* (رَحْبَة), situated on the bank of the

Euphrates, a short distance below the mouth of the Khabûr. Chesney says: 'On the right bank of the Euphrates, at the north-western extremity of the plain of Shinar, and three and a half miles south-west of the town of Mayadin, are extensive ruins around a castle still bearing the name of Rehoboth' (i. p. 119; ii. p. 222). Rahabah is mentioned by Abulfeda. In his day there was a small village on the site. Schultens in his note (*Index Geogr. in vii. Salad.*, s.v. *Rahaba*) identifies it with Rehoboth of Gen. xxxvi. 37; and this is the view of Bochart (*l.c.*), Winer, Gesenius (*The-saurus*, p. 1281), and others. It is probably correct, though the same name is given to another place at some distance, and nearer the river.

3. *Rehoboth* (*εὐρυχωρία, latitudo*), the name given by Isaac to a well which he digged in the valley of Gerar. He had digged several wells before, but was obliged to abandon them in consequence of the quarrels of the Philistines. When this one was completed, they did not strive for it; 'and he called the name of it *Rehoboth*;' and he said, For now the Lord *hath made room* (רְחִיבָה) for us' (Gen. xxvi.

22). The name was intended to indicate the fact that the patriarch had at length got *space* to rest in. Most of the ancient versions translate the word, though it must evidently be regarded as a proper name. It is a remarkable fact that the name clings to the spot still. In the wilderness of *et-Tih* ('The Wandering'), about twenty-three miles south-west of Beersheba, is a wady called *er-Ruhaibeh* (رُحَيْبَة), radically identical with the Hebrew

(רְחִיבָה), in which and on the adjoining heights are remains of antiquity thus described by Robinson:

—'In the valley itself is the ruin of a small rough building with a dome, built in the manner of a mosque. On the right of the path is a confused heap of hewn stones, the remains of a square building of some size, perhaps a tower. On the acclivity of the eastern hill we found *traces of wells*; a deep cistern, or rather cavern, and a fine circular threshing-floor, evidently antique. But on ascending the hill on the left of the valley we were astonished to find ourselves amid the ruins of an ancient city. Here is a level track of ten or twelve acres in extent entirely and thickly covered over with confused heaps of stones, with just enough of their former order remaining to show the foundations and form of the houses, and the course of some of the streets. The houses were mostly small, all solidly built of bluish limestone, squared and often hewn on the exterior surface. Many of the dwellings had each its cistern, cut in the solid rock; and these still remained quite entire. . . . Once, as we judged upon the spot, this must have been a city of not less than twelve or fifteen thousand inhabitants' (*Bib. Res.*,



i. 196). Dr. Robinson thinks Ruhaibeh too far south for the Rehoboth of Isaac, and Mr. Grove appears to agree with him. It is said, however, in Genesis that after leaving Rehoboth Isaac *went up* to Beersheba (ver. 23). Now the phrase 'going up' usually indicates progress towards Palestine. There can be little doubt that it does so here; and consequently we would look for Rehoboth in this very direction. It seems in the highest degree probable that this is the place where the patriarch had his station; and that after his time the wells of water attracted round them some border tribe, and thus became the nucleus of a city' (Williams, *Holy City*, i. 465; Van de Velde, *Memoir*, 343; Bonar, *Sinai*, 316).—J. L. P.

REINECCIUS, CHRISTIAN, rector of the academy at Weissenfels, was born 22d January 1668, and died 18th October 1752. He is known as the editor of an edition of the Hebrew Bible (Lips. 1725), frequently reprinted, and which was anew edited with various readings from Kennicott and De Rossi by Meisner and Döderlein (Lips. 1793). Reineccius also issued an edition of the LXX. (Lips. 1730, 1756).

REINS (רֵינִים), properly the *kidneys*, from Lat. *renes*. From the sensitiveness to pain of this part of the body it was regarded by the Hebrews as the seat of sensation and feeling, as also of desire and longing (Ps. lxxiii. 21; Job xvi. 13; xix. 27). It is sometimes used of the inner nature generally (Ps. xvi. 7; Jer. xx. 12), and specially of the judgment or directive reason (Jer. xi. 20; xii. 2). When the word is thus metaphorically used our translators render it by *reins*; when used literally they render it by *kidneys*; except in Is. xi. 5, where it is used to designate the lower part of the back, Lev. xv. 2, where 'flesh' is used, and Lev. xxii. 4, where they have substituted 'issue,' with 'reins' in the margin in both passages.—W. L. A.

REKEM (רֶקֶם, 'variegated,' perhaps = رֶקֶם, 'a flower-garden,' Alex. 'Ρεκέμ; *Recem*), a town of Benjamin. From its position in the group it would seem to have been situated towards the western part of the tribe. It is only mentioned in Josh. xviii. 27, and Eusebius evidently knew nothing of it. Its site is unknown.—J. L. P.

RELAND, HADRIAN, was born in the village of Ryp, in Holland, 17th July 1676. In 1699 he became professor of philosophy at Harderwyk, and in 1718 professor of Oriental languages and Christian antiquities at Utrecht, where he died 5th February 1718. His works are numerous, and all valuable for their erudition, perspicacity, and solidity. The principal are *Dissertationes Miscellanæ*, 3 vols. 1706-8; *Decas Exercitationum philol. de vera pronuntiatione nominis Jehovah* [by different authors, with a preface and analysis by Reland], Traj. 1707; *De nummis vet. Heb. qui Samaritani appellantur*, Utr. 1709; *Analecta Rabbinnica*, sm. 8vo, Traj. 1713, a collection of tracts by different authors on the rabbinical writings and their authors; *Antiquitates sacræ vet. Heb.*, Lips. 1713 (sec. ed. enlarged by Vogel, Halle 1769, also in Ugolin. *Thes.* 2, 'amplissimis comment. philol. illustratæ'); *Palestina ex Monumentis veteribus illustrata*, 2 vols. 4to, Traj. 1714, still the standard work on the geography of Pales-

tine; *De Spoliis templi Hierosol. in arcu Titiano Conspicuis*, Utr. 1616 (new edition by Schulze, Utr. 1775; reprinted by Ugolinus, *Thes.* 9); *De Religione Mohammedica*, Traj. 1717.—W. L. A.

REMETH (רֵמֶת = רֵמָה; 'Ρεμμᾶς; Alex. 'Ραμῶς; *Rameth*), one of the cities of Issachar, grouped with En-gannim (Josh. xix. 21). The border of Issachar appears to have run along the southern side of the plain of Esdraelon, and as En-gannim lies in the plain at the base of the hills, Remeth must have been situated to the north of it. No such name now exists in that locality. The word Rameth signifies 'a height'; and, as has been stated [RAMAH], was given to such towns as were situated on lofty and conspicuous positions. On one of the rocky summits of Mount Gilboa, about five miles north of En-gannim (*Jentn*), stands a little village called *Wexlar*, which is seen from the whole surrounding country. It was a fortress in former days, and may perhaps mark the site of the Rameth of Issachar (*Handbook*, p. 353; Robinson, *B. R.*, iii. 339; Ritter, *Pal. und Syr.*, ii. 422).

The Arabic رَمَّ signifies 'a height,' and is thus identical in meaning with the Hebrew רֵמֶת (*Kamus Dj.* s. v.)—J. L. P.

REMMON (רֵמּוֹן; 'Ερεμμών; Alex. 'Ρεμμών; *Remmon*), a town of Simeon, mentioned only with this orthography in the A. V. of Josh. xix. 7; it is the same which is elsewhere and properly written *Rimmon*.

REMMON-METHOAR (רֵמּוֹן הַמֶּתָאָר; 'Ρεμμωνὰ Μαθαραοῦ; Alex. 'Ρεμμώνη Μαθαρῆ; *Remmon Anthar*; Josh. xix. 13). Various renderings and interpretations have been given of these words. The Septuagint translators regarded them as forming a compound proper name. Jerome made them two distinct names. Symmachus rendered the *הַמֶּתָאָר* a descriptive epithet attached to Rimmon—'Rimmon the Renowned' (Rosenmüller, *ad loc.*) It seems most probable that the *הַמֶּתָאָר* is the participle *תָּאָר*, and is to be connected with the word which follows. Hence *הַמֶּתָאָר הַנֶּעָה* would signify, according to Rosenmüller, '*qui* (terminus) *describitur*, i. e., porrigitur *Neam*;' according to Gesenius, 'which pertains to Neah;' according to Jarchi, 'it turned to Neah.' The marginal rendering of our A. V. appears to convey the same general idea: 'And goeth out to Remmon which is drawn to Neah.' The object of the sacred writer is to describe as minutely as possible the exact course of the border line.

The proper orthography of the name is *Rimmon*, and it is supposed to be identical with the Rimmon of 1 Chron. vi. 77 (62), which was allotted out of Zebulun to the Levites [RIMMON]. From the connection in which the name is placed, the city would seem to have stood somewhere near the north-east border of the tribe. It is not mentioned by any of the ancient geographers. About six miles north of Nazareth, on the edge of the upland plain of Buttauf, is a little village called *Rummâneh*, noticed by Pococke (ii. 62), Robinson (*B. R.*, iii. 110), Thomson (*Land and the Book*, 426), and others. This is in all probability the Remmon or Rimmon of Zebulun.—J. L. P.

REMPHAN, or REPHAN ('Ρεμφάν, 'Ρεφάν), a name quoted in Acts vii. 43, from Amos v. 26, where the Septuagint has 'Ραιφάν, for the Hebrew רַיִן, *Chium*. It is clear that, although thus changing the letter כ into ר, the Sept. held the original to be a proper name, in which interpretation our own and most other versions have concurred. But this is by no means clear; for, according to the received pointing, it would better read, 'Ye bore the tabernacle of your king (idol), and the statue (or statues) of your idols, the star of your god, which ye make to yourselves;' and so the Vulgate, which has 'Imaginem idolorum vestrorum.' According to this reading, the name of the idol so worshipped by the Israelites is in fact not given, although the mention of a star still suggests that some planet is intended. Jerome supposes it may be Lucifer or Venus. But the

Syriac renders the Hebrew by ܠܬܡܚܢ ܕܫܬܪܐ, 'Saturn your idol,' who was worshipped by the Semitic nations along with Mars as an evil demon to be propitiated with sacrifices. This now seems to be the general conclusion, and Winer, indeed, treats the subject under the head Saturn. It has been alleged, but not satisfactorily proved, that Remphan and Rephan were Egyptian names of the planet Saturn. They, indeed, occur as such in the Coptic-Arabic Lexicon of Kircher (*Ling. Aegypt. Restit.*, p. 49; *Cedip. Aegypti*, i. 386); but Jablonsky has long since shown that this and other names of planets in these lexicons are of Greek origin, and drawn from the Coptic versions of Amos and the Acts (Jablonsky, *Remphan Aegyptior.*, in *Opusc.*, ii. 1, seq.; Schroeder, *De Tabernac. Molochi et Stella Dei Remph.*, 1745; Maius, *Dissert. de Kium et Remphan*, 1763; Harrenberg, *De Idolis Chium et Remphan*, 1723; Wolf, *Dissert. de Chium et Remph.*, 1741; Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, pp. 669, 670).

RENANIM (רִנִּים, from רָנַן, to utter a shrill cry), a poetical name for the female ostrich, so called from its peculiar cry (Job xxxix. 16). See Bochart, *Hieroz.*, ii. p. 240, ff.

REPHAIM (רִפְאִים; Sept. ῥιγάντες), an ancient people of unusual stature, who, in the time of Abraham, dwelt in the country beyond the Jordan, in and about Ashtoreth-Karnaim (Gen. xiv. 5). [See next article.]

REPHAIM, VALLEY OF, also VALLEY OF THE GIANTS (עֵמֶק־רִפְאִים; τὴν κοιλάδα τῶν Τιτάνων; κοιλάδι 'Ραφαῖν, and τῶν γιγάντων; also γῆς 'Ραφαῖν, and Ἑμεκ 'P. in Josh.; also in Is. xvii. 5, ἐν φάραγγι στερεᾷ; *vallis Raphaim*, and *gigantum*). The origin and meaning of the word Rephaim have not been satisfactorily determined. It is a fact that most of, if not all, the proper names in primeval times were descriptive. If Rephaim be so understood then it may be derived from an

obsolete root equivalent to the Arabic رَفَعَ, 'to be high;' and רִפְאִים will signify, as commonly rendered, 'giants' (see Kalisch on Gen. xiv. 5; Gesen., *Thes.*, p. 1302). Ewald gives another etymology. He takes the root רָפַח as equivalent to רָפַח, which he renders 'stretched' (*gestreckt*), and then he thinks it may also signify 'great,' and

'giants,' like the German *Recke* (*Geschichte*, i. p. 327, 2d ed.) Others suppose the name to be a patronymic, derived from a common ancestor *Rapha*, as may perhaps be indicated by 2 Sam. xxi. 16, and 1 Chron. xx. 4.

The Rephaim were an aboriginal nation which dwelt in Palestine in primeval ages, and left their traces in the names, history, and traditions of various sections of the country both east and west of the Jordan. Their gigantic stature and military prowess made them formidable and celebrated even at a time when the race was almost extinct [GIANTS]. They had settlements in Bashan at a very remote period; and that country was called 'the land of the Rephaim' (A. V. 'giants') at and even after the conquest (Gen. xiv. 5; Deut. iii. 11-13; Josh. xiii. 12). The country occupied by the Ammonites also was called the 'land of the Rephaim' (Deut. ii. 11, 20); and a section of Western Palestine adjoining the mountains of Ephraim (probably the plain of Esdraelon) received the same name (Josh. xvii. 15). But the name *Rephaim* clung much longer to a 'valley' or 'plain' (עֵמֶק) situated between Jerusalem and Bethlehem.

The valley of Rephaim was a noted place, and was the scene of a few stirring incidents in Jewish history. It is first mentioned in the description given by Joshua of the northern border of Judah. The passage is important:—'The border went up by the valley of the son of Hinnom unto the south side of the Jebusite: the same is Jerusalem; and the border went up to the top of the mountain that lieth before the valley of Hinnom westward, which is at the end of the valley of the giants northward' (xv. 8). The last clause in the Hebrew is not quite clear (בְּקֶצֶת עֵמֶק־רִפְאִים צְפוֹנָה). It may mean that the boundary-line was north of the valley, or that the valley was north of the boundary. The latter construction is possible; but the former is unquestionably the more natural, and is supported by the Septuagint and the Vulgate, and also by most commentators. If this interpretation be admitted, the situation of the valley is certain: it lay on the south of the hill which enclosed Hinnom on the west. This view is farther strengthened by the notice in Josh. xviii. 16.

When David was hiding from Saul in the cave of Adullam, we are told that the Philistines, no doubt taking advantage of intestine troubles, invaded the mountain fastnesses of Israel. A band of them pitched in the valley of Rephaim, and at the same time seized and garrisoned Bethlehem, David's native-place (2 Sam. xxiii. 13, 14). It was then that three of his warriors, to gratify a wish of their chief, broke through the enemies' lines and drew water from the well by the gate of Bethlehem. The narrative shows clearly that the valley of Rephaim could not have been far distant from Bethlehem (1 Chron. xi. 15-19). On two other occasions, soon after David was proclaimed king, the Philistines invaded the mountains and drew up their armies on the same plain; they were at once attacked by David's veterans and routed with great slaughter (2 Sam. v. 18, 22; 1 Chron. xiv. 9-13). But from neither of these notices do we learn anything of the position of the valley; and there is only one other mention of it in the Bible (Is. xvii. 5). Josephus in one place (*Antiq.* vii. 4. 1) says that the valley of the giants was near Jerusalem; and in another place (vii. 12. 4), when narrating the story



of the drawing of water from the well at Bethlehem, in which he makes a strange blunder, he says the valley extended from Jerusalem 'to the city of Bethlehem.' Eusebius and Jerome, on the other hand, place it on the north of Jerusalem (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Raphaim*), and in the territory of Benjamin (*Id.*, s. v. *Emec Raphaim*). Their notices, however, are brief and unsatisfactory (see *Onomast.*, s. v. *Coelas Titanorum*, and the excellent note by Bonfrerius).

On the west side of the valley of Hinnom rises a bare rocky ridge, beyond which commences an upland plain, considerably lower than the ridge, but almost on a level with the city. It extends southward towards Bethlehem more than a mile. Declining gradually on the south-west, it contracts at length into a narrow and deep valley called Wady el-Werd. The plain is flat and fertile, but is shut in on all sides by rocky hill-tops and ridges. This appears to be the valley of Rephaim; and its position certainly agrees well with all the notices in the Bible and in Josephus (Robinson, *Bib. Res.*, i. 219; *Handbk.*, p. 75; Bonar, *Land of Promise*, p. 121). It has been objected that this is a plain, and not a valley; and it is said the Hebrew word עמק signifies a low-lying enclosed valley (Grove in Smith's *Dict. of Bible*, iii. 1030). It is true that *Emek* could not be applied to an open plain; it means a plain or valley shut in, and lower than the ground around it. But these are just the features of this little plain. The writer has viewed it from all sides, and he was struck with the correctness of the term. Dr. Bonar has well said:—'When passing through it, and looking at its wide extent, with its scarcely perceptible south-west slope, you naturally call it a plain, as we found ourselves generally doing; but marking the low hills which hem it in on all sides, you see that it is really a valley, and understand the accuracy of the Scripture name, which is always valley, not plain; an *emek*, a wide depression between hills, such as 'the vale of Hebron' and the 'valley of Ajalon' (*Land of Promise*, p. 177). The attempt of Tobler and others to transfer the valley of Rephaim to the north or north-west side of Jerusalem appears to be at variance with the words of the sacred writer as shown above (see, however, Tobler, *Dritte Wanderung*, p. 202; Fürst, *Handwb.*, ii. 383).—J. L. P.

REPHIDIM (רִפְדִּים; also רִפְדִּים, 'supports'; Ῥαφιδῆν; Ῥαφιδῖν; *Raphidim*), one of the principal stations of the Israelites in the wilderness. Though its position is not described in Scripture, yet if the identity of Sinai with the modern Jebel Mûsa is established, no great difficulty can be felt in ascertaining approximately the site of Rephidim [SINAI; WANDERING]. The order of march to the encampment at Sinai was as follows:—On the 15th of the second month they encamped in the desert of Sin (Exod. xvi. 1). From Sin, according to the narrative in Exodus (xvii. 1), they marched to Rephidim. But on turning to the more detailed list of the stations given in Num. xxxiii. 12-15, we find that between Sin and Rephidim there were two stations, Dophkah and Alush, and consequently three marches. It appears, however, from both narratives, that from Rephidim to Sinai there was only one march (cf. Exod. xix. 2; Num. xxxiii. 15). An incidental remark in Exod. xvii. shows that Rephidim could not have been far distant from

Mount Horeb. While encamped at Rephidim, 'there was no water for the people to drink,' and they murmured against Moses. He was therefore commanded to 'go on before the people,' and with his rod to smite 'the rock in Horeb.' He did so. Water sprang from the smitten rock; and in consequence of this incident Rephidim was called *Massah* ('temptation') and *Meribah* ('chiding'). As the Israelites, though encamped in Rephidim, were able to draw their needful supply of water from 'the rock in Horeb,' the two places must have been adjacent. Assuming Jebel Mûsa to be Sinai (or Horeb), and that the Israelites approached it by Wady esh-Sheikh, which is the only practicable route for such a multitude coming from Egypt, it follows that Rephidim was in Wady esh-Sheikh, and not more than one march—and apparently a very short one—distant from the mountain. Perhaps the solitary sanctuary of Sheikh Saleh, one of the most sacred spots in the whole peninsula, and which gives its name to the great valley, may mark the position of Rephidim. The valley is here of considerable width, and it opens out still more towards Sinai, affording space for the conflict of armies (*Handbook for S. and P.*, p. 37; Robinson, *B. R.*, i. 146; Stanley, *S. and P.*, p. 78).

The position of Rephidim has created much discussion among travellers and sacred geographers. Josephus appears to locate it very near to Sinai, and states that the place was entirely destitute of water, while in their preceding marches the people had met with fountains (*Antiq.* iii. 1. 7; and 5. 1). Eusebius and Jerome say it was near Mount Horeb (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Raphidim*). Cosmas places it at the distance of six miles, which agrees pretty nearly with Sheikh Saleh (*Topographia Christiana*, v. 207, seq.). Robinson removes it some miles farther down Wady esh-Sheikh to a narrow gorge, which forms a kind of door to the central group of mountains. He gets over the difficulty in regard to the proximity of Horeb by affirming that that name was given, not to a single mountain, but to the whole group (*B. R.*, i. 120). Mr. Sandie places Rephidim at the extreme end of Wady er-Râhah, and identifies it with a *Wady Rudkwan*. He supposes that the Israelites marched from the coast-plain of el-Kâa by Wady Daghadah (*Horeb and Jerusalem*, p. 159). This route, however, would scarcely be practicable for such a multitude. Lepsius (ed. Bohn, pp. 310, seq.), Stewart (*Tent and Khan*), Ritter (*Pal. und Syr.*, i. pp. 738, seq.), Stanley (*S. and P.*, 40, seq.), and others, locate Rephidim in Wady Feirân, near the base of Mount Serbâl. The great distance from Sinai—twelve hours' march; and the abundance of water at Feirân, appear to be fatal to this theory. No spot in the whole peninsula has such a supply of water; and Feirân is on this account called 'the paradise of the Bedawin.'

Rephidim was one of the most noted stations in the wilderness journey. There the Israelites were supplied with water by a miracle. There, too, they were enabled to triumph over the Amalekites by a miracle. Moses, Aaron, and Hur sat upon a hill-top hard by, overlooking the battlefield. And it came to pass, when Moses held up his hand, that Israel prevailed. . . . And Aaron and Hur stayed up his hands . . . until the going down of the sun' (Exod. xvii. 8-12). There, too, Jethro came to Moses, and by his wise counsel helped

him to marshal the whole host of Israel (xviii.). The time spent at Rephidim is not stated; but it could not have been more than a week, seeing they encamped in the desert of Sin on the 15th of the second month, thence it was three days' march to Rephidim and one to Sinai, which they reached on the 1st of the third month (xvi. 1; xix. 1).—J. L. P.

RESEN (רֶסֶן; Sept. Δασή), an ancient town of Assyria, described as a great city lying between Nineveh and Calah (Gen. x. 12). Biblical geographers have been disposed to follow Bochart (*Phaleg*. iv. 23) in finding a trace of the Hebrew name of Larissa, which is mentioned by Xenophon (*Anab.* iii. 4. 7) as a desolate city on the Tigris, several miles north of the Lycus. The resemblance of the names is too faint to support the inference of identity; but the situation is not irreconcilable with the Scriptural intimation. Ephrem Syrus (*Comment.*, in loc.) says that ܠܝܣܫܐ Rassa, which he substitutes for Resen (the Peshito has ܠܝܣܫܐ Ressin), was the same as ܠܝܣܫܐ Rish-Ain (*fountain-head*); by which Assemani understands him to mean, not the place in Mesopotamia so called, but another Rish-Ain in Assyria, near Saphsaphre, in the province of Marga, which he finds noticed in a Syrian monastic history of the middle age (Assemani, *Biblioth. Orient.*, iii. 2, p. 709). It is, however, still uncertain if Rassa is the same with Rish-Ain; and whether it is so or not, a name so exceedingly common (corresponding to the Arabic Ras-el-Ain) affords a precarious basis for the identification of a site so ancient.—J. K.

#### RESURRECTION OF CHRIST. [JESUS CHRIST.]

REUBEN (רֹבֵן, *behold a son*; Sept. Ρουβήν), eldest son of Jacob by Leah (Gen. xxix. 32; xxxv. 23; xlv. 8). His improper intercourse with Bilhah, his father's concubine wife, was an enormity too great for Jacob ever to forget, and he spoke of it with abhorrence even on his dying bed (Gen. xxxv. 22; xlix. 4). Yet the part taken by him in the case of Joseph, whom he intended to rescue from the hands of his brothers and restore to his father, and whose supposed death he so sincerely lamented, exhibits his character in an amiable point of view (Gen. xxxvii. 21, 22, 29, 30). We are, however, to remember that he, as the eldest son, was more responsible for the safety of Joseph than were the others; and it would seem that he eventually acquiesced in the deception practised upon his father. Subsequently, Reuben offered to make the lives of his own sons responsible for that of Benjamin, when it was necessary to prevail on Jacob to let him go down to Egypt (Gen. xlii. 37, 38). The fine conduct of Judah in afterwards undertaking the same responsibility, is in advantageous contrast with this coarse, although well-meant, proposal. For his conduct in the matter of Bilhah, Jacob, in his last blessing, deprived him of the pre-eminence and double portion which belonged to his birth-right, assigning the former to Judah, and the latter to Joseph (Gen. xlix. 3, 4; comp. ver. 8-10; xlviii. 5). The doom, 'Thou shalt not excel,' was exactly fulfilled in the destinies of the tribe descended from Reuben,

which makes no figure in the Hebrew history, and never produced any eminent person. At the time of the Exodus, this tribe numbered 46,500 adult males, which ranked it as the seventh in population; but at the later census before entering Canaan, its numbers had decreased to 43,739, which rendered it the ninth in population (Num. i. 21; xxvi. 5).—J. K.

REUBEN, TRIBE AND POSSESSIONS OF. It is a remarkable fact that the tribe of Reuben, Jacob's first-born, was in almost every respect the least distinguished of the twelve. The unnatural crime of the head left a stain upon the whole race, and destroyed at once both the prestige of birth and the spirit of leadership (Gen. xlix. 4; 1 Chron. v. 1).

In the order of march through the wilderness, the station of the tribe was a subordinate one. Judah had the post of honour, and led the van. The chief of the Reubenites commanded the three tribes on the south, or right wing of the host (Num. ii. 10). The only incident recorded of the tribe during the forty years' wandering is one which brought upon them new dishonour. Three of the four leaders in the wicked rebellion against Moses were 'sons of Reuben' (xvi. 1), and suffered the terrible punishment which God inflicted (ver. 32; Deut. xi. 6). The plague which followed may have chiefly affected the Reubenites, and caused that marked diminution in their numbers which is observable in the second census (cf. Num. i. 21; xxvi. 7).

It is not stated in Scripture how the Israelites were employed during the long period of their residence in Egypt. Some of them were doubtless dispersed in little groups and colonies throughout the great cities; a few were engaged, at least for a time, as royal shepherds (Gen. xlvii. 6); but the vast body was concentrated in the pastoral territory of Goshen, where they probably united the cultivation of the soil to their old occupation (xvi. 34; xlvii. 1-6). It seems likely that some of the tribes, having taken up a position on the confines of the desert, continued their wandering mode of life, and pastured their flocks and herds over a wide region, running up to the borders of Philistia on the one side, and away to the mountains of Sinai on the other. Among these may have been the tribe of Reuben. During the forty years' wandering, all their pastoral habits would naturally not only be retained but strengthened. And thus, on reaching the confines of Palestine, and on seeing the broad grassy plains of Moab, and the rich pastures of Gilead and Bashan, they resolved, with their pastoral brethren of Gad and Manasseh, to settle there:—'Now the children of Reuben, and the children of Gad, had a very great multitude of cattle; and when they saw the land of Jazer, and the land of Gilead, that, behold, the place was a place for cattle . . . they came and spake unto Moses . . . saying . . . If we have found grace in thy sight, let this land be given unto thy servants for a possession' (Num. xxxii. 1-5). Their prayer was granted; and that act determined to a large extent the manner of their after life, and the events of their history. A wide territory was bestowed upon the Reubenites. Its pastures are to this day reckoned among the finest in Palestine. On its eastern border lay the broad plain of Arabia, then as now thinly peopled, and affording to bold and hardy shepherds a boundless extent of country,



and an inexhaustible supply of grass for their flocks. Upon their borders hovered restless and warlike hordes, whose sudden raids made cultivation difficult and harvests insecure. The Reubenites were thus compelled to devote themselves chiefly to pastoral pursuits, and at the same time to keep up a number of fortified cities for refuge in cases of sudden invasion, and for the defence of their territory (Num. xxxii. 16, 37-39). Their position brought them into contact with the wandering Ishmaelites; and the only war in which we find them acting energetically and successfully was one against these desert tribes. Here they were opposed to men like themselves. They were doubtless driven to war by repeated acts of aggression, and they felt that they must conquer or give up their possessions altogether. By the aid of their brethren of Gad and Manasseh they did conquer, and gained immense booty. Their weapons were those of nomads—the sword, buckler, and bow; and their booty was such as nomads prize—cattle, camels, sheep, and asses (1 Chron. v. 18-22).

While the geographical position of the Reubenites brought them into close contact with the desert tribes, it separated them in a great measure from their brethren, and gradually alienated them in heart and form from the national religion. The deep valley, and the rapid river Jordan, formed an almost impassable barrier between Eastern and Western Palestine. The Reubenites and their brethren felt this. When returning home after the conquest of Western Palestine, they feared that the ten tribes might at some future time ignore the tie of brotherhood, and cast them off. Hence they raised up, at the ford of the river, a vast, altar-shaped mound, to serve in all generations as a witness of common origin and of common rights (Josh. xxii. 10-34). In the wars of the western tribes the Reubenites do not appear to have taken any part. Their own country was too open to be left exposed by the withdrawal of their warriors; and their flocks required to be constantly guarded against the raids of the Ishmaelites. We can thus understand the reason of the reproachful stanza in the war-song of Deborah:—‘For the divisions of Reuben there were thoughts of heart. Why abodest thou among the sheepfolds, to hear the bleatings of the flocks?’ (Judg. v. 15, 16). But even the distant and almost isolated tribe of Reuben came under the control of King David. Probably his relationship to the Moabites may have brought him into closer connection with that tribe. Be this as it may, ‘an hundred and twenty thousand men of war’ from Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh, marched with their brethren to Hebron, to place David upon the throne (1 Chron. xii. 37, 38); and among the number of his ‘mighty men’ was ‘Adina the Reubenite, a captain of the Reubenites, and thirty with him’ (xi. 42). Of the subsequent history of the tribe only two facts are related—their territory was overrun by the Syrians, under Hazael, about B.C. 884 (2 Kings x. 32, 33), and the whole people were taken captive by Tiglath-pileser, and carried off to Halah, Habar, and Hara, in Assyria, about a century later (1 Chron. v. 6, 26; 2 Kings xv. 29).

The country allotted to the Reubenites extended on the south to the river Arnon, which divided it from the Moabites (Josh. xiii. 8, 16). On the east it touched the desert of Arabia. On the west were the Dead Sea and the Jordan.

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border was probably marked by a line running eastward from the Jordan through Wady Hesbân (ver. 17-21; Num. xxxii. 37, 38). This country had originally been conquered and occupied by the Moabites; but they were driven out a short time before the Exodus by Sihon king of the Amorites, who was in his turn expelled by the Israelites (Deut. ii.; Num. xxi. 22-31). Immediately after the captivity the Moabites again returned to their old country, and occupied their old cities. This is the reason why, in the later prophets, many of the cities of Reuben are embraced in the curses pronounced upon Moab (Jer. xlviii.) The territory was divided naturally into two sections; the western declivities towards the Dead Sea and the Jordan valley, which were steep, rugged, and bare, with the little section of the lower plain of Jordan (called in Scripture ‘the plains of Moab,’ Num. xxii. 1) at their base; and the high table-land stretching from the summit of the ridge away towards Arabia. The latter, from its even surface, as contrasted with the rocky soil of Western Palestine, received from the accurate sacred writers the appropriate name Mishor (MISHOR; see also MOABITES). The whole region is now deserted. There is not a single settled inhabitant within its borders. Its great cities, mostly bearing their ancient names, are heaps of ruins. The wild wandering tribes of the desert visit it periodically to feed their flocks and herds on its rich pastures, and to drink the waters of its fountains and cisterns (see article PALESTINE; Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria*, pp. 365, seq.; Irby and Mangles, *Travels*, pp. 460, seq.; *Handbook*, pp. 298, seq.)—J. L. P.

REUCHLIN, JOHANN VON, who adopted the Grecised name of CAPNIO, was born at Pforzheim in 1454. After serving in different political functions he became, in 1520, professor of Greek and Hebrew at Ingoldstadt, whence he removed to Tübingen, thence to Stuttgart, where he died 28th Dec. 1521. Besides his memorable services in connection with classical literature and general culture he may be regarded as the principal promoter of the study of Hebrew in his day. He published a Hebrew grammar and lexicon under the title *Ad Dionysium fratrem suum de rudimentis hebraicis, libri iii.*, s. l. 1506, 4to, of which an improved edition by Seb. Münster appeared in 1537, Bas. fol. Reuchlin wrote also *De accentibus et orthographia ling. heb.*, Hagenau 1518, 4to.—W. L. A.

REVELATION, BOOK OF. 1. *Authorship.*—The prevailing opinion has always been that John the apostle, the son of Zebedee, wrote the book before us. In favour of this view both external and internal evidence unite to speak. In relation to the former, some begin the series of witnesses with Polycarp, the apostle’s disciple; as Hengstenberg does. In the Epistle to the Philippians he writes, ‘Let us therefore so serve him with fear and all reverence, as he himself hath commanded, and as the apostles who have preached the gospel unto us, and the prophets who have foretold the coming of our Lord; being zealous of what is good,’ etc. The Berlin critic supposes that the prophets are not personally different from the apostles; and that the apostle John in the Apocalypse is their representative. But we believe that the O. T. prophets are spoken of.

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The most ancient testimony in favour of the authenticity of the Apocalypse comes to us indirectly. Two Cappadocian bishops, belonging to the latter part of the 5th century, Andreas and Arethas, relate, that Papias knew the Apocalypse and *looked upon it as an inspired book*; which in their day was tantamount to the belief of its apostolic origin. It is true that Papias does not speak of it as the work of John the apostle in express terms; but it is a fair inference that his regarding it as of *divine authority* and *credible*, comports best with the idea of its being written by none other. We may admit with Eusebius, that Papias was not the hearer of John the apostle, but of John the presbyter; especially as he himself intimates thus much; and at the same time cite him as a good witness for the apostolic authorship of the Apocalypse. It has seemed singular that Eusebius should have omitted the testimony of this early writer. But his silence is capable of an easy explanation. The historian was unfavourable to Papias because of the latter's millenarian views; calling him weak-minded on that account. The extravagant expectations of John the presbyter's hearer, and of his day, were probably derived from oral tradition, in the view of Eusebius; if not, Dionysius of Alexandria had influenced the mind of the historian, leading it to doubt the authenticity of the book. One thing is clear, that Eusebius would not have omitted all mention of Papias in relation to the point, if the latter had expressed himself hesitatingly on it. This he did not, for he belonged to a country where he had good opportunities of knowing the origin of the Apocalypse, and the presbyter John himself to whom Dionysius ascribes it. The testimony of Melito, bishop of Sardis, is on the same side with Papias's. Eusebius states that he wrote a book 'about the devil and the Apocalypse of John.' The fact of the bishop of Sardis, one of the cities to which an epistle is addressed in the introductory part of Revelation, writing upon the book, proves its apostolicity.

Justin Martyr is the earliest writer who attributes the book expressly to John the apostle, at Ephesus. It is true that Rettig tried to impugn the authenticity of the passage in Justin, but without effect; as Lücke and Schott have ably proved. And Eusebius states, that Justin wrote his Dialogue or Disputation with Trypho, in which the place alluding to the Apocalypse occurs, at Ephesus; the first city of the seven to which an epistle was addressed by the author (Rev. i. 11; ii. 1). Surely the worthy father must have known the authorship well by historical tradition. In the circle within which he lived and acted, Justin knew of none other than the apostle as the author. We conclude, therefore, that before the middle of the 2d century the opinion that John the presbyter was the writer had not originated. There is no reason for thinking that Justin rested on *exegetical* grounds. Neither the time nor the place agrees with such hypothesis. The earliest Christian period relied more upon persons than writings, for the support of their faith. Not long after, Justin, and in the same century, Apollonius, presbyter at Ephesus, drew proofs from the Apocalypse, even against the Montanists, as Eusebius states. The context of the passage in which the historian speaks of him, leaves no room for doubt that Apollonius used the book as the production of John the apostle. Irenæus is also a

witness in favour of the apostolic origin of the Apocalypse. He appeals, besides, to ancient MSS. for the genuineness of the number 666, as well as to persons who had seen the apostle John. Great weight belongs to this testimony, because Irenæus must have learned the truth about the writer in proconsular Asia before he went to Gaul. The seven churches would carefully preserve the document addressed to themselves. We do not see that the witness of Irenæus is weakened because he was mistaken in the *date* of the book; or because he received superstitious and absurd accounts of John from the presbyters who professed to have seen him. It is probable that the Father drew the late date he assigns to the Apocalypse from a false interpretation of itself; or from vague report. And as to the superstitious opinions of John, received from the elders, they have nothing to do with the composition of a work like the present, because they were deduced from the interpretation of places in the O. T. The epistle of the churches of Lyons and Vienne, given by Eusebius, also presupposes the apostolic origin of the Apocalypse—so that from Asia Minor to Gaul the book is well attested as St. John's in the 2d century.

Tertullian uses it as an apostolic one, showing that Africa participated in the historical tradition which prevailed in other countries.

But the want of one witness during the 2d century appears suspicious at first sight—viz., the Syriac translation of the N. T. The Apocalypse is absent from the Peshito. Nor did this old version admit the book afterwards; though scholars in the Syrian church subsequently put it on a level with the other parts of the N. T.; and another Syriac translation of the Apocalypse was made, which was never thought to be equal in authority to what the Peshito would have been considered had the latter existed. It is true that Hug and others suppose the Peshito to have had the book at first; but this is incorrect. How, then, is the exclusion of the Apocalypse from this very ancient version to be accounted for? Perhaps by this, that at the commencement of the 2d century when the Peshito was made, the Apocalypse had not found its way to Edessa, the birth-place of the version. It is certain that Theophilus of Antioch, at the end of the same century, accepted the book as apostolic. In the 2d century, also, the Alogi ascribed the Apocalypse, as well as the other writings of John, to Cerinthus. Caius of Rome, from opposition to Montanism, ventured to make the same statement; as a fragment of Proclus's, preserved by Eusebius, asserts: 'But Cerinthus, by means of revelations, which he pretended were written by a great apostle, falsely introduces wonderful things to us, as if they were showed to him by angels,\* etc. This passage has given rise to discussion; some affirming that the revelations spoken of do not mean the present Apocalypse, but *forged revelations* as a counterpart to it. We agree with Lücke, in opposition to Paulus and Hug, in referring it to the Apocalypse, not to fictitious revelations.

Marcion and his followers excluded the book from their canon, and therefore they rejected its

\* Ἀλλὰ καὶ Κήρυθος ὁ δὲ ἀποκαλύψαν ὡς ὑπὸ ἀποστόλου μεγάλου γεγραμμένον, τερατολογίας ἡμῶν ὡς δὲ ἀγγέλων αὐτῷ δεδειγμένους ψευδόμενος ἐπεισάγει, κ. τ. λ. (H. E., iii. 28).



apostolic authorship. This arose from their peculiar tenets, and is of no weight as evidence.

When we pass to the 3d century, the evidence for the apostolic authority of the book is most favourable. Clement of Alexandria ascribed it to John; as did also Origen, notwithstanding his opposition to millennarianism. Cyprian, Lactantius, and Methodius were of the same opinion. And Hippolytus of Ostia probably wrote a commentary on the Apocalypse directed against the Montanists. But critical doubts began with Dionysius of Alexandria, owing, as it would seem, to doctrinal disputes with the millennarian adherents of Nepos. This Father ascribed the work to John the presbyter, not to the apostle. His testimony has been so often and so much insisted on, that it is necessary to adduce it at length. 'Some who were before us have utterly rejected and confuted this book, criticising every chapter, showing it to be throughout unintelligible and inconsistent; adding, moreover, that the inscription is false, forasmuch as it is not John's; nor is it a revelation which is hidden under so obscure and thick a veil of ignorance; and that not only no apostle, but not so much as any holy or ecclesiastical man was the author of this writing; but that Cerinthus, founder of the heresy called after him Cerinthian, the better to recommend his own forgery, prefixed to it an honourable name. For this (they say) was one of his particular notions, that the kingdom of Christ should be earthly; consisting of those things which he himself, a carnal and sensual man, most admired,—the pleasures of the belly and of concupiscence; that is, eating and drinking and marriage; and for the more decent procurement of these, feastings, and sacrifices, and slaughters of victims. But for my part, I dare not reject the book, since many of the brethren have it in high esteem; but allowing it to be above my understanding, I suppose it to contain throughout some latent and wonderful meaning; for though I do not understand it, I suspect there must be some profound sense in the words; not measuring and judging these things by my own reason, but ascribing more to faith, I esteem them too sublime to be comprehended by me. Nor do I condemn what I have not been able to understand; but I admire the more, because they are above my reach. . . . And having finished in a manner his prophecy, the prophet pronounceth those blessed that keep it, and also himself. For 'blessed is every one,' says he, 'that keepeth the words of the prophecy of this book; and I John, who saw and heard these things' (Rev. xxii. 7, 8). I do not deny then that his name is John, and that this is John's book, for I acknowledge it to be the work of some holy and divinely inspired person. Nevertheless, I cannot easily grant him to be the apostle the son of Zebedee, brother of James, whose is the Gospel inscribed according to John, and the Catholic epistle; for I conclude, from the manner of each, and the turn of expression, and from the conduct (or disposition) of the book, as we call it, that he is not the same person. For the Evangelist nowhere puts down his name, nor does he speak of himself either in the gospel or in the epistle.' Then a little after he says again: 'John nowhere speaks as concerning himself nor as concerning another. But he who wrote the Revelation, immediately at the very beginning prefixeth his name: 'the Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him to show

unto his servants things which must shortly come to pass. And he sent and signified it by his angel unto his servant John, who bare record of the word of God, and his testimony, the things which he saw' (Rev. i. 1, 2). And then he writes an epistle, 'John unto the seven churches in Asia. Grace be unto you and peace' (ver. 4). But the Evangelist has not prefixed his name, no, not to his catholic epistle; but without any circumlocution begins with the mystery itself of the divine revelation, 'that which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes' (1 John i. 1). And for the like revelation the Lord pronounced Peter blessed, saying, 'Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona; for flesh and blood has not revealed it unto thee, but my father which is in heaven' (Matt. xvi. 17). Nor yet in the second or third epistle ascribed to John, though, indeed, they are but short epistles, is the name of John prefixed; for without any name he is called the elder. But this other person thought it not sufficient to name himself once and then proceed, but he repeats it again, 'I, John, who am your brother and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ, was in the isle called Patmos for the testimony of Jesus' (Rev. i. 9). And at the end he says, 'Blessed is he that keepeth the sayings of the prophecy of this book; and I, John, who saw and heard these things' (ch. xxii. 7, 8). Therefore, that it was John who wrote these things, ought to be believed because he says so. But who he was is uncertain; for he has not said, as in the gospel often, that he is 'the disciple whom the Lord loved;' nor that he is he 'who leaned on his breast;' nor the brother of James; nor that he is one of them who saw and heard the Lord: whereas he would have mentioned some of these things if he had intended plainly to discover himself. Of these things he says not a word; but he calls himself our 'brother and companion, and witness of Jesus,' and 'blessed,' because he saw and heard those revelations. And I suppose there were many of the same name with John the apostle, who for the love they bore to him, and because they admired and emulated him, and were ambitious of being beloved of the Lord like him, were desirous of having the same name: even as many also of the children of the faithful are called by the names of Paul and Peter. There is another John in the Acts of the Apostles, surnamed Mark, whom Paul and Barnabas took for their companion: concerning whom it is again said, 'and they had John for their minister' (Acts xiii. 5). But that he is the person who wrote this book, I would not affirm. But I think that he is another, one of them that belong to Asia; since it is said that there are two tombs at Ephesus, each of them called John's tomb. And from the sentiments and words, and disposition of them, it is likely that he is different (from him that wrote the gospel and epistle). For the gospel and epistle have a mutual agreement, and begin alike. The one says, 'In the beginning was the word;' the other, 'That which was from the beginning.' The former says, 'And the word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father.' The latter has the same with a slight variation: 'That which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, of the word of life. For



the life was manifested.' He is uniform throughout, and wanders not in the least from the points he proposed to himself, but prosecutes them in the same chapters and words, some of which we shall briefly observe: for whoever reads with attention will often find in both 'life,' frequently 'light,' the 'avoiding of darkness;' oftentimes 'truth, grace, joy, the flesh and the blood of the Lord: judgment, forgiveness of sins, the love of God toward us, the commandment of love one toward another; the judgment of this world, of the devil, of antichrist; the promise of the Holy Spirit, the adoption of the sons of God, the faith constantly required of us, the Father and the Son,' everywhere. And, in short, throughout the gospel and epistle it is easy to observe one and the same character. But the Revelation is quite different and foreign from these, without any affinity or resemblance, not having so much as a syllable in common with them. Nor does the epistle (for I do not here insist on the gospel) mention or give any hint of the Revelation, nor the Revelation of the epistle. And yet Paul, in his epistles, has made some mention of his Revelations, though he never wrote them in a separate book. Besides, it is easy to observe the difference of the style of the gospel and the epistle from that of the Revelation; for they are not only written correctly, according to the propriety of the Greek tongue, but with great elegance of phrase and argument, and the whole contexture of the discourse. So far are they from all barbarism or solecism, or idiom of language, that nothing of the kind is to be found in them; for he, as it seems, had each of those gifts, the Lord having bestowed upon him both these, knowledge and eloquence. As to the other, I will not deny that he saw the Revelation, or that he had received the gift of knowledge and prophecy. But I do not perceive in him an accurate acquaintance with the Greek language; on the contrary, he uses barbarous idioms, and some solecisms, which it is necessary that I should now show particularly, for I do not write by way of ridicule; let none think so. I simply intend to represent in a critical manner the difference of these pieces.'

Thus Dionysius bases his opinion on internal grounds—on style, language, and characteristic peculiarities—arguing from the differences of the fourth gospel and first epistle general of John, that the same person could not have written the Apocalypse also. His reasoning has a subjective value merely; and is valid on the assumption that the gospel and first epistle proceeded from the apostle. But it has no worth as an independent historical testimony; because it contradicts the current of ecclesiastical tradition. When Dionysius appeals to some of his predecessors who utterly rejected the book, and thought that it should be excluded from the canon, he could only have alluded to the few who looked upon the production as the work of Cerinthus—to Caius, the Alogi, and other Antimontanists.

In the 4th century, Eusebius the historian seems undecided about retaining or rejecting the Apocalypse. His opposition to millenarianism inclined him to the latter course, not less than the critical doubts of Dionysius. On the other hand, a constant and firm tradition was arrayed on behalf of the apostolicity. The historian conjectures, with Dionysius, that the writer may be John the presbyter; but affirms that he will not refuse to put it

among the *ὁμολογούμενα* if cause for doing so should appear (*εἴτε φανεῖη*). This wavering policy tells unfavourably on behalf of his honesty as a historian; since it is not improbable that he could have cited older witnesses for the apostolic authority of the book, had he been so disposed.

It is scarcely necessary to follow the series of external testimonies farther than Eusebius. Later witnesses belong to the history of the canon, rather than to criticism. Enough has been given to prove that the apostolic origin of the Apocalypse is as well attested as that of any other book in the N. T. How can it be proved that Paul wrote the Epistle to the Galatians, for example, on the basis of external evidence, if it be denied that John the apostle wrote the closing book of the canon? With the limited stock of early ecclesiastical literature that survives the wreck of time, we should despair of proving the authenticity of any N. T. book by the help of ancient witnesses, if that of the Apocalypse be rejected as insufficiently attested.

Let it not be urged that the patristic tradition was unanimous but divided in character; and that little weight should be attached to the testimonies of the Fathers, discordant as they frequently are on topics that came under their notice. The historical tradition relative to the Apocalypse seems to have been interrupted by doctrinal views merely. Had no Montanism or millenarianism appeared in the earliest times, we should not have heard of voices doubting the authorship of John. We do not deny that the ecclesiastical writers of the first three centuries occasionally adopted vague traditions, without inquiring whether they rested on a good foundation; and that they were generally incapable of critical investigation, if not disinclined to it; or that they often followed their immediate predecessors, contented to glide down the ecclesiastical stream without examining the correctness of their belief. There were, however, noble exceptions. It is an undoubted fact that, from the middle of the 2d century, several of the most distinguished Fathers connected with the church in Asia Minor, who had excellent opportunities of knowing the truth of the prevailing tradition there, received the work as an authentic document of the apostle John. Even Clement and Origen, whose doctrinal standpoint hardly agreed with the book, did not doubt its apostolicity. The basis of the tradition cannot be explained away without violence to the principles of historical evidence.

We should not have drawn out the argument to such extent, had not the apostolicity of the book been doubted or denied by some of the ablest scholars in Germany. At the time of the Reformation, Erasmus intimated his doubts of it; thinking it strange that one writing revelations should repeat his name so carefully—I *John*, I *John*—as if he were drawing up a bond, not a book, which is contrary both to the custom of other apostles, and especially his own; for in the gospel he speaks more modestly, and never gives his name. When Paul is forced to speak of his visions, he explains the thing in the person of another. Erasmus goes on to say, that in the Greek copies he had seen, the title was, of *John the Divine*, not *John the Evangelist*; and that the language is not a little different from that in the gospel and epistle.\*

\* *Annotationes in Apocalypsin Joannis, Novum Testamentum*, ed. 1, p. 625.



Luther speaks more decidedly against the apostle's authorship: 'More than one thing presents itself in this book as a reason why I hold it to be neither apostolic nor prophetic. First, and most of all, that the apostles do not concern themselves with visions, but with prophecy in clear, plain words, as Peter, Paul, and Christ in the gospel do; for it belongs to the apostolic office clearly, and without image or vision, to speak about Christ and his work. Moreover, there is no prophet in the O. T., not to speak of the N. T., who is occupied with visions throughout; so that I almost imagine to myself a fourth book of Esdras before me; and certainly can find no reason for believing that it was set forth by the Holy Spirit. Besides, it seems to me far too arrogant in him to enjoin it upon his readers to regard his own as of more importance than any other sacred book, and to threaten that if any one shall take aught away from it, God will take away from his part in the book of life. Moreover, even were it a blessed thing to believe what is contained in it, no man knows what that is. The book is believed in (and is really just the same to us) as though we had it not, and many nobler books exist for us to believe in. . . . But let every man think of it as his spirit prompts him. My spirit cannot adapt itself to the production; and this is reason enough for me that I should not highly esteem it, that Christ is neither taught nor perceived in it—which is the great business of an apostle.\*' Though he used milder language afterwards, he never retracted his doubts.

Zwingle would not accept passages in proof from the Apocalypse, 'because it is not a Biblical book,' i.e., a canonical one. Oecolampadius and Bucer appear to have had the same opinion. Carlstadt shared their doubts. Oeder and Semler also denied the apostolicity; but the latter changed his opinion, and admitted it. Michaelis assigned better reasons for the negative view. In the same path followed Heinrichs, Bretschneider, Bleek, De Wette, Ewald, Lücke, Schott, Hitzig, Credner, Reuss, Neander, and Dürstendieck. Respectable names are found on the other side; but the arguments of Lücke, Ewald, Bleek, De Wette, and Dürstendieck are ably advanced. Ewald and Bleek, two of the latest writers on the subject, deserve respect for their learning, honesty, and integrity. No critical opinion of theirs ought to be summarily dismissed. In England the book has been uniformly assigned to the apostle; but a conservative tendency in general has been more influential in this respect than the result of thorough investigation; as appears from the fact that the fourth gospel and first general epistle of John have been generally attributed to the apostle. English theologians do not yet see, with De Wette, that if the apostle wrote the Apocalypse, he did not write the fourth gospel; or if he wrote the latter, that he could not have been the author of the former. We believe, however, that this proposition is beginning to be acknowledged as possible, or even probable. The more it is considered, it will appear the more reasonable.

Does internal evidence correspond to the external as regards authorship? In four places John calls himself the author (i. 1, 4, 9; xxii. 8), sometimes with a predicate, at other times in the phrase, *servant of Jesus Christ; or, your brother*

*and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ*, in relation to his readers; while in xxii. 9 he is styled by the angel *a fellow-servant and brother of the prophets*. He presents himself in the character of a man who was well known to the Christian churches of proconsular Asia; an influential personage, in whose divine mission they could have no reason to doubt. The predicates he attributes to himself show a consciousness of his dignity, yet a modesty withal, arising from a sense of the unity of true Christians. Though he does not call himself *an apostle*, yet he is commanded to write what he had seen, and *to send it to the seven churches* (i. 11). He is *the prophet of the Messiah*, not his *apostle* in this instance. There was no apparent necessity for the writer to designate himself *an apostle*, because the epithets accompanying the name John were sufficient to indicate his person. He was the immediate witness of the Messiah, the announcer of the revelations of God, the prophet of the new covenant. Like Daniel, he speaks of himself, *I John*. He treats of the apostolic time, when Jewish ideas prevailed and the expectation of Messiah was fresh in the general mind. When he wrote, several apostles were living, and probably near the sphere in which John himself acted. No other man could then lay claim to the position and privilege which the writer of the book asserts. Contemporary apostles would have frowned upon the work; John himself would have disowned it. A work bearing his name, and composed about thirty years before his death, would have certainly called forth a contradiction, because he saw that it would be taken for his; and such contradiction would have reached us from the circle of his disciples through Irenæus. The later assertions of its non-apostolic authorship arose from doctrinal interests. None of them, as far as we can judge, sprang from a historical tradition.

Two passages, however, have been adduced as unfavourable to the apostolic authorship—viz., xviii. 20; xxi. 14. In the former, the writer speaks of saints, and apostles, and prophets, rejoicing over the downfall of Babylon; in the latter, of the names of the twelve apostles being inscribed upon the foundations of the walls of the New Jerusalem. Now it is argued that the apostle would not speak so if he himself were living. But in the context of xviii. 20, the seer had transferred himself from the future into the past and present, anticipating the judgment upon Babylon. Taken strictly, the language would imply that no believer whatever was upon earth at the time; which proves too much. As to xxi. 14, the language is not very different from that of Paul in Eph. ii. 20, where he affirms that the Christian church is built upon the foundation of apostles and prophets, not excluding himself; nor from that in 1 Cor. iii. 10, where he speaks of himself as a wise master builder, laying the foundation of the church at Corinth. Why then should John not speak of himself as one of the foundations? Is it inconsistent with modesty to do so? If so, did not the sons of Zebedee covet the two highest places in the kingdom of Christ, as we read in Matt. xx. 20? We need not wonder at the number twelve being employed, rather than thirteen, including St. Paul. The types and symbols of the book exclude the idea of minute exactness. Twelve is a number often used by the writer; the twelve tribes of

\* *Preface to the Revelation*, 1522.



Israel; twelve thousand sealed ones, etc.; and Matthew himself, in speaking of the thrones allotted to the apostles, regards them as twelve, without relation to St. Paul, whom he must have known. Nothing more is needed than a comparison of Paul's own language in the epistles to the Galatians and Corinthians, to show that he never lost the feeling of conscious dignity implied in the apostolic office, though he retained his Christian humility. And surely the consciousness of a like dignity was not less among the Palestinian apostles, as we may infer from 2 Cor. xi. 5; xii. 11, etc. Thus nothing in either passage is fitted to shake our belief in the apostolicity of the work.

Do the contents of the book agree with the assumption of its proceeding from an apostolic man; or do they present phenomena inconsistent with the known character of John, and the time when he wrote? To answer this question, we must take a general survey of the contents. These are certainly apostolic; chiefly the *eschatology* (doctrine of the last things) of the book, which is the prominent feature. When we survey the N. T., it is remarkable to observe the deep impression which the idea of their Lord's speedy coming had made upon the minds of the apostles. He was to appear in the clouds of heaven with great power and glory, like the Messiah in Daniel whom the Jews expected. The near approach of Christ's advent was the enlivening and consolatory motive held out in all the apostolic epistles. It was ever present to the mind of St. Paul, who proclaims Maran-atha, speaks of his coming with all his saints, of his descending from heaven with the voice of the archangel and the trump of God; believes that *the day of the Lord*, which is equivalent to *the day of Jesus Christ, that day, the day of redemption*, is at hand; and that he himself shall live to see it. Then shall the saints be judges of the world, and even of angels. Because of the nearness of this day, the apostle exhorts his readers to watchfulness. Now St. Paul assures us, that he received nothing from the other apostles; but that all his Christian ideas came from immediate revelation; which shows that the eschatological element in the first gospel and the Apocalypse was an essential part of Christianity. Nor is it confined to Paul's epistles. We find it in the letter to the Hebrews. Peter teaches the same thing, saying, 'the end of all things is at hand.' The epistles of John express it also. The forerunners of antichrist are already come. James recommends patience unto the coming of the Lord, which he affirms to be near. And Jude proves, from the existence of mockers, that it is the last time. The description of Christ's advent thus hoped for and expected by all the N. T. writers, is most developed in the 24th chapter of Matthew's Gospel, where ideas of retribution are embodied in a solemn judicial process preceded by great distress, and of Messiah's appearance in splendour, introducing a new dispensation in which the faithful should be recompensed for their present sufferings. Such ideas are common to it and the Apocalypse. The main difference between the Revelation and other apostolic writings, in regard to the expected coming of the Lord, consists in the wide interval which John puts between the manifestation of Messiah and the end of the world—the space of a thousand years; while they place the time of the Messianic kingdom very near the process of final judgment.

In like manner, the *Christology* of the Apocalypse contains genuine apostolic elements. The idea of Jesus the Messiah is, that he existed before the world; that he is the highest spirit; that by virtue of his Messianic nature he is like to Jehovah from the beginning; that he is the Alpha and the Omega; yet that he is a created spirit, having received his Messianic-nature from the Father. Hence he is termed 'the beginning of the creation of God' (iii. 14). So also the expression, 'Son of God' (ii. 18), refers merely to the divine sovereignty bestowed upon him by the Father, according to Ps. ii. 8. Divine qualities and powers are assigned to Jesus, as far as the Messiah appeared in him. Accordingly, he sits upon the same throne with his Father; and the Jehovah-name is a *new* name. The spiritual and potential perfections he possesses were bestowed upon him as a reward for his faithful and victorious career. He is the organ of communication between God and his people; and therefore he is the 'Word of God,' not 'God the Word,' as in John i. 1. When he has accomplished the purposes for which the government of the world was given into his hands, he will resign the power and kingdom into the hands of the Father, and reign under him (xi. 15, 17). This agrees with the Pauline Christology in the main; though it is unfolded here in a more Jewish form than in St. Paul's epistles.

The conception of antichrist in the Apocalypse manifests the apostolic time also. The name of this power, which became stereotyped from the beginning of the 2d century, does not appear in the book. The idea is found in its concrete form; but the appellation is wanting. The antichrist of the Revelation is a worldly prince, in whom the evil powers are concentrated. Bearing the symbolical name of the Beast, he is conceived of as a definite historical character; and other hostile beast-forms are latent in him. So also in the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, antichrist has the same concrete form, and receives general appellations, such as, the *Man of sin*, the *Son of perdition*, etc. It is in John's epistles that we first meet with the name *antichrist*. Thus the idea of the great enemy of Christ, in the Apocalypse, is in the same stage of development with that in the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians.

Need we add, that the *pneumatology* of the Revelation agrees with all that we find in the apostolic writings; and that it contains no later ideas on the subject than the Pauline ones? The power of the devil in relation to the kingdom of Christ is presented under the same aspect in the Apocalypse as in the epistles of Paul. Though the arch-enemy of man was vanquished by Christ at his first advent, he was not for ever subdued. He is still active; and the contest with him continues till the second advent of the Redeemer. This prince of darkness has legions of spirits associated with himself; and the Messiah, by whom he is subdued, must therefore be the *King of kings* and *Lord of lords*; or, as it is expressed by Paul, *the head of all principality and power*. Thus the book before us contains no ideas of the spiritual world additional to the Pauline.

As far as the individuality of John is reflected in the N. T. and in tradition, it is in harmony with the contents of the Apocalypse. The sons of Zebedee were fiery, zealous, impetuous spirits, whose feelings readily led them to excess or re-



venge. They wished to call down fire from heaven to consume the inhabitants of a Samaritan village ; and begged for the foremost places in the kingdom of heaven. John forbade one who presumed to cast out devils in the name of Jesus. He was a Boanerges, or son of thunder ; with a decided individuality, and an ardent disposition that needed checks. As far as he appears in the Acts and Pauline epistles, he is somewhat narrow and Judaic, not wholly emancipated from national prepossessions. Accordingly, the Quartodecimans appealed to the Jewish practice of the apostle John ; while Polycrates of Ephesus states that he was a priest, and wore the sacerdotal plate. This agrees with the priestly character of the seven epistles ; and if he were of a priestly family, as is not improbable, he might appropriate to himself the insignia of priestly dignity, designating himself as one initiated into the mysteries of Jesus. Tradition in Asia Minor represented him as a mediator between Christ and the Church. He had the surname of *Παρθένος*, *the virgin* (comp. Rev. xiv. 4) ; and appeared as an ascetic who received divine communications. Continuing as he did for a while in Jerusalem, we are unable to tell with what his mind was chiefly occupied. Perhaps he was tracing out in the Scriptures the signs of the returning Messiah, and looking for the great future at hand. Probably the dissolution of the bond existing between the Jews and Jewish Christians there, broken as it was by the latter, caused him to feel that the place was unfit for his presence. With the enemies of Christ, as he must have considered the unbelieving Jews, he could have no more communion ; they were rejected. The very metropolis they prided in, with its ancestral renown, was to be overthrown, and a *new kingdom of Israel* brought down to earth. Hence it was time to depart.

After he had removed to Asia Minor, he is depicted as indignantly contending against erroneous teachers, both of the Jewish and Gentile parties. Irenæus states from Polycarp, that the apostle, going into a bath on one occasion, discovered Cerinthus there, and, leaping out of it, hastened away, saying he was afraid lest the building should fall on him and crush him along with the heretic. Very faithfully are these traits of character reflected in the book before us ; whose prevailing tone is that of an impassioned spirit, full of rage against the despisers of God and his anointed One, suggesting images of dragons, murder, blood and fire, vials of wrath. Hence too, the souls of the martyrs invoke vengeance on their persecutors ; and all heaven is called upon to rejoice over the downfall of Babylon the great.

We have represented the apostle as retaining some of his old Judaic prepossessions—one whose Christianity was narrowed by the national type of thought. This opinion is justified by the Apocalypse itself, where *the elders*, who are always numbered in relation to *the twelve tribes*, appear a selected body, representing the faithful church of God on earth ; and sit upon thrones immediately surrounding that of God, as if they were a kind of assessors participating in judicial functions. They are the elect, the first-fruits to God and the Lamb (vii. 4, 5 ; xiv. 1, etc. ; xxi. 12). On the other hand, the saved of the heathen, though a great multitude, are farther from the Almighty's throne, behind and distinguished from the former (vii. 13).

The latter are the crowd—an appendix as it were to the chosen representatives of the true people of God. It is true that the 144,000, presented to view in vii. 1-9 ; xiv. 1-5 ; xv. 2-4, may be regarded as the whole multitude of Christians collected out of all nations and peoples : yet even there the very universalism of the Apocalyptist has a Judaising character, since the entire number of believers is classified according to the old division of the twelve tribes ; and every Christian is put into one tribe or another. The title to the kingdom of God is bound up with such classification. The heathen are enrolled among the twelve tribes when they become Christian. Thus their formulising proves the Judaising view of the apostle. Yet it must not be supposed that the apostle was a narrow-minded Jew of the kind which Schwegler has depicted him. He was emphatically a Christian. Primitive Christianity stood upon a Jewish basis, being developed out of Judaism. Hence the victory of Christianity assumes in the Apocalypse the external form of a kingdom co-extensive with the world itself ; but with Christ reigning in the royal city of Jerusalem purified and transformed—no longer the old apostate Jerusalem which crucified the Lord and is called Sodom and Egypt on that account. While we see the partiality with which the Jews in particular are called and converted ; the national Judaism of the twelve tribes reappearing in the New Jerusalem in elevated splendour and glory ; the Apocalyptist regards *Christians* as the only orthodox Jews, having the commandments of God and the testimony of Jesus. He looks upon them as an elect Jewish church, admitting the heathen to their communion. The nationality of the apostle had assumed a Christian type. He had fairly abandoned empirical Judaism, by teaching that the Judaism which embraced Christ was *the only genuine one*. This accounts for the fact that he describes the cause of Christ triumphing over Judaism ; and exalts the person of that Redeemer whom the Jews crucified. As soon as union ceased to exist between the Jews who believed in Christ and such as still adhered to the old religion, the former must have looked upon the latter no longer as brethren but enemies ; and John would repair to Asia Minor, a theatre of activity, already impressed with Pauline ideas. There he lived and laboured in the spirit of a Christian Judaism, so to speak, which differed from Paul's in the method of its development and limitations, more than in the essential result. When the freer Pauline tendency, which set up an opposition to *the spirit* of Judaism from the beginning, had prevailed over the Judaised Christianity of John, the fourth gospel could be written in Asia Minor.

So far we have endeavoured to keep the evidence in favour of apostolic authorship distinct from the fourth gospel, in order to simplify the discussion. But when one is treated of, the other must be regarded ; because both have been so long current in the church under the name of John, and because a partial comparison at least is necessary to a complete knowledge of either. Though the two may be understood apart, their authorship cannot be properly investigated without mutual reference ; such reference placing general characteristics, as well as individual points, in a better light. It will not satisfy the demands of criticism merely to assume the non-authenticity of the gospel from the



authenticity of the Apocalypse, or *vice versa*; because respectable English scholars still maintain that both were written by the same author. Having shown, as clearly as the nature of the question allows, that the one was written by the son of Zebedee, it remains for the critic to bring into view the points of resemblance and discrepancy as evidence for identity or diversity of origin.

The *Christology* of the Apocalypse is in apparent unison with that of the gospel. As the latter describes Jesus as the incarnate wisdom of God, the former uses language of similar tendency (Apoc. iii. 14). His preexistence is asserted in the gospel as it is in Apocalypse (iii. 14). The appellation *λόγος*, distinctive of person, occurs only in the gospel, first epistle, and Apocalypse. And as the evangelist says that the Logos was God; so Jesus bears the name of Jehovah in the Apocalypse.

We find the favourite *μαρτυρέω* and *μαρτυρία* of the gospel in the sense of *public profession*, or declaration of belief in the Saviour. The use of *νικᾶν* expressive of overcoming evil, opposition, and enmity in the world, is peculiar to the Apocalypse, First Epistle of John, and fourth gospel.

*Τηρεῖν τὸν λόγον*, to keep the word, a frequent phrase in the fourth gospel and first epistle, often occurs in the Apocalypse.

*Σκηνὴν*, to tabernacle, is found only in the fourth gospel besides the Revelation.

*Σφάττειν*, to slay, appears twice in the first epistle, and frequently in the Apocalypse.

*ἔχειν μέρος*, to have part or share, is in the fourth gospel and the present book. So is *περιπατεῖν μετὰ Χριστοῦ*, to walk with Christ.

*Ἐρχεται ὥρα*, the hour is coming, is frequent in the gospel, and occurs twice in the Apocalypse.

Christ or God is often termed *ἀληθινός*, the true. So in the gospel Christ is called the true light; and God is the true God in the first epistle.

In Apocalypse ii. 17, Jesus promises believers the hidden manna; in the gospel, the true bread from heaven.

Christ is often styled in our book a lamb; an epithet nowhere else applied to him except in the fourth gospel.

The image of Christ as a shepherd is found in Apoc. vii. 17, and in the gospel, x. 1, etc.

*Living water*, or the water of life, is promised to the believer in Apocalypse xxi. 6, xxii. 17, and gospel, vii. 38.

The comparison of Christ with a bridegroom in the fourth gospel, iii. 29, should be put by the side of Apocalypse xix. 7; xxi. 2; xxii. 17; on account of the diction. In the Apocalypse it is said of the Jews who do not believe in Jesus that they are not true Jews; so in the fourth gospel, viii. 39, 40.

In ii. 11 a promise is made to him that overcometh that he shall not be hurt by the second death; in the fourth gospel, it is said of him that keeps Jesus's word that he shall never see death.

In xiv. 15 a call is addressed to the angel to thrust in his sickle and reap, because reaping-time is come and the harvest of the earth is ripe. So in the gospel Jesus says to his disciples, 'Look on the fields, for they are white already to harvest.'

In Apocalypse vii. 15, he that sits upon the throne is said to dwell among the saints; an idea similar to that in the gospel (xiv. 23), where the father and the son are said to take up their abode with the believer. The same thought is in Apocalypse iii. 20; xxi. 22; xxii. 5.

In xiv. 4, the hundred and forty-four thousand sealed ones follow the Lamb whithersoever he goes (*ἀκολουθεῖω, ὁπᾶγω*); so Jesus says to Peter, 'Whither I go (*ὁπᾶγω*), thou canst not follow (*ἀκολουθεῖω*) me now,' etc.

The phrase 'Lord, or sir, thou knowest' *κύριε, σὺ οἶδας*, is common to the Apocalypse and the fourth gospel.

*Γράφειν* followed by *εἰς* before the noun signifying the object on which the writing is made, is peculiar to the Apocalypse and gospel.

In the gospel there is an account of piercing Jesus's side with a spear; to which act is applied a prediction in Zechariah (xii. 10). In the Apocalypse, the same version as that of the gospel is exhibited. And as it is a new one (*ἐξεκέντησαν*), not that of the Seventy, it has been inferred that the same hand appears in both passages.

The manner of writing in the Apocalypse often reminds one of that in the fourth gospel and first epistle, where the same idea is expressed both positively and negatively; and where a certain parallelism of thought and expression may be noticed.

More specimens of resemblance than these have been collected by such writers as Donker-Curtius, Dannemann, and Stuart, to prove identity of authorship in the Apocalypse and fourth gospel. We have given the most striking and plausible ones. The reader must judge of their force, and draw his own conclusion. Some may be thought far-fetched; though most do not appear in that light. Stuart's list needs sifting, because he does not scruple to use the 21st chapter of the fourth gospel throughout, as if it were unquestionably a genuine part of the work; though that position has been ably disputed on critical grounds by Lücke and others. It is easy to see the weakness of Stuart's reasoning when he asserts that John is familiar with the neuter *ἀπλῶν*; whereas it occurs but once in the gospel, and that too in the 21st chapter. And it is surely a proof of haste to adduce the spurious 1 John v. 7 as an instance of the application of Logos to Christ. In short, he makes several rash assertions which his examples sometimes fail to support; as under the head of the omniscience of Christ, where some irrelevant places are given from the gospel and Apocalypse. But after every reasonable deduction enough remains to prove that the correspondences between the Apocalypse and fourth gospel are not accidental. They either betray one author; or show that the writer of one was acquainted with the other. These cognate phenomena have not been allowed their full force by Lücke, Ewald, De Wette, and Dürstendieck. On which side the originality lies appears from the internal relation of the two books to one another, more than from their external form and expression. The Revelation betrays a tendency of mind akin to what is known as Jewish Christianity in its first stage; whereas a higher degree of religious progression belongs to the gospel. The development of the religious conception commonly begins with the sensuous and concrete, which it seeks to spiritualise, and to transform into the abstract. Now it needs no argument to prove, that the expressions and ideas common to the two works have a more spiritual and abstract bearing in the gospel. The evangelist purposely attaches himself to the forms of the Apocalyptic even after their original signification had been laid aside. Perhaps he wished his work to pass for that of the apostle,



The strongest apparent coincidence is in the Christology. Here three particulars bear considerable resemblance to the fourth gospel—viz., Christ's designation as *the beginning of the creation of God*; the attribution to him of the name and predicates of Jehovah; and the appellation *the Word of God*. The first of these denotes the pre-existence of Christ. As it has parallels in the Pauline epistles, we deem it hazardous, with Zeller, to regard the phrase as a mere honorary title, rather than a doctrinal predicate to be taken literally. Though the expression be obscure, it seems to us most natural to understand it in the sense of *the first-created being*, the highest creature. But the fourth gospel makes the Logos or Word, representing Messiah, to have *created all things*. Again, Jesus or the Messiah is expressly termed the Alpha and Omega, which is merely a periphrasis for *Jehovah*; and the new name of Messiah, which none knows but himself, is the unutterable name, the *Shem Hamphorash*. Yet the name does not lead to the conclusion that *the nature* of Jehovah belongs to the Messiah. It is an old Rabbinic tradition (Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, Theil i. p. 449) that the name Jehovah belongs to three things—the Messiah, the righteous, and Jerusalem; which is proved by Jer. xxiii. 6; Is. xliii. 7; Ezek. xlviii. 35. That the Apocalypticist alludes to this tradition is highly probable, because the faithful are represented as having the name of God and that of the new Jerusalem, and the new name of Messiah, written upon their foreheads—the name being none other than Jehovah. Besides, the angel *Metatron*, in Jewish doctrine, is also called Jehovah (Gfrörer, *Das Jahrhundert des Heils*, vol. i. pp. 318, 319), showing that it is given to creatures.

The Messiah is called the  $\delta \lambda \gamma \omega \varsigma \tau \omicron \upsilon \theta \epsilon \omicron \upsilon$  (xix. 13), but in the gospel he is called  $\delta \lambda \gamma \omega \varsigma$  absolutely. A different theological standpoint is evinced in the two. The former savours of Palestinian, the latter of Alexandrian metaphysics. The one is the well-known  $\text{מִיָּמְרָה דִּי יְהֵוָה}$  of the Targums; the other reminds us of Philo.

It should also be noticed, that while the heavenly name of Messiah is called a *new name* (Rev. iii. 12), the gospel contains the words of Jesus to the Father, 'Thou lovedst me before the foundation of the world' (xvii. 24).

Similarity of expression has in this case misled some critics to assume greater agreement between the descriptions of Christ's person in the Apocalypse and gospel than really exists. The heavenly nature and pre-existence of Messiah was a late Jewish doctrine, which was gradually taken into the circle of Christian ideas, and developed there. But in the gospel it has reached a higher stage of unfolding than in the Apocalypse.

The most striking mutual term is  $\epsilon \kappa \kappa \epsilon \nu \tau \epsilon \omega$ , the new representative of the Hebrew  $\text{קָרַךְ}$  in Zech.

xii. 10, applied to the piercing of the Saviour in both works, and different from the Septuagint word. It is precarious, perhaps, to found identity of authorship on the use of a mere word; yet its connection is a peculiar one. And though we might conjecture, with Ewald, that the Septuagint had the verb  $\epsilon \kappa \kappa \epsilon \nu \tau \epsilon \omega$  at first in its text; the assumption is too hazardous. Nor does it relieve the difficulty felt by those who argue against identity of authorship, to say that Aquila, Symmachus,

and Theodotion translate the Hebrew verb by this very Apocalyptic word; or that the evangelist refers to the fact of Christ's side being pierced with a spear; whereas the Apocalypticist alludes to the slaying of him generally, the extreme manifestation of hostile belief.

On the other hand, the characteristic mode in which the writer of the Apocalypse views beings, scenes, and objects, betrays a different person from John the apostle. His intuitional nature is of another cast, and has a different expression. The view of the one is *sensuous*; that of the other *spiritual* and *mystic*. In the Apocalypticist, fancy is creative and lively; in the evangelist, calmness prevails. The objective predominates in the one; speculative depth, gracious trust, a loving freedom of spirit, in the other. The one is introspective, looking at spiritual things and relations with a finely tender psychological organisation which attracts the reader; the other is of rougher mould, viewing things in concrete, plastic forms. Quiet contemplation has full scope in the evangelist; mildness and love find utterance in affectionate discourse. But the spirit of the Apocalypticist is stern and vengeful, with cutting reproofs, calls to repentance, commands and threatenings. Here, indeed, the promises are rich; but they bear a pregnant form suited to the majesty of the book. According to the writer of the fourth gospel, happiness arises essentially from faith in the Saviour on earth; and therefore the reader receives the impression that blessedness is a present possession; whereas, according to the Apocalypticist, the righteous pray for vengeance and are restored to life in the first resurrection, that they may reign with Christ a thousand years. In short, the gospel presents an idealising, universalist tendency, which breaks away from the Judaic basis, and sets forth the Redeemer's person, his grace and truth, over against that of Moses, proclaiming him as the light and life of the world. In the Apocalypse, Christ is the external conqueror of his enemies, whose *power* rather than *grace* is exhibited. His coming to *reign outwardly* fills the mind of the seer, instead of his *spiritual sway* in the heart.

Again, a sharp, definite, decided tone appears in sentences short and unconnected, without internal pliancy. But the evangelist's method of writing has a circumstantiality foreign to the Apocalypticist. It is difficult to make this argument palpable to the reader, because it rests in part on subjective tact and taste. Its reality can be *felt* more easily than *described*. Based upon a careful survey of all the literature that passes under the name of John, it forces itself on the mind of him that surrenders himself to the natural effect produced. When he perceives the difference of the spiritual element in which the evangelist and Apocalypticist move, their characteristic modes of spiritual apprehension, and the views they take of religious phenomena, creating different casts of style and diction, he will infer that the one cannot be identified with the other. Power and majesty, poetic energy and fancy, are scarcely consistent with philosophical idealising, which an emotional tenderness permeates and occasionally conceals. The fervour of the evangelist is not fiery—it is subdued by love. A charm lies in the writings of the one; a solemn grandeur in those of the other. The one presents refinement and philosophical cultivation; the other, mysterious sublimity and



sensuous symbolism. We need only institute a comparison between certain phenomena in the Apocalypse and fourth gospel to see how unlike they are. Thus the long series of plagues which precede the coming of the Lord is introduced by demoniacal beings, such as scorpion-like locusts, or lion-headed horses, with fire, smoke, and brimstone issuing out of their mouths, and strange riders, in an objective and artificial imagery unlike the spiritual idiosyncrasy of the evangelist.

Agreeably to these observations, it should be noticed that the doctrinal type of the book before us is not exactly the same as that presented in the fourth gospel and first epistle. Thus in *eschatology* it has a first and second resurrection—a thing unknown in the writings of the N. T.; for, though the evangelist speaks of a twofold resurrection (v. 21-30), the second only, which occurs at the Lord's return, is literal; the other being a spiritual resurrection from sin (v. 24-27; 1 Epist. iii. 14). In like manner, the idea of antichrist differs in the Apocalypse and first Epistle of John. The antichrist of the former is a notable instrument of Satan; but the antichrist of the latter is a concentration of many antichrists—one who destroys Christianity from within by corrupting its fundamental faith. The antichrist of the Apocalyptist is outside Christianity, hating both Jews and Christians. False prophets are termed antichrist in the first epistle.

The doctrine of *redemption*, so far as allusions to it in the book enable us to judge, is more Jewish than in the gospel. It is represented by the strong figure of *washing in blood*, which is of Jewish origin; but certain terms, such as ἀρνίον, ἀγοράζειν, δωρεάν, κλητοί, resemble Paul's manner. Christianity at first was strongly impregnated with the O. T. ideas of sacrifice and atonement, which were more sensuous than spiritual; and some time was required for leavening it with the pure essence of the gospel. The love of God in sending his Son into the world to be the life and light of men, quickening within them that higher principle which sin debases, broke through the grosser conceptions of propitiation which the Jewish Christians inherited from their fathers, only by degrees.

Though the Apocalyptist wrote in Greek, he followed Hebrew sources, especially the later prophets, Daniel, Ezekiel, Zechariah, perhaps Enoch. So thoroughly Judaic is he, that he is not without examples of what was afterwards developed in a bad form in Judaism under the name of Kabbala; as in xiii. 18, where the mysterious number of the beast sounds as *Gematria*. The sacred number seven, which enters into the plan of the book, as well as that of three, savours of Kabbalism. So does the description of the heavenly Jerusalem in the twenty-first and twenty-second chapters.

The views of angels, demons, and spirits are also Jewish, unlike those of the fourth gospel. These seven spirits are said to be before the throne of the Almighty (i. 4), meaning the seven highest spirits; an idea taken from the Zoroastrian religion into the Jewish, as we see from Zech. iv. 2-7; but modified in the Hebrew conception, so that in our book the seven spirits are representatives of the one spirit of God. So intimately are these seven associated with the Supreme, that grace and peace are invoked from them equally with him. An angel interpreter attends to John. Seven angels sound trumpets; and the same number pour out

vessels filled with the divine wrath. An angel comes down from heaven. An angel stands on the sea. An angel has a book in his hand. An angel takes up a great stone. An angel of the waters is spoken of, etc. Lücke correctly remarks, that the fourth gospel employs angels only on moral and spiritual errands; while the Apocalypse makes them preside over the phenomena of nature. It is inappropriate to quote, as Stuart does, the analogous case of the angel at the pool of Bethesda in proof of the gospel representing angelic control over the material elements; because the passage is spurious. In like manner, Hengstenberg adduces the place, without the least hint of its later interpolation. We cannot agree with Stuart's assertion, that there is no case in the Apocalypse which is not justified by analogy in the Hebrew Scriptures; for where does the O. T. present an example of an angel taking up a great millstone and casting it into the sea? Thus angelology plays an important part in the book, showing its likeness to the apocalyptic Daniel and Enoch. We admit that the envelope of visions in which the author clothes his Messianic hopes required some such spiritual machinery as that of angels; but they are introduced so frequently, and the representations of them are so peculiar, as to show another idiosyncrasy than the evangelist's. The view of demons is also singular. Out of the mouths of the three confederate beasts three unclean spirits issue; and these are termed the spirits of demons, seducing the kings of the earth by bringing them to join the antichristian leader in his attack upon Rome. In like manner, Satan is conspicuous in the Apocalypse. He is even chained and loosed again. He is the great dragon, the arch-enemy of the faithful. He is at the head of other spirits; is cast out of heaven with them to the earth; and is said to have accused the brethren before God continually. Some of these ideas resemble Pauline ones; but they are unlike anything in the fourth gospel or first epistle.

The language of the book is very different from that of the fourth gospel. It departs materially from the usual Greek of the N. T., presenting anomalies, incorrectnesses, peculiar constructions, awkward disposition of words, which cannot be paralleled. These originate in Hebraism. The Greek is so moulded by Hebrew as to follow its constructions. With respect to *cases*, the unusual license is taken of discontinuing the genitive case for a nominative, as in iii. 12; xiv. 12; or the accusative for a nominative, as in xx. 2. In vii. 9 the nominative is discontinued for the accusative.

Greek usage is often violated in gender and number, as in vi. 9, 10; ix. 13, 14. Neuters plural take plural verbs (xi. 18; xv. 4, etc.); ἀγνός is both masculine and feminine in xiv. 19, so is ἥρις. In xii. 5 ὁὖς ἀρσεν is merely an imitation of בְּנֵי זָכָר.

In regard to verbs, the Apocalyptist uses the future like the Hebrew imperfect in a frequentative sense, as at iv. 9-11. The participle stands for a finite tense in i. 16; while the present passes into the future in i. 7; or into the past, xii. 2-4. The future and past tenses are strangely mixed in xx. 7-10.

In the syntax of nouns, the plural regularly stands for the dual, as in xii. 14.

The genitive case is almost always put after a noun to explain it, in the manner of an adjective;



and a number of genitives are linked together, as at xvi. 19.

Two nouns coupled together by a conjunction have each its own suffix, as in Hebrew (vi. 11; ix. 21).

The repetition of a preposition with each connected genitive often occurs (xvi. 13).

The genitive absolute seems wanting, unless there be an example of it in ix. 9, which is doubtful.

Ἐν is almost always prefixed to the dative of the instrument, as in vi. 8.

The usage of the writer in prepositions and conjunctions is quite Hebraised. Thus we have the nominative after ὡς where another case should have stood (iv. 7). This is from ב prefixed.

The verb διδάσκειν is followed by a dative case (ii. 14) following the Hebrew; ἐδικαίειν has ἐκ with a genitive (vi. 10), equivalent to נָקַץ followed by the prefix ב; and ἀκολουθεῖν has μετὰ with the genitive (vi. 8), like הָלַךְ אַחֲרַי. Greek and Hebrew constructions are remarkably intermingled in xvii. 4.

These remarks will make it appear that the language differs from that of the evangelist. Grammatically irregular and syntactically harsh, it is so thoroughly Hebraistic as to neglect the usual Greek rules. 'The solecisms that appear in the Apocalypse,' says Winer, 'give the diction the impress of great harshness, but they are capable of explanation, partly from anacoluthon and the mingling of two constructions, partly in another manner. Such explanation should always have been adopted instead of ascribing the irregularities to the ignorance of the author, who, in other constructions of a more difficult nature in this very book, shows that he was exceedingly well acquainted with the rules of grammar. For most of these anomalies, also, examples may be found in the Greek writers, with this difference alone, that they do not follow one another so frequently as in the Apocalypse' (*Grammatik, fünfte Auflage*, pp. 273, 274). This language is too apologetic, and can hardly be justified. Still more apologetic and one-sided are the details which the same scholar gives elsewhere (*Exegetische Studien*, i. p. 154, *et seq.*), in attempting to justify and parallel what cannot be done to the extent he supposes.

It is unquestionable that the Greek of the Apocalypticist is worse than that of any N. T. writer—the kind of diction which might be expected from an 'unlearned and ignorant man,' as John is called in the Acts (iv. 12). But in the use of Hebraisms he is at home. His Rabbinic mode of expression, though artificial, is good. His Palestinian education qualified him for Rabbinical forms; as well as his study of the O. T. prophecies. This applies to the synoptists and Paul; but not to the same extent. The apostle was undoubtedly a 'learned man' in relation to the sacred literature of his own nation, his knowledge of the O. T., and probably of the Septuagint: the epithets ἀγράμματος and ἰδιώτης, so far as they are correct, we restrict to his Greek culture and facility of writing in the new language, which Hebrew and Aramaean had almost supplanted.

After all the endeavours to find analogies to the linguistic peculiarities and departures from good Greek usage in the book before us, either in the

Greek Testament itself or in classical Greek writers, it presents anomalies of such a nature and in such number as to separate the author widely from the evangelist, and from any N. T. author. Such Hebrew-Greek stands apart and unique.

The apologies which the peculiarities in question have cost some critics are seen in Professor Stuart, who has often misapprehended the true state of the question, or wrapped it in a multitude of irrelevant words. Yet he is often foiled, and has to confess the uniqueness of an expression in the book, as in xxi. 21, where ἀνὰ εἰς ἑκάστος cannot be paralleled; and in ii. 13, where he would drop ὅς out of the text. 'Is not the Apocalypse,' asks the same critic, 'the production of an excited state of mind, and of the most vivid feeling? Is it not prophetic poetry?' Granted; yet the answer is insufficient to explain the phenomena. The same reasoning applied to the O. T. prophets, which the critic would surely allow, justifies the expectation of frequent and peculiar Hebrew constructions in them. Do they not write the same kind of Hebrew as the sacred historians and poets? Does any of them violate Hebrew construction extensively because he was in an excited state of mind? He does not. We must not deprive the Apocalypticist of conscious calmness when he wrote. Indeed the very fact of his writing in Greek and yet following Hebrew so much—the fact of his knowing both the Septuagint and its Hebrew original—mitigates against the peculiarities he exhibits.

The phenomena now stated should be attentively considered in their bearing on authorship. Some, perhaps, will still think that they are compatible with the hypothesis of the same writer. But when we find an absence of the evangelist's characteristic expressions, or of such at least as suit Apocalyptic ideas; or when we see the Apocalypticist having favourite words and phrases foreign to the evangelist, and not inseparably united with the Apocalyptic circle of expressions, the argument is strengthened against identity of authorship. In like manner, the new form given to the evangelist's terms, and the new sense they are used in, show diversity. Thus the Apocalypticist uses τὸ ἄρτιον, which never occurs in the gospel, where ὁ ἄμνος τοῦ θεοῦ appears. Ἄρτιον, indeed, is found in gospel xxi. 15; but that chapter does not belong to the same writer. The verb νικᾶν is common to the gospel and the Revelation; but in the former a definite object accompanies it, such as *the world, the evil one*, while the latter uses it absolutely. The gospel has ψεύστης, the Apocalypse ψεύδης. The latter writes Ἱερουσαλήμ, the former Ἱεροσόλυμα. Ἰδοὺ of the Apocalypse is ἴδε in the gospel.

These differences—doctrinal, theological, linguistic—are variously explained by apologists, especially by Donker-Curtius, Kolthoff, Dannemann, and Stuart, who either try to find the same or similar words in the gospel and first epistle which are in the Apocalypse, overlooking the characteristic ones in each.

Three causes are commonly assigned for all the diversities—viz., difference of subject, of age in the apostle, and difference of mental state. Of these the first should be allowed to have its weight. The Apocalypse is in the main a prophetic book. It portrays the future in poetical colours. Yet the epistles to the seven churches are of the same character with the First Epistle of John, and should be a fair object of comparison. And their diversity



is more prominent than their likeness. A different tone and style appear. The compositions in question are *characteristically* different.

We place little reliance on the argument of age, though Olshausen and Guericke think it weighty. Written, as they believe, twenty years before the fourth gospel, the Revelation shows marks of inexperience in writing, of an ardent temperament, and of youthful fire. It is like the first essay of one expressing his ideas in a language to which he was unaccustomed. But the author must have been about sixty years of age when he wrote; a time when inexperience and youthful fire are past. A comparison of the earlier and later epistles of St. Paul shows the insufficiency of time to account for the characteristic differences between the evangelist and Apocalypticist. Nothing but the hypothesis of two persons can explain them; and Kolt-hoff's (*Apocalypsis Joanni apostolo vindicata*, etc., p. 110) reference to the earlier and later epistles of St. Paul as an analogy is beside the mark.

Others find the chief cause of diversity in the author's phrase *ἐγενήθη ἐν πνεύματι*, *I was in the spirit* (i. 10). Hengstenberg supposes that he was in an *ecstatic* state; or at least in a passive condition of mind; the recipient of things communicated. The visions and their colouring were *given*, says Ebrard; whereas in the fourth gospel and epistles John's own reflectiveness appears. His mind was active in the latter, but passive in the former. We object to this assumption, because it deprives the author of his own consciousness, and is contrary to the analogy of prophecy. The O. T. seers were never without consciousness, even in their highest moments of inspiration. Their own individuality appears throughout. Each has his characteristic peculiarities of conception and language. So must the author of the Apocalypse have. Ezekiel and Zechariah had visions; yet their own reflectiveness is manifest. We must not convert our writer into a machine or unconscious agent in the hand of the Spirit. If, indeed, the Apocalypticist had written down the visions at the very time he received them, the idea that he was overpowered by the substance of the communications, and had little or no regard to readers, might appear more plausible; but the fact of their not being written in Patmos shows that their present form proceeds from later and calm conception. How then could he fall back into the Aramæan colouring which was natural to him if his mind had been divested of it long since? Would he not have retained his proper manner?

In a question like that before us it is fortunate to have the decided weight of external evidence in favour of the apostolic authorship of the Revelation, along with the preponderance of the internal. The entire cast of the work, all its distinguishing features of conception, delineation, style, diction, manner, harmonise with the historical tradition of authorship. And it is clear that the evangelist is not identical with the Apocalypticist, because their minds are of a different complexion and grasp. The whole method of their description varies. The writer of the present book departs from the usual syntax. Whatever deductions be made on the ground that the work is prophetic poetry, not prose, that the author was a younger man when he wrote the Apocalypse, that the character of his inspiration was higher, that his object was different, that he should not be restricted to the same circle of ideas and language, enough remains to show another. There

are two idiosyncrasies; characteristic differences which occasional points of coincidence do not efface. Apologists have lessened the diversities; but their ingenuity has not succeeded in removing or fairly accounting for them. Our conclusion is, that as John the apostle wrote the Apocalypse, he did not write the fourth gospel. Had John the presbyter been a disciple of the apostle some might have attributed the authorship of the Apocalypse to him with greater probability, because John the presbyter might have thought it justifiable to introduce his instructor as the speaker, as he wrote in his manner. But the one John was not an immediate disciple of the other. According to Papias, John the presbyter was a disciple of the Lord. Hence most of the critics who deny the apostolicity of the book content themselves with the indefinite conjecture that it proceeded from a disciple of the apostle. But Credner and Ewald attribute the work to John the presbyter. No probability belongs to the hypothesis of Hitzig (*Ueber Johannes Marcus und seine Schriften*, 1843), that the writer of the Revelation is John Mark, from whom the second gospel proceeded. His arguments are mainly based on analogies of language and construction, which weightier phenomena overpower.

II. *Time and place of writing.*—There is some difficulty in ascertaining these. The prevailing opinion has been, that the book was written A. D. 95 or 96, at Patmos, under Domitian; or, after his death, in Nerva's reign. This accords with the tradition that John was banished to Patmos towards the close of Domitian's reign, where he had the visions described in the book. The fact of his being sent to Patmos is mentioned by Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome. Irenæus calls the emperor Domitian; but Clement and Origen merely style him *the tyrant* or *king* of the Romans. Epiphanius makes him Claudius; the Syriac version of the Apocalypse Nero; with which Theophylact and the younger Hippolytus (of Thebes) agree. The author of the *Synopsis de vita et morte prophetarum, apostolorum et discipulorum Domini*, said to be Dorotheus, bishop of Tyre, names Trajan. The oldest form of the tradition is that in Irenæus—viz., that the apostle saw and wrote the vision towards the end of the reign of Domitian, in Patmos, to which he had been banished. Later writers made a distinction between the time of the banishment and that of the composition, which latter was referred to Ephesus, after the emperor's death. The tradition is neither consistent nor weighty. It will scarcely stand the test of criticism. But we cannot take the view of those who think that it originated in the words of i. 9. Probably the basis is historical. The apostle was compelled to withdraw to Patmos for a time. At first sight it might appear doubtful whether he was really banished thither; but the expressions, 'for the word of God,' 'for the testimony of Jesus Christ,' compared with their use in vi. 9; xii. 11; xx. 4, can only imply banishment or persecution, and will not bear a milder sense. In the absence of external evidence, internal considerations come to our aid. The book itself shows that Jerusalem had not been destroyed, for if it had the catastrophe could scarcely have been unnoticed. An event pregnant with momentous consequences to the cause of truth and the fates of the early Christians, would have been surely mentioned. There are distinct allusions to



the *impending* catastrophe. We see from ch. xi. 1-14, that the holy city, with the temple, was not destroyed; for it is stated there, that only a part of the city should perish, while the temple is supposed to be still standing. Had both been destroyed, the fact would have been treated at some length. This is confirmed by xvii. 10, 'And there are seven kings; five are fallen, and one is, and the other is not yet come,' *i. e.*, when the writer lived five emperors had already fallen, the sixth was reigning, and the other had not yet come. The series begins with Augustus, so that Galba is the sixth, 'the king that is.' Augustus, Tiberias, Caius, Claudius, Nero, are the five fallen ones: the seventh coming one who must continue a short space means the returning Nero, as appears from xiii. 3, 14. Other critics begin the series with Julius Cæsar, and fix upon Nero as the sixth, under whom John wrote. Galba is then the seventh, and he reigned but seven months, according to the prophecy. But this reckoning is faulty, since Julius Cæsar was not an Augustus; nor was it till the time of Augustus and his successors that the Romans ruled over Jerusalem. Others begin with Augustus, but make the sixth Vespasian—Otho, Galba, and Vitellius being passed over. It is arbitrary to omit these names. The most probable view is, that the book was composed under Galba, after Nero's death, which agrees best with 'the beast that was and is not and yet is' (xvii. 8). The *οὐκ ἔστι* shows that he who is spoken of is no longer living; and it is little better than special pleading in Stuart to refer it to the future, on the ground that the prophets employed the present for the future in predicting. The author is not predicting here, but is simply explaining who the beast is.

The place in which the apostle wrote was Asia Minor, probably Ephesus itself, to which he had returned from Patmos. The visions were received in the barren island, and afterwards committed to writing at Ephesus, as is probable from the past tense of the verb in i. 9 (*ἑγενετο*). This is favoured, among other circumstances, by the epistles being addressed to the seven churches.

On the basis of Irenæus's testimony, it has been very generally believed that the book did not appear till Domitian's reign. The principal arguments adduced against an earlier date, such as the time of Galba or Nero, are the following:—

Nero's persecution did not extend to the provinces; the Nicolaitanes did not form a sect as early as 68 or 69, whereas they are spoken of as such; and the condition of the seven churches shows that they had been planted a considerable time.

If it were necessary to speak of the extent of the Neronian persecution, we should refer to Tertullian, who mentions *the laus* (commentarios) of Nero and Domitian against the Christians; an expression, says Milman, too distinct to pass for rhetoric even in that passionate writer. And Orosius expressly testifies to its extension beyond Rome.\* While the spirit of hostility was active in the metropolis, we may fairly infer that the Christians in the provinces did not escape. Whatever affected the centre with terror, would affect the more distant parts of the empire. If perse-

cution raged in Rome, it must soon have found its way to Asia Minor, as well as the various places where Christianity had been planted; for the emperor's example was infectious. That a martyr called Antipas had suffered death at Pergamos even in Nero's reign need not excite surprise. But it is not necessary to assume that he was slain under that emperor. Individual Christians may have suffered in the provinces even before his day. Heathen persecutions in Asia Minor awakened in the minds of Christians the hope of Christ's speedy reappearance. The writer beheld the coming struggle. Heathen magistrates, as well as Jews, were ever ready to put forth their enmity, even when the edicts of emperors forbade injury to the persons of Christians, and their hostility increased.

As to the Nicolaitanes, Irenæus speaks of such a sect in his time, deriving their name from the deacon Nicolas (Acts vi.), and referring the allusion in the Apocalypse to it. The sect of the Nicolaitanes, mentioned by Clement of Alexandria, is probably not the same with that here. And there is no proof in the book itself that the Nicolaitanes formed a sect so early. Their doctrine was not speculative but practical—a kind of antinomianism which encouraged sinfulness of life. The writer finds a certain resemblance between them and the morality of Balaam, which led to heathenism. The Balaamites and Nicolaitanes were not two *heretical sects*, as some have supposed; but the lax morality of the latter resembled that of old Balaam. They were a class of men within the Ephesian church, not a *sect*. It does not seem probable that these Nicolaitanes were the adherents of Pauline free grace, as the Tübingen critics usually suppose; or that John wrote with a polemic object against Paul's doctrine. The name is symbolical, formed with reference to the word Balaam. Still farther, a close examination of the language addressed to each of the churches will show its appropriateness even in A.D. 68 or 69. About A.D. 61 the church at Ephesus is commended by Paul for the faith and love of its members; which is consistent with the language of Apocalypse (ii. 2, 3); and both are compatible with the charge that they had left their first love. In the lapse of a very few years, amid trying circumstances, the ardour of new converts is liable to cool. The patience for which they are commended refers, as the context shows, to the temptations they suffered from corrupting teachers, and the difficulties attendant on the faithful exercise of discipline in the church. The case of the church at Smyrna was similar.

III. *The class of writings to which the Apocalypse belongs.*—Paræus seems to have been the first who thought it a prophetic drama. A like opinion was afterwards held by Hartwig, who terms it a symbolical dramatic poem. This view the genius of Eichhorn elaborated with much ability. Hence the hypothesis of its being a regular dramatic poem is commonly associated with his name. He makes the following divisions: the title, i. 1-3; the prologue, i. 4-iv. 22; the drama in three acts, preceded by a prelude, iv. 1-xxii. 5. The prelude consists of iv. 1-viii. 5. The first act (viii. 6-xxii. 17) sets forth in three scenes the destruction of Jerusalem, the over-coming of Judaism, and the church's weak condition after that catastrophe. The second act (xii. 18-xx. 10) represents the downfall of heathenism. The third act (xx. 11-xxii. 5) describes the

\* Romæ christianos supplicii et mortibus affecit, ac per omnes provincias pari persecutione cruciari imperavit.—*Adversus Paganos*, lib. vii. 7.



heavenly Jerusalem descending from heaven. The epilogue (xxii. 6-11) contains a threefold address—that of the angel, of Christ, and of John (*Commentarius in Apocalypsin Joannis*, vol. i. p. 19, *et seq.*) This theory needs no confutation at the present day. However ingenious, it is baseless. When Stuart calls the poem an *epopee*, the name is as objectionable as that of drama.

IV. *The object for which the apostle wrote* was to set forth the immediate coming of the Lord, in order to support his fellow-Christians under calamities already endured and still impending, to foster hope, and discourage apostasy. The world had shown its opposition to the truth, and would exhibit still greater hostility. Hence believers in Christ are encouraged to look for his speedy reappearance, and to hold fast their profession. By steadfast adherence to the gospel, the redeemed should receive the blessed reward which their Master has to bestow. The circumstances seemed sufficiently alarming. The misery of war, the terrors of frequent executions, the perplexities of political affairs, anxious hopes and fears of the future, had produced great excitement among the Christians; such of them especially as had not attained to the spiritual views of Paul, in whose sight Judaism had become a thing of the past. The majority looked for a great revolution, which, beginning with the purification of Jerusalem and the downfall of Rome, should issue in the return of Christ, the resurrection of the dead, the judgment of the world, and the establishment of the Messianic kingdom. Their hopes were raised to the highest pitch. Christ indeed had come once; but that advent fell short of their ideal desires. The humbleness of his person and claims disappointed many. They sighed for another and more glorious manifestation, as they had been taught to believe. The heathen seemed to have concentrated their strength against the followers of the new religion. Calamities already endured appeared the prelude to greater. The atmosphere was lowering. Well might the disciples of Jesus in Asia Minor tremble. Some had fallen away, needing repentance and return to their first love. The weak had yielded to temptation. Hence it was necessary to reprove as well as console; to censure as well as to encourage. The central idea of the book is the Lord's second coming, forming both its prophetic and hortatory character. Christ will soon appear to destroy his enemies and reward his followers in that new kingdom which he is to establish. The time is at hand, and therefore there is no reason for despair. The period of endurance is short. Nothing was better fitted to make them steadfast in the faith. The great event that formed the consummation of their hopes, the expected redemption to which their weary souls turned for solace, was nigh. The suffering may have sorrowfully thought that they should not be able to stand the shock of their fierce enemies; but the writer's views point to the triumph of truth and righteousness. Exalted honours, glorious rewards, awaited the Christian soldier who endured to the end. The patient believer should receive a crown of victory, the Redeemer's approval, everlasting happiness in Messiah's peaceful kingdom on earth. With him he should reign continually. Thus the book arose out of specific circumstances, and was meant to serve a definite object. When the lot of the apostle was cast in troublous times, what better theme

could he have to strengthen and comfort his fellow-disciples than the speedy reappearance of their Lord?

But what shall be said of the writer's belief in the speedy advent of his Lord a second time? Was he mistaken about the nearness of the event in his day? Events have shown that he was. 'I believe,' says an able lecturer on the book, 'that the time of which St. John wrote was at hand when he wrote. I as little suppose him to have been mistaken about its nearness, as I suppose him to have been a wilful deceiver.' If this be correct, Christ's coming is taken in an unnatural and allegorical sense, for it is explained away into the events connected with Jerusalem's destruction by the Romans, and the subsequent triumph of Christianity; whereas the writer of the Apocalypse merely connected the advent with that catastrophe. He did not suppose, any more than St. Paul, that the one was identical with the other; or that the coming was aught else than literal and physical, for the purpose of destroying his enemies, and setting up a new kingdom in renovated Jerusalem. Far be it from us to entertain the idea that the sacred writer was a wilful deceiver. But it is not inconsistent with his apostleship to believe that both he and the rest of the early disciples supposed the time of their Lord's return to be near at hand. St. Paul's language in the First Epistle to the Corinthians shows that he himself expected to be then alive. Not till a considerable time after the apostles did the adherents of Christianity generally begin to interpret the coming of the Lord spiritually—a fact which had an unfavourable influence on their judgment of the Apocalypse. Millenarians there still were who threw the predicted advent into the future; but the spiritual view prevailed over the carnal. Primitive Christianity was corrected and developed by the consciousness of the church in which the divine Spirit ever dwells. This spiritual development appears already in the fourth gospel, whose scope and genius are adverse to a speedy second advent, like that of the Revelation.

If such be the principal aim of the seer, we ought not to look for secular history in the book. The kingdoms and nations of the world are not described in it. The genius of Christ's kingdom differs from that of earthly ones. It advances independently of, and frequently in opposition to them. The Apocalypse does not contain a syllabus of the world's history, or even of the Roman empire. Neither does it present a history of the church. It relates to a great event which the author thought should soon happen. His horizon was limited and dim. His glances at the immediate past are brief. He does not dwell upon the present, but alludes mainly to the near future, in which a mighty phenomenon filled the sphere of his vision—the coming of the Lord Jesus. Catastrophes and judgments usher in the mysterious drama—the inauguration of the Redeemer's triumph.

These remarks are fully sustained by the prologue and epilogue. 'Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, for the time is at hand.' 'The revelation of Jesus Christ which God gave unto him, to shew unto his servants things which must shortly come to pass.' 'He which testifieth these things saith, Surely I come quickly. Amen. Even so, come, Lord Jesus.'

V. In relation to its general structure, the work



is disposed in a symmetrical but artificial plan, a knowledge of which is the safest guide towards a right apprehension of the vision-drapery. *Seven* is the leading number throughout. There are seven spirits before the Father's throne, seven epistles to seven churches, seven stars, seven candlesticks, seven seals, seven trumpets, seven vials, seven heads on the beast, seven thunders, seven eyes, seven horns, seven angels. Subdivisions of this principal number are three and four. The phases of the future are three: seals, trumpets, and vials. The first four scenes in each of these are closely connected, being separated from the following by a concluding figure. The seventh trumpet brings the description of three enemies—the dragon, the beast with seven heads and ten horns, and the other beast. The number seven is also subdivided into  $3\frac{1}{2}$ , or a time, times, and half a time (xii. 14). Thus some numbers play an important part in the arrangement, and determine the general method. The interpreter must carefully distinguish between such as are normal and those that are subordinate. Stuart has made too much of this principle of *numerosity*, as he terms it, without discriminating the numbers properly. Instead of making *three* the most conspicuous in the author's plan, he should have made it *seven*. *Three* and *four* are less prominent, being parts of seven. As to *ten* and *twelve* they do not belong to the general disposition. Züllig is right in assigning the cardinal number; and his accuser (Stuart) is wrong.

VI. We have now to speak of the *contents*.

The Apocalyptic picture consists of a series of visions very like those of Daniel. The descriptions, colours, symbols, figures, are taken from the O. T. prophets, especially Zechariah, the author of Daniel's book, and Ezekiel. The second Esdras, and perhaps the book of Enoch, supplied various ideas. John lived and breathed in the O. T. prophecies of a Messianic future. His originality lies in the combination of scattered ideas, and in the artificial construction of the book where there is still a patent unity. He revises the existing Apocalyptic elements, expands the great Hebrew theocratic conception, adapting it to the progress of events; and forms all his materials, borrowed or otherwise, into a majestic whole, vitalised with the fiery breath of his genius.

The future is represented as written in a book with seven seals which Christ alone could open; and the seer is permitted to have a view of its contents. As the seals are successively broken, calamities befall the righteous, putting their fidelity to the test. After the sixth, the believing people are sealed themselves with the name of God, for security against subsequent danger. At the opening of the seventh seal, seven angels with trumpets appear, announcing one after another various punishments on the evil world. On the sounding of the sixth trumpet, the people of God, or the elect, are concealed in the sanctuary at Jerusalem, and Israel is purified. The seventh trumpet is followed by a description of the hellish powers that oppose Messiah, with the announcement of their destruction. This is succeeded by the final catastrophe, or the outpouring of the vials of divine wrath, and the decisive battle. Rome falls by the returning antichristian emperor, who in his turn falls before Messiah; the devil is chained for a thousand years, at the end of which he is let loose

and besieges the holy city, but is cast into a lake of fire and brimstone. Then come the resurrection, the general judgment, and eternal blessedness in the new Jerusalem.

Thus the seals, trumpets, and vials, are successive phases in the development of the great drama. Though in some respects parallel, they increase in power as they near the final catastrophe. We need scarcely say, that the Messianic hopes of the seer were not fulfilled as his fancy and faith projected them. Yet we cannot affirm that he uttered them as mere poetry, without all belief in their objective fulfilment. The Jews in Jerusalem were not separated and purified, as John anticipated. All were destroyed, including the holy sanctuary and the city itself. Antichrist did not return from the east in the person of Nero to devour and lay waste. Paganism indeed fell, and Christianity triumphed; but not so soon as represented; nor in that way. The first and second resurrections, with their associated events, did not happen. Nor did Christ come personally, destroying all opposing powers and persons in order to set up his everlasting kingdom. Yet there is spiritual truth in some of these descriptions. Christ came again by his spirit, and is ever present with his people. His religion conquered heathenism. Imperial Rome fell. But the reign of blessedness has yet to begin. The non-fulfilment of the seer's Messianic hopes arose in part from the fact that they were essentially Jewish-Christian. Had they been of the purely evangelical type they would have presented a different aspect. Without objective sensuousness or close imitation of Daniel's visions, to which they are the sequel, they would have grasped the living power of the gospel as Christ preached it when he was on earth, accompanied with the Spirit's operation on the hearts and lives of men; and above all, the love of God would have animated his pen—that great motive-power which is to regenerate mankind. But this implies an ulterior development of Christian truth totally divested of the husk of Judaism.

The book may be divided into three parts—viz., the introduction, consisting of chapters i.-iii.; the body, made up of a series of visions, iv.-xxii. 5; and the epilogue, xxii. 6-21.

1. (i.-iii.) This portion contains the inscription (i. 1-3) and the dedication (i. 4-8), with the direct address and letters to the seven churches of Asia (i. 9-iii.)

2. The body of the work is naturally divided into two parts, iv.-ix. and x.-xxii. 5.

3. The epilogue may be subdivided into four pieces—viz., the conclusion of the visions, xxii. 6-9; the close of the prophecy, xxii. 10-17; the seer's final remarks, xxii. 18-20; and the epistolary termination, xxii. 21.

As the early Christians believed that Christ would come speedily, and associated with that great event the destruction of his enemies, the prophet paints the overthrow of heathenism, which he identifies with the Roman empire. And that empire again is symbolised by its head, Nero, who had recently fallen by his own hand. The story that Nero was not really dead, but had retired to the Euphrates, whence he returned with the Parthians, is here drawn by a Christian imagination. He is antichrist. The interpretation is at least as old as Commodian (A. D. 270). The Roman power is personified and embodied in Nero, who should reappear in the character of antichrist.

The great persecutor of the Christians at that particular crisis was readily identified with antichrist, because he elevated himself against Christ; and had struck terror into the pious by his cruelties. According to this view, the Apocalypse exhibits the triumph of Christianity over paganism; which is equivalent to its *universal* victory. There is a gradual preparation for the catastrophe which ushers in the triumph. Dramatic scenes precede the consummation; so that the reader is led on step by step to the final issue.

Chapters iv.-vi. refer to the book having seven seals, which none but the Lamb could open. These seals denote the incipient act of the judgment. After the seventh seal, the sounding of seven trumpets takes place, heralding the approach of the judgment (vii.-ix.)

The tenth chapter is a formal introduction to the following division or the second part, xi.-xxii. The sounding of the seventh angel-trumpet is naturally expected, with which the judgment actually begins; yet there is another delay instead. The end can only take place on earth. Hence the scene shifts from heaven to earth. A mighty angel descends from heaven terrifying all with the thunder of his voice (x. 1, etc.) The eleventh chapter forms an episode. Before the seventh trumpet, Jerusalem is warned, and exhorted to repent in time. Moses and Elias, significant of the law and the prophets, testify in blood as the witnesses of the Lamb.

The next vision describes the enemy of the church, or the beginning of the executing of the judgment (xii. xiii.), which is succeeded by the vision of the seven vials, that is, the wrathful judgment itself (xiv.-xvi.), issuing in the fall of Babylon the metropolis, or the final catastrophe on heathenism (xvii.-xix.) The last vision relates of the new Jerusalem, or the consummation of the judgment (xx.-xxii.)

It is worthy of remark that the first four seals are separated from the last three. Time is gained by the episode of the vision of the souls of Christian martyrs whose cry for vengeance on their heathen persecutors is not answered immediately. After the sixth seal is opened, it would appear that they have not long to wait; since the heathen rulers and magistrates flee from impending retribution. Even now, however, the dominion is not given to the saints. The scene shifts, and a new vision is interposed. The people of God are sealed. At the opening of the seventh seal the end is still deferred. There is a short period of breathless expectation. The import of the last seal is unfolded by means of the seven trumpets and seven vials, each bringing the final catastrophe nearer and nearer. This repeated postponement of the end serves to keep expectation alive, and shows the deep feeling of the prophet.

A brief notice of some leading features will throw light upon the scope and meaning of the book.

First, The nature of the connection between the 11th and 12th chapters is difficult to discover. The 10th chapter forms a transition to the second part of the work, and the 11th intervenes. Hence the little book mentioned in x. 1 is the same as the book in v. 1. It is open in x. 1, because the seals had been loosed before. It is a *little* book, because its contents are concentrated, as it were, in a focus. What had hitherto been *idea*

and *vision* to the prophet, now becomes historical and actual. The scene shifts from heaven to earth. Hence the seer says in xii. 18 (xiii. 1), 'I stood upon the sand of the sea' (ἐστράθη, not ἐστράθη); whereas he had been taken up to heaven at the commencement of the first part (iv. 1). The preparations for the impending event take place in heaven; but when it is on the eve of being carried into effect, earth must be the theatre.

Secondly, The beast with seven heads and ten horns rising up out of the sea symbolises the Roman power. The seven heads are identical with the ten kings or emperors; and the ten horns are the ten proconsuls, the imperial viceregents in the thirty provinces. The head, slain as it were, yet having its deadly wound healed, represents Nero. The dragon which gave power to the beast is Satan (xiii. 1, etc.) The same beast is depicted in xvii. 3 as scarlet-coloured, full of names of blasphemy. The woman on the beast is the great city Babylon or Rome, the metropolis of spiritual harlotry. The second beast, or the false prophet, which helps the first beast, is a personification of false heathen prophecy, including magic, auguries, omens, etc., supporting idolatrous paganism concentrated in the Roman power.

Thirdly, The number of the beast is said to be the number of a man 666 (xiii. 18). This is made up of the numeral letters קסר נון, *Cæsar Nero* (ק=100, ס=60, ר=200; נ=50, ר=200, ו=6, ן=50, making 666). The shorter form of נר, viz. נר, would make 616, which is a very ancient reading for 666, as we learn from Irenæus. Objection has been made to this explanation that the author writes in Greek not Hebrew; but his style of thought is Hebrew.

Fourthly, After the fourth angel sounded his trumpet, a threefold woe is announced in viii. 13. In ix. 12, it is said that the first woe, corresponding to the fifth trumpet-sound, is past, and that two more are to come. In xi. 14, the second woe is past, and 'behold the third woe cometh quickly.' Yet the third woe is not mentioned afterwards. When or where did it come? or did it take place at all? Hengstenberg affirms that the third woe and seventh trumpet-sound are in xi. 15-19, and explains the point arbitrarily. With Baur we discover the third woe in xvi. 15, 'Behold, I come as a thief.' Thus, the Lord's sudden coming is identical with the third woe.

Fifthly, Some have thought that the 11th chapter describes a catastrophe befalling Jerusalem similar to that which afterwards happens to Rome. In this view the fall of Judaism and the fall of heathenism are leading phenomena in the book. Accordingly Eichhorn, Heinrichs, and others suppose the general theme to be Christianity triumphing over Judaism and paganism. But this is incorrect. What befalls Jerusalem is not a catastrophe or total destruction, but a partial judgment or purifying process; and the scene in which this is described is only a subordinate one in the drama of preparatory phenomena. Jerusalem is not destroyed but preserved. The theocratic seed is spared. Believing Judaism is still an object of the divine favour. The author, himself a Jew, and having patriotic feelings which Christianity did not quench, supposes that the city and outer court of the temple would be trodden down by the heathen for three years and a half—a number taken from the book of Daniel—but that the *sanctum* of the



temple would be spared, and the worshippers in it, during that period. James the Just was there, and other Jewish Christians, praying for the salvation of the nation. This is very different from the fate predicted for Rome, the persecuting and implacable enemy of the Christians. Total destruction awaits the new Babylon. Jerusalem would only suffer in part, and for a season. The holy city would be spared and the faithful inhabitants protected by Jehovah; while the unbelieving Jews would be destroyed. A comparatively small portion (the tenth) of the city falls, and but 7000 of the inhabitants; the majority being saved by penitence. If the event did not correspond to the hopes of the prophet, we ought not to be surprised. Inspiration did not enable the Jewish seer to predict definite events in the future; though his sympathies were right and true. The 11th chapter should not be resolved into mere symbol, as it is by Eichhorn and Stuart.

Sixthly, *The millennium*, or thousand years' reign of the saints, has given rise to much discussion. While a few regard it as past, most consider it still future. Among the N. T. writers the millennium is peculiar to the Apocalypse, though it was not new; for many rabbins held it as Gfrörer has shown (*Das Jahrhundert des Heils*, ii. p. 198, *et seq.*, 210). The common view of the early Christians was, that the righteous and wicked would rise, with a short time intervening, and be judged by the coming Messiah. But John has two resurrections separated by the space of a thousand years. Two resurrections was already a Jewish opinion, and is probably contained in the book of Daniel (xii. 2, etc.); but their separation by a thousand years is new. The chaining and loosing of Satan during the millennium and at the end of it respectively, together with the attack of the heathen powers on the followers of the Lamb, are also singular. Such ideas do not agree well with the Saviour's discourse in the 24th chapter of Matthew; nor are they in perfect harmony with the Pauline passages in 1 Cor. xv. 23-28; 1 Thes. iv. 15-17; 2 Thes. i. 5-10; ii. 3-12. John's description is ideal. The seer gives expression to hopes and aspirations. He paints a subjective state of things for which no objective correspondence in the future should be sought; else a poetical picture will be converted into literal prediction. That it is merely ideal is seen from certain incongruities, such as the risen saints having their camp beside the earthly Jerusalem, and being attacked by heathen nations; as well as from the existence of heathen enemies, after it had been said (xix. 21) that all the inhabitants of the earth were slain.

Seventhly, We need not say much about the period described in the 21st and 22d chapters as that of the *new heavens* and the *new earth*. Most take it to be what we are accustomed to call *heaven*, or the heavenly state; while some, as Hammond, Hug, and Bush, think that it alludes to an earthly flourishing state of the church. The ideas and imagery are taken from Is. liv. 11, 12; lx. 3-11; lxv. 17-20; lxvi. 22. The future renovation of the earth was a prevailing notion of the Jews after the captivity in Babylon. Here the prophet drew from the Deutero-Isaiah in part, and partly from his own imagination. His ideal hopes are, that heaven and earth should become one in the future kingdom of Messiah. Earth becomes heaven, and heaven descends to earth. The holy church of

Christ's faithful ones, in her triumphant state, is the fulfilment of all that was associated with ancient Jerusalem in the Hebrew heart. She is depicted as God's dwelling-place, the holy city, new Jerusalem, the chaste spouse of Christ, the Lamb's wife. This is the highest aim of all Apocalyptic prophecy; the everlasting completion of the mystery of God. The description embodies the writer's prophetic ideas respecting the consummation of the Christian church; or, in other words, the everlasting happiness of the righteous; and is largely ideal. To attempt to find particulars corresponding to the figures employed, would be to convert poetry into prose—the subjective into the objective. The conceptions of the seer should be left in their indefiniteness, else their beauty vanishes. No mystical meaning lies in the details. Elements expressive of magnificence and splendour combine to aid the rhetorical beauty of the composition. A new Jerusalem symbolises a new state of things; and all the ideas of earthly greatness and excellence entertained by the Jews were centred in their beloved city.

VII. The question of authorship has been usually thought to affect that of *canonicity and value*. Yet the book may not have proceeded from an apostle, and be equal in value to his acknowledged production. Luke was only an evangelist; yet his writings are justly in the N. T. canon. It is not of essential moment that the Revelation should be written by John the son of Zebedee. The value does not depend so much on the canonicity as on the contents. Degrees of excellence attach to the canonical writings. We are far from denying that *authorship* is of consequence; but it is not of the highest. The evangelist who wrote the fourth gospel and John the apostle would necessarily write differently, because their mental development was unequal. Inspired by the divine Spirit, their ideas, and the modes of expressing them, might still differ. Apostles themselves were not equally gifted. The Apocalypse is not of the same authority as if it had been written by Paul. The Judaic texture it bears, the story respecting Nero coming back from the east with a Parthian army after he had taken away his own life, and the part which that emperor occupies in the Apocalyptic prophecy generally, do not consist with Pauline sentiments. The inquirer feels that the more he examines, the stronger is his belief that the book neither breathes the same spirit as that of the fourth gospel, nor strictly accords with the church's destination. The proper evangelical element, which we see in Matt. xxiv. 14, Rom. xi. 25, is in the background; and the general tone of the work clashes with Mark xiii. 32, Matt. xiii. 31-33. Thus the inspiration of the writer was not so high as that of St. Paul. The book occupies a less philosophical standpoint than the fourth gospel or Paul's epistles. Yet it has exerted, and will continue to exert, a great spiritual influence upon mankind. The effects of a certain moral expression in its symbolical descriptions are decided. Much value belongs to its prophetic utterances in moving and strengthening the soul; in bearing it upward to the throne of God amid suffering, sorrow, and persecution; in attracting its sympathies towards the faithful followers of the Lamb; and in exciting aspirations which can only be realised in the new Jerusalem gorgeously painted at the close. The general tenor of the work is elevating. Alluring



promises console the righteous: awful warnings deter them from unfaithfulness, to their vocation: the vengeance of the Almighty appals the wicked. The grandeur of the book impresses the spirit most forcibly, urging it onward in the difficult path of duty with the hope of a glorious crown, a golden harp, celestial fruits, refreshing waters of the river of life—the hope of living and reigning with the Lamb in perpetual blessedness. Not till we begin to examine the various contents do we perceive the lower place it occupies in the development of Christianity.

VIII. The *schemes of interpretation*—*preterist, continuous, and future*—which the different commentators have adopted, must be rejected, with the exception of the first. Expositors of the continuous and futurist class fall into the fatal error of converting Apocalyptic poetry into historical prose; and of making all symbols significant. Nor are preterists usually free from blame. In applying their principle of interpretation, they are sure to err if they endeavour to show that all was *properly fulfilled* in the immediate future; or that the seer was everywhere guided infallibly in his prognostications and hopes. The apostle's standpoint should be correctly estimated. His idiosyncrasy must be apprehended. The mode in which the old prophets depicted the future should be known—not as if they were able to predict definite events succeeding one another in the arrangements of Providence, but as they dimly saw the things to which their enraptured spirits were carried forward, and painted them in ideal colours. Their own sentiments, hopes, desires, and fears are elements in the pictures they drew—pictures whose general outline alone should be considered *real* to them, though it may be so to us in a very different sense.

IX. To enumerate all the *mistakes committed* by interpreters of the Apocalypse would be impossible. We can only glance at a few prominent ones.

First, The historic basis should not be abandoned, else imagination has ample range for wild extravagance. The writer did not forego time and place—elements that cannot safely be neglected by the interpreter. Thus he states that the things must *shortly* come to pass, and that the time is *at hand*. So likewise at the close it is said, that the things must *shortly* be done. The Saviour affirms, Behold, I come *quickly*. These expressions are significant as to the period of the visions. The advent of Christ is announced to take place within a short time. One city is the theatre of sublime and terrible occurrences—Babylon built on seven hills; Rome the representative of heathenism or anti-christian idolatry. In this catastrophe the judgment culminates, and the new Jerusalem succeeds. Historic personages of John's time appear in the book. Seven Roman emperors are alluded to, and one in particular. Unless the expositor adhere to the historic present and immediate future of the seer, he will lose himself in endless conjecture. Jewish ideas of Messiah's advent should be known not less than Jewish-Christian ones. The prophet stood in the historical circumstances of his own time, and described the second advent in a series of dramatic visions which are ideal poetry. In this particular Eichhorn has erred to some extent.

Secondly, It is a fundamental mistake in explaining the Apocalypse to look for a detailed history

of the church, or of the leading events in the world's history that affect the Christian religion. Some find an epitome of the church's history even in the epistles to the seven churches. Others find it in the remainder of the book; others in both together. Hence particular events are assigned to particular periods, persons are specified, peoples characterised, and definite names assigned. In this fashion are sketched the vicissitudes through which the Christian religion has passed in the world. The allegorising process by which the present scheme of interpretation is supported cannot be repudiated too strongly. The ablest advocates of it are Vitringa, Mede, Faber, Hengstenberg, Ebrard, Auberlen, and Hofmann. It is inconsistent with the scope of the Apocalypse as well as the analogy of prophecy, and leads to arbitrary conjectures.

Thirdly, We should not look for a circumstance, event, person, or nation, corresponding to the images of the seer. 'All the particular traits in this large work,' says Hug, 'are by no means significant. Many are introduced only to enliven the representation, or are taken from the prophets and sacred books for the purpose of ornament: and no one who has any judgment in such matters will deny that the work is extraordinarily rich and gorgeous for a production of western origin.' This plain principle has been systematically violated by nearly all English commentators, including Elliott in particular. Thus, in explaining the language employed to describe the effect of the fifth angel-trumpet (ix. 1, etc.), the star fallen from heaven is pronounced Mohammed, by birth a star on the horizon of the political firmament, but a neglected orphan, because his family had lost the keys of the Caaba. The secret cave of Hera, near Mecca, was the pit of the abyss, whence the pestilential fumes and darkness issued. *The key of the abyss* was given him in allusive contrast to *the key of God* in the Koran. The locusts, to which the Saracens are compared, are peculiarly Arabic. The very name of the one suggests the other, both being similar in pronunciation and radicals, אֶרְבֵּה (arbeh) and עֶרְבִי (arbi)! Akin to this absurd process is

the sense attached to the three frog-like spirits issuing out of the mouth of the dragon, the beast, and the false prophet (xvi. 13); the first being democratic infidel lawlessness and rebellion, the second popery, and the third Oxford Tractarianism. If the absurdity of this method needs farther exposure, the reader needs only to look at the hypothesis respecting the two witnesses in the eleventh chapter, which Ebrard, reviving an old view, refers to *the law and the gospel*; and another has assumed to be the Son and the Spirit of God; whereas they are Elias and Moses, as the whole description shows. In like manner, the fourth vial being referred to the wars of the French Revolution—the words, 'power was given him to scorch men with fire' (xvi. 8), alludes to Napoleon, who employed artillery to an extent beyond all former example in military annals, and inflicted fiery suffering both on his own nation and others. The men thus scorched 'blasphemed the name of God, who had power over these plagues, and repented not to give him glory' (xvi. 9), which means that the suffering nations during that fearful period (1789-1809) did not renounce the papal apostasy for a purer faith. The author of the



New Testament in Greek and English (Mace), published 1729, makes the tail of the great red dragon to be Simon Magus. Another expositor tells us that the woman in the 12th chapter 'represents the covenant of redemption; and the child to be brought forth, the righteousness provided by the covenant; that is, the destined means of counteracting the power of the legal accuser or avenger—the means of delivering the sinner from a yoke even worse than that of Egyptian bondage.'

Fourthly, The principle of synchronisms has been largely adopted by interpreters since the days of Mede and Vitranga; an explanation and defence of it being found in the *Clavis Apocalyptica* of the former. A scheme so ingenious has been followed by the majority of English expositors, especially by Faber. The same events, it is said, are represented by a succession of symbols, the symbols being varied, while the things they signify are the same. Instead of the book being continuously progressive, it is progressive and retrogressive throughout. The principle in question is connected with that interpretation which finds an epitome of history in the book, and stands or falls with it. The series of visions is progressive; but as the events which the seer depicts are nearly the same, the progression is not historical, but prophetic-ideal. It is rhetorical and poetical; not a description of successive events.

Fifthly, We cannot now enter into the designations of time occurring in the Apocalypse. Those who take a day for a year have never proved the truth of their opinion. In prophecy a day means a day as elsewhere, unless the number be indefinite. This has been proved by Maitland, Stuart, and Davidson. Most numbers in the Revelation should not be taken arithmetically, but indefinitely. They are employed as part of the poetic costume, and are borrowed from the O. T.

Sixthly, In the 13th century began that peculiar exegesis which refers the book in part to heretics and sectaries. The Romish Church set the example. Innocent III., in rousing up the crusade, said that the Saracens were the true antichrist, Mohammed the false prophet, and 666 years the duration of his power. As the Church of Rome grew more corrupt, its opponents applied to it the descriptions of the book. The pope was identified with antichrist; and Rome papal with the great whore of Babylon. Since the Reformation, Protestants have usually found in the Revelation the papacy and its destruction. We need not say that the allusion is baseless. Protestant antipapal exegesis has as much foundation as Rome's antihetic one. Thus Signor Pastorini explains the fifth trumpet (ix. 1-11) of the rise and progress of the Reformation. The star falling from heaven is Luther, who, renouncing his faith and vows, may be said to have fallen. When he opened the door of hell there issued forth a thick smoke, or a strong spirit of seduction which had been hatched in hell. A Protestant parallel to this is Elliott's application of the beast in xiii. and xvii. to the succession of popes.

X. The best book on the literature of the Apocalypse is that of Lücke (*Versuch einer vollständigen Einleitung in die Offenbarung des Johannes, oder allgemeine Untersuchungen ueber die apokalyptische Litteratur ueberhaupt, und die Apokalypse des Johannes insbesondere. Zweyte Auflage*, Bonn 1852). To this may be added Düsterdieck's

*Kritisch exegetisches Handbuch ueber die Offenbarung Johannis*, 1859, with the introductions of Bleek and De Wette.

The best commentaries are those of Züllig (1834, 1840), De Wette (1848), Ewald (1828 and 1862), Düsterdieck (1859), Bleek's *Lectures* (1862), and Volkmar (1862). Some good remarks are contained in Reuss's *Histoire de la Théologie chrétienne au siècle apostolique*, i. 429, et seqq., 2d ed. The most esteemed English works have been Lowman's *Commentary*, Mede's *Clavis* with the commentary attached to it, and Woodhouse's *Commentary*. Of more recent books, Stuart's *Commentary*, that of Hooper, and Desprez's *Apocalypse Fulfilled*, have their respective merits. The most pretentious is that of Elliott, 4 vols. 8vo, 5th edition, 1862, whose scheme is fundamentally erroneous. We regret to say that the observations prefixed to the Apocalypse, in the editions of the Greek Testament published by Alford and Wordsworth, contribute nothing to the understanding of the book.—S. D.

#### REVELATIONS, SPURIOUS [APOCRYPHA].

The Apocalyptic character, which is occupied in describing the future splendour of the Messianic kingdom and its historical relations, presents itself for the first time in the book of Daniel, which is thus characteristically distinguished from the former prophetic books. In the only prophetic book of the N. T., the Apocalypse of St. John, this idea is fully developed, and the several apocryphal revelations are mere imitations, more or less happy, of these two canonical books, which furnished ideas to a numerous class of writers in the first ages of the Christian church. The principal spurious revelations extant have been published by Fabricius in his *Cod. Pseudep. V. T.*, and *Cod. Apoc. N. T.*; and their character has been still more critically examined in recent times by Archbishop Laurence (who has added to their number), by Nitzsche, Bleek, and others; and especially by Dr. Lücke, in his *Einleitung in die Offenbarung Joh. und die gesammte apokalyptische Litteratur*. To this interesting work we are in a great measure indebted for much of the information contained in the present article.

I. We shall first treat of the apocryphal revelations no longer extant, which are the following, viz.—

1. The Apocalypse of Elias. 2. The Apocalypse of Zephaniah. 3. The Apocalypse of Zechariah. 4. The Apocalypse of Adam. 5. The Apocalypse of Abraham. 6. The Apocalypse of Moses. 7. The Prophecies of Hystaspes. 8. The Apocalypse of Peter. 9. The Apocalypse of Paul. 10. The Apocalypse of Cerinthus. 11. The Apocalypse of Thomas. 12. The Apocalypse of the proto-martyr Stephen.

The first three are referred to by St. Jerome (*Ep. ad Pamphilum*), and cited as lost apocryphal books in an ancient MS. of the Scriptures in the Coislinian Collection (ed. Montfaucon, p. 194). The *Apocalypse of Adam*, and that of *Abraham*, are cited by Epiphanius (*Hæres.* xxxi. 8) as Gnostic productions. The *Apocalypse of Moses*, mentioned by Syncellus (*Chronog.*) and Cedrenus (*Comp. Hist.*), fragments of which have been published by Fabricius (*ut supra*), is conjectured by Grotius to have been a forgery of one of the ancient Christians.



The *Prophecies of Hystaspes* were in use among the Christians in the 2d century. This was apparently a pagan production, but is cited by Justin Martyr, in his *Apology*, as agreeing with the Sibylline oracles in predicting the destruction of the world by fire. Clemens Alexandrinus (*Strom.* vi.) and Lactantius (*Instit.* vii. 15) also cite passages from these prophecies, which bear a decidedly Christian character.

The *Apocalypse of Peter* is mentioned by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.*, iii. 3. 25), and was cited by Clement of Alexandria, in his *Adumbrations*, now lost (*Euseb. l. c.*, vi. 14). Some fragments of it have, however, been preserved by Clement, in his *Selections from the lost Prophecies of Theodotus the Gnostic*, and are published in Grabe's *Spicilegium* (vol. i. p. 74, *seq.*). From these we can barely collect that this Apocalypse contained some melancholy prognostications, which seem to be directed against the Jews, and to refer to the destruction of their city and nation. This work is cited as extant in the ancient fragment of the canon published by Muratori, with this proviso, 'Apocalypsis Johannis et Petri tantum recipimus; quam quidam ex nostris legi in ecclesia nolunt.' Eusebius designates it at one time as 'spurious,' and at another as 'heretical.' From a circumstance mentioned by Sozomen (*Hist. Eccles.*, vii. 19)—viz., that it was read in some churches in Palestine on all Fridays in the year down to the 5th century—Lücke infers that it was a Jewish-Christian production (of the 2d century), and of the same family with the *Preaching of Peter*. It is uncertain whether this work is the same that is read by the Copts among what they call the apocryphal books of Peter. There was also a work under the name of the *Apocalypse of Peter by his Disciple Clement*, an account of which was transmitted to Pope Honorius by Jacob, bishop of Acre in the 13th century, written in the Saracenic language; but this has been conjectured to be a later work, originating in the time of the Crusades.

In the ancient Latin stichometry in Cotelierius (*Apostolic Fathers*), the Apocalypse of Peter is said to contain 2070 stichs, and that of John 1200. It is cited as an apocryphal book in the *Indiculus Scripturarum* after the *Questions* of Anastasius of Nicæa, together with the Apocalypse of Ezar and that of Paul. There is in the Bodleian Library a MS. of an Arabic *Apocalypse of Peter*, of which Nicoll has furnished an extract in his catalogue, and which may possibly be a translation of the Greek Apocalypse.

The *Apocalypse of St. Paul* is mentioned by Augustine (*Tract.* 98 in *Ev. Joan.*), who asserts that it abounds in fables, and was an invention to which occasion was furnished by 2 Cor. xii. 2-4. This appears from Epiphanius (*Hæres.* xxxviii. 2) to have been an anti-Jewish Gnostic production, and to be identical with the *ἀναβατικὸν* of Paul, used only by the anti-Jewish sect of Gnostics called Cainites. It is said by Sozomen (*Hist. Eccles.*, vii. 19) to have been held in great esteem. It was also known to Theophylact and Ecumenius (on 2 Cor. xii. 4), and to Nicephorus in the 9th century (*Can.* 3, 4). Whether this is the same work which Du Pin (*Proleg.* and *Canon*) says is still extant among the Copts is rendered more than doubtful by Fabricius (*Cod. Apoc.*, ii. p. 954) and Grabe (*Spicileg.*, i. p. 85). The *Revelation of St. Paul*, contained in

an Oxford MS., is shown by Grube (*l. c.*) to be a much later work. Theodosius of Alexandria (*Ἐρωτήματα περὶ προσωδίων*) says that the Apocalypse of St. Paul is not a work of the apostle, but of Paul of Samosata, from whom the Paulicians derived their name. The *Revelation of Paul* is one of the spurious works condemned by Pope Gelasius, together with the Revelations of St. Thomas and St. Stephen.

The *Apocalypse of Cerinthus* is mentioned by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.*, iii. 28), and by Theodoret (*Fab. Hæret.*, ii. 3). Eusebius describes it as a revelation of an earthly and sensual kingdom of Christ, according to the heresy of the Chiliasts.

Of the *Revelations of St. Thomas and St. Stephen* we know nothing beyond their condemnation by Pope Gelasius, except that Sixtus of Sienna observes, that according to Serapion they were held in great repute by the Manichees; but in the works of Serapion which we now possess there is no allusion to this. There is, however, an unpublished MS. of Serapion in the Hamburg Library, which is supposed to contain a more complete copy of his work.

II. We now proceed to treat of the extant spurious Revelations.

THE ASCENSION AND THE VISION OF ISAIAH (*Ἀναβατικὸν καὶ Ὁρασις Ἰσαΐου*), although for a long time lost to the world, was a work well known to the ancients, as is indicated by the allusions of Justin Martyr, Origen, Tertullian, and Epiphanius. The first of these writers (*Dial. c. Tryph.*, ed. Par., p. 349) refers to the account therein contained of the death of Isaiah, who 'was sawn asunder with a wooden saw,' a fact, he adds, 'which was removed by the Jews from the sacred text.' Tertullian also (*De Patientiâ*) among other examples from *Scripture*, refers to the same event; and in the next (the 3d) century Origen (*Epist. ad African.*), after stating that the Jews were accustomed to remove many things from the knowledge of the people, which they nevertheless preserved in *apocryphal* or secret writings, adduces as an example the death of Isaiah, 'who was *sawn asunder*, as stated in a certain apocryphal writing, which the Jews perhaps corrupted in order to throw discredit on the whole.' In his *Comm. in Matt.* he refers to the same events, observing, that if this apocryphal work is not of sufficient authority to establish the account of the prophet's martyrdom, it should be believed upon the testimony borne to that work by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (Heb. xi. 37); in the same manner as the account of the death of Zechariah should be credited upon the testimony borne by our Saviour to a writing not found in the common and published books (*κοινὰ καὶ δεδημευμένοις βιβλίοις*), but probably in an apocryphal work. Origen cites a passage from the apocryphal account of the *martyrdom of Isaiah*, in one of his *Homilies* (ed. De la Rue, vol. iii. p. 108). The *Apostolic Constitutions* also refer to the apocryphal books of Moses, Enoch, Adam, and *Isaiah*, as writings of some antiquity.

The first writer, however, who mentions the *Ascension of Isaiah* by name is Epiphanius, in the 4th century, who observes (*Hæres.* xl.) that the apocryphal *Ascension of Isaiah* was adduced by the Archonites in support of their opinions respecting the seven heavens and their *archons* or ruling angels, as well as by the Egyptian Hieracas and



his followers in confirmation of their heretical opinions respecting the Holy Spirit, at the same time citing the passage from the Ἀναβατικόν to which they refer (*Ascens. of Isaiah*, ix. 27, 32-36; xi. 32, 33). Jerome also (*in Esai.* lxiv. 4) expressly names the work, asserting it to be an apocryphal production, originating in a passage in the N. T. (1 Cor. ii. 9). St. Ambrose (*Opp.*, i. p. 1124) cites a passage contained in it, but only as a traditionary report, 'plerique ferunt' (*Ascens. Is.*, v. 4-8); and the author of the *Imperfect Work on Matt.*, a work of the 5th century erroneously attributed to St. Chrysostom (Chrysost., *Opp.*, hom. l.), evidently cites a passage from the same work (*Ascens.*, i. 1, etc.). After this period all trace of the book is lost until the 11th century, when Euthymius Zigabenus informs us that the Messalian heretics made use of that 'abominable pseudepigraphal work, the *Vision of Isaiah*.' It was also used (most probably in a Latin version) by the *Cathari* in the West (P. Moneta, *Adv. Catharos*, ed. Rich., p. 218). The *Vision of Isaiah* is also named in a catalogue of canonical and apocryphal books in a Paris MS. (No. 1789), after the *Quæst. et Resp.* of Anastasius (Cotelerius, *P. P. Apost.*, i. pp. 197, 349). Sixtus of Sienna (*Bibl. Sancti*, 1566) states that the *Vision of Isaiah*, as distinct from the *Anabasis* (as he calls it), had been printed at Venice. Referring to this last publication, the late Archbishop Laurence observes that he had hoped to find in some bibliographical work a further notice of it, but that he had searched in vain; concluding at the same time that it must have been a publication extracted from the *Ascension of Isaiah*, or a Latin translation of the *Vision*, as the title of it given by Sixtus was, 'Visio admirabilis Esaie prophetæ in raptu mantis, quæ divinæ Trinitatis arcana, et lapsi generis humani redemptionem continet.' Dr. Laurence observes also that the mode of Isaiah's death is further in accordance with a Jewish tradition recorded in the Talmud (*Tract Jebammoth*, iv.); and he supposes that Mohammed may have founded his own journey through seven different heavens on this same apocryphal work. He shows at the same time, by an extract from the *Raboth*, that the same idea of the precise number of seven heavens accorded with the Jewish creed.

There appeared now to be little hopes of recovering the lost *Ascension of Isaiah*, when Dr. Laurence (then Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford) had the good fortune to purchase from a bookseller in Drury Lane an Ethiopic MS. containing the identical book, together with the canonical book of Isaiah and the fourth (called in the Ethiopic the *first*) book of Esdras. It is entitled the *Ascension of the Prophet Isaiah*, the first five chapters containing the martyrdom, and the six last (for it is divided in the MS. into chapters and verses) the *Ascension* or *Vision* of Isaiah. At the end of the canonical book are the words, 'Here ends the Prophet Isaiah;' after which follows 'The Ascension,' etc., concluding with the words, 'Here ends Isaiah the Prophet, with his Ascension.' Then follows a postscript, from which it appears that it was transcribed for a priest named Aaron, at the cost of a piece of fine cloth, twelve measures long and four broad. The *Ascension of Isaiah* was published by Dr. Laurence at Oxford in 1819, with a new Latin and an English version. This

discovery was first applied to the illustration of Scripture by Dr. Gesenius (*Comm. on Isaiah*). Sometime afterwards the indefatigable Dr. Angelo Mai (*Nova Collect. Script. Vet. e Vat. Codd.*, Rom. 1828) published two Latin fragments as an appendix to his *Sermon. Arian. Fragment. Antiquiss.*, which he conjectured to be portions of some ancient apocryphal writings. Niebuhr, however, perceived them to be fragments of the Ascension and Vision of Isaiah; and Dr. Nitzsche (*Nachweisung zweyer Bruchstücke*, etc., in the *Theolog. Stud. und Kritik*, 1830) was enabled to compare them with the two corresponding portions (ii. 14-iii. 12; vii. 1-19) of the Ethiopic version. Finally, in consequence of the more complete notice of the Venetian edition of the Latin version given by Panzer (*Annal. Typog.*, viii. p. 473), Dr. Gieseler had a strict search made for it, which was eventually crowned with success, a copy being discovered in the Library at Munich. This work, the date of whose impression was 1522, contained also the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, and the *Letter of Lentulus to the Roman Senate*. The Latin version contains the *Vision* only, corresponding to the last seven chapters of the Ethiopic version.

The subject of the first part is the martyrdom of Isaiah, who is here said to have been sawn asunder in consequence of the visions which he related to Hezekiah, in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of that monarch, and which are recorded in the first four chapters. These relate principally to the coming of 'Jesus Christ the Lord' from the seventh heaven; his being changed into the form of a man; the preaching of his twelve apostles; his final rejection and suspension on a tree, in company with the workers of iniquity, on the day before the sabbath; the spread of the Christian doctrine; the last judgment; and his return to the seventh heaven. Before this, however, the arch-fiend Berial is to descend on earth, in the form of an impious monarch, the murderer of his mother, where, after his image is worshipped in every city for three years, seven months, and twenty-seven days, he and his powers are to be dragged into Gehenna.

The second portion of the work gives a prolix account of the prophet's ascent through seven heavens, each more resplendent and more glorious than the other. It contains distinct prophetic allusions to the miraculous birth of Christ of the Virgin Mary at Bethlehem; his crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension; and the worship of 'the Father, his beloved Christ, and the Holy Spirit.' The mode of the prophet's own death is also announced to him. The whole work, observes its learned translator, is 'singularly characterised by simplicity of narration, by occasional sublimity of description, and by richness as well as vigour of imagination.' Dr. Laurence conceives that the writer had no design of imposing upon the world a spurious production of his own as that of the prophet, but rather of composing a work, avowedly fictitious, but accommodated to the character, and consistent with the prophecies, of him to whom it is ascribed.

As to the age of this work, Dr. Laurence supposes, from the obvious reference to Nero, and the period of three years, seven months, and twenty-seven days, and again of three hundred and thirty-two days, after which Berial was to be dragged to



Gehenna, that the work was written after the death of Nero (which took place on the 9th June A.D. 68), but before the close of the year 69. Lücke, however, looks upon these numbers as purely arbitrary and apocalyptic, and maintains that the dogmatical character of the work, the allusion to the corruptions of the church, the absence of all reference to the destruction of Jerusalem, and the Chiliastic view, all point to a later period. All that can be considered as certain respecting its date is, that the first portion was extant before the time of Origen, and the whole before Epiphanius. It has been doubted whether the work does not consist of two independent productions, which were afterwards united into one, as in the Ethiopic version; but this is a question impossible to decide in the absence of the original. The Latin fragments discovered by Mai correspond literally with the Ethiopic, while they not only differ from the Venetian edition in single phrases, but the latter contains passages so striking as to induce the supposition that it is derived from a later recension of the original text.

The author was evidently a Jewish Christian, as appears from the use made of the Talmudical legend already referred to, as well as by his representing the false accuser of Isaiah as a Samaritan. The work also abounds in Gnostic, Valentinian, and Ophitic notions, such as the account of the seven heavens, and the presiding angels of the first five, the gradual transmutation of Christ until his envelopment in the human form, and finally the docetic conception of his history on earth. All this has induced Lücke (*ut supra*) to consider the whole to be a Gnostic production of the 2d or 3d century, of which, however, the martyrdom was first written. Dr. Laurence finds so strong a resemblance between the account of the seven heavens here, and in the Testament of Levi (*Twelve Patriarchs*), that he suspects the latter to 'betray a little plagiarism.' If this learned divine were right in his conjecture respecting the early age of this production, it would doubtless afford an additional testimony (if such were wanting) to the antiquity of the belief in the miraculous conception and the proper deity of Jesus, who is here called the Beloved, the Lord, the Lord God, and the Lord Christ. In respect, however, to another passage, in which the Son and Holy Spirit are represented as worshipping God, the learned prelate truly observes that this takes place only in the character of angels, which they had assumed.

Dr. Lücke observes that the drapery only of the apocalyptic element of this work is Jewish, the internal character being altogether Christian. But in both form and substance there is an evident imitation, if not of the Apocalypse of St. John, at least of the book of Daniel and of the Sibylline oracles. The use of the canonical Apocalypse Lücke (*l. c.*, sec. 16) considers to be undeniable in viii. 45 (comp. Rev. xxii. 8, 9; vii. 21-23; Rev. xix. 10).

Of the ancient Greek poems called the SIBYLLINE ORACLES (written in hexameter verse), there was formerly a considerable number in use, of which but few have descended to our times. Servius, in the 5th century, mentions a hundred books (*sermōnes, λόγοι*); and Suidas, who lived most probably in the 11th, speaks of twenty-four books of the Chaldean sibyls alone. But

eight only were known to the moderns, until the recent discoveries of Angelo Mai, who has recovered and published an eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth book from palimpsests in the Ambrosian and Vatican libraries (*Script. Vet. Nov. Collect.*, vol. iii. p. 3). The first eight books have been shown to be the compositions of various writers from the commencement of the 2d century B.C. to A.D. 500. Of these, the earliest in point of date is supposed to be the *third book*, containing a series of connected predictions written by an Alexandrian Jew in the time of the Maccabees, but containing heathen poems of a still earlier period. The subject is continued by another Alexandrian Jew, who lived about forty years before the Christian era. Notwithstanding the later Christian interpolations by which this document has been disfigured, it forms a valuable collection of Sibylline oracles respecting the Messiah, anterior to the Christian era. It concludes with another addition, written partly in the 3d century and partly at a still later period. But before this period, the *fourth* and *fifth* books come in, the former of which was written by a Christian about A.D. 80; the latter consists of several predictions from various authors, principally Egyptians, one of whom was an Alexandrian Jew, who wrote in the middle of the 2d century; another portion is by a Jew in Asia Minor, about A.D. 20; and certain parts by another Jewish author, about A.D. 70. But the whole book in its present form proceeds most probably from the Jewish Christians residing at Memphis in the commencement of Adrian's reign, who collected the greater portion of the oracles of the first part, and united them to the third and fourth books. At least the whole three books were formed into one collection in the middle of the 2d century, and ascribed to one and the same sibyl. But at the close of the next century these books were completely separated, and were, together with the subsequent books then written (sixth, seventh, and eighth), each attributed to a distinct prophetic. Of these, the earliest in point of date is the *eighth book*, part of which was composed about A.D. 170-180, and the entire finished at the end of the 3d century, when it was united with the others, as we learn from Lactantius. The *seventh book*, separate from its later interpolations, was composed by a Judaizing Christian in the 3d century. The *sixth book* appears to have been written at the close of this century by a Christian, for he speaks of Christ as the second Adam. That part called the *Acrostics* was constructed in the 4th century from earlier Sibylline verses. Some portions of the *eighth book* were probably written at this period, and introduced at a still later among the Sibylline oracles. The latest of all are the *first* and *second books*, written by one and the same author, who lived in the West in the middle of the 5th century.

Of this motley group the chief portions only are of an apocalyptic character, others being purely epic, or in the form of hymns. The sibyl, as the oracle of God, predicts the destruction of paganism in its wars on both Judaism and Christianity. To this is annexed the apocalyptic consolation and encouragement to the sufferer and oppressed among God's people. The poetic interest, which is a characteristic of apocalyptic composition, both Jewish and Christian, is not lost sight of.

There have been three distinct periods traced in



respect to the Sibylline Revelations. The first is the Jewish, commencing at the Maccabæan period. This, observes Lücke, 'belongs to the cycle of Daniel's Apocalypse.' The second period is the Jewish Christian, having a special relation to the antichristian character of the persecuting Nero, with an admixture of Chiliastic elements. The third period is free from Chiliasm, and belongs to the Christian character of the 3d century, embracing a species of universal history in the Sibylline form, concluding with the end of all things at the final judgment.

It is impossible to deny the resemblance between the Apocalypse of John and the Sibylline poems of the second period. 'Besides the Chiliastic elements, and the reference to the return of Nero, it is common to both that the destruction of Rome forms the grand crisis of their predictions, and that letters and cyphers are symbolically employed. But, on the other hand, what a difference! The Sibylline oracles are characterised by a dry, monotonous series of mere predictions, threatenings, and promises; while the Apocalypse of John presents us with an all but dramatic development of the kingdom of God in a living picture. The most important portion for comparison with the Apocalypse is the contemporary first oracle of the fourth book. The later pieces of this kind may have stood in conscious relation with the Apocalypse, but this is incapable of proof' (Lücke, *ut supra*).

The books discovered by Angelo Mai are much of the same character with the former, but have less of the religious element. The eleventh book contains a statement of Jewish, Greek, Macedonian, and Egyptian history, from the Deluge to Julius Cæsar. There are some single passages which resemble the third book, but the author was a different person, and was probably a Jew, who lived a short time before the Christian era.

The *twelfth* book resembles the fifth in its commencement, and contains the same series of Roman emperors from Augustus, under whose reign the appearance of Christ is prominently brought forward. This series, which in the third book ended with Hadrian, here proceeds as far as Alexander Severus, passing over Sulpicius Severus. Its Christian origin is beyond question, and it may have been written after the death of Severus, A.D. 222.

The *thirteenth* book narrates, in the Sibylline form, the wars of the Romans in the East to the middle of the 3d century, probably commencing where the former had ended. It is observable that the author alludes to the mathematical fame of Bostra.

The most prominent feature of the *fourteenth* book is the destruction and rebuilding of the city of Rome, which is provisioned for a whole year in expectation of a long period of adversity; the last prince of the Latin race appears and departs, after whom comes a royal race of long duration. The whole narration points to the period of the migration and downfall of the Western Empire. The author doubtless was a Christian of the 5th century.

The book called the TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS is an ancient apocryphal work (founded most probably on Gen. xlix. 1, *seq.*), in which the twelve sons of Jacob are represented as delivering their dying predictions and

precepts to their posterity. If we are to credit the authority of a manuscript in the Bodleian library, this work was originally written in Hebrew, and translated into Greek by St. Chrysostom. But Dr. Grabe, who first adduced this testimony, considers it very doubtful. The author of the Latin version (from the Greek) was Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln in the 13th century, with the assistance of a Greek named Nicholas, abbot of St. Albans. The bishop's attention was first directed to it by Archdeacon John de Basingstoke, who had seen the work during his studies at Athens. This version, which was first printed from very incorrect copies in 1483, and afterwards in 1532 and 1549, was reprinted in the *Orthodoxographia* of Gryneus, and in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. A few specimens of the original were printed at various times by Cotelierus (*Not. in Script. Apostol.*), Gale (*Annot. in Jambl.*), and Wharton (*Auctarium*); but it was reserved for the learned Dr. Grabe to give the entire work in the original Greek, in 1699, from a Cambridge manuscript on vellum (the identical MS. used by Robert of Lincoln for his translation), a copy of which was made for him by the learned Dr. John Mill, who collated it with a manuscript on paper in the Bodleian, written A.D. 1268, and annexed to it various readings from other manuscripts. Dr. Grabe was the person who first divided the work into chapters or paragraphs, with numbers prefixed. He added some valuable notes, which, with the originals, were republished by Fabricius in his *Cod. Pseudep. V. T.*

This work contains many beautiful passages, and, while its form is that of a pretended prophecy, bears indirect testimony to the facts and books of the N. T.; the nativity, crucifixion, resurrection, ascension, and unblemished character of Jesus—ascribing to him such titles as evidently show that his divinity was fully recognised. The author testifies also to the canonical authority of the Acts of the Apostles and St. Paul's Epistles, and seems especially to allude to the four Gospels. The age of this apocryphal work is, therefore, of considerable importance in sacred criticism.

Mr. William Whiston, who has given an English translation of this work in his *Authentic Records*, considers it to be a genuine production, and one of the *concealed* (as he interprets the word apocryphal) books of the O. T., maintaining that if this and the book of Enoch were not written after the destruction of Jerusalem (which he holds to be a wild notion), they are of necessity genuine and divine. Cave (*Hist. Liter.*) was at first disposed to place the work in the year A.D. 192, but he subsequently regarded it as more probably written near the commencement of the 2d century. That the work was extant in the time of Origen appears from his observation: 'We find the like sentiment in another little book, called the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*, although it is not in the canon,' viz., that by sinners are to be understood the angels of Satan (*Homil. in Jos. comp. with Testament. Reuben.*, sec. 3). Jerome also observes that there had been forged revelations of all the patriarchs and prophets. Tertullian has also been supposed to refer to it. It is cited by Procopius of Gaza, about A.D. 520; and in the *Stichometry* of Nicephorus (about A.D. 800) it is said to contain in the Greek 5100, and in the Latin 4800, stichs or

verses [VERSE]. Dr. Dodwell, from its Hellenistic character, ascribes it to the 1st century. The recent investigations of Dr. Nitzsche (*De Testamentis duodecim Patriarcharum*, Wittenb. 1810), however, seem to leave no doubt of its having been the work of a Jewish Christian, about the beginning of the 2d century. The design of the writer was evidently to convert the twelve tribes to the Christian faith. For this object are introduced the apocalyptic elements. The time of Christ's appearance is predicted. The Messiah is represented as both priest and king, and with this view characterised as equally sprung from the tribes of Judah and Levi. He is to appear, after many calamities, as the common Saviour of Jews and Gentiles. It also contains revelations purely Christian, as the everlasting reign of Christ, the general resurrection, and the last judgment. The Apocalypse of John is referred to, if not expressly cited; and the apocalyptic portions have evidently this for their groundwork, together with the book of Daniel, and that of Enoch, which is expressly cited as a work of authority (Levi, 2; Naphthali, 5), and is consequently an earlier production. There was an altered and interpolated English translation of this book, published (as a genuine work of the twelve patriarchs) in Bristol by Richard Day, in 1813.

#### THE FOURTH BOOK OF EZRA. [ESDRAS.]

The ancient romantic fiction, entitled the SHEPHERD OF HERMAS, is not without its apocalyptic elements. These, however, are confined to book i. 3, 4; but they are destitute of signification or originality [HERMAS].

THE BOOK OF ENOCH is one of the most curious of the spurious revelations, resembling in its outward form both the book of Daniel and the Apocalypse; but it is uncertain whether this latter work or the book of Enoch was first written [ENOCH].

There was an APOCRYPHAL REVELATION OF ST. JOHN extant in the time of Theodosius the Grammarian, the only one of the ancients who mentions it, and who calls it a pseudepigraphal book. It was not known what had become of it, until the identical work was recently published from a Vatican as well as a Vienna manuscript, by Birch, in his *Auctarium*, under the title of 'The Apocalypse of the Holy Apostle and Evangelist John the Divine.' From the silence of the ancients respecting this work, it could scarcely have been written before the 3d or 4th century. Lücke has pointed out other internal marks of a later age, as, for instance, the mention of *incense*, which he observes first came into use in the Christian Church after the 4th century (although here the author of the spurious book may have taken his idea from Rev. v. 8; viii. 3); also of *images* and *rich crosses*, which were not in use before the 4th and 5th centuries.' The name *patriarch*, applied here to a dignitary in the church, belongs to the same age. The time in which Theodosius himself lived is not certainly known, but he cannot be placed earlier than the 5th century, which Lücke conceives to be the most probable age of the work itself. Regarding the object and occasion of the work (which is a rather servile imitation of the genuine Apocalypse), in consequence of the absence of dates and of internal characteristics,

there are no certain indications. Birch's text, as well as his manuscripts, abound in errors; but Thilo has collated two Paris manuscripts for his intended edition (see his *Acta Thomæ, Proleg.*, p. lxxxiii.) Assemann (*Biblioth. Orient.*, tom. iii. pt. i. p. 282) states that there is an Arabic version among the Vatican MSS.—W. W.

REZEPH (רֶזֶף; Sept. *Ῥαφίς*; *Ῥαφέθ*), a city which occurs among those subdued by the Assyrians (2 Kings xix. 12; Is. xxxvii. 12). It is supposed to be the same that Ptolemy mentions under the name of *Ῥήσαφα*, as a city of Palmyrene (*Geog.* v. 15. 24); and this again is possibly the same with the Rasapha which Abulfeda places at nearly a day's journey west of the Euphrates.

REZIN (רֶצִין; Sept. *Ῥασσών*; *Ραζών*). 1. The last king of Damascene-Syria, slain by Tiglath-pileser (2 Kings xv. 37; xvi. 5-10; Is. vii. 1; viii. 4-7) [DAMASCUS]. 2. One of the families of the Nethinim [NETHINIM].

REZON (רֶזֶן, *prince*; Sept. *Ῥεζόν*; Alex. *Ῥαζών*), an officer of Hadadezer, king of Zobah, who established the independence of Damascus, and made it the seat of the kingdom of Damascene-Syria, so often mentioned in the history of the Hebrew kingdoms (1 Kings xi. 23, 24) [DAMASCUS].

RHEGIUM (*Ῥήγιον*), a city on the coast of Italy, near its south-western extremity, opposite Messina in Sicily (Acts xxviii. 13). It is now called Reggio, and is the capital of Calabria.

RHENFERD, JAKOB, was born at Mulheim on the Rhine, 15th August 1654. He was successively rector of the Latin School and professor of Oriental languages in the university of Francker, where he died 7th November 1712. Besides editing a *Synagoga* of dissertations by different writers, *De Stylo Novi Testamenti*, 4to, 1701, he published several learned dissertations. These have been collected and issued in one vol. 4to, with a preface by D. Mill, and an *Oratio Funebris* by Professor Andala, under the title *Jac. Rhenferdi Opera Philologica, dissertationibus exquisitissimi Argumenti Constantia*, Traj. Rhen. 1722. Besides discussing such Biblical subjects as the style of the Apocalypse, the meaning of the phrase *ὁ αἰὼν ὁ μέλλων* in the N. T., the meaning of several passages in the N. T., the author treats largely on points of Jewish literature and archæology, and takes up the subject of the Palmyrene and Phœnician dialects, and other points of interest to Oriental scholars.—W. L. A.

RHESA (*Ῥησά*), the father of Joanna in the genealogy of our Lord (Luke iii. 27) [JOANNA].

RHODA (*Ῥόδη*, i. e., *Rose*), a servant-maid mentioned in Acts xii. 13.

RHODES (*Ῥόδος*), an island in the Mediterranean, near the coast of Asia Minor, celebrated from the remotest antiquity as the seat of commerce, navigation, literature, and the arts, famous during the middle ages as the residence of the knights of St. John, but now reduced to a state of abject poverty by the devastations of war and the tyranny and rapacity of its Turkish rulers. It is of a triangular form, about forty-four leagues in circumference, twenty leagues long from north to south, and about six broad. In the centre is a



lofty mountain named Artemira, which commands a view of the whole island; of the elevated coast of Carmania on the north; the Archipelago, studded with numerous islands, on the north-west; Mount Ida, veiled in clouds, on the south-west; and the wide expanse of waters that wash the shores of Africa on the south and south-east. It was famed in ancient times, and is still celebrated, for its delightful climate and the fertility of its soil. The gardens are filled with delicious fruit, every gale is scented with the most powerful fragrance wafted from the groves of orange and citron trees, and the numberless aromatic herbs exhale such a profusion of the richest odours, that the whole atmosphere seems impregnated with spicy perfume. It is well watered by the river Candura, and numerous smaller streams and rivulets that spring from the shady sides of Mount Artemira. It contains two cities—Rhodes, the capital, inhabited chiefly by Turks, and a small number of Jews; and the ancient Lindus, now reduced to a hamlet, peopled by Greeks, who are almost all engaged in commerce. Besides these, there are five villages occupied by Turks and a small number of Jews; and five towns and forty-one villages inhabited by Greeks. The whole population was estimated by Savery at 36,500; but Turner, a later traveller, estimates them only at 20,000, of whom 14,000 were Greeks and 6000 Turks, with a small mixture of Jews residing chiefly in the capital.

St. Paul appears to have visited Rhodes while on his journey to Jerusalem, A.D. 58 (Acts xxi. 1). It was then under the power of the Romans, under whom, however, it enjoyed a considerable measure of independence.

The Sept. translators place the Rhodians among the children of Javan (Gen. x. 4), and in this they are followed by Eusebius, Jerome, and Isidore; but Bochart maintains that the Rhodians are too modern to have been planted there by any immediate son of Javan, and considers that Moses rather intended the Gauls on the Mediterranean towards the mouth of the Rhone, near Marseilles, where there was a district called Rhodanusia, and a city of the same name. They also render Ezek. xxvii. 15, 'children of the Rhodians,' instead of, as in the Hebrew, 'children of Dedan.' Calmet considers it probable that here they read 'children of Redan or Rodan,' but that in Gen. x. 4 they read 'Dedan,' as in the Hebrew. (Ross, *Reisen auf d. Griech. Inseln*, iii. 70-113; Coronelli, *Isolandi Rodi Geografica*; Clarke's *Travels*; Turner's *Journal*; Schubert's *Reise ins Morgenl.*)—G. M. B.

RHODON (ῥόδον), signifying 'rose,' occurs only in the apocryphal books of Ecclesiasticus and the Book of Wisdom (Ecclus. xxiv. 14; xxxix. 13; i. 8; Wisdom xi. 8).

The rose, though so seldom referred to in the writings of the Jews, is indigenous in some parts of Palestine (see Monro, as quoted by Kitto in the *Physical History of Palestine*; Rosenmüller, *Bib. Bot.*, p. 144, E. T.) Burckhardt was struck with the number of rose-trees which he found among the ruins of Bozra beyond the Jordan. That the rose was cultivated in Damascus is well known; indeed, one species is named *Rosa Damascena* from being supposed to be indigenous there (Kitto, *l.c.*, p. cclxxiv.)

It is possible, however, that the common rose may not be the plant meant in the above passages

of Ecclesiasticus, and that the name *rhodon* may have been used in a general sense, so as to include some rose-like plants. We have an instance of this, indeed, in the oleander, of which *rhododendron*, or *rose-tree*, was one of the ancient names, and *rhododaphne* another. The former name is now applied to a very different genus of plants, but *laurier-rose*, the French translation of *rhododaphne*, is still the common name in France of the plant which used to be called *rose-bay* in this country, but which is now commonly called *oleander*. Its long and narrow leaves are like some kinds of willows, and in their hue and leathery consistence have some resemblance to the bay-tree, while in its rich inflorescence it may most aptly be compared to the rose. The oleander is well known to be



449. Oleander.

common in the south of Europe, by the sides of rivers and torrents; also in Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, and the north of India; and nothing can be conceived more beautiful than the rivulets at the foot of the mountains, with their banks lined with thickets of oleanders, crowned with large bunches of roseate coloured flowers. Most travellers in Palestine have been struck with the beauty of this plant. Such a plant could hardly escape reference, and therefore we are inclined to think that it is alluded to in the book of Ecclesiasticus by the name ῥόδον. If this should not be considered sufficiently near to *rhododaphne* and *rhododendron*, we may state, that in Arabic writers on *Materia Medica* *rodyon* is given as the Syrian name of the oleander.—J. F. R.

RIBLAH (רִבְלָה), 'fertility,' from the Arabic

root ربل; Bḡlā; Ραβλαμ; Ρεβλαδά; Δεβλαδά; Alex. sometimes Δεβλαά, and Δεβλαδά; *Rebla*; *Reblatha*, a very ancient city of Canaan. In describing the boundaries of the land which the Lord promised to bestow on the Israelites, Riblah is mentioned as one of the land-marks on the east: 'And ye shall point out your east border from Hazar-enan to Shepham: and the coast shall go down from Shepham to Riblah, on the east side of Ain; and the border shall descend and shall reach

unto the side of the sea of Chinnereth eastward' (Num. xxxiv. 10, 11). There is just one other incidental notice in Scripture tending to fix the site of Riblah; it is said to be 'in the land of Hamath' (2 Kings xxiii. 33; xxv. 21; Jer. lii. 9). The land of Hamath lay on the north of the ancient kingdom of Damascus. [HAMATH.] It embraced the plain on both sides of the Orontes, extending from the city of Hamath southward to the fountain of the Orontes. Somewhere on this plain Riblah must have stood; and the scope of the passage shows that it must have been near the southern border of Hamath. It is farther described as lying 'on the

east side of Ain' (מִקְדָּם לַעֵין; ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἐπὶ πηγῆς; *Rebla contra fontem Daphne*). *Ain* seems to be a proper name, but is doubtless descriptive; and it therefore signifies either a noted 'fountain,' or a town beside a fountain and taking its name from it.

Guided by these indications there can be little difficulty in identifying Riblah. On the right bank of the Orontes, about twelve miles east by north of its great fountain, which still bears the name *el-Ain*, is the little village of *Riblah*, surrounded by some low mounds containing ruins of former buildings. Its name is identical with that in the Bible; its site is where the sacred writers represent it to be—in the southern part of the land of Hamath, and 'on the east side of Ain.' It may therefore be concluded that this is the old border city of Canaan.

An attempt has recently been made to distinguish Riblah the border city from Riblah in the land of Hamath (Smith's *Dict. of Bible*, iii. 1041). The reasons given, however, will scarcely be considered sufficient by any one who will examine carefully the topography of the northern and eastern borders of the promised land. [PALESTINE; HAMATH.] There is nothing whatever in Num. xxxiv. 11 to indicate that Riblah was near the sea of Chinnereth. The renderings of the ancient versions and the Targums only serve to confuse the passage. In the Septuagint the division of the Hebrew words

is even mistaken. Thus מִשְׁפַּח הַרְבֵּלָה is rendered ἀπὸ Σεφμαρ Βηλᾶ, joining the two first letters of the second word to the first word. The Vulgate, too, without any authority, inserts the word *Daphnim*; and Jerome affirms that Riblah is identical with Antioch (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Reblatha*). In his commentary on Ezekiel he is still more explicit. He says, 'From the end, therefore, of the northern side, that is from the temple (*atrio*) Enan, the border extends, according to the book of Numbers, to Sepham, which the Hebrews call Apamia, and from Apamia to Rebla, which is now called Antioch of Syria. And that it may be known that Rebla means that city which is now the noblest in Coele-Syria, the words *contra fontem* are added, which it is manifest signify *Daphne*' (*Opera*, vol. v. p. 478, ed. Migne). This singular view appears to be taken from the Targums (Bochart, *Opera*, i. 431). Some suppose that the *Daphne* here mentioned was the place near the lake of Merom of which Josephus speaks (*Bell. Jud.* iv. 1. 1); and that therefore *Ain* may mean one of the fountains of the Jordan. It will be seen, however, that the name *Daphne* is inserted without any authority. It is a pure hypothesis of some Jewish rabbin; and as the name Riblah still exists in the southern

part of the 'land of Hamath,' and on the east side of the great 'fountain' of the Orontes, there can be no legitimate ground for doubt that it is the Riblah of the O. T.

Riblah lay on the line of route between Palestine and Assyria. It was a favourite camping-ground for the armies both of Assyria and Egypt when marching along this route. Here Pharaoh-necho, after defeating the Jews on the fatal field of Esdraelon, put the youthful Jehoahaz in chains, and made Eliakim king (2 Kings xxiii. 29-35). Here Nebuchadnezzar encamped while his general invaded Judah and captured Jerusalem. Hither the unfortunate Zedekiah was brought captive, and after being compelled to witness the murder of his sons, his eyes were put out, and he was bound in fetters of brass (2 Kings xxv. 6, 7; Jer. xxxix. 5-7). Riblah is now a poor village. Its glory has long since passed away. But its suitability for the headquarters of a great army is still apparent. It is encompassed by a vast plain of unrivalled richness; a large river flows past it; its air is pure and bracing; and there is ready access from it by easy and open roads to every district of the country, whether maritime or inland. It is a strategic position of the first importance. The military monarch of Babylon, who established his headquarters here, was evidently thoroughly acquainted with the geography of Syria and Palestine, and perfectly capable of applying his knowledge to the advancement of his ambitious designs (*Handbook*, pp. 577, 578; Robinson, *B. R.*, iii. 542, seq.; Porter's *Damascus*, ii. 335, seq.)—J. L. P.

RIDDLE (רִידָה), literally, 'something intricate or complicated;' ἀνύγμια. Gesenius derives the

Hebrew word from the Arabic حَال 'to bend off, or tie in knots,' and the immediate etymology usually assigned to the Greek word is αἰνίσσασθαι, 'to hint obscurely.' The Hebrew word (Judg. xiv. 12-19) properly means 'a riddle or enigma;' Sept. πρόβλημα; Vulg. *problema* and *propositio*; where Samson proposes to the thirty young Philistines who attended his nuptials an enigma, derived from the circumstance of his having lately found a swarm of bees and honey in the skeleton of the lion which he had killed some months before when he had come to espouse his wife [BEE]. This riddle or enigma, though unfair in regard to those who accepted the pledge to unravel it, because they were ignorant of the particular fact by the knowledge of which alone it could be explained by them, nevertheless answers to the approved definition of an enigma, as consisting of an artful and abstruse proposition, put in obscure, ambiguous, and even contrary terms, in order to exercise the ingenuity of others in finding out its meaning.

The pleasure of the propounder is derived from perplexing his hearers; and theirs from overcoming the difficulty, which is usually renewed by their proposing another enigma.

This kind of amusement seems to have been resorted to, especially at entertainments, in all ages, among different nations; and has even been treated as an art, and reduced to rules. The chief writers on this curious subject are Nic. Reusner (*Enigmatograph.*) and F. Menestrier.

The principal rules laid down for the construction of an enigma are the following: that it must be obscure, and the more obscure the better, pro-



vided that the description of the thing, however covered and abstract, and in whatever remote or uncommon terms, be really correct; and it is essential that the thing thus described be well known. Sometimes, and especially in a witty enigma, the amusement consists in describing a thing by a set of truisms, which tell their own meaning, but which confound the hearer, through his expectation of some deep and difficult meaning. The *greater enigma* is to be rendered more intricate and knotty by a multitude of words; the *lesser* may consist of only one or two remote words or allusions.

The speech of Lamech to his wives Adah and Zillah (Gen. iv. 23, 24) is, possibly, an enigmatic mode of communicating some painful intelligence. It is recorded (1 Kings x. 1) that the queen of Sheba came to prove Solomon (רְמֹנִים; Sept. *ἐν ἀνιγμάσι*; Vulg. *in anigmatibus*). Josephus relates that Hiram, king of Tyre, tried the skill of Solomon in the same way; and quotes Dios to attest that Solomon sent riddles to Hiram, and that the Tyrian king forfeited much money to Solomon from his inability to answer them, but redeemed it upon a man of Tyre named Abdemon being found able to solve them (*Antiq.* viii. 5. 3). The description of the Messiah under the name of the Branch, נֶצֶחַ, when considered in regard to the occasion and context, may be considered as a specimen of the lesser enigma (see Lowth upon the passage). 'The number of the beast' (Rev. xiii. 18) may be also considered as an enigma. The other instances in which the Hebrew word is used all exhibit more or less of the enigmatic character. They are as follows, with the Sept. and Vulg. readings:—Num. xii. 8, where it means 'an oracle or vision,' *δὲ ἀνιγμάτων, non per anigmata et figuras* (Moses) *dominum videt*; Ps. xlix. 5, 'a song,' *πρόβλημα, propositio*; lxxviii. 2, 'dark sayings,' *πρόβλήματα, propositiones*; Prov. i. 6, 'intricate proverbs,' *ἀνιγμاتا, anigmata*; Ezek. xvii. 2, 'a parable,' *διήγημα, Aq.; ἀνigma, anigma*; Dan. viii. 23, 'artifices,' *προβλήματα, propositiones, anigmata*; Hab. ii. 6, 'a song,' *πρόβλημα, loquela anigmatum*. In the Apocrypha we find (Ecclus. xlvii. 15) *παράβολαῖς ἀνιγμάτων, anigmata*; in the N. T. (1 Cor. xiii. 12) *ἐν ἀνιγματι, in anigmati*, which Bretschneider points out as a quotation of Num. xii. 8, and where *ἀνιγματι* is opposed to *τὸ εἶδος*, 'the clear reality.' The word enigma, taken in the extensive meaning of its root, *aĩnos*, certainly applies to an immense portion of the sacred writings—viz., as a narrative or tale having an application to present circumstances; *Odys.* xiv. 508, a fable bearing moral instruction; *Hes. Oper.* 202, which nearly approaches to the nature of a parable [PARABLE]; a pointed sentence, saying, or proverb (Theocritus, xiv. 43) [PROVERBS; PROPHECY]. According to Lennep, the word *ἀνιγμα*, taken substantively, means 'anything obscure.' As specimens of the enigmatical style in the O. T., Winer points out Prov. xxx. 12-19; Is. xxi. 12. In the N. T. we may adduce our Lord's discourse with Nicodemus (John iii. 3), and with the Jews (vi. 51, etc.), where the enigmatical style is adopted for the purpose of engaging attention, in an unrivalled manner (Winer, *Bibl. R. W. B.*; Stuck, *Antiq. Conviv.*, iii. 17).—J. F. D.

RIMMON (רִמּוֹן) is mentioned in numerous places in the O. T., and is universally acknow-

ledged to denote the pomegranate-tree and fruit, being described in the works of the Arabs by the name *rooman*. The pomegranate is a native of Asia; and we may trace it from Syria, through Persia, even to the mountains of Northern India. It is common in Northern Africa, and was early cultivated in Egypt: hence the Israelites in the desert complain (Num. xx. 5), 'It is no place of seed, or of figs, or of vines, or of *pomegranates*.' Being common in Syria and Persia, it must have early attracted the attention of Eastern nations. In the present day it is highly valued, and travellers describe the pomegranate as being delicious throughout Persia. The bright and dark-green foliage of the pomegranate, and its flowers conspicuous for the crimson colour both of the calyx and petals, must have made it an object of desire in gardens; while its large reddish-coloured fruit, filled with numerous seeds, each surrounded with juicy pleasant-tasted pulp, would make it still more valuable as a fruit in warm countries (Cant. viii. 2; vi. 7; xi. 12). Being valued as a fruit, and admired as a flower, it was to be expected that it should be cultivated in gardens and orchards; and to this several passages refer, as Cant. iv. 13. In other places it is enumerated with the more valued and cultivated trees of the country, such as the vine, the fig-tree, the palm-tree, and the olive, as in Joel i. 12; Hag. ii. 19. The pomegranate is not likely to have been a native of Egypt; it must, however, have been cultivated there at a very early period, as the Israelites, when in the desert, lamented the loss of its fruit. That it was produced in Palestine during the same early ages is evident, from the spies bringing some back when sent into Canaan to see what kind of a land it was; for we are told that they 'came unto the brook of Eshcol, and cut down from thence a branch with one cluster of grapes, etc., and they brought of the pomegranates, and of the figs' (Num. xiii. 23.)

The pomegranate was well known to the Greeks, being the *βοά* of Theophrastus and of Dioscorides (i. 151). It was employed as a medicine by Hippocrates, and is mentioned by Homer under the name *σίδη*, supposed to be of Phœnician origin. Its English name is derived from the pomum granatum ('grained apple') of the Romans. Various parts of the plant were employed medicinally—as, for instance, the root, or rather its bark; the flowers, which are called *κύνθος* by Dioscorides, and the double flowers *βαλανίστιον*; also the rind of the pericarp, called *malicorium* by the Romans and *σίδιον* by Dioscorides. Some of the properties which these plants possess make them useful both as drugs and as medicines. We have hence a combination of useful and ornamental properties, which would make the pomegranate an object sure to command attention; and these, in addition to the showy nature of the flowers, and the roundish form of the fruit, crowned by the protuberant remains of the calyx, would induce its selection as an ornament to be imitated in carved work. Hence we find frequent mention of it as an ornament on the robes of the priests (Exod. xxviii. 33; xxxix. 24); and also in the temple (1 Kings vii. 18, 20, 42; 2 Kings xxv. 17; 2 Chron. iii. 16; iv. 13). It might, therefore, well be adduced by Moses among the desirable objects of the land of promise (Deut. viii. 8): 'a land of wheat, and barley, and vines, and fig-trees, and pomegranates; a land of oil-olive and honey.'—J. F. R.

RIMMON, an idol worshipped by the Syrians (2 Kings v. 18). As this name is found nowhere but in the Bible, and there only in the present text, nothing positive can be affirmed concerning the power it symbolised. If it be referred to the pomegranate, we may suppose that the fruit had become the symbol of some mysterious powers in nature. But many commentators entitled to respect—as I.e. Clerc, Selden, Vitringa, and Rosenmüller—would rather seek the signification of the word in רָמַם, *ramam*, 'the exalted'; in which case we may take it to have been a name of eminence applied to the sun, or rather to some idol under which the sun was represented.—J. K.

RIMMON, the name of several ancient places in Palestine. The word רִמּוֹן signifies a pomegranate; and probably the places were so called because of the abundance of the fruit in their localities.

1. (רִמּוֹן; Ῥεμμὼν; Ῥεμμών; Alex. Ῥεμμών; Ῥεμμῶν; *Remmon*), a city on the extreme southern border of the territory originally assigned to the tribe of Judah; it is grouped with Ziklag and Ain (Josh. xv. 21, 32). The region in which it was situated was subsequently given to Simeon (Josh. xix. 7, where the name is *Remmon* in the A. V., though the Hebrew is רִמּוֹן. The translators have perhaps followed the Vulgate). Rimmon would appear to have stood towards the western extremity of Simeon, and thus south of the plain of Philistia; for Joshua in enumerating 'the uttermost cities of the tribe of the children of Judah,' begins at the coast of Edom on the east, and Rimmon is the last of twenty-nine, and therefore must have been near the western extremity. The only other notice of it in the Bible is in the prophecies of Zechariah: 'All the land shall be turned as a plain, from Geba to Rimmon, south of Jerusalem' (xiv. 10). The land referred to is the kingdom of Judah; Geba lay on the northern and Rimmon on the southern border. It is worthy of note that in Neh. xi. 29 *En-rimmon* is found among the towns which were occupied by the tribe of Judah after the return from Babylon. It is grouped with Ziklag and Beersheba, and must consequently have been situated near the southern border of the tribe. The name is compounded of the words *Ain* and *Rimmon*, which, it will be observed, occur together without the copulative in Josh. xix. 7 and 1 Chron. iv. 32. It would appear that Ain and Rimmon were distinct places, but situated close together. And this view, as will be seen, is confirmed by modern research.

Though both Eusebius and Jerome mention Rimmon, their notices are so confused, and even contradictory, that they evidently knew nothing of it. They appear to have confounded three towns of the same name. In one place Jerome calls it a town 'of Simeon or Judah; and yet he locates it 'fifteen miles north of Jerusalem.' In the very next notice he writes, 'Remmon, in tribu Simeonis, vel Zabulon' (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Remmon*). Under the name *Eremmon* (Ἐρεμβών, *Onomast.*, s. v.) both Eusebius and Jerome appear to give a more accurate account of the site of this city. They state that it is a 'very large village' (*vicus praegrandis*), sixteen miles south of Eleutheropolis. This was no doubt pretty nearly its true position (see Reland, *Pal.*, p. 973).

About thirteen miles south of Eleutheropolis (now Beit Jibrin) is a ruined village called *Un-er-Rummanim* ('Mother of Pomegranates'), which in all probability marks the site, as it bears the name, of Rimmon of Simeon. A short distance (about a mile) south of it are two tells, both of which are covered with ruins; and between them, in the valley, is 'a copious fountain, filling a large ancient reservoir, which for miles around is the chief watering-place of the Bedawin of this region' (Van de Velde, *Memoir*, p. 344). As fountains are extremely rare in this southern district, it seems probable that this one may have given the name of Ain to the ancient town on the adjoining tell; and the proximity of Ain and Rimmon led to their being always grouped together.

2. (רִמּוֹן; Ῥεμμών; *Remmono*). A city of Zebulun, assigned to the Levites of the family of Merari (1 Chron. vi. 77). Some suppose that it is identical with *Dimnah* in the list given by Joshua (xxi. 35), and that the latter is a corruption. There can be no doubt, however, that it is the same Rimmon which is called *Remmon-Methoar* in Josh. xix. 13 (see REMMON-METHOAR).

3. THE ROCK RIMMON (רִמּוֹן הַרְבֵּי; and ר"ר, without the article; Ῥεμμών τοῦ πέτραν, also without the article; *ad petram, cujus vocabulum est Remmon*; also, in *petra Remmon*), a high rock (such is the meaning of the term רִמּוֹן) to which the remnant of the tribe of Benjamin fled for refuge after the defeat and slaughter of their brethren at Gibeah. It is described as lying on the way toward the wilderness, evidently the wild region on the east overlooking the plain of Jericho (Judg. xx. 45). Of the whole tribe only six hundred men were left alive. They took up a strong position on the top of the rock Rimmon, and held it for four months (ver. 47), until the righteous indignation of their brethren was appeased, and such terms of peace proposed as saved the tribe from utter annihilation (xxi. 13).

This is doubtless the Rimmon which Eusebius and Jerome mention, locating it fifteen miles north of Jerusalem (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Remmon*).

About ten miles north of Jerusalem, and nearly four east of Bethel, is a very conspicuous white limestone tell, rising like a cone above the neighbouring hill-tops, and overlooking the whole wilderness down to the Jordan valley. Upon it stands a large modern village called *Rummon*. This is unquestionably the 'Rock Rimmon' on which the Benjamites took refuge. It is admirably adapted for the purpose. A deep and wild ravine cuts off the approach from the south, and others skirt its western and northern sides, rendering it a natural fortress of great strength. The sides of the tell are steep, bare, and rocky, and could be defended by a few resolute men against a host. The top is rounded, affording ample space for the refugees, while along the sides are some large caverns (Robinson, *B. R.*, iii. 290; Van de Velde, *Memoir*, p. 344; *Handbook*, p. 217).—J. L. P.

RIMMON-PAREZ (רִמּוֹן פָּרֶז; Ῥεμμὼν Παρές; *Remmon-phares*), one of the stations of the Israelites in the wilderness—the second according to the enumeration in Num. xxx. 19, after Hazeroth. It is not again mentioned, and nothing is known of its site. The word *Perez* signifies 'a breach,' and



perhaps may have been suggested by some peculiarity in the physical features of the region.—J. L. P.

RIPHATH (רִיפַת; Sept. *Ῥιφθ*; in 1 Chron. i. 6 the Keri רִיפַת), a northern people descended from Gomer (Gen. x. 3). See NATIONS, DISPERSION OF.

RITHMAH (רִתְמָה; equivalent to the Arabic رِثْمَة, 'broom'; *Paṣamā; Rethma*), a desert station, mentioned only in Num. xxxiii. 18, 19. It appears to have been the first camping-ground of the Israelites after Hazeroth, and the name may have been derived from the abundance of the shrub *retam*, which grows largely in the desert. The place has not been identified.—J. L. P.

RIVER. No less than seven distinct Hebrew words are rendered in the A. V. by the common term 'river.' These words are not synonymous. Most of them have definite significations, and were used by the sacred writers to set forth certain physical peculiarities. When these are overlooked, the full force and meaning of the Scriptures cannot be understood; and important points of physical geography and topography fail to be apprehended. It is intended in this article briefly to define the meaning of the several Hebrew terms translated *river*, and to explain, as far as possible, the reasons of their use in particular instances.

In this country 'a river' always means a river—that is, a body of water flowing through a defined channel. Several of the words rendered 'river' in the English Bible have not that meaning, and consequently the word *river* conveys to us a wrong impression. Again, we distinguish carefully between rivers, streams, winter-torrents, and valleys; so also do the sacred writers; but in the English Bible the distinction is too often overlooked by a mistranslation of the Hebrew words.

From the very frequent use of the term 'river' in the A. V. ordinary readers are apt to form a wrong idea of Palestine. They suppose it to be a country, like Britain, abounding in noble rivers and perennial streams. Such is far from being the case. The Hebrew scholar knows that the word, in a vast majority of instances, means 'valley,' 'ravine,' or 'winter torrent.' It is unfortunate, too, that the Hebrew words are not translated with any regard to uniformity. Sometimes the same word is rendered in four or five different ways. The following are the Hebrew words translated 'river' in the A. V.—

1. אֲבָל (Aḇbal), used only in three passages of Daniel (viii. 2, 3, 6). 'I was by the *river* of Ulai.' It comes from the root יָבַל, which, like the Arabic يَبِل, signifies 'to flow copiously.' 'River' is therefore a proper translation of the word. Its derivative, מַבּוּל, is the Hebrew term for *deluge*.

2. אָפֶק (Aphēk). This word is derived from אָפַק, 'to hold' or 'restrain.' It thus comes to signify 'a channel,' from the fact of its 'holding,' or 'restraining' within its banks a river. It is said in 2 Sam. xxii. 16, 'The *channels* of the sea appeared, the foundations of the world were discovered' [cf. Ps. xviii. 15]. The Psalmist gives it

very appropriately to the glens of the Negeb (south), which are dry during a great part of the year; 'Turn again our captivity, O Lord, as the *channels* in the Negeb.' The beauty of this passage is marred by the present translation, 'streams in the south' (Ps. cxxvi. 4). The word is rightly translated 'channels' in Is. viii. 7. It ought to be rendered in the same way in Ezek. xxxii. 6; 'And the *channels* (rivers) shall be full of thee.' But the most striking example of a wrong rendering is in Joel iii. 18; 'And all the *rivers* of Judah shall flow with waters.' It ought to be 'channels' instead of 'rivers.' In all the places, in fact, in which the word occurs, 'channels' is the proper meaning.

3. יְאֹר (Ye'ôr) is an Egyptian word, which is applied originally, and almost exclusively, to the river Nile. It was introduced into the Hebrew language by Moses, and is used more frequently in the Pentateuch than in all the rest of the Bible. As employed by him it has the definiteness of a proper name. Thus, 'Pharaoh stood by the *river*' (Gen. xli. 1; cf. ver. 2, 3, 17, etc.); 'Every son that is born ye shall cast into the *river*' (Exod. i. 22). The Nile was emphatically the *river* of Egypt. Subsequent writers, when speaking of the river of Egypt, generally borrow the same word (Is. vii. 18; xix. 6; Jer. xlv. 7; Ezek. xxix. 3; Amos viii. 8, etc.) In a few places it is employed to denote a large and mighty river, not like the rivulets or winter-torrents of Palestine. Thus in Is. xxiii. 10: 'Pass through the land as a *river*, O daughter of Tarshish' (cf. xxxiii. 21). The usual rendering of this word in the A. V. is 'river'; but it is translated 'streams' in Is. xxxiii. 21; 'flood' in Jer. xlv. 7, 8; Amos viii. 8, etc.; and 'brooks' in Is. xix. 6, 7, 8, where reference is manifestly made to the 'canals' which convey the water of the Nile to different parts of Egypt.

4. יִבְלַל (Yibāl) is found only in Jer. xvii. 8; 'He shall be as a tree . . . that spreadeth out her roots by the *river*.' The word is radically identical with אֲבָל (No. 1), and its meaning is the same.

5. נָהָר (Nahar). This word is from the root נָהַר, which signifies 'to flow'; and it may be regarded as the proper Hebrew equivalent for our word 'river.' The cognate Arabic نَهْر has the same meaning. It is always applied to a perennial stream. It is often followed by the genitives of countries, as 'the *river* of Egypt' (Gen. xv. 18), that is, the Nile; 'the *river* of Gozan' (2 Kings xvii. 6); 'the *rivers* of Ethiopia' (Is. xlviii. 1); 'the *rivers* of Damascus' (2 Kings v. 12).

With the article, הַנָּהָר, the word is applied emphatically to the *Euphrates*; thus in Gen. xxxi. 21, 'He rose up, and passed over the *river*;' and Exod. xxiii. 31, 'I will set thy bounds . . . from the desert unto the *river*.' The Euphrates is also called 'the great *river*' (Gen. xv. 18; Deut. i. 7, etc.) In one passage this word, without the article, evidently signifies the Nile (Is. xix. 5); though in poetry, when thus used, the Euphrates is meant (Is. vii. 20; Ps. lxxii. 8; Zech. ix. 10). In a few passages the word is translated 'flood' (Josh. xxiv. 2; Job xiv. 11; Ps. lxxvi. 6); but the ordinary rendering is 'river.'

6. נַחַל (*Nakhal*) is derived from the root נָחַל, which signifies 'to receive' or 'to possess.' Its usual meaning is 'a valley,' probably from the fact of its receiving the surface-water after rains, and affording a bed for a stream. Sometimes it is applied to a valley or glen, apart altogether from the idea of a stream. Thus in Gen. xvi. 17, Abraham 'pitched his tent in *the valley* of Gerar.' As many of the valleys of Palestine were the beds of winter streams, the word was sometimes applied to the stream itself, as in Lev. xi. 9, 10; and is rendered in the A. V. '*river*' or '*brook*' (Gen. xxxii. 23). Sometimes, however, the rendering is incorrect, and conveys a very wrong impression. In Num. xiii. 23, 'the *brook* Eshcol' should manifestly be 'the *valley* of Eshcol;' and in Deut. iii. 16 the same word is rendered in two ways 'unto *the river* Arnon half *the valley*.' *Valley* is the correct translation in both cases (cf. Josh. xii. 2). Again, in Josh. xiii. 6 the sacred writer is represented as speaking of 'a city that is in the midst of *the river*;' it means of course *valley* (cf. 2 Sam. xxiv. 5). Frequent mention is made of the '*brook* Kidron' (2 Kings xxiii. 6, 12; 2 Chron. xv. 16; xxix. 16; xxx. 14); but *valley* is the true meaning. In Ps. lxxviii. 20 is the following: 'He smote the rock, that the waters gushed out, and the *streams* overflowed.' It ought to be '*the valleys* overflowed.' This word is also translated 'flood' in 2 Sam. xxii. 5; Job xxviii. 4, etc.

The frequent use of the word *Nakhal* in Scripture, and the clear distinction drawn between it and *Nahar* by the sacred writers, are indicative of the physical character of Palestine—'a land of hills and *valleys*;' a land in which nearly all the valleys are dry in summer, and the beds of torrents during the winter rains. The Arabic word *wady* is the modern equivalent of the Hebrew *nakhal*. It means a valley, glen, or ravine of any kind, whether the bed of a perennial stream, or of a winter torrent, or permanently dry. Like its Hebrew equivalent it is also sometimes applied to the river or stream which flows in the valley; but not so commonly as *nakhal*. In reading the Hebrew Scriptures the context alone enables us to decide the meaning attached by the writer in each passage to the word *nakhal*. In a few instances it appears to be used in two senses in the very same sentence (cf. 1 Kings xvii. 3-7, etc.)

7. פֶּלֶג (*Peleg*). The root of this word appears to be the same as that of φλέω, φλώω, flow, fluo, plus, and the English *flow*; its meaning is 'to gush' or 'flow over.' *Peleg* is equivalent to the

Arabic فَلَاح, 'a stream,' and is always given to

something *flowing*. Thus in Job xxix. 6, 'The rock poured me out *ivers* of oil;' and Lam. iii. 48, 'Mine eye runneth down with *ivers* of water.' In the Bible it is used ten times, and is translated *ivers*, except in Ps. xli. 4, where it is rendered *streams*.—J. L. P.

RIVER OF EGYPT. This term occurs eight times in the O. T. In one of these the word translated *river* is נָהָר, while in all the others it is

נַחַל. The preceding remarks on these two terms, and the clear distinction drawn between them by the sacred writers, will show that in the above pas-

sages they can scarcely be regarded as identical in meaning, and that in all probability *Nahar Mitzraim* is to be regarded as distinct from *Nakhal Mitzraim*. To determine this point, it will be necessary to examine critically the several passages in which the words occur, and the light that may be thrown upon them by parallels. Geographically, the question is of importance, as determining the southern border of 'the land of promise,' and of 'the land of possession.'

1. *Nahar Mitzraim* (נָהָר מִצְרַיִם, 'The river of Egypt'). The land which the Lord gave in covenant promise to Abraham is thus described in Gen. xv. 18: 'Unto thy seed have I given this land, from the *river of Egypt* unto the great river, the river Euphrates.' The Septuagint renders 'river of Egypt,' ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Αἰγύπτου; and the Vulgate, a *fluvio Aegypti*. The word נָהָר, as has been stated, like ποταμός and *fluvius*, means '*river*.' But the Nile is the only river of Egypt, and hence it is natural to conclude that the Nile is here meant. So it is understood by most commentators (Kalisch, Delitzsch, etc., *ad loc.*) It is true the extent of territory thus defined was never actually occupied by the seed of Abraham; nor was it possessed except perhaps during the reigns of David and Solomon [PALESTINE].

2. *Nakhal Mitzraim* (נַחַל מִצְרַיִם) occurs seven times in the Bible. In six of these the A. V. translates 'river,' and in one 'stream' (Is. xxvii. 12). The Septuagint has χειμάρρος in Num. xxiv. 6; Josh. xv. 47; 2 Kings xxiv. 7; and 2 Chron. vii. 8; φάραγξ in Josh. xv. 4; ποταμός in 1 Kings viii. 65; and ῥινωκορούρων in Is. xxvii. 12. The Vulgate has *riens* in 1 Kings viii. 65 and 2 Kings xxiv. 7, but *torrents* in the others. The proper meaning of *nakhal* is 'valley,' though it is sometimes, as has been stated (see above), applied to the winter-streams of Palestine. It could not with any propriety be applied to a large permanent river like the Nile. What, therefore, do the sacred writers mean by *Nakhal Mitzraim*?

In describing to Moses the land of Canaan, which the Israelites were about to enter and possess, the Lord stated that the southern boundary should extend from Kadesh-Barnea to 'the *river of Egypt*,' or more correctly 'the *wady* (valley) of Egypt' (Num. xxxiv. 5). And, after the conquest, the southern border of Judah extended to the same points (Josh. xv. 4, 47). The country over which the Israelites had spread in the time of Solomon was 'from the entering in of Hamath unto the *river of Egypt*' (1 Kings viii. 65; 2 Chron. vii. 8). In all these passages it will be observed that the country described is much smaller than that given in covenant-promise to Abraham, extending only on the north as far as the entrance of Hamath. This has already been explained in the article PALESTINE.

Two other passages in which the term is employed are more difficult. In 2 Kings xxiv. 'the river of Egypt' is mentioned as the proper boundary of that country; and it is said of the king of Babylon, that he had taken 'from the *river of Egypt* to the river Euphrates all that pertained to the king of Egypt.' The expression nearly resembles that in Gen. xv. 18, where the river Nile is meant (see above). A similar form is used by Isaiah (xxvii. 12); and there the Septuagint has rendered *Nakhal-Mitzraim* by *Rhinocorura*, which was the name of



a town now called el-Arish. If this be correct, then *Nakhal-Mitzraim* must be identified with Wady el-Arish, a valley and small winter stream which falls into the Mediterranean near this town. This is the view adopted by most of the old commentators (see in Gesenius, *Thes.*, p. 872; Reland, *Pal.*, p. 969, and authorities there cited). Jerome states that Rhinocorura was situated on the borders of Palestine and Egypt, and that the 'river (*torrens*) of Egypt' was near it (*Comment. ad Jes.* xix., and xxvii.; *ad Amos* vi.) Ancient geographers and historians describe Egypt as extending to this city (Eusebius, *Onomast.*, s.v.; Diod. Sic., i. 60; Strabo, xvi. p. 780; Reland, p. 286). This torrent, or valley, derived its notoriety from being the boundary of two great countries; and hence in Ezek. xlvii. 19 and xlviii. 28 it is called emphatically 'the valley' (A. V., 'the river').

There is nothing, therefore, in any of the passages of Scripture in which this term occurs, nor in the geographical notices in other passages, nor is there anything in the old geographers or historians tending to identify *Nakhal Mitzraim* with the Nile. This appears more clearly when the proper distinction is drawn between the country given in covenant promise to Abraham, and that actually allotted to the Israelites (PALESTINE; Bochart, *Opera*, i. 62).

It may be inferred that the first term, *Nahar Mitzraim*, ought to be translated 'the river of Egypt;' and that it was the designation of the Nile in Abraham's time, before the Egyptian word *yedôr* became known. The other term, *Nakhal Mitzraim*, might be rendered 'torrent, or wady, of Egypt.' It was applied to Wady el-Arish, which acquired its importance and notoriety from the fact of its marking the boundary between Palestine and Egypt.—J. L. P.

RIZPAH (רִצְפָּה, *a coal*; Sept. Ῥεσφά), a concubine of Saul, memorable for the touching example of maternal affection which she afforded, in watching the dead bodies of her sons, and driving the birds away from them, when they had been gibbeted by the Gibeonites (2 Sam. iii. 7; xxi. 8, 10, 11).

ROADS. In the East, where travelling is performed mostly on some beast of burden, certain tracks were at a very early period customarily pursued; and that the rather as from remote ages commerce and travelling went on by means of caravans, under a certain discipline, and affording mutual protection in their passage from city to city, and from land to land. Now wherever such a band of men and animals had once passed they would form a track which, especially in countries where it is easy for the traveller to miss his way, subsequent caravans or individuals would naturally follow; and the rather inasmuch as the original route was not taken arbitrarily, but because it led to the first cities in each particular district of country. And thus at a very early period were there marked out on the surface of the globe lines of intercommunication, running from land to land, and in some sort binding distant nations together. These, in the earliest times, lay in the direction of east and west, that being the line on which the trade and the civilisation of the earth first ran.

The purposes of war seem, however, to have furnished the first inducement to the formation of

made or artificial roads. War, we know, afforded to the Romans the motive under which they formed their roads; and doubtless they found them not only to facilitate conquest, but also to insure the holding of the lands they had subdued; and the remains of their roads which we have under our own eyes in this island show us with what skill they laid out a country, and formed lines of communication. To the Romans, chiefly, was Palestine indebted for such roads.

There seem, indeed, to have been roads of some kind in Palestine at an earlier period. Language is employed which supposes the existence of artificial roads. In Is. xl. 3 are these words, 'Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God. Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low; and the crooked shall be made straight and the rough places plain.' There cannot be a more graphic description of the operations and results connected with the formation of a long and important road. That this is the language of prophetic inspiration affords no objection, but rather confirms our view; for poetry, as being an appeal to widely-spread feelings, grounds itself in such a case as this on fact; nor could such imagery as we find here have been employed, had artificial roads been unknown in Palestine. Nor is the imagery unusual (comp. Is. xi. 16; xix. 23; xxxiii. 8; xxxv. 8; xlix. 11; lxii. 10). In 1 Sam. vi. 12 we read, 'The kine went along the highway, lowing as they went, and turned not aside to the right hand or to the left.' In Numbers also (xx. 17), 'We will go by the king's highway,' etc. (xxi. 22; Deut. ii. 27; Lev. xxvi. 22). Whether or not these were roads in the modern acceptation of the term, we know from the law regarding a free, open, and good passage to the cities of refuge (see that article, and Deut. xix. 3, compared with *Mishna*. tit. *Maccoth*), that the minds of the Israelites were early familiarised with the idea: 'Thou shalt prepare thee a way,' etc., 'that every slayer may flee thither.' And, much as we hesitate to differ from so high an authority, we cannot agree with Winer (*Real-wört.* in 'Strasse'), that this last-cited passage stands alone; for other passages have been given which, when taken in conjunction with it, seem to prove that to some extent artificial roads were known to the Hebrews in the commencement of their commonwealth. Indeed, it is highly probable that the Hebrews had become acquainted with roads during their sojourn in Egypt, where, in the Delta especially, the nature of the country would require roads and highways to be thrown up and maintained. Josephus (*Antiq.* viii. 7. 4) expressly says, 'Solomon did not neglect the care of the ways, but he laid a causeway of black stone (basalt) along the roads that led to Jerusalem, both to render them easy for travellers and to manifest the grandeur of his riches.' Winer, indeed, remarks that Josephus's roads find no support in the Bible. But although these particular roads may not be mentioned, it does not hence follow that they did not exist; but mention is made, as we have seen, of ways and highways in the Scriptural authorities. To the Romans, however, Palestine was greatly indebted for its roads. On this subject Reland (*Palestina*) has supplied useful information. In the East generally, and in Palestine in particular, the Romans formed roads, and set up milestones, in imitation of what

they had done in Italy. These stones bore the names *σημεία*, *στήλοι*, and *κίονες*. From the fact of their existing in Palestine, Eusebius, in his *Onomasticon*, frequently uses the terms *ἐν ἑκτῷ σημείῳ*, and similar phrases. In Reland's time fragments of these milestones still remained.

For the merely internal Palestinian roads, Reland may be consulted. He gives a list of them (iii. 2), which will supply the reader with the requisite information, especially if studied under the corrections supplied by recent travellers.

Our remarks will be confined to roads which connected Palestine with other countries, since a notice of the internal roads as well, if at all complete, would require too much space.

The Phœnicians, as a mercantile people, maintained a connection not only with the West, by sea, but also, overland, with the East. They had two great commercial highways. One came out of Arabia Felix, through Petra. The other struck from the northern extremity of the Persian Gulf, through Palestine, to Tyre.

The first road in Palestine which we mention ran from Ptolemais, on the coast of the Mediterranean, to Damascus. This road remains to the present day. Beginning at Ptolemais (Acco), it ran south-east to Nazareth, and continuing south and east, passed the plain of Esdraelon on the north; after which, turning north and east, it came to Tiberias, where, running along the sea of Galilee, it reached Capernaum, and having passed the Jordan somewhat above the last place, it went over a spur of the Anti-Libanus (Jebel-Heish), and keeping straight forward east by north, came to Damascus. This road was used for the purposes both of trade and war. In the history of the Crusades it bears the name of Via Maris. It connected Europe with the interior of Asia. Troops coming from Asia over the Euphrates passed along this way into the heart of Palestine. Under the Romans it was a productive source of income. It was on this road, not far from Capernaum, that Jesus saw Matthew sitting 'at the receipt of custom,' and gave him his call to the apostleship.

Another road passed along the Mediterranean coast southward into Egypt. Beginning at Ptolemais, it ran first to Cæsarea, thence to Diospolis, and so on, through Ascalon and Gaza, down into Egypt. This was also an important line of communication, passing as it did through cities of great importance, running along the coast and extending to Egypt. A glance at the map will show how important it was for trade by land and by sea, as well as for the passage of troops. A branch of this road connected the sea with the metropolis leading from the same Cæsarea through Diospolis to Jerusalem. Down this branch Paul was sent on his way to Felix (Acts xxiii. 23-33). The band went through Antipatris, and thence on to Cæsarea.

A third line of road connected Galilee with Judæa, running through the intervening Samaria (Luke xvii. 11; John iv. 4; Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 6. 1; *Vita*, sec. 52). The journey took three days. Passing along the plain of Esdraelon the traveller entered Samaria at Ginea (Jenin), and was thence conducted to Samaria (Sebaste), thence to Shechem (Nablous), whence a good day's travel brought him to Jerusalem. This last part of the journey has been described by Maundrell (*Journey*, p. 85, *seq.*)

In the time of the Romans there was also a road from Jerusalem to the lake Gennesareth, through Shechem and Scythopolis. The same road sent a branch off at Scythopolis, in a westerly direction through Esdraelon to Cæsarea; and another branch across the Jordan to Gadara, on to Damascus, along which line of country there still lies a road, southward of the sea of Galilee, to the same celebrated city.

There were three chief roads running from Jerusalem. One passed in a north-easterly direction over the Mount of Olives, by Bethany, through openings in hills and winding ways on to Jericho, near which the Jordan was passed when travellers took their way to the north, if they wished to pass through Peræa: which was the road the Galilean Jews, in coming to and returning from the festivals in the capital, were accustomed to take, thus avoiding the unfriendly territory of Samaria; or travellers turned their faces towards the south, if they intended to go towards the Dead Sea. This road was followed by the Israelites when they directed their steps towards Canaan. Through Peræa the Syrian and Assyrian armies made their hostile advances on Israel (2 Kings viii. 28; ix. 14; x. 32, *seq.*; 1 Chron. v. 26).

A second road led from Jerusalem southward to Hebron, whence travellers went through the wilderness of Judæa to Aila, as the remains of a Roman road still show; or they might take a westerly direction on to Gaza, a way which is still pursued, and is of two days' duration. The ordinary way from Jerusalem to Gaza appears, in the Roman period, to have lain through Eleutheropolis and Ascalon. From Gaza through Rhinocorura and Pelusium was the nearest road down into Egypt from Jerusalem (*Antiq.* xiv. 14. 2). Along this road many thousand prisoners, made by Vespasian in his capture of Jerusalem, were sent to Alexandria in order to be shipped for Rome. Of these two roads from Jerusalem to Gaza, one went westward by Ramlah and Ascalon; the other southward by Hebron. This last road Raumer (*Palästina*, p. 191; see also his *Beiträge*, published after Robinson's work on Palestine, namely in 1843, correcting or confirming the views given in his *Palästina*, 1838) is of opinion was that which was taken by Philip (Acts viii. 26, *seq.*), partly because tradition states that the eunuch was baptized in the vicinity of Hebron, and this road from Jerusalem to Hebron runs through the 'desert' Thekoa (Thecua), in the *Onomasticon*. And here he finds the reason of the angel's command to go 'towards the south;' for Hebron lay south of Jerusalem; whereas but for this direction Philip might have gone westward by Ramlah. Robinson, admitting that there is a road from Jerusalem to Hebron, maintains (ii. 640; i. 320) that Philip went by a third road, which led down Wady Musurr to Betogabra (Eleutheropolis), and thinks that he has found at *Tell el-Hasy* the spot where the eunuch received baptism. But, says Raumer (*Beiträge*, p. 41), this road ran in a south-westerly direction, and Philip was commanded to go towards the south, for which purpose he must have gone by Hebron. Raumer then proceeds to confirm his original position. Jerome, in his *Life of Paula*, testifies that a road from Jerusalem to Gaza went through Hebron. Paula travelled from Jerusalem to Bethlehem, which lay south of the city: 'When she reached Bethlehem she quickened the pace of



her horse, and took the old road which leads to Gaza.' This road conducted to Bethsur (a little north of Hebron), 'where,' says Jerome, 'while he read the Scriptures, the eunuch found the gospel fountain.' 'This,' adds Raumer, 'is the same Bethsur of which Jerome, in his *Onomasticon*, says, 'As you go from Elia to Hebron, at the twentieth milestone, you meet Bethsoron, near which, at the foot of a mountain, is a fountain bubbling out of the soil. The Acts of the Apostles state that the chamberlain of Queen Candace was baptized in it by Philip.' From Bethsur Paula proceeded to Hebron. The *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum* (of the year 333) mentions Bethsur as the place where the baptism was performed.'

Raumer concludes by remarking—'Robinson rightly rejects tradition when it contradicts the Sacred Scriptures, but he must also reject those pretended scientific theories which contradict Holy Writ. Such hypotheses may easily become the groundwork of scientific legends. To fix the baptismal-place of the chamberlain at Tel el-Hasy contradicts the Scripture; but Bethsur, which has from the earliest ages been so accounted, agrees with the passage in the Acts of the Apostles.'

There only remains for us to mention what Winer reckons the third of the three great roads which ran from Jerusalem; this third road went to the Mediterranean at Joppa (Jaffa), a way which from the time of the Crusades has been taken by pilgrims proceeding to the Holy City from Egypt and from Europe.

In addition to the works already referred to, see De Wette, *Archäologie*; Scholz, *Archäologie*; Heeren, *Ideen*, i. 740; Ritter, *Erkunde*; Crome, *Palästina*, i. 8; Burckhardt, *Syria*, ii. 547; also the article GEOGRAPHY.—J. R. B.

#### ROAST. [FOOD.]

ROBINSON, EDWARD, D.D., was born at Southington, Connecticut, in 1794. He studied at Hamilton College, New York, and at Andover, Massachusetts; at the latter of which he became assistant professor of Biblical literature in 1821. In 1826 he visited Europe, and spent some time at Paris, Halle, and Berlin, in the prosecution of the study of the Oriental languages and theology. On his return, in 1830, to America, he resumed his duties at Andover, and some time after became professor of Biblical literature at New York. In 1838 he commenced his travels in the East, the account of which appeared in his *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai, and Arabia Petraea*, 3 vols. 8vo, Lond. 1841, a work which supplies the most valuable contribution that modern learning and enterprise have made to our knowledge of Biblical geography and topography. A second exploration of the Holy Land was made by him in 1851, the result of which he published under the title of *Later Biblical Researches in Palestine*, Lond. 1856. The design of both these journeys was to collect materials for a systematic work on the physical and historical geography of the Holy Land. On this the author was engaged at the time of his death. It has since been published so far as completed, Lond. 1865. Besides these works, Dr. Robinson published a translation of Buttmann's *Larger Greek Grammar*, 1833; and of Gesenius's *Heb. and Chald. Lexicon*, 1836; a work which, in the 5th edit. (1854), was largely improved from various sources, especially the

*Thesaurus* of Gesenius. He issued also *A Harmony of the Four Gospels in Greek*, 1834; and wrote numerous articles in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, of which he was the founder. He died in 1864.—W. L. A.

ROE. [ANTELOPE; species TSEBI.]

ROLL. [WRITING.]

ROLLOCK, ROBERT, first principal of the University of Edinburgh, was born 1555, and died at the age of forty-three. In 1583, when that university was founded, he was invited to take the chief management of it, and in 1585 the magistrates of the city—the founders and patrons of the university—testified their sense of the value of his labours by constituting him principal. He seems to have taught philosophy at first, but ultimately his chief work was the tuition of the students in theology. In addition to his labours as principal and professor in the university, and in spite of his natural disposition for a retired and studious life, he exerted himself in various ways for the public interests of religion in Scotland, and was chosen in consequence, on one occasion, moderator of the General Assembly. Observing the crowds that gathered early, in one of the churches, on the mornings of the Lord's day, he began a course of lectures to them at 7 A.M. His subject was the Epistle to the Ephesians, and when he had finished the course, he published, in 1590, a *Commentary on the Epistle*. About the same time he published a logical analysis of the *Epistle to the Romans*. The learned Beza held these works in the highest esteem: 'I have never read,' he says, 'in this kind of interpretation, anything exceeding them in elegance and sound judgment united with brevity.' Besides sermons and treatises, other works by this author appeared both before and after his death: a *Commentary on Daniel*, 1591; *Commentaries on the 1st and 2d Epistles to the Thessalonians, with an Analysis of the Epistle to Philemon*, 1598; upon the following fifteen Psalms, iii., vi., xvi., xxiii., xxxii., xxxix., xlii., xlix., li., lxii., lxxv., lxxvii., cxvi., cxxx., and cxxxvii., in 1599; upon the *Gospel of John*, 1599; upon the *Epistle to the Colossians*, 1600; upon the *Epistles to the Corinthians*, 1600; *Analysis Logica of the Epistle to the Galatians*, 1602; and *Analysis Logica of the Epistle to the Hebrews*, 1605. It may be added that all these works are in Latin, and that they were frequently reprinted. Some of them were printed or reprinted at Geneva and in other continental cities. The precise object of most of the author's productions is the simple and lucid illustration of the course of thought and reasoning pursued by the sacred writers, with a brief but clear and comprehensive explanation of the verses and clauses separately, and the more important words. Dr. M'Crie (*Life of Melville*, ii. 308) commends them as 'perspicuous, succinct, and judicious.' They are not disfigured by any logical formalism. For the purpose they were intended to serve—analytical exposition—they are of considerable value.—W. H. G.

ROMAN EMPIRE. This article having more particularly to treat of Roman history during its connection with that of Palestine, more fullness will be found in the account especially devoted to that country, than in the present remarks upon the earlier and later history of the Roman Empire.

The first mention of Rome in the Bible is in

1 Maccab. i. 10, where it is stated that there arose 'a wicked root, Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, son of Antiochus the king, who had been an hostage at Rome.' About the year B.C. 161, when Judas Maccabæus heard of the defeat of Philip, Perseus, and Antiochus, and of the great fame of the Romans, he sent an embassy to them to solicit an alliance, and to obtain protection against the Syrian government (1 Maccab. viii. 1, *seq.*; cf. 2 Maccab. xi. 34; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 10. 6; Justin xxxvi. 3). The ambassadors were graciously received, and Demetrius ordered to desist from harassing the Jews; but before the answer arrived Judas was slain, having valiantly engaged the whole army of Bacchides sent by Demetrius into Judæa (1 Maccab. ix. 1-18; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 11. 1). In B.C. 143, Jonathan renewed the alliance with the Romans (1 Maccab. xii. 1-4, 16; Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 5. 8), the embassy being admitted before the senate (*το βουλευτήριον*), and on his death, the same year, his brother Simon, who succeeded him, sent also to Rome to again seek a renewal of friendship. The Romans readily acceded to his request, and the valiant deeds of Simon and his predecessors were engraved on tables of brass. Shortly afterwards, Simon sent Numenius to Rome with a great shield of gold, of a thousand pounds weight, to confirm the league with them. The senate at once consented to its re-establishment, and recognised him as high-priest and prince of Judæa. The tables of brass on which the league was written were set up in the temple (1 Maccab. xiv. 17, *seq.*; cf. Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 7. 3). Lucius, the consul of the Romans, wrote to several kings and nations requesting them to assist the Jews (1 Maccab. xv. 16-23 [LUCIUS]). Hyrcanus, the successor of Maccabæus, again sent in B.C. 129 an embassy to Rome, which was favourably received, confirming the alliance already concluded (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 9. 2). In the year B.C. 66, Pompey arrived in the East to take command of the Roman armies, and sent his general Scaurus to Syria. While at Damascus, the latter received an offer of 400 talents from Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, who were both fighting for the kingdom, each one wishing to be aided. Scaurus accepted the offer of Aristobulus, and ordered Aretas, who was assisting Hyrcanus, to withdraw his forces, or he would be declared an enemy to the Romans (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 2. 3). The following year Pompey came into Syria, and deprived Antiochus XIII. (Asiaticus) of his kingdom, reducing it to a Roman province. Ambassadors were sent to Pompey from the rival princes, and in B.C. 64, when Pompey returned again to Damascus from Asia Minor, their respective causes were heard by him. Notwithstanding the prejudices of the people in favour of Aristobulus, Pompey, perceiving the weakness of character and imbecility of Hyrcanus, seemed to incline towards the latter, knowing that it was better to have a weak man under the Roman control. He, however, left the matter undecided, and Aristobulus, seeing that his case was lost, withdrew to make preparations for defence (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 2. 3). Pompey then occupied himself in reducing the forces of Aretas, and afterwards marched against Aristobulus, who fled to Jerusalem. Aristobulus, on his approach, met him, and offered him a large sum of money, and Pompey sent Gabinius to receive it; but on his arrival at Jerusalem he found the gates closed.

Aristobulus was then thrown into prison, and Pompey marched to Jerusalem. Hyrcanus opened the gates to him, whilst the party of Aristobulus, including the priests, shut themselves up in the temple, and withstood a siege of three months. Pompey, observing that the Jews did not work on the seventh day, gained material advantage, and at last took the place by assault, killing, according to Josephus, as many as 12,000 persons, even desecrating the temple by entering the Holy of Holies (cf. Tac. *Hist.* v. 9), though he did not touch any of the treasures. Hyrcanus was then appointed high-priest and governor of the country, but was forbidden to wear a diadem (cf. Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 10). Tribute was also exacted of him, and Pompey took Aristobulus and his two sons, Alexander and Antigonus, prisoners to Rome, from whence they subsequently escaped (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 3. 2; 4. 2, 3, 4; *Bell. Jud.* i. 7. 6; Strabo, xvi. p. 763).

The restoration of Hyrcanus was, however, merely nominal, as the Idumæan Antipater, an active friend of the Romans, was placed over him as governor of Judæa. 'Now began the struggle which was destined to continue with little intermission for nearly two hundred years. It was nourished by feelings of the deadliest animosity on both sides; it was signalled by the most frightful examples of barbarity, in which each of the contending parties strove to outdo the other; but it was directed by a controlling Providence to a beneficial consummation, in the destruction of the Jewish nationality, and the dispersion throughout the world of the Christian communities.\*'

In the year 57 B.C., Alexander, the eldest son of Aristobulus, escaped from Pompey, and took up arms in Judæa. Hyrcanus upon this applied for assistance to Gabinius, the Roman proconsul of Syria, who thereupon sent Mark Antony with a large force into Judæa. Antony, being joined by Antipater with the forces of Hyrcanus, defeated Alexander, and compelled him to fly to Alexandria. Gabinius soon after arrived, and through the mediation of the mother of Alexander, made peace with him and allowed him to depart. After these matters were settled, Gabinius went to Jerusalem, and there committed the care of the temple to Hyrcanus, thus changing the government from a monarchy to an aristocracy. At the same time he instituted five councils (*συνέδρια*) instead of the two sanhedrims which had existed in every city, and he distributed these five among five cities. These were Jerusalem, Gadara, Amathus, Jericho, and Sephoris, in Galilee (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 5. 4).

In B.C. 54 Gabinius was superseded in the government of Syria by Crassus, who plundered the temple of about 10,000 talents, notwithstanding that a beam of gold of immense value had been given him, on condition that he would touch nothing else in the temple (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 7. 1). All this time Antipater was gaining influence with the Romans, and after the death of Pompey, in B.C. 48, he was very useful to Julius Cæsar in his war against Egypt. In return for this, he made Antipater procurator of Judæa, gave him the privilege of a citizen of Rome, and freedom from taxes everywhere. Hyrcanus also was confirmed in the priesthood and

\* See Merivale's *Romans under the Empire*, vol. iii. chap. xxix., where the events of the period are admirably summed up.



ethnarchy, the claims of Antigonos, the only surviving son of Aristobulus, being put on one side, and thus the aristocratical constitution of Gabinus was abolished (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv.) The ascendancy and prosperity of Antipater were now ensured. At this period he had four sons. Two of them, Phasaël and Herod, were holding important posts, the former being governor of Jerusalem and the latter governor of Galilee. An account of the many intrigues and tragedies of the next forty years will be found under the HERODIAN FAMILY.

The Jewish people, being at last worn out with the disputes and cruelties of the Herods, sent a mission to Rome, begging that Judæa might be made a Roman province. In the year A.D. 6, Archelaus was banished, and Judæa put under the government of Rome. The first procurator appointed was Coponius, who accompanied Cyrenius (the Greek form of the Roman name *Quirinus*) into Syria. The latter had been sent to take an account of their substance, and to make a census or ἀπογράφη [CHRONOLOGY; CYRENIUS] of the inhabitants of Judæa (Luke ii. 1; Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 13. 5; xviii. 1. 1; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 8. 1). In A.D. 10 Coponius was succeeded by Marcus Ambivivus, who remained at the head of the government till A.D. 13, and was then replaced by Annus Rufus. The next year Augustus died. On the accession of Tiberius, Valerius Gratus was made procurator, a post he filled for eleven years, and was succeeded (A.D. 25) by Pontius Pilate (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 2), who entered Jerusalem with the military ensigns, on which were the effigies of the emperor. The Jewish law forbids the making of images, and a great tumult arose, and shortly Tiberius ordered him to withdraw them (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 3. 1; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 9. 3). Pilate tyrannically governed the Jews till A.D. 35, and at last, owing to continual complaints, was ordered by Vitellius, the president of Syria, to proceed to Rome to give an account of his administration. Tiberius died before he arrived, and he put an end to his life at the commencement of the reign of Caius (Caligula) (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 3. 1-3; 4. 1; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 9. 2; Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 7). It was during his administration that our Lord was condemned and crucified (Matt. xxvii.; Mark xv.; Luke iii. 1; xxiii.; John xviii. xix.) On Pilate's departure, Marullus was appointed over Judæa by Vitellius (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 4. 2). The new emperor Caius, however, superseded him, and appointed Marcellus procurator of Judæa (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 10). In A.D. 40 Vitellius was recalled, and Petronius sent as president of Syria, with orders from Caius to set up his statue in the temple. This insult caused the whole nation to rise. The intercession of Agrippa, and ultimately the death of the tyrant, prevented this order from ever being executed (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii.; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 10; Philo, *Leg. ad Caium*, 26). In the Acts it is recorded that the churches had rest through all Judæa, Galilee, and Samaria (ix. 31), doubtless owing to the impious attempt of Caligula (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 8. 2-9). Under Claudius, who succeeded to the throne in A.D. 41, the Jews had some peace. Agrippa I. was king of the whole country from that period to A.D. 44, when he died, leaving one son. Claudius wished to allow the young Agrippa to rule his father's kingdom, but evidently by persuasion sent a Roman procurator to govern the province (Tac. *Hist.* v. 9). Cuspius Fadus was

the first appointed (Joseph. *Antiq.* xix. 9. 2; xx. 5. 1). It was under his administration that a movement of the whole Jewish people broke forth, in consequence of the sacred vestments being placed under his charge. Longinus, the governor of Syria, interfered, an embassy was sent to Rome, and the matter ended in the Jews being permitted to retain these vestments under their care. Judæa was cleared of robbers by the care and providence of Fadus (Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 1. 1-2). He was succeeded by Tiberius Alexander, a renegade Jew, and nephew of Philo (Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 5. 2; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 11. 6). In A.D. 47 Tiberius was recalled, and Ventidius Cumanus appointed in his stead. During his government a fearful tumult ensued, which would have spread far and wide had not Quadratus the governor of Syria interfered. The matter ended in the banishment of Cumanus and the appointment of Felix, the brother of Pallas, the favourite of Claudius, as procurator (Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 6; 7. 1; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 12; cf. Tac. *Ann.* xii. 54). Felix was procurator from A.D. 52 to A.D. 60. Of his government Tacitus speaks: 'Per omnem sævitiam ac libidinem jus regium servili ingenio exercuit' (*Hist.* v. 9), and his corruptness is shown by his expecting to receive money from St. Paul (Acts. xxiv. 26). He had induced Drusilla, the daughter of Agrippa I., to live with him. She was with him when Paul preached 'of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come' (Acts xxiv. 25). Felix, however, did some good services while he was in power; for the country being infested with robbers and impostors, he cleared several parts of it. He also drove out the Egyptian impostor (cf. Acts xxi. 38). These are doubtless the *very worthy deeds* alluded to by Tertullus (Acts xxiv. 2). Bearing ill-will against Jonathan the high-priest, Felix had him barbarously murdered. By treachery, also, he put to death Eleazar, the captain of a company of robbers (Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 8. 5). At last his misgovernment caused his recall, and Porcius Festus succeeded. His government seems to have been milder (Joseph. *Antiq.* xxi. 8. 9; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 14. 1). He heard Paul with king Agrippa at Cæsarea (Acts xxv. xxvi.). Festus died after two years. He was succeeded by Albinus, a bad and cruel man, who, on hearing that Gessius Florus was coming to succeed him, brought out all the prisoners who seemed most worthy of death, and put them to death, and at the same time released many of them, but only on receiving a bribe (Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 9. 5; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 14. 1). He was recalled in A.D. 65, and Gessius Florus appointed in his stead. He was the last and the worst of the Roman procurators (Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 9. 1; 11. 1; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 14. 1). Josephus does not hesitate to accuse him of the most flagrant and horrid crimes (*Antiq.* xx. 11. 1; *Bell. Jud.* i. c.), and even Tacitus says that the Jewish patience could endure the yoke no longer (duravit patientia Judæis usque ad Gessium Florum—*Hist.* v. 10). In A.D. 66 Cestius Gallus, the prefect of Syria, found it necessary to march a powerful army into Palestine. He was, however, defeated with great loss, and immediately sent word to Nero, laying the whole blame on Florus—Florus likewise laying the blame on him. He soon afterwards died, as some have supposed, from chagrin or disappointment (Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 19; Suet. *Vesp.* 4; Tac. *Hist.* v. 10). The follow-

ing year Nero sent Vespasian into Judæa (Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* iii. 1. 2). Accounts of the war and siege of Jerusalem will be found in another article [JERUSALEM]. In 68 Nero died. Galba, Otho, and Vitellius followed in quick succession; and Vespasian himself was elected emperor by the legions in Judæa. In A.D. 70 Titus was sent by his father to conduct the war, and after a four months' siege Jerusalem was taken. Josephus states that 1,100,000 were killed during the siege (*Bell. Jud.* vi. 9. 3), that several were allowed to depart, and an immense number sold to the army and carried captive. These numbers are of course exaggerated [JERUSALEM] (cf. Luke xxi. 24).

Under Trajan the Jews again broke out into open revolt, and the disturbances continued under Hadrian. At last, A.D. 131, one Barcochebas, *the Son of a Star*, was placed at the head of the Jews. Several times the Roman arms were defeated; but Julius Severus, by reducing their fortresses one by one, finally defeated him in A.D. 135. Dion Cassius says that 580,000 Jewish people were slain in these battles (lxix. 14). This statement is as extravagant as that of Josephus (*vide supra*).

In A.D. 136 the emperor Hadrian founded a new city, under the name of *Ælia Capitolina*, to which he gave the privileges of a colony. None but Christians and pagans were allowed to enter (Dion Cass., lxix. 12; cf. Gibbon).

The N. T. history falls within the reigns of Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero. Only Augustus (Luke ii. 1), Tiberius (Luke iii. 1), and Claudius (Acts xi. 28; xviii. 2), are mentioned, but Nero is alluded to in the Acts from ch. xxv. to the end, and in Phil. iv. 22. The Roman emperor in the N. T. is usually called *Cæsar* (Acts xxv. 10, 11, 12, 21), though sometimes Augustus (Σεβαστός Acts xxv. 21, 25), and once Lord (ὁ κύριος, Acts xxv. 26). We thus find many characteristics of the Roman rule constantly before us in the N. T. The publicans (Luke iii. 12; xix. 2); the tribute money (Matt. xxii. 19); soldiers and centurions recruited in Italy (Acts x. 1); Cæsar the only king (John xix. 15); the tetrarchs, Herod, Philip, and Lysanias; the appeal against the governor (Acts xxv. 11); Roman money, etc.

In order to illustrate the connection of Rome with Palestine it will be as well to give an account, necessarily brief, of the principal relations of the Empire with the N. T. history and the Jews.

At the time of Augustus the finest countries of Europe, Asia, and Egypt, with all the northern part of Africa, were comprehended in the Roman Empire. The boundaries in Europe were the Rhine and Danube, in Asia the Euphrates and the deserts of Syria, and in Africa the tract of land known at present under the name of Sahara. Subsequent additions were made by Claudius of Britain, and by Trajan of Dacia. [For a list of the provinces, see Gibbon, vol. i. pp. 201-2, ed. Smith, note.]

The population at the time of Augustus has been calculated at eighty-five millions, including both sexes, all ages, and every class of inhabitants (Merivale, *Hist. of the Rom.*, vol. iv. p. 450); and Gibbon (*Decline and Fall*, ch. ii.) reckons the population at the time of Claudius at about one hundred and twenty millions.

The entire armies of the Roman Empire are reckoned at 340,000 men, exclusive of the battalions

maintained in Rome itself, not counting the numerous battalions of auxiliaries levied throughout the Empire (Tac. *Ann.* iv. 5; Merivale, *Hist.* vol. iii. p. 534). Augustus may also be regarded as the founder of a naval power (Merivale, *l. c.*), which has been considered to have numbered 21,000 men (De Champagny, *des Césars*, ii. 429).



450. Roman Emperor and Empress.

Though it was the endeavour of Augustus to make the government introduced by him appear as possessing the forms of the ancient Republic, he had established in fact an absolute monarchy. The prince united in his own person all the attributes of supreme power. It is true that the senate possessed extensive prerogatives. To secure the maintenance of peace in countries which had been subdued by force it became necessary to maintain standing armies in them, and in the year B.C. 27 Augustus arranged that the provinces should be divided between the senate and himself. The governors of those provinces which were assigned to the senate were called proconsuls (*ἀντιπρότοι*, deputies, A. V. Acts xiii. 7; xviii. 12; xix. 38), whatever their previous office may have been (Dion Cass., liii. 13). The imperial provinces, on the other hand, were governed by a Legatus (*πρεσβυτης*) or proprætor (*ἀντιστράτηγος*), even if the officer appointed had been consul. The minor districts of the imperial provinces were governed by a procurator (*ἐπιτροπος*, Dion. Cass., liii. 15, steward A. V., Matt. xx. 8). Augustus brought all the procurators under his control (Dion Cass., liii. 32). Under the Republic they had managed the affairs of private citizens, but under the Empire they discharged the duties performed by the Questors in the senatorial provinces. They controlled the revenue and collected the taxes, and their power extended from these matters to justice and administration (Tac. *Hist.* i. 11). The procurators of Judæa seem to have been under the control of the proconsul of Syria, as Quadratus condemned the indiscretion of the procurator Cumanus (Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 6. 3; Tac. *Ann.* xii. 54). They are called 'governors' (*ἡγεμόνες*) in the N. T. The



verb (*ἡγεμονεύω*) is employed in Luke ii. 2 to show the nature of the government of Quirinus over Syria. Asia and Achaia were assigned to the senate, and in each case the title of the governor in the Acts is proconsul (*ἀνθύπατος*, xviii. 12; xix. 38). Dion Cass. (liii. 12) informs us that Cyprus was retained by the emperor, but Sergius Paulus is called in the Acts (xiii. 7) 'proconsul.' This is quite correct, as Dion adds that Augustus restored Cyprus to the senate in exchange for another district of the empire. Coins and inscriptions of Cyprus also bear the title 'Proconsul' (cf. Conybeare and Howson, *Life of St. Paul*, vol. i. p. 173, *seq.*; Akerman, *Num. Ill. of N. T.*, p. 41). The procurator sometimes had the power of life and death, as in the case of Pontius Pilate (Tac. *Ann.* xv. 44).



451. Roman Orator and Youth.

The procurator of Judæa resided principally at Cæsarea, and the military forces were generally stationed there (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 3. 1). During the Passover the troops were stationed at Jerusalem, in order to prevent any insurrection from the multitude of visitors at that festival (Acts xxi. 31; xxii. 24; xxiii. 23; Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 5. 3). The troops consisted of infantry and cavalry (Acts xxiii. 23), and were commanded by tribunes (*χιλιάρχοι*, Acts xxiii. 17) and centurions (*κεντυριῶνες*, Mark xv. 39, 44, 45; *ἐκατοντάρχοι*, Matt. viii. 5; xxvii. 54; Acts x. 1, 22). The former were at the head of the cohorts (*σπεῖραι*), and the latter at the head of the centuria, of which two made a manipule [ARMY]. It was the duty of the soldiers to execute the sentence of death and to keep guard over the prisoners (Matt. xxvii. 27, *seq.*; John xix. 23, *seq.*; cf. Acts xxii. 25), and the garments of those who were executed became their perquisite (John xix. 23). They also guarded the prisoners (Acts xxiii. 23; xxvii. 31). In Acts x. 1 mention is made of the Italian band at Cæsarea. This was probably a cohort serving in Syria composed of natives of Italy, and called *Ἰταλική* to distinguish it from those which consisted of troops raised in Syria (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 15. 10; *Bell. Jud.* i. 17. 1), as we know from Gruter (*Inscr.* ccccxiv. 1) that Italian cohorts were serving in Syria. The *Σπερὴν Σεβαστῆ* (Acts xxvii. 1) could not well be a *cohortus Augusta*, as Winer thinks (*Realw.*, s.v. *Römer*), for no legions were in Syria or Judæa bearing that title, nor could

it be the band levied from Samaria (*ἡλὴ ἱππέων καλουμένη Σεβαστηνῶν*, Joseph. *Antiq.* xix. 9. 2; xx. 6. 1; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 12. 5). Wieseler suggests that it was the *Augustani* mentioned by Tacitus (*Ann.* xiv. 15) and Suetonius (*Nero*, 20, 25). The first levying of this band by Augustus is recorded by Dion Cassius (xlv. 12).

Some of the cities within the provinces were free cities, like Thessalonica, at which there was an assembly of the people (*δῆμος*, Acts xvii. 5) and supreme magistrates called politarchs (Acts xvii. 8). So also were Antioch in Syria, Tarsus, and Athens. Others were colonies, like Philippi, Troas, or Antioch in Pisidia, whose affairs were regulated by *στρατηγοὶ* (A. V. magistrates, Acts xvi. 22). Their proper title was *duumviri*, but they preferred calling themselves by the Roman title prætor (C. and H., i. 345). They were usually attended by lictors (*ραβδουχοὶ*, A. V. sergeants, Acts xvi. 35).

Under this arrangement the welfare of the provinces was greater than it had been under the republic, but the condition of those provinces over which Augustus had special control was often preferable to that of the others, instances being recorded of some of the senatorial provinces requesting to be transferred to the rule of the emperor (Tac. *Ann.* i. 76).

Seeing how great the privileges of a Roman citizen were, the eagerness with which it was sought, and the earnestness with which it was pleaded in case of any unjust treatment, is not to be wondered at. The freedom of Rome was often obtained by purchase for great sums (Acts xxii. 28), though at the time of Claudius it is said that it became so cheap it might be bought for a little broken glass (*Dion Cass.*, lx. 17). A citizen under the republic could in criminal cases, if he were so minded, appeal from the magistrates to the people, for without the acquiescence of the whole Roman people no man could be put to death (Cic., *Tusc. Quæst.*, 4. 1; *In Verr.*, 54, 57). At the commencement of the imperial period it was, however, necessary that the appeal should be made to the emperor, who had assumed the privilege of final adjudication. It was thus that St. Paul, when being tried before Festus, 'appealed unto Cæsar' (Acts xxv. 11; xxvi. 32), fulfilling our Lord's words that he should 'bear witness also at Rome' (Acts xxiii. 11; xxvii. 23; xxviii. 14, 16, 17; 2 Tim. i. 17; iv. 17). St. Paul remained a prisoner about two years, but his trial resulted in his acquittal. About four years after he was arrested at Nicopolis, and sent to Rome for trial. This was at the time of the great fire at Rome under Nero, and the charge of conspiring to set fire to Rome formed one part of the accusation brought against him. He was executed at Rome in the summer of A.D. 68 (cf. C. and H., vol. ii. *passim*) [ST. PAUL]. The scourging of a Roman citizen was contrary to the law, and St. Paul, by the assertion of his Roman citizenship, prevented Claudius Lysias from ordering him to be scourged (Acts xxii. 26-29; xxiii. 27). At an earlier period Paul and Silas had been scourged (Acts xvi. 37), and two Roman laws thereby violated (*Lex Valeria*, B.C. 508; *Lex Porcia*, B.C. 300). They were also illegally treated, being 'uncondemned' (Cic. *Verr.* i. 9; Tac. *Hist.* i. 6) [CITIZENSHIP].

The treatment that the Jews received at the hands of the Romans was at times very moderate. Under Julius Cæsar they were not forbidden to

live according to their customs even in Rome itself (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 8), and Augustus ordered that they should have full freedom of worship, hold their assemblies, and make gifts to their temple; they were even admitted with the citizens to a share in the largesses of corn (Philo, *ad Cai.* p. 1015; cf. Hor. *Sat.* i. 9. 69); and when it fell upon the Sabbath day, Augustus allowed it to be put off to the next day. They were also exempted from military service on account of their religious prejudices (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 11-19; xvi. 6; cf. xix. 5. 3). Suetonius (*Cæs.* 84) records that the Jews were in great grief at the death of Augustus. Tiberius and Claudius banished them from Rome, the latter on account of tumults caused by a certain Chrestus (Tac. *Ann.* ii. 85; Suet. *Tib.* 36; cf. Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 3. 5; Suet. *Claud.* 25; Acts xviii. 2) [CLAUDIUS]; but the expulsion by Claudius is contradicted by Dion Cassius (lx. 6), and a few years after the Jews were again at Rome in great numbers (Acts xxviii. 17, *seq.*) The administration of religious ceremonies was committed to the high-priest and Sanhedrim; civil and criminal jurisprudence was retained by them, and they were permitted to pass the sentence of condemnation, but its execution depended upon the procurator (Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 9. 1; Mark xiv. 53-55, 62-65; John xviii. 31). 'It is not lawful for us to put any man to death' (John, *l. c.*) [See Alford's note on this passage, and Biscoe on the *Acts*, pp. 134-167.] The stoning of Stephen probably took place during a tumult, and not with the sanction of the procurator (Acts vii. 28). Even beyond the borders of Palestine the Jews exercised among themselves the civil jurisdiction according to their laws. Josephus (*Antiq.* xiv. 10. 17) gives a Roman decree to the city of Sardis sanctioning this privilege.

Notwithstanding their privileges the Jews were heavily taxed [TAXES; TRIBUTE]. These consisted of the poll-tax (*κῆνος, φόρος*, Matt. xxii. 17; Luke xx. 22) and the custom-tax (*τέλη*, Matt. xvii. 25). Various passages in the N. T. show how odious the collectors of the tributes (*portitores*, A. V. publicans) were to the Jews (Matt. v. 46; Mark. ii. 15, 16; Luke iii. 12), inasmuch that the Pharisees would hold no communication with them (Matt. ix. 10, 11; xxi. 31, 32).

The Romans carefully abstained from forcing their own language upon the inhabitants of the countries they conquered, though the strictness with which every official act, even to the farthest limits of the empire, was carried out in the Roman language, was never relaxed, but the edicts were generally translated into Greek (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 2). The better educated Romans undoubtedly spoke Greek. The inscription on the cross was written in Hebrew, Roman, and Greek (Luke xxiii. 38; John xix. 20); the Hebrew for the common people, the Latin the official language, and the Greek that usually spoken (Alford, *in loc.*) All the official inscriptions put up by the Romans were called *tituli* (cf. Suet. *in Calig.* 34; *in Dom.* 10); and St. John (*l. c.*) uses the same expression (*ἐγράφη τίτλον*).

The freedom of religious worship enjoyed by the nations subject to Rome was remarkably great, though foreign religions were not allowed to be introduced among the Romans (Liv. xxxix. 16); and it is recorded by Dion Cassius (lii. 36) that Mæcenæ advised Augustus not to permit such innovations,

as they would only tend to destroy the monarchy. This rule was strictly maintained by all his successors. Judaism was an exception, though, as we have seen, the Jews were sometimes expelled from Rome.

Notwithstanding the attempts of Augustus to stop all tendencies to corruption, by punishing immorality, it was chiefly immorality that undermined the empire. With a high civilisation, a flourishing commerce, and general outward refinement, was associated a terrible depravity of morals. Yet the prosperous state of the empire was confessed by the provinces as well as the Romans. 'They acknowledged that the true principles of social life, laws, agriculture, and science, which had been first invented by the wisdom of Athens, were now firmly established by the power of Rome, under whose auspicious influence the fiercest barbarians were united by an equal government and common language' (Gibbon, ch. ii.) The cruelties and exactions of the provincial magistrates were suppressed by Augustus and Tiberius (Tac. *Ann.* iv. 6). Roads were constructed and commerce increased, but all of no avail. Society would not be reformed, and St. Paul draws a striking picture of the corruption of the age (Rom. i. 14-23). 'Charity and general philanthropy were so little regarded as duties that it requires a very extensive acquaintance with the literature of the time to find any allusion to them. There were no public hospitals, no institutions for the relief of the infirm and poor; no societies for the removal of abuses or the improvement of the condition of mankind from motives of charity. Nothing was done to promote the instruction of the lower classes, nothing to mitigate the miseries of domestic slavery, and far less to stop altogether the perpetual atrocities of the kidnapper and the slave-market' (Arnold, *Encyc. Metropol. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 380). But the spirit of Christianity was floating in the atmosphere, and 'the wisdom of providence was preparing a knowledge which struck root as deeply as the literature of the Augustan age had been scattered superficially' (Arnold, *l. c.*)

The Roman Empire terminated with the anarchy which followed the murder of Justinian II., the last sovereign of the family of Heraclius; and Leo III. or the Isaurian, must be ranked as the first Byzantine monarch (Finlay, *Greece under the Romans*, p. 433).

For the prophetic notices of Rome as the fourth empire, in Daniel xi. 30, 40; vii. 23, etc., see article DANIEL; and for the mention of Rome in the Apocalypse, see article ROME.—F. W. M.

ROMANS, THE EPISTLE TO THE. This epistle claims our interest more than the other didactic epistles of the apostle Paul, because it is more systematic, and because it explains especially that truth which became subsequently the principle of the Reformation—viz., righteousness through faith. Melancthon was so fond of this epistle that he made it the subject of constant lectures, and twice copied it out with his own hand, just as Demosthenes copied Thucydides (comp. Strobel's *Litterär-geschichte der loci Theologici des Melancthon*, p. 13): in these lectures he explained the leading dogmatical and ethical ideas—i.e., the *loci Theologici* which at a later period gave rise to the dogmatical work bearing this title.

I. Time and Place of writing the Epistle.—At



the period when the apostle wrote the Epistle to the Romans, he had passed through a life full of experience. About four years after the composition of this letter Paul calls himself *Πρεσβύτερος*, 'the aged' (Philemon, ver. 9). Paul was at this time between fifty and sixty years old. After having spent two years and a half at Ephesus, he planned a journey to Macedonia, Achaia, Jerusalem, and Rome (Acts xix. 21). Having spent about three months in travelling, he arrived at Corinth, where he remained three months (Acts xx. 2); and during this second abode at Corinth he wrote the Epistle to the Romans (comp. 1 Cor. xvi. 1-3, and 2 Cor. ix. with Rom. xv. 25). Paul dispatched this letter by a Corinthian woman, who was just then travelling to Rome (xvi. 1), and sent greetings from an inhabitant of Corinth (xvi. 23; comp. 1 Cor. i. 14). [The date generally assigned to this epistle is towards the close of A.D. 57, or the beginning of A.D. 58.]

II. *To whom addressed.*—The congregation of Christians at Rome was formed at a very early period, but its founder is unknown. [The opinion that St. Peter was the founder of the church will not stand the test of historical inquiry, and is rejected by all except bigoted adherents of the Romish Church [PETER]. It was probably, however, one of the earliest of the Gentile churches.] Paul himself mentions two distinguished teachers at Rome who were converted earlier than himself. According to Rom. i. 8, the Roman congregation had then attained considerable celebrity, as their faith was spoken of throughout the whole world. From chap. xvi. we learn that there were a considerable number of Christian teachers at Rome, from which we infer that the congregation had existed there for some time; and it is most likely that the Jews at Rome were first converted to Christianity. Under Augustus there were so many Jews at Rome, that this emperor appointed for them quarters beyond the Tiber. These Jews consisted mostly of freedmen, whom Pompey had carried to Rome as slaves. Some of the early Christians at Rome followed mercantile pursuits. [The gospel was probably carried to Rome by some of the Jewish Christians who had gone up to Jerusalem and been converted on the day of Pentecost. As such would vividly recollect and speak much of St. Peter's discourse on that day, and as the founding of the church at Rome by them was the result of their conversion by the preaching of Peter, the tradition of his having been the founder of the church (Euseb., *H. E.*, ii. 14; 25; *Chron.*, p. 372; Hieron., *De Scriptt. Eccles.*, i.; etc.) may have thus arisen.]

At the time when this epistle was written, there were also Gentile Christians in the Roman church; and from passages like xi. 13; xv. 16; i. 7 and 13, we learn that the Gentile Christians were then more numerous than the converted Jews. It is well known that in those times many heathens embraced Judaism (Tacitus, *Annal.*, xv. 44; Juvenal, *Sat.*, xiv. 96). These converts to Judaism were mostly women. Such proselytes formed at that period the point of coalescence for the conversion of the Gentiles. Among the converts from Judaism to Christianity, there existed in the days of Paul two parties. The congregated apostles had decreed, according to Acts xv., that the converts from paganism were not bound to keep the ritual laws of Moses. There were, however, many converts from Judaism who were disinclined to re-

nounce the authority of the Mosaic law, and appealed erroneously to the authority of James (Gal. ii. 9; comp. Acts xxi. 25): they claimed also the authority of Peter in their favour. Such converts from Judaism, mentioned in the other epistles, who continued to observe the ritual laws of Moses, were not prevalent in Rome; however, Dr. Baur of Tübingen supposes that this Ebionitic tendency prevailed at that time in all Christian congregations, Rome not excepted. He thinks that the converts from Judaism were then more numerous than the Gentile Christians, and that all were compelled to submit to the Judaising opinions of the majority (comp. Baur's *Abhandlung über Zweck und Veranlassung des Römerbriefs*, in der *Tübinger Zeitschrift*, 1836). However, we infer from the passages above quoted that the Gentile Christians were much more numerous at Rome than the converts from Judaism. Neander has also shown that the Judaising tendency did not prevail in the Roman church (comp. Neander's *Pflanzung der Christlichen Kirche*, 3d ed., p. 388). This opinion is confirmed by the circumstance that, according to ch. xvi., Paul had many friends at Rome. Dr. Baur removes this objection only by declaring ch. xvi. to be spurious. He appeals to ch. xiv. in order to prove that there were Ebionitic Christians at Rome. It appears, however, that the persons mentioned in ch. xiv. were by no means strictly Judaizing zealots, wishing to overrule the Gentile Christians, but, on the contrary, some scrupulous converts from Judaism, upon whom the Gentile Christians looked down contemptuously. There were, indeed, some disagreements between the converts from Judaism and the Gentile Christians in Rome. This is evident from ch. xv. 6-9, and xi. 17, 18. These debates, however, were not of so obstinate a kind as among the Galatians; otherwise the apostle could scarcely have praised the congregation at Rome as he does in ch. i. 8 and 12, and xv. 14. From ch. xvi. 17-20, we infer that the Judaizers had endeavoured to find admittance, but with little success.

III. *Occasion and Purpose.*—The opinions on this head differ according to the various suppositions of those who think that the object of the letter was supplied by the occasion, or the supposition that the apostle selected his subject only after an opportunity for writing was offered. In earlier times the latter opinion prevailed, as, for instance, in the writings of Thomas Aquinas, Luther, Melancthon, Calvin. In more recent times the other opinion has generally been advocated—as, for instance, by Hug, Eichhorn, and Flatt. Many writers suppose that the debates mentioned in ch. xiv. and xv. called forth this epistle. Hug, therefore, is of opinion that the theme of the whole epistle is the following:—*Jews and Gentiles have equal claim to the kingdom of God.* According to Eichhorn, the Roman Jews, being exasperated against the disciples of Paul, endeavoured to demonstrate that Judaism was sufficient for the salvation of mankind; consequently Eichhorn supposes that the polemics of St. Paul were not directed against Judaizing converts to Christianity, as in the Epistle to the Galatians, but rather against Judaism itself. This opinion is also maintained by De Wette (*Einleitung ins Neue Testament*, 4th ed., sec. 138). According to Credner (*Einleitung*, sec. 141) the intention of the apostle was to render the Roman congregation favourably disposed before his arrival in the chief metropolis; and he therefore en-



deavoured to show that the evil reports spread concerning himself by zealously Judaizing Christians were erroneous. This opinion is nearly related to that of Dr. Baur, who supposes that the real object of this letter is mentioned only in ch. ix. to xi. According to Dr. Baur, the Judaizing zealots were displeased that by the instrumentality of Paul such numbers of Gentiles entered the kingdom of God, that the Jews ceased to appear as the Messianic people. Dr. Baur supposes that these Judaizers are more especially refuted in ch. ix. to xi., after it has been shown in the first eight chapters that it was in general incorrect to consider one people better than another, and that all had equal claims to be justified by faith. Against the opinion that the apostle, in writing the Epistle to the Romans, had this particular polemical aim, it has been justly observed by Rückert (in the 2d ed. of his *Commentar*), Olshausen, and De Wette, that the apostle himself states that his epistle had a general scope. Paul says in the introduction that he had long entertained the wish of visiting the metropolis, in order to confirm the faith of the church, and to be himself comforted by that faith (ch. i. 12). He adds (i. 16), that he was prevented from preaching in the chief city by external obstacles only. He says that he had written to the Roman Christians in fulfilment of his vocation as apostle to the Gentiles. The journey of Phoebe to Rome seems to have been the external occasion of the epistle: Paul made use of this opportunity by sending the sum and substance of the Christian doctrine in writing, having been prevented from preaching in Rome. Paul had many friends in Rome who communicated with him; consequently he was the more induced to address the Romans, although he manifested some hesitation in doing so (xv. 15). These circumstances exercised some influence as well on the form as upon the contents of the letter; so that, for instance, its contents differ considerably from the Epistle to the Ephesians, although this also has a general scope. The especial bearings of the Epistle to the Romans are particularly manifest in ch. xiii. to xvi.; Paul shows to both Jews and Gentiles the glory of Christianity as being *absolute religion*, and he especially endeavours to confirm the faith of the converts from Judaism (iv.); Paul refers to the circumstance that in Rome the number of Gentile Christians was much greater than that of the converted Jews, and he explains how this was consistent with the counsel of God. He endeavours to re-establish peace between the contending parties; consequently he had to produce many arguments which might be converted into polemics (*Polemik*) against the Jews; but it does by no means follow that such polemics were the chief aim of the apostle.

IV. *Contents of the Epistle.*—It belongs to the characteristic type of St. Paul's teaching to exhibit the gospel in its historical relation to the human race. In the Epistle to the Romans, also, we find that peculiar character of St. Paul's teaching which induced Schelling to call St. Paul's doctrine a philosophy of the history of man. The real purpose of the human race is in a sublime manner stated by St. Paul in his speech in Acts xvii. 26, 27; and he shows at the same time how God had, by various historical means, promoted the attainment of his purpose. St. Paul exhibits the O. T. dispensation under the form of an institution for the education of the whole human race, which

should enable men to terminate their spiritual minority, and become truly of age (Gal. iii. 24, and iv. 1-4). In the Epistle to the Romans, also, the apostle commences by describing the two great divisions of the human race—viz., those who underwent the preparatory spiritual education of the Jews, and those who did not undergo such a preparatory education. We find a similar division indicated by Christ himself (John x. 16), where he speaks of one flock separated by hurdles. The chief aim of all nations, according to St. Paul, should be the *δικαιοσύνη ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ*, *righteousness before the face of God*, or absolute realisation of the moral law. According to St. Paul, the heathen also have their νόμος, law, as well religious as moral internal revelation (Rom. i. 19, 32; ii. 15). The heathen have, however, not fulfilled that law which they knew, and are in this respect like the Jews, who also disregarded their own law (ii.) Both Jews and Gentiles are transgressors, or by the law separated from the grace and sonship of God (Rom. ii. 12; iii. 20); consequently, if blessedness could only be obtained by fulfilling the demands of God, no man could be blessed. God, however, has gratuitously given righteousness and blessedness to all who believe in Christ (iii. 21-31); the O. T. also recognises the value of religious faith (iv.); thus we freely attain to peace and sonship of God presently, and have before us still greater things—viz., the future development of the kingdom of God (v. 1-11). The human race has gained in Christ much more than it lost in Adam (v. 12, 21). This doctrine by no means encourages sin (vi.); on the contrary, men who are conscious of divine grace fulfil the law much more energetically than they were able to do before having attained to this knowledge, because the law alone is even apt to sharpen the appetite for sin, and leads finally to despair (vii.); but now we fulfil the law by means of that new spirit which is given unto us, and the full development of our salvation is still before us (viii. 1-27). The sufferings of the present time cannot prevent this development, and must rather work for good to them whom God from eternity has viewed as faithful believers; and nothing can separate such believers from the eternal love of God (viii. 28-39). It causes pain to behold the Israelites themselves shut out from salvation; but they themselves are the cause of this seclusion, because they wanted to attain salvation by their own resources and exertions, by their descent from Abraham, and by their fulfilment of the law: thus, however, the Jews have not obtained that salvation which God has freely offered under the sole condition of faith in Christ (ix.); the Jews have not entered upon the way of faith, therefore the Gentiles were preferred, which was predicted by the prophets. However, the Jewish race, as such, has not been rejected; some of them obtain salvation by a selection made, not according to their works, but according to the grace of God. If some of the Jews are left to their own obduracy, even their temporary fall serves the plans of God—viz., the vocation of the Gentiles. After the mass of the Gentiles shall have entered in, the people of Israel also, in their collective capacity, shall be received into the church (xi.)

V. *Authenticity and Integrity of the Epistle.*—The authenticity of this epistle has never been questioned. The Epistle to the Romans is quoted as early as the 1st and 2d century



by Clemens Romanus (*Ad Cor.*, i. 35) and Polycarp (*Ad Phil.*, 6). [It is also cited by Theophilus of Antioch (*Ad Autol.*, i. 20; iii. 14 [ed. J. C. Wolf, Hamb. 1724]), by Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.*, iii. 16. 3), by Clement of Alexandria (*Paedag.*, i. p. 117; *Strom.*, iii. p. 457), by Tertullian (*Adv. Prax.*, 13), etc. It is alluded to in the Epistle to Diognetus (c. 9), by Justin Martyr (*Dial.*, c. 23), by Athenagoras (p. 13), and by others. It stands in the Muratori Canon; it had a place in that of Marcion; and it is found in the Syriac and Itala versions. With this copious external evidence the internal fully accords: in manner of thought, style, language, and allusion, it is wholly Pauline.] Its integrity has lately been attacked by Dr. Baur, who pretends that ch. xv. and xvi. are spurious, but only, as we have observed above, because these chapters do not harmonise with his supposition that the Christian church at Rome consisted of rigid Judaizers. Schmidt and Reiche consider the doxology at the conclusion of ch. xvi. not to be genuine. In this doxology the anacoluthical and unconnected style causes some surprise, and the whole has been deemed to be out of its place (ver. 26 and 27). We however, observe, in reply to Schmidt and Reiche, that such defects of style may be easily explained from the circumstance that the apostle hastened to the conclusion, but would be quite inexplicable in additions of a copyist who had time for calm consideration. The same words occur in different passages of the epistle, and it must be granted that such a fluctuation sometimes indicates an interpolation. In the Codex i., in most of the Codices Minusculi, as well as in Chrysostom, the words occur at the conclusion of ch.

xiv. In the Codices B, C, D, E, and in the Syrian translation, this doxology occurs at the conclusion of ch. xvi. In codex A it occurs in both places; whilst in Codex D\*\*, the words are wanting entirely, and they seem not to fit into either of the two places. If the doxology be put at the conclusion of ch. xiv., Paul seems to promise to those Christians weak in faith, of whom he had spoken, a confirmation of their belief. But it seems unfit (unpassend) in this connection to call the Gospel an eternal mystery, and the doxology seems here to interrupt the connection between chs. xiv. and xv.; and at the conclusion of ch. xvi. it seems to be superfluous, since the blessing had been pronounced already in ver. 24. We, however, say that this latter circumstance need not have prevented the apostle from allowing his animated feelings to burst forth in a doxology, especially at the conclusion of an epistle which treated amply on the mystery of redemption. We find an analogous instance in Eph. iii. 20, 21, where a doxology occurs after the mystery of salvation had been mentioned: we are therefore of opinion that the doxology is rightly placed at the conclusion of ch. xvi., and that it was in some codices erroneously transposed to the conclusion of ch. xiv., because the copyist considered the blessing in xvi. 24 to be the real conclusion of the epistle. In confirmation of this remark we observe that the same codices in which the doxology occurs in ch. xvi. either omit the blessing altogether, or place it after the doxology.

VI. *Interpreters of the Epistle.*—Chrysostom is the most important among the fathers who attempted to interpret this epistle; he enters deeply,

and with psychological acumen, into the thoughts of the apostle, and expounds them with sublime animation. Among the reformers Calvin is distinguished by logical penetration and doctrinal depth; Beza by his grammatical and critical knowledge. [The Commentaries of Melancthon, Strasb. 1540; of Bucer, Bas. 1562; and of Brent, Francf. 1564, may also be mentioned among those of the Reformers; also that of C. Ferme, Edin. 1651, translated into English by W. Skae, and edited with the *Commentarius* of And. Melville by W. L. Alexander, D.D., Edin. 1849. Of more recent works the number is great. The following are of most importance:—Willet, *Hexapla*, 1611; Locke, *Paraphrase and Notes*, Lond. 1733; Turretin, *Praelect.*, Lausan. 1741; Taylor, *Paraphrase and Notes*, Lond. 1745; Baumgarten, *Auslegung*, Halle 1749; Carpov, *Strictura*, Helmst. 1758; Schmidt, *Annot.*, Lips. 1777; Morus, *Praelect.*, Lips. 1794; Böhme, *Comment. Perpet.*, Lips. 1806; Tholuck, *Auslegung*, Berl. 1824, 5th ed. 1856, translated into English by Menzies, 2 vols., Edinb. Bib. Cabinet 1833-36; Flatt, *Vorlesungen*, Tüb. 1825; Rückert, *Commentar*, Leipz. 1831; Stuart, *Commentary*, Andover, U. S., 1832, Lond. 1833; Reiche, *Erklärung*, 2 vols., Gött. 1833-34; Glöckler, *Erklärung*, Leipz. 1834; Köllner, *Commentar*, Darmst. 1834; Olshausen, *Bibl. Commentar*, Königsb. 1835, translated in Clark's For. Theol. Library; Hodge, *Commentary*, 1835, new edition 1864, reprinted at Edinburgh 1864; Fritzsche, *Comment. Perpet.*, 3 vols., Berol. 1836-43; De Wette, *Kurze Erklär.*, Leipz. 1835, 3d ed. 1841; Umbreit, *Auslegung* ('auf dem Grunde des A. T.'), Gotha 1856; Haldane, *Exposition*, 3 vols., Edin. 1842, 3d ed.; Jowett, *Exposition*, 2d ed., 1839; Brown, *Analytical Exposition*, Edin. 1857; Turner, New York, 1859; Philippi *Commentar*, 3 vols., Francof. 1852; Van Hengel, *Interpretatio*, Silv. Duc., 1854.]—A. T.

ROME, the famous capital of the Western world, and the present residence of the Pope, stands on the river Tiber, about fifteen miles from its mouth, in the plain of what is now called the Campagna (*Felix illa Campania*—Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* iii. 6), in lat. 41° 54' N., long. 12° 28' E. The country around the city is not a plain, but a sort of undulating table-land, crossed by hills, while it sinks towards the south-west to the marshes of Maremma, which coast the Mediterranean. In ancient geography the country in the midst of which Rome lay was termed Latium, which, in the earliest times, comprised within a space of about four geographical square miles the country lying between the Tiber and the Numicius, extending from the Alban Hills to the sea, having for its chief city Laurentum. Here, on the Palatine Hill, was the city of Rome founded by Romulus and Remus, grandsons of Numitor, and sons of Rhea Sylvia, to whom, as the originators of the city, mythology ascribed a divine parentage. The origin of the term Rome is in dispute. Some derive it from the Greek *Ῥώμη*, 'strength', considering that this name was given to the place as being a fortress. Cicero (*De Repub.* ii. 7) says the name was taken from that of its founder Romulus. At first the city had three gates, according to a sacred usage. Founded on the Palatine Hill, it was extended, by degrees, so as to take in other six hills, at the foot of which ran deep valleys that, in early times, were in



part overflowed with water, while the hill-sides were covered with trees. In the course of the many years during which Rome was acquiring to herself the empire of the world, the city underwent great, numerous, and important changes. Under its first kings it must have presented a very different aspect from what it did after it had been beautified by Tarquin. The destruction of the city by the Gauls (U.C. 365) caused a thorough alteration in it; nor could the troubled times which ensued have been favourable to its being well restored. It was not till riches and artistic skill came into the city on the conquest of Philip of Macedon, and Antiochus of Syria (U.C. 565), that there arose in Rome large handsome stone houses. The capture of Corinth conduced much to the adorning of the city; many fine specimens of art being transferred from thence to the abode of the conquerors. And so, as the power of Rome extended over the world,

and her chief citizens went into the colonies to enrich themselves, did the masterpieces of Grecian art flow towards the capital, together with some of the taste and skill to which they owed their birth. Augustus, however, it was, who did most for embellishing the capital of the world, though there may be some sacrifice of truth in the pointed saying, that he found Rome built of brick, and left it marble. Subsequent emperors followed his example, till the place became the greatest repository of architectural, pictorial, and sculptural skill, that the world has ever seen; a result to which even Nero's incendiarism indirectly conduced, as affording an occasion for the city's being rebuilt under the higher scientific influences of the times. The site occupied by modern Rome is not precisely the same as that which was at any period covered by the ancient city: the change of locality being towards the north-west, the city has partially



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retired from the celebrated hills. About two-thirds of the area within the walls (traced by Aurelian) are now desolate, consisting of ruins, gardens, and fields, with some churches, convents, and other scattered habitations. Originally the city was a square mile in circumference. In the time of Pliny the walls were nearly twenty miles in circuit; now they are from fourteen to fifteen miles round. Its original gates, three in number, had increased in the time of the elder Pliny to thirty-seven. Modern Rome has sixteen gates, some of which are, however, built up. Thirty-one great roads centred in Rome, which, issuing from the Forum, traversed Italy, ran through the provinces, and were terminated only by the boundary of the empire. As a starting-point a gilt pillar (Milliarium Aureum) was set up by Augustus in the middle of the Forum. This curious monument, from which distances were reckoned, was dis-

covered in 1823. Eight principal bridges led over the Tiber; of these three are still relics. The four districts into which Rome was divided in early times, Augustus increased to fourteen. Large open spaces were set apart in the city, called Campi, for assemblies of the people and martial exercises, as well as for games. Of nineteen which are mentioned, the Campus Martius was the principal. It was near the Tiber, whence it was called Tiberius. The epithet Martius was derived from the plain being consecrated to Mars, the god of war. In the later ages it was surrounded by several magnificent structures, and porticoes were erected, under which, in bad weather, the citizens could go through their usual exercises. It was also adorned with statues and arches. The name of Fora was given to places where the people assembled for the transaction of business. The Fora were of two kinds—*fora venalia*, 'markets;' *fora civilia*, 'law

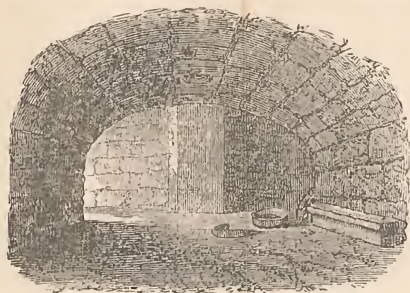


courts,' etc. Until the time of Julius Caesar there was but one of the latter kind, termed by way of distinction Forum Romanum, or simply Forum. It lay between the Capitoline and Palatine Hills; it was eight hundred feet wide, and adorned on all sides with porticoes, shops, and other edifices, on the erection of which large sums had been expended, and the appearance of which was very imposing, especially as it was much enhanced by numerous statues. In the centre of the Forum was the plain called the Curtian Lake, where Curtius is said to have cast himself into a chasm or gulf, which closed on him, and so he saved his country. On one side were the elevated seats or suggestus, a sort of pulpits from which magistrates and orators addressed the people—usually called Rostra, because adorned with the beaks of ships which had been taken in a sea-fight from the inhabitants of Antium. Near by was the part of the Forum called the Comitium, where were held the assemblies of the people called Comitia Curiata. The celebrated temple, bearing the name of Capitol (of which there remain only a few vestiges), stood on the Capitoline Hill, the highest of the seven: it was square in form, each side extending about two hundred feet, and the ascent to it was by a flight of one hundred steps. It was one of the oldest, largest, and grandest edifices in the city. Founded by Tarquinius Priscus, it was several times enlarged and embellished. Its gates were of brass, and it was adorned with costly gildings; whence it is termed 'golden' and 'glittering,' *auræa, fulgens*. It enclosed three structures—the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in the centre, the temple of Minerva on the right, and the temple of Juno on the left. The Capitol also comprehended some minor temples or chapels, and the Casa Romuli, or cottage of Romulus, covered with straw. Near the ascent to the Capitol was the asylum [CITIES OF REFUGE]. We also mention the Basilicæ, since some of them were afterwards turned to the purposes of Christian worship. They were originally buildings of great splendour, being appropriated to meetings of the senate and to judicial purposes. Here counsellors received their clients, and bankers transacted their business. The earliest churches, bearing the name of Basilicæ, were erected under Constantine. He gave his own palace on the Cælian Hill as a site for a Christian temple. Next in antiquity was the church of St. Peter, on the Vatican Hill, built A.D. 324, on the site and with the ruins of temples consecrated to Apollo and Mars. It stood about twelve centuries, at the end of which it was superseded by the modern church bearing the same name. The Circi were buildings oblong in shape, used for public games, races, and beast-fights. The Theatra were edifices designed for dramatic exhibitions; the Amphitheatra (double theatres, buildings in an oval form) served for gladiatorial shows and the fighting of wild animals. That which was erected by the Emperor Titus, and of which there still exists a splendid ruin, was called the Coliseum, from a colossal statue of Nero that stood near it. With an excess of luxury, perfumed liquids were conveyed in secret tubes round these immense structures, and diffused over the spectators, sometimes from the statues which adorned the interior. In the arena which formed the centre of the amphitheatres, the early Christians often endured martyrdom by being exposed to ravenous beasts.

The connection of the Romans with Palestine caused Jews to settle at Rome in considerable numbers. On one occasion, in the reign of Tiberius, when the Jews were banished from the city by the emperor, for the misconduct of some members of their body, not fewer than four thousand enlisted in the Roman army, which was then stationed in Sardinia (Sueton., *Tib.* 36; Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 3. 5). These appear to have been emancipated descendants of those Jews whom Pompey had taken prisoners in Judæa, and brought captive to Rome (Philo, *De Leg. ad Cai.*, p. 1014). From Philo also it appears that the Jews in Rome were allowed the free use of their national worship, and generally the observance of their ancestral customs. Then, as now, the Jews lived in a part of the city appropriated to themselves (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 8), where, with a zeal for which the nation had been some time distinguished, they applied themselves with success to proselytising (Dion Cass., xxxvii. 17). They appear, however, to have been a restless colony; for when, after their expulsion under Tiberius, numbers had returned to Rome, they were again expelled from the city by Claudius (Suet. *Claud.* 25). The Roman biographer does not give the date of this event, but Orosius (vii. 6) mentions the ninth year of that emperor's reign (A.D. 50). The precise occasion of this expulsion history does not afford us the means of determining. The words of Suetonius are, 'Judæos, impulsore Chresto, assidue tumultuantes, Roma expulsi'— 'He expelled from Rome the Jews continually raising disturbances under the impulse of Chrestos.' The cause here assigned for their expulsion is, that they raised disturbances, an allegation which, at first view, does not seem to point to a religious, still less to a Christian influence. And yet we must remember that the words bear the colouring of the mind of a heathen historian, who might easily be led to regard activity for the diffusion of Christian truth, and the debates to which that activity necessarily led, as a noxious disturbance of the peace of society. The Epicurean view of life could scarcely avoid describing religious agitations by terms ordinarily appropriated to martial pursuits. It must equally be borne in mind that the diffusion of the gospel in Rome—then the very centre and citadel of idolatry—was no holiday task, but would call forth on the part of the disciples all the fiery energy of the Jewish character, and on the part of the pagans all the vehemence of passion which ensues from pride, arrogance, and hatred. Had the ordinary name of our Lord been employed by Suetonius, we should, for ourselves, have found little difficulty in understanding the words as intended to be applied to Jewish Christians. But the biographer uses the word Chrestus. The *us* is a mere Latin termination; but what are we to make of the root of the word, Chrest for Christ? Yet the change is in only one vowel, and Chrest might easily be used for Christ by a pagan writer. A slight difference in the pronunciation of the word as vocalised by a Roman and a Jew would easily cause the error. And we know that the Romans often did make the mispronunciation, calling Christ Chrest (Tertull., *Apol.*, c. 3; Lactant., *Inst.*, iv. 7; Just. Mart., *Apol.*, c. 2). The point is important, and we therefore give a few details, the rather that Lardner has, under Claudius (vol. i. 259), left the question undetermined. Now in Tacitus (*Annal.*, xv. 44), Jesus is unquestionably called Chrest (quos



per flagitia invisos vulgus Christianos appellabat. Auctor nominis ejus Chrestus) in a passage where his followers are termed Christians. Lucian, too, in his *Philopatris*, so designates our Lord, playing on the word *Χρηστός*, which, in Greek, signifies 'good:' these are his words—*εὐτύχοι γε Χρηστός καὶ ἐν ἔθνεσι, κ.τ.λ.*, 'since a Chrest (a good man) is found among the Gentiles also.' And Tertullian (*ut supra*) treats the difference as a case of ignorant



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mispronunciation: 'Christianus perperam Chrestianus pronunciatur a vobis, nam nominis certa est notitia penes vos.' The mistake may have been the more readily introduced from the fact that, while Christ was a foreign word, Chrest was customary: lips therefore that had been used to Chrest would rather continue the sound than change the vocalisation. The term Chrest occurs in inscriptions (Heumann, *Sylloge Diss.*, i. 536), and epigrams in which the name appears may be found in Martial (vii. 55; ix. 28). In the same author (xi. 91) a diminutive from the word—namely, Chrestillus—may be found. The word assumed also a feminine form, Chresta, as found in an ancient inscription—

'Hoc, virtus, fatigue decus et amabile nomen,  
Dote pudicitie, celebrata laboribus actis  
Vitæ, Chresta jacet condita nunc tumulo.'

We subjoin a few lines from Martial (vii. 55):

'Nulli munera, Chreste, si remittis,  
Nec nobis dederis, remiserisque,  
Credam te satis esse liberalem.'

There can therefore be little risk in asserting that Suetonius intended to indicate Jesus Christ by Chrestus; and we have already seen that the terms which he employs to describe the cause of the expulsion, though peculiar, are not irreconcilable with a reference on the part of the writer to Christians. The terms which Suetonius employs are accounted for, though they may not be altogether justified, by those passages in the Acts of the Apostles, in which the collision between the Jews who had become Christians and those who adhered to the national faith is found to have occasioned serious disturbances (Kuinoel, Acts xviii. 2; Rorsal, *De Christo per errorem in Chrest. Comm.*, Groning. 1717). This interpretation is confirmed by the fact that a Christian church, consisting of Jews, proselytes, and pagan Romans, had at an early period been formed in Rome, as is evident from the Epistle of Paul to the Romans; which Christian community must have been in existence a long time when Paul wrote (about A.D. 59) that epistle (see Rom. i. 8-13); and Meyer (*Commentar der Brief an die Römer Einleit.*, sec. 2) is of opinion that the foundations of the church in Rome may have been

laid even during the lifetime of our Lord. It is also worthy of notice that Luke, in the book of Acts (xviii. 2), when speaking of the decree of Claudius as a banishment of all the Jews from Rome, adverts to the fact as a reason why two Christians, Aquila and Priscilla, whom we know (Rom. xvi. 3) to have been members of the Roman church, had lately come from Italy: these the apostle found on his arrival at Corinth in the year A.D. 51. Both Suetonius and Luke, in mentioning the expulsion of the Jews, seem to have used the official term employed in the decree; the Jews were known to the Roman magistrate; and Christians, as being at first Jewish converts, would be confounded under the general name of Jews; but that the Christians as well as the Jews strictly so called were banished by Claudius appears certain from the book of Acts; and, independently of this evidence, seems very probable, from the other authorities of which mention has been made.

The question, Who founded the church at Rome? is one of some interest as between Catholic and Protestant. The former assigns the honour to Peter, and on this grounds an argument in favour of the claims of the papacy. There is, however, no sufficient reason for believing that Peter was ever even so much as within the walls of Rome. But we have no intention of entering here on that disputed point, and content ourselves with referring the reader to the most recent work on the subject which has come to our knowledge, in which he will find the argument well and learnedly handled (D. J. Ellendorf, *1st Petrus in Rom und Bischof der Römischen Kirche gewesen?* Darmstadt 1843).

Rome, as being their tyrannical mistress, was an object of special hatred to the Jews, who therefore denominated her by the name of Babylon—the state in whose dominions they had endured a long and heavy servitude (Schöttgen, *Hor. Heb.*, i. p. 1125; Eisenmenger, *Entdeckte Judenth.*, i. 18co). Accordingly, Rome, under the name of Babylon, is set forth in the Apocalypse (xiv. 8; xvi. 19; xvii. 5; xviii. 2) as the centre and representative of heathenism; while Jerusalem appears as the symbol of Judaism. In ch. xvii. 9 allusion is clearly made to the Septicollis, the seven-hilled city—'seven mountains on which the woman sitteth.' The description of this woman, in whom the profligacy of Rome is vividly personified, may be seen in ch. xvii. of the Revelation. In ch. xiii. Rome is pictured as a huge unnatural beast, whose name or number 'is the number of a man, and his number is *χξςτ*,' not improbably *Λατίνος*, Latin, Roman. This beast has been most variously interpreted. The several theories serve scarcely more than to display the ingenuity or the bigotry of their originators, and to destroy each other. Münster (*De occulto Urbis Romæ nomine*, Hafn. 1811) thinks there is a reference to the secret name of Rome, the disclosure of which, it was thought, would be destructive to the state (Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, iii. 9; Macrob., *Sat.*, iii. 5; Plutarch, *Quæst. Rom.*, c. 61; Serv., *ad Æn.*, ii. 293). Pliny's words occur in the midst of a long and picturesque account of Italy. Coming in the course of it to speak of Rome, he says, 'the uttering of whose other name is accounted impious, and when it had been spoken by Valerius Soranus, who immediately suffered the penalty, it was blotted out with a faith no less excellent than beneficial.' He then proceeds to speak of the rites observed on the 1st of January



in connection with this belief, in honour of Diva Angerona, whose image appeared with her mouth bound and sealed up. This mystic name tradition reports to have been Valencia.

The most recent view of the name of the beast, from the pen of a Christian writer, we find in *Hyponoia, or Thoughts on a Spiritual Understanding of the Apocalypse*, London 1844. 'The number in question (666) is expressed in Greek by three letters of the alphabet; χ, six hundred; ξ, sixty; στ, six. Let us suppose these letters to be the initials of certain names, as it was common with the ancients in their inscriptions upon coins, medals, monuments, etc., to indicate names of distinguished characters by initial letters, and sometimes by an additional letter, where the initial might be considered insufficient, as C. Caius, Cn. Cneus. The Greek letter χ (ch) is the initial of Χριστός (Christ); the letter ξ is the initial of ξύλον (wood or tree)—sometimes figuratively put in the N. T. for the cross; and in the Revelation applied to the tree of life, the spiritual cross. The last letter σ is equivalent to σ and τ, but whether an s or an st, it is the initial of the word Satan, Satan, or the adversary. Taking the two first names in the genitive, and the last in the nominative, we have the following appellation, name, or title: Χριστοῦ ξύλου σατανᾶς, 'the adversary of the cross of Christ,' a character corresponding with that of certain enemies of the truth, described by Paul (Phil. iii. 19).' The spiritual hyponoia, or underthought, embodied in this the author thus states: 'Any doctrine tending to represent the intervention of a divine propitiation as unnecessary, or militating with a belief and trust in the vicarious sacrifice of Jesus, as the only hope of salvation, must be an adversary of the cross of Christ; of this character we consider every principle of self-righteousness,' etc. (See Ansaldo, *De Romana Tutelar. Deor evocatione*, Brix. 1743; Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, iii. 9; Cellar., *Rolit.*, i. p. 632, seq.; Mannert., *Geog.*, ix. 1. 581, seq.; Sachse, *Versuch ein Hist. Topogr. Beschreib. von Rom*, Hannov. 1812; Hilscher, *De Christo cuius mention. fecit Suet.*, Lips.; also Ernesti and Wolf, *ad Sueton.*; Eichhorn, *Comm. in Apocal.*, p. 104, seq.)

ROOF. [HOUSE.]

ROOM. [HOUSE.]

ROOS, MAGNUS FRIEDRICH, successively pastor at Stuttgart and Göppingen, superintendent at Lustnau, and prelate at Anhausen, was born 6th September 1727, and died 19th March 1803. He was a voluminous writer, but only two of his works are now of importance. The one is *Fundamenta Psychologie Sacrae*, Tübing. 1769; the other, *Auslegung der Weissagungen Daniels*, Tübing. 1770. Both these works are held in high repute in Germany (see Delitzsch, *Syst. der Bibl. Psychologie*, p. 7; Auberlen, *Der Proph. Daniel*, p. 20, Bas. 1854); the latter has been translated into English by the late Dr. E. Henderson, Edin. 1811.—W. L. A.

ROSE. [CHABBAZZELETH; RHODON.]

ROSENMÜLLER, ERNST FRIEDRICH, KARL, was born 10th December 1768, at Hessburg, near Hildburghausen. After studying at Erlangen and Giessen, he entered the university of Leipzig, where the rest of his life was spent. In 1792 he became a docent there; in 1796, professor-extraordinary of Arabic; and in 1813, ordinary professor

of Oriental languages—an office which he held till his death on the 17th September 1835. His time was divided between the duties of his professorship and the pursuit of Biblical studies. Of his numerous publications, all of which are of high value, the following are the most important:—*Institutiones ad fundam. linguæ Arabicæ*, Lips. 1818; *Analecta Arabica*, 3 vols., Lips. 1824-27; *Scholia in Vetus Test.*, 16 vols., Lips. 1788-1817; *Eadem in compendium redacta*, 5 vols., Lips. 1823-31; *Handbuch für die literatur der Bibl. Kritik u. Exegese*, 4 vols., Gött. 1797-1800; *Handbuch der Bibl. Alterthumskunde*, 4 vols., Leipz. 1823-31; *Das alte u. neue Morgenlande oder erläuterungen der II. S. aus der natürlichen beschaffenheit der Sagen, Sitten u. Gebräuchen des Morgentl.*, 6 vols., Leipz. 1816-20.—W. L. A.

ROSENMÜLLER, JOHANN GEORG, father of the preceding, was born at Ummerstädt 18th December 1736. He was successively pastor at Hildburghausen, Hessburg, and Königsberg in Franconia; and professor of theology at Erlangen, at Geissen, and at Leipzig, at which last place he also held the office of pastor of the church of St. Thomas and superintendent. He died there 14th March 1815. He exerted considerable influence both on religious opinion and on education in Germany during his long and active life, but is now remembered only as the author of *Scholia in Nov. Test.*, 5 vols., Norimb. 1777, of which the 6th edition, partly edited by his son after his death, appeared 1815-31 [COMMENTARY].—W. L. A.

ROSH (רוֹשׁ and רוֹשֵׁ) occurs in several places of the O. T. The word is thought originally to signify 'poison,' and is therefore supposed to indicate a poisonous plant. But this has not yet been ascertained. It is sometimes translated *gall*, sometimes *bitter* or *bitterness*, but is generally considered to signify some plant. This we may infer from its being frequently mentioned along with *laanah* or 'wormwood' (comp. Deut. xxix. 18; Jer. ix. 15; xxiii. 15; Lament. iii. 19; Amos vi. 12). That it was a berry-bearing plant has been inferred from Deut. xxxii. 32, 'For their vine is of the vine of Sodom, and their grapes are grapes of gall (*rosh*), their clusters are bitter.' In Jer. viii. 14, 'water of gall' (*rosh*) is mentioned; which may be either the expressed juice of the fruit or of the plant, or a bitter infusion made from it; 'aquæ Rosch dicuntur, quia sunt succus herbæ, quam Rosch appellant.' That it was a plant is very evident from Hosea x. 4, where it is said 'their judgment springeth up as *hemlock* (*rosh*) in the furrows of the field.' Here we observe that *rosh* is translated *hemlock* in the A. V., as it is also in Amos vi. 12.

Though *rosh* is generally acknowledged to indicate some plant, yet a variety of opinions have been entertained respecting its identification: some, as the A. V. in Hosea x. 4, and Amos vi. 12, consider *cicuta* or *hemlock* to be the plant intended. Tremellius adopts this as the meaning of *rosh* in all the passages, and is followed by Celsius (*Hierobot.* ii. 49). The *cicuta* of the Romans, the *κάνειον* of the Greeks, is generally acknowledged to have been what we now call *hemlock*, the *conium maculatum* of botanists. There can be no doubt of its poisonous nature, 'Cicuta venenum est publica Atheniensium poena invisâ' (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxv. 13). There is, however, little or no proof adduced that *rosh* is



*hemlock*. Celsius quotes the description of Linnaeus in support of its growing in the furrows of fields, 'Frequens per Europam in ruderalis, juxta pagos, urbes, in sepibus, aggeribus, agris.' But it does not appear to be so common in Syria. Celsius, however, adduces Ben Melech, the most learned of Rabbins, as being of opinion that *rosh* was *contium* or *hemlock*: 'Aque Rosch, virus; barbore toxicum. Herba est, cujus succum bibendum porrigunt illi, quem interimere volunt.'

But there does not appear any necessity for our considering *rosh* to have been more poisonous than *laanah* or *wormwood*, with which it is associated so frequently as to appear like a proverbial expression. Some have erroneously translated it *wormwood*, from which it is sufficiently distinguished in the above passages. The Sept. translators render it *agrostis*, intending some species of grass. Hence some have concluded that it must be *lolium tenuilentum*, or *darnel*, the zizanium of the ancients, which is remarkable among grasses for its poisonous and intoxicating properties. It is, however, rather sweetish in taste, and its seeds being intermixed with corn are sometimes made into bread. It is well known to grow in corn-fields, and would therefore suit the passage of Hosea; but it has not a berry-like fruit, nor would it yield any juice: the infusion in water, however, might be so understood, though it would not be very bitter or disagreeable in taste. Some have in consequence thought that some of the *solanæ* or *luride* of Linnaeus might be intended by the word *rosh*. These are remarkable for their narcotic properties, though not particularly bitter; some of them have berried fruits, as the *belladonna*, which, however, is not indigenous in Palestine; but *solanum nigrum*, common nightshade, a small herbaceous plant, is common in fields and road-sides from Europe to India, and is narcotic like the others. The *henbane* is another plant of this family, which is possessed of powerful narcotic properties, and has been used in medicine from early times, both by the Greeks and Asiatics. But no proof appears in favour of any of this tribe, and their sensible properties are not so remarkably disagreeable as to have led to their being employed in what appears to be a proverbial expression. Hiller, in his *Hierophyton* (ii. 54), adduces the *centaury* as a bitter plant, which corresponds with much of what is required. Two kinds of *centaury*, the larger and smaller, and both conspicuous for their bitterness, were known to the ancients. The latter, the *Erythraea centaury*, is one of the family of gentians, and still continues to be employed as a medicine on account of its bitter and tonic properties (Plin. xxv. c. 6). From the extreme bitterness of taste, from growing in fields, and being a native of warm countries, some plant like *centaury*, and of the tribe of gentians, might answer all the passages in which *rosh* is mentioned, with the exception of that (Deut. xxxii. 32) where it is supposed to have a berried fruit. Dr. Harris, quoting Blaney on Jer. viii. 14, says, 'In Ps. lxix. 21, which is justly considered as a prophecy of our Saviour's sufferings, it is said, 'they gave me *רֹאשׁ* to eat,' which the Sept. have rendered *χολή*, gall. And accordingly it is recorded in the history (Matt. xxvii. 34), 'They gave him vinegar to drink, mingled with gall,' *ὄξος μετὰ χολῆς*. But in the parallel passage (Mark xv. 23) it is said to be 'wine mingled with myrrh,' a very

bitter ingredient. From whence I am induced to think that *χολή*, and perhaps *רֹאשׁ*, may be used as a general name for whatever is exceedingly bitter; and, consequently, when the sense requires, it may be put specially for any bitter herb or plant, the infusion of which may be called *רֹאשׁ*, 'Aque Rosch.'—J. F. R.

ROSSI or RUBEIS, AZZARIAH (= BONAJUTO) DE, was born, 1513, in Mantua, of the celebrated family called in Hebrew *הארומים* = *De Rossi*, who, like the families *התפוחים* = *De Pomis*, *העננים*, and *הנערים*, traced their origin to those Jews who were led into captivity after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus and Vespasian. Naturally endowed with extraordinary powers of mind, keenness of perception, refinement of taste, and with an insatiable desire for the acquisition of knowledge, De Rossi, or *Azariah Min Ha-Adomim*, as the Jews call him, devoted himself from his very youth with unwearied assiduity and zeal to the study of Hebrew literature, and of medicine as his profession. His exclusive application to the acquisition of Talmudic lore was, however, providentially interrupted. The infamous edict of Pope Julius III. (1553) for the destruction of the Talmud and the Rabbinic writings, in consequence of which numerous volumes of Hebrew works were committed to the flames in Rome, Bologna, Venice, Ancona, Padua, etc.—in Cremona alone 10,000 volumes of the Talmud, and 1000 copies of a commentary on the Pentateuch being destroyed—De Rossi was led to study archaeology, history, and the writings of ancient Greece and Rome, and the Fathers, as this wholesale extermination made Hebrew books scarce. These acquisitions were of great use to him afterwards, when he devoted himself more especially to the archaeology of the Hebrews, and to the criticism of the Hebrew language and sacred text. Having prosecuted his studies in Mantua, Ferrara, Ancona, Sabionetta, Bologna, etc., he went back to Ferrara with the accumulated learning of more than half a century, the results of which he now communicated to the world in his celebrated work entitled *מאור עינים*, *The Light of the Eyes*, which appeared in Mantua 1574-75. This remarkable work, which is an encyclopedia of Biblical literature, consists of three parts, subdivided into chapters as follows—Part I., entitled, *קול אלהים*, *The Voice of the Lord*, which was occasioned by the terrible earthquake at Ferrara, Nov. 18 and 19, 1570, and which De Rossi witnessed, contains a dissertation on the theory of earthquakes according to the Bible and the Talmudic writings, giving also at the same time the opinions of Plutarch, Seneca, Pliny, and other ancients, as well as of moderns, on this subject. Nearly the whole of this part has been translated into Latin by Hottinger in his dissertation on earthquakes. Part II., entitled *הדרת זקנים*, *The Glory of Old Men*, gives an account of the origin of the Septuagint and is a Hebrew translation of Aristæus' History of this Greek Version. This part was published separately, Vilna 1818. Part III. is entitled *מאורי בינה*, *Words of Understanding*; it consists of four sections (*מאורים*), subdivided into sixty chapters (*פרקים*), as follows:—The first section (*מאור א*), embracing cap. i.-xiii., treats on the use of the Fathers and heathen writings, Philo, the Jewish sects, especially the Essenes, the Septuagint and the Aramaic versions, the history of the Jews in Alexandria



and Cyrene, the Bar Kochba revolts, the ten tribes, the Talmudic story about Alexander the Great's entry into Jerusalem, and on the Talmudic theory of nature. The second section (**מאמר ב'**), embracing cap. xiv.-xxviii., contains treatises on the explanation of Scripture by ancient sages, on the Midrash and Hagadic exegesis, on sundry striking differences between Christian and Jewish writers, the old Persian list of kings, on the different eras of the Jewish chronology, Josephus, on the ancient chronicle entitled *Seder Olam*, on the series of high-priests during the second temple, etc. etc. The third section (**מאמר ג'**), embracing cap. xxix.-xliv., contains treatises on the Biblical chronology and the Jewish calendar, on old Persian kings, extracts from and criticisms on Philo, Josephus, etc. etc. Whilst the fourth section (**מאמר ד'**), embracing cap. xlv.-lx., contains treatises on the difference between Onkelos and Aquila, on the sacerdotal vestments, on the prayers used by the Jews, on the literature and chronology of the Samaritans, on the antiquity of Hebrew language, on the history of the Hebrew text, on the use of the Aramaic among the Jews, on the antiquity of the letters and the vowel points, on Hebrew poetry. The following chapters of this part have been translated into Latin by Bartolocci: cap. ix. and xxii., in his *Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica*, i. 680, ii. 800; by Bochart, cap. xvi. and xxi. in his *Hierozoicon*; Buxtorf, cap. ix., xlii., lix., in his *Tractatus de Antiquitate Punctorum*, Basel 1648; cap. l. and lx. in his translation of *Kusari*, Basel 1660; cap. lvi. and lviii. in his *Dissertationes*, etc., Basel 1662; by Meyer, cap. viii., xiv., and xix. in his version of the **סדר עולם**, Amst. 1699; by Morin, cap. iii., v., vii., ix., xix., xx., xlviii., in his *Exercitationes Biblicæ*, Paris 1638, 1699; and by Vorst, cap. xxiii., xxv., xxxiii., xxxv., in his version of the **צמות דוד**, Leyden 1644. There are English translations of cap. xvi. by Raphael, *Hebrew Review*, vol. ii., London 1837; and of cap. lx. by Bishop Lowth in the preliminary dissertation to his translation of Isaiah, p. xxviii., etc., ed. London 1835. This brief analysis of its contents will show, to some extent, the great importance of this work to the student of the Bible, and to the critic of the O. T. text. De Rossi has brought together in the *Meor Enajim* a mass of ancient Jewish information bearing on the sacred text and on Biblical literature which can hardly be found elsewhere. One chapter of this remarkable cyclopaedia of Biblical literature sufficed to suggest the idea of Hebrew poetry to the erudite Bishop Lowth [Lowth]. De Rossi has criticised his material in so liberal a manner that many of the Jews proscribed the work, whilst others wrote in refutation of some of his liberal criticisms. Prominent amongst these were R. Moses Provençale of Mantua, and R. Isaac Finzi of Pisari. De Rossi subjoined to some copies of the *Meor Enajim* itself a reply to the former, and wrote a separate work, entitled **ספר מצור לנכס**, *The Refining-pot for Silver*, after Prov. xvii. 3. This work, which is an essential supplement to the *Meor Enajim*, has only recently been published by Filipowski, Edinburgh 1854. Dr. Ginsburg possesses De Rossi's own copy of the *Meor Enajim* with the author's autograph emendations and extensive additions, which are of great importance to Biblical literature, and which will shortly be published. De Rossi died Nov. 1577, in the neighbourhood of Mantua.

Comp. Zunz, *Biography of De Rossi* in the *Hebrew Annual*, entitled *Kerem Chemed*, vol. v. p. 131, etc., Prague 1841; Rappaport's *Additions to this Biography*, *ibid.* 159, etc.; *Supplement to the Biography of De Rossi*, by Zunz, in the same annual, vol. vii. p. 119, etc., Prague 1843; the biography by the same author prefixed to De Rossi's **מצור לנכס**; Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, col. 747; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, iii. 171-174.—C. D. G.

ROSSI, JOHN BERNARD DE, an eminent Orientalist, and one of the most distinguished Hebraists, was born at Castel-Nuovo in Piedmont, October 25, 1742. Having manifested a great passion for learning from his very youth, and being desirous to become an ecclesiastic, he resorted to the University of Turin (1763), where his extraordinary progress in Hebrew secured for him a doctor's degree in 1766, whilst his indefatigable industry in the acquisition of the cognate as well as modern languages, was rewarded by a place in the Royal Library at Turin in 1769. His fame as an Orientalist was now established, and when the Duke of Parma founded the university at his capital, he invited the Abbé de Rossi to occupy the chair of Oriental Languages, which office he held for forty years. It was during the long years of his professional career that he amassed his extraordinary collection of Hebrew MSS., established the famous printing-office, and issued those numerous works on Biblical and Hebrew literature which have immortalised his name. His works on Biblical criticism and Hebrew literature are as follows—(1.) *De præcipuis caussis et momentis neglectæ a nonnullis hebr. litt. discipline*, Turin 1769, Tübingen 1782; (2.) *Della lingua propria, di Cristo e degli ebrei nazionali del tempo dei Maccabei*, Parma 1772; (3.) *Della vana aspettazione degli ebrei del loro Messia*, Parma 1773; (4.) *De Hebraicæ Typographiæ origine ac primitiis commentatio*, Parma 1776, Erlangen 1778; (5.) *Annali ebreo-tipografici di Sabbioneta*, Parma 1780; (6.) *De Typographia hebr.—Ferrar. Comment. historicus*, Parma 1780; (7.) *Apparatus hebræo-biblicus sive MSS. editique codices sacri textus*, Parma 1782; (8.) *De ignotis nonnullis antiquissimis hebr. textus Editionibus ac critico earum usu. Accedit de editionibus hebræo-biblicis appendix historico-critica ad nuperimam Bibliothecam Sacram Le-Longio-Maschianam*, Erlangen 1783; (9.) *Specimen variarum lectionum sacri textus et Chaldaica Estheris additamenta cum latinâ versione ac notis*, Rome 1782; (10.) *Varie Lectiones veteris testamenti*, 4 vols. 4to, Parma 1784-1788.—De Rossi undertook this work, so important to the criticism of the O. T. text, on account of the omissions and imperfections he perceived in the similar production of Kennicott. With the numerous MSS. at Rome and the various cities of Italy, and his own matchless library, and with his great industry and learning, he was enabled to embody in these volumes not only Kennicott's collection verified, but the results of the collation of 731 MSS. and additional MSS., 300 editions, the ancient versions, as well as of the Rabbinic and Massoretic writings. Prefixed to these volumes are elaborate prolegomena, in which he gives an account of the work, as well as of the MSS. and printed editions he used, and lays down ninety-three critical canons; (11.) *Schol. crit. in V. T. libr. S. supplementa ad varias sacri textus lectt.*, Parma

1798—in this supplement to the preceding work De Rossi gives extracts from new sources; (12.) *Annales hebræo-typograph.*, sec. xv.-xvi., Parma 1795; (13.) *Bibliotheca Judaica antichristiana*, Parma 1800; (14.) *Dizionario storico degli autori ebraici e delle loro opere*, 2 vols., Parma 1802. This biographical and bibliographical dictionary, which is extremely useful to Biblical literature, has been translated into German by Dr. Hamberger, Leipzig 1839. A most elaborate review of this work, with important additions to it, was published by Geiger in his *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift*, vol. iv., Stuttgart 1839, p. 419-448; (15.) *Codices hebraici in Bibliotheca F. B. de Rossi descripti et cum notis historicis illustrati*, 3 vols., Parma 1803; (16.) *Lexicon hebraicum selectum quo ex antiquo et inedito R. Parchonis Lexico novas ac diversas variorum ac difficiliorum vocum significaciones sistit*, Parma 1805; (17.) *Annali ebraico-tipografici di Cremona*, Parma 1808; (18.) *Compendio di critica sacra*, Ibid. 1811; (19.) *Libri stampati di Lett. sacre ebraica ed orientale della sua Bibliot.*, Ibid. 1812; (20.) *Introduzione della Sacra Scrittura*, Ibid. 1817; and (21.) *Sinopsi della ermeneutica sacra*, Ibid. 1819; also translations into Italian of the Psalms (Parma 1808), and of Lamentations (Ibid. 1813). After refusing tempting offers for his library from the German emperor, the king of Spain, Pope Pius VI., and the duke of Wurtemberg, he parted with it to the archduchess Maria-Louise for 100,000 francs in 1816. He retired from his laborious office in 1821, when he was decorated with the order of a knight of St. Constantine, and died at Parma 1831, in the eighty-ninth year of his age. Comp. Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, col. 2151-2153; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, iii. 174, 175; Davidson, *Biblical Criticism*, p. 155, etc., Edinburgh 1854; *Biographie Universelle*, new ed., vol. xxxvi. p. 521, etc.—C. D. G.



454. *Genista monosperma*.

ROTHEM (רֹתֵם), a shrub under which a person might repose (1 Kings xix. 4, 5), the roots of

which might be used for food, though only by the most destitute (Job xxx. 4), and which was used for fuel (Ps. cxv. 4). The older interpreters identify it with the *juniper*, and so the word is rendered in the A. V. But it is now generally admitted that it is the *genista* or *broom* (*genista spartium* or *ratam* of Forskål) which is referred to in these passages. The Arabic name for this is *Ratam*, which is evidently identical with the Hebrew *Rothem*. The roots, though edible, 'are very bitter, and are regarded by the Arabs as yielding the best charcoal. This illustrates Job xxx. 4, and Ps. cxv. 4; comp. Burekhardt, p. 483' (Robinson, *Bib. Res.*, i. 299; see also Kitto, *Palestine*; Thomson, *Land and Book*, ii. p. 436, ff.)—W. L. A.

RUBY. [PENINIM; KAD-KOD.]

RUFUS (ΡΟΥΦΟΣ). A person of this name was one of the sons of Simon the Cyrenian, who was compelled to bear the cross of Christ (Mark xv. 21): he is supposed to be the same with the Rufus to whom Paul, in writing to the Romans, sends his greeting in the remarkable words, 'Salute Rufus chosen in the Lord, and his mother and mine' (Rom. xvi. 13). The name is Roman; but the man was probably of Hebrew origin. He is said to have been one of the seventy disciples, and eventually to have had charge of the church at Thebes.—J. K.

RUMAH (רֹמָה, 'elevation'; Ρομά; Alex. Ρομά; *Ruma*). It is said in 2 Kings xxiii. 36, of the mother of king Jehoiakim, that 'she was the daughter of Pedaiah of Rumah.' The name is not again mentioned, and there is no guide to its geographical position. Keil says, 'perhaps רֹמָה is the same with אֲרֻמָּה (Judg. ix. 41) in the neighbourhood of Shechem' (*Comment.*, ad loc.) Jerome appears to have held the same opinion, but he locates the town near Diospolis, on the plain of Sharon (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Ruma*).—J. L. P.

RUSH. [AGMON.]

RUTH (רוּת; Sept. Ρούθ), a Moabitish woman, brought, under peculiar circumstances, into intimate relation with the stock of Israel, and whose history is given in one of the books of the sacred canon which bears her name. The narrative that brings her into the range of inspired story is constructed with idyllic simplicity and pathos, and forms a pleasant relief to the sombre and repulsive shades of the picture which the reader has just been contemplating in the latter annals of the Judges. It is the domestic history of a family compelled, by the urgency of a famine, to abandon the land of Canaan, and seek an asylum in the territories of Moab.\* Elimelech, the head

\* The period to which this famine is to be referred is a greatly disputed point among commentators. The opinion of Usher, which assigns it to the age of Gideon, and which is a mean between the dates fixed upon by others, carries with it the greatest probability. The oppression of the Midianites, mentioned in Judg. vi. 3-6, which was productive of a famine, and from which Gideon was instrumental in delivering his people, wasted the land and destroyed its increase, 'till thou come unto Gaza;' and this embraced the region in which Judah and Bethlehem were situated. The territory of Judah was also adjacent to Moab, and



of the emigrating household, dies in the land of his sojourn, where his two surviving sons 'took them wives of the women of Moab; the name of the one was Orpah, and the name of the other Ruth.' On the death of the sons, the widowed parent resolving to return to her country and kindred, the filial affection of the daughters-in-law is put to a severe test, and Ruth determines at all hazards to accompany Naomi. She accordingly arrives at Bethlehem with her mother, where, in the extremity of want, she goes to glean after the reapers in the harvest-field of Boaz, a wealthy kinsman of her deceased father-in-law Elimelech. Attracted by her appearance, and informed of her exemplary conduct towards her mother-in-law, Boaz bade her return from day to day, and directed his servants to give her a courteous welcome. An omen so propitious could not but be regarded as a special encouragement to both, and Naomi therefore counselled Ruth to seek an opportunity for intimating to Boaz the claim she had upon him as the nearest kinsman of her deceased husband. A stratagem, which in other circumstances would have been of very doubtful propriety, was adopted for compassing this object; and though Boaz entertained the proposal favourably, yet he replied that there was another person more nearly related to the family than himself, whose title must first be disposed of. Without delay he applied himself to ascertain whether the kinsman in question was inclined to assert his right—a right which extended to a purchase of the ransom (at the Jubilee) of Elimelech's estate. Finding him indisposed to the measure, he obtained from him a release, ratified according to the legal forms of the time, and then proceeded himself to redeem the patrimony of Elimelech, and espoused the widow of his son, in order 'to raise up the name of the dead upon his inheritance.' From this union sprang David, the illustrious king of Israel, whose line the writer traces up, in conclusion, through Boaz, to Pharez son of Judah.—G. B.

RUTH, BOOK OF, is inserted in the canon, according to the English arrangement, between the book of Judges and the books of Samuel, as a sequel to the former and an introduction to the latter. Among the ancient Jews it was added to the book of Judges, because the transactions which it relates happened in the time of the judges of Israel (Ruth i. 1). Several of the ancient Fathers, moreover, make but one book of Judges and Ruth. But the modern Jews commonly place in their Bibles, after the Pentateuch, the five Megilloth—1. The Song of Solomon; 2. Ruth; 3. The Lamentations of Jeremiah; 4. Ecclesiastes; 5. Esther. Sometimes Ruth is placed the first of these, sometimes the second, and sometimes the fifth.

The true *date* and *authorship* of the book are alike unknown. The Talmud (*Baba Bathra*, f. 14. 2) ascribes it to Samuel; and to this most have assented. It is, however, unsupported by

a removal thither was easy and natural. The scourge of Midian endured, moreover, for seven years; and at the expiration of ten years after the deliverance by Gideon was fully consummated, Naomi re-emigrated to her native land. All the circumstances combined favour, mainly, the hypothesis of Usher.

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any evidence beyond that of late traditions. That it was written at a time considerably remote from the events it records, would appear from the passage in ch. iv. 7, which explains a custom referred to as having been 'the manner in former time in Israel concerning redeeming and concerning changing' (comp. Deut. xxv. 9). That it was written, also, at least as late as the establishment of David's house upon the throne, appears from the concluding verse—'And Obed begat Jesse, and Jesse begat David.' The expression, moreover (ch. i. 1), 'when the judges ruled,' marking the period of the occurrence of the events, indicates, no doubt, that in the writer's days kings had already begun to reign. Add to this what critics have considered as certain Chaldaisms with which the language is interspersed, denoting its composition at a period considerably later than that of the events themselves. Thus Eichhorn finds a Chaldaism or Syriasm in the use of נ for ה in מורה, though the same form occurs elsewhere. He adverts also to the existence of a superfluous יod in יסמתי and ירדתי (iii. 3), and שכנתי (ver. 4). As, however, the language is in other respects, in the main, pure, these few Chaldaisms may have arisen from a slight error of the copyists, and therefore can scarcely be alleged as having any special bearing on the era of the document. The same remark is to be made of certain idiomatic phrases and forms of expression which occur elsewhere only in the books of Samuel and of Kings, as—'The Lord do so to me, and more also' (Ruth i. 17; comp. 1 Sam. iii. 17; xiv. 44; xx. 13; 2 Sam. iii. 9, 35; xix. 13; 1 Kings ii. 23; xix. 2; xx. 10; 2 Kings vi. 31); 'I have discovered to your ear,' for 'I have told you' (Ruth iv. 4; comp. 1 Sam. xx. 2; 2 Sam. vii. 27). Ewald (*Gesch.*, i. 207) and Bertheau (*Exeget. Hdb.*, Lief. vi.) would place the writing of the work in the time of or after the captivity; but for so late a date there is no ground.

The *canonical authority* of Ruth has never been questioned, a sufficient confirmation of it being found in the fact that Ruth the Moabitess comes into the genealogy of the Saviour, as distinctly given by the Evangelist (Matt. i. 6). The principal difficulty in regard to the book arises, however, from this very genealogy, in which it is stated that Boaz, who was the husband of Ruth, and the great-grandfather of David, was the son of Salmon by Rachab. Now, if by Rachab we suppose to be meant, as is usually understood, Rahab the harlot who protected the spies, it is not easy to conceive that only three persons—Boaz, Obed, and Jesse—should have intervened between her and David, a period of near 400 years. But the solution of Usher is not improbable, that the ancestors of David, as persons of pre-eminent piety, were favoured with extraordinary longevity. Or it may be that the sacred writers have mentioned in the genealogy only such names as were distinguished and known among the Jews.

The leading scope of the book has been variously understood by different commentators. Umbreit (*Ueber Geist und Zweck des Buches Ruths*, in *Theol. Stud. und Krit.* for 1834, p. 308) thinks it was written with the specific moral design of showing how even a stranger, and that of the hated Moabitish stock, might be sufficiently noble to become the mother of the great king David, because she placed her reliance on the God of Israel.

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Bertholdt regards the history as a pure fiction, designed to recommend the duty of a man to marry his kinswoman; while Eichhorn conceives that it was composed mainly in honour of the house of David, though it does not conceal the poverty of the family. The more probable design we think to be to pre-intimate, by the recorded adoption of a Gentile woman into the family from which Christ was to derive his origin, the final reception of the Gentile nations into the true church, as fellow-heirs of the salvation of the Gospel. The moral lessons which it incidentally teaches are of the most interesting and touching character: that private families are as much the objects of divine regard as the houses of princes; that the present life is a life of calamitous changes; that a devout trust in an overruling Providence will never fail of its reward; and that no condition, however adverse or afflicted, is absolutely hopeless, are truths that were never more strikingly illustrated than in the brief and simple narrative before us.—G. B.

### S.

SAADIA GAON (=RECTOR), *b. Joseph Ha-Pithomi* (הפיתומי), Ha-Mizri (המצרי), called in Arabic *Said Ibn Jaakub al-Fajjumi*. This famous founder of a new exegetical and scientific school among the Rabbins, as well as of a system of moral philosophy, in the middle ages, was born A.D. 892, at Fajum, in Upper Egypt. Very little is known of the events of his youthful life beyond the fact that he distinguished himself as a philosopher, Talmudist, theologian, orator, grammarian, and commentator, when scarcely more than twenty. When little more than twenty-two (914) he published his first production, written in Arabic, and entitled כְּתָאב

אֱלֹהִים עַל עֵץ, *A Refutation of Anan*, the founder of Karaism or Sadduceeism revived. This work has not as yet been found, but from Solomon b. Jerucham's (a celebrated Karaites) rejoinder to it, we learn that the import of it was to refute Anan's doctrines, and to show the necessity of the traditional explanation of the Scriptures as contained in the Rabbinic writings. He urged in support of tradition that the simple words of the Bible are insufficient for the understanding and the performance of the law, since many of the enactments in the Pentateuch are only stated in outline, and require explanation; as in the case of the general prohibition to work on the Sabbath, where the nature of the labour is not defined; that prayer is not at all ordered in the Mosaic law, whilst the necessity of it is referred to an oral communication; that the advent of Messiah and the resurrection of the dead are based upon traditional exegesis; and that the history of the Jews is derived entirely from tradition (comp. Solomon b. Jerucham against Saadia, Alphabet iii. MS.) The rapid strides of Karaism, and the fact that the Karaites were now almost the sole possessors of the field of Biblical exegesis and grammatical research, whilst the orthodox Jews were satisfied with taking the Talmud as their rule of faith and practice, determined Saadia to undertake an Arabic translation of the Scriptures, accompanied by short annotations. His Biblical works are—(1), תַּפְסִיר אֱלֹהִים, *A Translation of the Pentateuch*, with annotations,

which he completed A.D. 915-920. That this translation was accompanied by a commentary is evident from the fact that Ibn Ezra in the introduction to his *Comment. on the Pentateuch* refers to it, and censures its digressions, and that Saadia himself mentions it in his work *On Faith and Doctrine* (אֲמוּנוֹת וּדְרוֹשׁוֹת). The commentary, however, has not as yet come to light, and it is only the Arabic version which has been published, first with the reputed Chaldee paraphrase of Onkelos, the Jewish Persian version of Jacob Tusi, the Hebrew text, and Rashi's Commentary, Constantinople 1546; then in the Paris and London Polyglotts, with a Latin version. To the treatises on Saadia's translation of the Pentateuch mentioned in the article ARABIC VERSIONS in this Cyclopaedia, we must add the thorough critique on it by the learned Leopold Dukes in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der ältesten Auslegung des A. T.*, von Ewald und Dukes, Stuttgart 1844, vol. ii. p. 44, etc. (2), תַּפְסִיר יִשְׁעִיָּה, *A Translation of Isaiah*, finished shortly after the preceding work. This translation was published by H. E. G. Paulus from a MS. in the Bodleian Library (Cod. Pococke, No. 32) of the year 1244, entitled *R. Saadie Phijumensis Versio Isaiae Arabica*, etc., Jena 1790-91. Dissertations and criticisms on this version, as well as many corrections, appeared in Eichhorn's *Allg. Bibliothek der bibl. Literatur*, vol. iii. p. 9, ff., p. 455, ff.; Michaelis' *Neue orient. Bibliothek*, vol. viii. p. 75, ff.; Gesenius, *Der Prophet Isaia*, vol. i. part i. p. 88, ff.; Leipzig 1821. Rappaport, who possesses a MS. of this version, has published some corrections of Paulus' edition in his *Biography of Saadia*, which appeared in the Hebrew *Essays and Reviews*, entitled *Bikure Ha-Filim*, vol. ix. p. 32, etc., Vienna 1828. Munk, who thoroughly re-examined the Bodleian MS., has published some emendations of Paulus' text, and has also corrected sundry errors of Gesenius and Rosenmüller, comp. Cahen's Bible, vol. ix. p. 101, etc., Paris 1838. [CAHEN.] (3), תַּפְסִיר זְבוּר דָּוִד, *A Translation of the Psalms of David*, with annotations. Two MSS. of this commentary, the one written with Hebrew letters, and the other with Rabbinic characters, are in the Bodleian Library (Cod. Pococke, No. 281 [Uri 39], and Cod. Hunt. 416 [Uri 49]), and one is in Munich. Schnurrer published in 1790 from the first-named Bodleian MS. Ps. xvi., xl., and cx., in Eichhorn's *Allgemeine Bibliothek der bibl. Literatur*, vol. iii. p. 425-438. Ps. lxxviii., with the annotations, was published by Professor Haneberg from the Munich MS. in his treatise entitled *Ueber die in einer Münchener Hs. aufbehaltene arabische Psalmbüchersetzung des R. Saadia Gaon; mit einer Probe*, Munich 1841. Whilst Ewald published from a collation of all the three MSS. the entire translation of Ps. i.-v., and excerpts of the commentary on the whole Psalter, with excellent critical remarks of his own, in the *Beiträge zur Geschichte der ältesten Auslegung des A. T.*, vol. i. p. 1-74. (4), תַּפְסִיר אִיּוֹב, *A translation of Job*, with annotations, entitled כְּתָאב אֱלֹהִים, *The Book of Justification*, or *Theodicaea*. Excerpts of this version, and annotations from the only MS. extant (Bodleian Library, Cod. Hunt. 511), have been published by Ewald, with a German translation by the learned editor in the same *Beiträge*, etc., p. 75-115. (5), פְּרוֹשׁ עַל שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים, *A Commentary on the Song of Songs*. This com-



mentary, which is a free translation into Hebrew of Saadia's Arabic work, was first published, together with Ibn Caspi's and Jacob Provencali's expositions of the same book, by Isaac Akhrish, Constantinople, circa 1579; then separately by Solomon b. David Moses, under the title פֶּרֶשׁ סַעֲדִיָּה, Prague 1608. Excerpts of the extremely rare Constantinople edition, with an English translation, have been published by Ginsburg, *Historical and Critical Commentary on the Song of Songs*, Longman 1857, p. 36, etc. Saadia also made translations of and wrote commentaries on the other four Megilloth—viz., Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther—as well as the Minor Prophets and the Book of Daniel, which are only known by quotations from them in the works of Ibn Ezra, Kimchi, Salomon b. Jerucham, and other Jewish expositors and lexicographers. Moreover, he was the first non-Karaite Jew who wrote grammatical and lexical works on the language of the Hebrew Scriptures. All these works, however, have become a prey to time, and are only known from quotations in other treatises on the same subjects, with the exception of his work on the seventy

תַּפְסִיר אֶלְסַבְעִין לַפְטָה, entitled ἀπαξ λεγόμενα, which has been published by Dukes in the above-named *Beiträge*, etc., vol. ii. p. 110-115, and again with important corrections in Geiger's *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift*, vol. v. p. 317-324, Leipzig 1844. The commentary on Daniel, printed in the Rabbinic Bibles under the name Saadia Gaon [RABBINIC BIBLES], is not his, as has been proved to demonstration by Rappaport in his biography of Saadia, *Bikure Ha-Ḥitum*, vol. ix. p. 34, etc., Vienna 1828.

All these works Saadia wrote between A.D. 915 and 928—i. e., before he was thirty-six years of age. So great was the reputation which these literary works secured for him, that David b. Sakkai, the prince of the captivity (נְשִׂיא), sent for him to come to Sora in Babylon [EDUCATION], where he was appointed Gaon of the academy (928), a dignity which had never before been conferred upon any but the sages of Babylon, who were selected from the learned teachers of their own academies. After occupying this high office a little more than two years (928-30), he was deposed through the jealousy of others and his own unflinching integrity. He however retained his office in the presence of an anti-Gaon for nearly three years more (930-933), when he had to relinquish his dignity altogether. He then retired to Bagdad, where he resided as a private individual for four years (933-937), and composed sacred poems, compiled a prayer-book, and wrote against the celebrated Massorite Aaron b. Asher [BEN ASHER], as well as those two philosophical works—viz., the commentary on the *Book Jezira*, and the treatise entitled *Faith and Doctrine* (אֱמוּנָה וְדַעַת)—which were the foundation of the first system of ethical philosophy among the Jews. He was re-installed in his office as Gaon of Sora in 937, laboured in the academy for five years, raising it to the highest state of prosperity, and died in 942, in the fiftieth year of his age. In his translations and expositions of the Bible, Saadia tells us, in the introduction to the Pentateuch (*London Polyglott*, vol. vi., beginning), he had a threefold object in view—i. He was desirous to render the Holy Scriptures accessible to the people at large; ii. To demolish Karaism, which was

then undermining the Talmudic interpretation, thus in fact to preserve the traditional against the Karaite exegesis; and iii. To oppose the fanaticism and perverseness of the mystics who took the anthropomorphisms of the Bible literally, and formed to themselves the grossest representations of the Deity, ascribing to him a body, sensuous organs, passions, etc. It was this anxiety to effect a harmony between the teachings of the Bible, the Talmud, and philosophy, which made him paraphrase loosely and interpret unnaturally every passage which, in its obvious sense, did not square with the traditional exegesis, or with his philosophical notions. Thus, *ex. gr.*, as he did not admit the existence of an evil principle, or Satan, in opposition to the Deity, he maintained that Satan, who is spoken of in the Book of Job as the tempter, was not a demoniac power, but a human adversary; 'for,' says he, 'if we believe that an angel is capable of envy and jealousy, we shall also have to concede that he has other passions and sensuous desires, which is contrary to the idea of angels' (comp. *The Fragment of Saadia's Commentary on Job* in Munk's *Notice sur Saadia*, p. 8). The Arabic style of his translation is pure and elegant. He often shows his mastery of the two languages by selecting such expressions in his version as correspond in their sound to the original Hebrew. Unlike his Jewish brethren who wrote Arabic, he employed Arabic letters. (Comp. Ibn Ezra, *Commentary on Gen.* ii. 11.)

*Literature.*—Rappaport, *Biography of R. Saadia Gaon*, in the *Hebrew Essays and Reviews*, entitled *Bikure Ha-Ḥitum*, vol. ix. p. 20-37, Vienna 1828; Geiger, *Recensionen Rappaport's Biographien* in *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift*, vol. i. p. 182, etc., Frankfurt-on-the-Maine 1835, *ibid.* vol. v. p. 261, etc., Leipzig 1844; Munk, *Notice sur Rabbi Saadia Gaon et sa version Arabe* in Cahen's *Bible*, vol. ix. p. 73, etc., Paris 1838; Ewald and Dukes, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der ältesten Auslegung des Alten Testaments*, vol. i. p. 1-115; vol. ii. p. 5-115, Stuttgart 1844; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, i. 266-271; Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana* 2156-2224; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. v. pp. 302, ff.; 529, ff.—C. D. G.

SAALSCHÜTZ, JOSEPH LEVIN, was born in Königsburg, March 15, 1801. Being the rabbi of the place, his father gave him a thoroughly good Hebrew education, sent him to the gymnasium, and afterwards to the university, where he especially distinguished himself in the department of Hebrew archæology, and published in 1824, when only twenty-three years of age, an elaborate treatise on the *Urim and Thummim*, for which he obtained the degree of *Doctor of Philosophy*. Twelve months later he published *Von der Form der Hebr. Poesie nebst einer Abhandlung über die Musik der Hebräer*, Königsberg 1825. The first treatise on poetry he republished, with two additional treatises, entitled *Form and Spirit of the Biblical Hebrew Poetry*, *ibid.* 1853. He then went to Berlin, where he was engaged in the Jewish public school (1825-29), and prosecuted his archæological researches. In 1829 the Jews in Vienna invited him to become teacher of religion, which office he held for five years, when he received an invitation from the community of his native place to become their pastor (1835). Here he more than ever spent all the

time which he could snatch from his professional duties to the investigation of Biblical archaeology, and published the following treatises in this department, which are so indispensable to the student of the Bible:—1. *Forschungen im Gebiete der hebräisch-ägyptischen Archäologie*, 3 vols., Königsberg 1838-49; 2. *Das Mosaische Recht*, 2 vols., 1846-48, 2d ed., Berlin 1863; 3. *Archäologie der Hebräer*, 2 vols., *ibid.* 1856; 4. *Die Ehe nach biblischer Vorstellung*, *ibid.* 1858. So great was his reputation as a scholar, that he was the first Jew who was appointed as *Privatdocent* in philosophy at the University of Königsberg, in 1849, and afterwards became honorary professor. Saalschütz died August 23, 1863.—C. D. G.

**SABAOTH, LORD GOD OF.** An appellation of God indicative of his majesty, authority, and power (Rom. iv. 29; James v. 4). Sabaoth stands for the Hebrew צְבָאוֹת, *Tsebaoth*, the plural of צֶבֶא, *an army, a host*; and with the exception of the two passages cited, it is translated in the A. V. 'hosts.' The title 'Jehovah God of Hosts,' or simply 'Jehovah of Hosts,' occurs frequently in the prophetic books of the O. T. It is not found in the Pentateuch, in Joshua, in Judges, in Ezekiel, in Job, or in the writings of Solomon. That it has reference to the dominion of Jehovah over the angels and over the powers of heaven is an opinion which has all but universal assent in its favour, and is not likely to be superseded by the notion, which some have advanced, that it is of Jehovah as the leader of the armies of Israel that this title is used.—W. L. A.

**SABBATH; LORD'S DAY.** We have decided to place these two subjects in juxtaposition, and to treat them in the same article, not because we believe the Sabbath and the Lord's Day identical, or that there are not very important differences between them, but on account of the many analogies which, in spite of those differences, subsist between them, as regards their general character and purpose; and more especially because both have been so often considered together in the voluminous controversies to which they have given rise, that it is almost impossible to treat the one without frequent reference to the other.

**I. SABBATH, שַׁבָּת**, a day of rest. Its derivation is, by general concurrence, from שָׁבַת, signifying to 'rest,' to 'cease from action.' This is so natural, and so obviously connected with Gen. ii. 2, 3, that it does not seem worth while to say anything more respecting its etymology.

The Pentateuch, after giving the narrative of the creation, declares (Gen. ii. 2, 3) that the Sabbath was designed to commemorate the completion of the work. It must in candour, we think, be admitted that it does not necessarily follow, from that reference, that the institution of the day, as a day that was to be dedicated to 'rest, social enjoyment, and worship,' dates from that time. The reference may have been *proleptical*. It is possible, assuredly, that the writer may here refer to it, because he is treating of the events in relation to which (though at a later date) the Sabbath was actually instituted. But it can hardly be doubted by any intelligent and candid reader that the words most naturally suggest at least this much:—that the author's design was to intimate that, from the earliest age of the world, the day had

had a notable mark set upon it; that it was 'set apart,' to be to some extent 'hallowed' in the traditions of men, and encircled with associations of reverence, by the sanction of God. That this was the accepted tradition of the writer himself, and of the people for whom he wrote, certainly seems the more natural interpretation of the words.

Nor is it very easy to account for certain facts, either of sacred or profane history, without supposing as much as this.\* Whether the seventh day was regarded as consecrated to religious worship or not, it is difficult to account for the very general adoption, among so many nations of the ancient world, of the hebdomadal reckoning, without supposing some primitive traditions which sanctioned the ideas of a peculiar reverence due to this day. Some have endeavoured, we are aware, to show that the septimadal division of time may have resulted from associations connected with 'seven' as a sacred number, or as the highest 'prime number' under the decimal system of notation! But these are surely most fanciful and perfectly gratuitous reasons. There is no proof that any investigations of the properties of 'prime numbers' troubled the heads of men at that early period of the world's history, nor if they had, do they show why any peculiar notions of the sacredness of such and such a number should have grown out of them. It is surely much more natural to suppose that a tradition, originating in some presumed fact, gave rise to this peculiar partition of time, than to suppose it the result of abstract reasoning on the properties of numbers, or an unaccountable propensity to attach moral significance to some of these, apart from some such tradition. Neither does any such theory account for the adoption of the custom in question among widely different—many of them comparatively barbarous—nations, and far distant from one another in place. When presumed facts have once been generally admitted, and have led on to customs, then (especially if traditions have grown dim), it is very natural for the human mind to account for or illustrate such customs by referring them to abstract speculations of philosophy, or the analogies (often faint enough) of imagination. But even this supposes the culture and development, to a considerable extent, of the philosophic faculties, and leisure to indulge in such speculative luxury. It is certainly difficult to imagine the bulk of the early nations, especially if they were (as so often supposed) in a condition of primitive rudeness, either prone to speculate on the properties of 'prime numbers,' or learnedly idle enough to found upon them physical or moral mysteries. It is much as if it were contended that the idea of the trinity arose from a general reverence for the properties of the 'trinal' number; or that of the divine unity from profound speculations on the powers of the 'unit;' or the tradition which

\* Though our eyes are not sharp enough to see, in the brief history of the patriarchal ages, what some commentators have professed to discover, traces of such an observance of the seventh day as was enjoined upon the Jews (Dr. Wardlaw's reply to Paley on this point—founded on the succinctness of the narrative—though ingenious, seems altogether unsatisfactory), yet there are several incidents mentioned, especially in the history of Noah, which argue the familiar and recognised division of time by weeks.



traces the origin of all mankind to one pair, from the notions of 'duality.' In fact, to attempt to account for the very general custom of a septimand measure of time by any such fanciful hypothesis seems nothing better than an example of *ὁστρερον πρότερον*; especially when we reflect that the division in question has been found among the rudest as well as the most cultivated of the nations of antiquity.

It is a little more plausible (but still only plausible) to attribute this very general concurrence of the nations in the weekly division of time, to observation of the lunar phases, and so to represent it as nothing more than an instance of a *natural* division of time. This is still, in our judgment, to anticipate the course of human development. It is to suppose the accurate observation of the lunar phenomena, and reasoning upon them, much more early and general than we have any reason to believe they were; and what is more, it is to make the nations (singularly enough) generally concur in taking precisely the same subdivision of the entire cycle of lunar changes, when they might with just as much likelihood have taken another, as in fact some nations seem to have done.\*

That the distinction is not (as is sometimes contended) so *obvious* and *convenient* that it could not well be missed, is sufficiently apparent from the very exceptions, which are *also* much insisted on when the object is to show that it was not *universal*! If this division of time was not only not used, but not even known (which however requires proof), by the acute Greeks and the practical Romans, it does not seem very conclusive to argue from its *obviousness*.

Such a general concurrence, if the effect of observation, would be the more marvellous, that it would imply approximate unanimity in error, where several errors were equally possible. A week is not an exact aliquot part of the month any more than nine days or ten. It would be in fact a *general* concurrence in a similar, but rather refined, error, while other errors were just as likely to be adopted. If one of these divisions were the absolute truth, and also obvious, and *that* had been generally adopted, we should have had more plausible ground for acquiescing in this solution.

The general adoption, therefore, of the septimand period seems more probably due to the diffusion of some primitive tradition, such as is conveyed in the narrative of Genesis. So obvious is the probability of this conclusion, that it may be surmised that the reason for rejecting it, and resorting to such farfetched explanations, originated in strong prejudices against the cosmogony of the first chapter of Genesis, the rejection of which necessitates, of course, the rejection of this particular fragment of the history; else the supposition of a widely-spread immemorial tradition—consecrating,

to some extent, the seventh day—would certainly seem the most natural way of accounting for the very general concurrence in this arbitrary division of time by weekly periods.

The theory of M. Proudhon on this point (see his *De la Célébration du Dimanche*, to which we shall return by and by) is peculiar. Puzzled to account for the hebdomadal division of time, which he believes originally based on that particular ratio of 'labour' to 'rest' which is better adapted to the average human constitution and the collective necessities of human life than any other, yet unable to attribute the primitive decision on the subject to the deductions of any science known to us, he supposes it 'without doubt' the result of a certain 'spontaneous genius, a sort of *magnetic vision* which discovered primitive arts, developed language, invented writing, created systems of religion and philosophy;—a marvellous faculty, the operations of which elude analysis, and which reflection, a rival and progressive faculty, gradually enfeebled without ever so far prevailing as wholly to obliterate it!' (p. viii.) It is certainly curious to find philosophers arguing at once that human nature was cradled in the rudest *savageism* and gradually groped its way from uttermost degradation to the lowest elements of civilisation, and yet gratuitously investing man in that primitive state with the power of vaulting to the most wonderful achievements of science and deciding the most difficult social problems; inventing the arts of speech and writing, and determining the precise ratio in which the social system requires our life to be divided between 'labour and rest;' and all in virtue of a transcendental instinct, which there is not the slightest reason to suppose human nature ever possessed, and least of all in such a condition as they suppose its aboriginal state! Is it more easy to believe all this than to admit that there is truth in the history of Genesis; that man did not absolutely begin on all fours; or that he derived some glimmer of light—the rudiments at least of the arts necessary to make life tolerable—from divine revelation? Certainly, if he possessed the transcendental instinct ascribed to him by M. Proudhon, it is hard to see how it differs from direct inspiration. It seems, however, that there is one thing which staggers M. Proudhon still more than even the notion that the hebdomadal division of time, and the purpose to which it was applied, should have been imparted by revelation; and that is, that Moses should have stumbled on this institution by *chance* or *guess*. He therefore conjectures that though 'L'origine de la semaine est inconnue,' yet it is possible that Moses, rich in all the knowledge of the Egyptians, might have had resources in a science to which Paris has not attained,—'*à une science des sciences, à une harmonique transcendante, s'il m'est permis de lui donner un nom. . . . La certitude de cette science est démontrée par le fait même dont nous nous occupons.*' He indulges in some mystical attempts to illustrate this 'science of sciences' by reference to certain numerical analogies, which do not seem to satisfy himself, and can still less satisfy anybody else; but anyhow his rejection of all chance-work shows the abundant faith of a sceptic; for he declares that sooner than believe that *chance* alone so favoured Moses, he would believe that some special revelation had been made to him (p. 67), or accept the 'fable that a sow wrote the Iliad with its snout.'

We have conceded that it is not *necessary* to infer

\* 'Primum *σάστημα* ex diebus dicitur Septimana, *res omnibus quidem Orientis populis ab ultima usque antiquitate usitata*, nobis autem Europæis vix tandem post Christianismum recepta'—*De Emend. Temp.*, p. 9. That is to say, the distinction was well known to the Hebrews, Egyptians, Hindoos, Chinese; in a word, in those regions where we search for the native seats and cradle of the human race. Meantime the exceptions, as said above, prove that the distinction was not so *obvious* and *natural* as it is often the fashion to represent it.



more from the reference to the Sabbatic institution in Gen. ii., than that the author, compiling the book after the institution of the Sabbath was known and established, took the opportunity *en passant* of parenthetically noting the occasion; still it is not unnatural to suppose a peculiar emphasis attached to the word 'hallowed;' that from the earliest times of primitive tradition the notion of a certain sacredness was attached to the seventh day; and if so, it is at least highly probable that it was also generally marked by some religious observances, even though not formally enforced, or made universally obligatory upon mankind. It is impossible to deny that the words, 'And God blessed the seventh day, and hallowed' (*separated*) 'it, because that in it he had rested from all his work which God created and made,' would naturally lead the great majority of readers to such a conclusion, even though they do not necessitate it; and, if fairly explicable, in another way, it cannot be denied that this has been the prevailing opinion.

The grand occasion in reference to which this day was instituted, and the events of which it was to be commemorative, are, we conceive, sufficiently clear from the intimations in the Pentateuch. It is not at all necessary, in order to make such intimations intelligible, to decide on the absolute accuracy of any special interpretation of the first chapter of Genesis, or of the events narrated in it. The interpretation of that portion of Scripture is at present beset with insuperable difficulties; nor until both geology and exegesis have done more for their respective sciences, can we be sure that we have thoroughly mastered it [CREATION]. But whether the 'six days' be supposed literally days of twenty-four hours each, or periods of vast but indefinite duration, each more or less sharply defining the progress in the gradual development of the *Cosmos*, and its stages of transition towards the condition in which it has been since man first made his appearance; whether it be interpreted literally, as an unvarnished narration of facts, revealing new arrangements of the terrestrial globe, and the creation of new species of animals (changes immediately preceding, and having a designed relation to, the advent of man); or whether it be regarded as a grand symbolical vision—a picture, as it were, in *chiaro-oscuro*—presenting only a general resemblance to the real facts, and not a literally accurate delineation, it is plain that in the estimate of the writer of the Pentateuch, and in the judgment of primitive tradition, there was a sublime *succession of acts* in this great drama of creation. And indeed upon *any* hypothesis, even that of the most gradual development, there must have been some such stages; for they are written on the books of stone which geology pores over, as well as in the book of Genesis. The writer also supposes that the creative energy, having interposed in these successive acts, ceased when the present system of causes and effects was developed, and the ordinary course of the world established upon the basis of its present laws; whereupon the Creator, in the final survey of his work, pronounced it all 'very good,' and 'rested on the seventh day.' All admit, of course, that this language is wholly anthropopathic; which gives some reason to conjecture that the narrative of the 'six days' may be also only a symbolical representation, in condescending adaptation to the capacities of man; presenting only a shadowy and approximate, not a clear and

exact, delineation of the facts. But, at all events, the language just quoted respecting God himself must be merely tropical, and is universally felt to be so; for as the Book itself plainly says, 'He fainteth not, neither is weary.' Nor if our Lord spoke truth when he said, 'My Father worketh hitherto,' is it true that God *ceases* working in the only sense in which he works at all; that is, by the constant activity of an omnipotent Will. Since 'he speaks, and it is done; commands, and it stands fast,' his omnipotence cannot be supposed at all *more* active when he wills anything to *be*, than when he wills it to continue in being; when he creates, than when he conserves. This language is, however, in keeping with the ordinary style in which not only the divine condescension actually speaks to man, but in which, for the most part, it *must* speak, in order to be intelligible at all. Every form of expression employed to denote the nature or the attributes of God, or his mode of operation, must be in language derived from the analogies of our nature, and is necessarily anthropopathic. The *real* analogies, however, in the present case, though metaphorically expressed, are obvious enough. The several acts of creative energy, and their cessation at the completion of the series of the related wonders (represented as God's 'working' and 'resting') correspond to man's alternate 'working and resting' according to the law of his nature, and teach him that he should periodically 'cease from his labours, even as God did from his.'—This, in the judgment of the writer of the Pentateuch, was the principal *occasion* of the institution of the day, whether *actually* instituted then or at a later period.

Whatever, then, be the true interpretation of the first chapter of Genesis, the injunction to observe the Sabbath (whether old as the world and given to all mankind, or long after and to the Jews exclusively) was principally commemorative of the completion of the divine work in creation. That it was really founded on the divine authority must of course be made out by the general evidences of the veracity of the sacred writer, and can be denied by no one who admits the sufficiency of those evidences. While it is plain that the *principal* reason for the institution of the Sabbath is a commemoration of the completed work of creation, an additional reason is added in Deut. v.; namely, to commemorate the deliverance from Egypt. This is sometimes represented as a *contradictory* reason; but this cannot be justly said. There is no inconsistency in the case; it is simply a double commemoration, instead of a single one, that is enjoined.\*

\* The enforcement of the command to keep the day of rest, and the duty of a lenient and merciful treatment of menials and dependants ('that thy man servant and maid servant may rest as well as thou,' etc.), are certainly most naturally and beautifully connected (Deut. v. 15) with the injunction to 'remember thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt.' The words of Grotius on this subject, founded on the traditions of some of the Rabbis, are worth quoting. Commenting on Exod. xx. 8, he says—'Verissima enim sententia est Rabbini Judæ Barbesalhelis et Rabbini Ephraimi in Keli Jacar, *aliud* hic, *aliud* sequentibus verbis præcipi. Sanctus ille cultus causam habet mundum conditum: otium quod mox præcipitur, Ægyptiacam



Such being the worthy *occasion* on which the day was instituted, to commemorate the consummated work of creation, and 'celebrate the throne and equipage of God's almightiness,' so it is not difficult to show the profound *wisdom* and *benevolence* of the institution itself; and the last not less than the first. Some may demur to this as affirmed of the *Jewish* Sabbath; but, as we shall presently show, without reason.

1. As to the *wisdom*, in a *physical* point of view, of some such institution, nobody doubts. All the facts of physiology, all individual experience, the customs of all nations in the appointment of certain days as 'festal'—in which the ordinary avocations of life should be for awhile intermitted—show the necessity and expediency of it. If there be one thing clear, it is that man requires such periodic intermission if he would keep either his physical, intellectual, or moral nature in health, or prevent his soul from becoming the mere drudge of his body. That he is not capable of continuous activity, we all know familiarly enough; the absolute need of sleep every few hours—a third of man's whole life being spent in that simulated death—is the most striking proof of it; but this is not enough. Not only is man incapable of continued exertion, whether of body or mind, without sleep; but in spite of that periodic anodyne, he will, if he has nothing more, generally fall into a morbid condition, more especially if his occupations (even though they may not be very arduous) are marked by little variety, pursued in a crowded city or amidst monotonous scenes, or make large demands on the nervous energy. Man needs not only the periodic rest of sleep at short intervals, but longer rest at longer intervals; and, what is as important to health as sleep itself, he needs *change* of mood. His life will no more bear one unvarying routine and succession of the same thoughts and employments without paying the penalty of ill health, than his stomach will bear one kind of food without resenting it. Nothing is more common, in medical practice, than to find patients complaining of 'being out of health' (as the saying is), and getting daily worse, though their employments are neither unhealthy, nor very heavy, nor very irksome; but which have been too long pursued without variation. The mere wear and tear of the ordinary routine, the continuity of the same thoughts, especially if attended with anxiety, has put the whole system out of tune, and gradually induced diseased action of the brain, stomach, and nerves. The shrewd physician often perceives that the sure and speedy remedies in such a case are rest, change, and a complete suspension and abandonment of the ordinary mode of life; and that wrench alone from all the ordinary holdings of life, will, in innumerable cases, magically restore health, and prove the only medicine necessary. If the patient can be got away from the deadly *malaria* of constant and uniform occupations, his physician knows he will do well; and the result in a thousand cases justifies his prognostics. There are few of

*servitutum. Illud ad genus humanum pertinet, hoc ad Hebræos solos.*' Admitting that it is hardly possible to contend for so sharp a distinction, nothing can be more natural or pathetic than the re-inforcement on the Jews of the enjoined Sabbatic rest by the recollection of their sufferings during their Egyptian bondage.

those who have attained middle life who have not for themselves experienced this beneficial effect of change. Away from home, which they left with a brain filled with vapours, and a heart oppressed with all the fancies of the *malade imaginaire*, the cloud has been lifted from the mind as it were by magic; in the presence of new scenes, sunshine in spite of themselves has stolen into the soul, and all the vital functions have returned to their normal play under its influence. Now, the institution of the Sabbath gave the Jew a beneficial periodic break of this kind; an enforced abstinence from all the ordinary occupations and trains of thought, the continuous prosecution of which is so apt to produce enfeebled health, and at length, it may be, madness or death.—And whether it were a common tradition or experience that was the teacher, other nations learned the necessity of something analogous to it, as far as regards *this* end at least. If they had no Sabbath, they yet instituted certain festal days on which the sons of toil were released from their drudgery, and recruited their wasted vigour, both of body and of mind, by needed repose; days on which the wheels of the soul might be dragged out of the deep ruts of customary thought and feeling on to the green sward of 'pleasant fancies' and quiet contemplation.

Among different nations these days have been variously employed; sometimes consecrated to religion, and sometimes spent as holidays in the ordinary sense; generally, in various degrees, devoted to both purposes. But they have all had the same beneficial tendency we are now insisting on—to break the fatal continuity of daily toil, and to prevent the ill effects of it.\*

Nor is the *moral* significance of such an institution less conspicuous. That there should be seasons in which the mind, as well as the body, may repair its energies and 'retrim its lamp,' reason shows to be desirable, and experience necessary. If the soul is to be at all cared for; if leisure is to be secured for higher interests than those of the body; for the culture of the intellect and the discipline of the heart; for due meditation on those

\* Among the many beautiful tributes which eloquence and poetry have paid to the momentous *physical* benefits of the Sabbath, there is none more so than that which Lord Macaulay has paid in one of his speeches on the factory question. 'The natural difference,' says he, 'between Campania and Spitzbergen is trifling when compared with the difference between a country inhabited by men full of bodily and mental vigour, and a country inhabited by men sunk in bodily and mental decrepitude. Therefore it is that we are not poorer but richer, because we have, through many ages, rested from our labour one day in seven. That day is not lost. While industry is suspended—while the plough lies in the furrow—while the exchange is silent—while no smoke ascends from the factory—a process is going on, quite as important to the wealth of nations as any process which is performed on more busy days. Man, the machine of machines—the machine compared with which all the contrivances of the Watts and Arkwrights are worthless—is repairing and winding up, so that he returns to his labours on the Monday with clearer intellect, with livelier spirits, with renewed corporeal vigour.'—Speech on the *Ten Hours' Bill*.



relations in which man stands to his Creator and to a future world ; in a word, for the attainment of those objects for which, as the ultimate end, the body itself subsists, and the whole machinery of life is put in motion, what more desirable than the institution of such a day ? in which, with a mind free from distracting thoughts, and a body rejoicing in welcome release from its daily chains, man may, in accordance with the designed commemorative character of the day, contemplate the glorious works of the Infinite Creator, and his own soul as the most wondrous of them all ; ponder his momentous relations to him, and hold elevating converse with him. Without such leisure (in part at least so employed), all experience shows that man, engaged in unintermitting toil and absorbing cares on behalf of his material interests, soon loses almost all trace of his higher nature ; and not least (paradoxical though it may seem) when his life is spent chiefly amidst the works of nature itself. The hebetating effect of the severe bodily toil of those who have to 'work the stubborn glebe' is proverbial. Wearied with the day's labour, they are too often at its close fit for little but the sleep that is to recruit them for the next day's task, and they wake only to resume it. If it were not for the break of the Sabbath, their whole life would be little else than an alternation of exhausting work and unconscious slumber ; and themselves little better than those machines whose wheels move in a monotonous round during the day and are stopped during the night.

It is not very difficult to see what would be the effect on the whole animal creation (man and brute alike) if it were not for that *ratchet* in the wheel of life which is provided by some such institution as the Sabbath. In all probability, that part of the creation which, like man, is doomed to daily toil, would, in spite of the periodic relief of sleep—supposing no other break—soon degenerate in spirit and strength, and bequeath to each successive generation a diminished vitality. It is not very easy perhaps to detect, or even to conceive, all those subtle and very gradual steps by which mere want of variety (that salt of life), the mere sameness of continuous occupation, will at length break down health, both of body and mind ; still less can we comprehend the mysterious law by which physical debility or depravation is propagated to successive generations. But though the operation of these causes is too complicated and insidious for us to analyse it, and the process too gradual for us to trace out the law, the absolute necessity of variety of scene and employment, of periodic repose, of periodic suspension of thought, is matter of obvious fact and daily experience.

While the *subject-matter* of this Hebrew law—if it be indeed the *duty* of man to comply with the laws of his physical nature, to maintain his faculties in full vigour, to care for the culture of his intellect, his heart, and his social affections, not to let his lower nature usurp dominion over his higher—was *moral*, it is conceded that the separation, for this purpose, of *one day in seven*, as well as the special mode of observance, is *positive*. The aspects of the law just insisted on—its immense social and moral significance—well justified its being placed in the Decalogue. But even the positive part of the institution (supposing it to be of divine command) was not unworthy (as has been sometimes rashly said) of the care of the Supreme. For, in point

of fact, as *some* fixed time was necessary if the law was to be *generally* obeyed at all, so in the present case there seemed abundant reason, supposing God to give any general law on the subject, why he should also fix the time for the observance. It has been sometimes affirmed that this might be determined in every nation by public compact, founded on the experience and conscious wants of the community. But suppose, for argument's sake, this were conceded ; still, on the supposition now argued upon, that the law itself was of divine origin, it was not unworthy of the Supreme Wisdom thus to fix the limits in point of time. For the absolute *best* in such a case is not a problem of easy solution ; or rather it is impossible (otherwise than by guess-work, or by a very imperfect and tentative experience) to such ignorant creatures as ourselves. A very little reflection will show that there must be an *absolute best* in relation to the entire conditions of this social problem, though it may, and indeed must, transcend the wisdom of man to find it. To take the day in one of its aspects only—that of general rest from toil, of suspension of all the ordinary occupations of life : though we know from experience, and it is confessed by the practice of the world in general, that such periodic intermission is necessary, it is a very different thing to know how often it should recur, so as best to answer all the purposes contemplated, and without doing either more or less. And yet it is obvious that, in relation to the actual average capacities of man for labour—the average powers of the human constitution—there must be some ratio of labour to rest which will best comport with the material as well as all the other interests of the community ; best conciliate the welfare of the individual with all the conditions of social prosperity ;—in a word, secure the highest *maximum* of good of all kinds with the *minimum* of counterbalancing evil. This point is too difficult for us to assign ; and yet there certainly must be such a point. If every alternate day were one of suspension of all public business, all would say it was far too much, and feel that such an arrangement would well justify the sarcasms with which Voltaire upbraided the rustics of Ferney, whose ever-recurring saints' days were a continual excuse for laziness. On the other hand, such a day once a month would be generally acknowledged to be too rare. But between too much and too little there must be the *juste milieu*, the *ne nimis*, if we could but find it. Yet its determination depends on an exact calculation of the effect of innumerable laws, and the interaction of numberless varying elements ; and he only who constituted us and the world can make the computation. Though *not moral*, therefore, this part of the law was by no means *arbitrary*, and could only be fixed with absolute accuracy by him who gave it. We have seen in what terms M. Proudhon, in the *brochure* already referred to, speaks both of the difficulty of the problem and of the 'transcendental science' implied in solving it. A few sentences from this remarkable pamphlet may not displease the reader :—

'La certitude de cette science est démontrée par le fait même dont nous nous occupons. Diminuez la semaine d'un seul jour, le travail est insuffisant comparativement au repos ; augmentez-la de la même quantité, il devient excessif. Établissez tous les trois jours une demi-journée de relâche, vous multipliez par le fractionnement la



perte de temps, et en scindant l'unité naturelle du jour vous brisez l'équilibre numérique des choses. Accordez, au contraire, quarante-huit heures de repos après douze jours consécutifs de peine, vous tuez l'homme par l'inertie après l'avoir épuisé par la fatigue. J'omets, pour abrégé, la foule de considérations du même genre que pourrait suggérer l'intervirissement des relations de famille et de cité, et qui ferait ressortir bien d'autres inconvénients. Comment donc Moïse rencontra-t-il si juste? il n'inventa pas la semaine, mais il fut, je crois, le premier et le seul qui s'en servit pour un si grand usage. Aurait-il adopté cette proportion, s'il n'en eût calculé d'avance toute la portée? Eh si ce ne fut pas en lui l'effet d'une théorie, comment expliquer une intuition si prodigieuse? Du reste, quant à supposer que le hasard seul l'eût ainsi favorisé, je croirais plutôt à une révélation spéciale qui lui en aurait été faite, ou à la fable de la truie écrivant l'Iliade avec son groin.—pp. 67, 68.

As the considerations already touched sufficiently show the wisdom of this institution, so they equally prove its *beneficence*. For it was adapted to the physical and moral nature of man, and aimed at his moral and physical well-being. This being the case, it is hard to conceive how and by what perversion it is, that the Jewish Sabbath has been so persistently imagined to be a day of joyless austerity and irksome restraint; not a feast, but a fast; not a festival to be thankfully observed, but 'a day on which a man was to afflict his soul;' not an invitation to freedom from toil and a farewell to care, but a part of that yoke of which the apostle Peter says, 'neither we nor our fathers were able to bear it.' Certainly there is nothing in the documents which prescribe it, and indicate its mode of observance (of the penalties for *disobedience* we shall speak immediately), which can justify any such notions. Its main feature is to inculcate, not any hard task, but abstinence from all tasks. Its main requirement is—and surely it should be welcome to toil-worn man—that he should take his rest and ease; that he should give to himself and all his poor drudges of the inferior creation a holiday; that he should let 'the plough lie idle in the furrow,' and the vine be untormented by the pruning-knife; that the hind should be free from his master, and the master free from his cares:—'In it thou shalt not do any *work*'—any servile or ordinary *work*—'thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thine ox, nor thine ass, nor any of thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates; that thy man-servant and thy maid-servant may rest as well as thou.'

What is meant by 'work' is sufficiently evident from the Hebrew terms employed. They are such as we should employ to signify that sort of occupation whether of body or of mind, the condition of which is *toil* and the object *gain*. They are

מלאכה, by which is denoted pretty nearly what we should call *business*, עֲבָדָה, which, as its derivation implies, signifies *servile* and *menial* work. To extend the meaning of 'work' so as to comprehend every kind of 'action' was the error of those who invented the 'traditions' which our Saviour rebukes, and which, fairly carried out, would be inconsistent with any observance of the Sabbath at all, unless men were to sleep through it! The

references in Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, are in general confirmatory of the definitions here given. Men are not 'to think their own thoughts, nor find their own pleasure,' on that day; phraseology which, literally interpreted, would turn man into stone, but susceptible of a very natural interpretation if it be meant that they are not to pursue the every-day schemes and projects on which they usually expend their 'thought' and in which they usually find their 'pleasure.' The prohibition 'to carry burdens on the Sabbath-day' (Jer. xvii. 21, 22, 27) points to the same thing; the cessation of the ordinary traffic, of the purchase of merchandise, and the portage of goods, of all that is implied in buying, selling, and getting gain.

But the ordinary forms of social enjoyment were certainly not forbidden. It was customary to give *feasts* on that day; and our Saviour is expressly said to have been a guest at one. It is true, indeed, that 'cooking' was forbidden on the sacred day; but the hospitality seems to have been freely (though doubtless in the best days of Judaism modestly) exercised. The 'collation' was to be 'cold;' but this in a Syrian climate would be seldom a hardship. For similar reasons, the Jews were forbidden to kindle a fire; but this prohibition seems to have had reference to *culinary* purposes: at all events the Rabbis have themselves always had doubts whether it was designed to forbid a fire when kindled to maintain vital warmth in severe weather—which sometimes, though rarely, would be felt in Palestine. Indeed, only a casuist of the Pharisaic order would ever be tempted thus to sacrifice the spirit to the letter: for with a shivering body and benumbed limbs, it would not be possible to make the Sabbath 'a delight,' or a season of 'rest,' or anything but a day of torment. So that, on our Saviour's just principle of interpretation, that the 'Sabbath was made for man,' we may infer the less rigid is also the more just exposition of this command. Similar observations apply to the general injunction that every one should 'abide in his place' (Exod. xvi. 29). This it is impossible to interpret literally; indeed, it is so obviously connected with the prohibition to go out to 'gather manna' on the Sabbath, that it has been reasonably conjectured to have been only a temporary injunction.\*

What were the religious observances of the ancient Jews on this day is not very clear. That there were some, from immemorial periods, is plain; probably consisting chiefly in the public reading and expounding of the Law—leading on at length to the more definite services of the

\* The assigning of the limits of the allowed 'Sabbath day's journey,' the exact measure of which has been much disputed by critics, was, though probably suggested by this precept, an innovation on the law. The Pentateuch says nothing about it. It was one of the 'traditions of the elders,' and worthy of the rest. It was an attempt to mete out, with precision, what was best left to the sense of propriety in every individual worshipper; who, if he really revered the day, would have a better measure in his conscience than he could have in a foot-rule. If he took the last, he would be continually tormenting himself with subtle questions, as to the very inches to which he might go, and all sorts of disputes as to the *terminus a quo* and the *terminus ad quod*. [See next article.]



Synagogue-worship. As far as the Temple-service was concerned, the morning and evening sacrifice were both doubled, the stale shewbread was removed from the table, and the new substituted for it.

In a word, so far as the original and only authentic documents go, we can discern nothing which should have imparted so gloomy a tinge to the interpretation of the Jewish Sabbath as has often been given by Christian writers, both by those who have adduced Jewish precedents for a more stringent law of the Christian day of rest than they find in the N. T., and by those who, having a very superfluous horror of Sabbatic asceticism in these lax modern times, and foolishly supposing such asceticism the result of a too fond imitation of the primeval Sabbatic practice, have deprecated a return to Judaism.

In fact, the character of the Jewish Sabbath has been strangely misrepresented. Instead of being the harsh law it has been so often libellously painted, instead of being an institution which specially illustrated the rigour of the elder dispensation, and implied bondage to a hard yoke, it was, if we are to judge (and we have no other light) from the tenor of the sacred documents which describe and enjoin it, designed to be a day of joy and rejoicing.\*

The only thing that can be plausibly alleged against the beneficent character of the original Jewish Sabbath is the *penalty* attached to the violation of it; that was undoubtedly severe, and such as would not be justifiable in a human government. But, then, that is a distinct consideration from that of the character of the institution itself. Whether it was unduly severe, will depend on whether the Jews were really living under a veritable theocracy, miraculously authenticated to them; and whether the law enjoined was one which had peculiarly their *welfare* in view, and which therefore there were few temptations to violate. If these things be granted, as they will be by every one who believes the O. T., then, though it is easy to represent the violation of the law as a trivial thing, it is really impossible to imagine a more audacious defiance of the supreme legislator, or a more wanton and excuseless disregard of his laws. Nor is the severity of the penalty—where the authority that imposes the law is thus plain and the law itself one of beneficence—without abundant analogies in the constitution and laws of nature; for *we* too are living under a 'theocracy,' and God deals in the same summary way with us now, in those cases where his authority is plainly declared, and his laws simply invite us to be happy. He deals with us more indulgently where the law is not so obvious, or where there are strong temptations to human weakness to transgress it. But in the case of the more indispensable laws essential to our physical welfare, the more beneficial they are, the

more easy to be obeyed, the more designed and adapted to promote our wellbeing, the less excusable and the more wanton the breach of them, the more they prove the goodness of the great legislator who has imposed them, so much more severe is the punishment exacted. It is a law of our physical nature that we must eat when hungry and drink when thirsty, and rest when weary; and if a man chooses to disobey that physical law, he is subjected to a punishment to which 'stoning' is a trifle.

Now the law of the Sabbath, supposing it to have been given by the supreme legislator of the Jews, under the circumstances the history records, was at once an expression of his goodness, and designed to promote their happiness; had everything about it which, like those laws of nature to which we have just adverted, rendered disobedience without excuse, and justified severity for its violation. It was enjoined for the purpose of promoting, in the most comprehensive form, the welfare of man; it was easy of obedience; it summoned him merely to lay down his burden and forego his toil, and should have been most welcome for that very reason. It proclaimed a weekly suspension of that 'curse' of labour which was pronounced as a part of the penalty of the Fall, and told him that for one day in seven he had nothing to do with that ungrateful glebe which 'brought forth thorns and thistles,' and which he was to cultivate 'with the sweat of his brow.' The severity of the penalty of disobedience, therefore, by no means proves that the law was not of a most beneficent character, any more than those *natural* penalties to which allusion has just been made, would prove the like of the physical laws to which we are subjected. The institution itself may be viewed quite apart from the penalty. At all events, since it is acknowledged on all hands that it was only of temporary application, and peculiar to a miraculously-authenticated dispensation, which implied the most daring impiety and the most wanton rebellion in those who incurred it, it does not disprove the beneficence of the institution, and has no relation to any controversy in which we can be engaged respecting it.

But as to the enjoined modes of observing the day, there is, as we have said, positively nothing that can justify the charge that the Jewish Sabbath was of a rigorous or austere character. No action that was demanded by necessity, duty, or beneficence, was forbidden. This is plainly to be seen by our Lord's most reasonable interpretation of the law, when he justifies the disciples for 'plucking the ears of corn,' for which they had been blamed by the censorious hypocrisy of the Pharisees; when he justified his own works of healing, and showed by an *a fortiori* argument that his enemies must give judgment against themselves, inasmuch as they would not hesitate to 'lead ox or ass to water,' or to 'pull him out of a pit on the Sabbath day,' and triumphantly closed the appeal by saying, 'How much is a man better than a sheep!' The great principle also which he laid down, when he affirmed that 'The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath,' shows us distinctly what was the design and purpose of the original institution; and that if man had in fact been subordinated to the Sabbath, it was only in virtue of those perverse glosses by which, in this, as in so many other cases, the Pharisees had justified the censure of Christ, 'that they had made the law of

\* The caricatures too often given of it in later times are the result either of looking too exclusively at the Pharasaic glosses instead of the original laws, or of perverse attempts on the part of the civil legislature (when the degenerate church had perverted the character of the Lord's day), to force or to find analogies for their arbitrary and stringent enactments in the ordinances of the Jewish law. On this subject we shall say a few words further on.



God of none effect by their traditions.' It were strange indeed if, having corrupted all the rest of the law by 'bondage to the letter' and by their casuistical refinements, this institution, which was from its very nature so readily liable to such corruption, had remained untouched. There is, in truth, in all ages, and amongst all nations, a tendency to subordinate the spiritual to the formal, to 'tithe the mint, anise, and cummin,' and to forget 'the weightier matters of the law;' to reduce to time and weight, measure and number, and outward precision, acts which derive their sole value from the motives which determine them, and the spirit in which they are performed; and, at last, when this process has proceeded far enough, even to *commute* the moral for the literal, and to let the formal act usurp the place of the spiritual observance. The Pharisees, certainly, carried their extravagant despotism of the 'letter' over the 'spirit' to as great a length in their glosses on the law of the Sabbath, as in relation to any law whatever; and that casuistry which Pascal so inimitably ridicules in his *Provincial Letters* can alone match the refinements of these spiritual sophists.

It would not at first sight seem very possible for Jewish superstition to degrade the noble institution of the Sabbath more completely than in the instances which the N. T. records, and our Saviour rebukes. But this would be a mistake. As Heylin says, 'The modern Jews still dote upon their Sabbath, and that more sottishly, and with more superstition far, than ever their fathers did.' When he wrote, this was certainly true, if we may depend on the numerous instances he has given (*History of the Sabbath*, Part i. ch. viii.) These instances are avowedly taken from Buxtorf (*Synagoga Judaica*). Heylin cites particularly cap. x. xi., though it is in cap. xv. xvi. that Buxtorf more particularly treats of the Sabbath. Many of the examples which Heylin cites are rather of superstitions connected with the synagogue-worship in general than with the Sabbath usages; still, as the synagogue-services were chiefly Sabbath observances, and as the whole of the superstitions in question were bound up with one another, it was not unnatural to refer to them, though he should have noted the fact that many of the examples only indirectly illustrated the Jewish superstitions respecting the Sabbath. What refined absurdities, equally pitiable and ridiculous, and what fantastical subtleties of casuistry, were gravely entertained by some of the doting Rabbis, may be seen from the following citations:—'A horse may have a bridle or a halter to *lead*, but not a saddle to *load* him; and he that leadeth him must not let it hang so loose that it may seem he rather carrieth the bridle than leads the horse.' 'The lame may use a staff, but the blind may not.' 'They may not carry a flap or fan to drive away the flies. If a flea bite, they may remove it, but not kill it, but a louse they may; yet Rabbi Eliezer thinks one may as lawfully kill a camel.' 'They must not fling more corn to their poultry than will serve that day, lest it may grow by lying still, and they be said to sow their corn upon the Sabbath.' 'If a Jew go forth on the Friday, and on the night falls short of home more than is lawful to be travelled on the Sabbath day, there must he set him down, and there keep his Sabbath, though in a wood, or in a field, or on the highway-side, without all fear of wind and weather, of thieves or robbers, without all care of

meat or drink;'\* . . . 'with many other infinite absurdities,' adds Heylin, 'of the like poor nature, wherewith the Rabbins have been pleased to afflict their brethren, and make good sport to all the world. . . . Nay, to despite our Saviour, as Buxtorfius tells us, they have determined *since*, that it was unlawful to lift the ox or ass out of the ditch, which in the strictest time of the Pharisaical rigours was accounted lawful.' If would seem, if the story he goes on to tell, out of Crantzius, of the Jew of Magdeburgh (or of another, in our own annals, of Tewkesbury) be true, that it was possible for a Jew to go still further, and not allow even *himself* to be pulled out of a worse place than 'a ditch,' on the Sabbath-day; whereupon it is said the bishop ordered this strange recusant to remain there over the 'Christian Sabbath' too. The latter story, which is told in the rhyming Latin, Heylin translates with more freedom (in all senses) than literality:—

'Tende manus, Solomon, ut te de stercore tollam.'  
'Sabbata nostra colo; de stercore surgere nolo.'  
'Sabbata *nostra* quidem, Solomon, celebrabis  
ibidem.'

But for all these infinite follies of the doting Rabbis (which have often given unfounded notions of the genuine Jewish Sabbath to our modern Protestant Christians), the Bible is no more responsible than is the Sermon on the Mount for the casuistry of the Jesuits. We are rejoiced to see, since this present article was written for the press, indications that the Jews themselves are entering a vigorous and most just protest as well against the fond conceits of their own Rabbis as against the extravagant calumnies of their Protestant adversaries, whose perpetually iterated representations of the 'moroseness and bondage of the Jewish Sabbath' have no foundation in the O. T. In a spirit'd article in the 'Jewish Chronicle,' the Christians, who are perpetually exclaiming, 'Not Judaism but Christianity,' are fairly challenged to show, not from Rabbinical glosses, but from the sacred books, that their charges against the Mosaic Sabbath are founded in truth.

If we would judge of the original law fairly, all these glosses must be swept away, and we must confine ourselves to the writings of the O. T., especially as they are expounded, and their spirit illustrated, by 'him who spake as never man spake.' Restricting ourselves to these sources of information, we repeat that, while the original design of the day was in the highest degree beneficent—nothing more nor less than an invitation to man to be happy; to employ that rest which itself ought to be most welcome in the tranquil enjoyment of God's gifts and in thankful remembrance and worship of the Giver—it gave no discouragement to social enjoyment, forbade no act which necessity or benevolence required, and allowed of the exercise of the rites of hospitality, and consequently of the 'giving feasts,' though no doubt without pomp or parade. The festal character of the day leads us to suppose that this social feature belonged to the Jewish Sabbath in the most ancient times. We know that it did only too conspicuously in later;

\* See this illustrated by an amusing story related by Buxtorf (*Synag. Judaica*, cap. xv.), and well worthy of a place in the most extravagant of the monkish legends.



and that among the early Christians one of the commonplaces of reproach against the Jews, urged with rather too sanctimonious an air by some of the Fathers, was that they indulged too much in 'gulosity' on that day. The Christians, it seems, were fond of contrasting the full diet and formal observance of the Jewish Sabbath with the spare diet and the spiritual observance of the Christian's Sunday. (See passages from Augustine and other Fathers in Hessey's *Bampton Lectures*, Lect. ii. iii.)

II. We now proceed to the subject of the 'Christian Sabbath,' as it has been called, or as we prefer calling it, the 'Lord's day' (ἡ κυριακή ἡμέρα); to determine what are the relations in which it stands to the Jewish Sabbath; whether it be the same institution,—*mutatis mutandis*, and allowing for the different circumstances of the two dispensations,—as some maintain; or, as others (we think more justly) contend, a merely *analogous* institution, arising out of a general similarity of object, but originating in different circumstances, standing on a distinct basis, and appealing, like everything else in Christianity, and in contradistinction to Judaism, to the spontaneous obedience of the heart, rather than to the sanctions of any precise statute. Those who maintain the identity of the Jewish Sabbath and of the 'Lord's day' maintain that it is only an immaterial part of the institution that has been changed, leaving the purposes and the obligations of the ancient law what they were. One of these arguments is, that the 'Sabbath' was anterior to the Jewish law, and therefore of universal obligation on man.

In what sense the idea of a primitive Sabbath may be admitted, and in what rejected, we have endeavoured to explain in a former part of this article. That the precise law given to the Jews was enjoined on all mankind (however probable it be that a certain tradition of sacredness was from the earliest time attached to the seventh day, and that hence the division of time by weeks became so customary), it would certainly be difficult to prove, either from profane or sacred history. That the first mention of the Sabbath in the second chapter of Genesis does not necessarily prove this, has already been shown. Neither does the language of our Lord, that 'the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath,' prove it. For though it has been ingeniously argued that it does, and by none more ingeniously than Dr. Wardlaw, in his *Discourses on the Sabbath*, yet it being an expression equally natural on either hypothesis, it cannot be conclusive for one of them. Our Lord is evidently inculcating the great principle, illustrated by a special instance, that all ritual and positive ordinances of religion must be for the sake of the worshipper, and not the worshipper for the sake of them. Had he therefore been speaking of any such institution as on *all* hands was acknowledged to belong exclusively to the Jews, and in which the Christian had no part, it would have been equally natural and appropriate for him to use just the language he did. For example, had it been the passover or circumcision that was in question, it would have been equally natural to remind his auditors that these were made for man (for the Jews, indeed, in this case, but still as they were *men*), and not man for the passover or circumcision. We therefore cannot but concede that these positive arguments are by no means sufficient to prove that the 'Lord's day' is merely the uni-

versal 'Sabbath' that was coeval with the creation, now transferred to another day and baptized by a Christian name.—But this is not the most serious objection to such a view. The main objection is the *absence* of what we might surely require—some clear evidence to this effect from the N. T. When it is asked on what authority *there* such a conclusion is arrived at, we find not one syllable adducible for it. All is matter of doubtful inference as to the identity of the two institutions. It was natural, indeed, considering the purposes of the Jewish Sabbath—purposes physically and morally of universal importance—to expect that Christianity should have something *analogous* to it. This may be granted; and, as we think, any candid reader of the N. T. may discover no slight indications of such an analogous institution in the 'Lord's day.' But when it is argued that the two are identical, except that the day is changed; that the strict observance of the whole of one day in every week is made as plainly imperative on the Christian as that of the seventh day was on the Jew; of all this we cannot find that the N. T. gives any satisfactory evidence. Let us briefly consider how many things make against the hypothesis.—It is said the day is simply changed. If it be so, might we not expect that some indications would be given in the N. T. that such a transfer had been made? especially considering the undoubtedly divine authority on which the seventh day had been appointed, and the great transactions of which it was to be commemorative? Surely it was not so slight a change as to be unworthy of some express mention. And as the Lord's day is commemorative of equally glorious events, one would imagine it still more natural that the substitution of the one for the other would be at least referred to.—Again, it is acknowledged on all hands that the sanctions and penalties of the original law are altogether abolished.—Further, since the Jewish polity and ritual in general are avowedly abrogated in the gospel, the *prima facie* impression (apart from express exceptions to the contrary) is not unnatural, that what is *not* excepted is abolished. Now, there is not the slightest hint that the Jewish Sabbath, as a peculiar institution, was not among the things abolished. If it be said that the Decalogue was not abolished, and that this law was among them, the answer is that *exceptio probat regulam*; all the other articles of the Decalogue are expressly made binding in the code of Christian morals, with a more emphatic meaning and a more comprehensive application. On the other hand, the Sabbath is *not* so referred to; while there are several express declarations which look the other way in the Pauline epistles, especially the passages in which he speaks so strongly in deprecation of foolish reverence, under the Jewish notions of their sanctity, of 'days, and seasons, months and years.' In particular passages (Col. ii. 16; Gal. iv. 10; Rom. xiv. 2-6), when reproving the lingering looks of superstitious fondness cast on the older dispensation by the Judaizing Christians, he would seem to argue the abolition of all the ancient commemorations, and in the first of these passages the very word 'Sabbaths' is employed. Looking at these passages, it seems impossible, at any rate, to deny that he who doubts whether the Christian Sunday was designed to *take the place* of the Jewish Sabbath has exceedingly strong grounds for his opinion. It



is surely very uncandid not to admit it. To say that the apostle really means that these Judaisers should not observe their Sabbaths as *Jewish*, but as *Christian*; that while 'Sabbaths' in general were abolished, the Sabbath was still retained, though to be celebrated on another day, and by another name, and for different purposes; that they should not regard with such punctilious and scrupulous observance the seventh day, but that they might and ought the first (though he says not a syllable of all this)—requires, in the first place, proof, of which the N. T. furnishes none; and in the second, would make the reasoning of the apostle nugatory, since his *argument* is to show that *no* such days demand the *sort* of observance which the Jewish law required.

But if it be said that since the institution of the Sabbath was of such immense moment, and of such essential value both to the physical and moral well-being of man, and since its *subject-matter* is chiefly moral, it would be strange if Christianity had nothing *analogous* to it; and that therefore we might naturally look for traces of some similar institution in the N. T.—in *that* we fully agree. And, in our judgment, such traces may be found in the Lord's day; though we do not see any evidence that it is merely the Jewish Sabbath with the day and name changed, nor that it is designed to bear the same precise character, nor to occupy the same place. On the contrary, it is pretty plain that, though its object and purpose be analogous, it is discriminated from the Jewish Sabbath by many marked characteristics, which, in the absence of distinct declarations that these are to be considered merely accidental to the institution, make it a different institution. As already said, the day is different, and yet no mention of a transfer; the occasion is different, and no hint of the substitution of one set of commemorated events for another; the penalties and sanctions of the law appear no longer, and are replaced by no others; the *observance* of the day is not prescribed by express statute at all, but the obligation is left to be gathered, by way of inference, from oblique references, and the early practices of the apostles; it is not made compulsory as the Jewish Sabbath so expressly was; instead of appealing to a rigid demand of law, it presents itself as a privilege of grateful love and spontaneous reverence. It is enforced not so much by the precept of those who legislated for the early church, as by their known *example*, which could not but recommend their practice to those who held them in perpetual veneration.

So much for the light in which the Lord's day appears to be represented in the N. T. If it be thought that thereby its authority is weakened, we answer, Far from it to those (and the N. T. addresses only such) who are willing to render the obedience of the heart, and to make loyal love take the place of what is 'set down in the bond'; the obligation is only the more perfect from the spiritual nature of the institution. Considered in this light, we have no hesitation in saying that the reasoning which represents the Lord's day as *binding* on the Christian, though not precisely after a Jewish fashion, is, in spite of being founded only on primitive practice and inferential reasoning, quite irrefutable. Let us look at that reasoning.

And, first, it is evident that the Christians during the lifetime of the apostles did hold *stated* assemblies for religious worship and instruction—assem-

blies which it was considered a duty to attend, and culpable to neglect. This appears plainly from Heb. x. 25, where they are exhorted 'not to forsake the assembling of themselves together, as the manner of some is.' This of course implies *fixed* times for such public acts. Now, secondly, we do in fact find repeated references to such assemblies taking place on the *first* day of the week; and most of the memorable events in the history of the N. T. church are expressly connected with that day. An induction from all the passages in which the *first* day of the week is mentioned cannot fail to convey, to any candid mind, an indelible impression that the founders of Christianity designed to put a signal honour upon it. As matter of fact, it was the day on which Christians met, under the sanction, and in accordance with the example and practice, of the apostles, for instruction and devotion, for the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and the appropriation, to purposes of charity and benevolence, of their substance, 'according as God had prospered them.' It is undeniable that stated periodic assembling of Christians for these purposes—and we have seen from the passage in Heb. x. that there *were* such assemblies—took place on this day, and, so far as we are told, on no other.

Our Lord having risen on the first day of the week (*τῇ μᾶ σαββάτῳ*), and having manifested himself on several different occasions on that day—for example, to Mary Magdalene, to the other women, to Peter alone, to the two disciples on the way to Emmaus in the evening, and afterwards to the assembled apostles in the upper room—did not appear again till after eight days (*μεθ' ἡμέρας ὀκτώ*), that is, according to the usual reckoning, on the *first* day of the following week. The day of Pentecost in that year fell, as it seems, on the first day of the week; and it was signalled by the impartation of those miraculous gifts which equipped the apostles for their grand commission. In Acts xx. 7, when Christianity had already made considerable progress, we meet with the incidental notice that the first day of the week, already so signalled, had become the regular day when the disciples met for mutual edification and the celebration of the Lord's Supper. We are there told that when St. Paul came to Troas 'he abode there seven days, and upon the *first* day of the week, when the disciples came together to break bread, Paul preached unto them.' In 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2, when he gives the Christians in that church instructions concerning 'the collection for the saints,' he associates the public performance of that duty with the *first* day of the week, and intimates that his instructions were not addressed to them in special, but that he had issued them also to the churches in general: 'As I have given orders to the churches in Galatia, even so do ye. . . . On the first day of the week, let every one lay by in store, as God hath prospered him.' In the book of Revelation, John says, 'I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day' (*ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ*); and though there has been some dispute among commentators as to whether the phrase refers to the *first* day of the week, there can hardly be any rational doubt, considering that the very phrase is that by which the day consecrated to the commemoration of Christ's resurrection has become designated.

If the evidence stopped even here, Christians would have it to say, that as it was a plain duty, enjoined in Scripture, 'not to forsake the assem-

bling of themselves together,' but to meet for the above public offices of religion, so they had both the *precept* and the *example* of the apostles themselves, and of the Christian churches of the N. T., for such *stated* and *public* 'assembling' on that day and on no other. Nor is it possible to conceive, since such public assemblies must be held on some day, that any day could more commend itself to them and to us than that which commemorates the cardinal event in the history of Christianity,—the resurrection of our Lord.

When we consider, further, how these conclusions are confirmed by the whole stream of ecclesiastical tradition, usage, and practice; that the earliest Christian literature bears evidence to the distinction put on this day above every other; that the observance of the day for the above-mentioned purposes was continued throughout all the churches; that express statements and casual allusions alike bear witness to these same facts;—it is scarcely possible to avoid the conclusion that the Founders of Christianity, however scanty their allusions to the subject in their writings, foreknew that their example would, and designed that it should, give the law to future generations.

We have not space, nor is it at all necessary, to give the succession of testimonies along the early centuries to this effect. The reader, if he wishes the detailed evidence (the facts are sufficiently notorious) may refer to Hessey's *Bampton Lectures*, Lect. ii. Two notices, however, of great importance, immediately linking the N. T. history with that of the succeeding ages, may be mentioned. Pliny, in his letter to Trajan, A.D. 107, speaks of the Christians as assembling on a *stated* day 'to sing hymns to Christ as God,' and to bind themselves by an oath (*Sacramentum*) to discharge certain characteristic prescribed duties in the moral code of their founder; and as assembling again 'to take a meal.' This is an obvious, though, as is natural in a heathen, somewhat confused account of the ordinary worship of the Christians; yet, as we have seen in the N. T. records that they never met for such stated purposes but on one day, it is hardly possible to doubt that this is 'the day' to which Pliny refers. In confirmation of this view, Justin Martyr, writing about thirty years after (A.D. 140) expressly tells us *what* the day of public assembly was: 'On the day called Sunday (*τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγόμενη ἡμέρᾳ*) there is an assembly of all who live either in the cities or in the country districts;' and in his account of what transpired there, he gives us a tolerably exact transcript of the chief characteristics of Christian worship at the present day. He tells us that the 'memoirs (*ἀπομνημόνευματα*) of the apostles and the writings of the prophets were read, that prayer was offered, that the president of the assembly delivered a discourse, that the Lord's Supper was celebrated, and alms collected.' He tells us also 'that the first day was observed, because it was the day on which God created the light, and on which Jesus Christ our Saviour rose from the dead.'

But admitting the manifest obligation of Christians to observe the day, what, it may be asked, is the *mode*? We can only answer that, in the absence of all minute directions (which is so marked a characteristic of the N. T. in all matters of ritual), this must be, to a large extent, determined by the conscience of the individual Christian. If he be one indeed,

duly impressed with the glorious events which the day is designed to commemorate; really inclined to ponder the divine themes which it is intended to impress on his memory and his heart; if they be in his eyes the things which 'belong to his peace;' if he believes that the day is chiefly designed to neutralise the inordinate effect of the 'things seen and temporal,' and to enable him to recover his just sense of the 'things unseen and eternal;' if he values for this purpose a day which invites to mental calm, and affords a breakwater against those stormy cares which beat on him when he is on the open sea of the world; if he recognises, as regards the body, the mercy of the law which forbids him to be a slave of toil, and intermits its pressure for a little time; if, in a word, the day be welcome to him as calculated to answer *all* the beneficent purposes of such a day—whether Jewish or Christian, the ancient Sabbath or the modern Sunday—he will not account it a 'weariness,' feel its hours long and irksome, or be at a loss how to employ it profitably and innocently, though he be forbidden 'to buy and sell, and get gain,' or do 'any manner' of needless 'servile work.' Then will come true all that Jeremy Taylor and other writers have so beautifully said as to the increased, not diminished, obligations which will be felt by every true believer, precisely *because* he feels the observance of the day to be enforced by love rather than command, by example rather than precept, in imitation of primitive practice rather than by any legal bond. But if a man feel nothing of all this, we know not that the N. T. says anything to *enforce* the day on his observance. In conformity with its whole genius and character, Christianity appeals to 'a willing mind,' and what it cannot get from that, by persuasive argument and appeals to men's best affections, it disdains to secure by ritual punctilio and precise legal stipulation.

As regards the duty of the *public* religious observance of the day by every Christian who acknowledges the authority of the N. T., there can be little doubt. It has been seen that public worship, the 'not forsaking of the assembling of ourselves together,' is mentioned as an express duty; and that duty can be discharged only by a general compact to observe the same day of meeting. The apostles and primitive Christians chiefly met for such purpose on the 'Lord's day,' as is evident from sacred and ecclesiastical history; and Christians still observe the same day for the same purpose. Public worship, then, according to the conscientious convictions entertained by Christians, will be one marked feature in the mode of observing the day. As to the number and frequency of the public services which each can profitably attend, or what proportion of time he shall give to private religious duties; and, when not engaged in directly religious duties, what latitude of social relaxation he shall permit himself,—all this, like so much else that relates to the mode of observing the day, must be left to the individual conscience of the Christian; for certain it is that the N. T. says nothing on the subject, nor, it is manifest, can any one rule be laid down for all.

That the primitive Christians continued through the post-apostolic age of the church to celebrate the day by public assemblies for religious worship is plain from the evidence, already cited, of Justin Martyr and others. Nor is it uninteresting to ob-



serve that the services consisted substantially of the same parts as at present : namely, the reading and exposition of the Scriptures, psalmody, and prayer ; and, as already said, these same elements of public worship are found alluded to in the early letter (*cir.* 107) of Pliny to Trajan.

As regards the degree of strictness with which the Christian shall observe the day in private, it is equally impossible to lay down any rule in the absence of any precise instructions in the N. T. The *principles* already enunciated must determine the matter. If the Christian regards the day as both a 'holiday' and a 'holy day,' and its celebration determinable by its whole design, it is certain that he will not permit himself in any kind of worldly occupation which can be avoided, because that would simply poison it under the *former* of these notions ; nor in any such recreation, however innocent on other days, or in itself, which would be inconsistent with the desire that others should have the rest which he himself wishes to enjoy, or which would (as many recreations will) jar with the spirit and the duties of the day, untune the mind, and dissipate whatever of salutary impression has been produced. But even within these limits the judgment of what may be done or not will vary considerably in different minds. Yet, since Christians (if they be such indeed) will not be oblivious on this day of that charity which is so strongly inculcated on *every* day, each will be content to allow his brother a reasonable liberty, and be happy if he 'does not condemn himself in the thing that he alloweth.' Certainly the notion of some, that the whole day should be given up to unbroken religious thought, emotion, and contemplation, is a mere absurdity, and refutes itself by its impracticability. It is an effort of which the human mind is wholly incapable, and, if made, can only issue in outward formality of gesture and manner in which the heart takes no part. Such a constrained posture of the mind would be as incompatible with the 'rest' of the Lord's day as that constrained posture of the body which some of the Rabbis tell us the Jew, in certain circumstances, must preserve during the whole day lest he profane the Sabbath, would be with *its* rest. In fact, either would make any day inexpressibly irksome. Variety of mental mood, changes in the train of thought, are essential to the salutary action of the mind, whether our employments be religious or secular ; and it would be as impossible, under ordinary conditions of mind, to spend the whole day even in the most interesting religious exercises, without pause or change, as in uninterrupted and energetic action of any other kind. And practically, we never do find the most scrupulous advocates of Sabbath rigour attempt any such vain conformity to their own ideal of Sabbath sanctity. Follow them to their homes and to the social meal, and they converse as freely (for aught we have ever been able to see) on topics which naturally suggest themselves at table, as anybody else with laxer notions. Nor need undue laxity be feared by any who have a due regard for the day. The unconscious influence of the habits of sincere respect for the institution will keep all such topics within bounds, both as regards their nature and the degree of attention given to them ; and this unconscious reverence is a far better safeguard against laxity than any strained and artificial *tabooing* of specified topics can be. For the latter would infallibly produce a self-

conscious constraint inconsistent with spontaneous and genuine emotion, and utterly prevent that natural play of the faculties without which all social intercourse becomes irksome and unprofitable.

For this reason, if there were no other, the Christian will render all his occupations, even those of a religious character, as varied as possible ; in his reading, for example, he will vary works of a more directly religious or devotional character with religious biography and history, and the poetry and fiction of devout imagination. If spent by the Christian as it ought to be, in harmony with the joyous events it commemorates, or the primitive traditions of the church, the day will certainly not be one of ascetic gloom or irksome constraint.

In the preceding remarks we have confined ourselves to the question as to what the 'Lord's day' is, and what sort of celebration it may be supposed to involve on the part of him who acknowledges the divine authority of the N. T., judging from the evidence that can be adduced from the N. T. itself, or from primitive practice as interpreting it. If it be asked, What in this matter is required from those who are *not* in any sense Christians ? it must be replied, 'Nothing at all.' If it be further asked, Has not then the legislature the right to enjoin and enforce the observance of the day on all classes of the community ? we answer, If it be an observance in any sense *religious*, it has no more right than to compel anybody to go to church or chapel, or to say his prayers, or read his Bible ; and as all such rights are now distinctly renounced by the legislature, so, in fact, is the right of enforcing the religious observances of the day. But, on the other hand, if it be asked whether it is not competent to the legislature to compel all classes of the community to abstain from their ordinary occupations, and to suspend all public business which is not necessary on that day—that is, to proclaim certain days of rest and relaxation—we answer, It is ; but not on religious grounds ; not therefore to enforce the celebration of the day because it is the 'Lord's day.' If it can do that, it might as consistently attempt (as it used to do) a great deal more. Assuredly it cannot plead any, the slightest authority, from the statute-book of the N. T. for enforcing the observance of the 'Lord's day' on the public generally. It is competent, no doubt, on the part of our own or of any legislature, to take every seventh or every tenth day for the purpose of 'rest,' and on the general grounds of necessity and expediency (which prove some such days to be *essential* to a nation's welfare), to determine that on these days the ordinary toils of life and the turmoil of business in our streets, markets, and public offices shall cease. It may take any days already fixed by custom for this purpose, or change those already fixed, and adopt others. If it be wise, indeed, it will do as our legislature actually does—take those days which public custom or religious reverence has already fixed upon for these very purposes, though not for these *exclusively* ; for otherwise the 'holidays' would become too frequent. Among ourselves, for example, the legislature, unless bereft of common sense, would never forget, in fixing such days, to take into consideration that the great bulk of the people are Christians, and *will* observe the Lord's day as a day of 'rest' (though not for that end alone), whether the legislature sanctions this or any

other. And since two days of rest in seven would be too frequent, it would be obviously expedient that the legislature should adopt this day in preference to another, simply because, in point of fact, it is already set apart to attain the same object, though those who observe it contemplate other objects besides. Similarly, if the great bulk of a community were Jews, not therefore living under a foreign government, it would be as obviously wise to fix on the seventh day. But while conceding to any legislature the right to fix periodic suspension of all ordinary business and 'servile' work, in obedience to one of its first and most vital duties,—that of providing the periodic recreation which all history and experience show to be necessary to the health and wellbeing of the community,—we deny that it has the right to enact any law on the subject which shall go beyond this end; nor probably will governments in general ever be able to do *all* that they legitimately might, even within these restricted limits, unchallenged or uncensured.

Whether we look at the civil or religious welfare of the nation, we are most anxious that the above view should prevail. Until it does, Christianity will never cease to be libelled and calumniated as intruding beyond its sphere, and as infringing on religious liberty. Any, the most moderate interference with individual freedom, the most moderate attempts to enforce the law of the public 'rest,' will be apt to be charged as an invasion of civil rights, and an act of persecution.\* The consequence is, that a clear, most legitimate, and beneficial exercise of the civil right of the legislature (disguised by its being pressed on purely religious grounds) is questioned or denied, which otherwise would be readily conceded.

\* See this matter taken up in a little *brochure*, published during the last general discussion of the subject of Sunday observance, entitled 'Three letters on the Sunday question,' by N. M. P., in which the author imagines an atheist, in a legislature of atheists, claiming for it, and as I think justly, the liberty of doing that which is rarely attempted by *our* legislature without bringing down a stream of indignant eloquence about religious persecution and religious liberty; in utter oblivion that a just legitimate authority of the legislature is thereby denied, simply because the question is unwisely implicated with religious considerations. See particularly pp. 8-12.

The celebrated edict of Constantine, so much censured by some, and as much applauded by others, appears to us pretty nearly an example of what the civil lawgiver can rightfully attempt in any such matter; and it would have been well if he had stopped there, and never given his successors precedents for proceeding further. It was issued A.D. 321, some years, therefore, before he became sole master of the Empire, or took the Church under the avowed protection of the state, and about eight years after the edict of Milan, which proclaimed the welcome doctrine of Toleration. Some think the edict an indication that he was already secretly a Christian, that it was to protect *Christian* worship that he issued it, and that Sunday, 'Dies Solis,' was already a familiar synonym for the 'Lord's day'; others (as Gibbon), that 'Dies Solis,' Apollo's day, indicates that Constantine was still a heathen, and was chiefly intent on paying honour to his patron deity. However this may be, its object is to sus-

If Christianity were to cease from among us, if we were all to become atheists, it would not be less necessary than now, as M. Proudhon and many other men with as little religious conviction as he maintain, that nations should have their periodic intervals, and those not unfrequent, of public rest. So far as such intervals are essential to the physical and social welfare of the community, it certainly falls within the proper province of the civil power to appoint them. But then the nature of the observance which the magistrate has a right to demand will necessarily depend on the objects for which alone he is empowered to appoint them; that is, observance will involve only the intermission of the ordinary avocations of life. The reason which justifies the magistrate in demanding this much, in telling a man that he shall not drive his ordinary trade or business on such day, is obvious; it is because, by the general consent, some such days are essential to the common weal, and he, as the organ of the community, is entrusted with the duty of securing that what is every man's right should be (which it otherwise could not) enjoyed by each member of the community. It is only thus that the dependent and labouring classes can be sure of that leisure which the law awards them; that the fair dealer, paying respect to the claims of government, can be protected against one who, for the sake of gain, would employ in labour the hours which those who obey the law give to repose. So far the magistrate has clear right on his side. But he has no right (so the whole nation declares both by its theory and practice) to say how any one who does not violate the rights of others shall employ the leisure secured to him on such days; in fasting or feasting; in company or alone; in wor-

pend the ordinary avocations and business of life, with the exception of works of presumed necessity or humanity, in pursuance of the several benefits of a periodic 'public rest;' leaving each man, Christian or heathen, to spend the day as he pleased, provided he did not, in enjoying his own day of rest, invade the privilege of his neighbours. In the estimation of many people, indeed, the edict gave a too ample immunity to the agriculturist,—albeit the reference to the fact that the seasons will not *always* allow of delay in farming operations would suggest the idea that it was not a general license to the farmers to work, independently of that consideration. The words of this memorable document are as follows:—'IMPERATOR CONSTANTINUS AUG. HELPIDIO.—Omnes judices urbanæque plebes et cunctarum artium officia venerabili Die Solis quiescant. Ruri tamen positi agrorum culturæ liberè licenterque inserviant, quoniam frequenter venit ut non aptius alio die frumenta sulcis aut vineæ scrobibus mandentur, ne occasione momenti pereant commoditas coelesti provisione concessa.' *Dat. Non. Mart. Crispo II. et Constantino II. Coss.*

'Let all the magistrates and all the city populations rest, and the functions of all who are engaged in the arts cease on the venerable day of the Sun. Nevertheless, those dwelling in the country may freely and lawfully attend to the claims of agriculture,—since it often happens that another day will not be so fit for sowing grain or planting vines,—that the blessings granted us by heaven's bounty may not be lost by neglecting the proper moment of securing them.'



ship or amusement. In exacting the one sort of observance the law is but protecting the interests and legally-recognised rights of all classes in the community; in attempting the other, it would be violating the rights of conscience. In enforcing the former, it is only exacting from each member of the community respect for the property of his neighbour—for the time thus given for relaxation is each man's property; in exacting the latter, it would be dictating the way in which each shall use his own.\*

But as there has unquestionably grown up among many Christian churches and communities a notion of the obligation to spend the day in a more gloomy and ascetic fashion than either the O. T. sanctions in relation to the Sabbath or the N. in relation to the Lord's day, it is worth while to enquire how this occurred. It is principally due, we apprehend, to causes which ought to make those who inveigh against 'Puritan scruples and fanaticism,' as the chief causes, at least a little more moderate. For though there have been periods, no doubt, when religious men have been chargeable with excessive and absurd scrupulosity in relation to this matter, certainly the primary cause of their error—that which made it possible for them to wish to impose their scruples as a rule on the community—originated in the vexatious legislation which the state, when once made the patron of the church, thought it had a right to indulge in. It was not simply as religious men, but as men who had the notion that the state could rightfully intrude into this province, that they clamoured for minute and stringent legislation on the subject; and in so doing they only acted in accordance with the practice and traditions of centuries. The religious communities to which they belonged were *conditioned* by ancient precedents, and therefore held exaggerated views of what falls within the civil province to enact and enforce. It is only necessary to read the decisions of the several ecclesiastical councils after the time of Constantine, to see how the influence of the civil power tended to render the law more minute and stringent; it made the observance of the day more precise and universal in its obligation, defined what scripture had left indefinite, and limited what it left free. And as it was the natural tendency of the civil power to do this, as also to demand summary, complete, and universal obedience, so it enacted a number of penalties for disobedience of which scripture knows nothing, and which were entirely owing to the enlargement of church authority conferred and enforced in virtue of its state alliance. And lastly,

as the church, enlarging its claims with this alliance, sought precedents for its new pretensions in the O. T. (where the theocratical and civil elements were *really* combined), it pressed to the utmost the analogies between the Jewish Sabbath and the Lord's day, in defence of its successive innovations. In its eagerness to find such precedents, it not only perverted the Lord's day, but, as we have seen, misinterpreted the Jewish Sabbath also, and saw in that a character of gloom and austerity which never originally belonged to it. Hence, in the first instance, the exaggerated and distorted notions of the day, the rigorous observance enjoined, and the multitude of minute and vexatious laws which civil legislatures, or ecclesiastical councils acting with and backed by them, have from time to time framed; hence also, chiefly, not only morose and excessively rigid views of the kind of observance which the day demands, but traditional errors as to the power of the state to make such observance binding on the community at large.

The reader may see this in part illustrated in Dr. Hessey's *Bampton Lectures*, where, though much more might be said to show how vexatious, minute, and tyrannical were the laws and regulations made by ecclesiastical authority, when it had the civil power at its beck, enough is said to show that the Puritans, brought up in the same notions of the powers of church and state, found the task of pressing the supposed analogies from the Jewish Sabbath pretty well done to their hands.\* Speaking even of the 4th century, our author truly says: 'Insensibly, in part from dependence upon secular aid, and imitation of secular legislation (which must be universal in its terms and stringent in the enforcement of its commands) . . . rest, though emphatically a *Christian* rest, is beginning to be insisted on, attendance at divine worship, heretofore a *service of love*, is enforced by ecclesiastical penalties' (p. 113). A little further he says, as truly: 'In the centuries ranging from the 6th to the 15th, we find civil rulers, and councils, and ecclesiastical writers, by degrees altering their tone' (p. 116), and he proceeds to give illustrations of this in a brief historic survey. It is not wonderful that, partaking in the same erroneous notions of what 'church and state' conjointly might rightfully attempt, and having such a long array of precedents to back them, the Puritans should have fallen into similar errors; and as to the direction of those errors, it is fair to recollect (what Dr. Hessey candidly admits) the utterly 'unsatisfactory state of the observance of Sunday throughout the reign of Elizabeth (A.D. 1558-1603):' nor must we forget that the methods by which it was sought to counterwork the Puritans were errors of precisely the same kind, only in an opposite direction, and still more

\* And here it may be observed by the way, that even if it be true that the N. T. does not so precisely bind upon those who receive it the observance of one day out of seven, as the O. T. bound the Jewish people, it would be well for all who profess Christianity to consider whether (though they be left to a freer law) they are likely to find any better general solution of the problem as to the wisest limits of alternate toil and rest; they would do well to reflect that it has been (if they admit the divine origin of the law among the Jews) once settled by a wisdom greater than ours, and without any special reference (so far as appears) to the wants or capacities of that particular nation; more probably with reference to the constitution of man and the ends of human society in general.

\* Among other things, Dr. Hessey says: 'A synod held at Friuli, A.D. 791, under Pepin king of France, makes a singular canon in reference to the Lord's day, *Etiam a propriis conjugibus*, etc., which savours very strongly of Judaism,' p. 117. If Dr. Hessey refers to Judaism as it is found in the O. T., certainly no parallel regulation respecting the *Sabbath* exists there. If by Judaism he means *traditional* Judaism, he ought surely to have said that it 'savoured' of what was directly *contrary* to 'Judaism;' at least, if we may believe the representations of Buxtorf (*Synag. Jud.* pp. 321-23).





*Shana*, ii. 15; *Babylon Talmud Erubin*, 56 b, 57 a; Zuckermann in Frankel's *Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, vol. xii. p. 467, ff. Breslau 1863).—C. D. G.

**SABBATICAL YEAR** (שנת השמיטה, *Shanat ha-Shmita*, or simply שמיטה; ἑβδοματικός, or σαββατικός ἐνιαυτός), the septennial rest for the land from all tillage and cultivation enjoined in the Mosaic law (Exod. xxiii. 10, 11; Lev. xxv. 2-7; Deut. xv. 1-11; xxxi. 10-13).

1. *Names and their signification*.—In the Mosaic legislation this festival is called by four names, each of which expresses some feature connected with the observance thereof. Thus it is called—*i.* שבתון, *Rest of entire Rest, or Sabbath of Sabbatism* (Lev. xxv. 4), because the land is to have a complete rest from all tillage and cultivation; *ii.* שנת שבתון, *the Year of Sabbatism or Rest* (*ibid.* xxv. 5), because the rest is to extend through the year; *iii.* שמיטה, or more fully שנת השמיטה, *Release, Remission, or the Year of Release* (Deut. xv. 1, 2, 9), because on it all debts were remitted; and *iv.* שנת השבע, *the Seventh Year* (Deut. xv. 9), because it is to be celebrated every seventh year, for which reason it is called in the Hebrew canons קר' עֶשְׂרִים, *שביעית, the Seventh (i.e. שנה, Year)*, as is also the name of the Tractate in the *Mishna* treating on the Sabbatical year.

2. *The laws connected with this Festival*.—Like the year of Jubilee, the laws respecting the Sabbatical year embrace three main enactments—(1), Rest for the soil; (2), Care for the poor and for animals; and (3), Remission of debts.

The first enactment, which is comprised in Exod. xxiii. 10, 11; Lev. xxv. 2-5, enjoins that the soil, the vineyards, and the olive-yards, are to have perfect rest, there is to be no tillage or cultivation of any sort. What constitutes tillage and cultivation, and how much of labour was regarded as transgressing the law, may be seen from the following definitions of the Hebrew canons:—'The planting even of trees which bear no fruit is not allowed on the Sabbatical year; nor may one cut off withered or dried up boughs of trees, nor break off the withered leaves and branches, nor cover the tops with dust, nor smoke under them to kill the insects, nor besmear the plants with any kind of soil to protect them from being eaten by the birds when they are tender, nor besmear the unripe fruit, etc. etc. And whoso does one of these things in the Sabbatical year is to receive the stripes of a transgressor' (Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chezaka Hilchoth Shenita Ve-Jobel*, i. 5). Anything planted wittingly or unwittingly had to be plucked up by its roots (*Mishna, Teruma*, ii. 3).

The second enactment, which is contained in Exod. xxiii. 11; Lev. xxv. 5-7, enjoins that the spontaneous growth (ספירה) of the fields or of trees is to be for the free use of the poor, hirelings, strangers, servants, and cattle (Exod. xxiii. 11; Lev. xxv. 5-7). This law is thus defined by the Jewish canons:—'He who locks up his vineyard, or hedges in his field, or gathers all the fruit into his house in the Sabbatical year, breaks this positive commandment. Everything is to be left common, and every man has a right to everything in every place, as it is written, 'that the poor of thy people may eat' (Exod. xxiii. 11). One may only bring into his house a little at a time, according to the manner of taking things that are in

common' (Maimonides, *ibid.* iv. 24). 'The fruit of the seventh year, however, may only be eaten by man as long as the same kind is found in the field; for it is written, 'and for the cattle and for the beast that are in thy land shall all the increase thereof be meat' (Lev. xxv. 7). Therefore as long as the animals eat the same kind in the field thou mayest eat of what there is of it in the house, and if the animal has consumed it all in the field thou art bound to remove this kind from the house into the field' (Maimonides, *ibid.* vii. 1). The people, who are enjoined to live upon the harvest of the preceding year, and the spontaneous growth of the Sabbatical year, are promised an especially fruitful harvest to precede the fallow year as a reward for obeying the injunction (Lev. xxv. 20-22). That the fields yielded a crop in the Sabbatical year, and even in the second fallow year—*i.e.*, in the year of Jubilee—has been shown in the article JUBILEE, THE YEAR OF.

The third enactment, which is contained in Deut. xv. 1-3, enjoins the remission of debts in the Sabbatical year. This law is defined by the ancient Hebrew canons as follows:—The Sabbatical year cancels every debt, whether lent on a bill or not. It does not cancel accounts for goods; daily wages for labour which may be performed in the Sabbatical year, unless they have been converted into a loan; or the legal fines imposed upon one who committed a rape, or was guilty of seduction (Exod. xxii. 15, 16), or slander, or any judicial penalties; nor does it set aside a debt contracted

on a pledge, or on a פרוכבול=πρόσ βουλή (λήν)—*i.e.* declaration made before the court of justice at the time of lending not to remit the debt in the Sabbatical year. The formula of this legal declaration was as follows—'I, A B, deliver to you, the judges of the district C, the declaration that I may call in at any time I like all debts due to me,' and it was signed either by the judges or witnesses. If this *Proshul* was ante-dated it was legal, but it was invalid if post-dated. If one borrowed money from five different persons a *Proshul* was necessary from each individual; but if, on the contrary, one lent money to five different persons one *Proshul* was sufficient for all. This *Proshul* was first introduced by Hillel the Great (born about 75 B.C.) [HILLEL I.], because he found that the warning contained in Deut. xv. 9 was disregarded: the rich would not lend to the poor for fear of the Sabbatical year, which seriously impeded commercial and social intercourse (*Mishna, Shebi'ith*, x. 1-5; *Gittin*, iv. 3). This shows beyond the shadow of a doubt that the release of the seventh year did not simply last through the seventh year, as some will have it, but was final. The doctors before and in the time of Christ virtually did away with this law of remitting debts by regarding it as a meritorious act on the part of the debtor not to avail himself of the Mosaic enactment, and pay his debts irrespective of the Sabbatical year. But not glancingly to counteract the law, these doctors enacted that the creditor should say, 'In accordance with the Sabbatical year, I remit thee the debt;' whereunto the debtor had to reply, 'I nevertheless wish to pay it,' and the creditor then accepted the payment (*Mishna, Shebi'ith*, x. 8). As the Mosaic law excludes the foreigner from the privilege of claiming the remission of his debts in the Sabbatical year (Deut. xv. 3), the ancient Jewish canons enacted that even

if any Israelite borrows money from a proselyte whose children were converted to Judaism with him, he need not legally repay the debt to his children in case the proselyte dies; because the proselyte, in consequence of his conversion, is regarded as having severed all his family ties, and this dissolution of the ties of nature sets aside mutual inheritance, even if the children professed Judaism with the father. Still the sages regarded it as a meritorious act if the debts were paid to the children (*Mishna, Shebiith*, x. 9).

3. *Time, observance, and limit of the Sabbatical year.*—The Sabbatical year, like the year of Jubilee, began on the first day of the civil new year = the first of the month *Tishri* (Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chetzaka, Hilchoth Shemita Ve-Yobel*, iv. 9); [NEW YEAR, FEAST OF]. But though this was the time fixed for the celebration of the Sabbatical year during the period of the second temple, yet the tillage and cultivation of certain fields and gardens had already to be left off in the sixth year. Thus it was ordained that fields upon which trees were planted were not to be cultivated after the feast of Pentecost of the sixth year (*Mishna, Shebiith*, i. 1-8), whilst the cultivation of corn-fields was to cease from the feast of Passover (*ibid.* ii. 1). Since the destruction of the temple, however, the Sabbatical year, or more properly cessation from tillage and cultivation of all kinds, does not begin till the feast of New Year. According to the Mosaic legislation, the laws of the Sabbatical year were to come into operation when the children of Israel had possession of the promised land, and the Talmud, Maimonides, etc., tell us that the first Sabbatical year was celebrated in the twenty-first year after they entered Canaan; as the conquest of it recorded in Josh. xiv. 10 occupied seven years, and the division thereof between the different tribes mentioned in Josh. xviii. etc., occupied seven years more, whereupon they had to cultivate it six years, and on the seventh year = the twenty-first after entering therein, the first Sabbatical year was celebrated (*Babylon Talmud Erachin*, 12 b; Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chetzaka, Hilchoth Shemita Ve-Yobel*, x. 2). On the feast of Tabernacles of the Sabbatical year, certain portions of the Law were read in the temple before the whole congregation (Deut. xxxi. 10-13). As the Pentateuchal enactment assigns the prælection of the Law to the priests and college of presbyters (Deut. *ibid.*)—viz. the spiritual and civil heads of the congregation (hence the singular תקרא, 'thou shalt read this law before all Israel')—the Hebrew canons ordained that the high-priest, and after the return from Babylon the king, should perform this duty. The manner in which it was read by the monarch is thus described in the *Mishna*: 'At the close of the first day of the feast of Tabernacles in the eighth year—i.e. at the termination of the seventh fallow year, a wooden platform was erected in the outer court, whereon he sat, as it is written, 'at the end of the seventh year on the festival' (Deut. xxxi. 10). Whereupon the superintendent of the synagogue took the Book of the Law and gave it to the head of the synagogue; the head of the synagogue then gave it to the head of the priests, the head of the priests again gave it to the high-priest, and the high-priest finally handed it to the king; the king stood up to receive it but read it sitting. He, read—i. Deut. i. 1-vi. 3 (אלה הדברים עד שמע); ii. Deut. vi. 4-8 (שמע); iii. Deut. xi. 13-22 (והיה)

עשר) ; iv. Deut. xiv. 22-xv. 23 (א'ם שמוע תעשר); v. Deut. xxvi. 12-19 (כי תכלה לעשר); vi. Deut. xvii. 14-20 (פרשת המלך); and vii. Deut.

xxvii. xxviii. (כרבות וקללות עד שגמור כל הפרשה). The king then concluded with the same benediction which the high-priest pronounced, only that he substituted the blessing of the festivals for the absolution of sins' (*Mishna, Sota*, vii. 8). This benediction forms to the present day a part of the blessing pronounced by the *Maphtir*, or the one who is called to the reading of the lesson from the Prophets after the reading of the lesson from the Law, and is given in an English translation in the article HAPHTARA of this Cyclopædia, beginning with the words 'For the Law, for the divine service, etc.' The Sabbatical year, however, was only binding upon the inhabitants of Palestine (*Kiddushin*, i. 9; *Orlah*, iii. 9), the limits of which were determined on the east by the desert of Arabia, on the west by the sea, on the north by Amana, whilst on the south the boundary was doubtful (comp. Geiger, *Lehr und Lesbuch zur Sprache der Mishna*, vol. ii. p. 75, etc., Breslau 1845). As to the obedience to this law, ancient Jewish tradition tells us that it was never kept before the exile, and that it is for this reason that the Jews were seventy years in the Babylonish captivity, to give to the land the seventy years of which it was deprived during the seventy Sabbatical years, or the 430 years between the entrance into Canaan and the captivity, as it is written (2 Chron. xxxvi. 20, 21) 'until the land had enjoyed her Sabbaths [i.e. Sabbatical years], for as long as she lay desolate she kept Sabbath to fulfil threescore and ten years [i.e. Sabbatical years]' (comp. *Shabbath*, 13 a; *Seder Olam*, cap. xxvi; *Rashi* on 2 Chron. xxxvi. 20). After the captivity, however, when all the neglected laws were more rigidly observed, the Sabbatical year was duly kept, as is evident from the declaration in 1 Maccab. vi. 49, that 'they came out of the city, because they had no victuals there to endure the siege, it being a year of rest for the land,' from the fact that both Alexander the Great and Caius Cæsar exempted the Jews from tribute on the seventh year, because it was unlawful for them to sow seed or reap the harvest (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 6), and from the sneers of Tacitus about the origin of this festival (*Hist.* v. 2, 4), as well as from the undoubted records and the post-exile minute regulations about the Sabbatical year contained in the ancient Jewish writings.

4. *Literature.*—*Mishna, Shebiith; the Talmud* on this *Mishna*; Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chetzaka Hilchoth Shemita Ve-Yobel*; Michaelis, *Commentaries on the Laws of Moses*, articles lxxiv.-lxxvii. vol. i. p. 387-419, English Translation, London, 1814; Bähr, *Symbolik des Mosaischen Cultus*, vol. ii. pp. 569, ff.; 601, ff., Heidelberg 1839.—C. D. G.

SABÆNS. [SHEBA.]

SABTAH and SABTA (סבתה and סבתא; Σαββά; *Sabatha*), a son of Cush and founder of one of the nations of antiquity. The name is only mentioned in those two remarkable passages of Scripture which contain an account of the primeval colonisation of the world by the descendants of Noah (Gen. x. 7; 1 Chron. i. 9). Geographers, both ancient and modern, differ widely as to the position of the country to which Sabtah gave his



name. Some locate it in Ethiopia, on the river Astaboras (now *Takasse*), which flows through the province of Meroe (Joseph. *Antiq.* i. 6. 2; Kalisch on *Gen.* x.). Others say there is a trace of the ancient name and settlement in the city of *Sab-batha*, mentioned by Pliny and others as a noted place in south-eastern Arabia (Pliny, *H. N.* vi. 32; Winer, *R. W.* s. v. *Sabtha*). Others transfer it to the western shores of the Persian Gulf, where there stood a town called *Saphtha* (Bochart, *Opera*, i. 223). Other theories are mentioned in Winer and Bochart (*l. c.*)

It seems most probable that the great settlement of the tribe was in Africa; but some families may have wandered, as was customary in most of the ancient tribes, and left their traces along the shores of Arabia (see farther, Michaelis, *Spicil.* p. 191; Cellarius, *Geogr.* ii. 704; Gesenius, *Thes.* p. 936).—J. L. P.

#### SABTECHA and SABTECHAH (סַבְתָּחָה ;

Σαβαθακά ; Σεβεθαχά ; *Sabatata* ; *Sabathacha*) is mentioned in *Gen.* x. 7, and 1 *Chron.* i. 9, as the fifth, and apparently youngest son of Cush. The Bible gives no farther information either regarding the history of his descendants, or the country they occupied. Gesenius suggests that the territory must be sought for in the country of the Cushites, or Ethiopia (*Thes.* p. 936). And in confirmation of this view the name *Sabatok* has been discovered on Egyptian monuments (*Id.* p. 940; Kalisch on *Gen.* x. 7; Rosellini, *Monument.* ii. 198). Bochart would identify Sabtecha with *Samydace*, a city of Carmania on the northern shore of the Persian Gulf (*Opera*, i. 217; *Plol.* vi. 8); but both etymology and history are opposed to this theory.—J. L. P.

SACCUTO, or SAKKUTO (זכורת), also called *Sacut* (זכות), ABRAHAM B. SAMUEL, a celebrated astronomer, mathematician, historian, and lexicographer, was born in Salamanca about A.D. 1450. His distinguished talents secured for him the professorial chair of astronomy at Saragossa; and when he, together with 300,000 of his Jewish brethren, had to quit Spain, in consequence of the infamous edict for the expulsion of the Jews, issued by Ferdinand and Isabella, March 30, 1492, Saccuto repaired to Portugal, where King Emmanuel appointed him chronographer and astronomer-royal. His literary labours were, however, soon interrupted, for in 1496 the Jews were also expelled from Portugal, and Saccuto had to quit the country of his adoption and to seek an asylum in Tunis. It was here that he completed, in 1504—(1.) The famous chronicle entitled סֵפֶר יְהוֹסֵפִין, *the Book of Genealogies*, which comprises a chronological history of the Jews from the creation to A.M. 5260=A.D. 1500. In this elaborate work Saccuto gives an account of—*i.* The oral law as transmitted from Moses through the elders, prophets, sages, etc.; *ii.* The acts and monuments of the kings of Israel, as well as of the surrounding nations, in a chronological order; *iii.* The Babylonian colleges at Sora and Pumbedita; *iv.* The events which occurred during the period of the second temple; *v.* The different sects of that period—viz. the Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes, and Nazarites; *vi.* The Nesiim (נְסִיִּים), Gaonim (גְּאוֹנִים), or the princes of the captivity, and the rectors of the colleges after the close of the Talmud; and *vii.* The

post-Gaonim period, down to the end of the 15th century. Saccuto composed this work in imitation of a very ancient and important chronicle, *Fuchasin*, mentioned in the Talmud (*Pesachim*, 62 b), now lost. It is an encyclopedia of Jewish literature, and is indispensable to the student of Hebrew antiquities. It was first published at Constantinople 1566, then with sundry additions and glosses, Cracow 1581; Amsterdam 1717; Königsberg 1857; and from a MS. in the Bodleian library, with many corrections, additions, etc., by Filipowski, London 1857. It is to this excellent edition that the references in this cyclopædia are made. Saccuto also wrote (2.) A Rabbinic Aramaic Lexicon to the Chaldee paraphrases, the

Midrashim, and Talmud, entitled חֻסְפֵּת לְסֵפֶר הָעֵרֶךְ, which consists of—*i.* Additional references to passages containing the words given by R. Nathan's *Aruch* [NATHAN]; *ii.* New forms of the words explained by R. Nathan; *iii.* References to the works wherein they occur; and *iv.* Of an independent supplement containing about eighty new articles. This work has not as yet been published, but Geiger gives an elaborate account of it, and specimens from it, in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. xii. p. 144, ff., Leipzig 1858. He also wrote sundry theological and astronomical works, which are enumerated by Steinschneider, *Catalogus Hebr. Libr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, p. 706, etc.; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, iii. 200, etc.—C. D. G.

SACHS, MICHAEL, was born in Great Glogau, September 3, 1808. Owing to his distinguished talents, both as a Biblical scholar and as a preacher, he was invited to become the pastor of the New Temple at Prague in 1836, which office he occupied till 1844, when he was appointed rabbinat assessor to the Jewish community at Berlin, and in 1859 became chief rabbi of Pesth, where he remained till his death, January 31, 1864. The following are his valuable contributions to Biblical literature and archæology:—1. A German translation of the *Psalms*, with annotations, Berlin 1835. 2. *Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Isaiah, Joel, Amos, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Malachi, the Psalms, the Song of Songs, and Lamentations, as well as part of Jeremiah*, translated from the original Hebrew into German, embodied in the *Twenty-four Books of Holy Scripture according to the Massoretic Text*, edited by Zunz, Berlin 1838. 3. *Die religiöse Poesie der Juden in Spanien*, Berlin 1845. Excerpts of this work, which is replete with antiquarian lore, have been translated into English in the *Hebrew Review*, edited by Breslau, London 1860; and 4. *Beiträge zur Sprach und Alterthumsforschung*, 2 vols. Berlin 1852-54. These contributions are a storehouse of Jewish learning.—C. D. G.

#### SACKBUT. [MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.]

SACKCLOTH (שַׂק ; σάκκος). The sackcloth mentioned in Scripture was, as it is still in the East, a coarse black cloth, commonly made of hair (*Rev.* vi. 12) and was used for sacks (*Gen.* xlii. 25; *Lev.* xi. 32; *Josh.* ix. 4), and for mourning garments. In the latter case the garment, made to hang on the body like a sack, was worn instead of the ordinary outer garment, or next the skin, bound with a girdle of the same material upon the loins, or

spread under the mourner on the ground (Gen. xxxvii. 34; 1 Kings xxi. 27; Is. iii. 23; lviii. 5; Joel i. 8; Jonah iii. 5) [MOURNING]. Such garments were also worn by prophets, and by ascetics generally (Is. xx. 2; Zech. iii. 4; comp. 2 Kings i. 8; Matt. iii. 4) [PROPHECY].

#### SACRIFICES. [OFFERING.]

SACY, LOUIS IS. LE MAISTRE DE, was born at Paris 29th March 1613. Having studied under the direction of the Abbe de St. Cyran, he became attached to the Port Royalists, and on assuming priest's orders was chosen director of the recluses at Port-Royal-des-Champs. He shared largely in the troubles of the Jansenists; from 1661 to 1668 he was a prisoner in the Bastille; he had often to change his residence, but ultimately settled in 1676 at Pomponne, where he died 4th Jan. 1684. Notwithstanding the unsettled state in which he was compelled to live, he found time for numerous and extensive literary works. His most important is *La Bible en Latin et en Francois, avec des explanations du sens literal et du sens spirituel tirées des saints Pères*, 32 vols. 8vo, Par. 1672 and following years. [FRENCH VERSIONS.] The translation of the N. T. was made three times, the author being anxious to combine fidelity with clearness and grace. Of this version, especially the N. T., Dr. Pye Smith praises 'the extraordinary excellence both as to fidelity of sentiment and felicity of expression' (*Four Discourses*, p. 286, 2d ed.)—W. L. A.

SADDUCEES (צְדֻקִים; N. T. and Josephus, Σαδδουκαῖοι, *Sadducei*, more properly *Zadokim* or *Zadokites*), one of the three sects or orders of Judaism in the time of Christ, the other two being the *Essenes* and the *Pharisees*.

1. *Name of the Sect and its signification.*—According to the current tradition of the Jews, the appellation צְדֻקִים, of which Σαδδουκαῖοι = *Sadducei* is the Greek form, is derived from *Zadok*, the name of the founder of this sect, who was a disciple of Antigonus of Soho, B. C. 200-170 [EDUCATION]. This is not only declared in the *Aboth di Rabbi Nathan* (cap. v.), but by Saadia Gaon, 892-942 A. D. [SAADIA GAON], by R. Nathan (circa 1030-1106 A. D.), in his lexicon called *Aruch*, s. v. בְּתוֹסִין; Maimonides (1135-1204 A. D.), in his commentary on *Aboth* (i. 3), but by the greatest Jewish authorities since the 9th century of the Christian era. Dr. Geiger who, in his *Urschrift und Übersetzungen der Bibel* (p. 105), shows in a most elaborate manner that there are not sufficient historical data for deriving the name Sadducee from *Zadok*, a disciple of Antigonus of Soho, derives it nevertheless from this proper name, which he assigns to another person of an earlier date, as will be seen in the sequel. Epiphanius, however, seems to derive it from a double source—viz. from a proper name *Zadok*, and from the Hebrew noun צֶדֶק, *righteousness*. He says that they call themselves Sadducees because this name is derived from *righteousness*, as ZEDEK denotes *righteousness* (Ἐπονομάζουσιν ἑαυτοὺς Σαδδουκαίους δὴθεν ἀπὸ δικαιοσύνης τῆς ἐπικλήσεως ὀνομασμένης· σεδὲκ γὰρ ἐρμηνεύεται δικαιοσύνη); and that there was also anciently a priest named *Zadok*, but they did not continue in the doctrines of their (ἐπιστάτης) chief (*Adversus Hæreses*, i. 14). Dr. Löw rejects altogether the derivation of Sadducee from the proper name *Zadok*, for the following reasons:—i.

Because there is no precedent in the whole ancient Jewish history for the followers of a sect to be called by the name of the chief of the sect, and that it is as contrary to the genius of the Hebrew if צְדֻקִי is taken as the proper name צְדֻק, with י appended, to translate it a *follower of Zadok*, as it would be to render ירבעמי *a follower of Jeroboam*. ii. The older Talmudic literature knows nothing of *Zadok* and *Boethus*, the supposed originators of the Sadducees; and iii. The Sadducees, as is evident from ancient sources, called themselves צְדֻקִים, the *righteous* (Epiphanius, *Adversus Hæreses*, i. 1. 4). Hence, Dr. Löw concludes that, in harmony with his Hebrew name צְדִיק, the Sadducee called himself in Greek εὐδύς, the *straightforward, open, honest, righteous*, and that the opponents of this sect changed both the honourable Hebrew appellation צְדֻקִים into צְדוּקִים (hence the singular צְדוּקִי = *Sadducee*), and the Greek name εὐδύς, which is written in Hebrew אֲבִתוּם (according to the analogy of אֲבִינִיּוֹם = εὐγενής) into בְּתוּם, from which originated בְּתוּסִים, *Boethusians*. He moreover maintains that it is for this reason that the Talmud makes no distinction between the Sadducees and the Boethusians (*Ben Chananja*, i. 346, ff.) This definition of the appellation Sadducee is entirely speculative, and its soundness must be determined by an examination of the rise, progress, and doctrines of the Sadducees. Besides the first objection against the derivation of צְדוּקִי from the proper name צְדֻק is set aside by the fact that the first Karaites called themselves עֲנַנִיִּים, *followers of Anan*, *Ananites*; so that עֲנַנִי, an *Ananite*, is an exact parallel to צְדוּקִי, a *Zadokite*. Still more speculative, and altogether unique, is the opinion of Köster, that '*Sadducee* is simply a different form of *Stoic*' (*Studien und Kritiken*, 1837, p. 164). According to some readings the Sadducees also called themselves קְרָאִים, *Scripturalists*, *Bible followers*, *Karaites* (*Megilla*, 24 b; *Jerusalem Megilla*, iv. 9), because they adhered to the written law. This is in perfect accordance with the ancient custom of calling a Biblical student by the honourable Hebrew appellation קָרָא (formed according to the analogy of קָרָן); or by the Aramaic form קְרָי (defective of קְרָיָא), or קְרִי, formed according to the analogy of קְרִי. Thus Chanina, Abba Chalifa, Eliezer b. Simon, and Levi b. Sisi, were designated by this title (*Taanith*, 27 b; *Baba Bathra*, 123; *Midrash Rabba on Levit.* cap. xxx.; *Jalkut on the Song of Songs*, section 533); and the Talmud tells us that those were deemed worthy of this name (דְּקָרִי אֲוִרִיתָא נְבִיאָא וְכַתוּבִי בְּרִיקָא) *who understood how to read accurately the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa* (comp. *Kiddushin*, 42; Fürst, *Karäerthum*, 129).

2. *The tenets and practices of the Sadducees.*—To apprehend duly the doctrines and practices of this sect, it must be borne in mind that the Sadducees were the aristocratic and conservative priestly party, who clung to their ancient prerogatives and resisted every innovation which the ever-shifting circumstances of the commonwealth demanded; whilst their opponents, the Pharisees, were the liberals, the representatives of the people—their principle being so to develope and modify the Mosaic law as to adapt it to the requirements of the time, and to make the people at large realise that they were '*a people of priests, a holy nation*'



[PHARISEES]. Thus, standing immovably upon the ancient basis, the Sadducees, whose differences were at first chiefly political, afterwards extended these differences to doctrinal, legal, and ritual questions.

#### A. POLITICAL OPINIONS.

The primary *political* difference between the two sects was, that the Sadducees maintained that a man's destiny is in his own hands, and that human ingenuity and statecraft are therefore to be resorted to in political matters; whilst the Pharisees clung to the conviction that the political relations with foreign nations, like the theocracy at home, are under the immediate control of the Holy One of Israel (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 5. 9; xviii. i. 4, with *De Bell. Jud.* ii. 8, 14; *Berachoth*, 33 b; *Nidah*, 16, 72). That the Sadducees, who were the real aristocracy (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. i. 4) and the successful warriors in the Maccabean struggles (*Antiq.* xiii. 16. 2; *De Bell. Jud.* i. 5. 3), should have espoused such political views, was the natural result of their political success. Moreover, the doctrine that what a man possesses is what he deserves was peculiarly gratifying to the successful and aristocratic caste. Besides, in this respect, as in all other matters, the Sadducees showed their conservatism in abiding by the Pentateuchal views that a man is rewarded in this world according to his deeds, and that prosperity and adversity are a test of piety and wickedness (Deut. xxviii. 1-68 with Ps. xxxvii. 25).

#### B. DOCTRINAL VIEWS.

i. Foremost among the *doctrines* of the Sadducees is the tenet that the Hebrew Scriptures, with the authoritative explanations and glosses which developed themselves in the course of time, are the sole rule of faith and practice, thus denying that there existed any orally transmitted law to supplement the written law, to which their opponents the Pharisees laid claim; or, as Josephus states it, 'the Pharisees have given to the people many statutes from the traditions of the fathers which are not written in the law of Moses; and it is for this reason that the Sadducees reject them, saying that it is only the written observances which are binding, but those which are transmitted by the fathers are not to be observed' (*Antiq.* xiii. 10. 6). For the better understanding of this important question, it must be remarked that the Pharisees and the orthodox Jews to the present day have an oral law in addition to the written law. This oral law consists of sundry religious, ceremonial, and social practices which obtained in the course of time, and which were called forth either through the obscurity, conciseness, and apparent contradiction of some of the written enactments, or through the inapplicability of some of the Mosaic statutes to the ever-changing circumstances of the commonwealth. Some of the enactments contained in this oral code are undoubtedly as old as the original laws which they supplement and explain, so as to adapt them to exceptional cases not specified in the Mosaic law; others again were introduced by the spiritual heads of the nation after the return from the Babylonish captivity, because the altered state of the nation absolutely required these regulations, although there was no basis in the Mosaic law for them; whilst others originated in party feeling, to shield the pious against even approaching the limits of transgression. Now the *Sopherim* = scribes and the lawyers, after the Babylonish captivity, who found

this accumulated traditional code, tried to classify and arrange it. Those practices which could be deduced from or introduced into the text of Holy Writ by analogy, combination, or otherwise, were regarded as the legitimate and authoritative traditional exposition of the law [MIDRASH]; whilst those practices which obtained in the course of time, which were venerated and esteemed by the people both for their antiquity and utility, but for which neither author nor apparent reason could be found in the written law, were denominated *A*

*halakha leMoseh min Sinai* (הלכה למושה מסיני), because from their antiquity and importance it was thought that they must have come down orally from the lawgiver himself. It is this oral law which the Sadducees rejected, and in their conservatism adhered to the ancient Hebrew Scriptures, as well as to those time-honoured explanations and practices (הלכות) which were not at variance with the text of the Bible. It must distinctly be borne in mind that by their rejecting traditions is not meant that the Sadducees rejected *all* the traditional comments upon the law and the ancestral practices not found in the Bible. Even the Talmud itself only charges them with rejecting some things (*Sanhedrin*, 33 b; *Horajoth*, 4 a), and there is but little doubt that those practices which they rejected were originated by the Pharisees, the liberal party whose innovations the conservative Sadducees disliked, and regarded as an encroachment upon their priestly and aristocratic rights. Indeed, it will be seen in the course of this article, from the enumeration of their distinctive tenets, that the theological views of the two sects were not so much at variance as might have been supposed, and that the Sadducees in many cases actually adhered to ancient traditions, whilst the Pharisees abandoned these traditions and introduced new statutes in order to raise the people, whose true representatives they were, to a nation of kings and priests. That the Sadducees also rejected the Prophets and Hagiographa, and only believed in the Pentateuch, as is asserted by Epiphanius (*Adversus Hæreses*, xiv.), Origen (*Cels.* i. 49), Jerome (*Comment. on Matth.* xxii. 31-33), and followed by some modern writers, is utterly at variance with the Jewish records of this sect, and has evidently arisen from a confusion of the Sadducees with the Samaritans. When it is borne in mind that even those fathers who understood Hebrew and knew most about the Jews committed the greatest blunders when they described the most common practices of this nation, as has been shown in the article PHYLACTERIES and elsewhere in this Cyclopædia, we shall not be surprised at their having confused these two sects.

ii. Next in importance in point of doctrine is their eschatology. The Sadducees denied the resurrection of the dead to receive their reward and punishment. Josephus, who specifies the second cardinal difference between the Pharisees and the Sadducees, describes their respective doctrines of a future reward and punishment in such a manner as to infer that the former believing in a future judgment also believed in the immortality of the soul; whilst the latter, by denying a future judgment, also denied the survival of the soul after the death of the body (Ψυχῆς τε τὴν διαμονὴν καὶ τὰς καθ' ἑαυτῶν τιμωρίας καὶ τιμὰς ἀναιρούσαι, *De Bell. Jud.* ii. 8. 14). In another place, again, where this

historian mentions the distinctive eschatological views of the Sadducees, he plainly says, *Their doctrine is that souls perish with the bodies* (Σαδδουκαῖοι δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς ὁ λόγος συναφανίζει τοῖς σώμασι, *Antiq.* xviii. 1. 4). But in the Talmud and in the N. T. we are told that they simply denied the resurrection (comp. *Sanhedrin* 90 b with Luke xx. 27, Mark xii. 18; see also Matt. xxii. 23), which by no means involves the immortality of the soul; and it cannot be supposed that if the Sadducees had actually denied the immortality of the soul, so vital a point would be passed over in silence by the Talmudic doctors, when unimportant differences are minutely specified. There can therefore be no doubt that Josephus in his vanity to depict to the Greeks the Jewish sects in such colours as to make them correspond to the different philosophical schools among the Greeks, did injustice to the Sadducees by assigning to them the doctrines of the Stoics. The misrepresentation of the Sadducees will appear all the more evident when it is borne in mind how defectively Josephus describes the Pharisaic eschatology in the very same section. He there represents the Pharisees, who were his own party, as believing that the resurrection is to be confined to the righteous, whilst the wicked are to be detained in everlasting punishment in Hades under the earth (*Antiq.* xviii. 1. 3); whereas it is well known that this opinion was only entertained by some of the later doctors, that the Pharisees generally believed in the resurrection of both the righteous and the wicked (*Dan.* xii. 2); and that it was the common doctrine as late as the second book of Maccab. (comp. xii. 40-45). The reason which the Sadducees assigned for not believing in the resurrection of the dead to receive their reward and punishment, is that it is not taught in the law of Moses (אומרים אין תחיית המתים מן התורה *Sanhedrin*, 90 b), which simply promises temporal rewards and punishments for obedience and disobedience (*Exod.* xx. 12; xxiii. 25, 26; *Deut.* vii. 12-15; xxviii. 1-68). That the Sadducees were right in their assertion may be seen from the very quotation made by our Saviour (*Matt.* xxii. 31, 32; *Mark* xii. 26, 27; *Luke* xx. 37) of *Exod.* iii. 6, 15, which it is only natural to suppose is the most cogent text in the law, and which, nevertheless, does no more than suggest an inference on this doctrine. The Sadducees, however, did not admit the inference, and they simply regarded this mode of proving the resurrection from the law as Pharisaic, as they were in the habit of hearing similar inferences deduced by the Pharisees from other passages. Thus the Talmud relates: 'The Sadducees asked Rabban Gamaliel, Whence do you know that the Holy One, blessed be he, will raise the dead? To which he replied, From the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa; from the Law, because it is written, 'And the Lord said to Moses, Behold thou shalt lie down with thy fathers (וָאָמַר), and this people shall rise again' (*Deut.* xxxi. 16); from the Prophets, because it is written, 'Thy dead men shall live,' etc. (*Is.* xxvi. 19); and from the Hagiographa, because it is written, 'And the roof of thy mouth,' etc. (*Song of Songs* vii. 9). The Sadducees, however, would not accept these passages till he quoted the passage, 'The land which the Lord swore unto your fathers to give it to them' (*Deut.* xi. 21). He promised it to them (לָהֶם)—i.e. to the living and not to the dead; but as they were now dead, hence it is evi-

dent that there will be a resurrection if the promise is to be fulfilled' (*Sanhedrin*, 90 b). We are also told in the N. T. that the Sadducees say that there is 'neither angel nor spirit' (*Acts* xxiii. 8); but this can by no means imply that they altogether denied the existence of angelic and spiritual beings, since the Sadducees were firm believers in the divinity of the Mosaic law, where the appearance of angels is again and again recorded (*Gen.* xvi. 7; xix. 1; xxii. 11; xxviii. 12; *Exod.* xxiii. 20; *Num.* xxii. 23, *al.*), and as neither Josephus nor the Talmudic writings charge them with this unbelief. What they denied is the incarnation and manifestation of demonic powers and angelic beings in later days, as believed and described in the Jewish writings and in the N. T.

#### C. LEGAL MATTERS.

z. The Sadducees restricted the Levirate law to cases of betrothal (אֲרוֹסָה) but denied its obligation when the marriage was consummated (נִשְׁאוּהָ). Thus, for instance, though they regarded a betrothed woman (אֲרוֹסָה) as a wife, and treated her as a married woman in accordance with the Mosaic legislation [MARRIAGE], yet, when her betrothed husband died without cohabiting with her, his surviving brother could perform the duty of *Levir* without committing incest, as she was still a virgin. In this respect, too, the Sadducees, as the erudite Geiger has shown, followed the ancient Levirate law, which is based upon *Gen.* xxxviii. 7-10, and which—inferring from the similarity of expression used in verses 7 and 10 that Er too had acted wickedly and not properly consummated the marriage with Tamar—enacted that the *Levir* is only then to perform the duty towards his deceased brother when the marriage has not been consummated (*Ḥebamoth*, 34 b; *Be'ershith Rabba*, cap. lxxxv.; Geiger, *Jüdische Zeitschrift*, i. 30, etc., Breslau 1862). It is to be remarked that the Samaritans of old restricted the Levirate law (*Deut.* xxv. 5, etc.) in the same manner, and that the Talmud which records it tells us that in support of this restriction the Samaritans appealed to the expression הַחֻוּבָה, which they translated *outer*, and regarded as the adjective of אִשֶּׁת הַזֶּמֶת, construing it with the preceding לֹא תַחֲיֶה, whilst they took לֹא־יֵשׁ זָר as explicative of the preceding by way of repetition, translating the whole passage 'the wife of the deceased who is outside (i.e. the consummation of the marriage) is not to be for another man' (*Jerusalem Ḥebamoth*, i. 6; Kirchheim, *Karne Shomron*, p. 36). The Karaites, who may be regarded as modern Sadducees, explain the Levirate law in the same manner. This restriction of the Levirate law on the part of the Sadducees imparts additional force to the incident recorded in the gospels (*Matt.* xxii. 23, etc.; *Mark* xii. 18, etc.; *Luke* xx. 27, etc.) Here we are told that the Sadducees, not believing in a resurrection, put the following question to our Saviour:—The first of seven brothers married a wife and died childless, whereupon the second brother performed the duty of *Levir*, and he too died without issue; then the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh brother successively performed the duty of *Levir*, so that she alternately became the wife of seven husbands—now whose wife is she to be at the resurrection? With the restricted application of the Levirate law before us, it will be seen that though this ironical question was chiefly directed against the doctrine of the resurrec-



tion, yet it at the same time also attacks the orthodox Pharisaic view of the Levirate law which was undoubtedly shared by our Saviour. What the Sadducees thereby say is, as Geiger rightly remarks, that according to their application of the Levirate law, which restricts it to the betrothed woman (ארוסה), apart from the extremely rare occurrence of death between the betrothal and connubial intercourse (נישואה), especially several times under similar circumstances, the relation of the woman to her last husband who consummated the marriage is far more intimate than to any of the other husbands to whom she was simply betrothed. Supposing, therefore, for argument's sake that there will be a resurrection, and that the woman will rise with all the seven brothers, no difficulty will be experienced according to the restricted application of this law, inasmuch as she will be the wife of the last husband who alone consummated the marriage. According to the Pharisaic practice, however, the Levirs have to marry the widow after the marriage has been consummated, so that she is the real wife of all the seven brothers; hence the ironical question put to our Saviour, 'According to the Pharisaic doctrine of the Levirate law, in which you believe, the difficulty will be to decide whose wife she is to be?'

ii. The ceremony of taking off the shoe (חליצה), in case the surviving brother refuses to perform the duty of *Levir* towards the widow of his deceased brother, is explained most rigidly by the Sadducees insisting upon the letter of the law, that the rejected widow is to spit into the man's face (בפניו, Deut. xxv. 9), whilst the Pharisees, adapting the law to the requirements of the time, regarded the spitting *before his face* as satisfying the demands of the injunction [MARRIAGE], and hence explained the passage accordingly (*Megillath Taanith*, cap. iv.)

iii. The same conservatism and rigour the Sadducees manifested in the right of retaliation, insisting upon the literal carrying out of the law, 'eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot,' etc. (Exod. xxi. 23, etc.), whilst the Pharisees, with a due regard for the interests of the people, maintained that pecuniary compensation is sufficient (*Baba Kama*, 53 b; 34 a, b; *Megillath Taanith*, cap. iv. 2).

iv. For the same reason the Sadducees also insisted upon the literal explanation of the law in Deut. xix. 21, maintaining that false witnesses are only then to be executed when the sentence of the falsely accused had actually been carried out, in which case alone the words 'life for life' receive their literal fulfilment; whereas the Pharisees concluded from Deut. xix. 19, that if they are found out, even before the sentence has been carried out, they are to be executed, for it is there said, 'ye shall do unto him as he intended to do unto his brother.' Hence the intention is to be visited with capital punishment (*Mishna Maccoth*, i. 6; *Tosiphta Sanhedrin*, cap. vi.)

v. The law of inheritance formed another distinctive feature of the Sadducees. According to the Mosaic law the son alone is the rightful heir, and in case there is no son the daughter inherits the father's property (Num. xxvii. 1-11). Now the Sadducees maintained that in case the son, who is the heir presumptive, has sisters, and he dies, leaving a daughter, the property is not to go entirely to his female issue, but that the deceased's sisters are to have an equal share with his issue, urging that the deceased son's daughter is only the second de-

gree, whilst his sisters are the first degree. The Pharisees, on the contrary, maintained that the deceased brother's daughter is the rightful and sole heir, inasmuch as she is the descendant of the male heir, whose simple existence disinherited his sisters (*Mishna, Baba Bathra*, viii. 1; *Babylonian Baba Bathra*, 115 b; 116; *Megillath Taanith*, v. 2).

vi. From the law that the owner of cattle is responsible for damages done by his animals (Exod. xxi. 28, 29), the Sadducees maintained that a master is responsible for damages done by his slave, submitting that he is far more answerable for him than his cattle, inasmuch as he is to watch over his moral conduct. The Pharisees, on the other hand, denied this, submitting that the slave is a rational, and hence a responsible creature, and that if the master be held answerable for his conduct, the dissatisfied slave might out of spite commit ravages in order to make his master pay (*Mishna, Jada'im*, iv. 7).

#### D. RITUAL QUESTIONS.

i. As the first important distinction in this department, is to be mentioned the great stress which the Sadducees laid on the ritual purity of the person of the officiating priest. He had to keep aloof from the very appearance of uncleanness. Hence they required that the burning of the red heifer, from the ashes of which the water of absolution was prepared, should not be performed by any priest who had been defiled, although he had immersed, because he does not become undefiled before sunset (מעורבי שמש). The Pharisees, on the other hand, disregarding the person, and regarding the thing, opposed this great ado about the aristocratic priest; 'they prepared a baptistry on the Mount of Olives, where the burning of the red heifer took place, and designedly defiled the priest who was to burn it, so that the Sadducees should not be able to say that the heifer is not to be prepared by such who had not become pure by the sun setting' (*Mishna Para*, iii. 7).

ii. The Sadducees, again, did not believe that the sacred vessels in the temple are to be subjected to the strict laws of Levitical purity, which the Pharisees stoutly maintained. So strict were their views on this subject, that the Pharisees had all the sacred vessels immersed at the conclusion of every festival, because some unclean priest might have touched them. Hence, when the Pharisees on one occasion immersed even the golden candlestick after a festivity, the Sadducees tauntingly exclaimed, 'Behold the Pharisees will at last also purify the sun!' (*Jerusalem Chagiga*, 79 d). That the Pharisees should thus have guarded the sanctity of the vessels against the possible touch of a defiled priest must have been all the more annoying to the priestly Sadducees, since in other things which did not affect this aristocratic fraternity, but conduced to the comfort of the people at large, the Pharisees were less rigorous with regard to the laws of Levitical purity than the Sadducees, as may be seen from the following instance:—

iii. The Sadducees interpreted the injunction in Lev. xi. 39, 40, most rigidly, maintaining that it is not only the carcase of an animal which died a natural death that defiles by touching it, but also its sundry parts, such as the skin, bones, sinews, etc. etc.; whilst the Pharisees restricted this defilement by contact simply to the flesh, except the parts of a dead human body, and of a few reptiles, in which the skin and the flesh are to a certain extent identical.

iv. As a necessary and vital consequence of the foregoing view, the Sadducees maintained that the skin and the other parts of an animal not legally slaughtered—i.e. both of all those animals which the law permits to be eaten when legally slaughtered, but which have died a natural death, and of those which the law does not permit to be eaten—are not allowed to be made into different articles of use, and that leather, parchment, or any other of the numerous articles made from the skin, bones, veins, etc., is defiling. This rigid view obliged the Sadducees to explain Lev. vii. 24 in an unnatural manner, by taking the expression נבלה to denote an animal approaching the condition of becoming a carcase—i.e. being so weak that it must soon expire—and to urge that an animal in such a condition may be slaughtered before it breathes its last. In such a case, though its flesh is a defiling carcase and must not be eaten, the fat, skin, bones, etc., may be used for divers purposes (*Jerusalem Megilla*, i. 9; *Babylon Sabbath*, 108 a). The Pharisees, on the other hand, as the representatives of the people, whose interests they had at heart, allowed the sundry parts of such animals to be used as materials for different utensils. They even allowed the sacred Scriptures, the phylacteries, and the mezuzah [MEZUZA], to be written on parchment prepared from the skin of an animal which either died a natural death or was torn by wild beasts, but not on parchment prepared from the skin of an unclean animal (*ibid.* and *Tract Sepher Tora* beginning, *Sopherim* beginning). Bearing in mind this difference of opinion, we shall understand the import of the two discussions recorded in the Mishna between the Sadducees and the Pharisees based thereupon—‘The Sadducees,’ we are told, said, ‘We complain of you Pharisees because you say the sacred Scriptures when touched defile the hands, but the books of Homer do not defile the hands.’ Jochanan b. Zakkai said, ‘And have we nothing else to object to the Pharisees but this? Do they not also assert that the bones of an ass are clean, but the bones of Jochanan the high-priest are unclean?’ (*Judajim*, iv. 6). Now, according to the Sadducees, contact with sacred things so far from defiling actually sanctified; whilst the Pharisees, in order to guard the sacred things against contact, ordained that contact with such holy things defiles. On the other hand, the Sadducees regarded the touching of foreign books as defiling, because they are written upon parchment made from skins of unclean animals, or of clean animals not legally slaughtered, which with them were like carcases, and which, as we have seen, the Pharisees did not admit. Hence the charge of the Sadducees that the Pharisees assign a superiority to profane books over the sacred Scriptures, which Jochanan b. Zakkai rebuts by ironically enhancing this charge, and saying that this is not the only accusation against the Pharisees, inasmuch as he shows thereby a similar consequence arising from Pharisaic views. The bones of a dead man, he submits, are unclean, according to the express declaration of the Bible, even if they happen to be the bones of such a man as John Hyrcanus, the patron of the Sadducees, whereas the bones of an animal, even if it be unclean, and such a contemptible one as an ass, are clean, thus showing that the defiling power of an object does not always betoken a degradation in its nature, but, on the contrary, because it is of an elevating nature there-

fore it defiles more easily. The other discussion, also arising from this difference of opinion, is recorded in the Talmud, where the law of the Pharisaic sages is recorded that the sacred Scriptures, the phylacteries, and the mezuzah, may be written upon parchment prepared from the skin of an animal which died a natural death, but not from an unclean beast. Whereupon a Boethusian [= SADDUCEE] asked R. Joshua Ha-Garsi, ‘Where can you show that the phylacteries are not to be written on the skin of an unclean animal?’ [R. Joshua], ‘Because it is written [Exod. xiii. 9, where the phylacteries are enjoined] that the law of the Lord be in thy mouth, that is to say, prepared from animals allowed to be put into the mouth.’ [The Sadducee], ‘But according to this they ought not to be written on the skin of an animal which died or was torn [because these too must not be put into the mouth, or be eaten]?’ To which he replied, ‘I will tell thee a parable to show the distinction between the two. Two men are guilty of death: one is killed by the king himself, and the other by the executioner. Whose lot is preferable?’ Reply, ‘That one’s whom the king executed.’ [So is the carcase of a clean animal killed by the hand of the King of Kings to be preferred to the unclean animal which is already stamped with defilement whilst alive.] ‘But according to this’ [said the Sadducee], ‘the carcase ought also to be eaten.’ To which he replied ‘The Law says ye shall not eat of any thing that died [Deut. xiv. 21], and sayest thou that it should be eaten?’ To this he replied ‘Bravo!’ (קאלוס = *kalós*, *Sabbath* 108 a).

v. The Sadducees, who stood upon their priestly dignity and ancient prerogatives, rejected the artificial mode of *amalgamating the distances* (עירובין) introduced by the Pharisees to enable the members of their order to walk beyond the Sabbath day’s journey without infringing on the sanctity of the day, so as to join the social meal which was instituted in imitation of the priestly social repast [PHARISEES; SABBATH DAY’S JOURNEY].

vi. As priests, the Sadducees were not subject to the stringent Sabbatical laws, and could therefore enjoy their meals comfortably, inasmuch as they regarded the work requisite for their preparation as part of their sacerdotal duties, which set aside the Sabbatic regulations; whereas upon the people they imposed the most rigorous observance. Thus, in accordance with Exod. xxv. 3, they insisted that lights must not be kindled on Sabbath eve, and that the supper should be eaten in the dark (*Sabbath*, 55 b; Rashi on *Tosephta* in *Sabbath*, *ibid.*; Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chezek*, *Hilchoth Sabbath*, vi. 1; *Tanchuma*, cap. lviii.); they prohibited the eating of any food which was either kept warm since the preparation day (ערב) (שבת), or was warmed on the Sabbath (*Responsens of the Gaonim*, called *Shaare Teshuva*, No. xxxiv.), and forbade connubial intercourse, because of the exertion connected therewith, and of its not being holy work, according to Exod. xix. 10, 15 (comp. *Baba Kama*, 82 a).

vii. The Sadducees, who, as the priestly party, regarded the temple treasury as their own, demanded that the daily morning and evening sacrifices should be procured from the private and voluntary gifts of each individual, basing their opinion upon the expression of the law (Num. xxviii. 4); whilst the Pharisees, on the other hand, also basing their opinion upon the letter of the law



(*ibid.* xxviii. 2), and wishing to protect the interests of the people, maintained that the sacrifices were national, and that they ought to be procured with the money of the temple treasury. Accordingly the Pharisees ordered a special temple tax, which was collected every spring, and deposited in three distinct boxes in the temple treasury, on which was indicated that the money therein contained was destined for the sacrifices for all Israel. The required money was taken out of the boxes three times a year—on the three great festivals, *i.e.* on the feast of Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles. From the first box it was taken with the announcement that it was 'in the name of the whole land of Israel'; from the second with the express declaration, 'in the name of its surrounding cities'; and from the third 'in the name of Babylon, in the name of Media, and in the name of the distant countries generally'; so that all the Israelites, including even those who did not contribute to this tax, were represented in this daily sacrifice (*Shekalim*, iii. 1-3; Maimonides, *Shekalim*). So hotly was this point contested between them that it lasted eight days (*Nissan* 1-8, year not mentioned), and that the Pharisees, to mark their victory over the Sadducees, appointed these eight days half festivals, during which no mourning should take place (*Menachoth*, 65 a).

viii. Regarding the sacrifices as their own, or as belonging to their priestly party, the Sadducees maintained that the priests might eat of the meat-offerings which were connected with the free-will animal sacrifices (Num. xv. 2, etc.); whilst the Pharisees maintained that they must be burned on the altar, and carried their opinion into a law, for which reason they again instituted a half festival in commemoration of their victory.

ix. Taking the expression מוֹחֶרֶת הַשַּׁבֵּת (Lev. xxiii. 11, 15, 16) literally, the Sadducees maintained that the Omer ought to be offered on the first day following the weekly Sabbath, so that the feast of Pentecost is always to be on the first day of the week (*Mishna*, *Menachoth*, x. 3; *Gemara* on the *Mishna*, 65 a; *Megillath Tuanih*, cap. i. 1) [PENTECOST].

x. The Sadducees rejected the old custom of pouring water on the altar every day at the morning sacrifice during the Feast of Tabernacles (ניסוך המים); and so opposed were they to this ceremony, that it became the cause of separation between the Sadducean king Alexander Jannai and the Pharisees (*Succa*, 48 b, with Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 13, 5; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. iii. p. 473, 2d ed.).

xi. They also objected to the procession of the people round the altar holding willow branches in their hands, on the Feast of Tabernacles (סוכה, 43 b [TABERNACLES, FEAST OF]).

xii. They maintained that the incense which the high-priest was to carry into the Holy of Holies on the Great Day of Atonement ought to be kindled outside, and thus to be carried into the sanctuary; because they deemed it improper to do work in the presence of the Lord, and because it was, more in accordance with the words כִּי בַעֲנַן אֵרָאָה עַל הַכֹּהֵן (Lev. xvi. 2), which they interpreted to mean 'only in the cloud (*i.e.* rising off the burning incense), will I be seen on the cover,' the cloud thus arising from the burning incense was to conceal the manifested Deity, whereas, if the high-priest were to

enter before this cloud begins to ascend, he would see God and die. The Pharisees considered this as violating the express command of the text, which plainly requires that the frankincense should be put on the burning coals in the Holy of Holies. So particular were they about it, that they exacted an oath from the high-priest, before the Day of Atonement, to perform everything in strict accordance with their enactments (*Siphra*, *Pericope Aharai*, cap. iii.; *Jerusalem Talmud*, i. 5; *Babylon Talmud*, 19 b, 53 a).

xiii. Though admitting that Exod. xiii. 6 enjoins phylacteries, the Sadducees rejected the Pharisaic regulations about the making and weaving of them (*Sanhedrin*, 88 b; Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chesaka*, *Hilchoth Tephillin*, iv. 3 [PHYLACTERIES]).

xiv. Based upon the law that a lying-in woman is not to touch holy things nor to go into the temple during the thirty-three days following the first seven days after the birth of a boy, and during the sixty-six days following the first fourteen days after the birth of a girl (Lev. xii. 2-8); the Sadducees maintained that this law excludes the woman from the enjoyment of her conjugal rights all these days; whilst the Pharisees, who always endeavoured to relieve the people as much as possible from the burden of the law, did not transfer the holiness of the things and of the temple to the persons, thus granting to the wife and to the husband the enjoyment of their rights. Hence, whilst they held every other appearance of blood in the woman as defiling, they regarded it in this instance as the effects of the birth, and as pure blood (דְּמֵי טוֹהָרָה). It is for this reason that the ה in טוֹהָרָה (Lev. xii. 4, 5) has not the *Mappik*, thus denoting pure blood, as the present Massoretic text is the Pharisaic text, and that the rendering of it in the A. V. by 'the blood of her purifying,' though agreeing with the Sadducean text, which is undoubtedly the original one, is at variance with the *textus receptus* (comp. Geiger, *He-Chaluz*, v. 29; vi. 28, ff.; *Jüdische Zeitschrift*, i. 51, ii. 27, etc.).

It must not, however, be concluded that these are the only distinctive features of the Sadducees, although not many more are mentioned by their opponents the Pharisees.

3. *Origin and development of the Sadducees.*—The oldest record pretending to describe the origin of this sect (אבות דרבי נתן) is the commentary of Rabbi Nathan on the tractate of the *Mishna*, entitled *Aboth* (אבות)=the moral Sayings of the Ancient Fathers. In this commentary on the saying of Antigonus of Soho, B.C. 200-170 [EDUCATION], 'Be not like servants who serve their master for the sake of receiving wages, but be like servants who serve their master without expecting to receive wages, and let the fear of the Lord be upon you' (*Mishna*, *Aboth*, i. 3), Rabbi Nathan\* remarks

\* This Rabbi Nathan or Nathan Ha-Babli, as he is called in the Talmud, because he was a native of Meshan in Babylon (*Baba Bathra*, 73 a), was one of the most distinguished Mishnaic doctors. In consequence of his high birth, as his father was the Prince of the Captivity in Babylon, and his marvellous knowledge of the law, both divine and human, which he acquired as student in the country of his adoption, he was created vicar of the patriarch Simon II. b. Gamaliel II., A.D. 140-163, or president of the tribunal (בית דין) [EDUCATION]). He is frequently quoted in the Talmud

as follows: 'Antigonus of Soho had two disciples who propounded his maxim; they taught it to their disciples, and their disciples again taught it to their disciples. Whereupon they began to examine it after them, and said, What did our fathers purport to teach by this maxim? Is the labourer to work all day and not receive his wages in the evening? Surely, if our fathers had known that there is another world, and believed in a resurrection of the dead, they would not have spoken thus. They then separated themselves from the law, and two sects arose from them, the Zadokites [= Sadducees] and the Boethusians. The Zadokites are called after Zadok, and the Boethusians after Boethus. They used vessels of silver and vessels of gold all their days, not because they were proud, but because the Sadducees said that the Pharisees had a tradition that they are to afflict themselves in this world, and yet they have nothing in the world to

as a profound scholar of the law (*Horajoth*, 13 b; *Baba Kama*, 23 a; *Baba Mezia*, 117 b), and has materially contributed to the compilation of the *Mishna*, as he himself compiled a *Mishna*, which is quoted by the name of *Mishnath de Rabbi Nathan* (משנת דרבי נתן), and which Rabbi Jehudah the holy used for the redaction of the present *Mishna*. Besides this *Corpus Juris*, which the present recension of the *Mishna* caused to be lost, the two following works are ascribed to Rabbi Nathan:—i. The above-mentioned commentary on the sayings of the ancient fathers (אבות דרבי נתן), which is incorporated in the editions of the Talmud after Tractate *Shevuoth*; it has also been published separately, with two excellent commentaries, Wilna 1833, translated into Latin, with notes, by Francis Taylor, London 1654, but in its present form contains later interpolations; and ii. A work of mathematical import, entitled, *Forty-nine Rules* (ארבעים ותשע מורות), which Geiger thinks was written by a later author of the same name (comp. Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, p. 108, ff., Berlin 1832; Fürst, *Kultur- und Literaturgeschichte der Juden in Asien*, p. 16, ff., Leipzig 1849; Geiger, *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift*, vol. vi. p. 17, ff., Leipzig 1847; Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, col. 2032-4; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, vol. iii. p. 19, etc.) The statement of the Hon. Edward T. B. Twissleton, the writer of the article 'Sadducees' in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, that 'the age in which this Rabbi Nathan lived is uncertain (Bartolucci, *Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica*, vol. iii. p. 770), and that the earliest mention of him is in a well-known Rabbinical dictionary called the *Aruch*, which was completed about the year 1105 A.D.,' will appear extraordinary in the face of the description given in the Talmud of this famous Rabbi. It is the commentary on *Aboth* which is not mentioned in the Talmud; but even this work is cited by Nissim b. Jacob, who flourished 1030, as the production of Rabbi Nathan (comp. Schorr, in Geiger's *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift*, vol. v. p. 440, Leipzig 1844), so that nearly a century before R. Nathan's *Aruch* appeared, the *Aboth* of Rabbi Nathan was known and quoted. Besides the story about the heretical leaders Zadok and Boethus, the disciples of Antigonus of Soho, recorded in the *Aboth* of Rabbi Nathan, as we have seen, is quoted as history by Saadia Gaon nearly two centuries before the *Aruch*.

come' (*Aboth de Rabbi Nathan*, cap. v.) That Zadok and Boethus were contemporaries of Antigonus of Soho, that they opposed the doctrines of the sages, and that the sages ordained laws to obviate the cavils of their opponents, is also declared by Saadia Gaon, 892-942 A.D. [SAADIA GAON]. Thus Isaac Israeli tells us: 'Saadia says, the contemporaries and the tribunal of Antigonus of Soho ordained it as a law, that the beginning of the month is to be determined by the appearance of the new moon [HILLEL II.], to do away with the cavils of Zadok and Boethus, who disputed against the sages about the fixing of the new moon' (*Yesod Olam*, iv. 6, p. 9 ed. Berlin 1848). Similar in import to Rabbi Nathan's statement on *Aboth* i. 3 is the remark of Maimonides (1135-1204, A.D.) on the same passage: 'Antigonus, says this great authority, 'had two disciples, one named Zadok and the other Boethus, who when they heard this sage propound this maxim, left him, saying one to the other, the Rabbi distinctly declares that there is neither a future state of reward and punishment nor any hope for man, because they misunderstood his maxim. Whereupon they strengthened each other's hands, separated themselves from the congregation, and left the observance of the law; when one sect followed the one, and another sect followed the other, whom the sages respectively called the Zadokites and the Boethusians' (*Comment. on Aboth*, i. 3). It must be added, that the greatest Jewish authorities since the 9th century of the Christian era have regarded Zadok and Boethus as the heretical leaders who originated two sects. Modern critics, however, reject this current account of the origin of the Sadducees from Zadok and Boethus, the disciples of Antigonus of Soho, as unhistorical; because—i. It is not mentioned either in Josephus, the *Mishna*, or the Talmud; ii. The original account of R. Nathan neither says that Zadok and Boethus themselves misunderstood Antigonus' maxim, nor that they were the chiefs of these sects, but that their disciples misinterpreted the import of the maxim, and separated themselves from the congregation; and iii. It is illogical to suppose that the disciples of Zadok, who according to R. Nathan's account did not misunderstand Antigonus, but simply continued to propound his master maxim, would call themselves or be called Zadokites=Sadducees, and not Antigonites, seeing that the maxim belongs to Antigonus and not to Zadok. The second and third reasons, however, are of little value, since the present text of Rabbi Nathan's *Aboth* is obscure, and since Saadia Gaon, the *Aruch*, Maimonides, and all the ancient Jewish authorities who lived centuries ago, and who had better means of procuring correct codices, understood the passage to mean, and also derived it from independent sources, that Zadok and Boethus themselves misunderstood their master Antigonus, and that they were the originators of the sects. It is the first reason which, coupled with the fact that the oldest records are perfectly silent about Zadok and Boethus\* as dis-

\* When Ewald declares that, 'die Rabbinen reden viel von ihm [i.e. Boethus], (comp. *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, iv. 314, note), we can only say that we are at a loss to know where to find this information, since, with the exception of the passage in the *Aboth* of Rabbi Nathan, the ancient Jewish records say nothing about this Boethus.



ciples of Antigonus, goes far to show that the passage in the *Abol of Rabbi Nathan*, like many other pieces in the same work, is by a later hand, and that its author, who most probably flourished towards the end of the 7th century, though possessing the right information that the Zadokites and Boethusians were the followers of Zadok and Boethus, misstated the fact by making these two chiefs, who lived at different times, contemporaries, and by describing them as disciples of Antigonus. This mistake is all the more natural since the real and essential differences between the Sadducees and the Pharisees actually began to develop themselves in the time of Antigonus, and it is not at all improbable, that though the Sadducees, as we shall presently see, derived their early sentiments and distinctive name from a much older leader named Zadok, a distinguished descendant of that leader, bearing the same name, may have lived in the time of Antigonus, and may have contributed greatly to the final separation of the Sadducees from the Pharisees.

We have seen from their tenets and practices that the Sadducees were the ancient priestly aristocracy, and that they persisted in maintaining their conservative notions, as well as in retaining their pristine prerogatives, against the voice of the people. It is therefore natural, in tracing their origin, to look for a leader among the priests themselves, as their strong conservative sentiments would, as a matter of course, make them centre around a representative and a name of their own caste celebrated in the records of the sacred Scriptures. Such a chief, answering all the conditions required, we find, as Geiger has elaborately shown it, in the eminent priest Zadok, the tenth in descent from the high-priest Aaron, who declared for the succession of Solomon to the throne when Abiathar took the part of Adonijah (1 Kings i. 32-45), and whose line of descendants, or 'house' as it is termed in the Bible, henceforth retained a pre-eminence in the future history of the Jewish people. Thus when Hezekiah put a question to the priests and Levites generally, the answer was given by Azariah, 'the chief priest of the house of Zadok' (2 Chron. xxxi. 10); and Ezekiel, in his prophetic vision of the future temple, pre-eminently distinguishes 'the sons of Zadok,' and 'the priests and the Levites of the seed of Zadok,' as the faithful guardians of the Lord's sanctuary when the children of Israel went astray (Ezek. xl. 46; xliii. 19; xlv. 15; xlviii. 11). When the Jews returned from the Babylonish captivity, this sacerdotal aristocracy, and especially the 'priests of the seed of Zadok,' the 'sons of Zadok,' or which comes to the same thing 'the Zadokites' = Sadducees, naturally continued to form the centre of the newly-formed state, and to be the time-honoured guardians both of God's sacred heritage and their holy religion. The high-priests were also the chief functionaries of state. Their maxim, however, that statecraft and ingenuity are to be employed in political transactions with foreign nations, as well as the conduct of the chiefs among this sacerdotal aristocracy based upon this maxim, threatened to destroy both the nationality and the religion of the Jews. Hellenism—which gradually found its way into Judea after its occupation by Alexander the Great—Grecian sports, and political alliances with the heathen, were advocated by the

highest of the land, and openly espoused by multitudes (1 Maccab. i. 11-15). The very high-priest, who hitherto was the centre of religion, did all he could to denationalise the people of his charge (2 Maccab. iv. 1-19). The people, who saw their sanctuary ravished by the Syrians whilst their aristocracy were engaged in their ruinous statecraft, became embittered against both the foreigners abroad and the rulers at home. We cannot do better than continue the description of the Sadducees in the powerful words of Geiger: 'It was then that a pliable priestly family made itself the hand and the mouthpiece of this discontent; it conquered and crushed the foreign sway, overthrew the governing families at home, and assumed the pre-eminence. But the aristocracy soon surrounded the new sun of the Maccabees, and the Zadokites, who themselves had hitherto been the sun, now became its satellites, as Sadducees. The party struggle increased with continued success to the Pharisees. The internal struggles, however, made the interference of the Romans easy, and paved the way of the keenly ambitious Herod to the throne. He was neither a priest nor a born Israelite; but, like all upstarts, he was anxious to ally himself with the ancient aristocracy. His connection with Mariamne supported a Maccabæan family in the court itself, which, in opposition thereto, had popular sympathies, because it had its root among the people, in consequence of its celebrated past. Hence the eternal court intrigues, and the consequent brutalities. It was for this reason that Herod sought for another alliance with the sacerdotal aristocracy, which should both legitimatise him and be his faithful followers, and which he, on his part, would raise, by being connected with the sovereign. For this purpose he selected the family of Boethus, a sacerdotal family to whom the functions of the high-priesthood did not belong. He married the daughter of Simon Boethus, whom he made high-priest. Thus was a new high aristocracy created, which, being of ancient aristocratic blood, was blended with the high aristocracy, but which nevertheless owed its elevation to the sovereign, and was allied to his house. These were the Boethusians. Their double character, being both upstarts, and yet claiming to be ancient aristocracy, enhanced their arrogance' (*Jüdische Zeitschrift*, ii. 34, ff.) They are the Herodians, and for this reason are alternately called Herodians and Sadducees in the N. T. (Matt. xvi. 6 with Mark viii. 15). Thus we are told that the Pharisees took counsel with the Herodians—i.e. with the Boethusian branch of the Sadducees—how they might destroy Jesus (Mark iii. 6), as these Herodians, from their alliance with the reigning dynasty, had the temporal power for their aid. Again, in Mark xi. 27, xii. 13, it is stated that the chief priests, the scribes, and the elders, sent unto Jesus certain of the Pharisees and of the Herodians to catch him in his words, and after they had conjointly put to him the question about the tribute-money (14-17), each of the representatives of the two sects—i.e. of the Sadducees and the Pharisees—tried to entrap him with questions in harmony with their sectarian tenets. Accordingly, the Sadducean portion of the deputation, which are called in ver. 13 Herodians, and in ver. 19 Sadducees, came forward first and asked him the question about the seven brothers, which bore upon the Sadducean doctrine of the resurrection

and the Levirate law (19-27). When they were silenced, one of the scribes—*i.e.* of the Pharisaic portion of the deputation who was pleased with the manner in which Jesus put down the cavils of the Herodians—came forward and tried to entangle our Saviour with a question from a Pharisaic point of view (28-37). The reason why our Saviour, who so frequently rebuked the extravagances of some of the Pharisees, did not expose the doctrines of the Sadducees is, that at his advent their tenets had been thoroughly refuted by their opponents the Pharisees, and that although, through their alliance with the court, they wielded the temporal arm (Acts v. 17), they exercised no religious influence whatever upon the mass of the Jewish people, with whom the Pharisees were all in all (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 10. 5). But even their political influence soon ceased, for with the destruction of the Jewish state by the Romans the Sadducees lost their temporal significance; and though their doctrines continued to be held by a small fraction of the dispersed Jews, yet they were deemed of so little influence that Jehudah the Holy (163-193), in his redaction of the Mishna, only rarely and sparingly takes notice of the different opinions upon the various Jewish enactments held by the Sadducees and the Boethusians. It is for this reason that the Sadducees are also mentioned so little in the Talmud and the Midrashim, and that their origin was forgotten in the 7th century, when the above-quoted passage relating to their rise was introduced into the *Aboth* of Rabbi Nathan.

4. *Modern Sadducees or the Karaites.*—Without religious influence upon the mass of the Jewish people, and without any political power to protect their spiritual weakness, the handful of Sadducees continued to struggle on from the destruction of the second temple to the rise of Islamism, when a new era of resuscitation began for their tenets. The youthful Islam, which allied itself to science, breathed a reviving spirit upon Judaism, of which dying Sadduceism had more than a double share. In addition to the fact that an oppressed sect naturally seizes any new tendency whereby it can be resuscitated, Sadduceism—being free from the trammels of the traditional ordinances, as well as from the mass of artificial explanations, having had no share in the hazardous decisions passed by the Pharisees in the gloomy centuries which intervened between the rise of Christianity and Mohammedanism, and possessing only the Hebrew Scriptures as their religious code and classical literature—could more easily be penetrated by science than Pharisaism with its prodigious accumulation of authoritative works. And the learned and renowned Anan b. David, who rejected the traditions of the fathers, or in other words who was a Sadducee, duly availed himself of these auspicious circumstances about A.D. 760.

i. *Rise of Karaism.*—Though the exact time when Anan b. David, the renowned founder of Karaism, was born, cannot now be ascertained, yet we know that in A.D. 761 or 762 he was old enough to become the prince of the captivity or patriarch, to which he was the legitimate successor, as his uncle Solom, who held this dignity, died childless; and that the brothers R. Jehudai the Blind, who was at that time Gaon of Sora, and R. Dudai, Gaon of Pumbedita, prevented him from obtaining the patriarchate, because he, like many other representatives of the ancient Sadducees, re-

jected the traditions of the fathers, and elected his brother in his stead. As Anan was not singular in his theological views, those who sympathised with him, and could not see the truth of Pharisaic or Rabbinical Judaism, when they saw that he suffered for conscience sake, gathered round him as the legitimate prince and as the powerful champion of their principles. Having been compelled by the Rabbinical party, who had great influence with the caliph Abugafar el-Almanzor, to quit Babylon, he repaired to Jerusalem, where he was followed by his children and his influential friends, some of whom were members of the Gaonim college, and where he founded a synagogue, which continued till the first invasion of the Holy City by the Crusaders. The Pharisaic Jews formally excommunicated Anan and his party, whilst Anan, on the other hand, prohibited his followers from intermarrying with the Rabbinites, taking any meals with them, visiting their synagogues, or having any intercourse with them. Thus originated the separation between the Karaites, or the successors of the Sadducees, and the Rabbinical or Pharisaic Jews.

ii. *Tenets and practices of the Karaites.*—The doctrines of the Karaites are, with few exceptions, the same as those of the Sadducees.

a. Like his predecessors the Sadducees, Anan propounded the principle of worldly policy with the surrounding nations. Hence he regarded the founders of both Christianity and Mohammedanism as divinely commissioned. Christ, he said, was a true prophet for the Gentiles, and a wise teacher of the Jews; he proclaimed the revealed law to the heathen, and endeavoured to remove from the Scriptures the obscuring mass of human ordinances and vain traditions which the scribes and the Pharisees palmed thereupon, but which the Jews in their blindness did not understand. Mohammed, again, had a divine mission to the Arabs to destroy their idols, and teach them the existence of one true God and to worship him only. The Koran, therefore, is the inspired book for the Islamites, but does not set aside the Jewish law for the Jews (De Sacy, *Chrestomathie Arabe*, i. 326; Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, iv. 1086). These doctrines Anan propounded in a small work entitled *Fadhalkah*—*i.e.* *Summary of Doctrines*—which is now lost (comp. Munk, in Jost's *Annalen*, 1846, p. 76).

b. The rejection of the oral law and the Pharisaic enactments which constituted the vital difference between the Sadducees and the Pharisees, was thoroughly espoused by Anan, and is the cardinal doctrine of the Karaites to the present day. His distinguishing tenet was, '*Search the Scriptures thoroughly*' (חפישו באוריייתא שפיר), thus making literal teaching of the Bible the only infallible source and test of religious truth and observance. It is from this important principle that these modern Sadducees derive their honourable appellation, *Karaites* or *Karaim* (קראים) = *Scripturalists*, or *Bene Mikra* (בני מיקרא), *Baale Mikra* (בעלי מיקרא) = *Followers of the Bible*, in contradistinction to the *Bene Mishna* (בני משנה), *Baale Ha-Kabbala* (בעלי הקבלה), the followers of the oral law, which, as we have seen, was also the name of the Sadducees in olden times.\* In their rejecting tradition,

\* The first Karaites also called themselves *Ananites* (ענניים), or *followers of Anan*, out of re-



however, the Karaites, like their predecessors the Sadducees, do not discard every ancestral observance. Anan, their founder, simply refused to regard the expositions and decisions of the Pharisees or Rabbins as final, and as precluding private and individual examination of the simple meaning of Holy Writ according to the laws of grammar and exegesis. He only claimed for himself and his followers the liberty which the older Mishna-doctors exercised prior to these traditional enactments, of ascertaining logically what is the mind of the spirit. Hence the remark of Japheth, the Karaite Biblical expositor [JAPHETH]: 'The mode of interpretation pursued by the Mishna-doctors is that adopted by Anan, Benjamin Nahavendi, and other opponents of the Rabbinites, who wrote works on the laws (ספרי מצות), wherein every one of them propounded his views and supported them by arguments demonstrating the correctness of his opinions, which peradventure may be right or wrong' (Pinsker, *Likute Kadmoniot*, 20, 21). Hence, too, Anan adopted R. Ishmael's thirteen exegetical rules [ISHMAEL B. ELISA] in his exposition of the Bible. These principles he embodied in his commentary on the Pentateuch, which, though quoted by many early Karaite writers, and even as late as Ibn Ezra, who cites the *Introduction* to his *Comment*, on *Pentateuch*, has not as yet come to light.

c. The Sadducean restriction of the Levirate law to cases of betrothal (ארוסה) continued to be the law of the early Karaites. Thus Benjamin b. Moses Nahavendi (flour. 800-810 A.D.) distinctly declares that 'if the woman is actually the wife of the man, and he dies without issue, she is for ever interdicted to the Levir; still some member of the family is to act as *Go'el* (גואל), and marry her in order to preserve the name of the deceased in his possession' (comp. Ibn Ezra on *Deut.* xxv. 5; Geiger, in *He-Chaluz*, vi. 26, ff.; *Jüdische Zeitschrift*, i. 34, ff.).

d. The Karaites also espoused the literal carrying out of the *right of retaliation*, which was held by the Sadducees. The controversy between the celebrated Karaite Ibn Sitta and Saadia Gaon upon this point is given by Ibn Ezra in his *Comment*, on *Exod.* xxi. 23, 24.

e. The Karaite also held to the Sadducean law of inheritance (Fürst, *Karäerthum*, i. 54).

f. The rigid interpretation of the injunction in *Lev.* xi. 39, 40, maintained by the Sadducees, which extends the defilement of a carcase to the skin and all its parts, is also defended by the Karaites. Thus Elias, in his *Adereth* (cap. i. fol. 70 d), distinctly says, 'The skin defiles, since it is a part of the carcase, but the followers of tradition [*i.e.* the Rabbinic or Pharisaic Jews] maintain that it does not defile because they do not call it the carcase' (Geiger, in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. xvi. p. 725; Pinsker, *Likute Kadmoniot*, p. 83, ff.).

g. Like the Sadducees of old, the Karaites reject the artificial mode of *amalgamating the distances* (עירוב תנחומין), introduced by the Pharisees to remove from the people the rigorous and inconvenient Sabbatical laws. Thus they interpret

*Exod.* xvi. 29, that a man is not to move about on the Sabbath more than 2000 yards within the city and its precincts, and that only when the city is inhabited by Jews; and in case the majority of the inhabitants are not Israelites, he is not to quit the house at all except to go to the synagogue (*Adereth Elijah*, 29 c; Geiger, *Jüdische Zeitschrift*, ii. 27; Fürst, *Karäerthum*, i. 51).

h. The Karaites also defend all the other rigorous enactments of the Sadducees respecting the observance of the Sabbath. Thus they will allow no lights to be kindled for the Sabbath eve, but sit in darkness; nor any food to be eaten, the cooking or warming of which, though begun on the preparation-day, continues on the Sabbath, rigidly interpreting the injunction in *Exod.* xxxv. 3 (*Adereth Elijah*, 31 b; Ibn Ezra, *Comment. on Exod.* xxxv. 3); nor connubial intercourse, partly because it is contrary to the principle of rest, and partly because it is deemed contrary to the holiness of the day (*Adereth Elijah*, 28 b; Ibn Ezra, *Comment. on Exod.* xxxiv. 21); nor will they permit a child to be circumcised if the eighth day happens to be the Sabbath (*Adereth Elijah*, 26 a; Levi b. Japheth in Pinker's *Likute Kadmoniot*, Appendix, p. 90).

i. Like the Sadducees of old, the Karaites maintain that the paschal animal was to be slain on the last quarter of the fourteenth of *Nisan*, taking the phrase בין הערבים (between the two evenings) (*Exod.* xii. 6; *Lev.* xxiii. 5), to denote the space between the setting of the sun and the moment when the stars become visible [PASSOVER]; and that the omer is to be offered on the first day following the weekly Sabbath, so that the feast of Pentecost is always to be on the first day of the week, taking the expression מנחת השבת (Lev. xxiii. 11, 15, 16) literally (*Adereth Elijah*, 40 c-43 b [PENTECOST]).

k. Like the Sadducees, the Karaites reject the Pharisaic regulations about the phylacteries; nay, in this they go beyond their progenitors in doctrine, for they discard the phylacteries altogether, and interpret *Exod.* xiii. 6 metaphorically.

l. Like the Sadducees, the Karaites interpret rigidly the injunction about lying-in women (*Lev.* xii. 2-3), extending their impurity and keeping aloof from their husbands to the whole period of thirty-three days, in addition to the first seven days after the birth of a boy, and of sixty-six days in addition to the first fourteen days after the birth of a girl.

From this comparison, it will be seen that, with the exception of the doctrine of the resurrection and future rewards and punishments, the tenets of the Karaites, collected and systematised by Anan in 760 A.D., and elaborated by his distinguished followers, Benjamin Nahavendi and others, are the tenets of the ancient Sadducees. Indeed, their identity was acknowledged from the beginning. Thus Saadia Gaon, who wrote against Anan, distinctly declares, in his description of the first organisation of the Karaites, 'that about this time Anan and all the godless and unbelieving who were still left of the *horde of Zadok and Boethus*

(באותו הזמן נתקנא ענן הוא וכל איש רע ובלעל הנותרים מתרבות צדוק וביתום ונתכונן במחלוקת בסתר) were fired with jealousy, and secretly concocted a schism' (Pinsker, *Likute Kadmoniot*, Appendix, p. 103). Whilst Jacob b. Joseph

verence for their founder. This name, however, was afterwards entirely superseded by the appellation now in vogue.

Kirkisani, who records the opinions of older writers, speaks of the two sects as identical. 'Know therefore,' says he (דע כי זהו ההלוק הוזה בבית שני ויד הרבנים מנצחת והם הידועים בפרושים ויד הקראים נתחלשה והם (הידועים צדוקים), 'that there was a division during the second temple, and that the Rabbinites, who are known by the name Pharisees, prevailed, whilst the Karaites, who are known by the name Sadducees, succumbed' (Pinsker, *ibid.* p. 84).

iii. *Influence of the Karaites on Biblical Literature and Exegesis in past days, and the present Condition of this Sect.*—As the Karaites did not regard the folios containing the traditions of the Rabbins as authoritative expositions of the contents of the Bible, the study of the Hebrew Scriptures in their literal and grammatical sense became their chief object. The impulse which this fact gave to the prosecution of sound exegesis and philology can hardly be overrated. The Rabbinic Jews, seeing that their opponents the Karaites had made great progress in Biblical knowledge, and could wield the Scriptures as a most dangerous weapon against the traditions of the fathers, were driven in self-defence also to apply themselves to the study of the written word of God. Both parties were thereby greatly benefited. The Karaites, however, for a time remained masters of the field. It is beyond the scope and limits of this article to detail the changes and modifications which have been introduced into the tenets and practices of Karaism since its first organisation by Anan. Suffice it to say that this sect still exists and numbers about 5000 or 6000 followers. About 1500 of them reside at Djufut Kalè, about 800 at Eupatoria, 200 at Odessa, about 30 in Theodotia. Some of them are to be found in Wilna and other parts of Lithuania, and in Taganrog and Cherson. Out of Russia they are to be found in Galicia, where they have synagogues under the protection of the Austrian government; in Constantinople, where there are about 150 of them; in Kahira, in Jerusalem, and in Syria. Everywhere their morality is unexceptionable, their honesty and general probity in the transaction of business with their Jewish, Christian, and Mohammedan neighbours, are proverbial. No vice nor crime is known among them. The records of the police in Russia show that no Karaite has been punished for an offence against the laws for four hundred years. Both the Russian and Austrian governments, as a reward for their high integrity and quiet industry, have conferred privileges and immunities upon the Karaites which are denied to the Rabbinical Jews, and sometimes even to their Christian fellow-subjects.

5. *Literature.*—Owing to the complete triumph and general prevalence of Pharisaism, the literature of the Sadducees recording their principles, rise, progress, etc., is exceedingly meagre; and our chief information upon this sect is derived from the sources of their opponents—*i.e.* the Mishna, the Talmud, and the Midrashim—which are both scanty and greatly distorted by party feeling. To supplement this deficiency we have the scattered notices of the Samaritans, which materially aid us in many points, since the Samaritans, like the Sadducees, adhered in matters of law to the pre-Pharisaic or Sadducean application thereof. Of still greater help is the more ample information we possess about the Karaites or the modern

Sadducees. Of modern writers who have treated upon the Sadducees are to be mentioned Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. iv. p. 313-328, Göttingen 1852; Herzfeld, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. iii. pp. 359, 365, 382-388, Nordhausen 1857; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, pp. 76-79, 454-463, 2d ed., Leipzig 1863; Jost, *Geschichte des Judenthums und seiner Secten*, vol. i. p. 216, etc., Leipzig 1857. No one, however, has done so much to elucidate the true character of the Sadducees, their position with regard to the Pharisees, their connection with the ancient Samaritans and the modern Karaites, as the learned Geiger, in his *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel*, p. 100, etc., Breslau 1857. The results which this indefatigable scholar first communicated in the *Urschrift* he followed up by further researches into divers points connected with the Sadducees: the additional information thus obtained he communicated in the *Jüdische Zeitschrift*, vol. i. p. 19, etc., Breslau 1862; vol. ii. p. 11, etc., Breslau 1863; in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. xvi. p. 714, etc., Leipzig 1862; and in the Hebrew Essays and Reviews entitled *He-Chalutz*, vol. v. p. 29, etc.; vol. vi. p. 13, etc., Breslau 1861. The great storehouse of Karaite literature is the Hebrew work published by Pinsker, entitled *Likute Kadmoniot*, Vienna 1860. This volume, which consists of two parts and a double pagination (*viz.*, the text or Part One, extending from p. 1 to 234, and the appendix, or Part Two, embracing p. 1 to 228), has created a new era in the history of the Karaites or modern Sadduceism. To this must be added Fürst's excellent *Geschichte des Karäerthums*, vol. i. Leipzig 1862, vol. ii. Leipzig 1865. Fürst, whose history of this interesting sect is based upon Pinsker's elaborate work, also gives in the first volume a sketch of the doctrines and practices of the Sadducees, and like Geiger shows the intimate connection subsisting between the Sadducees and the Karaites.—C. D. G.

SAFFRON. [KARCOM.]

SAIL. [SHIP.]

SAIT. [ZAIT.]

SALAH (שָׁלַח, *a shoot*; Sept. and N. T. Σαλᾶ), a son, or grandson, of Arphaxad (Gen. x. 24; xi. 13; Luke iii. 35).

SALAMIS (Σαλαμῖς), one of the chief cities of Cyprus on the south-east coast of the island, visited by Paul and Barnabas on their first missionary tour (Acts xiii. 5). It was afterwards called Constantia, and in still later times Famagusta [CYPRUS].

SALATHIEL (Σαλαθιήλ, answering to the Heb. שְׁלֹמִיָּהּ, *asked of God*), the father of Zerubbabel (Matt. i. 12; Luke iii. 27; comp. Ezra iii. 2; Neh. xii. 1; Hag. i. 12, 14; ii. 2). In the genealogy of our Lord given by Matthew he appears as the son of Jeconiah; in that given by Luke he is the son of Neri. With Matthew accords 1 Chron. iii. 17. It thus appears that in some sense Salathiel was reckoned the son both of Jeconiah and of Neri. There are two ways of accounting for this: either he was really the son of Jeconiah, and was counted for a son to Neri from having married his daughter; or he was really the son of Neri, and was counted the son of Jeconiah from having succeeded to him on the failure of the



line of descent from Solomon through him. The former is the more probable hypothesis; the statement of both the Chronicler and St. Matthew leading to the conclusion that Jeconiah was the real father of Salathiel, and there being no evidence of any failure of the line of descent in Jeconiah's family through his having no sons, seeing he had not fewer than seven besides Salathiel. It has indeed been said that the 'supposition that the son and heir of David and Solomon would be called the son of Neri, an obscure individual, because he had married Neri's daughter, is too absurd to need refutation' (Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, art. 'Neri'). But this is said without reason. For—1. Though Neri may be an 'obscure individual' to us, it by no means follows that he was so to his contemporaries; 2. He is not more obscure than Salathiel; we know as much of the one as of the other; 3. He was as much a descendant of David as was Jeconiah, so that his daughter would be a fitting match for Jeconiah's son; 4. Supposing Salathiel the son of Jeconiah married Neri's daughter, he could not help being his legal son, and, if Neri had no other son, he would of course be reckoned in the genealogies as the son of Neri, however obscure the latter might have been. From all which it appears that the 'absurdity' exists only in the fancy of the critic, and does not attach to the supposition he criticises.—W. L. A.

SALCAH and SALCHAH (סַלְכָה; Ἑλχά; Σεκχαί; Alex. Σελχά; Ἀσελχά; *Salceha*), an ancient city of Bashan, situated on its eastern border. The territory which the Israelites took from the giant Og is described as embracing 'all Bashan unto Salchah' (Deut. iii. 10; Josh. xiii. 11). This city appears to have been one of the old capitals of Og's kingdom (Josh. xii. 5). A statement in 1 Chron. v. 11 appears to show that Salchah was upon the eastern confines of both Manasseh and Gad. In later Jewish history the name is never mentioned, and the probability is that the city soon fell into the hands of the original inhabitants.

There can be no doubt that Salcah is identical with the modern *Sulkhad* (صلخد). The town occupies a strong and commanding position on a conical hill at the southern extremity of the range of Jebel Hauran. On the summit stands the castle, a circular building of great size and strength, surrounded by a deep moat. The external walls are still tolerably perfect, and were evidently founded not later than the Roman age, though the upper portions are Saracenic. The sides of the cone immediately beneath the walls are steep and smooth, and are covered with light cinders and blocks of lava. The city occupies the lower slopes on the south, extending to the plain. A large number of the houses are still perfect, with their stone roofs and stone doors, though they have been long deserted. On the walls of the castle, and among the ruins, the writer saw Greek inscriptions bearing dates equivalent to A.D. 246 and 370; while an Arabic record on the walls of a large mosque showed that it was built in the year A.D. 1224; and a minaret near it about four centuries later. The latter appeared to be the newest building in the place.

The country round Salcah is now without inhabitants; but traces of former industry and wealth, and of a dense population, are visible. The roads,

the fields, the terraces, the vineyards, and the fig orchards are there, but man is gone. The view from the summit of the castle of Salcah is one of the most remarkable for desolation in all Palestine (Porter, *Damascus*, ii. 171-187; Abulfed. *Tub. Syr.* p. 106).—J. L. P.

SALEAM (סַלְעָם), a species of locust, winged and esculent (Lev. xi. 22). The LXX. render by ἀττάκη, A. V. 'bald locust.' A Chaldee root is given by Bochart, סלעם, *to consume*; but some prefer tracing the word to סלע, *a rock*, with much less probability. So little is known of this insect that it is impossible to identify it with any recorded species. Tychsen thinks that the *Gryllus eversor* of Asso is meant; but it is not certain what this is.—W. L. A.

SALEM (סָלֵם, *peace*; Sept. Σαλήμ), the original name of Jerusalem (Gen. xiv. 18; Heb. vii. 1, 2), and which continued to be used poetically in later times (Ps. lxxvi. 2) [JERUSALEM].

SALIM (Σαλειμ; and Alex. Σαλλείμ). In John iii. 23, the only passage of Scripture in which this name occurs, it is said, 'and John also was baptizing in Ænon, near to Salim, because there was much water there.' Salim was manifestly a well-known place; but its situation is not described, and sacred geographers are unable to fix it with any degree of certainty. The sacred narrative affords some little guidance. Christ was in Judæa (ver. 22), and the whole scope of the passage certainly conveys the impression that John was near him, and consequently Salim was either in Judæa or close to its borders.

This fact appears to render the statement of Eusebius and Jerome impossible. They locate Salim in the plain of the Jordan, eight miles south of Scythopolis (*Onomast.* s.v. *Ænon*); and there, at the base of a little tell, are some ancient ruins beside a copious fountain. A wely, or tomb, near the ruins is called *Sheikh Salim* (Van de Velde, *Travels*, ii. 346; Robinson, *B. R.* iii. 333). There can be little doubt, notwithstanding the opinion of Robinson, that this is the Salim mentioned by Eusebius; yet, as it is nearly forty miles from the borders of Judæa, it cannot be that in which John was baptizing.

There is a village called *Salim* in the plain of Mukhna, east of Nābulus, which is probably the Shalem of Gen. xxxiii. 18 (*Handbook*, p. 340; *B. R.* ii. 279); but it is too far north to suit the gospel narrative; and besides it cannot be said of it 'there is much water there.'

The theory of Dr. Barclay, though lightly regarded by so high an authority as Mr. Grove (Smith's *Dict. of Bible*, s.v.), is much more in accordance with the gospel narrative than either of the foregoing. He identifies Salim with Wady *Selim*, a wild ravine which runs down from Anathoth into Wady Farah; and Ænon with a large fountain discovered by him in that ravine, which he describes in somewhat extravagant terms (*City of the Great King*, pp. 558, seq.). This place is in Judæa, about six miles north-east of Jerusalem; and may be the place where John was baptizing. According to Dr. Barclay's description it can truly be said of this valley, 'there are many waters' (ὕδατα πολλά).—J. L. P.

## SALLONIM. [SILLON.]

SALMON (שָׁלֹמֹן, *clothed*; Sept. and N. T. Σαλώμων), the father of Boaz (Ruth iv. 21; Matt. i. 4, 5; Luke iii. 32), elsewhere called Salmah, שִׁלְמָה (Ruth iv. 20), and שְׁלֹמֹה (1 Chron. ii. 11).

SALMON or ZALMON, prop. TSALMON (צִלְמוֹן), a woody hill near Shechem (Judg. ix. 48). Whether it is this that is referred to in Ps. lxxviii. 15 [A. V. 14] is disputed. Some interpreters take צִלְמוֹן here in its etymological meaning of darkness = צֶלֶם; thus Luther renders the clause 'so wird es helle wo es dunkel ist,' *thus it be bright where it is dark*, and understands it with a Messianic reference. Ewald adopts much the same rendering. The majority, however, retain the name as a proper name, but exhibit great variety in their explanation of the passage. Hengstenberg thinks that the phrase 'it snows on Tsalmon' is equivalent to 'there is brightness where there was darkness,' the hill originally dark with wood is now white with snow. De Dieu supposes a comparison: Tsalmon is white with the bones of the slaughtered kings as if with snow. Some suppose that there is here a mere note of time: it was winter, the snow was on Tsalmon (Herder); and this Hupfeld adopts, with the explanation that the statement is made derisively with reference to those who tarried at home deterred by the winter's snow. He considers the passage (13-15) as a fragment of an ancient song celebrating some of the early conquests of Israel in Canaan, and deriding those who, from indolence or fear, shrank from the enterprise. He translates thus:—

The kings of the armies flee, flee,  
And the housewife shares the spoil!  
Will ye lie among the shippens?  
Pigeon-feathers decked with silver  
And their wings with yellow gold!  
As the Almighty scattered kings therein  
It was snowing on Tsalmon.—W. L. A.

SALMONE (Σαλώμων), a promontory forming the eastern extremity of the island of Crete (Acts xxvii. 7). See Smith, *Voy. and Shipwr. of St. Paul*, ii. 393, 2d ed.

SALOME (Σαλώμη). 1. A woman of Galilee, who accompanied Jesus in some of his journeys, and ministered unto him; and was one of those who witnessed his crucifixion and resurrection (Mark xv. 40; xvi. 1). It is gathered, by comparing these texts with Matt. xxvii. 56, that she was the wife of Zebedee, and mother of the apostles James and John. 2. The name (though not given in Scripture) of that daughter of Herodias whose dancing before her uncle and father-in-law, Herod Antipas, was instrumental in procuring the decapitation of John the Baptist [HERODIAN FAMILY; JOHN THE BAPTIST].

SALT (מֶלַח) was procured by the Hebrews from two sources—first, from rock-salt, obtained from hills of salt which lie about the southern extremity of the Dead Sea; and, secondly, from the waters of that sea, which, overflowing the banks yearly, and being exhaled by the sun and the heat, left behind a deposit of salt both abundant and

good. In the same manner the Arabs of the present day procure their supply of salt from the deposits of the Dead Sea, and carry on a considerable trade in that article throughout Syria.

The uses to which salt was anciently applied were not dissimilar to those for which it serves at present—a fact which arises from the circumstance that these uses depend on its essential qualities, and on the constitution and wants of the human frame. It is now known as a physiological fact, that salt is indispensable to our health and vigour. For this reason, doubtless, the use of it was providentially made agreeable to the palate. Independently of its services to man as an ingredient in his food, salt is employed—1. As a manure, since, when used in proper proportions, it enriches the soil; and 2. As an antiseptic, as it preserves flesh-meat from corruption. From these qualities severally result the applications of salt, both natural and figurative, of which mention is made in Scripture.

From Job vi. 6 it is clear that salt was used as a condiment with food. Salt was also mixed with fodder for cattle (Is. xxx. 24), where the marginal reading is preferable, '*savoury* provender.' As offerings, viewed on their earthly side, were a presentation to God of what man found good and pleasant for food, so all meat-offerings were required to be seasoned with salt (Lev. ii. 13; Spencer, *De Legibus Rit.* i. 5. 1). Salt, therefore, became of great importance to Hebrew worshippers; it was sold accordingly in the temple market, and a large quantity was kept in the temple itself, in a chamber appropriated to the purpose (Maii *Diss. de Usu Salis Symbol. in rebus Sacris*, Giessen 1692; Wokenius, *De Salitura oblationum Deo factar.* 1747; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 3. 3; *Middoth*, v. 3; Othon. *Lex. Rab.* p. 668). Jewish tradition agrees with Ezek. xliii. 24 in intimating that animal offerings were sprinkled with salt (Joseph. *Antiq.* iii. 9. 1; Philo, ii. 255; Hottinger, *Jur. Heb. Legg.* p. 168); as was certainly the case with the Greeks and Romans (Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxi. 44; Ovid, *Fast.* i. 337; Spencer, *De Leg. Rit.* iii. 2. 2; Lukemacher, *Antiq. Græc. Sacr.* p. 350; Hottinger, *De Usu Salis in Cultu Sacro*, Marburg 1708; Schickeclanz, *De Salis usu in Sacrific.* Servest. 1758). The incense, 'perfume,' was also to have salt as an ingredient (Exod. xxx. 35; marginal reading 'salted'), where it appears to have been symbolical, as well of the divine goodness as of man's gratitude, on the principle that of every bounty vouchsafed of God, it became man to make an acknowledgment in kind.

As salt thus entered into man's food, so to eat salt with any one was to partake of his fare, to share his hospitality; and hence, by implication, to enjoy his favour, or to be in his confidence. Hence, also, salt became an emblem of fidelity and of intimate friendship. At the present hour the Arabs regard as their friend him who has eaten salt with them—that is, has partaken of their hospitality (Niebuhr, *Beschr.* p. 48; Rosenmüller, *Morgenl.* ii. 150); in the same way as, in Greece, those regarded each other as friends even to distant generations, between whom the rites of hospitality had been once exchanged. The domestic sanctity which thus attached itself to salt was much enhanced in influence by its religious applications, so that it became symbolical of the most sacred and binding of obligations. Accordingly 'a cove-



nant of salt,' בְּרִית מֶלַח, was accounted a very solemn bond (Num. xviii. 19; 2 Chron. xiii. 5; Lev. ii. 13)—a signification to which force would be given by the preservative quality of salt (Bahrđt, *De Fœdere Salis*; Zerbech, *De Fœdere Salis*).

But salt, if used too abundantly, is destructive of vegetation, and causes a desert. Hence arose another class of figurative applications. Destroyed cities were sown with salt, to intimate that they were devoted to perpetual desolation (Judg. ix. 45); salt became a symbol of barrenness (Deut. xxix. 23; Zeph. ii. 9; Virg. *Georg.* ii. 238); and 'a salt land' (Jer. xvii. 6) signifies a sterile and unproductive district (Job xxxix. 6; Altmann, *Meletem. Philolog. Exeg.* i. 47). By exposure to the influence of the sun and of the atmosphere, salt loses its savoury qualities (Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxi. 34; xxxi. 39; Maundrell, *R.* 162); whence the striking and forcible language of our Lord in Matt. v. 13.

We have reserved to the end reference to a singular usage among the Israelites, namely, washing new-born infants in salt water; which was regarded as so essential that those could have hardly any other than an ill fate who were deprived of the rite (Ezek. xvi. 4). The practice obviously arose from a regard to the preserving, the domestic, the moral, and the religious uses to which salt was applied, and of which it became the emblem (Richter, *De Usu Salis apud Priscos Profano et Sacro*, Zettau 1766).—J. R. B.

SALT, CITY OF (עִיר־הַמֶּלַח; ἡ πόλις τῶν ἀλάων; *civitas salis*), one of the six cities enumerated by Joshua in the wilderness of Judah (Josh. xv. 62), but not elsewhere mentioned in Scripture. It is grouped with Engedi, and appears to have been situated to the south of it. It seems most probable that it took its name from salt-works or mines. At the south-western extremity of the Dead Sea stands a remarkable range of hills of pure salt [SEA], and near them 'the City of Salt' was perhaps situated. There are ancient ruins at the mouth of Wady Zuweirah, at the northern end of the range; and others at Um Baghek, five miles farther north. One or other of these places may mark the site of 'the City of Salt' (Robinson, *B.* R. ii. 109; Van de Velde, *Memoir*, 345; Tristram, *Land of Israel*, pp. 318, *seq.*)—J. L. P.

SALT, VALLEY OF (נִיַּת מֶלַח). This name is employed five times in the Bible, but in these the sacred writers mention only two events which occurred in the place. In 2 Sam. viii. 13, and 1 Chron. xviii. 12, an account is given of the slaughter of eighteen thousand Edomites by the army of king David in 'the valley of Salt.' The former passage reads אֲרָם, *Aram*, or 'Syrians,' in the Masoretic text; but, from the testimony of some MSS. (De Rossi, *Var. Lect.* ii. p. 174), ancient versions, and the parallel passage in 1 Chron. xviii. 12, it is evident the word ought to be אֲדָם, *Edom*. There is nothing to indicate the exact position of the valley. It may be inferred, however, from the whole scope of the passage, that it was on or near the border of Edom, which appears to have been defined by the Arabah on the west, and Wady el-Ahsy on the north [DUMÆA].

The second incident which occurred in 'the valley of Salt' was also a conflict with the Edomites. Amaziah, king of Judah, 'slew of Edom, in

the valley of Salt, ten thousand, and took Selah by war' (2 Kings xiv. 7; 2 Chron. xxv. 11). The Edomites probably opposed him on the frontier, and were defeated; the remnant then retired to their strongholds, which were captured and destroyed.

The salt-hills and numerous salt-springs at the south-western extremity of the Dead Sea, within a few miles of the frontier of Edom, and in the route along which armies would naturally march between Edom and Judah, suggest the idea that 'the valley of Salt' must have been somewhere in that region. It would seem probable, from the word which in the A. V. is translated 'valley,' and which usually signifies a 'glen' or 'ravine' (נִיַּת), that the sacred writers do not refer to the Arabah, or great plain south of the Dead Sea, but rather to one or other of the passes leading from it, either up into Judah on the one side, or Edom on the other. Wady Zuweirah, a well-known pass at the northern end of the salt range of Usdum, might be the one meant, though the scope of the narrative would rather seem to locate it nearer Edom. Robinson and others (*B. R.* ii. 109; Van de Velde, *Memoir*, p. 346) suppose the 'valley of Salt' to be the Arabah itself (see also Keil on 2 Kings xiv. 7).—J. L. P.

SALUTATION. The frequent allusion in Scripture to the customary salutations of the Jews invests the subject with a higher degree of interest than it might otherwise claim; and it is therefore fortunate that there are few scriptural topics which can be better understood by the help of the illustrations derivable from the existing usages of the East.

Most of the expressions used in salutation, and also those which were used in parting, implied that the person who employed them interceded for the other. Hence the word בָּרַךְ, *barak*, which originally signified 'to bless,' meant also 'to salute,' or 'to welcome,' and 'to bid adieu' (Gen. xlvii. 8-11; 2 Kings iv. 29; x. 13; 1 Chron. xviii. 10).

The forms of salutation that prevailed among the Hebrews, so far as can be collected from Scripture, are the following:—

1. 'Blessed be thou of the Lord,' or equivalent phrases.

2. *The Lord be with thee.*

3. 'Peace be unto thee,' or 'upon thee,' or 'with thee.' In countries often ravaged, and among people often ruined by war, 'peace' implied every blessing of life; and this phrase had therefore the force of 'Prosperous be thou.' This was the commonest of all salutations (Judg. xix. 20; Ruth ii. 4; 1 Sam. xxv. 6; 2 Sam. xx. 9; Ps. cxxix. 8).

4. 'Live, my lord' (חַיֵּה אֲדֹנָי), was a common salutation among the Phœnicians, and was also in use among the Hebrews, but was by them only addressed to their kings in the extended form of 'Let the king live for ever!' (1 Kings i. 31); which was also employed in the Babylonian and Persian courts (Dan. ii. 4; iii. 9; v. 10; vi. 6, 21; Neh. ii. 3). This, which in fact is no more than a wish for a prolonged and prosperous life, has a parallel in the customs of most nations, and does not differ from the 'Vivat' of the Latin, the 'Vive le Roi!' of the French, or our own '— for ever!'

5. *Xaïpe, χαίπετε, joy to thee! joy to you!* rendered by *Hail!* an equivalent of the Latin *Ave! Salve!* (Matt. xxvii. 29; xxviii. 9; Mark xv. 18; Luke i. 28; John xix. 3).

The usages involved in these oral salutations seem not only similar to, but identical with, those still existing among the Arabians. These, indeed, as now observed, go upon the authority of religious precepts. But it is known that such enactments of the Koran and its commentaries merely embody such of the previously and immemorially existing usages as the legislature wished to be retained. Their most common greeting, as among the Jews, is, 'Peace be on you!' to which the reply is, 'On you be peace!' to which is commonly added, 'and the mercy of God, and his blessings!' This salutation is never addressed by a Moslem to one whom he knows to be of another religion; and if he find that he has by mistake thus saluted a person not of the same faith, he generally revokes his salutation: so also he sometimes does if a Moslem refuses to return his salutation, usually saying, 'Peace be on us, and on (all) the right worshippers of God!' This seems to us a striking illustration of Luke x. 5, 6; 2 John xi. Various set compliments usually follow this salam, which, when people intend to be polite, are very much extended, and occupy considerable time. Hence they are evaded in crowded streets, and by persons in haste, as was the case, for the same reason, doubtless, among the Jews (2 Kings iv. 29; Luke x. 4). Specimens of this conventional intercourse are given by Lane (*Mod. Egyptians*, i. 253), who says, that to give the whole would occupy a dozen of his pages. There are set answers, or a choice of two or three answers, to every question; and it is accounted rude to give any other answer than that which custom prescribes. They are such as those by which the Israelites probably prolonged their intercourse. If one is asked, 'How is your health?' he replies, 'Praise be to God!' and it is only from the tone of his voice that the inquirer can tell whether he is well or ill. When one greets another with the common inquiry, 'Is it well with thee?' (see 2 Kings iv. 26), the answer is, 'God bless thee!' or 'God preserve thee!' An acquaintance, on meeting another whom he has not seen for several days, or for a longer period, generally says, after the salam, 'Thou hast made us desolate by thy absence from us;' and is usually answered, 'May God not make us desolate by thy absence!'

The gestures and inflections used in salutation varied with the dignity and station of the person saluted, as is the case with the Orientals at this day. It is usual for the person who gives or returns the salutation to place at the same time his right hand upon his breast, or to touch his lips, and then his forehead or turban, with the same hand. This latter mode, which is the most respectful, is often performed to a person of superior rank, not only at first, with the salam, but also frequently during a conversation. In some cases the body is gently inclined, while the right hand is laid upon the left breast. A person of the lower orders, in addressing a superior, does not always give the salam, but shows his respect to high rank by bending down his hand to the ground, and then putting it to his lips and forehead. It is a common custom for a man to kiss the hand of his superior instead of his own (generally on the back only,

but sometimes on both back and front), and then to put it to his forehead in order to pay more particular respect. Servants thus evince their respect



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towards their masters. When residing in the East, our own servants always did this on such little occasions as arose beyond the usage of their ordinary service; as on receiving a present, or on returning fresh from the public baths. The son also thus kisses the hand of his father, and the wife



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that of her husband. Very often, however, the superior does not allow this, but only touches the hand extended to take his; whereupon the other puts the hand that has been touched to his own lips and forehead. The custom of kissing the beard is still preserved, and follows the first and preliminary gesture; it usually takes place on meeting after an absence of some duration, and not as an everyday compliment. In this case, the person who gives the kiss lays the right hand under the beard, and raises it slightly to his lips, or rather supports it while it receives his kiss. This custom strikingly illustrates 2 Sam. xx. 9. In Arabia Petræa, and some other parts, it is more usual for persons to lay the right sides of their cheeks together.

Among the Persians, persons in saluting under the same circumstances often kiss each other on the lips; but if one of the individuals is of high rank the kiss is given on the cheek instead of the lips. This seems to illustrate 2 Sam. xx. 9; Gen.



xxix. 11, 13; xxxiii. 4; xlviii. 10-12; Exod. iv. 27; xviii. 7.



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Another mode of salutation is usual among friends on meeting after a journey. Joining their right hands together, each of them compliments the other upon his safety, and expresses his wishes for his welfare, by repeating, alternately, many times the words *salamat* (meaning, 'I congratulate you on your safety') and *leiyibeen* ('I hope you are well'). In commencing this ceremony, which is often continued for nearly a minute before they proceed to make any particular inquiries, they join their hands in the same manner as is usually practised by us; and at each alternation of the two expressions, change the position of the hands. These circumstances further illustrate such passages as 2 Kings iv. 19; Luke x. 4. Other particulars, more or less connected with this subject, may be seen in ATTITUDES; KISS; see also EPISTLES for epistolary salutations.—J. K.

**SAMARIA** (שַׁמְרִיָּה, *watch-height*; Σαμάρεια), a city, situated near the middle of Palestine, built by Omri, king of Israel, on a mountain or hill of the same name, about B.C. 925. It was the metropolis of the kingdom of Israel, or of the ten tribes. The hill was purchased from the owner, Shemer, from whom the city took its name (1 Kings xvi. 23, 24). The site of the capital was therefore a chosen one; and all travellers agree that it would be difficult to find in the whole land a situation of equal strength, fertility, and beauty combined. 'In all these particulars,' says Dr. Robinson, 'it has greatly the advantage over Jerusalem' (*Bibl. Researches*, iii. 146). Samaria continued to be the capital of Israel for two centuries, till the carrying away of the ten tribes by Shalmaneser, about B.C. 720 (2 Kings xvii. 3, 5). During all this time it was the seat of idolatry, and is often as such denounced by the prophets, sometimes in connection with Jerusalem. It was the seat of a temple of Baal, built by Ahab, and destroyed by Jehu (1 Kings xvi. 32, 33; 2 Kings x. 18-28). It was the scene of many of the acts of the prophets Elijah and Elisha, connected with the various famines of the land, the unexpected plenty of Samaria, and the several deliverances of the city from the Syrians. After the exile of the ten tribes, Samaria appears to have continued, for a time at least, the chief city of the foreigners brought to occupy their place, although Shechem soon became the capital of the Samaritans as a religious sect. John Hyrcanus took the city after a year's siege, and razed it to

the ground (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 10. 3; *De Bell. Jud.* i. 2. 7). Yet it must soon have revived, as it is not long after mentioned as an inhabited place in the possession of the Jews. Pompey restored it to its former possessors; and it was afterwards rebuilt by Gabinius (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 5. 4; xiv. 4. 4; xiv. 5. 3). Augustus bestowed Samaria on Herod; who eventually rebuilt the city with great magnificence, and gave it the name of Sebaste (which is the Greek translation of the Latin name or epithet Augustus), in honour of that emperor (*Antiq.* xv. 7. 3; *De Bell. Jud.* xv. 7. 7; xv. 8. 5). Here Herod planted a colony of 6000 persons, composed partly of veteran soldiers, and partly of people from the environs; enlarged the circumference of the city; and surrounded it with a strong wall twenty stades in circuit. In the midst of the city—that is to say, upon the summit of the hill—he left a sacred place of a stade and a half, splendidly decorated, and here he erected a temple to Augustus, celebrated for its magnitude and beauty. The whole city was greatly ornamented, and became a strong fortress (Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 8. 5; *De Bell. Jud.* i. 21. 2; Strabo, xvi. 2. 13).

Such was the Samaria of the time of the N. T., where the gospel was preached by Philip, and a church was gathered by the apostles (Acts viii. 5, 9, *seq.*) Nothing is known of Sebaste in the following centuries, except from the coins, of which there are several, extending from Nero to Geta (Eckhel, iii. 440; Mionnet, *Méd. Antiq.* v. 513). Septimius Severus appears to have established there a Roman colony in the beginning of the 3d century (Cellarius, *Not. Orb.* ii. 432). Eusebius scarcely mentions the city as extant; but it is often named by Jerome and other writers of the same and a later age (adduced in Reland's *Palästina*, pp. 979-981). Samaria was early an episcopal see. Its bishop, Marius, or Marinus, was present at the council of Nice in A.D. 325; and Pelagius, the last of six others whose names are preserved, attended the council of Jerusalem in A.D. 536. The city, along with Nabulus, fell into the power of the Moslems during the siege of Jerusalem; and we hear but little more of it till the time of the Crusades. At what time the city of Herod became desolate no existing accounts state; but all the notices of the 4th century and later lead to the inference that its destruction had already taken place.

The Crusaders established a Latin bishopric at Sebaste; and the title was continued in the Romish Church till the 14th century (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* iii. 1290). Saladin marched through it in A.D. 1184, after his repulse from Kerak (Abulfed. *Annal.* A.H. 580). Benjamin of Tudela describes it as having been 'formerly a very strong city, and situated on the mount, in a fine country, richly watered, and surrounded by gardens, vineyards, orchards, and olive-groves. He adds that no Jews were living there' (*Itiner.* ed. Asher, p. 66). Phocas and Brocardus speak only of the church and tomb of John the Baptist, and of the Greek church and monastery on the summit of the hill. Notices of the place occur in the travellers of the 14th, 16th, and 17th centuries; nor are they all so meagre as Dr. Robinson conceives. That of Morison, for instance, is full and exact (*Voyage du Mont Sinai*, pp. 230-233). Scarcely any traces of the earlier or later Samaria could then be perceived, the materials having been used by the in-

habitants for the construction of their own mean dwellings. The then residents were an extremely poor and miserable set of people. In the 18th century the place appears to have been left unexplored; but in the present century it has often been visited and described.

The Hill of Samaria is an oblong mountain of considerable elevation, and very regular in form, situated in the midst of a broad deep valley, the continuation of that of Nabulus (Shechem), which here expands into a breadth of five or six miles. Beyond this valley, which completely isolates the hill, the mountains rise again on every side, forming a complete wall around the city. They are terraced to the tops, sown in grain, and planted with olives and figs, in the midst of which a number of handsome villages appear to great advantage, their white stone cottages contrasting strikingly with the



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verdure of the trees. 'The Hill of Samaria' itself is cultivated from its base, the terraced sides and summits being covered with corn and with olive-trees. About midway up the ascent the hill is surrounded by a narrow terrace of level land, like a belt; below which the roots of the hill spread off more gradually into the valleys. Higher up, too, are the marks of slight terraces, once occupied, perhaps, by the streets of the ancient city. The ascent of the hill is very steep, and the narrow foot-path winds among the mountains through substantial cottages of the modern Sebestieh (the Arabic form of Sebaste), which appear to have been constructed to a great extent of ancient materials, very superior in size and quality to anything which could at this day be wrought into an Arab habitation. The first object which attracts the notice of the traveller, and at the same time the most conspicuous ruin of the place, is the church dedicated to John the Baptist, erected on the spot which an old tradition fixed as the place of his burial, if not of his martyrdom. It is said to have been built by the Empress Helena; but the architecture limits its antiquity to the period of the Crusades, although a portion of the eastern end seems to have been of earlier date. There is a blending of Greek and

Saracenic styles, which is particularly observable in the interior, where there are several pointed arches. Others are round. The columns follow no regular order, while the capitals and ornaments present a motley combination, not to be found in any church erected in or near the age of Constantine. The length of the edifice is 153 feet long inside, besides a porch of 10 feet, and the breadth is 75 feet. The eastern end is rounded in the common Greek style; and resting, as it does, upon a precipitous elevation of nearly 100 feet immediately above the valley, it is a noble and striking monument. Within the enclosure is a common Turkish tomb; and beneath it, at a depth reached by 21 stone steps, is a sepulchre, three or four paces square, where, according to the tradition, John the Baptist was interred after he had been slain by Herod. This tradition existed in the days of Jerome; but there is no earlier trace of it: and if Josephus is correct in stating that John was beheaded in the castle of Machærus, on the east of the Dead Sea (*Antiq.* xviii. 5. 2), his burial in Samaria is very improbable.

On approaching the summit of the hill, the traveller comes suddenly upon an area, once surrounded by limestone columns, of which fifteen are still standing and two prostrate. These columns form two rows, thirty-two paces apart, while less than two paces intervene between the columns. They measure seven feet nine inches in circumference; but there is no trace of the order of their architecture, nor are there any foundations to indicate the nature of the edifice to which they belonged. Some refer them to Herod's temple to Augustus, others to a Greek church which seems to have once occupied the summit of the hill. The descent of the hill on the W.S.W. side brings the traveller to a very remarkable colonnade, which is easily traceable by a great number of columns, erect or prostrate, along the side of the hill for at least one-third of a mile, where it terminates at a heap of ruins, near the eastern extremity of the ancient site. The columns are sixteen feet high, two feet in diameter at the base, and one foot eight inches at the top. The capitals have disappeared; but the shafts retain their polish, and, when not broken, are in good preservation. Eighty-two of these columns are still erect, and the number of those fallen and broken must be much greater. Most of them are of the limestone common to the region; but some are of white marble, and some of granite. The mass of ruins in which this colonnade terminates toward the west is composed of blocks of hewn stone, covering no great area on the slope of the hill, many feet lower than the summit. Neither the situation nor extent of this pile favours the notion of its having been a palace; nor is it easy to conjecture the design of the edifice. The colonnade, the remains of which now stand solitary and mournful in the midst of ploughed fields, may, however, with little hesitation, be referred to the time of Herod the Great, and must be regarded as belonging to some one of the splendid structures with which he adorned the city. In the deep ravine which bounds the city on the north there is another colonnade, not visited by Dr. Robinson, but fully described by Dr. Olin (*Travels*, ii. 371-373). The area in which these columns stand is completely shut in by hills, with the exception of an opening on the north-east; and so peculiarly sequestered is the situation, that it is only visible







*Monopage, 1841, p. 1. From a sketch by L. A. M. M. M. M.*

*William Forrest.*

SEASTE  
(ANCIENT CAPITAL OF SAMARIA.)

A & P. Clark, Edinburgh.





from a few points of the heights of the ancient site, by which it is overshadowed. The columns, of which a large number are entire and several in fragments, are erect, and arranged in a quadrangle, 196 paces in length, and 64 in breadth. They are three paces asunder, which would give 170 columns as the whole number when the colonnade was complete. The columns resemble in size and material those of the colonnade last noticed, and appear to belong to the same age. These also probably formed part of Herod's city, though it is difficult to determine the use to which the colonnade was appropriated. Dr. Olin is possibly right in his conjecture, that this was one of the places of public assembly and amusement which Herod introduced into his dominions (Robinson, *Researches*, iii. 136-149; Olin, *Travels*, ii. 366-374; Buckingham, *Travels in Palestine*, pp. 512-517; Richardson, *Travels*, ii. 409-413; Schubert, *Morgenland*, iii. 156-162; Raumer, *Palästina*, p. 158; Maundrell, *Journey*, pp. 78, 79).—J. K.

**SAMARIA, KINGDOM AND PROVINCE OF.** The political history of the kingdom of which Samaria was the capital has been given under the word **ISRAEL**. It is intended in this article briefly to explain the geographical meaning attached to the term Samaria by some of the sacred writers, as well in the O. T. as in the N. T.

'The cities of Samaria' are mentioned in such a way in 1 Kings xiii. 32 as shows that the kingdom of Israel, including the whole country over which Jeroboam ruled, was meant. It then embraced the territories of all the tribes except Benjamin, Judah, Simeon, and that portion of Dan which had originally been allotted to Judah. Consequently Samaria, as a geographical term, was at that time applied to the whole of Palestine east of the Jordan, and to all west of that river and north of the parallel of Bethel. In this sense it is used by Hosea—'Thy calf, O Samaria, hath cast thee off;' alluding to the images which Jeroboam had set up at Dan and Bethel, on the northern and southern extremities of his kingdom. In like manner, Amos speaks of 'the mountains of Samaria' (iii. 9; cf. iv. 1).

The name was borrowed from the capital city; and the country embraced under it became more and more limited in extent, as section after section was lopped off Jeroboam's old kingdom. The territory 'beyond Jordan' was invaded first by Pul, and thirty years later by Tiglath-pileser, kings of Assyria, and the Israelites taken captive. The country beyond Jordan was thus taken from under the jurisdiction of Samaria, and was no more called by its name (1 Chron. v. 26; cf. 2 Kings xv. 19, 29). It received the distinctive appellation *Peræa*. Tiglath-pileser also invaded northern Palestine, captured the province of Galilee, and removed its old inhabitants to Assyria (2 Kings xv. 29). This section was then cut off from the kingdom of Israel, and no longer bore the name Samaria. This name was thus confined, after the conquests of Tiglath-pileser, to the central portion of Palestine lying between Judah and Galilee (B.C. 738).

On the capture of the city of Samaria, and the final overthrow of the kingdom of Israel by Shalmaneser (B.C. 721), the Jews were removed, and strangers were brought from Assyria 'and placed in the cities of Samaria' (2 Kings xvii. 24; cf. Ezra iv. 10). These colonists took the name of

their new country, and were thenceforth called **SAMARITANS**. Instead of a kingdom, Samaria now became a province. Its extent cannot be exactly ascertained. The political geography of Palestine was undergoing changes every year, in consequence of incessant wars and conquests; and it was not until the period of Roman dominion that the boundaries of provinces began to be accurately defined.

To distinguish the province from the city, the former is called in the apocryphal writings and in Josephus *Σαμαρείτις*, and also *Σαμαρίς* and *Χώρα Σαμαρείων*. Josephus describes the province as follows:—'The district of Samaria lies between Judæa and Galilee. Commencing at a village called Ginea, situated in the Great Plain, it terminates at the territory of the Acrabatenes. In its natural characteristics it differs in no respect from Judæa, hills and plains being interspersed through both—the soil, moreover, being arable and extremely fertile, richly wooded and amply supplied with fruits both wild and cultivated' (*Bell. Jud.* iii. 3, 4). Ginea is identical with the modern Jenin, on the southern side of the plain of Esdraelon. It is evident, therefore, that the northern border of Samaria ran along the foot of the mountain-range, beginning at the promontory of Carmel on the west, and terminating at the Jordan, near the site of Succoth. Its southern border would probably correspond pretty nearly to a line drawn from Joppa eastward through Bethel to the Jordan (see Reland, *Pal.* p. 192). The geographical position of the province is several times incidentally mentioned in the N. T. Thus in Luke xvii. 11 it is stated that our Lord, in proceeding to Jerusalem from Northern Palestine, 'passed through the midst of Samaria;' and again, when he left Judæa and went to Galilee, St. John says, 'He must needs go through Samaria' (iv. 4). And so, when Paul and Barnabas were sent on a special mission from Antioch to Jerusalem, 'they passed through Phenice and Samaria' (Acts xv. 3). They followed the road along the sea-coast, doubtless calling at the great cities of Sidon, Tyre, and Cæsarea.

After the time of Roman rule in Syria, the name of Samaria as a province appears to have passed away. It is used by Pliny and Ptolemy, and is mentioned by Jerome. It is not found, however, in the *Notitie Ecclesiastica*, nor in any later work; and it is now wholly unknown to the natives of the country. The name of the ancient city has even given place to the Arabo-Greek *Sebustieh*.

See for fuller information on physical geography, history, and topography, the article **PALESTINE**.—J. L. P.

**SAMARITANS.** The word Samaritan occurs but once in the O. T.—viz. 2 Kings xvii. 29. In the N. T. it is applied, strictly speaking, to the people or sect who had established an independent worship of their own in a temple or synagogue at Nablûs. In the books of Kings it has a wider signification. The origin of the people so designated is somewhat obscure, on account of the scanty details of them supplied by the O. T. Two points have been discussed in relation to them—viz. Were all the inhabitants carried away from the cities and villages of Samaria in 721 B.C., by Shalmaneser king of Assyria? and, Who colonised the depopulated district? In 2 Kings xvii. 5, 6, we read: 'Then the king of Assyria came up



throughout all the land and went up to Samaria and besieged it three years. In the ninth year of Hosea, the king of Assyria took Samaria and carried Israel away into Assyria and placed them in Halah and in Habor, by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes.' By *Israel* is here meant the remnant of the ten tribes which acknowledged the authority of Hosea; for Pul and Tilgath-pileser had depopulated the territory before. Hengstenberg, and those who follow him, argue that the Israelites were removed to the last man by Esarhaddon, because it is said in 2 Kings xvii. 24 that other peoples were placed in the land *instead of the children of Israel*; because the petition of the heathen colonists implies (2 Kings xvii. 26) that there was no one in the land who could give them the rudest notion of the way and manner of worshipping the God of the land; because the prophetic expressions relating to the destruction of the ten tribes represent the members as completely carried away (Jer. iii. 30, 31; Zech. x.); and because they did not assert their Israelitish origin, in Ezra iv. 3. The same critic calls special attention to Sirach l. 25, 26, contending that the passage corroborates his view, since the inhabitants of the mountains of Samaria (the Israelites) are there represented as perfectly distinct from the people who dwell in Sichem (the Samaritans). The climax, he tells us, is conceivable only on the supposition of the entirely heathen origin of the Samaritans. He refers also to Sirach xlviii. 15, 'according to which the Israelites had been completely carried away;' to 2 Maccab. vi. 2; and to Josephus's testimony (*Antiq.* x. 9. 7). The name *Cuthites*, prevalent in Josephus's time and commonly used in the Talmud, is said to confirm the same conclusion. The notices of the Samaritans in the N. T. are adduced and commented upon with a like object by Hengstenberg. Whatever plausibility belongs to this argument, and it cannot be denied that it has some such character, we believe it to be weak and unsound. From 2 Kings xvii. 24 it cannot be inferred that the Israelites were removed to the last man, because we learn from 2 Chron. xxxiv. 9 that a remnant of Israel existed in the cities of Manasseh, Ephraim, and Simeon, of whom the Levites collected money for the repair of the temple, in Josiah's reign. The same king sent to search the houses in the cities of Manasseh, and Ephraim, and Simeon, even as far as Naphtali, and to destroy the high places and idolatrous altars in the land (2 Chron. xxxiv. 6, 7); showing that there was still a remnant of the Israelites in the land after the times of Esarhaddon, that had not been carried away. Besides, according to 2 Chron. xxx., Hezekiah sent an invitation to the escaped who remained from the hand of the king of Assyria in the country of Ephraim and Manasseh, even to Zebulun, to take part in the passover at Jerusalem. It is probable that this event belongs to the time after the final destruction of the kingdom of Israel; at all events, Hengstenberg admits that it was subsequent to the devastation by Shalmaneser. All that the words in 2 Kings xvii. 24 prove is, that the colonists who had been transplanted thither took the place of the deported Israelites as owners of the soil. The Israelites were no longer the chief inhabitants. The petition of the heathen colonists does not show that the last remnant had been removed by the Assyrians. From the removal of all the *priests*, it does not follow that all

the *inhabitants* had been carried away; and the petition of the inhabitants merely speaks of sending a *priest* of whom it was thought that he alone could offer worship acceptable to a local deity. The people wanted priests to teach them the right worship of the God of the land; nor is aught said of giving the inhabitants the rudest idea of the manner of worshipping such a deity. According to the analogy of similar deportations, such as that of Judah by Nebuchadnezzar, we must suppose that *the principal* inhabitants of Israel—those fit for war, the priests, and others—were carried away; leaving the poor, weak, and aged, in the country districts, who had little or nothing to do with war. The prophetic expressions in Jeremiah and Zechariah speak only of the Israelites as a whole, of their rejection and banishment. The fact that the Samaritans in Ezra iv. 1, etc., do not mention their Israelitish origin is easily explained, because heathen blood had overpowered the Israelitish element. Had the latter retained its distinctive existence they would probably have referred to their origin; but as it had become almost extinct, the wiser policy was to make no allusion to descent. The very fact, however, of their application for admission to the national worship of the Jews, and all their subsequent history in connection with this people, imply an Israelitish element in their origin. Had they been of pure heathen descent, what propriety was there in the application? What had they to do with Jewish worship, on the supposition that they were mere heathens?

It is unnecessary to follow the line of Hengstenberg's argument farther, through Sirach, Macabees, and the N. T. Kalkar has entirely destroyed whatever weight might be supposed to attach to it. We shall therefore content ourselves with referring to him (*Theologische Mittheilungen* by Pelt, Mau, and Dörner, for 1840; *Drittes Heft*. p. 24, et seq.). The people in their origin were a mixed race. Doubtless the heathen element prevailed, because the colonists were greatly superior in numbers. When they came they found none but the dregs of the populace, whom the victors had left. All power was in the hands of the colonists. It is useless to refer to authorities in favour of the purely Assyrian origin of the people. Hengstenberg quotes Mill, Schultz, R. Simon, Reland, and Elmacin. To this list others add Suicer, Hammond, Drusius, Maldonatus, Hävernicks, and Robinson. In ancient times, Josephus, Origen, Eusebius, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, and Theodoret, are quoted on the same side. But weightier names are on the other. Three alone, De Sacy, Gesenius, and Winer, are sufficient to outweigh a host. How is it that the Samaritans always claimed descent from Ephraim and Manasseh? Have they been continuous liars in making this pretension? So Hengstenberg would persuade us. If so, their history proves an unaccountable imposture. Was there ever before a heathen people so desirous to unite with the worshippers of the true Jehovah, as to become implacable enemies to their recusants? Can a refusal of their participation in the national worship at Jerusalem have led, in the main, to such opposition and lying pretensions?

We come now to the second point—viz., Who colonised the depopulated district? It is plain that Shalmaneser was the Assyrian king who completed the destruction of Israel as a kingdom. Did he also colonise it? The narrative in 2 Kings xvii.

24 would lead one to suppose that Shalmaneser is the king of Assyria intended, because he is spoken of in the preceding context as the deporting king. So Josephus understood the matter. But when we compare Ezra iv. 2, we see that Esarhaddon brought the colonists into the land. It is possible that Shalmaneser may have brought one part of the colonists into the land and Esarhaddon another. So some solve the apparent contradiction. But the assumption is far-fetched. There is no trace in the O. T. of a double transplanting of colonists. Neither does the context necessarily lead to the conclusion that Shalmaneser effected their introduction. We suppose, therefore, that Esarhaddon is meant by the king of Assyria in 2 Kings xvii. 24; and thus the narrative harmonises with the account which the Samaritans themselves give in Ezra iv. We can only agree with Hengstenberg so far as to hold that Esarhaddon colonised Samaria. That after his time there were none but heathens in the land cannot be maintained. He invaded Samaria a second time, and completed the depopulation which his grandfather had begun.

The new inhabitants of Samaria carried along with them their idolatrous worship. In the early period of their settlement they were attacked by lions, which they regarded as a judgment inflicted by the deity of the land, whom they did not worship. Accordingly they applied to the Assyrian king Esarhaddon for an Israelitish priest to teach them the proper worship of the local god. The request was granted. One of the transported priests was despatched to them, who came and dwelt at Bethel, and instructed them in the worship of Jehovah. He was not a Levitical priest, but an Israelitish priest of the calves; because there had been no Levitical ones in the kingdom when the inhabitants were carried away; and because Bethel, where he settled, was the chief seat of the calf-worship. On the return of the Jews from their Babylonish captivity, the Samaritans wished to join them in rebuilding the temple at Jerusalem, saying, 'Let us build with you: for we seek your God as ye do; and we do sacrifice unto him since the days of Esarhaddon, king of Assur, which brought us up hither' (Ezra iv. 2). But the proffered assistance was declined. Thenceforward they threw all obstacles in the way of the returned exiles. Nor were their efforts to frustrate the operations of the Jews entirely unsuccessful. Two Persian kings were induced to hinder the Jews in their rebuilding; and their opposition was not finally overcome till the reign of Darius Hystaspes.

The enmity which began at the time when the co-operation of the Samaritans in rebuilding the temple was refused, continued to increase till it reached such a height as to become proverbial in after times. In the reign of Darius Nothus, one Manasseh, of priestly descent, was expelled from Jerusalem by Nehemiah for an illegal marriage, and took refuge with the Samaritans. Whether the temple on Mount Gerizim was actually built in the days of Manasseh is doubtful. Probably he laboured to unite the people in a common worship. The temple does not seem to have been erected till the time of Alexander the Great, who gave permission to build it. If so, it did not exist till about 100 years after Manasseh. It is difficult to make a consistent and clear account of the matter out of Josephus, who has evidently fallen into error, since he is inconsistent with Neh. xiii. 28,

etc. The establishment of a separate worship and temple made the breach existing between the Jews and Samaritans irreparable. From this time malcontent Jews resorted to Samaria; and the very name of either people became odious to the other. About the year 129 B.C., John Hyrcanus, high-priest of the Jews, destroyed the city and temple of the Samaritans. Under Vespasian the city of Sichem received the new name of Neapolis, which still remains in the Arabic form Nablus. At the time of Pilate a tumult was excited among the Samaritans by an adventurer, who persuaded the common people to follow him to the summit of Gerizim, where he pretended that Moses had buried the golden vessels. But Pilate dispersed the multitude with troops, and put the heads of the sedition to death. In consequence of the Samaritans complaining of his conduct to Vitellius, Pilate was deposed and sent to Rome. Josephus relates that while Vespasian was endeavouring to subjugate the neighbouring districts, the Samaritans collected in large numbers and took up their position on Mount Gerizim. The Roman general attacked and slew 11,600. Under Septimius Severus they joined the Jews against him; and therefore Neapolis was deprived of its rights. In the 3d and 4th centuries, notwithstanding their former calamities, they seem to have greatly increased and extended, not only in the east but the west. In the 5th century a tumult was excited at Neapolis, during which the Samaritans ran into the Christian church which was thronged with worshippers, killing, maiming, and mutilating many. The bishop Terebinthus having repaired to Constantinople, and complained to the emperor, the latter punished the guilty by driving them from Mount Gerizim and giving it to the Christians, where a church was erected in honour of the Virgin. Under Anastasius an insurrection headed by a woman broke out, and was soon suppressed. Under Justinian there was a more formidable and extensive outbreak. It is related that all the Samaritans in Palestine rose up against the Christians, and committed many atrocities, killing, plundering, burning, and torturing. In Neapolis they crowned their leader Julian king. But the imperial troops were sent against them; and great numbers, with Julian himself, were slain. In the time of the Crusaders Neapolis suffered, along with other places in Palestine. In 1184 it was plundered by Saladin. After the battle of Hattin, in 1187, it was devastated; and the sacred places in the neighbourhood were polluted by Saladin's troops. Having been several times in the hands of the Christians, it was taken by Abu 'Aly in 1244; since which it has remained in the power of the Mohammedans. No Christian historian of the Crusades mentions the Samaritans; but they are noticed by Benjamin of Tudela in the 12th century, who calls them Cuthites or Cutheans. In the 17th century Della Valle gives an account of them; subsequently Maundrell and Morison. After an interest in the people had been awakened by the reception of copies of their Pentateuch, their answers to the letters which Joseph Scaliger had sent to their communities in Nablus and Cairo came into the hands of John Morin, who made a Latin translation of them. The originals, and a better version, were published by De Sacy in Eichhorn's *Repertorium*, Band xiii. In 1671 a letter was sent by the Samaritans at Nablus to Robert Huntington, which was answered by Thomas Marshall of



Oxford. The correspondence thus begun continued till 1688. De Sacy published it entire in *Correspondance des Samaritains*, contained in *Notices et extraits des MSS. de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, vol. xii. The correspondence between Ludolf and the Samaritans was published by Cellarius and Bruns; and is also in Eichhorn's *Repertorium*, Band xiii. In 1807 a letter from the Samaritans to Gregoire the French bishop came into De Sacy's hands, who answered it. This was followed by four others, which were all published by the eminent French orientalist. In recent times many travellers have visited and given an account of the Samaritan remnant, such as Pliny Fisk, Robinson, and Wilson. One of the late notices is that of M. E. Rogers, in *Domestic Life in Palestine*, 1863, 2d ed. ch. x. Another and fuller account is given in Mills's *Three months' residence in Nablus, and an account of the modern Samaritans*, 12mo, 1864; see also Barges' *Les Samaritains de Naplouse*, 1855, Svo, Paris. Their festivals and customs are described by Petermann, who spent two months in that locality (article 'Samaria' in Herzog's *Encyclopaedie*, vol. xiii.) Mr. Grove has given an account of the ceremonial of their atonement in *Vacation Tourists for 1861*; and Stanley, of their passover, in *Lectures on the Jewish Church*, appendix iii. The people are very poor now, and their number small, less than 200. To all appearance their total extinction is not far distant.—S. D.

**SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH.** This recension of the first five books of the O. T. was mentioned or alluded to by early writers, by Cyril of Alexandria, Eusebius, Jerome, Diodorus, Procopius of Gaza, and others. Having been afterwards unnoticed, its existence began to be doubted, till Pietro della Valle, in 1616, obtained a complete copy from the Samaritans in Damascus. De Sancy, who was then French ambassador at Constantinople, sent it to the library of the Oratoire in Paris, in 1623. It was first described by J. Morin in his preface to the Septuagint, and then printed in the Paris Polyglott. From this Polyglott Walton inserted it, with several improvements, in his London one. Meantime Ussher had procured six additional copies from the East, five of which were sent to various libraries in England, and the sixth to Le Dieu. In the time of Kennicott, the number had increased to sixteen, which were collated for his Hebrew Bible. Another is in the library of Gotha, and another in the library of the count of Paris.

These MSS. are written partly on parchment, etc., partly on paper made of linen or cotton. Their sizes are folio, quarto, octavo, and duodecimo. They have no vowels, accents, or diacritic points. The words are divided, not merely by a space but by an intervening point. A period is distinguished by one point above another (:); though one is also used, and three are put at other times (..). Two points placed lengthwise (..) indicate a continuation of the narrative without delay, after a brief respiration; corresponding to a colon. These signs, however, are arbitrary and variable; nor are they identical in all MSS. Sections or paragraphs are marked by = : or - : or = { or - { or - : or - :; the most frequent being = :, and next to it - :. But occasionally a number of these are put together. The scribes often put a small line over a letter to mark an unusual signification, or some doubt, or the absence of

a letter. Sometimes a double line is placed above a word the meaning of which is unknown. Besides these marks, others occur to express interrogation, exclamation, irony, indignation, entreaty, and other emotions; but they are not found constantly in the same MS., and are either varied or omitted in different ones. The Masoretic division into sedarim and parshioth is not found, but another one into shorter sections which the Samaritans call *katzin*. Of these there are 964 in the whole law; whereas the Jews have 154 sedarim, and 54 parshioth. At the end of each book is appended the number of its sections. The Samaritans also count the words like the Jews; and mark the middle of the law accordingly at Lev. vii. 15. The *matres lectionis* are more numerous than in the Hebrew Pentateuch; and a frequent characteristic mistake is the interchange of gutturals.

The age of these MSS. is as difficult of ascertainment as that of Hebrew ones, because the dates in them cannot always be relied upon; and in their absence internal criteria are uncertain. The oldest known to Kennicott was supposed to belong to the 8th century (No. 334). If an ancient roll could be procured, more value would attach to its text; but none has yet come into the hands of Christians. The following is a list of the MSS. known to scholars:—

1. The oldest MS. of which we have any knowledge is the sacred roll of the Samaritans, which is shown to believers on certain festivals in their synagogue at Nablûs. It consists of twenty-one skins of unequal size, most containing six, but some only five columns. The columns are 13 inches deep and  $7\frac{1}{4}$  inches wide. Each contains from 70 to 72 lines, and the entire roll has 110 columns. Owing to various causes, it is now in a bad state of preservation, so that only about half the contents are legible. A *târfch* or notice in the roll itself states that it was made by Abischa, son of Phinehas, son of Eleazar, son of Aaron, on mount Gerizim, in the 13th year after the Israelites had got possession of the land of Canaan. Dr. Rosen is inclined to believe that the roll in question was prepared for the temple which was built upon Gerizim. This, however, may be doubted; though its high antiquity is unquestionable. It seems to have been a primitive and authoritative codex, from which others were copied. A kind of fac-simile of it is given by Rosen, who was indebted to Kraus for the various particulars regarding it which he has communicated to the public (see the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Band xviii. 3 Heft, p. 582, *et seq.*) Mr. Mills also saw it, and noted a few particulars respecting it, which do not all agree with those given by Kraus.

2. Levisohn procured a very old copy from Nablûs, which was probably written not long after the commencement of the Christian era. The 20th chapter of Exodus is given from it in fac-simile by this scholar. The codex seems to be very old, since it wants the numbering of the ten commandments, which the Samaritans reduce to nine. The story connected with it is, that it is the identical Thorah which Zerubbabel threw into the fire before the Babylonian king, when he disputed with Sanballat.

3. Another codex was seen by Levisohn and Kraus at Nablûs, which probably reaches up to the 7th century of the Christian era, and of which a

fac-simile is given by Rosen. This codex also wants the numbering of the commandments. The MS. itself, which is in 8vo, has a tårch or gloss, stating that it belongs to the 35th year of the Hegira.

4. A fac-simile from another codex, in folio, which is also at Nablús, is given by Rosen.

5. At Oxford, Bodl., fol., 3127 (Ussher). This is perfect, except the first twenty and the last nine verses.

6. At Oxford, Bodl., 4to, 3128 (Ussher). This MS. has a parallel Arabic version in Samaritan letters. It is very imperfect, all Leviticus being lost, with the greater part of Numbers and Deuteronomy.

7. At Oxford, Bodl., 4to, 3129 (Ussher). This is also imperfect, especially in Deuteronomy and Numbers.

8. At Oxford, Bodl., 4to, 624 (Ussher, Laud). This is defective from Deut. xvii. 2 to xvii. 15, and from xxv. 17 to xxvi. 16.

9. At Oxford, Bodl., 12mo, 15 (Marsh). This MS. wants the first thirty verses; and is much obliterated in the first seventeen and last four chapters.

10. At Oxford, Bodl., 24mo, 5328 (Pococke). A perfect MS., except that parts of the leaves are lost in the 16th, 23d, 30th, and 31st chapters of Deuteronomy.

11. At London, British Museum, Claud. B. 8vo (Ussher). This MS. is complete, and of great value.

12. At Paris, Imperial Library (Peiresc), No. 1. This codex contains both the Hebrew and Samaritan texts, with an Arabic version in the Samaritan character. It is defective in various places.

13. At Paris, Imperial Library (Peiresc), No. 2. This MS. is defective in many parts.

14. At Paris, Oratory, No. 1 (De Sancy). This is the MS. of Pietro della Valle, which was printed by Morin. It is complete, and ancient.

15. At Paris, Oratory, No. 2 (Dom. Nolin). A perfect MS., but made up from sheets of different copies. Genesis is the most ancient.

16. At Paris, in the Library of St. Genevieve, written on paper, and of small value.

17. At Rome, Vatican, No. 106 (Peir. and Barber.) This MS. contains the Hebrew and Samaritan texts, with an Arabic version in the Samaritan character. It is very defective in two or three places. The first part, to Deut. xi. 28, was written earlier than the rest.

18. At Rome, Vatican (Cardinal Cobellertius). Dated, like the preceding, in the 7th century, but not so old.

19. At Milan, in the Ambrosian Library. It is much faded in Genesis, and defective in many places, but of special value, and belongs to the 12th century.

20. At Leyden, fol., 1 (Golius's MSS.) A complete MS. of the 14th century.

21. At Gotha, in the Ducal Library. Very imperfect.

22. At London, in the Count of Paris's Library, 4to. Said to be complete, with a parallel Samaritan version.

The texts of these MSS., as far as we know them by inspection, or by collations more or less careful, differ considerably from one another. They are by no means so uniform as those of Hebrew codices. It is matter of regret that they

have not been *properly* collated. Little has been done towards their examination since Kennicott's time.

With respect to the authority and value of the Samaritan Pentateuch, the opinions of scholars are nearly unanimous at the present day. Morin was the first to maintain the great superiority of the Samaritan over the Hebrew recension. His *Exercitationes* opened up a controversy, which was carried on with much zeal and little calmness on both sides. In 1815, Gesenius published his celebrated *Dissertation*, in which he showed that little value belongs to the text, that no critical reliance can be placed upon its readings, and that therefore they cannot be employed as a source of emendation. This masterly essay went far to ruin the credit of the Samaritan in the critical world.\* According to Gesenius, the peculiarities of the text may be divided into the following classes:—

I. This class comprises such readings as have been adapted by Samaritan scribes to a grammatical standard usually inaccurate.

In *orthography*, the quiescent letters, or *matres lectionis*, are inserted, as י for ך (Gen. i. 14, 16).

In the case of *pronouns*, their unusual forms are constantly corrected, as הנחבו for נחבו, הרמה for מה, etc.

As to *verbs*, the shorter or apocopated future is changed into the long one; thus for ותניד is put

ותניד.

In regard to *nouns*, the paragogic י and ו appended to the noun in regimen are omitted, as שובני for שובני.

Genders are also corrected, nouns common being made masculine or feminine as the scribe thought fit. For example, לחם is made masculine (Gen. xlix. 20).

With respect to the *syntax of verbs*, the infinitive absolute is altered into a finite verb, as in Gen. viii. 3. Where the verb is singular with a plural noun, it is almost always changed into the plural, as in Gen. iv. 10.

II. The second class consists of interpretations or glosses received into the text. These are numerous, many of them being also in the LXX.

An example occurs in Gen. xx. 3, where for על העל the Samaritan has על אורח האשה.

III. The third class consists of readings substituted to remove real or imaginary difficulties from the text. Thus, instead of מביני רגליו, *from between his feet*, the Samaritan reading is מבין רגליו, *from among his banners* (Gen. xlix. 10).

\* In a recent work by Mr. Mills entitled *Three months' residence at Nablus and an account of the modern Samaritans*, we find these words applied to the essay in question—'A more unfounded and reckless performance has seldom issued from the press.' One example only is given to justify the strong language used; in which, however, the critic of Gesenius makes that scholar say what he does not, totally misapprehending or misreading his real statement. We submit that a writer who asserts that the Jews divided the law into fifty-four *sedroth* and each *sederah* (sic) into seven *parshioth*, is incompetent to judge of the relative value of the Hebrew and Samaritan copies of the Pentateuch.



IV. The fourth class consists of those readings where the Samaritan is corrected or supplied from parallel passages. Proper names, which are variously written in Hebrew, are all conformed to one orthography, as יְתֵרוֹ, Moses's father-in-law. In Gen. xi. 8, *and the tower*, is added to the Hebrew text, taken from the fourth verse.

V. The fifth class consists of larger interpolations taken from parallels, in which, whatever was said or done by Moses as recorded in a preceding passage is repeated; and whatever is said to have been commanded by God is repeated in as many words where it is recorded to have been carried into effect. In this way Exodus is much enlarged by interpolations from itself, or from Deuteronomy. Gesenius thinks that these insertions were made between the date of the Septuagint and Origen, because the Alexandrian father mentions a passage of the kind.

VI. The sixth class consists of corrections made in order to remove what was offensive in sentiment to the Samaritans, or what conveyed an improbable meaning in their view. Thus in the antediluvian times, none begets his first son after he is 150 years of age. Hence, from Jared, Methuselah, and Lamech, 100 years are subtracted at the time they are said to have their first son. In the post-diluvian times, none is allowed to beget a son till after he is 50 years old. Accordingly, some years are subtracted from several patriarchs and added to others. Under this head falls the passage Exod. xii. 40, 'Now the sojourning of the children of Israel who dwelt in Egypt was 430 years.' The Samaritan has, 'The sojourning of the children of Israel and their fathers who dwelt in the land of Canaan and in the land of Egypt was 430 years.' The same reading is in the Septuagint (cod. Alex.) In Gen. ii. 2, הַשָּׁמַיִם is altered into הַשָּׁמַיִם the sixth.

VII. Passages which have been conformed to the theology, hermeneutics, and worship of the Samaritans. Thus, to avoid the appearance of polytheism, the four passages where Elohim is construed with a plural are altered so as to present the singular (Gen. xx. 13; xxxi. 53; xxxv. 7; Exod. xxii. 9). Again, whatever savours of anthropomorphism, or is unsuitable to the divine majesty, is either removed or softened. Wherever the Almighty himself is brought immediately into view as speaking to and dealing with men, the *angel of God* is substituted. Reverence for the patriarchs and Moses led to the alteration of Gen. xlix. 7 and Deut. xxxiii. 12; for example, for *cursed is their anger*, the Samaritan reads, *excellent is their anger*; and instead of *the beloved of the Lord shall dwell*, it has, *the hand, the hand of the Lord makes him to dwell*, which yields no sense. In like manner, *voices honestiores* are sometimes put when there is fancied immodesty, as in Deut. xxv. 11 כַּמְבִּשָּׁיו is changed into בִּבְשָׁרוֹ.

Here Gesenius puts the notable passage Deut. xxvii. 4, where the Samaritans changed *Ebal* into *Gerizim* to favour their own temple. Some have attempted to show that the Jews changed Gerizim into Ebal, but unsuccessfully.

Another classification of the Samaritan characteristic readings is given by Kirchheim. He makes thirteen classes, as follows:—

1. תוספות והשנויים למעלה הר גריזים, additions and alterations in favour of Mount Gerizim.

2. תוספות למלאות, additions to fill up.

3. הבאור, explications or glosses.

4. חלוק הפעלים והבנינים, change of verbs and conjugations.

5. חלוק השמות, change of nouns.

6. השואה, assimilation, or bringing irregular forms into the same uniform type.

7. תמורת האותיות, permutation of letters.

8. בנינים, pronouns.

9. המין, gender.

10. אותיות הנוספות, letters added.

11. אותיות היחס, addition of qualifying letters, as articles, conjunctions, prepositions.

12. הקבץ והפרוד, junction and separation.

13. ימות עולם, chronological alterations (*Carmi Shomeron*, p. 32, seq.)

This classification is by no means so good as that of Gesenius, being inferior to the latter in clearness and comprehension.

Frankel has treated of the subject more by way of supplement to Gesenius than from an independent point of view. His additions to the classes of the latter are small and unimportant, besides being pervaded by erroneous conceptions of the age when the Samaritan Pentateuch originated. He alludes—1. To the use of the imperative for the third person, as יִקְרַב for יָקֵר (Exod. xii. 48); and to ignorance of the use of the infinitive absolute, as זָכַר for זָכְרָה (Exod. xiii. 3), אָמַר for אָמַר (Num. vi. 23), etc. 2. The characteristics of the Galilean-Palestinian dialect, such as the interchange of the *Ahevi* letters, and of ב for פ, of ז for צ, etc. But this peculiarity is simply owing to carelessness of transcription in the copyists, who wrote as they pronounced, and softened the hard gutturals which were difficult to their organs. 3. The Aramean colouring and ortho-

graphy, as קָטַל and קָטַל. This is likewise owing to transcription, and can hardly be called a characteristic of the Samaritan.

Are there then, it may be asked, no readings in the Samaritan recension preferable to those in the Hebrew?

Gesenius specifies four examples of this sort—viz. Gen. iv. 8, where the Samaritan adds, 'Let us go into the field'; Gen. xxii. 13, אַחֵר, *a* instead of אַחֵר, *behind*; Gen. xlix. 14, where נֶרֶם, *a bone*, is קֶרֶם, *bony*; and Gen. xiv. 14, וַיִּדַּק, instead of וַיִּרְקַח, i.e. *he numbered*, for *he led forth*. Even these have been thought emendations, and rejected by the majority of critics, though we prefer one of them to the Hebrew. But though Gesenius was not very happy in selecting Samaritan readings preferable to the Hebrew, it should not be denied that the one is everywhere superior to the other. There are good and valuable readings in the Samaritan which have a fair claim to be considered original, and therefore preferable to those of the Masoretic recension. The evidence of the Septuagint and other versions, in addition to that of Hebrew MSS., should not be despised when it corroborates the Samaritan. Kennicott went too far in his high estimate of the Samaritan. So did Geddes, Bauer, Jahn, and Bertholdt. But we need not proceed to the other extreme, and depreciate every characteristic reading; as some have done after Gesenius. It is sufficient to say that

the Samaritan cannot be put in comparison with the Hebrew recension, because its deviations from the latter have generally the appearance of design. The difference between the two chiefly consists in additions to the Samaritan text. And we know that insertions show design, much more than omissions. The Hebrew text is not immaculate: none can uphold its absolute integrity. If it needs emendation, why should not the Samaritan recension be taken as one source of evidence? It is not, indeed, a valuable instrument of emendation; but it is not destitute of all worth; and should be classed with the other materials on which a pure text depends. Critical conjecture must sometimes be resorted to in restoring the original text, as the best scholars admit; why then throw aside the Samaritan as more useless even than conjecture? It may sometimes suggest the right reading, if it does not give it.

As to the *age* and *origin* of the Samaritan Pentateuch, opinions have been much divided. We shall enumerate the principal ones.

1. Ussher thought that the document was the production of an impostor named Dositheus, who lived in the apostolic period, and pretended to be the Messiah. As he falsified the Pentateuch in many places, Ussher conjectured that he may have made it out of a Jewish copy and the Septuagint. But it is incorrect to assert, with Photius, that he falsified the Pentateuch. Messianic passages are not perverted in the Samaritan. And the Samaritans gave little heed to Dositheus's pretensions. How unlikely then that they would have received a compilation from his hands.

2. Le Clerc, Poncet, and others supposed that this copy of the law was made by the Israelitish priest whom the Assyrian king Esarhaddon sent to the new colony to instruct them in the worship of Jehovah. This hypothesis is unsupported by historical testimony. It was not necessary for the priest to make a new document, but to instruct the people out of the existing Pentateuch. Why should he have undertaken the superfluous task of writing a new law-book, when the old was sufficient?

3. Frankel conjectures that the document was made from the Masoretic text by additions and corruptions which took place gradually, as also from the Septuagint, subsequently to the 6th century. Against this is the testimony of Jerome (*Prefat. in Libr. Reg.\* et ad Galat.* iii. 10), which Frankel tries to evade, but most bunglingly. The Talmud itself recognises the existence of the recension; and Frankel quotes two Mishnic authors who refer to it, R. Simon ben Eleasar and R. Eleasar ben Simon. It is needless to add the testimony of Eusebius of Caesarea and other fathers. Frankel's alleged evidences of Galileanism are nugatory; and his remarks upon the document show an inability to get beyond isolated expressions and phenomena into the genius of the work itself. He has a prejudice against the people unfavourable to the investigation of truth (see *Ueber den Einfluss der Palästinischen Exegese auf die alexandrinische Hermeneutik*, p. 237, et seqg.)

4. Tychsen conjectured that the Samaritans transcribed the work from a Hebrew copy into their own character, in the 10th, 11th, or 12th century. This is clearly refuted by the testi-

monies of Origen and Jerome, who affirm that the Samaritans had the Pentateuch in peculiar characters before their times.

5. Many think that copies of the Pentateuch must have been in Israel from the time of Rehoboam as well as in Judah, and that they were preserved by the former as well as the latter. Thus the Samaritans inherited the document from the ten tribes. This opinion was first advanced by John Morin; and is that of Walton, Houbigant, Cappellus, Kennicott, Michaelis, Eichhorn, Bauer, Jahn, Steudel, Mazade, Stuart, and others.

The truth or falsehood of the view is essentially connected with the question of the authorship of the Pentateuch. If Moses wrote the five books which bear his name, it may be plausibly argued that the Samaritan recension was derived from the ten tribes; but if the Pentateuch did not originate in its present form till the time of Manasseh or Josiah, the view in question is obviously incorrect. It appears to us that the Pentateuch, as we now have it, did not originate earlier than the reign of Manasseh; and therefore the hypothesis before us must be rejected. It has no valid argument in its favour, all the considerations once urged for it having been proved weak or untenable, such as the national hatred of the two peoples, the fact that the Samaritans admitted no other books than the Pentateuch, and the old Hebrew character in which the Samaritan is written.

6. The origin of this recension must be looked for at the time when the people separated themselves for ever from the Jews, becoming an independent sect. About 409 B.C. one Manasseh, of priestly descent, having been expelled from Jerusalem by Nehemiah, betook himself to the Samaritans. It is possible that he may have carried with him the first copy of the Pentateuch which the people had; though it is more probable that they had some before. These they may have got in the time of Josiah, whose ecclesiastical reform extended farther than Judah, since we are told that under him the Levites collected money for the repair of the temple from Manasseh, Ephraim, and all the remnant of Israel (2 Chron. xxxiv. 9). Single copies of the law may have found their way there among the mixed people that dwelt in Samaria and the neighbouring parts even then. Yet none of them could have formed the normal codex; nor could there have been such a document till their temple was built and a separate worship established. An ecclesiastical code would be required then for the first time. The copy of the Pentateuch they received must have come from the Egyptian Jews directly or indirectly, since the Samaritan agrees in so many of its readings with the Septuagint against the Masoretic text. Why they did not receive the book of Joshua, as well as the Pentateuch, can only be conjectured. Those who suppose that it formed a constituent part of the Pentateuch at first, affirm that it was not separated from the preceding five books till after Ezra's time, which agrees with the date we have chosen for the Samaritan Pentateuch. Such as believe that Joshua was *not* at first connected with the other five books may say that the Samaritans did not wish for more Jewish writings than were necessary to regulate their worship. We believe that the text which constitutes the proper Samaritan, the authentic copy they assumed for the guide of their religious services, was obtained some time

\* Samaritani Pentateuchum Mosis totidem literis scriptitant, figuris tantum et apicibus discrepantes.



after the Babylonian captivity, when the temple on Gerizim was finished. The priests who went to them from Jerusalem contributed to the result in question, so that they adopted the Pentateuch as their code in the same extent, and substantially in the same form, as the Jews at Jerusalem. It is improbable that the Samaritans themselves first brought the Pentateuch with them into Egypt, as Hävernick asserts. Their recension must have been made about the end of the 4th century before Christ. It originated, unquestionably, before the Septuagint was made—i.e. before the reign of Ptolemy Lagi, or Ptolemy Philadelphus his son. The 3d century before Christ is too late a date for it. It is not indeed unlikely that after the appearance of the Greek version the Samaritans received emendations or alterations, bringing it into greater conformity to the Greek; but most of the characteristic readings belonged to it at first. It received its present form substantially prior to the LXX. Since then, there is scarcely a doubt that it has been corrupted by careless transcription, and smoothed down in many cases by the desire of regularity or ease in pronunciation. The orthography has suffered most; for there is reason to believe that the pronunciation of the Samaritans was more imperfect than that of the Jews. At the present day they read the text very differently from the latter. The view of the age belonging to the Samaritan Pentateuch now given is that of Ant. van Dale, R. Simon, Prideaux, Fulda, Hasse, Gesenius, De Wette, Hupfeld, Hengstenberg, Keil, Bleek, and others. The fact that Hengstenberg, though believing that the Pentateuch existed before the ten tribes separated from the other two, holds the post-exile origin of the Samaritan Pentateuch, shows the untenableness of a prior date.

The remarks now made on the antiquity of the Samaritan recension convey our opinion on the cause of the agreement between numerous readings of the LXX. and it. The similarity exists in above a thousand places, some of them important. It is true that the Septuagint also agrees with the Masoretic text in many passages against the Samaritan; but these discrepancies are not so striking as the coincidences of the Septuagint and Samaritan against the Hebrew. If the original Samaritan codex was an Egyptian-Jewish one, the similarity is sufficiently explained. Amid successive emendations, or corruptions as some would call them, of the Samaritan and the Greek, in addition to the mistakes made by copyists, all that can be looked for now is an agreement in the principal characteristic readings. And that is actually found. Hence we reject the numerous hypotheses which have been framed to account for the agreement in question, such as that the LXX. translated from the Samaritan, that the two documents were mutually interpolated, that the Samaritan has been merely altered from the Septuagint, etc. etc.

It is highly desirable that a critical edition of the Samaritan should be printed in the Samaritan character, from a good collation of all known MSS. Since it was inserted in Walton's Polyglott, it has not been published in its own character. Blayney's edition (Oxford 1790) is in the square or Hebrew character. Kennicott gave his various readings from the Samaritan, in his Hebrew Bible in the same letters. Levisohn published at Jerusalem, 1860, the 20th chapter of Exodus in fac-

simile from a very old MS. at Nâblus, already noticed, with some parts of the Masoretic text, a Russian version, and an Introduction; but the specimen is badly executed.

Besides the Introductions of Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Jahn, De Wette, Hävernick, Keil, and Bleek, the reader is referred to Gesenius, *De Pent. Samarit. origine, indole et auctoritate*, Halle 1815, 4to; Morini (J.), *Exercitationes in utrumque Samarit. Pentateuchum*, Paris 1631, 4to; Ussher's *Syntagma de LXX. interpretibus, epistola ad L. Cappellum*, London 1655, 4to; Poncet's *Nouveaux éclaircissements sur l'origine et le Pentateuque des Samaritains*, Paris 1760, 8vo; Le Clerc's *Sentimens de quelques theologiens de Hollande sur l'histoire critique du R. Simon*, Amsterdam 1686, 8vo; Tychsen's *Disputatio historico-philologica-critica de Pentateucho Ebraeo-Samaritano, ab Ebraeo eoque Masoretico descripto exemplari*, Butzovii 1765, 4to; Prideaux's *Old and New Testament connected in the history of the Jews and neighbouring nations*, London 1719, 8vo; Walton's *Prolegomena*, xi. 9, 11, ed. Dathe, Lipsiæ 1777, 8vo; Cappelli *Critica Sacra*, ed. Vogel and Scharfenberg, Halæ 1775-1786, 8vo; Kennicott's *Second Dissertation*, Oxford 1759; *A letter to the Rev. Mr. Kennicott, in which his defence of the Samaritan Pentateuch is examined, and his second Dissertation on the state of the printed Hebrew text of the O. T. is shown to be in many instances injudicious and inaccurate*, by T. Rutherford, D.D., Cambridge 1761, 8vo; *An answer to a letter from the Rev. T. Rutherford, D.D.*, 1761, 8vo; also *A second letter to the Rev. Dr. Kennicott, in which his defence of the second dissertation is examined*, 1763, 8vo; Bauer's *Critica Sacra*, Lipsiæ 1795; Steudel in *Bengel's Archiv.*, iii. 626, etc.; R. Simon's *Histoire critique du V. T.*, Paris 1678, 4to; Fulda in *Paulus's Memorabilia*, vii.; Hasse's *Aussichten zu künftiger Aufklärung ueber das A. T.*, Jenæ 1785, 8vo; Paulus's *Commentar ueber das N. T.*, 4 Theil, Lübeck 1804, 8vo; Hupfeld's *Beleuchtung einiger dunklen und missverstandenen Stellen der alttestamentlicher Textgeschichte in the Studien und Kritiken* of 1830, II. 2; Mazade, *Sur l'origine, l'age, et l'état critique du Pent. Samar.*, Geneve 1830, 8vo; Hug in the *Freiburg Zeitschrift*, vii.; Hengstenberg's *Die Authentie des Pentateuches*, vol. i. Berlin 1836, 8vo; Stuart in the *North American Review* for 1826 and *American Biblical Repository* for 1832; Frankel's *Ueber den Einfluss der palæstinischen Exegese auf die alexandrinische Hermeneutik*, Leipzig 1851, 8vo; Davidson's *Treatise on Biblical Criticism*, Edinburgh 1852, 8vo; ברמי שומרון, *Introductio in Librum Talmudicum 'de Samaritanis' scripti Raphael Kirchheim*, Frankfurt 1851, 8vo.

*Samaritan Version of the Pentateuch.*—This is a translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch which follows the text literally, except that in rendering the names of God, in dispensing with anthropopathisms and using euphemisms, it adopts the method of the Targums, especially that of Onkelos with which it often agrees. This agreement, though striking, is not uniform. Hottinger and Eichhorn account for it by supposing that the translator made use of the Targum—an improbable hypothesis, because of the enmity then subsisting between the Jews and Samaritans. To say that it has been subsequently interpolated from Onkelos will hardly account for the peculiar character of



the version. In difficult places it departs from the Targum. How then is the likeness to be explained? According to Winer, followed by Hävernick and Juynboll, it was owing to the influence of the hermeneutical tradition of the Jews on the theology of the Samaritans. Yet it is difficult to resist the impression that *some* MSS. have been interpolated from Onkelos; because the agreement in various places is identical. The language in which it is written is that sort of Chaldee which comes near the Hebrew, mixed with several Arabisms. As a whole the version cannot be called a good one; since the translator seems to have been guided by no proper rules of exegesis. Hence he falls into many mistakes. *Elohim* or *Jehovah* is commonly avoided, and *angel* put instead, to suit the supposed dignity of the divine being. The names of peoples, countries, cities, mountains, and rivers are changed from the old into more modern names; less so, however, than by Onkelos and Saadiah. Thus Ararat, in Gen. viii. 4, is *Sarnedib*; the land of Shinar (Gen. x. 10) is *ארעה צופה*, *land of the tower* (Babylonia); Potipharah (Gen. xli. 20) is Cohenan; Gad, *a troop will depopulate*, as it is in the Samaritan, is here rendered *a despiser will despise*. In Gen. x. 31 for 'these are the sons of Shem,' this version has *הרה חליקת ילדי שם*, these are the portions of the sons of Shem. Mistakes are numerous and glaring: thus for the *two of them* (שניהם, Gen. iii. 4), the version has *רדפי עליהן*, *pursuing them*, apparently because the translator read *שנאהם*. In Exod. xx. 26, *thou shalt not go up by steps*, is rendered *לא תרק בשקריה*, *thou shalt not ascend with prevarications*. In Num. xii. 14, *אביה*, *her father*, seems to have been taken from *בוא*, for it is rendered in *bringing her*. In Gen. xlix. 11, *עירה*, *his colt*, is mistaken for *city*, and is therefore translated *קרתה*. In Gen. xxiv. 63, for *Isaac went out to take a walk* (לשוח), the Samaritan has *Isaac went out to pray* (למעלה), taking *שוח* as equivalent to *שוח*; but in this it agrees with Onkelos, the Arabic, and Persian. In Blanchini's *Evangeliarium Quadruplex*, vol. ii. part 2, after DCIV there is a fac-simile of several verses from Num. v. 30 to vi. 9, taken from the Barberini *Triglott* at Rome, which give a good idea of the version and its close relation to Onkelos. Author and date are both unknown. Later accounts of the Samaritans themselves assign it to the high-priest Nathanael, who died about twenty years before Christ; but this is a vague tradition. More probably it was made in the 1st century of the Christian era, as Gesenius believes. It is absurd to date it after Mohammed, as Frankel does. The version was first printed in the Paris Polyglott from a codex which Della Valle got from the East in 1616. It passed thence into the London Polyglott more accurately, but with many imperfections. The Latin version in both works is of little use. Only portions of it have been since printed; the first eighteen chapters of Genesis at Halle 1705; selections by Cellarius in his *Hore Samaritana*, Frankfurt and Jena 1705, 4to, 2d edition, pp. 1-58; and by Uhlemann in his *Samaritan Chrestomathy*, Lipsiæ 1837 (see Walton's *Prolegomena*, ed. Dathe; Castell's *Observations on the sixth volume of the London Polyglott*; Eichhorn's *Einleitung ins A. T.*, vol. ii.; Gesenius, *De Pentateuchi Samarit. origine*, etc. etc.; Winer, *De Ver-*

*sionis Pentat. Samar. indole*, Lipsiæ 1817, 8vo; De Wette's *Einleitung in das A. T.*; Hävernick's *Einleit.* i. 1; Juynboll's *Commentarii in historiam gentis Samaritana*, Leyden 1846, 4to; Davidson's *Treatise on Biblical Criticism*, vol. i.; Lee's *Prolegomena in Biblia Polyglotta Londinensia minora, Prolegomenon* ii. sec. 1, 3).

Τὸ Σαμαριτικόν.—In the fathers of the 3d and 4th centuries, as well as in MSS. containing the LXX. with fragments of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, we find scholia, or pieces of a Greek translation of the Pentateuch so designated. These fragments have been collected by Morin, Hottinger, and Montfaucon, and are in Walton's *prolegomena*. Castell, Vossius, and Herbst, think that they are merely translated extracts from the Samaritan version; while Gesenius, Winer, and Juynboll suppose them to be remains of a continuous Greek version of the Samaritan Pentateuch. On the other hand, Hengstenberg and Hävernick regard them as belonging to a recension of the Samaritan which corrected and explained certain passages of the LXX. The most probable of these opinions seems to be that which looks upon the notes or scholia as the Samaritan corrections of certain places in the LXX. Their fewness renders the solution of the question impossible; and precludes their utility in criticism or interpretation.

An Arabic version of the Samaritan Pentateuch was made by Abu Said for the use of his brethren in Egypt about 1070 A.D. The basis of it was the translation of Saadiah Haggan, which it follows closely where the Samaritan agrees with the Hebrew Pentateuch; but where the Samaritan departs from the Hebrew it follows the former. The Samaritan version was used by the translator, and the Samaritan original too. Anthropomorphisms and the like are avoided, and euphemisms adopted. Thus for the name of God there is *messenger or angel of God* (Gen. v. 24; Exod. iv. 29; Num. xxii. 9, 10, etc.) In Deut. xxv. 11, for the Hebrew

במבשר he gives *بمشره* *in his flesh*. Great rever-

ence is shown for Moses and the tribe of Levi; but envy of the tribe of Judah (Gen. xlix. 10). It is written in the common language of the Arabs, and abounds in Samaritanisms. The version before us is being edited by Kuenen at Leyden. Genesis was published in 1851; Exodus and Leviticus in 1854. In Syria it would appear that the Samaritans still used Saadiah's even after Abu Said's had been made, for which reason Abul Baracat (about 1208) wrote Scholia upon the latter in order to recommend it to the people. This must not be considered a new version, but a Syriac recension of the Arabic-Samaritan. The two recensions—the Syriac of Abul Baracat and the Egyptian of Abu Said—are mixed together in the MSS., and cannot now be properly separated. For further particulars we must refer to Juynboll and Eichhorn, the former in his *Orientalia*, vol. ii. p. 115, *et seq.*; the latter in the second volume of his *Einleitung to the O. T.* Van Vloten described a MS. of Abu Said's in the University of Leyden, in 1803; and Juynboll notices the MSS. at Paris, especially Nos. 2 and 4, in the *Orientalia*, vol. ii. p. 115, *et seq.*

Other literature of the Samaritans embraces the *Samaritan Chronicle*, or book of Joshua, written in Arabic. In the main this work contains the history of Joshua, with which other materials are



incorporated. The additional history comes down to the age of the Christian emperors, A.D. 355. It contains very little that is real history, and terminates abruptly. What is related of Joshua agrees in part with the Hebrew narrative and differs from the old original materially, being dressed out with strange, fantastic, and fabulous particulars. The chronicle was written in the 13th century, in Egypt; perhaps by a priest who made it up from various sources; four Arabic and one Samaritan, according to Juynboll. There are fifty chapters. The MS. of this chronicle, which was sent from Egypt to Scaliger in 1584, was edited by Juynboll in 1848, with a Latin version and copious commentary. According to the editor the former part of the codex was written in 1362-63, and the latter in 1513. Another MS. is in the British Museum, dated A.H. 908, or A.D. 1502.

The chronicle of *Abulfath* is a compilation from the preceding, as well as from various sources, Jewish or Rabbinical. It is full of fables, and contains little useful matter. The history in it extends from Adam to Mohammed, and was composed in the 14th century—i.e. in 1355 or 756 A.H.—at Nablus. Five MSS. of it are known; one at Paris, another at Oxford procured by Huntington, and three in Berlin; but one of the last three consists of nothing but a few fragments. Schnurrer gave a long extract from the Oxford copy, with a German translation, in Paulus's *Neues Repertorium für biblische und morgenländische Literatur*, 1790, Theil i. p. 120, et seqq.; and in Paulus's *Memorabilia*, 1791, 2 Stück; so too De Sacy in his *Arabic Chrestomathy*, and *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, tom. xii. Some portions are also printed in Heidenheim's *Journal* by R. Payne Smith, accompanied by an English version which is inaccurate. The whole has been published by Vilmar, *Abulfathi annales Samaritani*, Gothæ 1865, after a collation of the various MSS., and with learned prolegomena. The erudite editor intends to give a Latin translation and commentary in another volume.

The remaining literature of the Samaritans is unimportant. They have two collections of hymns, Durrân and Defter. The collector of the Durrân, in which the Defter is also contained, is said to have been Amrân-ez-zemân, who lived before Christ. The hymns are written almost entirely in the Samaritan dialect, and in rhyme. There are also alphabetical poems. Others are in strophes, Arabic and Samaritan alternating. Gesenius published a selection in his 'Carmina Samaritana,' 1824. The number of their prayers is large. The oldest are said to be the prayers of angels, which they sang after the tabernacle was finished, and after the death of Aaron. The prayers are for Sabbath days, festivals, etc. M. Heidenheim has given various notices of MSS. in the British Museum, containing prayers, hymns, and other liturgical literature of the Samaritans (*Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift*, Hefte 2-5); but he has made many mistakes in explaining the fragments, as Geiger shows (see *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Band xviii. p. 590, etc.).

In addition to the above, they have a short chronicle, partly prophetic and partly historical, written, as they allege, by Moses in their own dialect, and reaching from Adam to the end of the world. The high-priest possesses an old codex of it consisting of about 16 leaves. There is an

Arabic commentary upon it in the British Museum, No. 1140 add. They possess, too, another work of the same kind in Arabic, purporting to be written by Jacob Besini. The greatest part of their literature is in Arabic; because most of their earlier Hebrew and Samaritan books were destroyed by the emperor Commodus. But they have still fragments relating to the reading of the law, grammatical pieces, commentaries on the Pentateuch, controversial writings against the Jews, and a book on the birth of Moses, etc. etc. (see Petermann's article 'Samaria' in Herzog's *Encyclopædie*, vol. xiii.; and Mills's *Nablus*, chapter xi.)—S. D.

SAMGAR-NEBO (סַמְגַר נְבוֹ), the name of one of the princes of Babylon (Jer. xxxix. 3). It is doubtful, however, whether the *Nebo* should not be joined with the following word, as it is contrary to analogy for this to stand at the end of a name. As in ver. 13 the chief of the eunuchs is called Nebu-shazban, it is supposed that Nebu-Sarsechim is only another name of the same person, and that Samgar is a name of office. It may be from Pers.

جام, a cup, and کُشَر, the participle of derivation, and may mean the cup-bearer=רִבְשָׁקָה.—W. L. A.

SAMMIM (סַמִּיִּם; Sept. ἀρωμα), rendered in-*cense* Exod. xxx. 7, and *spices* ver. 34, may be supposed to denote aromatic drugs in general. It is derived from the unused root סָמַם, Arab. شَم, *samma*, to smell. [SPICES].—†

SAMOS (Σάμος), an island in the Ægean Sea, near the coast of Lydia, in Asia Minor, and separated only by a narrow strait from the promontory which terminates in Cape Trogyllium. This strait, in the narrowest part, is not quite a mile in width (Plin. *Hist. Nat.* v. 34; Strabo, xiv. p. 634; comp. Leake's map of Asia Minor). The island is sometimes stated to have been famous for its wines; but, in fact, the wine of Samos was in ill repute. Strabo says expressly that the island was οὐκ εἰσως: it now, however, ranks high among Levantine wines, and is largely exported, as are also grapes and raisins. The apostle Paul touched at the island in his voyage from Greece to Syria (Acts xx. 15). Having been at Chios, he on the following day reached Samos. Whether he landed or not is uncertain; the historian simply mentions that they tarried at Trogyllium, which was a place of anchorage in the narrow strait between Samos and the extremity of Mount Mycale. At the time of St. Paul's visit, Samos was a free city in the province of Asia. Samos contained, some years ago, about 60,000 people, inhabiting eighteen large villages, and about twenty small ones. For further information, see the travels of Pococke, Clarke, Dallaway, and Turner.

SAMOTHRACE (Σαμοθράκη), an island in the north-east part of the Ægean Sea, above the Hellespont, with a lofty mountain, and a city of the same name. It was anciently called Dardana, Leucania, and also Samos; and to distinguish it from the other Samos, the name of Thrace was added from its vicinity to that country. Hence Σάμος Θράκης, and by contraction Σαμοθράκη, Samothrace. The island was celebrated for the mysteries of the Cabeiri, and was a sacred asylum (Diod. Sic. iii. 35; v. 47; Ptolem. *Geog.* v. 11; Plin. *Hist.*

*Nat.* iv. 23). Paul touched at this island on his first voyage to Europe (*Acts* xvi. 11). Sailing from Troas to Neapolis with a fair wind (*εὐδρόμη-σαυερ*), they accomplished the passage in two days, anchoring for the night at Samothrace. As a fair wind would be from the S.E., the northern side of the island, where was the town of Samothrace, would afford the most suitable place for anchorage. The island is now called Samandracchi. It is but thinly peopled, and contains only a single village. The mountain is described in the *Missionary Herald* for 1836, p. 246; comp. Richter, *Wallfahrt*, p. 438, *seq.*

SAMSON (שִׁמְשׁוֹן, *Shimshon*; Sept. Σαμψών), the name of the celebrated champion, deliverer, and judge of Israel, equally remarkable for his supernatural bodily prowess, his moral infirmities, and his tragical end. He was the son of Manoah, of the tribe of Dan, and born A.M. 2848, of a mother whose name is nowhere given in the Scriptures. The circumstances under which his birth was announced by a heavenly messenger gave distinct presage of an extraordinary character, whose endowments were to be of a nature suited to the providential exigencies in which he was raised up. The burden of the oracle to his mother, who had been long barren, was, that the child with which she was pregnant was to be a son, who should be a Nazarite from his birth, upon whose head no razor was to come, and who was to prove a signal deliverer to his people. She was directed accordingly to conform her own regimen to the tenor of the Nazarite law, and strictly abstain from wine and all intoxicating liquor, and from every species of impure food [NAZARITE]. According to the 'prophecy going before upon him,' Samson was born in the following year, and his destination to great achievements began to evince itself at a very early age by the illapses of superhuman strength which came from time to time upon him. Those specimens of extraordinary prowess, of which the slaying of the lion at Timnath without weapons was one, were doubtless the result of that special influence of the Most High which is referred to in *Judg.* xiii. 25:—'And the spirit of the Lord began to move him at times in the camp of Dan, between Zorah and Eshtaol.' The import of the original word (לָפַעַם) for *moved* is peculiar. As לָפַעַם, the radical form, signifies *an anvil*, the metaphor is probably drawn from the *repeated* and somewhat *violent strokes* of a workman with his hammer. It implies, therefore, a peculiar *urgency*, an *impelling influence*, which he could not well resist in himself, nor others in him. But we do not know that this attribute, in its utmost degree, constantly dwelt in him.

As the position of the tribe of Dan, bordering upon the territory of the Philistines, exposed them especially to the predatory incursions of this people, it was plainly the design of heaven to raise up a deliverer in that region where he was most needed. The Philistines, therefore, became very naturally the objects of that retributive course of proceedings in which Samson was to be the principal actor, and upon which he could only enter by seeking some occasion of exciting hostilities that would bring the two peoples into direct collision. Such an occasion was afforded by his meeting with one of the daughters of the Philis-

tines at Timnath, whom he besought his parents to procure for him in marriage, assigning as a reason that she 'pleased him well'—Heb. יְשֵׁרָה בְּעֵינֵי הוּאָה, *She is right in mine eyes*, where the original for *right* is not an adjective, having the sense of *beautiful, engaging, attractive*, but a verb, conveying, indeed, the idea of *right*, but of *right relative to an end, purpose, or object*; in other words, of *fitness or adaptation* (see Gousset's *Lexicon*, s. v. יְשֵׁרָה; and comp. 2 Sam. xvii. 4; 1 Kings ix. 12; 2 Chron. xii. 30; Num. xxviii. 27). This affords, we believe, the true clue to Samson's meaning, when he says, 'She is right in mine eyes';—*i.e.* adapted to the end which I have in view; she may be used, she is available, for a purpose entirely ulterior to the immediate connection which I propose. That he entertained a genuine affection for the woman, notwithstanding the *policy* by which he was prompted, we may doubtless admit; but that he intended, at the same time, to make this alliance subservient to the great purpose of delivering his country from oppression, and that in this he was acting under the secret control of Providence, would seem to be clear from the words immediately following, when, in reference to the objection of his parents to such a union, it is said, that they 'knew not that it was of the Lord that he sought an occasion against the Philistines.' It is here worthy of note, that the Hebrew, instead of 'against the Philistines,' has 'of or from the Philistines,' clearly implying that the occasion sought should be one that originated on the side of the Philistines. This occasion he sought under the immediate prompting of the Most High, who saw fit, in this indirect manner, to bring about the accomplishment of his designs of retribution on his enemies. His leading purpose in this seems to have been to *baffle the power of the whole Philistine nation by the prowess of a single individual*. The champion of Israel, therefore, was not appointed so much to be the leader of an army, like the other judges, as to be an army in himself. In order, then, that the contest might be carried on in this way, it was necessary that the entire opposition of the Philistines should be concentrated, as far as possible, against the person of Samson. This would array the contending parties in precisely such an attitude as to illustrate most signally the power of God in the overthrow of his enemies. But how could this result be brought about except by means of some private quarrel between Samson and the enemy with whom he was to contend? And who shall say that the scheme now projected was not the very best that could have been devised for accomplishing the end which God had in view? To what extent Samson himself foresaw the issue of this transaction, or how far he had a plan distinctly laid corresponding with the results that ensued, it is difficult to say. The probability, we think, is, that he had rather a general strong impression, wrought by the Spirit of God, than a definite conception of the train of events that were to transpire. It was, however, a conviction as to the issue sufficiently powerful to warrant both him and his parents in going forward with the measure. They were, in some way, assured that they were engaged in a proceeding which God would overrule to the furtherance of his designs of mercy to his people, and of judgment to their oppressors.

From this point commences that career of achievements and prodigies on the part of this Is-



raelitish Hercules which rendered him the terror of his enemies and the wonder of all ages. At his wedding-feast, the attendance of a large company of paranymps, or friends of the bridegroom, convened ostensibly for the purpose of honouring his nuptials, but in reality to keep an insidious watch upon his movements, furnished the occasion of a common Oriental device for enlivening entertainments of this nature. He propounded a riddle, the solution of which referred to his obtaining a quantity of honey from the carcase of a slain lion, and the clandestine manner in which his guests got possession of the clue to the enigma cost thirty Philistines their lives. The next instance of his vindictive cunning was prompted by the ill-treatment which he had received at the hands of his father-in-law, who, upon a frivolous pretext, had given away his daughter in marriage to another man, and was executed by securing a multitude of

foxes (שועלים), and, by tying firebrands to their tails, setting fire to the cornfields of his enemies. [SHUAL.] The indignation of the Philistines, on discovering the author of the outrage, vented itself upon the family of his father-in-law, who had been the remote occasion of it, in the burning of their house, in which both father and daughter perished. This was a fresh provocation, for which Samson threatened to be revenged; and thereupon falling upon them without ceremony he smote them, as it is said, 'hip and thigh with a great slaughter.' The original, strictly rendered, runs, 'he smote them leg upon thigh'—apparently a proverbial expression, and implying, according to Gesenius, that he cut them to pieces, so that their limbs, their legs and thighs, were scattered and heaped promiscuously together; equivalent to saying that he smote and destroyed them *wholly, entirely*. Mr. Taylor, in his edition of Calmet, recognises in these words an allusion to some kind of *wrestling combat*, in which perhaps the slaughter on this occasion may have commenced.

Having subsequently taken up his residence in the rock Etam, he was thence dislodged by consenting to a pusillanimous arrangement on the part of his own countrymen, by which he agreed to surrender himself in bonds provided *they* would not themselves fall upon him and kill him. He probably gave in to this measure from a strong inward assurance that the issue of it would be to afford him a new occasion of taking vengeance upon his foes. Being brought in this apparently helpless condition to a place called from the event, *Lehi, a jaw*, his preternatural potency suddenly put itself forth, and snapping the cords asunder, and snatching up the jaw-bone of an ass, he dealt so effectually about him, that a thousand men were slain on the spot. That this was altogether the work, not of man, but of God, was soon demonstrated. Wearied with his exertions, the illustrious Danite became faint from thirst, and as there was no water in the place, he prayed that a fountain might be opened. His prayer was heard; God caused a stream to gush from a hollow rock hard by, and Samson in gratitude gave it the name of *En-hakker*, a word that signifies 'the well of him that prayed,' and which continued to be the designation of the fountain ever after. The rendering in our version—'God clave a hollow place in the jaw'—is unhappy, as the original is לחי, *Lehi*, the very term which in the final clause is rendered 'in Lehi.' The place received

its name from the circumstance of his having then so effectually wielded the *jaw-bone* (לחי, *Lehi*).

The Philistines were from this time held in such contempt by their victor, that he went openly into the city of Gaza, where he seems to have suffered himself weakly to be drawn into the company of a woman of loose character, the yielding to whose enticements exposed him to the most imminent peril. His presence being soon noised abroad, an attempt was made during the night forcibly to detain him, by closing the gates of the city and making them fast; but Samson, apprised of it, rose at midnight, and breaking away bolts, bars, and hinges, departed, carrying the gates upon his shoulders, to the top of a neighbouring hill that *looks toward*

*Hebron* (על פני חברון; Sept. ἐπὶ προσώπου τοῦ Χεβρών, *facing Hebron*). The common rendering 'before Hebron' is less appropriate, as the distance between the two cities is at least twenty miles. The hill lay doubtless somewhere between the cities, and in full view of both. After this his enemies strove to entrap him by guile rather than by violence; and they were too successful in the end. Falling in love with a woman of Sorek, named Delilah, he became so infatuated by his passion, that nothing but his bodily strength could equal his mental weakness. The princes of the Philistines, aware of Samson's infirmity, determined by means of it to get possession, if possible, of his person. For this purpose they propose a tempting bribe to Delilah, and she enters at once into the treacherous compact. She employs all her art and blandishments to worm from him the secret of his prodigious strength. Having for some time amused her with fictions, he at last, in a moment of weakness, disclosed to her the fact that it lay in his hair, which if it were shaved would leave him a mere common man. Not that his strength really lay in his hair, for this in fact had no natural influence upon it one way or the other. His strength arose from his *relation* to God as a Nazarite, and the preservation of his hair unshorn was the *mark or sign* of his Nazariteship, and a *pledge* on the part of God of the continuance of his miraculous physical powers. If he lost this sign, the badge of his consecration, he broke his vow, and consequently forfeited the thing signified. God abandoned him, and he was thenceforward no more, in this respect, than an ordinary man. His treacherous paramour seized the first opportunity of putting his declaration to the test. She shaved his head while he lay sleeping in her lap, and at a concerted signal he was instantly arrested by his enemies lying in wait. Bereft of his grand endowment, and forsaken of God, the champion of Israel could now well adopt the words of Solomon—'I find more bitter than death the woman whose heart is snares and nets, and her hands are bands; whoso pleaseth God shall escape from her; but the sinner shall be taken by her.' Having so long presumptuously played with his ruin, Heaven leaves him to himself, as a punishment for his former guilty indulgence. He is made to reap as he had sown, and is consigned to the hands of his relentless foes. If his punishment was indeed severe, though he amply revenged it, as well as redeemed in a measure his own honour, by the manner in which he met his death. The Philistines having deprived him of sight, at first immured him in a prison, and made him grind at the mill like a slave. As this was an



employment which in the East usually devolves on women, to assign it to such a man as Samson was virtually to reduce him to the lowest state of degradation and shame. To grind corn *for others* was, even for a woman, a proverbial term expressive of the most menial and oppressed condition. How much more for the hero of Israel, who seems to have been made grinder-general for the prison-house!

In process of time, while remaining in this confinement, his hair recovered its growth, and with it such a profound repentance seems to have wrought in his heart as virtually re-invested him with the character and the powers he had so culpably lost. Of this fact his enemies were not aware. Still exulting in their possession of the great scourge of their nation, they kept him, like a wild beast, for mockery and insult. On one of these occasions, when an immense multitude, including the princes and nobility of the Philistines, were convened in a large amphitheatre, to celebrate a feast in honour of their god Dagon, who had delivered their adversary into their hands, Samson was ordered to be brought out to be made a laughing-stock to his enemies, a butt for their scoffs, insults, mockeries, and merriment. Secretly determined to use his recovered strength to tremendous effect, he persuaded the boy who guided his steps to conduct him to a spot where he could reach the two pillars upon which the roof of the building rested. Here, after pausing for a short time, while he prefers a brief prayer to Heaven, he grasps the massy pillars, and bowing with resistless force, the whole building rocks and totters, and the roof, encumbered with the weight of the spectators, rushes down, and the whole assembly, including Samson himself, are crushed to pieces in the ruin!

Thus terminated the career of one of the most remarkable personages of all history, whether sacred or profane. The enrolment of his name by an apostolic pen (Heb. xi. 32) in the list of the ancient worthies, 'who had by faith obtained an excellent repute,' warrants us undoubtedly in a favourable estimate of his character on the whole, while at the same time the fidelity of the inspired narrative has perpetuated the record of infirmities which must for ever mar the lustre of his noble deeds. It is not improbable that the lapses with which he was chargeable arose, in a measure, from the very peculiarities of that physical temperament to which his prodigies of strength were owing; but while this consideration may palliate, it cannot excuse the moral delinquencies into which he was betrayed, and of which a just Providence exacted so tremendous a penalty in the circumstances of his degradation and death.

Upon the parallel between the achievements of Samson and those of the Grecian Hercules, and the derivation of the one from the other, we cannot here enter. The Commentary of Adam Clarke presents us with the results of M. De Lavour, an ingenious French writer on this subject, from which it will be seen that the coincidences are extremely striking, and such as would perhaps afford to most minds an additional proof of how much the ancient mythologies were a distorted reflection of the Scripture narrative.—G. B.

SAMUEL (שמואל; Sept. Σαμουήλ), the last of those extraordinary regents that presided over the Hebrew commonwealth under the title of

Judges. The circumstances of his birth were ominous of his future career. His father, Elkanah of Ramathaim-Zophim, of Mount Ephraim, 'had two wives, the name of the one was Hannah, and the name of the other Peninnah; and Peninnah had children, but Hannah had no children.' The usual effect of polygamy was felt in Elkanah's household. The sterility of Hannah brought upon her the taunts and ridicule of her conjugal rival, who 'provoked her sore, to make her fret, because the Lord had shut up her womb' (i Sam. i. 6). The jealousy of Peninnah was excited also by the superior affection which was shown to Hannah by her husband—'To Hannah he gave a worthy portion; for he loved Hannah' (i. 5). More especially at the period of the sacred festivals did the childless solitude of Hannah create within her the most poignant regrets, when she saw her husband give portions to all the sons and daughters of Peninnah, who, in maternal pride, took advantage of these seasons to subject the favourite wife to a natural feminine retaliation. Hannah's life was embittered—'she wept and did not eat' (i. 7). On one of these occasions, during the annual solemnity at Shiloh, whither Elkanah's family had travelled, 'to worship and to sacrifice,' so keen was the vexation of Hannah, that she left the domestic entertainment, went to the tabernacle, and 'wept sore,' while in the extremity of her anguish she implored Jehovah to give her a man-child, accompanying her supplication with a peculiar pledge to dedicate this gift, should it be conferred, to the service of Jehovah; vowing to present the child in entire unreserved consecration to the Lord all the days of his life, and at the same time to bind him to the special obligations and austerities of a Nazarite. In her agony of earnestness her lips moved, but articulated no words, so that Eli, the high-priest, who had observed her frantic appearance from his seat by a post of the temple, 'thought she had been drunken,' and sharply rebuked her. Her touching explanation removed his suspicion, and he gave her his solemn benediction. Her spirit was lightened, and she 'went her way.' The birth of a son soon fulfilled her hopes, and this child of prayer was named, in memory of the prodigy, SAMUEL, HEARD OF GOD. In consequence of his mother's vow, the boy was from his early years set apart to the service of Jehovah, under the immediate tutelage of Eli. Hannah brought him to the house of the Lord in Shiloh, and introducing herself to the pontiff, recalled to his memory the peculiar circumstances in which he had first seen her. So 'Samuel ministered before the Lord, being a child, girded with a linen ephod' (ii. 18).

The degeneracy of the people at this time was extreme. The tribes seem to have administered their affairs as independent republics, the national confederacy was weak and disunited, and the spirit of public patriotic enterprise had been worn out by constant turmoil and invasion. The theocratic influence was also scarcely felt, its peculiar ministers being withdrawn, and its ordinary manifestations, except in the routine of the Levitical ritual, having ceased; 'the word of the Lord was precious in those days, there was no open vision' (iii. 1). The young devotee, 'the child Samuel,' was selected by Jehovah to renew the deliverance of his oracles. As he was laid down in his chamber adjoining the sacred tent, the Lord, by means adapted to his juvenile capacity, made known to him his first and



fearful communication—the doom of Eli's apostate house. Other revelations speedily followed; the frequency of God's messages to the young prophet established his fame; and the exact fulfilment of them secured his reputation. The oracle of Shiloh became vocal again through the youthful hierophant (iii. 19-21). The fearful fate pronounced on the head and the family of the pontificate was soon executed. Eli had indulgently tolerated, or leniently palliated, the rapacity and profligacy of his sons. Through their extortions and impiety, 'men abhorred the offering of the Lord,' and Jehovah's wrath was kindled against the sacerdotal transgressors. They became the victims of their own folly; for when the Philistines invaded the land a panic seized the Hebrew host, and they clamoured for the ark to be brought out to the camp and into the field of battle. Hophni and Phinehas, Eli's sons, indulging this vain superstition, accompanied the ark as its legal guardians, and fell in the terrible slaughter which ensued. Their father, whose sin seems to have been his passive and quiescent temper, sat on a sacerdotal throne by the wayside, to gather the earliest news of the battle, for his 'heart trembled for the ark of God;' and as a fugitive from the scene of conflict reported to him the sad disaster, dwelling with natural climax on its melancholy particulars—Israel routed and fleeing, Hophni and Phinehas both slain, yea, and the ark of God taken—this last and overpowering intelligence so shocked him, that he fainted and fell from his seat, and in his fall, from the imbecile corpulence of age, 'broke his neck and died' (iv. 18). When the feeble administration of Eli, who had judged Israel forty years, was concluded by his death, Samuel was too young to succeed to the regency, and the actions of this earlier portion of his life are left unrecorded. The ark, which had been captured by the Philistines, soon vindicated its majesty, and after being detained among them seven months, it was sent back to Israel. It did not, however, reach Shiloh, in consequence of the fearful judgment of Bethshemesh (vi. 19), but rested in Kirjath-jearim for no fewer than twenty years (vii. 2). It is not till the expiration of this period that Samuel appears again in the history. Perhaps during the twenty years succeeding Eli's death, his authority was gradually gathering strength, while the office of supreme magistrate may have been vacant, each tribe being governed by its own hereditary phylarch. This long season of national humiliation was to some extent improved. 'All the house of Israel lamented after the Lord,' and Samuel, seizing upon the crisis, issued a public manifesto, exposing the sin of idolatry, urging on the people religious amendment, and promising political deliverance on their reformation. The people obeyed, the oracular mandate was effectual, and the principles of the theocracy again triumphed (vii. 4). The tribes were summoned by the prophet to assemble in Mizpeh, and at this assembly of the Hebrew comitia Samuel seems to have been elected regent; at all events, his official pre-eminence was formally recognised (vii. 6). Some of the judges were raised to political power, as the reward of their military courage and talents, but Samuel seems to have been raised to the lofty station of judge, from his prophetic fame, his sagacious dispensation of justice, and his success as a patriotic restorer of the true worship. His government, founded not on feats

of chivalry or actions of dazzling enterprise, which great emergencies only call forth, but resting on more solid qualities essential to the growth and development of a nation's resources in times of peace, laid the foundation of that prosperity which gradually elevated Israel to the position it occupied in the days of David and his successors.

This mustering of the Hebrews at Mizpeh on the inauguration of Samuel alarmed the Philistines, and their 'lords went up against Israel.' Samuel assumed the functions of the theocratic viceroy, offered a burnt-offering, and implored the immediate protection of Jehovah. He was answered with propitious thunder. A fearful storm burst upon the Philistines, who were signally defeated, and did not recruit their strength again during the administration of the prophet-judge. The grateful victor erected a stone of remembrance, and named it Ebenezer. From an incidental allusion (vii. 14) we learn, too, that about this time the Amorites, the inveterate foes of Israel, were also at peace with them—another triumph of his government. The presidency of Samuel appears to have been eminently successful. From the very brief sketch given us of his public life we infer that the administration of justice occupied no little share of his time and attention. He went from year to year in circuit to Bethel, Gilgal, and Mizpeh, places not very far distant from each other, but chosen, perhaps, as Winer suggests, because they were the old scenes of worship (*Real-Wört.* sub voce).

The dwelling of the prophet was at Ramah, his native city, 'for there was his house.' There religious worship was established after the patriarchal model, and Samuel, like Abraham, built an altar to the Lord. Such procedure was contrary to the letter of the Mosaic statute. But the prophets had power to dispense with ordinary usage, for they were God's accredited representatives, and wielded a divine prerogative (Knobel, *Der Prophetismus*. d. Heb. i. 39; Koester, *Der Proph. a. A. & N. T.* etc. p. 52). Besides, in this case one reason of Samuel's conduct may be found in the state of the religious economy. The ark yet remained at Kirjath-jearim, where it had been left in terror, and where it lay till David fetched it to Zion. There seems to have been no place of public resort for the tribes, the present station of the ark not having been chosen for its convenience as a scene of religious assembly. The shrine at Shiloh, too, which had been hallowed ever since the settlement in Canaan, had been desolate from the date of the death of Eli and his sons—so desolate as to become in future years a prophetic symbol of divine judgment (Jer. vii. 12-14; xxvi. 6). In such a period of religious anarchy and confusion, Samuel, a theocratic guardian, might, without any violation of the spirit of the law, superintend the public worship of Jehovah in the vicinity of his habitation.

In Samuel's old age two of his sons were appointed by him deputy-judges in Beersheba. These young men possessed not their father's integrity of spirit, but 'turned aside after lucre, took bribes, and perverted judgment' (1 Sam. viii. 3). The advanced years of the venerable ruler himself and his approaching dissolution, the certainty that none of his family could fill his office with advantage to the country, the horror of a period of anarchy which his death might occasion, the necessity of having some one to put an end to tribal jealousies and concentrate the energies of the nation, espe-



cially as there appeared to be symptoms of renewed warlike preparations on the part of the Ammonites (xii. 12)—these considerations seem to have led the elders of Israel to adopt the bold step of assembling at Ramah and soliciting Samuel ‘to make a king to judge them.’ The proposed change from a republican to a regal form of government displeased Samuel for various reasons. Besides its being a departure from the first political institute, and so far an infringement on the rights of the divine head of the theocracy, it was regarded by the regent as a virtual charge against himself, one of those examples of popular fickleness and ingratitude which the history of every realm exhibits in profusion. Jehovah comforts Samuel by saying, ‘They have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me.’ Being warned of God to accede to their request for a king, and yet to remonstrate with the people, and set before the nation the perils and tyranny of a monarchical government (viii. 10), Samuel proceeded to the election of a sovereign. Saul, son of Kish, ‘a choice young man and a goodly,’ whom he had met unexpectedly, was pointed out to him by Jehovah as the king of Israel, and by the prophet was anointed and saluted as monarch. Samuel again convened the nation at Mizpeh, again with honest zeal condemned their project, but caused the sacred lot to be taken. The lot fell on Saul. The prophet now formally introduced him to the people, who shouted in joyous acclamation, ‘God save the king.’

Not content with oral explanations, this last of the republican chiefs not only told the people the manner of the kingdom, ‘but wrote it in a book and laid it up before the Lord.’ What is here asserted of Samuel may mean, that he extracted from the Pentateuch the recorded provision of Moses for a future monarchy, and added to it such warnings, counsels, and safeguards as his inspired sagacity might suggest. Saul’s first battle being so successful, and the preparations for it displaying no ordinary energy and promptitude of character, his popularity was suddenly advanced, and his throne secured. Taking advantage of the general sensation in favour of Saul, Samuel cited the people to meet again in Gilgal, to renew the kingdom, to ratify the new constitution, and solemnly instal the sovereign (xi. 14). Here the upright judge made a powerful appeal to the assembly in vindication of his government. ‘Witness against me before the Lord, and before his anointed; whose ox have I taken? or whose ass have I taken? or whom have I defrauded? whom have I oppressed? or of whose hand have I received any bribe to blind mine eyes therewith? and I will restore it you.’ The whole multitude responded in unanimous approval of his honesty and intrepidity (xii. 3, 4). Then he, still jealous of God’s prerogative and the civil rights of his people, briefly narrated their history, showed them how they never wanted chieftains to defend them when they served God, and declared that it was distrust of God’s raising up a new leader in a dreaded emergency that excited the outcry for a king. In proof of this charge—a charge which convicted them of great wickedness in the sight of God—he appealed to Jehovah, who answered in a fearful hurricane of thunder and rain at an unusual period—‘wheat-harvest.’ The terrified tribes confessed their guilt, and besought Samuel to intercede for them in his disinterested patriotism. And thus

Samuel yielded to the current of events, though he struggled against it. His heart clung to the old order established by Moses, yet he wisely and calmly inaugurated and guided the new era.

It is said (vii. 15) that Samuel judged Israel all the days of his life. The assertion may mean that even after Saul’s coronation, Samuel’s power, though he had formally abdicated, was yet actually felt and exercised in the direction of state affairs. No enterprise could be undertaken without his concurrence. His was an authority higher than the king’s. We find Saul, having mustered his forces, about to march against the Philistines, yet delaying to set out till Samuel consecrated the undertaking. He came not at the time appointed, as Saul thought, and the impatient monarch proceeded to offer sacrifice—a distinct violation of the national law, and a clear act of rebellion against prophetic authority. The prophet arrived as the religious service was concluded, and rebuking Saul for his presumption, distinctly hinted at the short continuance of his kingdom. Again we find Samuel charging Saul with the extirpation of the Amalekites. The royal warrior at once proceeded on the expedition, but obeyed not fully the divine mandate. His apologies, somewhat craftily framed, for his inconsistencies, availed him not with Samuel, who, in the style of the later prophets, boldly proclaimed the worthlessness of mere ceremonial scrupulosity. By the indignant seer Saul was virtually dethroned. He had forfeited his crown by disobedience to God. Yet ‘Samuel mourned for him.’ His heart seems to have been set on the bold athletic soldier. But now the Lord directed him to make provision for the future government of the country (xvi. 1). To prevent strife and confusion, it was necessary, in the circumstances, that the second king should be appointed before the first sovereign’s demise. Samuel went to Bethlehem and set apart the youngest of the sons of Jesse, ‘and came to see Saul no more till the day of his death.’ Yet Saul and he met once again at Naioth, in Ramah (xix. 24), when the king was pursuing David. As on a former occasion, the spirit of God came upon him when he approached the company of the prophets with Samuel presiding over them, and ‘he prophesied and lay down naked all that day and all that night.’ A religious excitement seized him; the contagious influence of the music and rhapsody fell upon his nervous, susceptible temperament, and overpowered him. At length Samuel died, and ‘all Israel lamented for him, and buried him in his house at Ramah’ (xxv. 1). The troubles of Saul increased, and there was none to give him counsel and solace. Jehovah answered him not in the ordinary mode of oracular communication, ‘by dreams, Urim, or prophets.’ His chafed and melancholy spirit could find no rest, and he resorted to the sad expedient of consulting ‘a woman that had a familiar spirit’ (xxviii. 3-7). The sovereign in disguise entered her dwelling, and he of whom the proverb was repeated, ‘Is Saul also among the prophets?’ was found in consultation with a sorceress. This is not the place to enter into a discussion of this subject [SAUL]. We follow the inspired narrative, and merely say that Saul strangely wished to see Samuel, recalled from the dead, and Samuel himself (שמואל הַחַי) made his appearance suddenly, and to the great terror of the necromancer; heard the mournful complaint



of Saul, and pronounced his speedy death on an ignoble field of defeat and massacre (Thenius, *in loc.*; Keil, *do.*; Delitzsch, *Bib. Psychologie*, p. 428, 2d ed.; Deyling, *Observat.* ii. p. 253).

We have reserved a few topics for discussion, that we might not interrupt the brief narrative. It is almost superfluous to say that the derivation of the prophet's name to which we have referred is preferable to others which have been proposed—

such as שֵׁם אֱל, *name of God*; שְׁמוֹ אֱל, *asked*

*of God*; or שְׁמוֹ אֱל, *Deus posuit*. Josephus renders it by the Greek name Θεαίητος, *Theaetetus*.

The opinion was in former times very current that Samuel was a priest; nay, some imagine that he succeeded Eli in the pontificate. Many of the fathers inclined to this notion, but Jerome affirms (*Advers. Jovin.*): *Samuel Propheta fuit, Judex fuit, Levita fuit, non Pontifex, ne Sacerdos quidem* (Ortlob, *Samuel Judex et Propheta non Pont. aut Sacerd. Sacrificans*; *Thesaurus Novus Theol. Philol. Hasei et Ikenii*, i. 587; Selden, *De Success. ad Pontif.* lib. i. c. 14). That Samuel was a Levite is apparent from 1 Chron. vi. 22-28, but there is no evidence of his being a priest. The sacerdotal acts ascribed to him were performed by him as an extraordinary legate of Jehovah. The objection, that if he had been a Levite his mother's dedication of him would have been superfluous, is met by the assertion, that if he had not been a Levite such a dedication of him would not have been accepted. But the maternal dedication was to a life-long service, the ordinary Levites only serving during their middle years. Samuel's birth-place was Ramathaim-Zophim; the dual form of the first term, according to some signifying one of the two Ramahs, to wit, that of the Zophites (Lightfoot, vol. ii. 162, ed. 1832); and the second term (צופים), according to others meaning speculators—*i.e.* prophets—and denoting that at this place was a school of the prophets—an hypothesis supported by the Chaldee paraphrast, who renders it 'Elkanah, a man of Ramatha, a disciple of the

prophets' (מתלמידי נביא). Others find in the dual form of רמתים a reference to the shape of the city, which was built on the sides of two hills; and in the word Zophim see an allusion to some watch-towers, or places of observation, which the high situation of the city might favour (Clerici *Opera*, ii. 175). Others again affirm that the word צופים is added because Ramah or Ramatha was inhabited by a clan of Levites of the family of צוּף (Calmet, *sub voce*). This term (אפרתי), if the genealogy in Chronicles remain undisturbed, must signify not an Ephraimite by birth, but by abode, 'domiciliū ratione non sanguinis' (Selden, *l. c.*; Keil *in loc.*) So we find that the Kohathites, to whom Samuel belonged, had their lot in Mount Ephraim (Josh. xxi. 5-20), where הַר אפרים signifies, not the hill of Ephraim, but the hill-country of Ephraim (Gesenius, *Thesaur.* *sub voce*). The family of Zoph, living in the hill-country of Ephraim, might be termed Ephrathite, while their ancestor's name distinguished their special locality, as Ramathaim-Zophim. Thus, too, the Levite was of Bethlehem-Judah (Judges xvii. 7); and Mahlon and Chilion are called Ephrathites of Bethlehem-Judah (Ruth i. 2). The geography of the place has been disputed, and eight cities contend for the honour [RAMAH]. Eusebius and Jerome

confound it with the Arimathea of the N. T. (*Onomast. art. Armathea Sophim*). The Seventy render it Ἀρμαθαίμ Σοφίμ, Cod. A, or Cod. B. Ἀρμαθαίμ Σοφά. For an account of the place now and for long called Neby Samwël, see Robinson's *Palestine*, ii. 239, 2d ed.; and for an interesting discussion as to the site of Ramath-Zophim, the latter name being yet retained in the Arabic term Sôbah, the curious reader may consult the same work (ii. 8-11, 2d ed. See also Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*, 220, 221).

Specific data are not afforded us for determining the length of either Samuel's life or his administration. Josephus mentions that he was twelve years of age when his first oracle was communicated to him. As the calculation of the duration of Samuel's life and government depends upon the system of chronology adopted, the reader may turn to the article JUDGES, and to the comparative chronological table which is there given.

Samuel's character was one of uncommon dignity and patriotism. His chief concern was his country's weal. Grotius compares him to Aristides, and Saul to Alcibiades (*Opera Theol.* tom. i. p. 119). To preserve the worship of the one Jehovah, the God of Israel, to guard the liberties and rights of the people, to secure them from hostile invasion and internal disunion, was the grand work of his life. His patriotism was not a Roman love of conquest or empire. The subjugation of other peoples was only sought when they disturbed the peace of his country. He was loath indeed to change the form of government, yet he did it with consummate policy. First of all he resorted to the divine mode of appeal to the Omniscent ruler—a solemn sortilege—and brought Saul so chosen before the tribes, and pointed him out to them as peerless in form and aspect. Then, waiting till Saul should distinguish himself by some victorious enterprise, and receiving him fresh from the slaughter of the Ammonites, he again confirmed him in his kingdom, while the national enthusiasm, kindled by his triumph, made him the popular idol. Samuel thus, for the sake of future peace, took means to show that Saul was both chosen of God and yet virtually elected by the people. This procedure, so cautious and so generous, proves how little foundation there is for the remarks which have been made against Samuel by some writers, such as Schiller (*Neue Thalia*, iv. 94), Vatke (*Bibl. Theol.* p. 360), and the Wolfenbüttel Fragmentist, p. 200, ed. Schmidt).

The power of Samuel with God, as an intercessor for the people, is often referred to, and is compared to that of Moses (Jer. xv. 1; Ps. xcix. 6). He was the first of a series of prophets that continued in an unbroken line till the close of the O. T. Canon (Acts iii. 24; Augustin, *De Civ. Dei*, l. xvii.) Early established as a prophet, he was known as 'the seer' (1 Sam. ix. 18). Though the term seer became obsolete, the objective term 'vision' was still preserved as the title of prophetic oracles. From Samuel's position he was highly venerated (1 Sam. ix. 13; xvi. 4). It is in the days of Samuel that mention is first made of the schools of the prophets at Naioth. It is natural to suppose that he was to some extent their originator. In the prospect of a regal form of government he seems to have made the prophetic office a formal institute in the Jewish nation. [SCHOOLS.] We are informed (1 Chron. ix. 22) that the alloca-



tion of the Levites for the temple-service was made by David and Samuel the seer—*i.e.* that David followed some plan or suggestion of the deceased prophet, which he may have learned when among the sons of the prophets at Naioth (1 Sam. xix. 18). Reference is made (1 Chron. xxvi. 28) to some donations which Samuel gave for the public religious service. Lastly (xxix. 29), the acts of David the king are said to be written in the book of Samuel the seer; at least the דברי דוד were written על

לדברי שמואל, whatever the phrase may mean (Davidson's *Introd.* i. p. 513). It may imply authorship, or it may signify that the history of David was written in the history of Samuel. Heman, grandson of Samuel, is noted as a singer (1 Chron. vi. 33). The high respect in which Samuel was held by the Jewish nation in after ages may be learned from the eulogy pronounced upon him by the son of Sirach (Eccles. xlv. 13-26). His fame was not confined to Israel. The remains of Samuel, according to Jerome (*Advers. Vigil.*), were under the emperor Arcadius brought from Judea, with great pomp, to Constantinople (D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.* pp. 735, 1021; Hottinger, *Histor. Oriental.* i. 3).—J. E.

**SAMUEL, BOOKS OF.** The two books of Samuel were anciently reckoned as but one among the Jews (ספר שמואל). That they form only one treatise is apparent from their structure. The present division into two books, common in our Hebrew Bibles since the editions of Bomberg, was derived from the Septuagint and Vulgate, in both which versions they are termed the First and Second Books of Kings. Thus Origen (apud Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* vi. 25), in his famous catalogue of the Hebrew Scriptures, names the books of Samuel—*βασιλείων πρώτη δευτέρα, παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐν Σαμουήλ, ὁ δευκλῆτος*; and Jerome thus describes them (*Prolog. Galatius*): 'Tertius sequitur Samuel, quem nos regum primum et secundum dicimus.' None of these titles, ancient or modern, is very felicitous. To call them Books of Samuel is, if we follow the analogy of the phrases, Books of Moses, Book of Isaiah, to assert the prophet to be their author, though a great portion of the events recorded in them happened after his death. The title Books of Kings, or Kingdoms, is by no means an accurate indication of their contents, as they refer only to two monarchs, and the narrative does not even include the death of David. And if they be named after Samuel, as he was a principal agent in the events recorded in them, then the title is only appropriate to a few of the introductory chapters. Jewish opinion is divided on the reason of the Hebrew name. It is affirmed in Baba Bathra (fol. 15, cap. i.) that Samuel wrote the book so called, and also Judges and Ruth; and Abarbanel argues that these compositions are named after Samuel because the events narrated in them may be referred to him, either as a person or as a chief instrument, for Saul and David, being both anointed by the prophet, became 'opus veluti manuum' (*Pref. in lib. Sam.* fol. 74, col. i). The source of the appellation *βασιλείων* (Regum), is to be found in the historic resemblance of the books of Samuel to those which come after them, and to which they serve as an introduction. On the other hand, it was desirable to have short names for the books of Scripture; and as Samuel

was a prophet of such celebrity, and had such influence in changing the form of government under which the son of Kish and the son of Jesse became sovereigns, it was natural to name after him the biographical tracts in which the life and times of these royal chieftains are briefly sketched: especially as they at the same time contain striking descriptions of the marvel of his own birth, the oracles of his youth, and the impressive actions of his long career. The selection of this Jewish name might also be strengthened by the national belief of the authorship of a large portion of the work, founded on a common interpretation of 1 Chron. xxix. 29.

**Contents.**—The contents of the books of Samuel belong to an interesting period of Jewish history. The preceding book of Judges refers to the affairs of the republic as they were administered after the conquest, when the nation was all but a congeries of independent cantons, sometimes partially united for a season under an extraordinary dictator. As, however, the form of government was changed, and remained monarchical till the overthrow of the kingdom, it was of national importance to note the time, method, and means of the alteration. This change happening under the regency of the wisest and best of their sages, his life became a topic of interest. The first book of Samuel gives an account of his birth and early call to the duties of a seer, under Eli's pontificate; describes the low and degraded condition of the people, oppressed by foreign enemies; proceeds to narrate the inauguration of Samuel as judge; his prosperous regency; the degeneracy of his sons; the clamour for a change in the civil constitution; the installation of Saul; his rash and reckless character; and his neglect of, or opposition to, the theocratic elements of the government. Then the historian goes on to relate God's choice of David as king; his endurance of long and harassing persecution from the reigning sovereign; the defeat and death of Saul on the field of Gilboa; the gradual elevation of the man 'according to God's own heart' to national dominion; his earnest efforts to obey and follow out the principles of the theocracy; his formal establishment of religious worship at Jerusalem, now the capital of the nation; and his series of victories over all the enemies of Judaea that were wont to molest its frontiers. The analyst records also David's aberrations from the path of duty; the unnatural rebellion of his son Absalom and its suppression; his carrying into effect a military census of his dominions, and the Divine punishment which this act incurred; and concludes with a few characteristic sketches of his military staff. The second book of Samuel, while it relates the last words of David, yet stops short of his death. As David was the real founder of the monarchy and reorganiser of the religious worship; the great hero, legislator, and poet of his country; as his dynasty maintained itself on the throne of Judah till the Babylonian captivity—it is not a matter of wonder that the description of his life and government occupies so large a portion of early Jewish history. The books of Samuel thus consist of three interlaced biographies—those of Samuel, Saul, and David.

**Age and Authorship.**—The attempt to ascertain the authorship of this early history is attended with difficulty. Ancient opinion is in favour of the theory that the first twenty-four chapters were



written by Samuel, and the rest by Nathan and Gad. Abarbanel, however, and Grotius, suppose Jeremiah to be the author (Grot. *Præf. in 1. Sam.*) Stähelin (*Einleit.* sec. 25, etc.) conjectures that a large portion of Samuel was written by the author of the Pentateuch, and of the books of Joshua and Judges. But continuity of history in the same form does not prove identity of authorship, nor are the similar phrases found in these books sufficient in number or characteristic idiom to support the theory. Nay, Samuel is free from the so-called Chaldaisms of Judges and the archaisms of the Pentateuch. The peculiar theory of Jahn, on the other hand, is that the four books of Samuel and Kings were written by the same person, and at a date so recent as the 30th year of the Babylonish captivity. His arguments, however, as well as those of Eichhorn (*Einleit.* sec. 468), and Herbst (*Einleit.* ii. 1-139), who hold a similar view, are more ingenious than solid (*Introduction*, sec. 46). The fact of all the four treatises being named 'Books of Kings' is insisted on as a proof that they were originally undivided and formed a single work—a mere hypothesis, since the similarity of their contents might easily give rise to this general title, while the more ancient appellation for the first two was *The Books of Samuel*. Great stress is laid on the uniformity of method in all the books. But this uniformity by no means amounts to any proof of identity of authorship. It is nothing more than the same Hebrew historical style. The more minute and distinctive features, so far from being similar, are very different. Nay, the books of Samuel and Kings may be contrasted in many of those peculiarities which mark a different writer:—

1. In Kings there occur not a few references to the laws of Moses, in Samuel not one of these is to be found.

2. The books of Kings repeatedly cite authorities, to which appeal is made, and the reader is directed to the 'Acts of Solomon,' 'the book of the Chronicles of Kings of Israel,' or 'Judah.' But in the books of Samuel there is no formal allusion to any such sources of information.

3. The nature of the history in the two works is very different. The *plan* of the books of Samuel is not that of the books of Kings. The books of Samuel are more of a biographical character, and are more limited and personal in their view.

4. There are in the books of Kings many later forms of language. For a collection of some of these the reader is referred to De Wette (*Einleit. in das A. T.* sec. 185, note e). Scarcely any of those more recent or Chaldaic forms occur in Samuel. Besides, some peculiarities of form are noted by De Wette (sec. 180), but they are not so numerous or distinctive as to give a general character to the treatise (Hirzel, *De Chaldaismi Bibl. origine*, 1830). Many modes of expression, common in Kings, are absent from Samuel [KINGS, BOOKS OF]. Keil, *Einleit.* sec. 53.

5. The concluding chapters of the second book of Samuel are in the form of an appendix to the work—a proof of its completeness. The connection between Samuel and Kings is thus interrupted. It appears, then, that Samuel claims a distinct authorship from the books of Kings. Stähelin, indeed, supposes that the present division between the two treatises has not been correctly made, and that the two commencing chapters of 1 Kings really belong to 2 Samuel. This he argues on

philological grounds, because the terms והברתי

והפלתיו (1 Kings i. 38), מלך נפש (i. 12), and פדה נפש (i. 29), are found nowhere in Kings but in the first two chapters, while they occur once and again in Samuel. There is certainly something peculiar in this affinity, though it may be accounted for on the principle that the author of the pieces or sketches which form the basis of the initial portions of 1 Kings not only composed those which form the conclusion of Samuel, but also supervised or published the whole work which is now called by the prophet's name.

Thus the books of Samuel have an authorship of their own—an authorship belonging to a very early period. While their tone and style are very different from the later records of Chronicles, they are also dissimilar to the books of Kings. They bear the impress of a hoary age in their language, allusions, and mode of composition. The insertion of odes and snatches of poetry, to enliven and verify the narrative, is common to them with the Pentateuch. They abound in minute sketches and vivid touches. As if the chapters had been extracted from a diary, some portions are more fully detailed and warmly coloured than others, according as the original observer was himself impressed. Many of the incidents, in their artless and striking delineation, would form a fine study for a painter.

Besides, it is certainly a striking circumstance that the books of Samuel do not record David's death, though they give his last words—his last inspired effusion (Hävernick, *Einleit.* sec. 167). We should reckon it natural for an author, if he had lived long after David's time and were writing his life, to finish his history with an account of the sovereign's death. Had the books of Samuel and Kings sprung from the same source, then the abrupt conclusion of one portion of the work, containing David's life down to his last days, and yet omitting all notice of his death, might be ascribed to some unknown capricious motive of the author. But we have seen that the two treatises exhibit many traces of a different authorship. If the writer of Samuel gives a full detail of David's life, actions, and government, and yet fails to record his decease; a natural inference is, that the document must have been composed prior to the monarch's death, or at least about that period. If we should find a memoir of George the Third, entering fully into his private and family history, as well as describing his cabinets, councillors, and parliaments; the revolutions, and wars, and state of feeling under his government; and ending with an account of the appointment of a regent, and a reference to the king's lunacy, our conclusion would be that the history was composed before the year 1820. A history of David, down to the verge of his dissolution, yet not including that event, has the semblance of being written before that monarch 'slept with his fathers.' But it may be replied, as by Stähelin, that the division of Kings and Samuel is unfortunate, and that Samuel contained the first and second chapters of 1 Kings. We are inclined to think that the books, or rather the materials out of which they have been formed, were contemporaneous with the events recorded. The composition of a portion of 1 Samuel, Stähelin places in the time of Samuel, and his arguments are not without some force. Nor should we be inclined to place the date later than the reign of

Rehoboam, or very soon after it, as is the view of Thenius and De Wette.

Against this opinion as to the early age of the books of Samuel various objections have been brought. The phrase 'unto this day' is often employed in them to denote the continued existence of customs, monuments, and names, whose origin has been described by the annalist (1 Sam. v. 5; vi. 18; xxx. 25). This phrase, however, does not always indicate that a long interval of time elapsed between the incident and such a record of its duration. It was a common idiom. Joshua (xxii. 3) uses it of the short time that Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh had fought in concert with the other tribes in the subjugation of Canaan. So again (xxiii. 9) he employs it to specify the time that intervened between the entrance into Canaan and his resignation of the command on account of his approaching decease. Matthew, in his Gospel (xxvii. 8, and xxviii. 15), uses it of the period between the death of Christ and the composition of his book. Reference is made in Samuel to the currency of a certain proverb (1 Sam. x. 12), and to the disuse of the term *seer* (1 Sam. ix. 9), but in a manner which by no means implies an authorship long posterior to the time of the actual circumstances. The proverb, 'Is Saul also among the prophets?' was one which for many reasons would obtain rapid and universal circulation: and if no other hypothesis be considered satisfactory, we may suppose that the remark about the term 'seer' becoming obsolete may be the parenthetical insertion of a later hand. Or it may be that in Samuel's days the term נביא came to be technically used in his school of the prophets.

The statement made in 1 Sam. xxvii. 6—'Ziklag pertaineth unto the kings of Judah unto this day,' is a form of language, which, according to De Wette (sec. 180), could not have been employed before the separation of the nation into the kingdoms of Judah and Israel. Hävernick remarks, however (sec. 169), that Ziklag belonged first to Judah, and then to Simeon, ere it fell into the hands of the Philistines; and that it became the property of David, and of David's successors as sovereigns of the territory of Judah. Judah is not used in opposition to the ten tribes; and Ziklag became a royal possession in consequence of its being a gift to David, and to such as might have regal power over Judah. The names Israel and Judah were used in the way of contrast even in David's time, as De Wette himself admits (1 Sam. xviii. 16; 2 Sam. xxiv. 1; v. 5; xix. 41-43; xx. 2). The explanation, however, is in all points not satisfactory. The phrase, if it be not a copyist's annotation, seems to imply the previous separation of the two kingdoms.

It is said in 1 Chron. xxix. 29, 'Now the acts of David the king, first and last, behold they are written in the book of Samuel the seer, and in the book of Nathan the prophet, and in the book of Gad the seer.' The old opinion as to the authorship of Samuel, to which we have already alluded, was founded on this quotation. The prophets were wont to write a history of their own times. That Samuel did so in reference to the great events of his life is evident from the statement that he 'wrote the manner of the kingdom in a book, and laid it up before the Lord' (1 Sam. x. 25). Bleek (*Eintl.* p. 178) thinks that the phrase, דברי שמואל, may refer to our present Samuel; but it is not so

comprehensive as this collection seems to have been, as it does not, like the treatise to which the author of Chronicles refers, include 'the acts of David, first and last.' The annals which these three seers compiled were those of their own times in succession; so that there existed a history of contemporary events—prophetic materials for the books of Samuel. For we do not hold, with Gramberg and other critics, that the 'words of Samuel, Nathan, and Gad' mean the present books of Samuel, as written successively by those prophetic authors. Hävernick (sec. 161) supposes that there was another source of information to which the author of Samuel might resort—namely, the annals of David's reign—a conjecture not altogether unlikely, as may be seen by his reference to 2 Sam. viii. 17, compared with 1 Chron. xxvii. 24. The accounts of David's heroes and their mighty feats, with the estimate of their respective bravery, may be a contribution by Seraiah, the scribe. Out of such materials—ample and authoritative, some of them written and some of them oral—the books of Samuel appear to be made up (Bunsen, *Bibelwerk*, 2d Abth. p. 496; Karo, *De fontibus librorum quæ feruntur Samuelis*, 1862).

Another evident source from which materials have been brought is a collection of poetic compositions—some Hebrew anthology. We have, first, the song of Hannah, the mother of Samuel, which is not unlike the hymn of the Virgin recorded by Luke. That song is by no means an anachronism, as has been asserted by Hensler (*Erläuter. d. I. B. Sam.* 12), by Thenius, who supposes it written by David after his victory over Goliath, and Ewald, who regards it as a triumphal ode celebrating a successful battle over some Gentile foes. Its mention of *King* and *Messiah* is thought to betray its recent and spurious birth. The song is one of ardent gratitude to Jehovah. It portrays his sovereign dispensations; asserts the character of his government to be that he 'resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble'; and concludes with a prophetic aspiration, in pious keeping with the spirit of the theocracy, and with the great promise which it so zealously cherished (Hengstenberg, *Die Authentie des Pentat.* ii. 115). It is Messianic in spirit, and its figures are not more warlike than many other Messianic odes. Perhaps the references to King and Messiah embody the longing of the age, as it was ever portraying to itself its grand ideal—safety, peace, and life by the Anointed One so soon to have a type of himself in the two kings of Israel, on whose heads the son of Hannah was to pour the holy oil. 2 Sam. i. 18 also contains an extract from the book of Jasher—viz. a composition of the sweet singer of Israel, named 'the Song of the Bow.' Besides, there is the chorus of a poem which was sung on David's return from the slaughter of the Philistine giant (1 Sam. xviii. 7). There are also three hymns of David (2 Sam. vii. 18-29), in which the king offers up his grateful devotions to Jehovah (2 Sam. xxii.); a triumphal ode, found with some alterations in the 18th Psalm and 2 Sam. xxiii. 1-7, which preserves the last words of the 'anointed of the God of Jacob.' To these may be added the remains of a short elegy on the death of Abner (2 Sam. iii. 33, 34). Whether all these effusions, as well as the lament over David and Jonathan, were taken from Jasher, we know not. It may be that they were drawn from this common source, this national collection of the



Hebrew muse. At least some critics, who compare the long hymn found in 2 Sam. xxii., and which forms the 18th psalm, and note the variations of the text, are inclined to think that the one has not been copied from the other, but that both have been taken from a very old common source: a conjecture quite as natural as the ordinary hypothesis—namely, that David either published a second edition of his poem, or that the *varia lectiones* are the errors of transcribers. At all events the compiler of the books of Samuel has evidently used as one of his sources some collection of poetry. Such collections contain the earliest history of a nation, and they abounded among the susceptible people of the East.

But in opposition to our hypothesis it has been argued that in these books there are traces of several documents, which have been clumsily and inconsiderately put together, not only by a late but a blundering compiler. The elaborate theory of Eichhorn (*Einleit.* iii. p. 476), is similar to that which he has developed in his remarks on Chronicles—viz. that the basis of the second book of Samuel was a short life of David, which was augmented by interpolated additions. The first book of Samuel is referred by him to old written sources, but in most parts to tradition, both in the life of Samuel and Saul. Bertholdt (*Einleit.* p. 894) modifies this opinion by affirming that in the first book of Samuel there are three independent documents, chaps. i.-vii.; viii.-xvi.; xvii.-xxx.; containing respectively Samuel's history, Saul's life, and David's early biography; while in reference to the second book of Samuel, he generally admits the conjecture of Eichhorn. Gramberg (*Die Chronik*, vol. ii. p. 80) is in favour of two narratives, named by him A and B, but his theory wants even plausibility. Nor is the view of Thénius more satisfactory, though it be simpler. Such theories have little else to recommend them but the ingenious industry which framed them. It is said, however, that there are evident vestiges of two different sources being used and intermingled in Samuel; that the narrative is not continuous; especially, that it is made up of duplicate and contradictory statements. Such vestiges are alleged to be the following: In 1 Sam. x. 1, Samuel is said to have anointed Saul, whereas in x. 20-25 the prophet is described as having chosen him by lot. The reason of this twofold act we have already given in our remarks on Samuel in the preceding article. The former was God's secret election, the latter his public theocratic designation. Again, it is affirmed that two different accounts are given of the cause why the people demanded a king; the one (1 Sam. viii. 5) being the profligacy of Samuel's sons, and the other (xii. 12, 13) a menaced invasion of the Ammonites. Both accounts perfectly harmonise. The nation feared the inroads of the children of Ammon, and they felt that Samuel's sons could not command the respect and obedience of the various tribes. It was necessary to tell the old judge that his sons could not succeed him; for he might have pointed to them as future advisers and governors in the dreaded juncture.

The accounts of Saul's death are also said to differ from each other (1 Sam. xxxi. 2-6, and 2 Sam. i. 2-12). We admit the difference, the first account being the correct one, and the second being merely the invention of the cunning Amalekite, who framed the lie to gain the favour of Saul's

great rival David. It is recorded that twice did David spare Saul's life (1 Sam. xxiv. and xxvi.) The fact of the repetition of a similar deed of generosity can never surely give the narrative a legendary character. The miracle which multiplied the loaves and the fishes was twice wrought by Jesus. The same remark may be made as to the supposed double origin of the proverb, 'Is Saul also among the prophets?' In 1 Sam. x. 11 its real source is given, and in xix. 24 another reason and occasion are assigned for its national currency. Especially has great stress been laid on what are supposed to be different records of David's introduction to Saul, contained in 1 Sam. xvi. 18-22, and in the following chapter. That there is difficulty here cannot be denied; but to transpose the passages, on the supposition that David's encounter with Goliath was prior to his introduction to Saul as musician, will not remove the difficulty. For if Saul became so jealous of David's popularity as he is represented, no one of his domestics would have dared to recommend David to him as one possessed of high endowments, and able to charm away his melancholy. The Vatican MS. of the Sept. omits no less than twenty-five verses in these chapters. Yet the omission does not effect a reconciliation. Some critics—such as Houbigant, Michaelis, Dathe, and Kennicott—regard the entire passage as an interpolation. In the chapters as they stand David is first introduced to Saul as a minstrel, then as becoming a favourite of the sovereign, and being appointed one of his aides-de-camp. Now the fact of this previous introduction is alluded to in the very passage which creates the difficulty; for after, in minute Oriental fashion (Ewald, *Komposition der Genes.* p. 148), David and his genealogy are again brought before the reader, it is said, 'and David went and returned from Saul to feed his father's sheep at Bethlehem.' The only meaning this verse can have is, that David's attendance at court was not constant, especially as Saul's evil spirit may have left him. The writer who describes the combat with Goliath thus distinctly notices that David had already been introduced to Saul; nay, farther, specific allusion is again made to David's standing at court: 'And it came to pass on the morrow, that the evil spirit from God came upon Saul, and he prophesied in the midst of the house; and David played with his hand, as at other times' (1 Sam. xviii. 10). The phrase, 'as at other times,' must refer to the notices of the former chapter. Yet, after the battle, Saul is represented as being ignorant of the youth, and as inquiring after him; while Abner the general declares that he does not know the youthful hero. Can we imagine any ordinary compiler so to stultify himself as this author is supposed to have done, by intimating that David had been with Saul, and yet that Saul did not know him? It is therefore very probable that David had left Saul for some time before his engagement with Goliath; that the king's fits of gloomy insanity prevented him from obtaining correct impressions of David's form and person—the period of David's life, when the youth passes into the man, being one which is accompanied with marked change of appearance. The inquiry of Saul is also more about the young champion's parentage than about himself. Abner's vehement profession of ignorance is somewhat suspicious: 'As thy soul liveth, O king, I cannot tell;'—a response too solemn for a question so simple. We cannot pursue the investigation

farther. We would not in such a passage deny all difficulty, like Hävernicks (sec. 166), nor do we suppose that the difficulty is completely removed by any of these previous hints, yet no inconsistency can have been apparent to the compiler. The one of the accounts, however, may have been inserted in the course of transmission, and it does not seem to have been in the Codex from which the Alexandrian versionists translated. Appeal has also been made to David's two visits to Achish, king of Gath; but they happened in circumstances very dissimilar, and cannot by any means be regarded as a duplicate chronicle of the same event.

Lastly, in 1 Sam. xv. 35 it is said that 'Samuel came no more to see Saul again till the day of his death,' and the statement is supposed to contradict xix. 24, where Saul met with Samuel, and 'lay naked all day and all night before him.' The language is, 'Samuel added not to see or to visit Saul;' that is, no longer paid him any visit of friendship or ceremony, no longer sought him out to afford him counsel or aid. This declaration cannot surely be opposed to the following portion of the record, which states that Saul accidentally met Samuel; for he pursued David to Ramah, where the prophet dwelt, and so came in contact with his former benefactor. May we not therefore conclude that the compiler has not in these cases joined two narratives of opposite natures very loosely together, or overlapped them in various places; but has framed out of authoritative documents a consecutive history, not dwelling on all events with equal interest, but passing slightly over some, and formally detailing others with national relish and delight? There is, whatever their various sources—written or oral—a substantial unity in these books: Besides there are phrases peculiar to them, such as יהוה צבאות in 1 Sam. i. 3, 11, etc., and נחלת יהוה (2 Sam. xx. 19, etc.), which do not occur in the earlier books, and which seem to indicate a characteristic unity of style.

*Scope.*—The design of these books is not very different from that of the other historical treatises of the O. T. The books of Kings are a history of the nation as a theocracy; those of Chronicles have special reference to the form and ministry of the religious worship, as bearing upon its re-establishment after the return from Babylon. Samuel is more biographical, yet the theocratic element of the government is not overlooked. It is distinctly brought to view in the early chapters concerning Eli and his house, and the fortunes of the ark; in the passages which describe the change of the constitution; in the blessing which rested on the house of Obed-Edom; in the curse which fell on the Bethshemites, and Uzzah and Saul, for intrusive interference with holy things. The book shows clearly that God was a jealous God; that obedience to him secured felicity; that the nation sinned in seeking another king; that Saul's special iniquity was his impious oblivion of his station as Jehovah's vicerent, for he contemned the prophets and slew the priesthood; and that David owed his prosperity to his careful culture of the central principle of the Hebrew government.

*Relation to Kings and Chronicles.*—Samuel is distinctly referred to in Kings, and also quoted (comp. 1 Sam. ii. 33 with 1 Kings ii. 26; 2 Sam. v. 5 with 1 Kings ii. 11; 2 Sam. vii. 12 with 1 Kings ii. 4, and 1 Chron. xvii. 24, 25). The his-

tory in Kings presupposes that contained in Samuel. The opinion of Bertholdt, that the author of Chronicles did not use our books of Samuel, appears contrary to evident fact, as may be seen by a comparison of the two histories. Even Keil (*Apologetischer Versuch über die Chronik*, p. 206) supposes that the chronicler Ezra did not use the memoirs in Samuel and Kings; but Mövers, Eichhorn, Gramberg, and De Wette prove that the present books of Samuel were, among others, the sources which the chronicler drew from in the formation of a large portion of his history.

*Credibility.*—The authenticity of the history found in the books of Samuel rests on sufficient grounds. Portions of them are quoted in the N. T. (2 Sam. vii. 14, in Heb. i. 5; 1 Sam. xiii. 14, in Acts xiii. 22). References to them occur in other sections of Scripture, especially in the Psalms, to which they often afford historic illustration. It has been argued against them that they contain contradictory statements. The old objections of Hobbes, Spinoza, Simon, and Le Clerc, are well disposed of by Carpozovius (*Introductio*, p. 215; see Davidson's *Sacred Hermeneutics*, p. 541). Some of the objections of Vatke, in his *Bibl. Theol.*—cujus mentio est refutatio—are summarily disposed of by Hengstenberg (*Die Authentie des Pentat.* vol. ii. p. 115). Discrepancies in numbers, and sometimes in proper names, are the most common; and it is well known that textual errors in numeration are both most frequently and most easily committed. [DAVID; CHRONICLES; KINGS; SAUL.]

*Commentaries.*—Victorini Strigelii *Comm. in quatuor Libr. Reg. et Paralip.* 1624, folio; N. Serrarii *Comm. in libr. Josue, Jud. Ruth, Reg. et Paralip.* 1609, folio; Seb. Schmidt, *In Lib. Sam. Comm.* 1684-89, 4to; Jac. Bonfrerii *Comm. in libr. quat. Reg. etc.* 1643; Clerici *Comm. in libr. Sam.*, Opera, ii.; Jo. Drusii *Annotat. in Locos diffic. Josh. Jud. Sam.* 1618; Hensler, *Erläuterungen des I. B. Sam.* etc. 1795; Maurer, *Comment. Critic.* vol. i. 1835; Chandler's *Critical History of the Life of David*, 2 vols. 1786; *Die Bücher Samuels erklärt von Otto Thenius*, 1842; *Biblischer Commentar über d. Alte Test, Die Bücher Samuels von C. F. Keil*, 1864.—J. E.

SAMUEL B. MEIER. [RASIBAM.]

SANBALLAT (סַנְבַּלַּט; Sept. Σαναβαλλάτ),

a native of Horonaim, beyond the Jordan (Neh. ii. 10), and probably also a Moabitish chief, whom (probably from old national hatred) we find united in council with the Samaritans, and active in attempting to deter the returned exiles from fortifying Jerusalem (Neh. iv. 1, *seq.*; vi. 1, *seq.*). Subsequently, during the absence of Nehemiah in Persia, a son of Joiada, the high-priest, was married to his daughter (Neh. xiii. 28). Whether Sanballat held any public office as governor over the Moabites, or over the Samaritans, the record does not state. Such a character is usually ascribed to him on the supposed authority of a passage of Josephus, who speaks of a Sanballat, a Cuthean by birth, who was sent by the last Darius as governor of Samaria (*Antiq.* xi. 7. 2). The time assigned to this Sanballat is 120 years later than that of the Sanballat of Nehemiah, and we can only identify the one with the other by supposing that Josephus was mistaken both in the age and nation of the individual whom



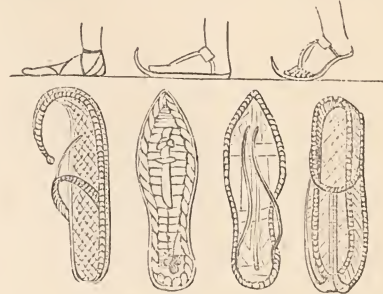
he mentions. Some admit this conclusion, as Josephus goes on to state how this person gave his daughter in marriage to a son of the high-priest, which high-priest, however, he tells us was Jaddua, in accordance with the date he has given. The son of the high-priest thus married to the daughter of Sanballat was named Manasseh, and is further stated by Josephus to have become the high-priest of the schismatic temple which his father-in-law established for the Samaritans in Mount Gerizim [SAMARITANS]. Upon the whole, as the account in Josephus is so circumstantial, it seems probable that, notwithstanding the similarity of name and other circumstances, his Sanballat is not to be understood as the same that obstructed the labours of Nehemiah. It is just possible that the Jewish historian, who does not mention this contemporary of Nehemiah purposely, on account of some similar circumstance transferred the history and name of Nehemiah's Sanballat to fill up the account of a later personage, of whose name and origin he may have been ignorant. But there is much obscurity and confusion in that part of his work in which he has lost the guidance of the canonical history, and has not acquired that of the books of Maccabees.—J. K.

SANDAL (ⲥⲏⲩ; Sept. and N. T. ὑπόδημα, *σανδάλιον*), a covering for the feet, usually denoted by the word translated 'shoe' in the A. V. It was usually a sole of hide, leather, or wood, bound on to the foot by thongs; but it may sometimes denote such shoes and buskins as eventually came into use. Thus the word ὑπόδημα, which literally means 'what is bound under,' i.e. the foot, and certainly in the first instance denoted a sandal, came to be also applied to the Roman *calceus*, or shoe covering the whole foot. Josephus (*De Bell. Jud.* vi. 1. 8) so uses it of the *caliga*, the thick nailed shoe of the Roman soldiers. This word occurs in the N. T. (Matt. iii. 11; x. 10; Mark i. 7; Luke iii. 16; x. 4; John i. 27; Acts vii. 33; xiii. 25), and is also frequently used by the Sept. as a translation of the Hebrew term; but it appears in most places to denote a sandal. Hence the word rendered 'shoe-latchet' (Gen. xiv. 23, and in most of the texts just cited) means properly a sandal thong.

Ladies of rank appear to have paid great attention to the beauty of their sandals (Cant. vii. 1); though, if the bride in that book was an Egyptian princess, as some suppose, the exclamation, 'How beautiful are thy feet with sandals, O prince's daughter!' may imply admiration of a luxury properly Egyptian, as the ladies of that country were noted for their sumptuous sandals (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* iii. 364). But this taste was probably general; for, at the present day, the dress slippers of ladies of rank are among the richest articles of their attire, being elaborately embroidered with flowers and other figures wrought in silk, silver, and gold.

It does not seem probable that the sandals of the Hebrews differed much from those used in Egypt, excepting, perhaps, that from the greater roughness of their country, they were usually of more substantial make and materials. The Egyptian sandals varied slightly in form: those worn by the upper classes, and by women, were usually pointed and turned up at the end, like our skates, and many of the Eastern slippers at the

present day. They were made of a sort of woven or interlaced work of palm-leaves and papyrus-stalks, or other similar materials, and sometimes of leather; and were frequently lined with cloth, on which the figure of a captive was painted; that humiliating position being considered suited to the enemies of their country, whom they hated



460. Ancient Egyptian Sandals.

and despised. It is not likely that the Jews adopted this practice; but the idea which it expressed, of treading their enemies under their feet, was familiar to them (Josh. x. 24). Those of the middle classes who were in the habit of wearing sandals often preferred walking barefooted. Shoes, or low boots, are sometimes found at Thebes; but these are believed by Sir J. G. Wilkinson to have been of late date, and to have belonged to Greeks, since no persons are represented in the paintings as wearing them, except foreigners. They were of leather, generally of a green colour, laced in front by thongs, which passed through small loops on either side, and were principally used, as in Greece and Etruria, by women (Wilkinson, iii. 364-367).



461. Greek and Roman Sandals.

In transferring a possession or domain, it was customary to deliver a sandal (Ruth iv. 7), as in our middle ages a glove. Hence the action of throwing down a shoe upon a region or territory, was a symbol of occupancy. So Ps. lx. 10: 'Upon the land of Edom do I cast my sandal;' i.e. I possess, occupy it, claim it as my own. In Ruth, as above, the delivering of a sandal signified that the next of kin transferred to another a sacred obligation; and he was hence called 'sandal-loosed.' A sandal thong (Gen. xiv. 23),

or even sandals themselves (Amos ii. 6; viii. 6), are put for anything worthless or of little value; which is perfectly intelligible to those who have witnessed the extemporaneous manner in which a man will shape two pieces of hide, and fasten them with thongs to the soles of his feet—thus fabricating in a few minutes a pair of sandals which would be dear at a penny.

It was undoubtedly the custom to take off the sandals on holy ground, in the act of worship, and in the presence of a superior. Hence the command to take the sandals from the feet under such circumstances (Exod. iii. 5; Josh. v. 15). This is still the well-known custom of the East—an Oriental taking off his shoe in cases in which a European would remove his hat. The shoes of the modern Orientals are, however, made to slip off easily, which was not the case with sandals, that required to be unbound with some trouble. This operation was usually performed by servants; and hence the act of unloosing the sandals of another became a familiar symbol of servitude (Mark i. 7; Luke iii. 16; John i. 27; Acts xiii. 25). So also when a man's sandals had been removed, they were usually left in charge of a servant. In some of the Egyptian paintings, servants are represented with their master's sandals on their arm: it thus became another conventional mark of a servile condition, to bear the sandals of another (Matt. iii. 11).—J. K.

**SANHEDRIM** or **SANHEDRIN** (סנהדרין), more properly *Synhedrium* or *Synedrium* (=συνέδριον), as it is called in the N. T. (Matt. v. 22; xxvi. 59; Mark xiv. 55; xv. 1; Luke xxii. 66; John xi. 47; Acts iv. 15; v. 21, 27, 34; vi. 12, 15; xxii. 30; xxiii. 1, 6, 15, 20, 28; xxiv. 20), and by Josephus (*Vita*, xii. 4; *Antiq.* xiv. 9. 3) apocopated סנהדרין, plural סנהדריות, the supreme council of the Jewish nation in and before the time of Christ. As there were two kinds of Synedria—viz. the supreme or metropolitan Sanhedrim, called סנהדרין גדולה, *the Great Sanhedrim* (*Mishna Horajoth*, i. 5); and provincial councils called סנהדרין קטנה, *the Small Sanhedrim* (*Mishna, ibid.*)—differing in constitution and jurisdiction from each other, we shall describe their respective organisation and functions separately.

#### I. THE GREAT SANHEDRIM OR THE SUPREME COUNCIL.

1. *Number of Members and their Classification.*—The Great Sanhedrim, or *the supreme court of justice* (בית דין הגדול) as it is called (*Mishna Horajoth*, i. 5; *Sanhedrin*, xi. 4), or *בית דין*, *the court of justice, the judgment-hall*, because it was the highest ecclesiastical and civil tribunal, consisted of seventy-one members (*Mishna Sanhedrin*, i. 5, 6; ii. 4; *Shetnoth*, ii. 2). These members represented three classes of the nation—viz. i. *The priests*, who were represented by their chiefs, called in the Bible *the chief priests* (ראשי הכהנים = πάντες οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς), of whom there were most probably four and twenty (1 Chron. xxiv. 4, 6; with Matt. xxvii. 1; John vii. 32; xi. 47; xii. 10); ii. *The elders*, זקנים = πρεσβύτεροι (Matt. xvi. 21; xxi. 23; xxvi. 3, 47, 57, 59; xxvii. 1, 3, 12, 20, 41; xxviii. 12; Mark viii. 31; xi. 27; xiv. 43, 53; Luke ix. 22; xx. 1; xxii. 52; John viii. 9; Acts iv. 5, 23; vi.

12; xxiii. 14; xxv. 15); also called *the elders of the people* (ἀρχοντες τοῦ λαοῦ, Acts iv. 8 with ver. 5), because they were the heads of the families and tribes of the people, for which reason πρεσβύτεροι and ἀρχοντες are also synecdochically used for βουλή and συνέδριον (Luke xxiii. 13; xxiv. 20; Acts iii. 17, etc.) These elders, who most probably were also twenty-four in number (Rev. iv. 4), were the representatives of the laity, or the people generally; and iii. *The scribes or lawyers* (סופרים=γραμματεῖς [SCRIBES]), who, as the interpreters of the law in ecclesiastical and civil matters, represented that particular portion of the community which consisted of the literary laity, and most probably were twenty-two in number. As the chief priests, elders, and scribes, constituted the supreme court, these three classes are frequently employed in the N. T. as a periphrasis for the word Sanhedrim (Matt. xxvi. 3, 57, 59; xxvii. 41; Mark viii. 31; xi. 27; xiv. 43, 53; xv. 1; Luke ix. 22; xx. 1; xxii. 66; Acts v. 21; vi. 12; xxii. 30; xxv. 15); whilst St. John, who does not at all mention the Sadducees, uses the term Pharisees to denote *the Sanhedrim* (i. 24; iv. 1; viii. 3; xi. 46, etc.)

2. *Qualification and Recognition of Members.*—The qualifications for membership were both very minute and very numerous. The applicant had to be morally and physically blameless. He had to be middle-aged, tall, good-looking, wealthy, learned both in the divine law and diverse branches of profane science—such as medicine, mathematics, astronomy, magic, idolatry, etc.—in order that he might be able to judge in these matters. He was required to know several languages, so that the Sanhedrim might not be dependent upon an interpreter in case any foreigner or foreign question came before them (*Menachoth*, 65 a; *Sanhedrin*, 17 a; Maimonides, *Iad Ha-chezaka, Hilchoth Sanhedrin*, ii. 1-8). Very old persons, proselytes, eunuchs, and Nethinim, were ineligible because of their idiosyncracies, nor could such candidates be elected as had no children, because they could not sympathise with domestic affairs (*Mishna Horajoth*, i. 4; *Sanhedrin*, 36 b), nor those who could not prove that they were the legitimate offspring of a priest, Levite, or Israelite, who played dice, lent money on usury, flew pigeons to entice others, or dealt in produce of the Sabbatical year (*Mishna Sanhedrin*, iii. 3). In addition to all these qualifications, a candidate for the Great Sanhedrim was required, first of all, to have been a judge in his native town, to have been transferred from there to the Small Sanhedrim, which sat at the temple mount, or at its entrance (or פתח הר הבית, thence again to have been advanced to the second Small Sanhedrim, which sat at the entrance of the temple hall (פתח העזרה or היל), before he could be received as member of the seventy-one (*Sanhedrin*, 32 a, 88 b; Maimonides, *Iad Ha-chezaka, Hilchoth Sanhedrin*, ii. 8).

The ordination took place when the candidate was first appointed judge in his native place. In olden days every ordained teacher could ordain his disciples; afterwards, however, the sages conferred this honour upon Hillel I., B.C. 30; it was then decreed that no one should be ordained without the permission of the president of the Sanhedrim (נשיא), that the president and the vice-president should not ordain in the absence of each other, but that both should be present, and that any other member may ordain with the permission of the



president and the assistance of two non-ordained persons, as no ordination was valid if it was effected by less than three persons (*Mishna Sanhedrin*, i. 3). The ordination was effected, not by the laying on of hands on the head of the elder, but by their calling him rabbi, and saying to him, 'Behold thou art ordained, and hast authority to judge even cases which involve pecuniary fines' (כַּנְדָּר).

היא הסמיכה לדורות. לא שסמכו ידיו על ראש חזקן אלא שקורין לו רבי ואומרים לו הרי את סמוך ויש לך רשות לרון אפילו דיני קנסות, Maimonides, *ibid.* iv. 1-4).

The Sanhedrim was presided over by a president called *Nasi* (נָשִׂיא) = prince, patriarch, and a vice-president styled רִבִּי בֵּית דִּין אֲבִי, the father of the house of judgment. The power of electing these high officials was vested in the corporate assembly of members, who conferred these honours upon those of their number who were most distinguished for wisdom and piety. The king was the only one disqualified for the presidential throne, because according to the Jewish law it is forbidden to differ from him, or to contradict his statement; but the high-priest might be elected patriarch provided he had the necessary qualifications (*Sanhedrin*, 18 b; Maimonides, *Jad Ha-Chazaka, Hilchoth Sanhedrin*, ii. 3). After the death of Hillel I., however, the presidency became hereditary in his family for thirteen generations. [EDUCATION; HILLEL I.] The functions of the *Nasi* or the Patriarch were more especially external. Being second to the king, the *Nasi* represented the civil and religious interests of the Jewish nation before the Roman government abroad, and before the different Jewish congregations at home; whilst in the Sanhedrim itself he was simply the reciting and first teacher. The vice-president, on the other hand, had his sphere of labour more especially within the Sanhedrim. It was his office to lead and control their discussions on disputed points. Hence his appellation, 'Father of the House of Judgment.' Next to the vice-president, or the third in rank in the Sanhedrim, was the חֹכֵם, sage, referee, whose office it was to hear and examine the pending subject in all its bearings, and then to bring it before the court for discussion. This dignity we first meet with under the presidency of Gamaliel II., the teacher of the apostle Paul [GAMALIEL], and his son Simon II. (*Horajoth*, 13; *Tosephta Sanhedrin*, cap. vii.; Frankel, *Monatschrift*, i. 348). Besides these high functionaries there were sundry servants not members of the seventy-one, such as two judges' scribes (סוֹפְרֵי הַדִּינִין), or notaries, one of whom registered the reasons for acquittal, and the other the reasons for condemnation (*Mishna Sanhedrin*, iv. 3); and other menial officials, denominated שְׂטָרִים שְׂטָרִים בית דין, = ὑπηρέτης, πράκτωρ (Matt. v. 25; xxvi. 58; Mark xiv. 54, 65; Luke xii. 58; John vii. 32, 45; xviii. 3, 12, 18, 22; xix. 6; Acts v. 22, 26; xxiii. 2, etc.).

3. Place, time, and order in which the sessions were held.—There seems not to have been any prescribed place for holding the sessions in the early part of the Sanhedrim's existence. In all probability they were held in some place adjoining the temple, as the neighbourhood of the sanctuary was deemed specially appropriate for the solemn assemblies which had to decide upon the most momentous questions affecting life and death, time

and eternity. It was Simon b. Shetach (B.C. 110-65) who built the Hall of Squares (לְשַׁבֵּת הַמִּנְיֹת), where both the Sanhedrim and the priests permanently held their meetings. This basilica, the floor of which was made of hewn square stones—whence its name (*Joma*, 25 a)—was situate in the centre of the south side of the temple court, the northern part extending to the court of the priests (קֹדֶשׁ), and the southern part to the court of the Israelites (חול); it was thus lying between these two courts, and had doors into both of them (*Mishna Sanhedrin*, xi. 2; *Pea*, iii. 6; *Middoth*, v. 3, 4; Herzfeld, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, i. 394, ff.; Jost, *Geschichte des Judenthums*, i. 145, 275). This hall henceforth became the prescribed court for the sessions of the Sanhedrim. The assembling of the Sanhedrim in the high-priest's house was illegal. Equally illegal was the assumption of the presidency by this sacerdotal functionary over this supreme court recorded in the N. T. (Matt. xxvi. 3; Acts v. 21, 27; xxiii. 2), as Gamaliel I. was then the legitimate president (*Pesachim*, 88 b; [EDUCATION]). When it is remembered that this sacred office was at that time venial, and that the high-priest was the creature of the Romans, this priestly arrogance will not be matter of surprise. Forty years before the destruction of the temple [*i.e.* while the Saviour was teaching in Palestine] the sessions of the Sanhedrim were removed from the Hall of Squares to the Halls of Purchase'

מִשְׁנָה עַד שְׁלֹא חָרַב הַבֵּית גָּלְתָה לֵה סְנַהֲדְרִין וַיִּשְׁבְּהוּ (מִשְׁנָה עַד שְׁלֹא חָרַב הַבֵּית גָּלְתָה לֵה סְנַהֲדְרִין וַיִּשְׁבְּהוּ), *Sabbath*, 15 a; *Aboda Sara*, 8 b), on the east side of the temple mount.

The Sanhedrim sat every day from the termination of the daily morning sacrifice till the daily evening sacrifice, with the exception of the Sabbath and festivals, when they retired to the synagogue on the temple mount and delivered lectures (*Sanhedrin*, 88 b; Maimonides, *Jad Ha-Chazaka, Hilchoth Sanhedrin*, iii. 1). The order in which they sat was as follows:—The president (נָשִׂיא) sat in an elevated seat; on his right hand sat the vice-president (רִבִּי בֵּית דִּין אֲבִי), and at his left the *Chacham* (חֹכֵם), or Referee; whilst the members, seated on low cushions, with their knees bent and crossed in the Oriental fashion, were arranged according to their age and learning in a semicircle—so that they could see each other, and all of them be seen by the president and vice-president. The two notaries stood before them, one to the right and the other to the left. Before them sat three rows of disciples

(תַּלְמִידֵי חֻכְמִים), in places appropriate to their respective attainments. From the first of these rows the ranks of the judges were always filled up, when those of the second row took their seat in the first, those of the third took the seats of the second, whilst members of the congregation generally were selected to fill the lowest places vacated in the third row (*Mishna Sanhedrin*, iii. 3, 4; Maimonides, *ibid.* i. 3). Under ordinary circumstances all the seventy-one members were not required to be present in their seats, so that most of them could attend to their business, since twenty-three members formed a quorum. Less than this number during any part of the session was illegal. Hence before one could go out he was obliged to look round in order to ascertain that there was the legal quorum without him (*Sanhedrin*, 88 b; *Tosiphta Shekalim*, at the end; Maimonides, *Hilchoth Sanhedrin*, iii. 2).



4. *Jurisdiction of the Sanhedrim.*—Being both legislative and administrative, the functions of the Sanhedrim in the theocracy extended to the institution of ordinances and the definition of disputed points in ecclesiastical matters, as well as to the adjudication of ecclesiastical and secular questions, including even political matters. The tribunal had in the first place to interpret the divine law, and to determine the extension or limitation of its sundry enactments, inasmuch as the members of the Sanhedrim were not only the most skilled in the written word of God, but were the bearers of the oral law which was transmitted to them by their predecessors, and which they again in succession handed down to the other members of this body. Thus the Sanhedrim had—i. To watch over the purity and legality of the priests who ministered in holy things. For this purpose they appointed trustworthy persons to keep family registers (כפר יוחסין, *genealogies*) of the priests in Egypt, Babylon, and in all places where the Jews resided, stating the names, and giving all the particulars both of the head of the family and all his male descendants, and to supply every priest with such a document attested by the Sanhedrim, inasmuch as those priests who could not prove that they were not the issue of proscribed marriages were disqualified for ministering in holy things, and were ordered to divest themselves of their sacerdotal robes and put on mourning (*Mishna Sanhedrin*, i. 5; *Middoth* v. 4; *Bechoroth*, 45 a; *Tosephta Chagiga*, cap. ii.; *Joseph. Cont. Apion.* i. 7). ii. To try cases of unchastity on the part of priests' daughters, and married women who were accused by their husbands of infidelity, which were questions of life and death (*Mishna Sota*, i. 4; *Sanhedrin*, 52 a). iii. To watch over the religious life of the nation, and to try any tribe which was accused of having departed from the living God to serve idols (*Sanhedrin*, i. 5). iv. To bring to trial false prophets or any heretic who promulgated doctrines contrary to the tenets of the Scribes or the Sanhedrim (דברי סופרים): 'Such an one is not to be executed by the tribunal of his native place, nor by the tribunal at Jabne, but by the supreme court of Jerusalem; he is to be kept till the forthcoming festival, and to be executed on the festival

(וממיתין אותו ברגל), as it is written (Deut. xvii. 13). 'and the people shall hear and fear, and do no more presumptuously' (*Mishna Sanhedrin*, xi. 3, 4; comp. also Matt. xxvi. 65; xxvii. 63; John xix. 7; Acts iv. 2; v. 28; vi. 13). In accordance with this is the remark of our Saviour: 'It cannot be that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem' (Luke xiii. 33, with *Joseph. Antig.* xiv. 9. 3). v. To see that neither the king nor the high-priest should act contrary to the law of God. Thus the Talmud tells us that Alexander Jannæus was summoned before the Sanhedrim to witness the trial of his servant who had committed murder (B. C. 80), under the presidency of Simon b. Shetach (*Sanhedrin*, 19 a), and we know that Herod had to appear before this tribunal to answer for his conduct (*Joseph. Antig.* xiv. 9. 4). vi. To determine whether a war with any nation contemplated by the king is to be waged, and to give the sovereign permission to do so (*Sanhedrin*, i. 5; ii. 4). vii. To decide whether the boundaries of the holy city or the precincts of the temple are to be enlarged, inasmuch as it was only by the decision of the Sanhedrim that these additions

could be included in the consecrated ground (*ibid.* i. 5; *Shebuoth*, 14 a). viii. To appoint the provincial Sanhedrim, or courts of justice (*Sanhedrin*, i. 5; *Gemara, ibid.* 63 b; *Tosephta Sanhedrin*, cap. vii.; *ibid. Chagiga*, cap. ii.; *Jerusalem Sanhedrin*, i. 1, p. 19 b). ix. To regulate the calendar and harmonise the solar with the lunar year by appointing intercalary days (*Sanhedrin*, 10 b). This jurisdiction of the Sanhedrim was recognised by all the Jews both in Palestine and in foreign lands (Acts ix. 2; xxvi. 10; with *Mishna Manoth*, vi. 10; *Tosephta Sanhedrin*, cap. vii.; *Chagiga*, cap. ii.) Thereby this supreme court secured unity of faith and uniformity of practice.

5. *Mode of conducting trials, punishments, etc.*—The humane and benevolent feelings of the Pharisees towards the people whom they represented [PHARISEES] were especially seen in their administration of the law. They always acted upon the principle that the accused was innocent till he could be proved guilty. Hence they always manifested an anxiety in their mode of conducting the trial to clear the arraigned rather than secure his condemnation, especially in matters of life and death. Their axiom was that 'the Sanhedrim is to save, not to destroy life' (*Sanhedrin*, 42 b). Hence no man could be tried and condemned in his absence (John vii. 51); and when the accused was brought before the tribunal, the president of the Sanhedrim at the very outset of the trial solemnly admonished the witnesses, pointing out to them the preciousness of human life, and earnestly beseeching them carefully and calmly to reflect whether they had not overlooked some circumstances which might favour the innocence of the accused (*Sanhedrin*, 37 a). Even the attendants were allowed to take part in the discussion, if a mild sentence could thereby be procured; whilst those members of the Sanhedrim who during the debate once expressed themselves in favour of acquitting the accused, could not any more give their votes for his condemnation at the end of the trial. The taking of the votes always began from the junior member and gradually went on to the senior, in order that the lowest members might not be influenced by the opinion of the highest (*ibid.* 32 a). In capital offences, it required a majority of at least two to condemn the accused, and when the trial was before a quorum of twenty-three, or before the *Small Sanhedrim*, which consisted of this number, thirteen members had to declare for the guilt (*Mishna Sanhedrin*, iv. 1; *Gemara, ibid.* 2 a, 40 a). In trials of capital offences, the verdict of acquittal could be given on the same day, but that of guilty had to be reserved for the following day; for which reason such trials could not commence on the day preceding the Sabbath or a festival. No criminal trial could be carried through in the night (*Mishna Sanhedrin*, iv. 1; *Gemara, ibid.* 32). The judges who condemned a criminal to death had to fast all day (*Sanhedrin*, 63 a). The condemned was not executed the same day on which the sentence was passed; but the votes *pro* and *con.* having been taken by the two notaries, the members of the Sanhedrim assembled together on the following day to examine the discussion, and to see whether there was any contradiction on the part of the judges (*Mishna Sanhedrin*, iv. 1; *Gemara, ibid.* 39 a). If on the way to execution the criminal remembered that he had something fresh to adduce in his favour, he was



led back to the tribunal, and the validity of his statement was examined. If he himself could say nothing more, a herald preceded him as he was led to the place of execution, and exclaimed, 'A, son of B, has been found guilty of death, because he committed such and such a crime according to the testimony of B and C; if any one knows anything to clear him, let him come forward and declare it' (*Mishna Sanhedrin*, vi. 1). Clemency and humanity, however, were manifested towards him even when his criminality was beyond the shadow of a doubt, and when the law had to take its final course. Before his execution, a stupefying beverage was administered to the condemned by pious women to deprive him of consciousness, and lessen the pain (*Sanhedrin*, 43 a, with Matt. xxvii. 48; Mark xv. 23, 36; Luke xxiii. 36; John xix. 29, 30). The property of the executed was not confiscated, but passed over to his heirs (*Sanhedrin*, 48 b). The only exception to this leniency was one who gave himself out as the Messiah, or who led the people astray from the doctrines of their fathers (כּוֹסֵית וּמְרִידָה = πλάνους; Matt. xxvii. 63; Luke xiii. 33; Acts iv. 2; v. 28). Such an one had to endure all the rigours of the law without any mitigation (*Sanhedrin*, 36 b; 67 a). He could even be tried and condemned the same day or in the night (*Tosephta Sanhedrin*, x.; Matt. xxvii. 1, 2).

As to the different punishments which the Sanhedrim had the power to inflict, though they were commensurate with the gravity of the offences which fell within their jurisdiction to try, and embraced both corporeal (Acts v. 40; *Mishna Maimonides*, iii. 1-5) and capital punishments, yet even this supreme court was restricted to four modes of taking life—viz. by stoning, burning, beheading,

and strangling (סְקִילָה שְׂרִיפָה הֶרֶג וְחָנָק). These four modes of execution were the only legal ones among the Jews from time immemorial (*Mishna Sanhedrin*, vii. 1), and could be inflicted either by the Great Sanhedrim or by the Small Sanhedrim. According to the Gospel of St. John, however, the Jews declare (ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐξουσίαν ἔχομεν θάνατον δοῦναι), 'It is not lawful for us to put any man to death' (xviii. 31); which agrees with the remark in the Jerusalem Talmud (הֵנִי קָדֵם לְאַרְבָּאִים שָׁנָה עַד שְׁלֵא חֲרַב) תְּנִי קָדֵם לְאַרְבָּאִים שָׁנָה עַד שְׁלֵא חֲרַב) that 'forty years before the destruction of the temple the power of inflicting capital punishment was taken away from Israel' (*Sanhedrin*, i. beginning; vii. 2, p. 24).

But this simply means that without the confirmation of the sentence on the part of the Roman procurator, the Jews had not the power to carry the sentence of the Sanhedrim into execution. This is not only confirmed by Josephus, who tells us that the Pharisees complained to the procurator Albinus about the assumption to execute capital punishment on the part of the Sadducean high-priest (*Antiq.* xx. 9. 1), but by the appeal of St. Paul to the chief captain (Acts xxii. 25-30), and especially by the whole manner in which the trial of Jesus was conducted. The stoning of Stephen (Acts vii. 54, etc.) was the illegal act of an enraged multitude.

## II. THE SMALL SANHEDRIM.

i. *Members, Constitution, etc.*—This judicial court consisted of twenty-three members, who were appointed by the Great Sanhedrim (*Mishna Sanhedrin*, i. 5, 6), and a president (כּוֹפֵלָא, *excellency*)

as their head (*Mishna Sanhedrin*, i. 6; *Horajoth*, 4 b). They had the power not only to judge civil cases, but also such capital offences as did not come within the jurisdiction of the supreme court (*Mishna, ibid.* i. 4; iv. 1). Such provincial courts were appointed in every town or village which had not less than 120 representative men (מַעֲמִידִין)—i.e. 23 judges, three ranks of disciples of 23 persons each (=69), 10 constant attendants in the

synagogue (עֵשְׂרָה בַּטְלָנִין שֶׁל בֵּית הַכְּנֶסֶת), 2 judges' notaries, the one to write down the arguments for and the other the arguments against the accused's innocence; 2 court-servants to administer the forty stripes save one, and to wait upon the judges; 2 judges, 2 witnesses, 2 counter-witnesses, 2 witnesses to gainsay the counter-witnesses, 2 almoners, and 1 additional to distribute the alms, 1 physician, 1 scribe (לְבַלֵּי), and 1 schoolmaster for children, in all 120 (*Sanhedrin*, 17 b; Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chesaka*, *Hilchoth Sanhedrin*, i. 10).

ii. *Place, Time, and Order in which the Sessions were held.*—In the provinces these courts of justice were at first held in the market-place, but afterwards in a room adjoining the synagogue (*Jerusalem Sanhedrin*, i. 1; *Baba Mezia*, li. 8), for the same reason which made the Great Sanhedrim hold their sittings in the Hall of Squares, in the inner court of the Temple. They sat every Monday and Thursday, being market-days (*Baba Rema*, 82 a; *Kathuboth*, 3 a), from the termination of morning prayer till the sixth hour (Maimonides, *Hilchoth Sanhedrin*, iii. 1). The order in which they were ranged was the same as that of the Great Sanhedrim. There were two of these lesser courts of justice in Jerusalem itself; one sat at the entrance to the Temple Mount (פֶּתַח הַר הַבַּיִת, הַר בֵּית) and the other at the entrance to the Temple Hall (פֶּתַח הַעֲזָרָה), *Mishna Sanhedrin*, ix. 2), which on special occasions met together with the Great Sanhedrim (*Sanhedrin*, 88 b). There was no appeal to the Great Sanhedrim against the decision of this lesser Sanhedrim. Only when the opinion of the judges was divided did they themselves consult with the supreme court. The stripes to which offenders were sentenced were given in the synagogue by the officer already mentioned (Mark xiii. 9 with Matt. x. 17, xxiii. 34), and it is evidently to such a local Sanhedrim that reference is made in Matt. v. 22, x. 17; Mark xiii. 9.

Besides these two courts there was also one consisting of three judges. Within the jurisdiction of this court came suits for debts, robbery, bodily injuries, compensation for damages; thefts which involved a twofold, fourfold, or fivefold value to the proprietor (Exod. xxii. 1-9); rapes, seduction, slander, and all minor offences (*Mishna Sanhedrin*, i. 1-3; iii. 1). There were in Jerusalem alone 390 such Sanhedrim.

## III. ORIGIN, DEVELOPMENT, AND EXTINCTION OF THE SANHEDRIM.

According to the most ancient Jewish tradition, the Sanhedrim was instituted by Moses, when he appointed, according to the command of God, seventy elders, who, together with him as their president, were to act as magistrates and judges (Num. xi. 16-24), thus constituting the first Sanhedrim with its seventy-one members (*Mishna Sanhedrin*, i. 6; *Gemara, ibid.* 2). Hence the so-called Jerusalem Targum paraphrases Exod.



xv. 27, 'And they came to Elim, and there were there twelve fountains of water, answering to the twelve tribes of Israel, and seventy palm-trees, answering to the seventy elders of the Sanhedrim of Israel,' whilst the other Chaldee versions express the judicial courts and colleges of the remotest antiquity by the name Sanhedrim (comp. Targum, Is. xxviii. 6; Ruth iii. 11; iv. 1; Ps. cxl. 10; Eccles. xii. 12). Hence, too, the offices of president and vice-president are traced to Moses (*Jerusalem Sota*, ix. 10); in the time of the kings, we are assured, Saul was president of the Sanhedrim in his reign, and his son Jonathan was vice-president (*Moed Katon*, 26 a); and these two functions continued during the time of the later prophets (*Pea*, 2 b; *Nasir*, 56 b; *Tosephta Jadajim*, cap. 11). The Chaldee paraphrase on the Song of Songs tells us that the Sanhedrim existed even in the Babylonish captivity, and that it was reorganised by Ezra immediately after the return from the exile (comp. Song of Songs vi. 1). But though this view has also been entertained by some of the most learned Christian scholars (ex. gr. Selden, Leusden, Grotius, Reland), and though allusion is made in Jeremiah (xxvi. 8, 16) to the several distinct classes which we afterwards find constituting the Sanhedrim, whilst Ezekiel (viii. 11, etc.) actually mentions the existence of seventy elders in his time; yet there seems to be little doubt that this supreme court as it existed during the second temple developed itself in the Greek rule over Palestine. This is corroborated by the following reasons:—*i.* The historical books of the Bible are perfectly silent about the existence of such a tribunal. *ii.* The prophets, who again and again manifest such zeal for justice and righteous judgment, never mention this court of justice, but always refer the administration of the law to the ruling monarch and the magnates of the land, thus showing that this central administration belongs to the period of the second temple. *iii.* The name *συνέδριον, συνεδρεύειν*, by which it has come down to us, points to the fact that this synod originated during the Macedonian supremacy in Palestine. It is true that Josephus does not mention the Sanhedrim before the conquest of Judaea by Pompeius (B.C. 63); but the very fact that it had such power in the time of Hyrcanus II. as to summon Herod to answer for his unjust conduct (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 9. 4), shows that it must then have been a very old institution to have acquired such development and authority. Hence Frankel rightly remarks: 'Upon more minute examination, we find that the chronicler gives a pretty plain sketch of the Great Sanhedrim, as he mentions the existence in Jerusalem of a supreme court consisting of priests, Levites, and heads of families, with the high-priest as president (2 Chron. xix. 8, 11). . . . Now the chronicler, as Zunz has shown (*Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge*, p. 32), lived about the beginning of the 2d century of the Seleucidæan era, so that at that time the Sanhedrim did already exist, and its beginning is to be placed at the period in which Asia was convulsed by Alexander and his successors of the Ptolemean and Seleucidæan dynasties. Palestine, too, felt deeply the consequences of these recent convulsions, and to preserve its internal religious independence it required a thoroughly organised body to watch over both its doctrines and rights. This body manifested itself in the Sanhedrim, at the head of which was the

high-priest, as is seen from Ecclesiasticus iv. 4, 5, and 2 Chronicles xix. 8, 11. The Sanhedrim seems to have been dissolved in the time of the Maccabean revolt in consequence of the unworthy high-priests (comp. 2 Maccab.); but it was reconstructed after the overthrow of the Syrian yoke. As the people, however, were unwilling to leave the whole power in the hands of the Maccabees, who were already princes and high-priests, they henceforth placed at the head of the Sanhedrim a president (*נשיא*) and a vice-president' (*אב בית דין*), *Der gerichtliche Beweis*, p. 68, note). This is moreover corroborated by the traditional chain of presidents and vice-presidents, which are uninterruptedly traced from Jose b. Jozer (B.C. 170), as well as by the statement that with Simon the Just terminated the Great Synagogue (*Abot*, i. 2), from which the Sanhedrim developed itself. The transition from the Great Synagogue to the Great Sanhedrim is perfectly natural. 'The Macedonian conqueror,' as Frankel justly states (*Programm*, p. 6, 1834), 'with all his clemency towards Palestine, which resisted him so long and so obstinately, effected changes in the internal government of the people, and dissolved the Great Synagogue, which to a certain extent conferred independence and a republican constitution upon the land. The people, however, valued highly their old institutions, and would not relinquish them. Hence most probably in the confusions which broke out after Alexander's death, when the attention of the fighting chiefs could not be directed towards Palestine, the Supreme Court was formed anew, assuming the name Synhedrion, which was a common appellation among the Greeks for a senate.' It was this development of the Great Sanhedrim from the Great Synagogue which accounts for the similarity of the two names (*סנהדרין*)

(*גדולה, כנסת הגדולה*). After the destruction of Jerusalem, when the holy city was no longer adapted to be the centre of religious administration, R. Jochanan b. Zakkai transferred the seat of the Sanhedrim to Jabne or Jamina (A.D. 68-80); it was thence transferred to Usha (*Kethuboth*, 49; *Sabbath*, 15; *Kosh Ha-Shana*, 15 b), under the presidency of Gamaliel II. b. Simon II. (A.D. 80-116), conveyed back to Jabne and again to Usha; to Shafran under the presidency of Simon III. b. Gamaliel II. (A.D. 140-163), to Beth-Shearim and Sapphoris under the presidency of Jehudah I. the Holy, b. Simon III. (A.D. 163-193, comp. *Kethuboth*, 103 b; *Nida*, 27 a), and finally to Tiberias under the presidency of Gamaliel III. b. Jehudah I. (A.D. 193-220), where it became more of a consistory, but still retaining under the presidency of Jehudah II. b. Simon III. (A.D. 220-270) the power of excommunication in case any Israelite refused to abide by its decisions; whilst under the presidency of Gamaliel IV. b. Jehudah II. (A.D. 270-300), it dropped the appellation Sanhedrim, and the authoritative decisions were issued under the name *בית המדרש*. Gamaliel VI. (A.D. 400-425) was the last president. With the death of this patriarch, who was executed by Theodosius II. for erecting new synagogues contrary to the imperial inhibition, the title of *Nasi* (*נשיא*), the last remains of the ancient Sanhedrim, became wholly extinct in the year 425 [EDUCATION]. It was with reference to this Supreme Court that Christ chose seventy disciples (Luke x. 1), answering to the seventy senators



composing the Sanhedrim, just as he chose twelve apostles with reference to the twelve tribes of Israel (Matt. xix. 28; Luke xxii. 30), to indicate thereby to the Jews that the authority of their supreme religious court was now taken away and was vested in the seventy of his own choice, and over which he himself was the president and supreme Lord.

*Literature.*—*Mishna Sanhedrin* and the *Gemara* on this Tractate; excerpts of the *Gemara* Tractate *Sanhedrin* have been translated into Latin with elaborate notes by John Coch, Amsterdam 1629; Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chezaka, Hilchoth Sanhedrin*; Selden, *De Synedriis et Praefecturis Juridicis veterum Ebraeorum*, London 1650; Lunz, *Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, p. 37, ff., Berlin 1832; *Israelitische Annalen*, vol. i. pp. 108, 131, ff., Frankfurt-on-the-Maine 1839; Frankel, *Der gerichtliche Beweis nach mosaisch-talmudischem Rechte*, p. 68, ff., Berlin 1846; Rapaport, *Erech Millin*, p. 2, Prague 1852; Frankel, *Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, vol. i. p. 344, ff.; Levy in Frankel's *Monatschrift*, vol. iv. pp. 266 ff., 301 ff., Leipzig 1855; Herzfeld, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. ii. p. 380, ff., Nordhausen 1855; Krochmal in the Hebrew Essays and Reviews entitled *He-Chalutz*, vol. iii. p. 118 ff., Lemberg 1856; Jost, *Geschichte des Judenthums und seiner Secten*, vol. i. pp. 123 ff., 270 ff., Leipzig 1857; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, p. 88 ff., 2d ed., Leipzig 1863; comp. also this *Cyclopaedia*, article EDUCATION, where all the presidents and vice-presidents of the Sanhedrim are given in chronological order; and SYNAGOGUE, THE GREAT, where the development of the Sanhedrim from this institution is traced.—C. D. G.

SANSANNAH (סַנְסַנָּה), a town mentioned as belonging to the Simeonites (Josh. xv. 31). In ch. xix. 5 and 1 Chron. iv. 31, for it and Madmannah, with which it is here classed, we have Hazar-susah (*Horse-village*), and Beth-Marcaboth (*House of Chariots*). These are probably descriptive titles of the places whose names are given in Josh. xv. 31. Neither has been identified. The Onomasticon makes Madmannah a hamlet called *Μηραοῖς*, near Gaza; but it identifies Madmannah with Madmena (Is. x. 31), which is a mistake (s. v. *Medemena*).—W. L. A.

SAPHIR, properly SHAPHIR (שָׁפִיר), a town mentioned Micah i. 11, and said in the Onomasticon (s. v. *Saphir*) to be in the mountain-region between Eleutheropolis and Ascalon. In this district a village still exists, called *es-Sawāfir*, which Robinson supposes to be the ancient Shaphir (*Bib. Res.* ii. 34, note). This, it is true, is not in the mountain-region, but on the plain; but there is some reason to suspect the accuracy of the Onomasticon description in this respect, for it is impossible that a place lying between Eleutheropolis (*Beit-Fibrin*, on the western slope of the mountains) and Ascalon could be itself in the mountain-region.—W. L. A.

SAPPHIRA (Σαφειρα), the wife of Ananias, and his accomplice in the sin for which he died (Acts v. 1-10). Unaware of the judgment which had befallen her husband, she entered the place about three hours after, probably to look for him;

and being there interrogated by Peter, repeated and persisted in the 'lie unto the Holy Ghost' which had destroyed her husband; on which the grieved apostle made known to her his doom, and pronounced her own. On hearing his words she fell dead at his feet. The cool obstinacy of Sapphira in answering as she did the questions which were probably designed to awaken her conscience, deepens the shade of the foul crime common to her and her husband; and has suggested to many the probability that the plot was of her devising, and that, like another Eve, she drew her husband into it. But this is mere conjecture [ANANIAS].—J. K.

SAPPHIRE (סַפִּיר; Sept. and N. T. *σάπφειρος*), a precious stone, mentioned in Exod. xxiv. 10; xxviii. 18; Job xxviii. 16; Ezek. xxviii. 13; Rev. xxi. 19. That which we call sapphire is next in hardness and value to the diamond, and is mostly of a blue colour of various shades. But the stone which Pliny describes under the name of sapphire (*Hist. Nat.* xxxvii. 39), in agreement with Theophrastus (*De Lapid.* 23), is manifestly the lapis lazuli. It is opaque, inclines often to the deep blue colour of the violet, and has sometimes pebble-spots of a golden yellow hue. This stone, however, is not sufficiently valuable for Job xxviii. 16; and Pliny says that it is 'inutilis sculpturae,' which does not apply to the *sapphir* of Exod. xxviii. 18, which was engraved. It seems therefore likely that, notwithstanding the classical appropriation of the name to the lapis lazuli, the true sapphire, or rather that which we call such, is the stone mentioned in Scripture. It is often found in collections of ancient gems.—J. K.

SARABIM (סָרָבִים) occurs once (Ezek. ii. 6), where it is rendered in the A. V. by 'briers.' In this our translators have followed some of the Rabbins; but all the ancient versions concur in regarding the word as derived from the verb סָרַב, *to be refractory or rebellious*. This is the rendering of the Targum. The Sept. rendering is *παροιστησονται*, *they shall be in a frenzy*; and the Syr. renders *who are obstinate*. The rendering 'briers' is thought by some to be favoured by the word being conjoined with סָלוֹנִים, *sallonim*, which they take to be the plural of סָלוֹן, *sillon*, *a thorn*; but this is probably a mistake. [SILLON].—W. L. A.

SARAH (שָׂרָה, *a princess, a noble lady*, being the fem. of שָׂרַר *sar*, 'a prince,' 'a nobleman'; Sept. Σάρρα), the wife of Abraham, and mother of Isaac. She was at first called שָׂרַי *Sarai*, the etymology and signification of which are obscure. Ewald (*Gram.* sec. 324) explains it to mean *contentious, quarrelsome* (from the root שָׁרָה), which is perhaps the most natural sense; and the mere change of the name to one more honourable may imply that there was something unpleasant in the one previously borne (Gen. xvii. 5, *seq.*) As Sarah never appears but in connection with some circumstance in which her husband was principally concerned, all the facts of her history have already been given in the article ABRAHAM, and her conduct to Hagar is considered in the article which bears her name. These facts being familiar to the



reader, a few supplementary remarks on particular points are alone required in this place.

There are two opinions with respect to the parentage of Sarah. Many interpreters suppose that she was the daughter of Haran, the elder son of Abraham's father Terah (probably by a former wife), and the same person with the Iscah who is named as one of the daughters of Haran (Gen. xi. 29). In this case she was niece of Abraham, although only ten years younger than her husband, and the sister of Milcah and of Lot. The reasons for this conclusion are of much weight. It is certain that Nahor, the surviving brother of Abraham, married Milcah, the other daughter of Haran, and the manner in which Abraham's marriage with Sarah is mentioned would alone suggest that he took the remaining daughter. 'Abram and Nahor took them wives: the name of Abram's wife was Sarai; and the name of Nahor's wife Milcah, the daughter of Haran, the father of Milcah and the father of Iscah' (Gen. xi. 29). Here most of the Jewish writers say that Iscah is Sarai; and without supposing this to be the case, it is difficult to understand for what reason it should be so pointedly noted that Haran, who was the father of Milcah, was also the father of Iscah. Besides, if Sarah is not Iscah, no account is given by Moses of her descent; and it can hardly be supposed that he would omit it, as it must have been agreeable to a people so careful of genealogy to know whence they were descended, both by the father's and mother's side. Again, when Terah leaves Ur of the Chaldees, it is said that 'Terah took Abram his son, and Lot his son's son, and Sarai his daughter-in-law, his son Abram's wife; and they went forth,' etc. (Gen. xi. 31); on which Aben Ezra observes that if Sarai had been (as some suppose) the daughter of Terah and sister of Abram, the text would doubtless have run: 'Terah took Abram his son, and Sarai his daughter, the wife of Abram.' The double relationship to Lot which such an alliance would produce may also help to the better understanding of some points in the connection between Lot and Abraham. Against this view we have to produce the assertion of Abraham himself, that Sarai was his half-sister, 'the daughter of my father, but not the daughter of my mother' (Gen. xx. 12): but this is held by many to mean no more than that Haran her father was his half-brother; for the colloquial usage of the Hebrews in this matter makes it easy to understand that he might call a niece a sister, and a granddaughter a daughter. In general discourse 'daughter' comprised any and every female descendant, and 'sister' any and every consanguineous relationship.

That Sarah had great beauty appears from the precautions which Abraham took to guard himself and her from the dangers it was likely to occasion. And that his was not too partial an estimate of her attractions is evinced by the transactions in Egypt and at Gerar (Gen. xii. 15; xxi. 2). In the former case the commendations which the princes of Pharaoh bestowed upon the charms of the lovely stranger have been supposed by some to have been owing to the contrast which her fresh Mesopotamian complexion offered to the dusky hue of their own beauties. But so far as climate is concerned, the nearer Syria could offer complexions as fair as hers; and, moreover, a people trained by their habits to admire 'dusky' beauties, were not likely to be inordinately attracted by a fresh complexion.

It is asked whether Sarah was aware of the intended sacrifice of Isaac, the son of her long-deferred hopes. The chronology is uncertain, and does not decide whether this transaction occurred before or after her death. She was probably alive; and if so, we may understand, from the precautions employed by Abraham, that she was not acquainted with the purpose of the journey to the land of Moriah, and indeed that it was the object of these precautions to keep from her knowledge a matter which must so deeply wound her heart. He could have the less difficulty in this, if his faith was such as to enable him to believe that he should bring back in safety the son he was commanded to sacrifice (Heb. xi. 19). As, however, the account of her death immediately follows that of this sacrifice, some of the Jewish writers imagine that the intelligence killed her, and that Abraham found her dead on his return (*Targ. Jonath.*, and Jarchi on Gen. xxiii. 2; *Pirke Eliezer*, c. 52). But there seems no authority for such an inference.

Sarah is so rarely introduced directly to our notice, that it is difficult to estimate her character justly, for want of adequate materials. She is seen only when her presence is indispensable; and then she appears with more of submission and of simplicity than of dignity, and manifests an unwise but not unusual promptitude in following her first thoughts, and in proceeding upon the impulse of her first emotions. Upon the whole, Sarah scarcely meets the idea the imagination would like to form of the life-companion of so eminent a person as Abraham. Nevertheless, we cannot fail to observe that she was a most attached and devoted wife. Her husband was the central object of all her thoughts; and he was not forgotten even in her first transports of joy at becoming a mother (Gen. xxi. 7). This is her highest eulogium.

Isaiah is the only prophet who names Sarah (li. 2). St. Paul alludes to her hope of becoming a mother (Rom. iv. 19); and afterwards cites the promise which she received (Rom. ix. 9); and Peter eulogises her submission to her husband (1 Pet. iii. 6).—J. K.

**SARAPH** (שָׂרָף). When the Israelites were in the wilderness they were visited, as a punishment for their murmuring, by fiery serpents (הַנְּחָשִׁים הַשָּׂרָפִים, Num. xxi. 6). This *saraph*, the supposed winged serpent, we take to be a *Haye*, one of the more eastern species or varieties, which have the faculty of actually distending the hood, as if they had wings at the side of the head, and are the same as, or nearly allied to, the well-known spectacle-snake of India. The serpent may exhibit this particular state of irritation when it stands half erect with its hood distended, or it may be that variety which is possessed of this faculty to the greatest extent. *Nega Reflectrix*, the *Pof* or *Spooch* adder of the Cape colonists, is reported by Dr. Smith to be scarcely distinct from the Egyptian *Naga Haye*. With regard to the faculty of flying, the lengthened form, the muscular apparatus, the absence of air-cells, and the whole osteological structure, are all incompatible with flight or the presence of wings. Flying serpents are only found represented in the symbolical pictures of Egypt, where they occur with birds' wings. Those of history, and of barbarous nations excessively habituated to figurative forms of speech, are various, some being so called because of their rapid motion,



others on account of a kind of spring they are said to make at their victims, and a third class because they climb trees, and are reported to swing themselves from thence upon their victims, or to other trees. Now, many species of serpents are climbers; many hang by the tail from slender branches of low trees in highly-heated glens, snapping at insects as they wheel around them; but all are delicately jointed; and if any should swing further than merely to change their hold, and should miss catching a branch, they would most certainly be dislocated, and, if not killed, very seriously injured.

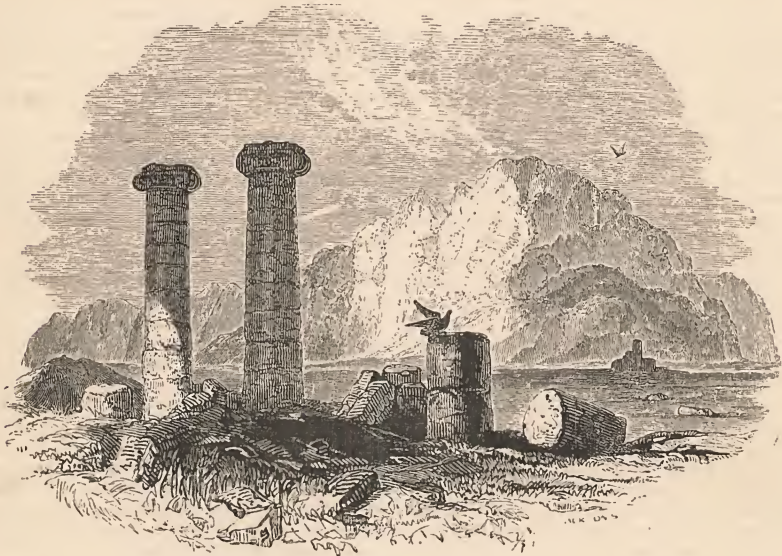
Of the so-called flying, or rather darting serpents, Niebuhr found, near Basra, a venomous species called *Heie Sursurie*, and *Heie Thiare*, that is, 'flying serpent,' because it was said to fling itself from one tree to another. Admiral Anson heard, at the island of Quibo, of snakes flying without wings: we may notice the *Acontias* and *Prester*, that fell like arrows from the tops of trees, and the green *Ætula* of Ceylon, said to spring from trees at the eyes of cattle—an accusation repeated of more than one species in tropical America. Next we have the *Uler Tampang Hari*, seen in a forest near the river Pedang Bessie, somewhere, we believe, in the Australasian islands, under circumstances that most certainly require confirmation; since this fiery serpent, so called from the burning pain and fatal effect of its bite, swung itself from one tree to another 240 feet dis-

tant, with a declination to the horizon of only about fifteen degrees!

We find *Leffah* and *Bætan*, both conjectured to be the *Saraph*, without being able to point out the species in natural history, where, nevertheless, it seems most likely that varieties, or perhaps different species of the common viper may be meant, as is likewise assumed of *Acontias* and *Prester*, since that family, in hot and dry climates, is far more virulently noxious than in Europe. The *Leffah*, though little more than a foot long, regarded by Shaw at least as the most formidable serpent of Northern Africa, is one of this genus, and may be the (Ἐφεῖ) *Ephēh*, Arabic *Epha*, and Persian *Mar-iefy*; but as there is some difference in dimensions and markings, as well as a still greater extent of region assigned to these, more than one species of viper is most likely included in the above names. But that the *Ephēh* is a name of most ancient date is plain from its being employed in Job xx. 16 and Is. xxx. 6; while under the form of ἐχιδνα—that is 'viper'—it occurs in the N. T., Matt. iii. 7; xii. 34; xxiii. 33; Luke iii. 7; and Acts xxviii. 3. The last of these texts confirms the common superstitious belief of antiquity, which regarded the bite of one of these serpents as a punishment directly inflicted by heaven.

—C. H. S.

SARDINE, or SARDIUS. [ODEM.]



462. Sardis.

SARDIS (Σάρδεις), the capital of the ancient kingdom of Lydia, situated at the foot of Mount Tmolus, in a fine plain watered by the river Pactolus (Herod. vii. 31; Xenophon, *Cyrop.* vii. 2-11; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*; Strabo, xiii. p. 625). It is in N. lat. 38° 30'; E. long. 27° 57'. Sardis was a great and ancient city, and from its wealth and importance was the object of much cupidity and of many sieges. When taken by Cyrus, under Cræsus, its last king, who has become proverbial

for his riches, Sardis was one of the most splendid and opulent cities of the East. After their victory over Antiochus it passed to the Romans, under whom it rapidly declined in rank and importance. In the time of Tiberius it was destroyed by an earthquake (Strabo, xii. p. 579), but was rebuilt by order of the emperor (Tacit. *Annal.* ii. 47). The inhabitants of Sardis bore an ill repute among the ancients for their voluptuous habits of life. Hence, perhaps, the point of the phrase in the



Apocalyptic message to the city—'Thou hast a few names, *even in Sardis*, which have not defiled their garments' (Rev. iii. 4). The place that Sardis holds in this message, as one of the 'Seven Churches of Asia,' is the source of the peculiar interest with which the Christian reader regards it. From what is said, it appears that it had already declined much in real religion, although it still maintained the name and external aspect of a Christian church, 'having a name to live, while it was dead' (Rev. iii. 1).

Successive earthquakes, and the ravages of the Saracens and Turks, have reduced this once flourishing city to a heap of ruins, presenting many remains of its former splendour. The habitations of the living are confined to a few miserable cottages, forming a village called Sart. This, with the ruins, is still found on the true site of Sardis, at the foot of Mount Tmolus, or Bouz-dag, as the Turks call it. The ruins are chiefly those of the theatre, stadium, and of some churches. There are also two remarkable pillars, supposed to have belonged to the temple of Cybele; and, if so, they are among the oldest monuments now existing in the world, the temple having been built only 300 years after that of Solomon. The acropolis seems well to define the site of the city. It is a marked object, being a tall distorted rock of soft sandstone, rent as if by an earthquake. A countless number of sepulchral hillocks, beyond the Hermus, heighten the desolateness of a spot which the multitudes lying there once made busy by their living presence and pursuits. See Smith, Hartley, Macfarlane, and Arundell, severally, *On the Seven Churches of Asia*; Arundell, *Discoveries in Asia Minor*; Storch, *Dissert. de Sept. Urb. Asiæ in Apocal.*; Richter, *Wallfahrten*; Schubert, *Morgenland*, etc.—J. K.

#### SARDONYX. [YAHALOM.]

SAREPTA (Σάρεπτα, Luke iv. 26; Hebrew, *Zarephath*, צֶרֶפֶת), a Phœnician town between Tyre and Sidon, mentioned in 1 Kings xvii. 9, 10; Obad. xx. It is the place where Elijah went to dwell, and where he performed the miracle of multiplying the barrel of meal and cruse of oil, and where he raised the widow's son to life. It still subsists as a large village, under the name of Sarafend. The Crusaders made Sarepta a Latin bishopric in the archiepiscopate of Sidon, and erected near the port a small chapel over the reputed site of Elijah's miracle (Will. Tyr. xix. 14; Jacob de Vitriacus, ch. 44). It is clear that the Sarepta of the Crusaders stood on the sea-shore; and, therefore, the present village bearing the same name, which stands upon the adjacent hills, must have been of more recent origin. (See Nau, *Nov. Voyage*, p. 544; Pococke, ii. 85; Robinson, *Bib. Researches*, iii. 413, 414; Raumer, *Palästina*, p. 140).—J. K.

SARGON, king of Assyria. [ASSYRIA; MEROCH-BALADAN.]

#### SARON. [SHARON.]

SAS (סָס, from סָדַס, *to leap*; Sept. Σῆς), a species of moth (Is. li. 8). [ASH.]

SATAN. The doctrine of Satan and of Satanic agency is to be made out from revelation, and from reflection in agreement with revelation.

*Scripture Names or Titles of Satan.*—Besides Satan, he is called the Devil, the Dragon, the Evil One, the Angel of the Bottomless Pit, the Prince of this World, the Prince of the Power of the Air, the God of this World, Apollyon, Abaddon, Belial, Beelzebub. Satan and Devil are the names by which he is oftener distinguished than by any other; the former being applied to him about forty times, and the latter about fifty times.

Satan is the Hebrew word שָׁטָן transferred to the English. It is derived from the verb שָׁטַן, which means 'to lie in wait,' 'to oppose,' 'to be an adversary.' Hence the noun denotes an adversary or opposer. The word in its *generic* sense occurs in 1 Kings xi. 14: 'The Lord raised up an adversary (שָׁטָן) against Solomon,' *i.e.* Hadad the Edomite. In the 23d verse the word occurs again, applied to Rezon. It is used in the same sense in 1 Sam. xxix. 4, where David is termed an adversary; and in Num. xxii. 22, where the angel 'stood in the way for an adversary (שָׁטָן) to Balaam,' *i.e.* to oppose him when he went with the princes of Moab. See also Ps. cix. 6.

In Zech. iii. 1, 2, the word occurs in its *specific* sense as a proper name: 'And he showed me Joshua the high-priest standing before the angel of the Lord, and Satan (הַשָּׂטָן) standing at his right hand to resist' (לְשָׂטָן, 'to satanize him'). 'And the Lord said unto Satan (הַשָּׂטָן), The Lord rebuke thee, O Satan.' Here it is manifest, both from the context and the use of the article, that some particular adversary is denoted.

In the 1st and 2d chapters of Job, the same use of the word with the article occurs several times. The events in which Satan is represented as the agent confirm this view. He was a *distinguished* adversary and tempter. See also 1 Chron. xxi. 1. When we pass from the O. T. to the N. T., this doctrine of an invisible evil agent becomes more clear. With the advent of Christ and the opening of the Christian dispensation, the great opposer of that kingdom, the particular adversary and antagonist of the Saviour, would naturally become more active and more known. The antagonism of Satan and his kingdom to Christ and his kingdom runs through the whole of the N. T., as will appear from the following passages and their contexts: Matt. iv. 10; xii. 26; Mark iv. 15; Luke x. 18; xxii. 3, 31; Acts xxvi. 18; Rom. xvi. 20; 2 Cor. xi. 14; Rev. ii. 13; xii. 9. Peter is once called Satan, because his spirit and conduct, at a certain time, were so much in opposition to the spirit and intent of Christ, and so much in the same line of direction with the workings of Satan. This is the only application of the word in the N. T. to any but the prince of the apostate angels.

Devil (Διάβολος) is the more frequent term of designation given to Satan in the N. T. Both Satan and Devil are in several instances applied to the same being (Rev. xii. 9), 'That old serpent, the Devil and Satan.' Christ, in the temptation (Matt. iv.), in his repulse of the tempter, calls him Satan; while the evangelists distinguish him by the term 'Devil.' Devil is the translation of διάβολος, from the verb διαβάλλω, 'to thrust through,' 'to carry over,' and, tropically, 'to inform against,' 'to accuse.' He is also called the accuser of the brethren (Rev. xii. 10). The Hebrew term Satan is more generic than the Greek διάβολος. The former expresses his character as an opposer of all



good; the latter denotes more particularly the relation which he bears to the saints, as their traducer and accuser. *Διάβολος* is the uniform translation which the Septuagint gives of the Hebrew שָׂטָן, when used with the article. Farmer says that the term Satan is not appropriated to one particular person or spirit, but signifies an adversary or opponent in general. This is to no purpose, since it is also *applied* to the Devil as an adversary in particular. There are four instances in the N. T. in which the word *διάβολος* is applied to human beings. In three out of the four it is in the plural number, expressive of quality, and not personality (1 Tim. iii. 11; 2 Tim. iii. 3; Tit. ii. 3). In the fourth instance (John vi. 70), Jesus says to his disciples, 'Have not I chosen you twelve, and one of you is a devil?' (*διάβολος*). This is the only instance in the N. T. of its application to a human being in the singular number; and here Dr. Campbell thinks it should not be translated 'devil.' The translation is, however, of no consequence, since it is with the use of the original word that this article is concerned. The obvious reasons for this application of *διάβολος* to Judas, as an exception to the general rule, go to confirm the rule. The rule is that, in the N. T. usage, the word in the singular number denotes *individuality*, and is applied to Satan as a *proper name*. By the exception, it is applied to Judas, from his resemblance to the Devil, as an accuser and betrayer of Christ, and from his contributing to aid him in his designs against Christ. With these exceptions, the *usus loquendi* of the N. T. shows *ὁ Διάβολος* to be a proper name, applied to an extraordinary being, whose influence upon the human race is great and mischievous (Matt. iv. 1-11; Luke viii. 12; John viii. 44; Acts xiii. 10; Eph. vi. 11; 1 Pet. v. 8; 1 John iii. 8; Rev. xii. 9). The term devil, which is in the N. T. the uniform translation of *διάβολος*, is also frequently the translation of *δαίμων* and *δαίμωνιον*. Between these words and *διάβολος* the English translators have made no distinction. The former are almost always used in connection with demoniacal possessions, and are applied to the possessing spirits, but never to the prince of those spirits. On the other hand, *διάβολος* is never applied to the demons, but only to their prince; thus showing that the one is used definitely as a proper name, while the others are used indefinitely as generic terms. The sacred writers made a distinction, which in the English version is lost. In this our translators followed the German version: *teufel*, like the term devil, being applied to both *διάβολος* and *δαίμων*.

*Personality of Satan.*—We determine the personality of Satan by the same criteria that we use in determining whether Caesar and Napoleon were real personal beings, or the personifications of abstract ideas—viz. by the tenor of history concerning them, and the ascription of personal attributes to them. All the forms of personal agency are made use of by the sacred writers in setting forth the character and conduct of Satan. They describe him as having power and dominion, messengers and followers. He tempts and resists; he is held accountable, charged with guilt; is to be judged, and to receive final punishment. On the supposition that it was the object of the sacred writers to teach the proper personality of Satan, they could have found no more express terms than those which they have actually used. And on

the supposition that they did not intend to teach such a doctrine, their use of language incapable of communicating any other idea is wholly inexplicable. To suppose that all this semblance of a real, veritable, conscious moral agent, is only a trope, a prosopopeia, is to make the inspired penmen guilty of employing a figure in such a way that, by no ascertained laws of language, it could be known that it was a figure—in such a way that it could not be taken to be a figure, without violence to all the rhetorical rules by which they on other occasions are known to have been guided. A personification, protracted through such a book as the Bible, even should we suppose it to have been written by *one* person—never dropped in the most simple and didactic portions—never explained when the most grave and important truths are to be inculcated, and when men the most ignorant and prone to superstition are to be the readers—a personification extending from Genesis to Revelation,—this is altogether anomalous and inadmissible. But to suppose that the several writers of the different books of the Bible, diverse in their style and intellectual habits, writing under widely differing circumstances, through a period of nearly two thousand years, should each, from Moses to John, fall into the use of the same personification, and follow it too in a way so obscure and enigmatical that not one in a hundred of their readers would escape the error which they did not mean to teach, or apprehend the truth which they wished to set forth,—to suppose this is to require men to believe that the inspired writers, who ought to have done the least violence to the common laws of language, have really done the most. Such uniformity of inexplicable singularity, on the part of such men as the authors of the several books of the Bible, could be accounted for only on the hypothesis that they were subject to an *evil* as well as a good inspiration. On the other hand, such uniformity of appellations and imagery, and such identity of characteristics, protracted through such a series of writings, go to confirm the received doctrine of a real personality.

But there are other difficulties than these general ones, by which the theory of personification is encumbered. This theory supposes the Devil to be the *principle of evil*. Let it be applied in the interpretation of two or three passages of Scripture. 'Then was Jesus led up of the Spirit into the wilderness, to be tempted of the devil' (Matt. iv. 1-11). Was Jesus tempted by a real, personal being? or was it by the principle of evil? If by the latter, in whom or what did this principle reside? Was it in Jesus? Then it could not be true that in him was no sin. The very principle of sin was in him, which would have made him the tempter of himself. This is bad hermeneutics, producing worse theology. Let it also be remembered that this *principle of evil*, in order to be moral evil, must *inhere* in some conscious moral being. Sin is evil, only as it implies the state or action of some personal and accountable agent. Who was this agent of evil in the temptation? Was it to a mere abstraction that the Saviour said, 'Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God?' 'Get thee behind me, Satan?' Or was it to a real person, having desires and purposes and volitions,—*evil*, because these desires and purposes and volitions were evil? There is but one intelligible answer to such questions. And that answer shows



how perfectly untenable is the position that the Devil, or Satan, is only the personification of evil. Again: 'He was a murderer from the beginning, and, abode not in the truth: he is a liar and the father of it' (John viii. 44). With what propriety could these specific acts of guilt be charged upon an abstraction? An abstraction a murderer! a liar! The principle of evil *abode* not in the truth! Seriously to affirm such things of the mere abstraction of evil is a solemn fiction; while, to assert them of a fallen angel, who beguiled Eve by falsehood, and brought death upon all the race of man, is an intelligible and affecting truth. What necessity for inspired men to write that the Devil sinned from the beginning, if he be only the principle of evil? What consistency, on this hypothesis, in their saying that he transforms himself into an angel of light, if he has no volition, no purpose, no craft, no ends or agency? If there are such things as personal attributes, it must be conceded that the sacred writers do ascribe them to Satan. On any other supposition the writers of the N. T. could more easily be convicted of insanity than believed to be inspired. The principle of interpretation by which the personality of Satan is discarded leads to the denial of the personality of the Deity.

*Natural History.*—The class of beings to which Satan originally belonged, and which constituted a celestial hierarchy, is very numerous: 'Ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him' (Dan. vii. 10). They were created and dependent (John i. 3). Analogy leads to the conclusion that there are different grades among the angels as among other races of beings. The Scriptures warrant the same. Michael is described as one of the chief princes (Dan. x. 13); as chief captain of the host of Jehovah (Josh. v. 14). Similar distinctions exist among the fallen angels (Col. ii. 15; Eph. vi. 12). It is also reasonable to suppose that they were created susceptible of improvement in all respects, except moral purity, as they certainly were capable of apostasy. As to the time when they were brought into being the Bible is silent; and where it is silent, we should be silent, or speak with modesty. Some suppose that they were called into existence after the creation of the world; among whom is Dr. John Dick. Others have supposed that they were created just anterior to the creation of man, and for purposes of a merciful ministration to him. It is more probable, however, that as they were the highest in rank among the creatures of God, so they were the first in the order of time; and that they may have continued for ages in obedience to their Maker before the creation of man, or the fall of the apostate angels.

The Scriptures are explicit as to the apostasy of some, of whom Satan was the chief and leader. 'And the angels which kept not their first estate or principality, but left their own habitation,' etc. (Jude, ver. 6). 'For if God spared not the angels that sinned,' etc. (2 Pet. ii. 4). Those who followed Satan in his apostasy are described as belonging to him. The company is called the Devil and his angels (*τῷ Διαβόλῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ*, Matt. xxv. 41). The relation marked here denotes the instrumentality which the Devil may have exerted in inducing those called his angels to rebel against Jehovah and join themselves to his interests. How Satan and his followers, being created so high in excellence and

holiness, became sinful and fell, is a question upon which theologians have differed, but which they have not settled. The difficulty has seemed so great to Schleiermacher and others, that they have denied the fact of such an apostasy. They have untied the knot by cutting it. Still the difficulty remains. The denial of mystery is not the removal of it. Even philosophy teaches us to believe sometimes where we cannot understand. It is here that the grave question of the introduction of evil first meets us. If we admit the fact of apostasy among the angels, as by a fair interpretation of Scripture we are constrained to do, the admission of such a fact in the case of human beings will follow more easily, they being the lower order of creatures, in whom defection would be less surprising. As to what constituted the first sin of Satan and his followers, there has been a diversity of opinions. Some have supposed that it was the beguiling of our first parents. Others have believed that the first sin of the angels is mentioned in Gen. vi. 2. The sacred writers intimate very plainly that the first transgression was pride, and that from this sprang open rebellion. Of a bishop, the apostle says (1 Tim. iii. 6), 'He must not be a novice, lest, being puffed up with *pride*, he fall into the condemnation of the devil.' From which it appears that pride was the sin of Satan, and that for this he was condemned. This, however, marks the *quality* of the sin, and not the act.

In his physical nature, Satan is among those that are termed spiritual beings; not as excluding necessarily all idea of matter, but as opposed rather to the *animal* nature. It is the *πνευματικός*, in opposition to the *ψυχικός*. The good angels are all ministering *spirits*, *πνεύματα* (Heb. i. 14). Satan is one of the angels that kept not their first principality. The fall produced no change in his physical or metaphysical nature. Paul, in warning the Ephesians against the wiles of the Devil (*τὰς μεθοδὰς τοῦ διαβόλου*), tells them (Eph. vi. 12) that they contended not against flesh and blood—mere human enemies—but against principalities and powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places; *πρὸς τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις*, in which the contrast is between human and superhuman foes, the *τὰ πνευματικὰ* being for *τὰς φύσεις πνευματικὰς*, or *τὰ πνεύματα* spiritual natures, or *spirits*, in opposition to flesh and blood (Rosenmüller, *in loc.*) Satan is not pure spirit in the sense that God is spirit, nor necessarily to the exclusion of body; but that body, if he has any, is ethereal, pneumatic, invisible. He is unlike God, because finite and dependent; and, in his ethereal physical nature, and the rapidity with which he moves unseen from place to place, he is unlike to man. He is immortal, but not eternal; neither omniscient nor omnipresent, but raised high above the human race in knowledge and power. The Persian mythology, in its early stage, and subsequently the Gnostics and Manicheans, ranked the evil principle as coeval and co-ordinate, or nearly so, with God, or the good principle. The doctrine of the Jewish church always made him a dependent creature, subject to the control of the Almighty. By the modifications which Zoroaster subsequently introduced, the Persian angelology came more nearly to resemble that of the Jews. Some have ascribed to Satan the power of working miracles, contending that there are



two series of antagonistical miracles running through the Bible. To the miracles of Moses were opposed those of the Egyptian magicians; and to those of Christ and his apostles the signs and wonders of false prophets and Antichrists—the Divine and the Satanic. Olshausen maintains this view, as do some of the older commentators (*Biblischen Commentar*, vol. i. p. 242). The evidence in support of such a belief has not been sufficient to procure for it general acceptance (see Rosenmüller and Calvin on Matt. xxiv. 24; 2 Thess. ii. 9; Hengstenberg's *Egypt and the Books of Moses*, ch. iii.; also Rosenmüller and Bush on Exod., ch. vii.) With a substantial presence in only one place at one time, yet, as the head of a spiritual kingdom, he is virtually present wherever his angels or servants are executing his will.

His character is evil, purely and entirely so (1 John iii. 8; John viii. 44). His character is denoted by his titles, Satan, Adversary, Diabolos, False Accuser, Tempter, etc. All the representations of him in Scripture show him to have unmixed and confirmed evil as the basis of his character, exhibiting itself in respect to God in assuming to be his equal, and in wishing to transfer the homage and service which belong only to God to himself; and in respect to men, in efforts to draw them away from God and attach them to his kingdom. The evil develops itself in all possible ways and by all possible means of opposition to God, and to those who are striving to establish and extend his dominion. Evil is so transcendent in him, that his whole intellectual and moral nature is subordinated to it. His character is symmetrical. It has a dreadful consistency, from the concurrence in evil, and subjection to it, of all the powers of his being. It is unique and complete in evil, made so by the act of apostasy, and continued so by a pertinacious adherence to evil as his good. Quenstedt says that 'some angels are called evil, not by reason of their essential constitution, but—first, from an evil act, that is, apostasy from God; secondly, from an habitual perverseness which followed this act of apostasy; thirdly, on account of an irreclaimable persistency in evil.' Evil is his fixed state, in which he is confirmed by the invincibility of his dispositions to sin—an invincibility which no motives can ever overcome. This confirmation of evil is denoted by the everlasting chains of darkness in which the apostate angels are reserved unto the judgment of the great day (Jude, ver. 6). The immutability of his evil character precludes the idea of repentance, and therefore the possibility of recovering grace. 'He possesses an understanding which misapprehends exactly that which is most worthy to be known, to which the key fails without which nothing can be understood in its true relations—an understanding darkened, however deep it may penetrate, however wide it may reach. He is thereby necessarily unblest; torn away from the centre of life, yet without ever finding it in himself; from the sense of inward emptiness, continually driven to the exterior world, and yet with it, as with himself, in eternal contradiction; for ever fleeing from God, yet never escaping him; constantly labouring to frustrate his designs, yet always conscious of being obliged to promote them; instead of enjoyment in the contemplation of his excellence, the never-satisfied desire after an object which it cannot

attain; instead of hope, a perpetual wavering between doubt and despair; instead of love, a powerless hatred against God, against his fellow-beings, against himself' (Twisten).

*Agency.*—The agency of Satan extends to all that he does or causes to be done: 'Qui facit per alium facit per se.' To this agency the following restrictions have been generally supposed to exist: It is limited, first, by the direct power of God; he cannot transcend the power on which he is dependent for existence;—secondly, by the finiteness of his own created faculties;—thirdly, by the established connection of cause and effect, or the laws of nature. The miracles, which he has been supposed to have the power of working, are denominated lying signs and wonders, *σημείους καὶ τέρασι ψεύδους* (2 Thess. ii. 9). With these restrictions, the Devil goes about like a roaring lion.

His agency is moral and physical. First, moral. He beguiled our first parents, and thus brought sin and death upon them and their posterity (Gen. iii.) He moved David to number the people (1 Chron. xxi. 1). He resisted Joshua the high-priest (Zech. iii. 1). He tempted Jesus (Matt. iv.); entered into Judas, to induce him to betray his master (Luke xxii. 3); instigated Ananias and Sapphira to lie to the Holy Ghost (Acts v. 3); hindered Paul and Barnabas on their way to the Thessalonians (1 Thess. ii. 18). He is the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience (Eph. ii. 2); and he deceiveth the whole world (Rev. xii. 9).

The means which he uses are variously called wiles, darts, depths, snares, all deceivableness of unrighteousness. He darkens the understandings of men, to keep them in ignorance. He perverts their judgments, that he may lead them into error. He insinuates evil thoughts, and thereby awakens in them unholy desires. He excites them to pride, anger, and revenge; to discontent, repinings, and rebellion. He labours to prop up false systems of religion, and to corrupt and overturn the true one. He came into most direct and determined conflict with the Saviour in the temptation, hoping to draw him from his allegiance to God, and procure homage for himself; but he failed in his purpose. Next, he instigated the Jews to put him to death, thinking thus to thwart his designs and frustrate his plans. Here, too, he failed, and was made to subserve the very ends which he most wished to prevent. Into a similar conflict does he come with all the saints, and with like ultimate ill success. God uses his temptations as the means of trial to his people, and of strength by trial, and points them out as a motive to watchfulness and prayer. Such are the nature and mode of his moral influence and agency.

But his efforts are directed against the bodies of men, as well as against their souls. That the agency of Satan was concerned in producing physical diseases, the Scriptures plainly teach (Job ii. 7; Luke xiii. 16). Peter says of Christ, that he went about doing good and healing (*ἰώμενος*) all that were oppressed of the Devil (*τοῦ διαβόλου*) (Acts x. 38). Hymeneus and Alexander were delivered to Satan, that they might learn not to blaspheme (1 Tim. i. 20); where physical suffering by the agency of Satan, as a divine chastisement, is manifestly intended.

Farmer seems to have been among the first in modern times who adopted the rationalistic or ac-



commodation principle of interpretation upon the subject of demoniacal possessions. Semler introduced his work on *Demoniacs* into Germany, and the German neologists adopted substantially his view. For a refutation of this system of interpretation, see Twisten's *Dogmatik*, Olshausen's *Commentar*, Storr and Platt's *Biblical Theol.*, and Appleton's *Lectures*; and for a general statement of the arguments on both sides, see the articles DEMON; DEMONIACS.

Whatever the demons may have been, they were considered by the N. T. writers as belonging to the kingdom of Satan. They are called unclean spirits, evil demons. They are conscious of being under condemnation (Matt. viii. 29). Christ came to destroy the works of Satan; and he refers to his casting out demons by the finger of God as proof that he was executing that work. And when charged with casting them out by the prince of demons, he meets the charge by the assertion that this would be dividing the kingdom of Satan—Satan casting out Satan, *i.e.* casting out his own subjects: the irresistible inference from which is, that Satan and the demons are *one house*, pertain to *one* and the *same kingdom*.

It is of no avail that there are difficulties connected with the agency ascribed to Satan. Objections are of little weight when brought against well-authenticated facts. Any objections raised against the agency of Satan are equally valid against his existence. If he exists, he must act; and if he is evil, his agency must be evil. The fact of such an agency being revealed, as it is, is every way as consonant with reason and religious consciousness as are the existence and agency of good angels. Neither reason nor consciousness could by themselves establish such a fact; but all the testimony they are capable of adducing is in agreement with the Scripture representation on the subject. If God communicates with good men without their consciousness, there is no apparent reason why Satan may not, without their consciousness, communicate with bad men. And if good men become better by the influence of good beings, it is equally easy to suppose that bad men may become worse by the influence of evil beings. Such an influence no more militates against the benevolence of God than does the agency of wicked men, or the existence of moral evil in any form. Evil agents are as really under the divine control as are good agents. And out of evil God will cause good to come. He will make the wrath of devils as well as of men to praise him, and the remainder he will restrain.—E. A. L.

SATANOW, ISAAC HA-LEVI. This remarkable philosopher, poet, Talmudist, lexicographer, and commentator, was born Elul 29, 1732, at Satanow or Satanov, in Russian Poland, whence he obtained his name. He came to Berlin in 1772, where, at the age of forty, he began to issue those celebrated works for which he had prepared himself in his native place, and which immortalised his name in connection with Hebrew literature and Biblical exegesis. His works in these departments are as follow:—1. A short Hebrew Grammar, entitled *The Joyful Lips* (ספר שפתי רננות), in allusion to Ps. lxi. 5, which he published in Berlin, 1773, as the first instalment of a large work, embracing the whole critical apparatus of the Biblical Hebrew; 2. A Hebrew lexicon (ספר

השרשים), in two parts. The first part, which gives all the meanings of the Hebrew words, is entitled *The Lip of Truth* (לשפת אמת), in allusion to Prov. xii. 19, which is a continuation of the former work; and the second part, which is a treatise on the synonyms and homonyms of the Hebrew language, and is the third part of his critical apparatus, Berlin 1787, 2d ed., Prague 1804; 3. A Hebrew commentary on and German translation of Job, Berlin 1799. \*Besides these, Satanow has also written several works of gnomes and apothegms in imitation of the Psalms and Proverbs, which are most masterly, and which will always be charming reading books for the student of the Hebrew language; as well as grammatical notes on all the difficult passages of the O. T., which have not as yet been published. He died in 1802. Comp. Delitzsch, *Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Poesie*, p. 115, ff., Leipzig 1836; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, iii. 251, etc.; Jost, *Geschichte des Judenthums und seiner Secten*, vol. iii. p. 398, etc., Leipzig 1859.—C. D. G.

SATRAPS. [ACHASHDARFANIM.]

SATYRS. [SEIRIM.]

SAUL (שָׁאֹל; Sept. and N. T. Σαούλ), son of Kish, of the tribe of Benjamin, was the first king of the Israelites. The corrupt administration of justice by Samuel's sons furnished an occasion to the Hebrews for rejecting that theocracy, of which they neither appreciated the value, nor, through their unfaithfulness to it, enjoyed the full advantages (1 Sam. viii.) An invasion by the Ammonites seems also to have conspired with the cause just mentioned, and with a love of novelty, in prompting the demand for a king (1 Sam. xii. 12)—an officer evidently alien to the genius of the theocracy, though contemplated as an historical certainty, and provided for by the Jewish lawgiver (1 Sam. xii. 17-20; Deut. xvii. 14-20; on which see Grotius's note; also *De Jure Belli*, etc., i. 4. 6, with the remarks of Gronovius, who (as Puffendorf also does) controverts the views of Grotius). An explanation of the nature of this request, as not only an instance of ingratitude to Samuel, but of rebellion against Jehovah, and the delineation of the manner in which their kings—notwithstanding the restrictions prescribed in the law—might be expected to conduct themselves (משפט המלך, Sept. δικάωμα τοῦ βασιλέως; 1 Sam. viii. 11; x. 25), having failed to move the people from their resolution, the Lord sent Saul, who had left home in quest of his father's asses, which had strayed, to Samuel, who having informed Saul of the divine purpose regarding him, and having at a feast shown him a preference, which, no doubt, the other guests understood, privately anointed him king, and gave him various tokens by which he might be assured that his designation was from Jehovah (1 Sam. ix. x.) Moved by the authority of Samuel, and by the fulfilment of these signs, Saul's reluctance to assume the office to which he was called was overcome; which may be the meaning of the expression לנאחר (1 Sam. x. 9), though his hesitation afterwards returned (ver. 21, 22). On his way home, meeting a company of prophets, he was seized with the prophetic afflatus, and so gave occasion to a proverb afterwards in use among the Jews, though elsewhere a different origin is assigned to the saying



(1 Sam. xix. 24). Immediately after, Saul was elected at Mizpah in a solemn assembly by the determination of the miraculous lot—a method of election not confined to the Hebrews (Aristot. *Polit.* vi. 11; and Virg. *Æn.* ii. 'Laocoon lectus Neptuni sorte sacerdos'); and both previously to that election (x. 16), and subsequently, when insulted by the worthless portion of the Israelites, he showed that modesty, humility, and forbearance which seem to have characterised him till corrupted by the possession of power. The person thus set apart to discharge the royal function possessed at least those corporeal advantages which most ancient nations desiderated in their sovereigns (the *εἶδος ἀξίον τυραννίδος*—Eurip.) His person was tall and commanding, and he soon showed that his courage was not inferior to his strength (1 Sam. ix. 2; x. 23). His belonging to Benjamin also, the smallest of the tribes, though of distinguished bravery, prevented the mutual jealousy with which either of the two great tribes, Judah and Ephraim, would have regarded a king chosen from the other; so that his election was received with general rejoicing, and a number of men, moved by the authority of Samuel (x. 26), even attached themselves to him as a body-guard, or as counsellors and assistants. In the meantime the Ammonites, whose invasion had hastened the appointment of a king, having besieged Jabesh in Gilead, and Nahash their king having proposed insulting conditions to them, the elders of that town, apparently not aware of Saul's election (1 Sam. xi. 3), sent messengers through the land imploring help. Saul acted with wisdom and promptitude, summoning the people *en masse* to meet him at Bezek; and having at the head of a vast multitude totally routed the Ammonites (ver. 11), and obtained a higher glory, by exhibiting a new instance of clemency, whether dictated by principle or policy—'Novum imperium inchoantibus utilis clementiæ fama' (Tac. *Hist.* iv. 63), 'For lowliness is young ambition's ladder,'—he and the people betook themselves, under the direction of Samuel, to Gilgal, there with solemn sacrifices to reinstall the victorious leader in his kingdom (1 Sam. xi.) If the number set down in the Hebrew text, of those who followed Saul (1 Sam. xi. 8), can be depended on (the Sept. more than doubles them, and Josephus outgoes even the Sept.), it would appear that the tribe of Judah was dissatisfied with Saul's election, for the soldiers furnished by the other tribes were 300,000, while Judah sent only 30,000; whereas the population of the former, compared with that of Judah, appears, from other passages, to have been as about five to three (2 Kings xxiv. 9). And yet it is strange that this remissness is neither punished (1 Sam. xi. 7) nor noticed. At Gilgal Saul was publicly anointed, and solemnly installed in the kingdom by Samuel, who took occasion to vindicate the purity of his own administration—which he virtually transferred to Saul—to censure the people for their ingratitude and impiety, and to warn both them and Saul of the danger of disobedience to the commands of Jehovah (1 Sam. xii.) These were the principal transactions that occurred during the first year of Saul's reign (which we venture to assign as the meaning of the first clause

of ch. xiii. בן שנה שאול במלכו, 'the son of a year was Saul in his reigning'—the emendation of

Origen, 'Saul was thirty years old,' which the chronology contradicts, for he seems now to have been forty years old, and the omission of the whole first verse by the Sept. being evidently arbitrary, and therefore inadmissible expedients for solving a difficulty); and the subsequent events happened in the second year—which may be the meaning of the latter clause.

*Saul's first trial and transgression.*—The restrictions on which he held the sovereignty had (1 Sam. x. 25) been fully explained as well to Saul as to the people, so that he was not ignorant of his true position as merely the lieutenant of Jehovah, king of Israel, who not only gave all the laws, but whose will, in the execution of them, was constantly to be consulted and complied with. The first occasion on which his obedience to this constitution was put to the test brought out those defects in his character which showed his unfitness for his high office, and incurred a threat of that rejection which his subsequent conduct confirmed (1 Sam. xiii. 13). Saul could not understand his proper position, as only the servant of Jehovah speaking through his ministers, or confine himself to it; and in this respect he was not, what David, with many individual and private faults and crimes, was—a man after God's own heart, a king faithful to the principles of the theocracy.

Having organised a small standing army, part of which, under Jonathan, had taken a fort of the Philistines, Saul summoned the people to withstand the forces which their oppressors, now alarmed for their dominion, would naturally assemble. But so numerous a host came against Saul, that the people, panic-stricken, fled to rocks and caverns for safety—years of servitude having extinguished their courage, which the want of arms, of which the policy of the Philistines had deprived them, still further diminished. The number of chariots, 30,000, seems a mistake; unless we suppose, with Le Clerc, that they were not war-chariots but baggage-waggons (an improbable supposition), so that 3000 may be the true number. Apparently reduced to extremity, and the seventh day being come, but not being ended, the expiration of which Samuel had enjoined him to wait, Saul at least *ordered* sacrifices to be offered—for the expression (1 Sam. xiii. 9) does not necessarily imply that he intruded into the priest's office (2 Sam. vi. 13; 1 Kings iii. 2-4), though that is the most obvious meaning of the text. Whether that which Saul now disregarded was the injunction referred to (1 Sam. x. 8), or one subsequently addressed to him, this is evident, that Saul acted in the full knowledge that he sinned (xiii. 12); and his guilt, in that act of conscious disobedience, was probably increased by its clearly involving an assumption of authority to conduct the war according to his own judgment and will. Samuel having denounced the displeasure of Jehovah and its consequences, left him, and Saul returned to Gibeah (the addition made to the text of the Sept. ver. 15, where after 'from Gilgal,' the clause, 'and the rest of the people went up after Saul to meet the enemy from Gilgal to Gibeah,' etc., being required apparently by the sense, which, probably, has been the only authority for its insertion). Left to himself, Saul's errors multiplied apace. Jonathan, having assaulted a garrison of the Philistines (apparently at Michmash, 1 Sam. xiv. 31, which, therefore, must have been situated near Migron in Gibeah, ver. 1, and



within sight of it, ver. 15), Saul, aided by a panic of the enemy, an earthquake, and the co-operation of his fugitive soldiers, effected a great slaughter; but by a rash and foolish denunciation, he (1) impeded his success (ver. 30), (2) involved the people in a violation of the law (ver. 33), and (3), unless prevented by the more enlightened conscience of the people, would have ended with putting Jonathan to death for an act which, being done in invincible ignorance, could involve no guilt. This success against the Philistines was followed, not only by the retirement for a time within their own territory, but by other considerable successes against the other enemies of his country—Moab, Ammon, Edom, the kings of Zobah, the Amalekites, and the Philistines, all of whom he harassed, but did not subdue. These wars may have occupied five or six years, till the tenth or eleventh year of Saul's reign, rather than the sixteenth, as marked in the Bible chronology.

*Saul's second transgression.*—Another trial was afforded Saul before his final rejection, the command to extirpate the Amalekites, whose hostility to the people of God was inveterate (Deut. xxv. 18; Exod. xvii. 8-16; Num. xiv. 42-45; Judg. iii. 13; vi. 3), and who had not by repentance averted that doom which had been delayed 550 years (1 Sam. xiv. 48). They who represent this sentence as unworthy of the God of the whole earth should ask on what principle the execution of a criminal under human governments can be defended. If men judge that the welfare of society demands the destruction of one of their fellows, surely God, who can better judge what the interests of his government require, and has a more perfect right to dispose of men's lives, may cut off by the sword of his servants the persons whom, without any imputation of injustice, he might destroy by disease, famine, or any such visitation. It is more to our present purpose to remark, that the apparent cruelty of this commission was not the reason why it was not fully executed, as Saul himself confessed when Samuel upbraided him, 'I feared the people and obeyed their voice' (1 Sam. xv. 24). This stubbornness in persisting to rebel against the directions of Jehovah was now visited by that final rejection of his family from succeeding him on the throne, which had before been threatened (ver. 23; xiii. 13, 14), and which was now significantly represented, or mystically predicted, by the rending of the prophet's mantle. After this second and flagrant disobedience, Saul received no more public countenance from the venerable prophet, who now left him to his sins and his punishment; 'nevertheless, he mourned for Saul,' and the Lord repented that he had made Saul king (xv. 35).

*Saul's conduct to David.*—The denunciations of Samuel sank into the heart of Saul, and produced a deep melancholy, which either really was, or which his physicians (1 Sam. xvi. 14, 15; comp. Gen. 1. 2) told him, was occasioned by an evil spirit from the Lord; unless we understand the phrase רָעָה רָעָה subjectively, as denoting the condition itself of Saul's mind, instead of the cause of that condition (Is. xxix. 10; Num. v. 14; Rom. xi. 8). We can conceive that music might affect Saul's feelings, might cheer his despondency, or divert his melancholy; but how it should have the power to chase away a spiritual messenger whom the Lord had sent to chasten the monarch for his transgressions, is not so easily understood. Saul's

case must probably be judged of by the same principles as that of the demoniacs mentioned in the N. T. [DEMONIACS]. David was recommended to Saul on account of his skill as a musician (1 Sam. xvi. 16-23), though the narrative of his introduction to Saul, his subsequently killing Goliath, Saul's ignorance of David's person after he had been his attendant and armour-bearer, with various other circumstances in the narrative (1 Sam. xvi. 14-23; xvii. xviii. 1-4), present difficulties which neither the arbitrary omissions in the Sept., nor the ingenuity of subsequent critics, have succeeded in removing, and which have led many eminent scholars to suppose the existence of extensive dislocations in this part of the O. T. Certainly the solutions offered by those who would reconcile the narrative as it now stands in the Hebrew text demand too much ingenuity, and appear very unsatisfactory. That proposed by Hales and others seems to be the most feasible, which would place the passage xvi. 14-23 after xviii. 9; yet why should Saul's attendants need to describe so minutely a person whom he and all Israel knew so well already? Also, how can we conceive that Saul should love so much (xvi. 21) a person against whom his jealousy and hatred had been so powerfully excited as his probable successor in the kingdom? (xviii. 9). Besides, David had occupied already a much higher position (xviii. 5); and, therefore, his being made Saul's armour-bearer must have been the very opposite of promotion, which the text xvi. 21 supposes it was.

Though not acquainted with the unction of David, yet having received intimation that the kingdom should be given to another, Saul soon suspected, from his accomplishments, heroism, wisdom, and popularity, that David was his destined successor; and, instead of concluding that his resistance to the divine purpose would only accelerate his own ruin, Saul, in the spirit of jealousy and rage, commenced a series of murderous attempts on the life of his rival, that must have lost him the respect and sympathy of his people, which they secured for the object of his malice and envy, whose noble qualities also they both exercised and rendered more conspicuous. He attempted twice to assassinate him with his own hand (xviii. 10, 11; xix. 10); he sent him on dangerous military expeditions (xviii. 5, 13, 17); he proposed that David should marry first his elder daughter, whom yet he gave to another, and then his younger, that the procuring of the dowry might prove fatal to David; and then he sought to make his daughter an instrument of her husband's destruction; and it seems probable, that unless miraculously prevented, he would have imbrued his hands in the blood of the venerable Samuel himself (1 Sam. xix. 18), while the text seems to intimate (xx. 33) that even the life of Jonathan was not safe from his fury, though the subsequent context may warrant a doubt whether Jonathan was the party aimed at by Saul. The slaughter of Ahimelech the priest (1 Sam. xxii.), under pretence of his being a partisan of David, and of eighty-five other priests of the house of Eli, to whom nothing could be imputed, as well as the whole inhabitants of Nob, was an atrocity perhaps never exceeded; and yet the wickedness of the act was not greater than its infatuation, for it must have inspired his subjects not only with abhorrence of their king as an inhuman tyrant, but with horror



of him as an impious and sacrilegious monster. This crime of Saul put David in possession of the sacred lot, which Abiathar, the only surviving member of Eli's priestly family, brought with him, and by which he was enabled to obtain oracles directing him in his critical affairs (xxii. 21-23; xxiii. 1, 2).

Having compelled David to assume the position of an outlaw, around whom gathered a number of turbulent and desperate characters, Saul might persuade himself that he was justified in bestowing the hand of David's wife on another, and in making expeditions to apprehend and destroy him. A portion of the people were base enough to minister to the evil passions of Saul (1 Sam. xxiii. 19; xxvi. 1), and others, perhaps, might colour their fear by the pretence of conscience (xxiii. 12). But his sparing Saul's life twice, when he was completely in his power, must have destroyed all colour of right in Saul's conduct in the minds of the people, as it also did in his own conscience (xxiv. 3-7; xxvi.); which two passages, though presenting many points of similarity, cannot be referred to the same occasion, without denying to the narrative all historic accuracy and trustworthiness. Though thus degraded and paralysed by the indulgence of malevolent passions, Saul still acted with vigour in repelling the enemies of his country, and in other affairs wherein his jealousy of David was not concerned (xxiii. 27, 28).

The Bible chronology, as does also Usher, dates David's marriage with Michal A.M. 2491, the same year in which Goliath was slain. Hales, with apparent reason, makes it five years later, when David had attained the age of twenty-five. The same year Mephibosheth was born; which seems to be alluded to in 2 Sam. iv. 4; and about five years more appear to have elapsed before the death of Saul. Samuel's death had taken place not long before, as the statement in 1 Sam. xxviii. 3 implies. Probably two years are sufficient to allow time for the intermediate transactions (1 Sam. xxv.-xxxi.), instead of four, as set down in the Bible chronology.

*Saul's third offence and death.*—The measure of Saul's iniquity, now almost full, was completed by an act of direct treason against Jehovah the God of Israel (Exod. xxii. 18; Lev. xix. 31; xx. 27; Deut. xviii. 10, 11). Saul, probably in a fit of zeal, and perhaps as some atonement for his disobedience in other respects, had executed the penalty of the law on those who practised necromancy and divination (1 Sam. xxviii. 3). Now, however, forsaken of God, who gave him no oracles, and rendered, by a course of wickedness, both desperate and infatuated, he requested his attendants to seek him a woman who had a familiar spirit (which is the loose rendering in the English Bible of the expression occurring twice in ver. 7, **אִשַּׁת חַיִּים**, 'a woman a mistress of Ob'; 'habens Pythonem,' Vulg.), that he might obtain from her that direction which Jehovah refused to afford him. The question as to the character of the apparition evoked by the witch of Endor falls more properly to be considered under other articles [DIVINATION; WITCH]; but we may remark that the king himself manifestly both saw and conversed with the phantom, whatever it was, which appeared in the form and spoke in the character of Samuel, and that the predictions uttered by the spectre were real oracles, implying distinct and certain foreknow-

ledge, as the event proved (see Hales, vol. ii., who has discussed this subject very judiciously).

Assured of his own death the next day, and that of his sons; of the ruin of his army and the triumph of his most formidable enemies, whose invasion had tempted him to try this unhallowed expedient—all announced to him by that same authority which had foretold his possession of the kingdom, and whose words had never been falsified—Saul, in a state of dejection which could not promise success to his followers, met the enemy next day in Gilboa, on the extremity of the great plain of Esdraelon; and having seen the total rout of his army and the slaughter of his three sons, of whom the magnanimous Jonathan was one; and having in vain solicited death from the hand of his armour-bearer (Doeg the Edomite, the Jews say, 'A partner before of his master's crimes, and now of his punishment'), Saul perished at last by his own hand. 'So Saul died for his transgression which he committed against the word of the Lord, which he kept not, and also for asking counsel of one that had a familiar spirit, to inquire of it; and inquired not of the Lord: therefore the Lord slew him, and turned the kingdom unto David' (1 Chron. x. 13, 14).

When the Philistines came on the morrow to plunder the slain, they found Saul's body and the bodies of his sons, which, having beheaded them, they fastened to the wall of Bethshan; but the men of Jabesh-gilead, mindful of their former obligation to Saul (1 Sam. xi.), when they heard of the indignity, gratefully and heroically went by night and carried them off, and buried them under a tree in Jabesh, and fasted seven days. It is pleasing to think that even the worst men have left behind them those in whom gratitude and affection are duties. Saul had those who mourned him, as some hand was found to have strewed flowers on the newly-made grave of Nero. From Jabesh the bones of Saul and of his sons were removed by David, and buried in Zelah, in the sepulchre of Kish his father.

There is not in the sacred history, or in any other, a character more melancholy to contemplate than that of Saul. Naturally humble and modest, though of strong passions, he might have adorned a private station. In circumstances which did not expose him to strong temptation, he would probably have acted virtuously. But his natural rashness was controlled neither by a powerful understanding nor a scrupulous conscience; and the obligations of duty, and the ties of gratitude, always felt by him too slightly, were totally disregarded when ambition, envy, and jealousy had taken possession of his mind. The diabolical nature of these passions is seen with frightful distinctness in Saul, whom their indulgence transformed into an unnatural and blood-thirsty monster, who constantly exhibited the moral infatuation, so common among those who have abandoned themselves to sin, of thinking that the punishment of one crime may be escaped by the perpetration of another. In him also is seen that moral anomaly or contradiction, which would be incredible did we not so often witness it, of an individual pursuing habitually a course which his better nature pronounces not only flagitious, but insane (1 Sam. xxiv. 16-22). Saul knew that that person should be king whom yet he persisted in seeking to destroy, and so accelerated his own ruin. For it can



hardly be doubted that the distractions and disaffection occasioned by Saul's persecution of David produced that weakness in his government which encouraged the Philistines to make the invasion in which himself and his sons perished. 'I gave thee a king in mine anger, and took him away in my wrath' (Hos. xii. 11). In the prolonged troubles and disastrous termination of this first reign, the Hebrews were vividly shown how vain was their favourite remedy for the mischiefs of foreign invasion and intestine discord.—R. L.

#### SAUL OF TARSUS. [PAUL.]

SAURIN, JACQUES, was born at Nismes in 1677. After serving some time as a soldier he devoted himself to study, and in 1709 became pastor of the French church at the Hague, where he died in 1730. He acquired much fame as a preacher, and his sermons, of which 12 vols. have been published, have had a wide circulation. His title to a place in this work rests on his *Discours sur l'ancien Testament*, of which the first two vols. appeared before his death. The work was completed by Beausobre and Roques, and fills 6 vols. fol., or 11 8vo, Amst. 1720. It is a work of much research, and contains some ingenious and valuable remarks on many points of difficulty, historical and philosophical. It is adorned by a costly set of engravings. The first vol. was translated into English by John Chamberlayne, Lond. 1723, fol.—W. L. A.

SAW (מִשּׁוֹר, מְנִירָה; Sept. πλωρ). The saw was doubtless used among the Hebrews for the cutting of wood, though this is not mentioned in the Bible; it was used for the cutting of stone (1 Kings vii. 9), and also as an instrument of punishment (2 Sam. xii. 31; 1 Chron. xx. 3). The saws of the Egyptian, so far as known, were all straight and single-handed; but the double-handed saw seems to have been known to the Assyrians (Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* p. 195), and we suppose must have been known to the Hebrews from their sawing stones. Jerome is thought to allude to the circular saw, for he says (*In Esai.* xxviii. 27) that the iron wheels used to thresh corn were driven round 'in serrarum similitudinem.' The Egyptian saws in the British Museum are of bronze; but those used by David as instruments of punishment were of iron. [HANDICRAFT.]—W. L. A.

SCAPE-GOAT. [GOAT, SCAPE; ATONEMENT, DAY OF.]

#### SCARLET. [COLOURS.]

SCEPTRE. The Hebrew word thus rendered is שֵׁבִיט, which in its primary signification denotes a staff of wood (Ezek. xix. 11), about the height of a man, which the ancient kings and chiefs bore as an insigne of honour (*Iliad*, i. 234, 245; ii. 185, seq.; Amos i. 5; Zech. x. 11; Ezek. xix. 11; Wisd. x. 14. Comp. Gen. xlix. 10; Num. xxiv. 17; Is. xiv. 5). As such it appears to have originated in the shepherd's staff, since the first kings were mostly nomade princes (Strabo, xvi. 783; comp. Ps. xxix.) There were, however, some nations among whom the agricultural life must have been the earliest known; and we should not among them expect to find the shepherd's staff advanced to symbolical honour. Accordingly,

Diodorus Siculus (iii. 3) informs us, that the sceptre of the Egyptian kings bore the shape of a plough—a testimony confirmed by existing monuments, in which the long staff which forms the sceptre terminates in a form obviously intended to represent a plough.

A golden sceptre—that is, one washed or plated with gold—is mentioned in Ezek. iv. 11 (comp. Xenoph. *Cyrop.* viii. 7, 13; *Iliad*, i. 15; ii. 268; *Odys.* xi. 91). Other decorations of Oriental sceptres are noticed by Strabo (xvi. 746). Inclining the sceptre was a mark of kingly favour (Esth. iv. 11), and the kissing it a token of submission (Esth. v. 2). Saul appears to have carried his javelin as a mark of superiority (1 Sam. xviii. 10; xxii. 6).—J. K.

SCEVA (Σκευᾶς), a Jew resident at Ephesus at the time of St. Paul's second visit, and described as 'high-priest' either from his having held that office, or from his being chief of one of the twenty-four courses of priests (Acts xix. 14-16).—W. L. A.

SCHAAF, KARL, was born at Nuys or Neuss, in the electorate of Cologne, 28th Aug. 1646, and died at Leyden, where he was professor of Oriental languages, 4th Nov. 1719. His principal works are, *Grammatica Chald. et Syr.* 1686; *Nov. Test. Syriacum*, 1708; *Lexicon Syr. Concordantiale*, 1709; *Epitome Grammat. Heb.* 1716. The edition of the N. T. and the concordantial lexicon which accompanies it, have given Schaaaf a high place among Syriac scholars.—W. L. A.

SCHUCHZER, JOHANN JAKOB, M.D., professor of mathematics and physics at Zürich, was born in that town 4th Aug. 1672, and died there 25th June 1733. His principal work is his *Physica Sacra h. e. Historia Naturalis Biblicæ*, published originally in German in 1725, and translated by the author into Latin, Augsb. 1731-35, 5 vols. fol. It was also translated into French and Dutch. The first German edition is preferred, on account of the greater brilliancy of the plates, of which there are 750. As a popular and correct description of the objects of natural history in the Bible, this work possesses great attractions. It does not, however, throw much light on difficult questions.—W. L. A.

SCHINOS (Σχῖνος) occurs only in the book entitled Susannah, ver. 54, where one of the elders says that he saw Susannah with a young man, ὑπὸ σχῖνον, which is correctly translated 'under a mastic-tree.' The other elder replied, that it was ὑπὸ πρίνον, 'under a holm-tree,' that is, a species of oak. The mastic-tree was well known to the Greeks by the name of σχῖνος. It is the *Pistacia Lentiscus* of botanists, and belongs to the same genus as the *Pistachio* nut and turpentine tree. [BOTNIM and ALAH.] The mastic-tree is a native of the Mediterranean region, and is found in different parts of Syria. It is a moderate-sized tree or large shrub. It is celebrated for producing mastic, a resin which exudes from incisions made in the bark, chiefly in the island of Scio. The hardened mastic, in the form of roundish straw-coloured tears, is much chewed by Turkish women. It consists of resin, with a minute portion of volatile oil: it is much used as a varnish, and sometimes as a medicine, and by dentists in this country.—J. F. R.



SCHLEIERMACHER, FRIED. ERNEST DANIEL, was born at Breslau 21st Nov. 1778, and died at Berlin 12th Feb. 1834. He was educated at Halle, and commenced his active career as assistant minister at Landsberg, on the Warthe, and after filling several subordinate offices in the church, he became professor of theology and pastor of Trinity Church at Berlin. From this position he exercised an immense influence on the intellectual and religious life of Germany. His writings are numerous in several departments of literature. His Biblical works are: *Ueb. die Sogenannten ersten brief d. Paulus an d. Timotheus; ein Krit. Sendschreiben*, Berl. 1807; *Ueber die Schriften des Lukas. Ein Kritisches Versuch*, Berl. 1817, translated into English, with an introduction by the translator, Lond. 1825; *Hermeneutik und Kritik mit besond. beziehung auf d. N. T.*, Berl. 1838; *Einleitung ins N. T.*, Berl. 1845; both these two last published from the author's MS. by Lücke.—W. L. A.

SCHLEUSNER, JOH. FRIED., D.D., was born at Leipzig 16th Jan. 1756, and died 21st Feb. 1831, at Wittenberg, where he was professor of theology, provost, and director of the theological seminary. He rendered important service to Biblical literature by his lexicons to the LXX. and the N. T. The latter appeared first under the title *Novum Lexicon Græco-Latinum in Nov. Test., congestis et variis observationibus philologicis illustratum*, 2 vols. 8vo, Lips. 1792. Several editions of this work have appeared both in Germany and in this country. The British editions are the best as respects paper and type. The Lexicon to the LXX. bears the title, *Novus Thesaurus Philol. Crit. sive lexicon in LXX. et reliquos interpp. Græcos ac scriptt. apocryphos N. T.*, Lips. 1820-21, 5 parts, Glasg. 1822, 3 vols. These lexicons are distinguished by great copiousness of learning and illustration; and though that on the N. T. has been succeeded by works of greater exactness as regards the meaning of the words, its abundance of material will still make it attractive and useful to the student. For that on the LXX. no substitute has appeared.—W. L. A.

SCHMID, ERASMUS, born 27th April 1560 at Delitzsch, was professor of Greek and mathematics at Leipzig, where he died 22d Sept. 1637. He prepared a Latin translation of the N. T., which was published after his death (Nürm. 1658, fol.); but his great work was his *Ταμείον τῶν τῆς Κ. Δ. λέξεων, sive Concordantiæ omnium vocum N. T. Gr.*, Wittemb. 1638, fol. Of this work, which is the Concordance to the Greek N. T., new editions appeared at Gotha 1717, fol., edited by E. S. Cyprian; at Glasgow, 2 vols. 8vo, 1819; and at Leipzig 1853, edited by C. H. Bruder, 4to. This last is immeasurably superior to any of the preceding.—W. L. A.

SCHMID, SEBASTIAN, D.D., a native of Alsatia, was born 6th Jan. 1617 at Lamperheim, and died 9th Jan. 1696 at Strasburg, where he was professor of theology and canonicus. He was a voluminous writer. His principal Biblical works were his translation of the Bible: *Biblia Sacra V. T. et N. ex linguis original. in ling. lat. translata*, Strasb. 1696, 1708, N. T. 1715; and his Commentaries: on *Genesis*, Strasb. 1697; on *Judges*, ib. 1684, 1691, 1706; on *Ruth*, 1696; on *Kings*,

1687; on *Job*, 1670, and often; on *Cohleth*, 1704; on *Isaiah*, Hamb. 1702; on *Jeremiah*, Strasb. 1685, Frank. 1697, 1706; *Minor Prophets*, Leipz. 1685, 1687, 1698; *Hosea*, Frank. 1687; *Romans, Galatians, and Colossians*, etc., Hamb. 1704; *Ephesians*, Strasb. 1684, 1699; *Hebrews*, 1680, Leipz. 1693, 1722; 1 *John*, Frank. and Leipz. 1687, 1707, 1726. Some of these were posthumous publications; they are all much valued for sound and learned exegesis.—W. L. A.

SCHOLZ, JOH. MART. AUGUSTIN, was born at Kapsdorf, near Breslau, 8th Feb. 1794. Having entered the priesthood of the Roman Catholic Church in 1821, he became Catholic professor of theology at Bonn in that year, and prebendary of the cathedral at Cologne in 1831. He devoted himself to Biblical criticism, and acquired fame by his edition of the Greek N. T., 2 vols. 4to [CRITICISM, BIBLICAL]. As preparatory to this work he travelled in the East and through Europe, to examine the different MSS. of the N. T., of which travels he published accounts. He wrote also *Curæ Crit. in hist. textus Evangeliorum*, Heideb. 1820; *Handbuch der Bibl. Archaeologie*, Bonn 1834; *Einleitung in das A. und N. T.*, of which only the O. T. part was published, 3 vols. Cöln 1845-48. He completed the translation and commentary of Brentano and Dereser, of which the portion on the N. T. is wholly his. He died in 1853.—W. L. A.

#### SCHOOLS. [EDUCATION.]

SCHOTT, HEINR. AUG., D.D., successively extraordinary professor of theology at Leipzig, ordinary professor of theology at Wittenberg, and afterwards at Jena, was born at Leipzig 5th Dec. 1780, and died at Jena 30th Dec. 1835. He published some valuable works on sacred rhetoric, and several in Biblical literature. The following are the more important:—*Nov. Test. e recens. Griesbach. nova versione lat. illustratum*, Lips. 1805, 1811, 1825; *Isagoge Hist. Crit. in libros N. T.*, Jen. 1830; *Libri S. antiqui foed. ex sermone Heb. in lat. transl.* (in conjunction with J. F. Winzer), vol. i., containing the Pentateuch, Alton. 1816; *Epp. Pauli ad Thess. et Gal., Test. Gr. recognovit et comment. perpet. illust.*, Lips. 1834; *Opuscula exeget. crit. dogmat.*, 2 vols. Jen. 1817.—W. L. A.

SCHÖTTGEN, CHRISTIAN, born 14th March 1687, died 15th Dec. 1751, was successively rector of a school in Frankfort-on-the-Oder, professor at Gröningen, and rector of the Kreuzschule at Dresden. He wrote several works characterised by much learning, but his most important work is *Hora Hebraica et Talmudica in N. T.*, 2 vols. 4to, Dresd. and Leipz. 1733-42. In connection with this he issued a volume entitled *Der Wahre Messias*, in which he has collected passages from Jewish writings illustrative of the Messianic prophecies. He was the author also of *Nov. Lex. Gr. Lat. in N. T.*, Lips. 1746, of which a new edition by Krebs appeared in 1765, and another by Spohn in 1790.—W. L. A.

SCHULTENS, ALBERT, D.D., rector of the theological college of the states of Holland, and professor of Oriental languages and Hebrew antiquities at Leyden, was born 22d Aug. 1686 at Gröningen, and died 26th Jan. 1750. He was a distinguished Shemitic scholar, and the founder of the Dutch school of Hebrew philology [HEBREW



LANGUAGE]. His principal works are:—*Institutiones ad fundamenta Ling. Heb.*, Leyd. 1737, 1756; *Vetus et regia via Hebraicandi asseria*, Leyd. 1738; *Animadversiones Philol. et Crit. ad varia loca V. T.*, Amst. 1709, 1732; *Liber Jobi cum nova vers. ad Hebr. fontem et comment. perpet.*, Leyd. 1737; *Proverbia Salomonis. Versionem integram ad Hebr. fontem express.*, etc., Leyd. 1748; *Opera Minora*, Leyd. 1769.—W. L. A.

#### SCORPION. [AKRAB.]

SCOTT, THOMAS, was born at Braytoft, in Lincolnshire, Feb. 16, 1747. Having received some amount of education, he was apprenticed, in his fifteenth year, to an apothecary and surgeon in Alford, in his native county; but was, after a few months, dismissed in disgrace, and had to turn to the drudgery of a grazier's life, as an assistant to his father. Notwithstanding his difficulties and disadvantages, he applied for and obtained ordination in his twenty-sixth year, and was appointed to the united curacies of Stoke Goldington and Weston Underwood. Reversing the ordinary course, he now entered himself at Clare Hall, Cambridge, to complete his education. After this he removed to the curacy of Ravenstone, where the great change in his spiritual life, described in the *Force of Truth*, took place. At the instance of the Rev. J. Newton he accepted the curacy of Olney, left vacant by the removal of Mr. Newton to London (1781). In 1785 he became chaplain of the Lock Hospital, London; and, in 1801, was appointed to the living of Aston-Sandford, Bucks, where he died April 16, 1821. Mr. Scott was a diligent student and sound theologian of the moderate Calvinistic school. He wrote and published many useful theological works, none of which requires notice here except that which he regarded as 'the grand business' of his life: *The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments, with Original Notes, Practical Observations, and copious Marginal References*. This work was begun in 1788, and published in parts. It went through four editions during Mr. Scott's lifetime, each edition being an improvement on the preceding. The fifth edition, which received the author's last corrections, was published after his death in 6 vols. 4to, 1822. Well received at first, it has been always popular. It contains much judicious exposition, and is characterised throughout by good sense and pious feeling. [COMMENTARY.]—I. J.

#### SCREECH-OWL. [LILITH.]

SCRIBES, or Sopherim (סופרים, γραμματεῖς, *Scribæ*), the doctors of the law and interpreters of the Scriptures in, before, and after the time of Christ.

1. *Name and its signification*.—In the earlier records of the O. T. the name *Sopher* (סֹפֵר, participle of סָפַר, *to write, to count*) is given to officers of state whose functions were to write the king's letters, draw up his decrees (2 Kings xii. 10; 2 Chron. xxiv. 11), and to number and write down the military forces, as well as the prisoners (Judg. v. 14; 2 Kings xxv. 19; Is. xxxiii. 18; Jer. lii. 25). As learning was intimately connected with the art of writing, and as these two accomplishments were always associated together in ancient days, these Scribes occupied a distinguished position. Hence they are mentioned side by side with the high-priest

and the captain of the host (2 Kings xii. 10; 2 Chron. xxiv. 11); and hence too the term *Sopher* (סֹפֵר) became in the post-exile period the honourable appellation of *one who copied the law for himself or others, one skilled in the divine law, an interpreter of the Scriptures* (Jer. viii. 8; Ezra vii. 6, 12; Neh. viii. 1, *al.*) In their anxiety to preserve the text of Holy Writ, as well as to point out the import of its injunctions, these Scribes counted every letter and classified every precept of the law. To indicate this the Talmud, in accordance with its general practice always to deduce from the name the various actions of the man, derives the appellation *Sopher* from סָפַר, *to count*, maintaining that this name was given to those who counted the letters of the law (*Kiddushin*, 30 a), as well as from סָדַר, *to number, to arrange, to classify*, submitting that the name was also given to them because they classified the precepts of Scripture (*Jerusalem Shekalim*, v. 1).

2. *Origin and development*.—In describing the rise and progress of the ancient doctors and interpreters of the Scriptures we shall have to distinguish five different periods, viz.—*i.* The period of the *Sopherim*, or the Scribes in the strict sense of the word; *ii.* The period of the *Tanaim*; *iii.* The *Amoraim*; *iv.* The *Saboraim*; and *v.* The period of the *Gaonim*. It is only by separating these different epochs that the work and influence of the doctors of the law can be duly understood.

#### I. THE SOPHERIM (סופרים) OR SCRIBES.

*i. Date and institution*.—The period of the *Sopherim* begins with the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity, and ends with the death of Simon the Just (*circa* 458-300 B.C.), embracing nearly a hundred and sixty years. Though there were popular teachers of the law in the Babylonish captivity, as is evident from Ezra viii. 16, where these official instructors are denominated *skilled in the law* (מְבֹרָכִים), and from the fact that Ezra himself was at the head of such a class (Ezra vii. 12, 21, with Neh. xiii. 13), yet the language in which the sacred oracles were written was gradually dying out, and Hebrew ceased in many instances to be the language of the people (Neh. xiii. 24). This rendered the understanding of the Scriptures by the people at large a difficult matter. Besides, the newly altered state after the return from the Babylonish captivity, which called for new enactments as well as for the expansion and modification of some Pentateuchal laws, imperatively demanded that an authoritative body of teachers should so explain the law, which was regarded as the only rule of practice, as to adapt it to present circumstances. Hence Ezra, who reorganised the new state, also organised such a body of interpreters, of which he was the chief. It is for this reason that he is called *Sopher*=*one occupied with books, interpreter of the Book* (Ezra vii. 6, 11, 12, 21; Neh. viii. 1, 4, 9, 13; xii. 26, 36), that he is denominated the second Moses (*Sanhedrin*, 21 b; *Tosiphta*, *ibid.* cap. iv.; *Jerusalem Megilla*, i. 9), and that it is said 'when the *Tora* was forgotten by Israel Ezra came from Babylon and restored it again' (*Succa*, 20 a, with 2 *Esdras* xiv. 21-47). The skilled in the law both from among the tribe of Aaron and the laity, who with Ezra, and after his death to the time of the *Tanaim*, thus interpreted and fixed the divine law, are denominated *Sopherim*, *Scribes*, in the strict sense of the word. Many of these *Sopherim* were members of the Great Synagogue



which was formed by Nehemiah after the death of Ezra [SYNAGOGUE, THE GREAT]; hence the terms *Sopherim* and *the men of the Great Synagogue* (אַנְשֵׁי הַגְּדוֹלָה).

are frequently interchanged, and hence too the canons which were enacted during this period are sometimes recorded in the name of the former and sometimes in the name of the latter, though they proceed from one and the same body. Reserving those enactments which are recorded in the name of the Great Synagogue for that article [SYNAGOGUE, THE GREAT], we shall here specify the most important acts and monuments which have come down to us as proceeding from the *Sopherim* or *Scribes*.

ii. *The work of the Sopherim or Scribes*.—It is not too much to say that the work of these *Sopherim* embraces the whole field of civil and religious law, both as it is contained in the written word of God and as it obtained in the course of time; and that it is most essential to the criticism and interpretation of the O. T. to understand these enactments, inasmuch as they materially affect the text of the Hebrew Scriptures. This will be evident from the following brief description of some of the Sopheric work:—1. In accordance with the primary meaning of their name, the Scribes or *Sopherim* copied the Pentateuch, the Phylacteries, and Mezuzoth, for the people (*Pesachim*, 50 b), since it was only the codices which proceeded from these authoritative teachers that could be relied upon. 2. They guarded the Bible against any interpolations or corruptions, and for this purpose counted the letters of the Scriptures. Thus the Scribes tell us that in five instances (Gen. xviii. 5; xxiv. 35; Num. xxxi. 2; Ps. xxxvi. 7; lxviii. 26), a *vav* crept into the text through a vitiated provincial pronunciation, for which reason these Sopheric corrections are called *the emendations of the Scribes* (עֲמֻר סוֹפְרִים, *Nedarim*, 37 b [KERI AND KETHIV; MASORAH]; Ginsburg's translation of *Jacob b. Chajim's Introduction to the Rabbinic Bible*, p. 12), and that the י in הָיוּ (Lev. xi. 42) is the central letter of the whole Pentateuch (*Kiddushin*, 30 a). 3. They read the law before the people in the synagogues on stated occasions, for which reason Ezra, the chief Scribe, is denominated (ἀναγνώστης) the prælector of the law (1 Esdras viii. 8). Hence the usage of the word Scribe or *Sopher* (סֹפֵר) in post-biblical Hebrew to denote a public reader of the law (*Sabbath*, 31 a). Moreover they indicated to the people when words were in pause or when they were in the plural, or simply had dual forms, as is the case with אַרְבָּן, מִצְרִים, etc. These indications are called *the Reading of the Scribes* (מִקְרָא סוֹפְרִים). 4. They propounded the duties inculcated in the Scriptures to the people at large on Sabbath and festivals, and delivered lectures to their disciples in the weekdays, in the colleges, on the profounder import of Holy Writ. These expositions are called *Sopheric comments* (פִּירוּשֵׁי סוֹפְרִים). 5. They defined the limits of each precept, and determined the manner in which the sundry commands of the divine law are to be performed—*ex. gr.* they fixed the passages of Scripture meant by 'the words of command' which the Lord enjoined the Israelites 'to bind for a sign upon their hands, and to be as frontlets between their eyes' (Exod. xiii. 9, 16; Deut. vi. 8; xi. 18, with *Menachoth*, 34 b [PHYLACTERIES]); the portions of the Bible to be re-

cited at morning and evening prayer as indicated in the words 'thou shalt talk about them . . . when thou liest down and when thou risest up' (Deut. vi. 7), etc. These definitions of the injunctions are denominated *the measures of the Scribes* (שִׁיעוּרֵי סוֹפְרִים), which, though in theory they are distinguished from the letter of the Bible (דְּבָרֵי הַתּוֹרָה), yet in authority are equal to it, and are regarded as *divinely legal* (מִדְּבָרֵי הַתּוֹרָה). 6. They fixed the traditional law, which was in the mouth and memory of the people. 7. They enacted prohibitory laws, called *Fences* (גְּזֵרֹת, גְּזָרִים, גְּזָרִים), to guard the Biblical precepts from being violated, and these enactments are styled *the precepts of the Scribes of the Sopherim, the injunctions of the elders* (מִסוֹרֹת הַזְּקֵנִים, מִצְוֹת הַזְּקֵנִים, דְּבָרֵי זְקֵנִים, דְּבָרִים); and in the N. T. *the traditions of the elders* (παράδοσεις τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, Matt. xv. 2; Mark vii. 3), *the traditions of the fathers* (πατρικαὶ παράδοσεις, Gal. i. 14). Hence, as the phrase דְּבָרֵי סוֹפְרִים is not only used to express the *Sopheric expositions of the Pentateuch*, but more especially to denote the definitions and hedges of the Scribes superadded to the divine law, it is frequently identical with the phrase *oral law* (תּוֹרָה שֶׁבֶּעַל פֶּה).

Hence, too, the remark which often occurs in the Talmudic writings, 'a subject the basis of which is in the words of the Pentateuch, but the definition or superstructure of which is from the words of the Scribes' (דְּבָרֵי שִׁיעוּרֵי מִדְּבָרֵי תּוֹרָה), *Sanhedrin*, 87 a; *Jerusalem*, *ibid.* xi. 4; *Kiddushin*, 77 a); when the simple letter of the inspired code is spoken of in contradistinction to the definitions and hedges of the Scribes; and 8. They removed anthropomorphisms and other indelicate expressions from the Scriptures by introducing alterations into the text, of which the following eighteen instances are especially recorded:—1. For the original reading, יְהוָה עֹמֵד לְפָנַי אַבְרָהָם, and *Jehovah still stood before Abraham* (Gen. xviii. 22), they substituted וַאֲבְרָהָם עֹמֵד לְפָנַי יְהוָה, and *Abraham still stood before Jehovah*, because it appeared offensive to say that the Deity stood before the patriarch. 2. For the remark of Moses in his prayer, 'Kill me, I pray thee, . . . that I may not see (בְּרַעֲתִי) THY EVIL' (Num. xi. 15)—*i.e.* the punishment wherewith thou visitest Israel—they substituted, 'that I may not see (בְּרַעֲתִי) MY EVIL,' because it might seem as if Moses ascribed evil to the Deity. 3 and 4. They altered 'Let her not be as one dead, who proceeded from the womb of (אִמּוֹ) OUR MOTHER, and half of (בִּשְׂרֹנוֹ) OUR FLESH be consumed' (Num. xii. 12), into 'Let her not be as one dead born, which, when it proceeds from the womb of (אִמּוֹ) ITS MOTHER, has half (בִּשְׂרֹנוֹ) ITS FLESH consumed.'

5. They changed 'for his sons cursed (אֱלֹהִים) GOD' (1 Sam. iii. 13), which is still retained in the Sept., into 'for his sons cursed (לָהֶם) THEMSELVES,' because it was too offensive to say that the sons of Eli cursed God, and that Eli knew it and did not reprove them for it. 6. 'Will God see (בְּעֵינָיו) WITH HIS EYE' (2 Sam. xvi. 12)? they altered into 'will God look (בְּעֵינָיו) AT MY AFFLICTION?' because it was too anthropomorphic. 7. 'To his God (לְאֱלֹהָיו), O Israel, . . . and Israel went (לְאֱלֹהָיו) TO THEIR GOD' (1 Kings xii. 16), they



altered into 'TO YOUR TENTS (לְאֹהֲלֶיךָ), O Israel, . . . and Israel departed (לְאֹהֲלֵי) TO THEIR TENTS,' because the separation of Israel from the house of David was regarded as a necessary transition to idolatry, it was looked upon as leaving God and the sanctuary for the worship of idols in tents. 8. For the same reason they altered 2 Chron. x. 16, which is a parallel passage. 9. 'My people have changed (כְּבוֹדִי) MY GLORY for an idol' (Jer. ii. 11), they altered into 'have changed (כְּבוֹדִים) THEIR GLORY into an idol,' because it is too offensive to say such a thing. 10. 'They have put the rod to (אָפַי) MY NOSE' (Ezek. viii. 17), they changed into 'they have put the rod to (אָפַם) THEIR NOSE.' 11. 'They have changed (כְּבוֹדִי) MY GLORY into shame' (Hos. iv. 7), they altered into 'I will change their glory into shame' (כְּבוֹדָם בְּקֶלֶן) כְּבוֹדָם, for the same reason which dictated the ninth alteration. 12. 'Thou diest not' (תָּמֹת), addressed by the prophet to God (Hab. i. 12), they altered into 'we shall not die' (נָמֹת), because it was deemed improper. 13. 'The apple of (עֵינִי) MINE EYE' (Zech. ii. 12), they altered into 'the apple of (עֵינִי) HIS EYE,' for the reason which called forth the tenth emendation. 14. 'Ye make (אוֹתִי) ME expire' (Mal. i. 13), they altered into 'ye weary (אוֹתִי) IT,' because of its being too gross an anthropomorphism. 15. 'They have changed (כְּבוֹדִי) MY GLORY into the similitude of an ox' (Ps. cvi. 20), they altered into 'they have changed (כְּבוֹדָם) THEIR GLORY into the similitude of an ox,' for the same reason which called forth the alterations in Jer. ii. 11 and Hos. iv. 7, or emendations nine and eleven. 16. 'Am I a burden (עֹלֶיךָ) TO THEE?' (Job vii. 20), which Job addresses to God, they altered into 'so that I am a burden (אֵלַי) TO MYSELF,' to remove its offensiveness. 17. 'They condemned (אֵת אֱלֹהִים, or אֵת הָרִין) GOD, or THE DIVINE JUSTICE' (Job xxxii. 3), they altered into 'they condemned (אֵיבֹב) Job,' for the same reason which called forth the sixteenth emendation; and 18. 'Thou wilt remember, and THY SOUL WILL MOURN OVER ME' (וְתִשָּׁחַ עָלַי), Lam. iii. 20), they altered into 'and my soul is humbled within me (וְתִשָּׁחַ עָלַי נַפְשִׁי); because of the seeming impropriety on the part of the sacred writer to say that God will mourn. These alterations are denominated *Tikun Sopherim*, the eighteen emendations of the Scribes (יָחַ מְלֵין תְּקֻן סוֹפְרִים), or simply, *Tikun Sopherim* (תְּקֻן סוֹפְרִים) = the emendations of the Scribes, and are given in the *Massora magna* on Num. i. 1; xi. 15; Ps. cvi. 20; Ezek. viii. 17; Hab. i. 12; and in the *Massora finalis* פֶּסֶק, 13 (comp. Pinsker in the Hebrew Essays and Reviews, entitled *Keren Chemed*, vol. ix. p. 52, ff., Berlin 1856; Geiger, *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel*, p. 308, ff.; Frensdorff, *Ochlah W'ochlah*, p. 37, ff., Hanover 1864; Ginsburg, *The Introduction of Jacob b. Chajim to the Rabbinic Bible, Hebrew and English*, p. 28, etc., Longman 1865).

iii. The manner in which the Sopherim or Scribes transmitted their work.—Their great reverence for the divine law, their extraordinary modesty and humility, as well as their fear lest any of their writings should be raised to the dignity of Holy Writ, prevented the Scribes or Sopherim from embodying their expositions and enactments in sepa-

rate treatises. This is the reason why there are no books of the Scribes extant, and why they most scrupulously abstained from dogmatising, so much

so that the phrase, 'the Laws of the Scribes' (הַלְכוֹת סוֹפְרִים) does not occur. It was the later doctors of the law (סוֹפְרֵי הַתְּנַאִים = νομοδιδασκαλοι) who canonised the opinions of the Scribes (דְּבָרֵי סוֹפְרִים), which had been transmitted orally and through diverse signs. These signs (סִמְנוֹת) or indications (רְמוּזִים) the Scribes put down in the margins of the copies of the Hebrew Scriptures, to indicate to them the interpretations and definitions which their predecessors, contemporaries, and which they themselves put on certain passages, and these signs formed the foundation of the *Keri* and *Kethiv*, *plene* and *defective*, etc. Thus, for instance, from Exod. xxi. 8 they deduced that it is the bouden duty of the master to marry his maiden who was sold to him for this purpose, though the law tolerates an alternative, and to indicate this opinion the Scribes put in the margin against יַעֲרָה, 'whom

he will not betroth,' the word לֹא with ו instead of א, i. e. *whom he ought to betroth* (comp. *Bechoroth*, 13 a; Rashi on *Exod.* xxi. 8). Again, in Lev. xxv. 29, 30, it is enacted that if a house in a walled city has been sold and is not redeemed within a year it becomes the absolute property of the purchaser. Now, the Scribes defined the phrase *walled city* to mean a city which had walls in the time of the conquest of Canaan by Joshua, though these walls were afterwards removed, and to indicate this they put in the margin against אֶשֶׁר לֹא

הוּמָה, 'which had a wall,' the word לֹא with ו instead of א, i. e. *which has no wall now* (comp. *Erachin*, 32 a; *Shebuoth*, 16 a; Rashi on *Lev.* xxv. 30, 31; Maimonides, *Iud Ha-Cheraka Hilchoth Shemita Ve-Jobel*, xii. 15). They concluded from Lev. xxiii. 4 that the proclamation or fixing of the new moon devolved upon the supreme court at Jerusalem (*Mishna Rosh Ha-Shana*, i. 8, 9; ii. 5, 7), and to indicate this the Scribes wrote the defective אֶתָּם, 'ye shall pronounce, i. e. *it is sanctified*' [NEW MOON], instead of the plene אותם. The Scribes also indicated that certain commandments are not to be restricted to Jerusalem, but are to be kept wherever the Jews reside, by writing in such instances the defective מִשְׁפָּתֵיכֶם, i. e. *in your desolations*, instead of the plene מוֹשְׁבֵיכֶם, *your dwellings* (Lev. xxiii. 14, 31). These signs are the basis of the *Massorah*, and account for many of the various readings which obtained in the course of time. For further information on this most important branch of the Sopheric work, we must refer to the elaborate treatise of Krochmal, entitled *More Neboche Ha-Zeman*, sec. xiii. p. 161, etc.

iv. The authority of the Scribes.—Though the Scribes themselves did not issue their expositions of what they believed to be the doctrines of Holy Writ with the declaration that 'except every one do keep them whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly,' or 'except a man believe them faithfully, he cannot be saved,' but simply stated them as their opinions about the teachings of the divine law; yet the doctors of the law who succeeded the Sopherim accepted these expositions as final, and decreed that whosoever gainsays their authority commits a capital offence.



As the penalty attached to the violation of some of the Mosaic injunctions and prohibitions was not very serious, inasmuch as the law distinguished between the diverse kinds of transgression, whilst there is no distinction made in the Sopheric enactments, since the same amount of guilt and the same kind of punishment were incurred in case any one of their precepts was violated; the sages of the Mishna remark, 'To be against the words of the Scribes is more punishable than to be against the words of the Bible; he who, in order to transgress the Scriptures, says phylacteries are not enjoined in Holy Writ is acquitted, but he who says that there ought to be five compartments in the phylacteries, thus adding to the decisions of the Scribes [PHYLACTERIES], is guilty' (*Sanhedrin*, xi. 3). Hence also the Talmudic exposition of Eccles. xii. 9, which is as follows:—'Above these, my son, beware of making many books there is no end;' i.e. my son, take care of the decisions of the Scribes above the words of the Bible, for in the words of Scrip-

ture there are both (עשה) injunctions and (לא תעשה) prohibitions [the transgression of some of these involves only a slight punishment], whilst the transgression of any one of the precepts of the Scribes is a capital offence. And if thou shouldst say, seeing that they are so weighty, Why are they not written down? [Reply] To make many books there is no end' (*Eruvin*, 21 b). Now, however much these bold statements might at first appear to exalt the expositions of men above the word of God, a little reflection will show that the inference deduced therefrom, and the charges preferred by Eisenmenger, Buxtorf, M'Caul, and others, against the Jews, based thereupon, are alike unfair and unjust. Is it not true that, though we boast that the Bible is the code of Protestants, yet we accept the creeds, the articles, and the canons, which are uninspired compositions, as the exponents of Holy Writ, and that in questions of heresies our supreme ecclesiastical court does not test the soundness or unsoundness of any doctrine by the dicta of the Bible, but by these human expositions? Nay, our ecclesiastical court positively refuses to listen to any appeal to the Bible, and punishes far more severely nonconformity to its decrees than departures from some of the injunctions in Holy Writ. Still, we should rebut it as unfair if the Jews were to charge us with honouring the decisions of our Scribes above the Bible; and surely it is only just that if they, like ourselves, appeal to certain expositions and decrees of their Scribes as final, we should not charge them with annulling the Word of God. Besides, it must be remembered that, though only three names of the Scribes, properly so called, have come down to us—viz., Ezra, Zadok (*Neh.* xiii. 13), and Simon the Just—yet there can be but little doubt that, like these three, all the rest were inspired with divine wisdom, and that most of their expositions, which are dispersed through the ancient Jewish writings, exhibit the spirit of the Bible, and that their decrees answered the requirements of the time.

## II. THE TANAIM (תנאים) or TEACHERS OF THE LAW.

i. *Name and date of the Tanaim.*—The appellation *Tanaim* is Aramaic (תנאים, sing. תנאי, frequentative of the Chaldee תנה = Hebrew שנה, to repeat), and literally denotes *Repeaters of the Law*, or *Teachers of the Law*. The Hebrew equivalent

for this title is שוני הלכות, whilst in the N. T. this class of teachers are denominated νομοδιδασκαλοι (Luke v. 17; Acts v. 34). These teachers of the law are also called the *Sages*, the *Wise* (חכמים, σοφοί), *elders* (זקנים), πρεσβύτεροι, *Succa*, 46; *Sabbath*, 64), and in later times *Rabbanan* (רבנן) = *our Teacher*, *Rabbani* (= Παῖς σου, Mark x. 51; John xx. 16), *Rabbon*, and *Rabbi* [RABBI]. It is only rarely that the great doctors of this period are called סופרים, *Scribes* (comp. *Kelim*, 13 b). The period of the *Tanaim* begins with the famous Antigonos of Soho (B.C. 200), and terminates with Gamaliel III. b. Jehudah I. (A.D. 220), in whose presidency the Sanhedrim, and with it the college, were transferred from Jabne to Tiberias, thus extending over 420 years.

ii. *The work of the Tanaim.*—The labours and tenets of these doctors of the law are of the greatest interest to the Christian student of the N. T., inasmuch as it was in their midst that our Saviour appeared; and as both Christ and his apostles frequently refer to the teachings, and often employ the very language of the *Tanaim*. The chief aim of the doctors of the law during this period was—

1. To fix and formalise the views and expositions of their predecessors, the *Sopherim*, and to pass them as laws. Thus fixed and established, these views were termed *Halachoth* (הלכות) = *laws*: they are composed in Hebrew and expressed in laconic and often enigmatical formulæ. The formalising of these *Halachoth* was especially needed, since the successive ascendancy of the Persians, Egyptians, Syrians, and Romans, over Palestine greatly influenced the habits and conduct of the Jewish people; and since the Scribes themselves, as we have seen, did not set forth their opinions as final. The relation which the work of the *Tanaim* or the νομοδιδασκαλοι in this department bears to that of the Scribes will be better understood by an example. The Scribes deduced from the words, 'When thou liest down and when thou risest up' (בשכבך ובקומך, Deut. vi. 7), that it is the duty of every Israelite to repeat both morning and evening the sections of the law (i.e. Deut. vi. 4-9; xi. 13-21) which proclaim the unity of God, without specifying the hours during which the passages are to be recited. Whilst the νομοδιδασκαλοι, accepting this deduction of the Scribes as law (הלכה), fixed the time when this declaration about the unity of God is to be made by every Israelite, without mentioning the length of the section to be recited, or that it is a duty to do so, because they founded it upon the interpretation of the *Sopherim* (*Mishna Berachoth*, i. 1-5).

2. The *Tanaim* compiled exegetical rules (מדות) to show how these opinions of the Scribes, as well as the expansion of these views by doctors of the law, are to be deduced from the Scriptures. These rules are given in the articles HILLEL I. and ISHMAEL B. ELISA in this Cyclopædia. The study of the connection between the opinions of the Scribes formalised into *Halachoth* and the Bible was called the *Midrash*, or *exposition of the Scriptures* (מדרש הכתובים). 3. They developed the ritual and judicial questions hinted at in the Pentateuch in accordance with the requirements of the time and the ever-changing circumstances of the nation. As the period over which the work of these teachers of the law extended was very long, and as the older doctors of this period expressed their definitions of the *Halachoth*

in extremely concise and sometimes in obscure formulae, many of these *Halachoth*, like the Scriptures, needed further elucidation, and became the object of study and discussion among the later *Tanaim*. These discussions, as well as the different modes of exposition whereby the sundry *Halachoth* were connected with the Bible, which reflect the mental characteristics and idiosyncrasies of the particular teachers and schools, were gradually collected and rubricated, and now constitute the contents of the *Mishna*, and the commentaries on the Pentateuch entitled *Mechiltha*, *Siphra*, and *Siphri*, a description of which is given in the article MID-RASH. For the other work of the most distinguished among these doctors of the law we must refer to the article SANHEDRIM in this Cyclopædia. It must be remembered that this supreme court and chief seat of learning dates from the commencement of the *Tanaim* period.

iii. *Some of the distinguished Doctors of the Law of the period, and their tenets.*—As the presidents and vice-presidents of the chief seat of learning during the whole of this period are given in chronological order in the article EDUCATION, we shall here only mention such of the doctors of the law as have influenced the Jewish mind and the religious opinions of the nation, and by their teaching prepared the way for Christianity. Foremost among these doctors of the law are to be mentioned :—

a. Antigonus of Soho (B.C. 200-170), whose famous maxim given in the article SADDUCEES, according to tradition gave rise to Sadduceeism and Boethusianism [SADDUCEES], and who received the traditions of the fathers from Simon the Just, and transmitted them to his successors (*Aboth*. i. 3).

b. Jose b. Joëser, of Zereda, and his companion Jose b. Jochanan, of Jerusalem, who were the first of the four pairs (זוגות) that headed the Sanhedrim and the doctors of the law as president and vice-president (B.C. 170-140). Jose b. Joëser was a priest, and played an important part in the Maccabæan struggles. He was the spiritual head of the *Chasidim* (*Mishna Chagiga*, ii. 7), also called *Scribes* (γραμματεῖς, 1 Maccab. vii. 12, 13; 2 Maccab. vi. 18), who afterwards developed themselves into the Essenes [CHASIDIM; ESSENES], was among the 'company of Assideans who were mighty men of Israel, even all such as were voluntarily devoted unto the law,' and the high-priest of the sixty who were slain by Bacchides through the treachery of Alcimus (1 Maccab. ii. 42; vii. 12-16, with *Chagiga*, 18 b; *Bereshith Rabba*, Pericope

תולדות sec. lxx.) The grand maxim of Jose b. Joëser was: 'Let thy house be the place of assembly for the sages, sit in the dust of their feet, and eagerly drink in their words' (*Aboth*. i. 4). Bearing in mind the distracted state of the Jewish people at that time, and the fearful strides which Hellenism made among the highest sacerdotal functionaries, and which threatened to overthrow the ancestral doctrines, this solemn admonition of the martyr that every household should form itself into a band of defenders of the faith, headed by *sages*—i.e. *scribes*, or *doctors of the law*—and that every Israelite should strive to be instructed in the religion of his forefathers (the phrase 'to be enveloped in the dust of their feet,' has its origin in the ancient custom of disciples sitting on the ground and sometimes in the dust at the feet of their

teachers), will be appreciated. This will also explain the maxim of his colleague Jose b. Jochanan: 'Let thy house be wide open, let the poor be thy guests, and do not talk too much with women' (*Aboth*. i. 5). To erect a wall of partition between the apostate Hellenists who desecrated the sanctuary, and the faithful, as well as to prevent the residence of Jews among the Syrians, and check Hellenistic luxuries, these two doctors of the law enacted that contact with the soil of any foreign country, and the use of glass utensils, impart Levitical defilement (*Sabbath*, 14 b). These rigorous laws of Levitical purity laid the foundation of the withdrawal of the Essenes from the community at large, and of the ritual and doctrinal difference between the Pharisees and Sadducees, as hitherto the differences of these two parties were chiefly political. Hence the remark in the *Mishna*, 'since the death of Jose ben Joëser of Zereda, and Jose ben Jochanan of Jerusalem, the unity in the schools has ceased' (*Sota*, ix. 9).

c. Jochanan, the high-priest and governor of Jerusalem, ben Simon, ben Mattathias, commonly called John Hyrcanus (B.C. 135-106), was a distinguished Pharisaic scribe or doctor of the law. The enactments which he passed, as recorded in the *Mishna*, show his endeavours to render the temple service uniform, his humane feelings, and desire to alleviate the unnecessary burdens of the law. Though Ezra, to punish the Levites for their backwardness in returning from Babylon, deprived them of their tithes or transferred them to the priests (*Ezra* ii. 36-42; viii. 15; *Neh.* vii. 43-45, with *Mishna Maser Shenai*, v. 15; *Sota*, ix. 10; *Babylon Talmud Jebamoth*, 86 b; *Kethuboth*, 25 a), yet the formula consisting of Deut. xxvi. 13-15, and called confession (פירוק), in which the Israelite had to declare in the temple before God that he had paid the tithes to the *Levite*, continued to be recited at the time of the evening sacrifice or the last day of Passover. There was also a custom of singing every morning in the temple Ps. xlv. 23-26 as part of the hymnal service, and of wounding the sacrifices on their head for the blood to run into their eyes, so as momentarily to blind them in order that they might be bound easily. Moreover, up to the time of Jochanan the high-priest=John Hyrcanus, the people worked during the middle days of the festivals [PASSOVER; TABERNACLES, FEAST OF]. 'Now Jochanan the high-priest did away with the confession about the Levitical tithes (because it was now inapplicable); he also ordered the discontinuance of chanting 'Awake!' (Ps. xlv. 23, etc., because the singing of it every morning made it appear as if God were asleep), and the wounding of the sacrifices (because it was cruel), interdicted working on the middle days of the festivals, since up to his days the hammer was busily at work in Jerusalem, and ordered buyers of questionable produce whether it had been tithed or not to tithe it' (*Mishna, Maser Shenai*, v. 16; *Sota*, ix. 10).

d. Jehoshua ben Perachja, and his colleague Nitai of Arabela, who were the second of the four pairs (זוגות) that headed the Sanhedrim and the doctors of the law as president and vice-president (B.C. 140-110). Though their surviving maxims are very few, yet they are indicative of the irreparable breach which was then made between the Pharisees and the Sadducees. In harmony with the wisdom, humanity, consistency, and leniency of John Hyrcanus, under whose pontificate and



rule these two distinguished doctors of the law taught, Jehoshua b. Perachja propounded the maxim: 'Procure for thyself a teacher, gain to thyself a friend, and judge every man by the rule of innocence' (*Aboth.* i. 6). His colleague, Nitai of Arabela, however, who regarded the foreign policy of the Sadducees as desecration of God's holy heritage [SADDUCEES], and as working into the hands of those very enemies whom they had only just driven from the holy city (1 Maccab. xiii., etc.), taught: 'Keep aloof from wicked neighbours, have no fellowship with sinners, and reject not the belief in retribution' (*Aboth.* i. 7). It was this maxim which brought about the final separation between the Pharisees and the Sadducees in the time of Hyrcanus. The gulf thus created was deepened by an unhappy circumstance which made John Hyrcanus desert the ranks of the Pharisees and go over to the Sadducees, and which gave the first impulse to the bloody sufferings, and the ultimate destruction of his country and people for whose independence and religion he and his family fought so bravely. The circumstance is as follows:—Having returned from a glorious victory, and being pleased with the condition of the people at home, Hyrcanus gave a banquet, to which he invited both Pharisees and Sadducees. As he was enjoying himself in the midst of his guests, he, instigated by the Sadducees, asked the Pharisees to tell him whether there was any command which he had transgressed, that he might make amends, since it was his great desire to make the law of God his rule of life. To this one of the Pharisees replied: 'Let Hyrcanus be satisfied with the regal crown and give the priestly diadem to some one more worthy of it; because before his birth his mother was taken captive from the Maccabæan home, in a raid of the Syrians upon Modin, and it is illegal for the son of a captive to officiate as a priest, much more as high-priest.' The Sadducees, who had thus far succeeded, tried to persuade Hyrcanus that the Pharisees did this designedly in order to lower him in the eyes of the people. To ascertain it, Hyrcanus demanded of the Sanhedrim to sentence the offender to capital punishment. But the Pharisaic doctors of the law, who had no special enactment against indignities heaped upon a sovereign, who believed and taught that all men are alike in the sight of God, and whose very president at this time propounded the maxim of leniency, said that according to the law they could only give him forty stripes save one, which was the regular punishment for slanderers. It was this which made Hyrcanus go over to the Sadducees, massacre many of the Scribes, and fill the Sanhedrim with Sadducees (comp. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 10. 5, 6, with *Kiddushin*, 66 a; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, iii. 453, 2d ed.)

*e.* This deplorable condition, however, soon passed by, and the Scribes were again in the ascendancy in the reign of Alexander Jannai, son of John Hyrcanus, when Simon ben Shetaah, brother of queen Salome (*Berachoth*, 48, a), was the president of the Sanhedrim, and Jehudah ben Tabai vice-president (B.C. 110-65). Though Simon b. Shetaah had for a time to quit the court and hide himself, because he was accused of treason against the sovereign, yet Alexander Jannai reinstated him upon the solicitation of the Parthian ambassadors, who missed at the royal table the wisdom of this Scribe, which they had so much enjoyed on a former

occasion. He allowed himself to be elected member of the Sanhedrim, which was then filled with the Sadducees whom John Hyrcanus had put there, and by his wisdom repeatedly in the presence of the queen and king confounded these Sadducees by puzzling questions about the treatment, without tradition, of such legal cases as are not mentioned in the Mosaic law, so much so that they gradually quitted the supreme court, and Simon filled the vacancies with the Scribes. The calamitous event which happened at the Feast of Tabernacles whilst Alexander Jannai was officiating in the temple [TABERNACLES, FEAST OF] checked for a time the progress of the Scribes, but it was more than made up by the fact that this sovereign on his death-bed committed his wife to the care of the Pharisees (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 16. 1, 2). Under Simon b. Shetaah and Jehudah b. Tabai the Sanhedrim was entirely cleared of the Sadducees, and a festival day was instituted (March 17, B.C. 78) to commemorate the return of *the residue of the Scribes* (פְּלִיטַת סוֹפְרֵי) who went into exile in the days of John Hyrcanus. The reconstruction of the Sanhedrim, however, was not the only important work effected by these two doctors of the law. To render divorce difficult, Simon b. Shetaah decreed that the money of marriage-settlement, which was at first deposited with the wife's father, and afterwards laid out in household furniture—thus being no loss to the husband in case he divorced his wife—should amount at least to two *minæ* silver (about £7:10) if the bride is a maiden, and half that sum to a widow; that the husband is to invest it in his business, so as to render it a matter of great inconvenience and difficulty to draw it out, and that the whole of his property is to be pledged for the payment of this settlement (כתובה, *סגוראפיה*), thus precluding the possibility of her being defrauded of it by unprincipled heirs (*Babylon Kethuboth*, 82 b; *Jerusalem Kethuboth*, cap. viii. end; *Sabbath*, xiv. 6; xvi. 6). The formula of this instrument is given in the article MARRIAGE in this Cyclopædia. Simon b. Shetaah, moreover, introduced superior schools into every provincial town, and ordained that all the youths from the age of sixteen should visit them (*Jerusalem Kethuboth*, viii. 11), which created a new epoch in the education of the nation [EDUCATION]. Their zeal, however, to uphold the law in opposition to the Sadducees led them to commit rigorous acts towards their antagonists (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 16. 1); and on one occasion Jehudah b. Tabai, to eradicate the Sadducean notions from the people [SADDUCEES], condemned to death a false witness in a capital trial (*Maccoth*, v. b). But when Simon b. Shetaah reprimanded his colleague for this unlawful act, Jehudah b. Tabai, who was then president of the Sanhedrim, was so truly penitent, that he at once gave up the presidency, threw himself on the grave of the man he had condemned, crying most bitterly, and beseeching God to take his own life as an atonement for the one he had judicially taken away (*Maccoth*, *ibid.*) This rash act taught him greater leniency for the future, and accounts for his precept to judges: 'Only as long as the accused stand before thee regard them as transgressors of the law; but regard them as innocent immediately after they are released, and have suffered the penalty of the law' (*Aboth.* i. 8). The following may be mentioned as an instance of Simon b. Shetaah's extraordinary con-



scientiousness, which must have greatly impressed itself upon the minds of the people, and prepared the way for the reception of the truth as it is in Jesus. The Sadducees, out of revenge for his rigorous measures against them, suborned two witnesses who testified that his son committed a capital crime. He was accordingly sentenced to death. As he was led to the place of execution, the witnesses, being filled with horror that they had condemned innocent blood, confessed that they had borne false witness. But as the law from time immemorial had enacted that 'the evidence once given and accepted cannot be revoked' (Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chezaka Ililchoth Eduth*, iii. 5), and though Simon's fatherly feelings for a moment made him hesitate about the propriety of the execution, yet his son, to uphold the dignity of the law, exclaimed to him, 'Father, if thou wishest that salvation should come to Israel through thee, pay no regard to my life' (אבא אם בקשה לנא)

(תשועה על ידך עשה אותי כאסקופה), and accordingly the son died a martyr to the honour of the law (*Jerusalem Chagiga*, ii. 2; *Sanhedrin*, i. 5; vii. 3). This noble sacrifice on the part of Simon b. Shetaah evidently made him lay down the maxim: 'Test witnesses most carefully, and be cautious in questioning them, lest they learn therefrom how to impart to their falsehood the garb of truth' (*Aboth*, i. 9). No wonder that tradition celebrates Simon b. Shetaah as 'the restorer of the divine law to its pristine glory' (והיה העולם משתומם עד שבא שמעון) *Kiddushin*.

*f.* Shemaia (= Σαμαίας, *Joseph. Antiq.* xiv. 9. 4) and Abtaljon (= Παλλων, *Joseph. Antiq.* xv. 1. 1, 10. 4) are the two great doctors of the law who now succeeded to the presidency and vice-presidency (B.C. 65-30) as the fourth pair (זונות). They are generally considered as having been proselytes. But this is precluded by the fact that they were at the head of the Sanhedrim, and that according to the Jewish law [*SANHEDRIM*] no proselyte could even be an ordinary member of the seventy-one. Indeed Graetz (iii. 481) has shown that they were Alexandrian Jews, and that the notion of their having been proselytes rests upon the misinterpretation of a passage in the Talmud. Though very few of their enactments have come down to us, yet the influence which their great learning and unflinching integrity gave them among the people at large, and especially among the succeeding doctors of the law, was such as to secure for any question an authoritative reception if it could be traced to have been propounded by Shemaia and Abtaljon (*Mishna, Eduoth*, i. 3; *Pesachim*, 66 a), who were styled

the two magnates of their day (גדולי הדור). The two maxims of these distinguished Scribes which have survived reflect the deplorable condition of the Jews under the Roman yoke. Thus Shemaia urged on his disciples, 'Love a handicraft, hate the Rabbinate, and befriend not thyself with the worldly powers' (*Aboth*, i. 10); whilst Abtaljon said, 'Sages, be careful in your utterances, lest ye draw upon yourselves the punishment of exile, and ye be banished to a place where the water is poisonous [*i.e.* of seductive influence], and the disciples who go with you drink thereof and die, and thus bring reproach upon the sacred name of God' (*ibid.* i. 11). Some idea may be formed of Shemaia's unflinching

integrity from his conduct at the trial of Herod before the Sanhedrim. When this magnate was summoned before the supreme tribunal to answer the accusation of the mothers whose children he had slain, and when his armed appearance, and his retinue of soldiers, frightened the other members of the court into silence, Shemaia the president had the courage to pronounce the sentence of death against him (*Joseph. Antiq.* xiv. 9. 4).

*g.* Great as was the learning, the integrity, and the influence of all the foregoing Scribes, yet Hillel I., who now succeeded to the presidential throne (B.C. 30-A.D. 10), surpassed in these and in many other respects all his predecessors. His character, however, as well as his doctrines, etc., are described in a separate article [*HILLEL I.*] in this Cyclopædia. Of the other doctors of the law (*viz.* Simon b. Hillel, Gamaliel I. b. Simon, Simon II. b. Gamaliel, Jochanan b. Zakkai, Gamaliel II., Simon III., Jehudah I., and Gamaliel III.) who successively became the heads of the colleges till the close of this period, Gamaliel I. and Gamaliel II. are noticed in separate articles, whilst the distinguished disciples of this epoch are enumerated in the article *EDUCATION*. The most cursory reflection upon the characters and teachings of the chiefs of these Scribes down to the time of Christ, as above described—and be it remembered that as is the head so is the body—will convince any impartial reader that they were not the set of formalists and hypocrites which they are too often represented to be, but that the conclusions arrived at in the article *Pharisees* and elsewhere in this Cyclopædia are based upon facts.

### III. THE AMORAIM (אמוראים), or LATER DOCTORS OF THE LAW.

*i. Name and date.*—The name *Amoraim* (אמוראים, sing. אמורא, from אמר, to say, to hold forth, to expound), like the appellation *Tanaim*, is Aramaic; it literally denotes *Recorders, Expositors*, and was given, after the redaction of the Mishna, to those 'wise men' and 'doctors of the law,' who alone constituted the authorised recorders and expositors of the received *Halacha*. The period of the *Amoraim* begins with the immediate disciples of R. Jehudah the Holy (A.D. 220), and terminates with the completion of the Babylonian Talmud (*circa* A.D. 500), embracing nearly 270 years.

*ii. The work of the Amoraim.*—As the title implies, these *Amoraim* had to examine, decide, and expound the import of the Mishna for general practice. After the redaction of the Mishna by Jehudah the Holy (A.D. 163-193), this *Corpus Juris* became the canonical code, and constituted the source of study and the rule of practice, both in Babylon, whither it was imported immediately after its appearance by the celebrated Rab [*RAB*], and in Palestine. These commentaries and discussions on the Mishna in the two countries are embodied in the two *Talmuds*, or more properly *Gemaras*, which are named after them—*viz.* Jerusalem and Babylon. The Jerusalem Talmud was made up in Tiberias about A.D. 400, because the Christian government took away from the doctors of the law the right of ordination, thus causing the extinction of the patriarchate and the declension of the Palestinian school; whilst the Babylonian Talmud was not closed finally till the period of the *Saboraim*, as the schools were still greatly flourishing in Babylon under the presidency of



*Resh Methibtha* (רִישׁ מְתִיבְתָּה), or *Heads of Schools*, and the *Resh Galutha* (רִישׁ גָּלוּתָה), or *the Princes of the Exiles*, as they were called [EDUCATION; MIDRASH; TALMUD]. For the distinguished doctors of the law who occupied the patriarchate, and were the presidents and vice-presidents of colleges during this period, we must refer to the article EDUCATION, where they are enumerated in chronological order.

IV. THE SABORAIM (סבוראים), or THE TEACHERS OF THE LAW AFTER THE CONCLUSION OF THE TALMUD.

i. *Name and date.*—The appellation *Saboraim* (סבוראים), from the Aramaic סָבַר, *to think, to discern, to judge*) properly signifies *decisors*, and was given to those doctors of the law who determined

the law (הִלְכָה) from a careful examination of all the *pros* and *cons* (סברא) urged by the *Amoraim* in their controversies on divine, legal, and ritual questions contained in the Talmud. Hence the remark of Sherira Gaon (A.D. 968-998): 'Though no independent legislation existed after the cessation of the *Amoraim*, yet there continued exposition and weighing of the transmitted and prevalent opinions; and it is from this weighing of opinions that the doctors derive their name *Saboraim*' (Graetz, v. 426). The period of the *Saboraim* extends from about A.D. 500 to A.D. 657. This period, however, is divisible into two parts, and it is only the first part—i.e. from the death of Rabina, A.D. 500—to the death of R. Giza and R. Simuna, A.D. 550, which can properly be denominated the real *Saboraim epoch*; whilst the second part, which consists of the interval between the real *Saboraim* and the rise of the *Gaonim* from A.D. 550 to 657, has no proper designation, because the doctors who lived at this time, and the work which they did, are alike unimportant and desultory.

ii. *The work of the Saboraim.*—Unlike their predecessors the *Tanaim* and *Amoraim*, and their successors the *Gaonim*, these doctors of the law neither formed a succession of teachers nor were they engaged in any new work. They were a circle of literati and teachers, who supplemented and completed the work of the *Amoraim*. They explained all doubtful questions in the Talmud, made new additions to it both from oral traditions and MS. notes, inserted into it all the anecdotes which were current in the different schools, closed it, and wrote it down in the form in which we now have it. Hence their work had nothing to do with theories, but was preeminently practical. The chief men among these *Saboraim* which have come down to us by name are R. Giza, the president of the college at Sora, R. Simuna, the president of the college at Pumbadita and Rabbi of Rob. Their

disciples and successors who belong to this period are unknown (Graetz, v. 15, ff.; 422, ff.)

V. THE GAONIM (גאונים), or THE LAST DOCTORS OF THE LAW IN THE CHAIN OF RABBINIC SUCCESSION.

i. *Name and date.*—It is now difficult to ascertain the etymology of גָּאוֹן, the title of the chief doctors of the law who succeeded the *Saboraim*. One thing, however, is certain—namely, that it is not Hebrew, since both in the Bible and in the Talmud this word signifies *pride, haughtiness*, whilst here it is an honourable appellation given exclusively to the presidents of the two distinguished colleges at Sora and Pumbadita. Now the period in which it originated may throw some light on the etymology of this title. Graetz (v. 139, 477) has shown that this title obtained circa A.D. 658. When Ali, the son-in-law and vizier of Mohammed, was elected caliph (655), and the Islamites were divided into two parties, one for and the other against him, both the Babylonian Jews and the Nestorian Christians decided in his favour and rendered him great assistance. Maremes, who supported Ali's commander-in-chief in the siege of Mosul, was nominated *Catholicos*, whilst R. Isaac the president of the college at Sora, who at the head of several thousand Jews aided Ali in the capture of Tiruz-Shabur (May 657), was rewarded with the title *Gaon* (*Excellence*). Accordingly the title גָּאוֹן is either of Arabic or Persian origin, and properly belonged to the presidents of the Sora college, who alone bore the appellation at the beginning. The president of the subordinate sister college at Pumbadita was called the *head of the college* (Heb. רִישׁ יִשְׁבֵּה, Aramaic מְתִיבְתָּה רִישׁ) by the Babylonians, and the appellation *Gaon*, whereby they were sometimes styled, obtained at first among the non-Babylonian Jews who were not thoroughly acquainted with the dignities of the respective colleges in Babylon. It was only after 917, when Pumbadita became of equal importance with Sora, and especially after 942-1038, when Sora, after the death of Saadia, began to decay altogether, and Pumbadita continued alone to be the college of the doctors of the law, that the presidents of its college, like those of Sora, were described by the title *Gaon*. The period of the *Gaonim* extends from A.D. 657 to 1034 in Sora, and from 657 to 1038 in Pumbadita, during which time the former college had no less than thirty-five presidents, and the latter forty-three.

ii. *The Presidents and Organisation of the Colleges.*—As frequent reference is made throughout this Cyclopædia to the *Gaonim* or the presidents of the colleges which were the chief seats of learning, where the successors of the Scribes or the doctors of the law were trained, we subjoin the following chronological list of these *Gaonim* both in Sora and Pumbadita.

## SORA.

1. Mar Isaac . . .	Circa A.D. 657-670
2. R. Hunai . . .	670-680
3. Mar Sheshna b. Tachlipha . . .	680-689
4. Mar Chaninai of Nehar Pakor . . .	689-697
5. Nahilai Ha-Levi of Nares . . .	697-715
6. Jacob of Nahor Pakor . . .	715-732
7. Mar b. Samuel . . .	733-751

## PUMBADITA.

1. R. Cahana . . .	Circa A.D. 658-670
2. Mar Raba . . .	670-680
3. Mar Bussai or Bostanai . . .	680-689
4. Hunai Mari b. Joseph . . .	689-700
5. R. Chija of Mesene . . .	700-710
6. Mar Rabja . . .	710-719
7. Natronai b. Nehemiah, surnamed Mar Janka . . .	719-730
8. Mar Jehudah . . .	730-739

## SORA.

8. Mari Ha-Cohen . . .	<i>Circa A.D. 751-759</i>
9. R. Acha . . .	<i>a few months</i>
10. R. Jehudah, the Blind . . .	759-762
11. Achunai Kahna b. Papa . . .	762-765
12. Chaminai Kahana b. Huna . . .	765-775
13. Mari Ha-Levi b. Mesharshaja . . .	775-778
14. Bebai Ha-Levi b. Abba . . .	778-788
15. Hilai b. Mari . . .	788-797
16. Jacob b. Mordecai . . .	797-811
17. Abumari b. Mordecai . . .	811-819
18. Zadok or Isaac b. Ashi . . .	819-821
19. Hilai b. Chaninai . . .	821-824
20. Kimoj b. Ashi . . .	824-827
21. Moses b. Jacob . . .	827-837
<i>Interregnum</i> . . .	837-839
22. Mar Cohen Zedek I. b. Abima . . .	839-849
23. Mar Sar Shalom b. Boas . . .	849-859
24. Natronai II. b. Hilai . . .	859-869
25. Mar Amram b. Sheshna . . .	869-881
26. Nachshon b. Zadok . . .	881-889
27. Mar. Zemach b. Chajim . . .	889-896
28. R. Malchija . . .	<i>a few months</i>
29. Hai b. Nachshon . . .	896-906
30. Hilai b. Mishael . . .	906-914
31. Jacob b. Natronai = Amram . . .	914-926
32. Jom Tob Kahna = Hai b. Kijumai . . .	926-928
33. Saadia b. Joseph . . .	928-932
<i>Joseph b. Satia anti Gaon</i> . . .	930-932
34. Joseph b. Satia <i>sole Gaon</i> . . .	933-937
Saadia b. Joseph <i>again</i> . . .	937-942
Joseph b. Satia <i>again</i> . . .	942-948
<i>Interregnum</i> . . .	948-1009
35. Samuel b. Chopphni . . .	1009-1034

## PUMBADITA.

9. Mar Joseph. b. Chutanai . . .	<i>Circa A.D.</i> 739-761
10. Samuel b. Mari . . .	
11. Mar Natroi Kahana b. Emuna . . .	
12. Abraham Kahana . . .	
13. R. Dadai b. Nachman . . .	761-764
14. Chananja b. Mesharshaja . . .	764-771
15. Malka b. Acha . . .	771-773
16. Rabba b. Dudai . . .	773-782
17. R. Shinui . . .	<i>a few months</i>
18. Chananai b. Abraham Kahana . . .	782-786
19. Huna Mar Ha-Levi b. Isaac . . .	786-788
20. Manasseh b. Joseph . . .	788-796
21. Isaiah b. Abba . . .	796-798
22. Joseph b. Shila . . .	798-804
23. Mar. Kahana b. Chaninai . . .	804-810
24. Abumari b. Abraham . . .	810-814
25. Joseph b. Abba . . .	814-816
26. Mar Abraham b. Sherira . . .	816-828
<i>R. Joseph b. Chija anti Gaon</i> . . .	
27. R. Joseph b. Chija <i>sole Gaon</i> . . .	828-833
28. Joseph b. Rabbi . . .	833-842
29. Paltoi b. Abaji . . .	842-858
30. Menachem b. Joseph b. Chija . . .	858-860
<i>Mar Mattathias anti Gaon</i> . . .	
31. Mar Mattathias <i>sole Gaon</i> . . .	860-869
32. Rabba b. Ami . . .	869-872
33. Mar Zemach I. b. Paltoi . . .	872-890
34. Hai b. David . . .	890-897
35. Kimoj b. Achai . . .	897-906
36. Mar Jehudah b. Samuel . . .	906-917
37. Mar Cohen Zedek II. b. Joseph . . .	917-936
38. Zemach b. Kaphnai . . .	936-938
39. Chanina b. Jehudai . . .	938-943
40. Aaron Ibn Sargadu . . .	943-960
41. Nehemia b. Cohen Zedek . . .	960-968
42. Sherira b. Chanina . . .	968-998
43. Hai b. Sherira . . .	998-1038

As to the *organisation* of these colleges, the president of each school sat in front, next to him in rank was the *superior judge* (Heb. **אב בית דין**; Aramaic, **רבינא דבבא**), who discharged the judicial functions, and was presumptive successor to the Gaonate. Then came the ten who constituted the more limited synod, seven of whom were at

the head of the assembled students (**ראשי כלות**) and three associates (**חברים**); these sat with their faces towards the president. Then came the college of 100 members, subdivided into two uneven bodies, the one consisting of 70 members, and representing the *Great Sanhedrim* [SANHEDRIM], the other consisting of 30 members, and representing the *Smaller Sanhedrim*. Of these hundred, the 70 only were ordained; they bore the title of *teachers*

(**חכמים**, *magistri*), or the *ordained sages* (**חכמי**, *haskamim*), and were capable of advancing to the highest office, whilst the other thirty were simply candidates (**בני קיומי**), and do not seem to have been legally entitled to a seat or voice. The 70 sat in seven rows, each consisting of ten, and being under one of the seven heads of the college. They transmitted their membership to their sons.

iii. *The work and authority of these Colleges.*—

In later times these colleges assembled together for two months in the year—viz. in Adar (=March) and Elul (=September). In these sittings the members explained difficult points in the Talmud, discussed and answered all the legal and ritual questions which were sent in during the vacation from the different Jewish communities abroad, and enacted new laws for the guidance and regulation of the dispersed congregations, in accordance with the requirements of the ever-shifting circumstances of the nation and the sundry localities. Each member of the college took part in the discussions, the president summed up the various opinions, decided the question, and ordered the secretary to write down the decision. All the decisions which were passed through the session were read over again by the president before the assembly was dissolved, were signed in the name of the college, sealed with the college seal, and forwarded by special messengers to the respective communities, who in return sent gifts to the college, which constituted the extraordinary revenue of these schools for training the doctors of the law. Their ordinary income was derived from regular taxes which the college fixed for those communities which were under their jurisdiction. Thus the jurisdiction of Sora ex-

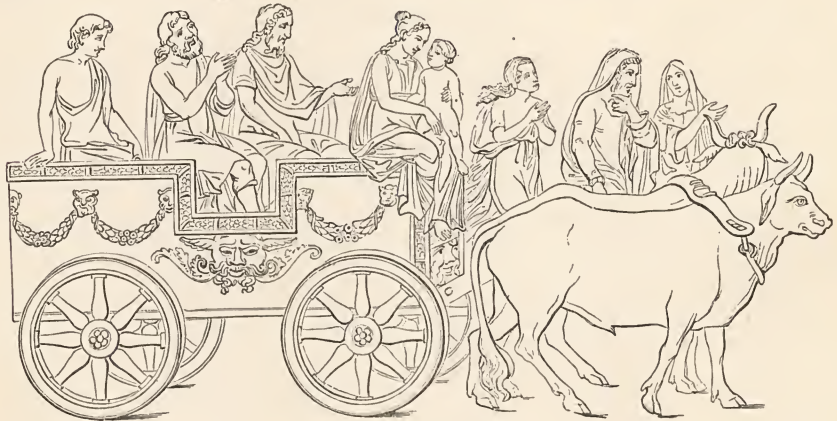


tended over the south of Irak, with the two important cities Wasit and Bassra, to Ophir (= India), and its annual income, even when it began to decline, amounted to 1500 ducats; whilst that of Pumbadita extended over the north of Irak up to Chorasán. The president, with the superior judge and the seven heads of the college, appointed judges for each district, and gave them regular *diplomas*. As these judges or *dajanim* (דַּיָּנִים) had not only to decide civil questions, but also to settle religious matters, they were also the *Rabbis* of the respective communities, and selected for themselves in each place two learned members of the congregation who were styled *elders* (זִקְנִים), and with them constituted the judicial and Rabbinate college. This local college had to issue all the legal instruments, such as marriage contracts, letters of divorce, bills of exchange, business contracts, receipts, etc. etc. Though each of the two imperial colleges had the power of governing itself and of managing its own affairs and dependencies, yet the college of Sora was at first over that of Pumbadita, as may be seen from the following facts:—1. In the absence of the Prince of the Exiles the Gaon of Sora was regent, and called in the taxes from all the Jewish communities. 2. The college of Sora got two shares of the taxes, whilst Pumbadita only got one share. 3. The president of Sora took precedence of the president of Pumbadita, even though the former happened to be a young man and the latter an old man. In later times, however, the college of Pumbadita rose to the dignity of Sora, and eventually eclipsed it. These seats of learning, in which were trained the doctors of the law, the successors of the ancient *Scribes*, and which represented the unbroken chain of tradition and ordination, were extinguished in the middle of the 11th century. The remarkable men of these schools who contributed to the elucidation and exposition of the Bible and the Hebrew language are noticed in separate articles of this Cyclopædia.

*Literature*.—Krochmal, *More Neboche Ha-Seman*, p. 161, etc., Leinberg 1851; Frankel, *Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, vol. i. pp. 203 ff., 403 ff., Dessau 1852; Steinschneider, *Jewish Literature*, p. 9, etc., Longman 1857; *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, p. 2615, etc.; Graetz, in Frankel's *Monatschrift*, vol. vii. pp. 336 ff., 381 ff., Leipzig 1857; *Geschichte der Juden*, vols. iv. and v.; Frankel, *Hodegetica in Mischnam*, Lipsiæ 1859.—C. D. G.

**SCRIP** (סִרְפָּ; Sept. συλλογή, πηρά), a bag used for the carrying of food or other necessities, generally made of leather and slung over the shoulder (1 Sam. xvii. 40; Matt. x. 10; Mark vi. 8; Luke ix. 3; x. 4; xxii. 35, 36). A similar article is still used by the Syrian shepherds (Porter, *Five Years in Damascus*, ii. 109).—W. L. A.

**SCRIPTURE, HOLY** (כְּתוּבִים; ἡ γραφή, αἱ γραφαί, τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα). About A.D. 180 the term *Holy Scriptures* (αἱ ἁγίαι γραφαί) is used by Theophilus (*Ad Autolyc.* iii. 12) to include the gospels. Irenæus (ii. 27) calls the whole collection of the books of the O. T. and N. T. the *Divine Scriptures* (θεῖαι γραφαί), and the *Lord's Scriptures*, *Dominicæ Scripturæ* (v. 20. 2). By Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* vii.) they are called the *Scriptures* (γραφαί), and the *inspired Scriptures* (αἱ θεόπνευσται γραφαί). From the end of the 2d and beginning of the 3d century, at which time a collection of the N. T. writings was generally received, the term came into constant use, and was so applied as to include all the books contained in the version of the LXX., as well as those of the Hebrew canon. [APOCRYPHA; CANON; DEUTEROCANONICAL; BIBLE; BIBLICAL CRITICISM; MANUSCRIPTS; RABBINICAL BIBLES; POLYGLOTT; RECONSION; TESTAMENT; VERSIONS; HEBREW LANGUAGE; ARAMAIC LANGUAGE; GREEK LANGUAGE, etc.]



463. A Scythian Family.

**SCYTHIAN** (Σκυθῆς), a name which occurs only in Col. iii. 11. It was anciently applied sometimes to a particular people, and sometimes to all the nomade tribes which had their seat to the north of the Black and Caspian seas, stretching indefinitely eastward into the unknown regions of Asia.

It had thus much the same latitude as 'Tartars,' and was in like manner synonymous with Barbarian, Βάρβαρος. The name also occurs in 2 Maccab. iv. 47, and Joseph. *Cont. Apion.* ii. 37. The Scythians were, in fact, the ancient representatives of the modern Tartars, and like them moved from place

to place in carts drawn by oxen. It is from this circumstance that they, or a tribe nearly allied to them, may be recognised on the monuments of Egypt. About seven centuries before Christ, the Scythians invaded south-western Asia, and extended their incursions as far as Egypt (Herodot. i. 103). In doing this they could not but have touched on or passed through Palestine : and it is



464. 1. A Scythian. 2. A Scythian General.

even supposed that Bethshan derived its classical name of Scythopolis from them [BETHSHAN]. It is singular, however, that the Hebrew writers take no notice of this transaction ; for we cannot admit that the prophecies of Joel and Zephaniah have reference to it, as some writers have imagined.—J. K.

SCYTHOPOLIS (Σκυθόπολις), the name of a city mentioned Judith iii. 10, and 2 Maccab. xii. 29. The LXX. apply this name to Bethshean (Judg. i. 27), and this identification is generally accepted. Reland, whom Gesenius follows, thinks the name a corruption of Succothopolis, the chief town of the district of Succoth ; but the older opinion, that it derived its name from having been occupied by the Scythians in their inroad on Palestine mentioned by Herodotus (i. 104-6), is still accepted as the more probable by many eminent scholars.—W. L. A.

SEA. The term יָם *yām*, or 'sea,' was used by the Hebrews more extensively than with us, being applied generally to all large collections of water, as they had not a set of terms such as we employ (defectively, indeed) to discriminate the different kinds. 'Sea' for large collections, and 'pool' for smaller, formed the extent of their vocabulary ; although, indeed, pools were distinguished into אֲגוֹן *agom*, a natural pool or pond (Ps. cvii. 35 ; cxiv. 8 ; Is. xxxv. 7 ; xli. 18, etc.), and בִּרְכָה *berakah*, the same as the Arabic *beerkeh*, an artificial pool or reservoir (2 Sam. ii. 13 ; iv. 12 ; Nah. ii. 8). The term *yām* is applied to various parts of the ocean, to large inland lakes, even to smaller lakes (Job xiv. 11), and to great rivers (Is. xix. 5 ; Jer. li. 36, etc.)

I. THE MEDITERRANEAN, being on the west, and therefore behind a person facing the east, is called in Scripture the *Hinder Sea* (הַיָּם הָאַחֲרָיִם), Dent. xi. 24 ; Joel ii. 20), that is, *Western Sea* ;

and also, 'the *Sea of the Philistines*' (Exod. xxiii. 31), as that people possessed the largest proportion of its shore in Palestine. Being also the largest sea with which the Hebrews were acquainted, they called it by pre-eminence, 'the *Great Sea*' (Num. xxxiv. 6, 7 ; Josh. i. 4 ; ix. 1 ; Ezek. xlvii. 10, 15, 20) ; or simply 'the sea' (Josh. xv. 47).

II. THE RED SEA.—This gulf of the Indian Ocean is called in Hebrew יַם סוּף *Yām Sūph* (Exod. x. 19 ; xiii. 18 ; Ps. cvi. 7, 9, 22), which is also its Egyptian name, and is supposed to mean 'weedy sea' (Michaelis, *Suppl.* p. 1726 ; Jablonsky, *Opuscul.* i. 266). This designation has been by some supposed to refer to the quantity of seaweed found in it. But Bruce, who traversed its whole extent, declares that he never saw any sort of weed in it, and gives it as his opinion that it is from the large trees or plants of white coral, spread everywhere over the bottom of the sea, and greatly resembling plants on land, that it derived its name. [Gesenius renders סוּף by *rush, reed, seaweed*. There can be no doubt that *fuci* of various kinds abound in the Red Sea (Diod. Sic. iii. 19 ; Strabo, p. 770 ; Pliny, *N. H.* xiii. 23 ; Winer, *Realw.* s. v.) ; and it does not seem improbable that the sea may have derived its name from this.] It is also called 'the Egyptian Sea' (Is. xi. 15). In other places, where the context plainly indicates what sea is intended, it is called simply 'the sea.' In the N. T. it bears its usual Greek name, ἡ ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα (Acts vii. 36 ; Heb. xi. 29 ; also 1 Maccab. iv. 9 ; Herodot. i. 1 ; Diod. Sic. iii. 28), whence our 'Red Sea.' How it came by the name of Red Sea is not agreed. Prideaux assumes (*Connection*, i. 14, 15) that the ancient inhabitants of the bordering countries called it *Yām Edom*, or 'the sea of Edom' (it is *never* so called in Scripture), as its north-eastern part washed the country possessed by the Edomites. Now Edom means *red* (Gen. xxv. 30), and the Greeks, who borrowed the name from the Phœnicians, mistook it for an appellative instead of a proper name, and rendered it by ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα, that is, 'the Red Sea.' Some information in correction of this notion seems, however, to have been afterwards acquired : for Strabo (xvi. p. 766), Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* vi. 23), Mela (iii. 8), Agatharcides (p. 2, ed. Oxon.), Q. Curtius (viii. 9 ; x. 1), Philostratus (iii. 15), and others, distinctly admit that the sea obtained this name, not from any redness in its waters, but from a great king called Erythrus, who reigned in the adjacent country. The word Erythrus means the same in the Greek that Edom does in the Phœnician and Hebrew languages ; which seems to prove that this king Erythrus was no other than Edom, whose name was given to the country over which his descendants reigned. This explanation seems satisfactory ; but Prideaux, from whom we take it, by a very strange confusion of ideas, in an immediately preceding page (i. 10) ascribes the name Red Sea, as applied to another part of the Erythrean Sea, to 'the waters appearing of a reddish colour by reason of the fierceness of the sunbeams constantly beating upon it in that hot climate.' Such a fancy needs no answer, as neither water nor the rays of the sun are the more red for being more hot. Others have conjectured that the Arabian Gulf derived its name from the coral rocks and reefs in which it abounds ; but the coral of the Red Sea is white, not red. In so large a tract of shore and water it would be strange if some red objects



did not appear, and minds on the watch for some physical cause for the name would naturally refer to circumstances which would not otherwise have engaged attention. Some of the mountains that stretch along the western coast have a singularly red appearance, looking, as Bruce expresses it, as if they were sprinkled with Havannah or Brazil snuff, or brick-dust; and from this a notion is derived that these mountains, presenting their conspicuous sides to the early navigators of the sea, induced them to give it a name from that predominant colour. Salt indicates a fact which affords a basis for another conjecture as to the origin of the name. He says—'At one o'clock on the 7th of February, the sea for a considerable distance around the ship became so extremely red. . . . As we were anxious to ascertain the cause of this very singular appearance, a bucket was let down into the water, by which we obtained a considerable quantity of the substance floating on the surface. It proved to be of a jelly-like consistence, composed of a numberless multitude of very small mollusca, each of which having a small red spot in the centre,

formed, when in a mass, a bright body of colour nearly allied to that produced by a mixture of red lead with water.' This account has been more recently confirmed by Ehrenberg.

The ancients applied the name of Erythræan Sea not only to the Arabian Gulf, but to that part of the Indian Ocean which is enclosed between the peninsulas of India and Arabia; but in modern usage the name of Red Sea is restricted to the Arabian Gulf, which enters into the land from the Indian Ocean in a westerly direction, and then, at the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, turns N.N.W., maintaining that direction till it makes a near approach to the Mediterranean, from which its western arm is only separated by the isthmus of Suez. It thus separates the western coast of Arabia from the eastern coast of the north-eastern part of Africa. It is about 1400 miles in length from Suez to the straits, and on an average 150 miles in breadth. On approaching its northern termination the gulf divides into two branches, which enclose between them the peninsula of Sinai. The western arm, which terminates a little above



465. Sea of Galilee.

Suez, is far more extensive than the other, and is that which was crossed by the Israelites in their escape from Egypt. An account of this important transaction has been given under another head [Exodus]. This arm, anciently called Heroopolitic Sinus, and now the Gulf of Suez, is 190 miles long by an average breadth of 21 miles; but at one part (Birket el-Faroun) it is as wide as 32 miles. The eastern arm, which terminates at Akabah, and bears the name of the Gulf of Akabah, was anciently called Ælanitic Sinus, from the port of Ælana, the Scriptural Elath, and is about 112 miles long by an average breadth of 15 miles. Towards its extremity were the ports of Elath and Eziongeber, celebrated in the history of the attempts made by the Hebrew kings to establish a maritime traffic with the East [see the several words].—J. K.

III. THE SEA OF CHINNERETH, יַם כִּנְרֶת (Num. xxxiv. 11). [CINNERETH.]

IV. GENNESARETH, LAKE or SEA OF.—This is

only another name of the preceding; which is called besides, in the N. T., 'the sea of Galilee' (Matt. iv. 18), the 'sea of Tiberias' (John xxi. 1), and 'the sea' or 'lake of Genesareth' (Matt. xiv. 34; Mark vi. 53; Luke v. 17); which last is but a variation of the Hebrew name.

This lake lies very deep, among fruitful hills and mountains, from which, in the rainy season, many rivulets descend. The Jordan enters it on the north, and quits it on the south; and it is said that the river passes through it without the waters mingling. Its extent has been greatly over-rated: Robinson considers that its length, in a straight line, does not exceed eleven or twelve geographical miles, and that its breadth is from five to six miles. From numerous indications it is inferred that the bed of this lake was formed by some ancient volcanic eruption, which history has not recorded: the waters are very clear and sweet, and contain various kinds of excellent fish in great abundance. It will be remembered that several of the apostles were fishermen of this lake, and

that it was also the scene of several transactions in the life of Christ: it is thus frequently mentioned in the N. T., but very rarely in the Old. The borders of the lake were in the time of Christ well peopled, being covered with numerous towns and villages; but now they are almost desolate, and the fish and water-fowl are but little disturbed.

The best descriptions of the lake of Tiberias are those of Burckhardt (*Syria*, p. 332), Buckingham (*Palestine*, ch. xxvi.), Irby and Mangles (p. 295), Jowett (pp. 172-176), Hardy (pp. 237-241), Elliott (ii. 342-350), Schubert (iii. 231-240), Robinson (ii. 372-402), Olin (iii. 253, 261-265), Lord Nugent (*Lands, Classical and Sacred*, ii. 209).—J. K.

V. THE SALT or DEAD SEA is the largest lake in Palestine, and in many respects the most remarkable in the world. It has received a variety of names from writers both ancient and modern; and as they are descriptive, they demand a brief examination in an article like the present.

1. *The Salt Sea* is the most common Scripture appellation (יָם הַמֶּלַח; ἡ θάλασσα τῶν ἁλῶν, or ἁλός, also ἡ θάλασσα ἡ ἀλκή; *Mare salis*). It is evidently a descriptive name, probably intended to indicate both the saltiness of its water and the character of the plain and hills along its southern margin (Reland, *Pal.* 240). It occurs in the earliest books of the Bible, but is not found later than the time of Joshua (Gen. xiv. 3; Num. xxxiv. 3; Deut. iii. 17; Josh. iii. 16; xv. 2, 5).

2. *The Sea of the Plain*, or more properly, *of the Arabah* (יָם הָעֲרָבָה; θάλασσα Ἀραβία; *Mare solitudinis*), is also a descriptive title, showing its geographical position in the centre of the great valley of the Arabah. It is first employed in combination with the preceding, as if Moses had heard it on his approach to Palestine (Deut. iii. 17); and possibly it may have afterwards supplanted the older name (Deut. iv. 49; 2 Kings xiv. 25).

3. *The East Sea* is the only other name employed in Scripture (יָם הַקֶּדְמוֹנִי; τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς; *Mare Orientale*). It is used by Ezekiel (xlvii. 18), Joel (ii. 20), and Zechariah (xiv. 8, where the A. V. has 'the former sea,' although the Hebrew is the same), to distinguish it from the Mediterranean, which was called 'the western' (יָם הַמַּגֶּרֶת, literally 'latter,' though when opposed to קֶדְמוֹן it means 'western').

4. *The Sea of Sodom* is found in the Talmud (Reland, pp. 237, 243), no doubt because common tradition represented the city of Sodom as having been engulfed by it.

5. Josephus uses the name *Asphaltic Lake*—Λίμνη Ἀσφαλτῖτις (*Bell. Jud.* iii. 10. 17)—which was adopted by Galen and other ancient writers, apparently because bitumen or asphaltum was often found floating on its surface or lying along its shores (Reland, p. 241).

6. *Dead Sea*. The origin of this name is given by Jerome (ad Ezek. xlvii.), 'In quo nihil poterat esse vitale;' and in this respect modern research has to a large extent confirmed ancient tradition, proving that the name is appropriate.

The modern inhabitants apply two names to the lake; the one *El-Baheiret el-Myetah*, 'Dead Sea,' suggested by its character; the other *Baheiret Lūt*, 'Sea of Lot,' suggested by its history.

*Physical Features*.—The Dead Sea is situated in the lowest part of that great valley which stretches

in a direct line due south from the base of Hermon to the head of the gulf of Akabah. The valley is a chasm or fissure in the earth's crust, being for nearly 200 miles below the level of the ocean. The Dead Sea is the reservoir into which all its waters flow, and from which there is, and can be, no escape except by evaporation.

The general formation of the valley has already been described [PALESTINE]. It is shut in on the east and west by parallel ranges of mountains, having steep, rugged, and bare sides, furrowed by wild ravines. The eastern range is somewhat higher than the western. In the parallel of Jericho the ranges expand slightly, and the valley there attains its greatest breadth—about twelve miles; but they contract again at the northern end of the Dead Sea, and continue in parallel lines throughout its entire length. The cliffs which hem in the valley are here steeper, higher, and wilder than elsewhere, and the scenery is more bleak and desolate. The sea occupies the whole width of the valley, in many places washing the sides of the cliffs. Being slightly rounded at each end, its form is an elongated oval.

The contour of the Dead Sea, as delineated in most maps, is regular, the shore lines having few indentations, and the curves at the north and south being uniform. Recent researches—especially those of Lynch, Robinson, and Tristram—have shown that this regularity of outline is incorrect. The western shore especially has long promontories and deep bays, and the curves at the north and south are very far from being so gracefully rounded as most cartographers have delineated them. It will serve at once to show the topography of the sea, and the physical features of the plains, cliffs, and mountain-ranges which encircle it, if we pass round the shores in rapid survey. It will also tend to throw some light on the origin of the lake, and on the wondrous events of its long history.

On the north, at the embouchure of the Jordan, a low promontory is being gradually formed by the muddy deposits brought down by the river. It is mostly bare, destitute of all vegetation, and like the adjoining plain covered with a nitrous crust. At present it projects into the lake more than a mile. When the water is very high, a portion is overflowed. To the westward lies a deep bay, and beyond it a long low isthmus, covered with cairns of loose rounded stones. De Saulcy has given to this isthmus the name *Radjüm Louth*, 'Lot's ruin;' but the writer never heard the name on the spot. The ruins are shapeless and desolate. They are of the highest antiquity, and may perhaps be of the era of the 'cities of the plain.'

The shore-line now trends, with an easy curve, to the south-west, and then to the south, until it reaches the bold headland of Ras el-Feshkliah. So far it is flat and sandy, and the adjoining plain dreary and naked, save where, at long intervals, a little brackish spring rises, or a tiny streamlet flows, and there cane-brakes and shrubberies of tamarisk are seen. Ridges of drift mark the water-line, and are composed of broken canes and willow branches, with trunks of palms, poplars, and other trees, half imbedded in slimy mud, and all covered with incrustations of salt.

It is deserving of special note, that the mountainsides and low plains on both the eastern and western shores of the Dead Sea are marked by a series of terraces, manifestly water-lines of some



remote ages. The highest is very distinctly seen on the mountain-chain of Moab, extending along the tops of the cliffs like a huge shelf. Its elevation appears to be about 1300 feet; and on the western range, at various places, there is a corresponding terrace. This terrace has been frequently noticed by travellers, but special attention was recently given to it by Mr. Tristram, who remarks: 'These terraces in the old secondary limestone must be about the present level of the Mediterranean, and they seem to tell of a period long antecedent to the tertiary terraces and deposits below, when the old Indian Ocean wore the rocks and scooped out the caverns, as its unbroken tide swept up from the coasts of Africa; or when the Salt Sea formed one in a chain of African lakes' (*Land of Israel*, p. 247).

About two hundred and thirty feet above the present level of the Dead Sea are traces of another ancient shore-line, marked by a strip of alluvial marl adhering to the rocks and cliffs, particularly at the north-west angle, and down as far as Ras el-Feshkhah (*Id.* p. 256). It is also seen at Wady Derejah and Ain Jidy. The deposit is mixed with shells of existing species, layers of gypsum, and gravel. Where there are ravines running down to the sea between high cliffs, the deposit reaches up their sides in places to a height of four hundred feet, and then slopes away in a series of terraces to the present level of the sea, as if the water had gradually and slowly evaporated. At one point Tristram counted on the shore 'no less than eight low gravel terraces, the ledges of comparatively recent beaches, distinctly marked. The highest of these was forty-four feet above the present sea-level' (p. 278). At Jebel Shukif, a short distance north of Engedi, Tristram, in addition to the lower terraces noted elsewhere, measured the elevations of three high terraces. The first at a height of three hundred and twenty-two feet, marked by a deposit of marl on limestone; the second 665 feet, formed of hard limestone; and the third 1654 feet, of crystalline limestone (*Id.* p. 295).

These features of the Dead Sea valley are of the greatest interest and the highest importance to the geologist, as tending to explain the past physical history of this most extraordinary region, and to show the gradual process of evaporation by which the waters that filled it in some remote age were reduced to their present level.

A few miles north of Ras el-Feshkhah are some confused heaps and long ridges of loose unhewn stones and mounds of earth, to which M. de Sauley has given the name Goumran. The present writer was as unsuccessful as all others since and before his visits, in discovering here any traces of a ruined city, or of the name which the French savan has given to it (cf. Tristram, p. 249; *Hand-book*, p. 203).

Ras el-Feshkhah is a bold headland of crystalline limestone, descending from a height of some 1500 feet, in broken cliffs into the deep sea. It bars all passage along the shore; but Mr. Tristram by great exertions climbed round its face. It is cleft asunder by Wady en-Nar, the continuation of the Kidron. At the base of the cliff is a vein of bituminous limestone, largely used in the manufacture of little ornaments which are sold to the pilgrims at Jerusalem. 'The substance seemed to have been partially ejected in a liquid form, and to have streamed down the cliffs. It was generally

mixed with flints and pebbles, sometimes covering the boulders in large splashes, and then, in the sea itself, formed the matrix of a very hard conglomerate of gravel and flints. When thrown into the fire it burnt with a sulphurous smell, but would not ignite at the flame of a lamp' (Tristram, p. 254).

South of Ras el-Feshkhah the cliffs retreat, leaving a plain along the shore, varying from one to two miles in breadth, and extending to Ain Terabeh, about six miles distant. The plain is an alluvial deposit with layers of gravel, and having spits of pure sand projecting at intervals into the sea. It is partially covered with shrubberies of tamarisk, acacia, and retem;\* and towards the south with dense cane-brakes. The coating of alluvial marl which once covered it is now in many places worn away; and deep gullies rend it in all directions. Enough remains to show that its top, like that of the plains at the northern and southern ends of the lake, formed the old tertiary level of the waters (Tristram, p. 256).

In the plain is a copious brackish spring, with a temperature of 96° Fahr. Farther south is Ain Terabeh, a small fountain, slightly brackish, oozing up from the sand a few feet from the shore. Between it and the cliffs is a dense thicket abounding with birds and beasts: ducks, teal, pochard, thrush, bulbul; with swine, leopard, jackal, fox, hare, and porcupine (*Id.* p. 273).

From Ain Terabeh to Ras Mersed (six miles) the coast plain is a mere strip, frequently interrupted by rocky headlands which dip into the waves. Bitumen is here abundant with pebbles embedded. 'In a little bay, just before reaching Wady Shukif, we were struck by a powerful sulphurous odour, and, after some search, found hot water bubbling through the gravel, at a temperature of 95° Fahr., only six inches from the sea. The smell of sulphur and rotten eggs was very strong, and while scooping in the gravel my hands became quite black, and my boots were covered with a yellow incrustation. Pebbles thrown in became incrustated with sulphur in a few minutes, and all the rocks in the sea, which were here quite hot—of the temperature of 80° Fahr.—were covered with it. There must be an enormous discharge of this mineral water under the sea, as the heat of the water extends for 200 yards, and the odour to a much greater distance. The ordinary temperature of the sea elsewhere was 62° (*Id.* p. 279). On the south side of this spring is Jebel Shukif, a high bold peak projecting into the sea. Two miles beyond it is the oasis of Engedi, a plain some two miles square, forming a delta to two glens which empty into it perennial streamlets of fresh water. These, with the 'fountain of the kid' itself, make this spot a paradise in the midst of a dreary desert. [ENGEDI.]

South of Engedi the plain becomes wider, but it is bare and desolate. The cliffs rise over it in broken masses of pale brown limestone, divided by yawning chasms, while the alluvial deposits along their base are white as snow. Two miles southward a spring of fetid water oozes up on the margin of the sea, having a temperature of 88° Fahr. Other springs must exist beneath the waves, for the water near the shore is much hotter than

\* A species of broom; the *Genista retam* of Forskal. It abounds in the peninsula of Sinai.







*The Dead Sea*





elsewhere, and the whole surrounding air is filled with fumes of sulphuretted hydrogen.

On this plain four distinct terraces are visible. The highest is nearly 300 feet above the present sea level. Down along the beach are traces of 'three or four others, like tidal-marks, as if very recently left, which had washed into the post-tertiary marl, at heights varying from fifteen to forty-five feet above the actual water-line' (Tristram, p. 302). No traces of trap-rock are anywhere seen; but near Wady Khuderah are veins of crystalline limestone, and great quantities of flint, coated with oxide of iron. These De Saulcy and others mistook for lava torrents. The coast has the same general features as far as the hill and fortress of Sebbeh, the ancient Masada. There, at the base of the hill, are the remains of a Roman camp; and beyond it the aspect of the plain is that of utter and even painful sterility. 'Elsewhere the desolation is comparatively partial, here it reigns supreme. The two miles of rugged slope that lay between our path and the sea are difficult to describe. They are formed of a soft, white, and very salt deposit, torn and furrowed by winter torrents in every direction, which have left fantastic ruins and castles of olden shape, flat-topped mamelons, cairns, and every imaginable form into which a wild fancy could have moulded matter, standing in a labyrinth, north and south, before and behind us' (*Id.* p. 315).

Farther south the shore recedes, forming a bay some eight miles in length, the water in places almost washing the base of the cliffs. One wild glen, called Um Baghek, breaks through the mountains, and sends out a tiny stream with a dense fringe of evergreens. Not far from it is another hot sulphur spring, which spreads its suffocating odours around. On the south the bay is bounded by the oasis of the Wady Zuweireh—a plain of some extent, sprinkled with tamarisks and acacias, and torn in all directions with torrent beds, through which the winter rains and the streamlets from numerous sulphurous and brackish springs find their way to the sea. The cliffs and peaks which rise over the oasis appear from a distance to exhibit traces of volcanic action, but closer inspection proves that there are no igneous rocks here or elsewhere along the western shore. Veins of ruddy limestone, blocks of ironstone, and multitudes of nodules of black flint, look like trap-dykes and craters in the distance. There are, however, a few cinders and *scoriae* observable here and there along the shore.

A short distance south of Wady Zuweireh is *Jebel Usdum*, a range of hills running from north to south, a distance of seven miles, with an average elevation of 300 feet, composed of a solid mass of rock-salt. The top and sides are covered with a thick coating of marl, gypsum, and gravel, probably the remains of the post-tertiary deposit uplifted upon the salt. The declivities of the range are steep and rugged, pierced with huge caverns, and the summit shows a serried line of sharp peaks. The salt is of a greenish-white colour, with lines of cleavage as if stratified, and its base reaches far beneath the present surface. The name of the range, *Khashm Usdum*, appears to preserve a memorial of the ancient guilty 'city of the plain.'

At the mouth of Wady Zuweireh are some heaps of rough stones, and the shattered walls of a small tower, marked by De Saulcy as the remains

of Sodom. That city may have stood in this region, but it requires some power of imagination to identify it with these insignificant ruins.

At the northern end of *Jebel Usdum* is the mouth of Wady Muhawât, which exhibits some very remarkable geological features. Its sides are cliffs of old limestone, showing here and there on their surface traces of post-tertiary marl; 'but since the marl has been washed out, there has been a second filling in of an extraordinary character, which is only now in course of denudation. There are exposed on the sides of the wady, and chiefly on the south, large masses of bitumen mingled with gravel. These overlies a thick stratum of sulphur, which again overlies a thicker stratum of sand, so strongly impregnated with sulphur that it yields powerful fumes on being sprinkled over a hot coal. Many blocks of the bitumen have been washed down the gorge, and lie scattered over the plain below, along with huge boulders, and other traces of tremendous floods. . . . The layer of sulphurous sand is generally evenly distributed on the old limestone base, the sulphur evenly above it, and the bitumen in variable masses. In every way it differs from the ordinary mode of deposit of these substances as we have seen them elsewhere. Again, the bitumen, unlike that which we pick up on the shore, is strongly impregnated with sulphur, and yields an overpowering sulphurous odour; above all, it is calcined, and bears the marks of having been subjected to extreme heat.'

This discovery is exceedingly important; and the remarks of Mr. Tristram upon it will be read with the deepest interest by all students of the Bible. 'Here, so far as I can judge, we have the only trace of anything approaching to volcanic action which we have met with in our careful examination of the northern, western, and southern shores. The only other solution of the problem—the existence of a bituminous spring when the supply of water was more abundant—would scarcely account for the regular deposition of sulphurous sand, and then of the sand with the bitumen superimposed. I have a great dread of seeking forced corroborations of Scriptural statements from questionable physical evidence, for the sceptic is apt to imagine that, when he has refuted the wrong argument adduced in support of a Scriptural statement, he has refuted the Scriptural statement itself; but, so far as I can understand this deposit, if there be any physical evidence left of the catastrophe which destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, or of similar occurrences, we have it here. The whole appearance points to a shower of hot sulphur, and an irruption of bitumen upon it, which would naturally be calcined and impregnated by its fumes; and this at a geological period quite subsequent to all the diluvial and alluvial action of which we have such abundant evidence. The catastrophe must have been since the formation of the wady, since the deposition of the marl, and while the water was at its present level; therefore, probably during the historic period' (pp. 355-57).

The shore-line runs for nearly three miles southwards along the base of *Jebel Usdum*, and then sweeps sharply round to the east, leaving on the south a naked miry plain called *Sabbah*, ten miles long from north to south, by about six wide. It is in summer coated with a saline crust, but is so low that when the water is high a large section of it is flooded. Numerous torrent-beds from the



salt range on the west, and from the higher ground of the Arabah on the south, run across it, converting large portions into impassable swamps. On its southern border the old diluvium terrace rises like a white wall to a height of more than 200 feet. It is only on getting close to it that the sides are seen to be rent and torn into a thousand fantastic forms by winter torrents, and the wearing away of the softer deposits.

The Sabkah is bounded on the east by Wady Tufeileh, one of the principal drains of the Arabah, and containing a brackish perennial stream. Beyond it the ground rises in an easy slope to the foot of the Moab mountains, and is covered with dense thickets of reeds, tamarisk, acacia, retam, zyziphus, and other shrubs, intermixed with fertile fields, cultivated by the Ghawarineh Arabs, and producing abundant crops of wheat, maize, indigo, melons, and cucumbers. Tristram says: 'The place positively swarmed with birds in countless myriads. There were doves by the score on every bush, large and small (*Turtur risorius* and *T. Ægyptius*), bulbuls, hopping thrush, shrikes, the gorgeous little sun-bird, resplendent in the light, and, once more, our new sparrow. The Abyssinian lark, pipits, and wagtails luxuriated in the moist rills at our feet, which were fringed by drooping tufts of caper (*Capparis Ægyptiaca*) in full flower. All teemed with a prodigality of life' (p. 336).

This fertile tract touches the south-eastern shore of the sea, and continues along it as it trends north-east for some five miles to the mouth of Wady Nimeireh, becoming gradually narrower as the shore-line approaches the rocky sides of the mountains. The geological formation of this eastern range is different from the western. The front cliffs are red sandstone, apparently overlying hard crystalline limestone, and topped by more recent calcareous rock. Trap boulders, and fragments of greenstone and syenite, are strewn along the base.

Such are the southern shores of the Dead Sea. The great valley is here narrower than at the northern shore, not because of any contraction in the mountain-ranges, but arising from the ridge of Usdum, which was evidently thrown up from the bottom of the valley at some period subsequent to the formation of the Arabah. The projecting base of Jebel Usdum on the west, and the high fertile region of Es-Safieh on the east, contract the southern end of the lake into the form of a semicircular bay about six miles in diameter. A few miles further north the shores on each side expand so much that the breadth of the sea is almost doubled. The general aspect of the shores is dreary and desolate in the extreme. The salt-incrusted plain, the white downs of the Arabah, the naked line of salt hills, the bare and scathed mountain-ranges on each side, all blazing under the rays of a vertical sun, form a picture of utter and stern desolation such as the mind can scarcely conceive.

On the northern side of Wady Nimeireh, a narrow strip of saline plain, very low and very barren, intervenes between the shore and the mountains. Here and there, at a little fountain, or at the mouth of a ravine, a clump of bushes or a cane-brake may be seen.

The *Peninsula of el-Lisân*, 'The Tongue,' is the most remarkable feature on the eastern shore. It juts out opposite the great ravine of Kerak. The neck connecting it with the mainland is a strip of low bare sand, measuring five miles across. In

outline the peninsula bears some resemblance to the human foot; the toe projecting northward, and forming a sharp promontory. Its length is about nine miles, and from the heel, or south-western point, to the southern shore line, is seven miles. The main body is a post-tertiary deposit, composed of layers of marl, gypsum, and sandy conglomerate, manifestly coeval with the great diluvial terrace, and corresponding with it in elevation. The top is a table-land, broad towards the south, but gradually narrowing to a serrated ridge at the northern end. It is white, and almost entirely destitute of vegetation. The surface is all rent and torn by torrent-beds; and the sides are worn away into pyramidal masses, resembling lines and groups of white tents. It is worthy of special note that in the wadis, and along the shores, pieces of sulphur, bitumen, rock-salt, and pumice-stone, are found in great profusion. Probably, if examined with care, geological phenomena similar to those in Wady Mahawât might be found on this peninsula, and some additional light thus thrown upon the destruction of the cities of the plain. Poole says 'the soil appeared sulphurous' (*Journal*, R. G. S. xxvi. pp. 62-64).

The little plain at the mouth of Wady Kerak affords a striking contrast, in its thickets of evergreens and luxuriant corn-fields, to the arid desolation of the adjoining peninsula.

The shore of the Dead Sea between the peninsula and the north-eastern angle has never been thoroughly explored. Seetzen, Irby and Mangles, De Saulcy, and more recently the party of the Duc de Luynes, visited a few places; and Lieutenant Lynch and his officers touched at several points. A few miles north of el-Lisân the fertile plain, called Ghor el-Mezraah, terminates, and the mountains descend in sublime cliffs of red sandstone almost to the water's edge. Higher up white calcareous limestone appears, and forms at this place the main body of the range. Basalt also appears in places, sometimes overlying the limestone, as on the plain of Bashan, at others bursting through the sandstone strata in dykes and veins. The ravines of Mojib (Arnon) and Zerka Main appear like huge rents in the mountains. Near the mouth of the latter veins of gray and black trap cut through the sandstone, and a copious fountain of hot sulphurous water sends a steaming river into the sea, amid thickets of palms and tamarisks. This is Callirhoë, so celebrated in olden time for its baths. Between this point and the plain of the Jordan volcanic eruptions have produced immense flows of basaltic rock, portions of which had been overflowed into the valley of the Jordan. Among other smaller basaltic streams three were found bordering on the eastern edge of the Dead Sea to the south of the little plain of Zarah (M. Lartet's paper to French Academy of Sciences; see in *Journal of Sac. Lit.* July 1865, p. 496).

The plain between the mountains and the mouth of the Jordan is in general well watered, and covered with luxuriant vegetation, and occasional thickets of tamarisk, retam, and acacia. At the ruins of Suweimeh M. de Saulcy found a copious hot spring, with a ruinous aqueduct (*Voyage en Terre Sainte*, i. 317). Along the shore pieces of pumice-stone, lava, and bitumen, are found embedded in the sand and mud, as if washed up by the waves; and at this point are more distinct traces of volcanic action than elsewhere around the sea.



*The Dimensions of the Dead Sea* have never yet been taken with sufficient accuracy. Its length, from the mouth of the Jordan to the plain of Sabkah, is about forty geographical miles. It must be remembered that this varies considerably at different seasons of the year, and in different years. When the sea is filled up by winter rains, the flat plain on the south is submerged for several miles. The annual rainfall too is not uniform in Palestine. Some years it is more than double what it is in others [PALESTINE]; and this produces a corresponding effect on the volume of water in the sea, and consequently on its area. The sea attains its greatest breadth in the parallel of Engedi, where it measures about nine and three-fourths miles. The peninsula of Lisân divides the sea into two sections: that on the north is an elongated oval in form; while that on the south is almost circular. The narrowest part of the channel between the peninsula and the mainland is not much more than two miles across.

The northern section is a deep regularly-formed basin, the sides descending steeply and uniformly all round, as well on the north and south as on the east and west. This is one of the most remarkable features of the sea. Lynch ran seven lines of soundings across it from shore to shore, and found it deepest between Ain Terabeh and Wady Mojib, that is about the centre of the northern section. From this point the depth decreased gradually towards Lisân on the south, and the mouth of the Jordan on the north. The greatest depth found by Lynch was 1308 feet, but Lieutenant Molyneux records one sounding taken by him as 1350 feet. The deep part of the lake terminates at the peninsula. The greatest depth of the channel between Lisân and the western shore is only thirteen feet, and no part of the southern section was more than twelve feet in depth (Lynch, *Official Report*, p. 43).

It appears that when the water is very low there are two practicable fords from the peninsula to the mainland; one across the narrow channel, and the other running from the isthmus to the northern point of Jebel Usdum (Seetzen, *Reisen*, ii. 358; Irby and Mangies, *Travels*, p. 140).

The depression of the Dead Sea is without a parallel in the world. From experiments made by boiling water, in 1837, Messrs. Moore and Beke supposed the depression to be about 500 feet. In the following year Russegger with his barometer made it about 1400 feet. Symonds by trigonometrical survey, in 1841, calculated the depression at 1312 feet; and the level run by Dale, an officer of Lynch's expedition, gave a result of 1316 feet. A still more careful measurement has been recently made by the corps of English engineers, under Captain Wilson, with the following result:—'The levelling from the Mediterranean to the Dead Sea has been performed with the greatest possible accuracy, and by two independent observers, using different instruments; and the result may be relied upon as being absolutely true to within three or four inches. The depression of the surface on the 12th March 1865 was found to be 1292 feet, but from the line of driftwood observed along the border of the Dead Sea it was found that the level of the water at some period of the year—probably during the winter freshets—stands 2 feet 6 inches higher, which would make the least depression 1289·5 feet. Captain Wilson also learned, from

inquiry among the Bedouins, and from European residents in Palestine, that during the early summer the level of the Dead Sea is lower by at least six feet: this would make the greatest depression to be as near as possible 1298 feet. . . . The most recent observation before that now given, by the Duc de Luynes and Lieutenant Vignes, of the French navy, agrees with our result in a very remarkable manner, considering that the result was obtained by barometric observation, the depression given by them being 1286 feet on the 7th of June 1864, which at most differs only 12 feet from the truth, if we suppose the Dead Sea was then at its lowest' (Sir Henry James in the *Athenæum*).

The exact amount of the depression will of course vary with the rise and fall of the waters at different seasons. Traces along the shore prove that the level has varied as much as fifteen feet within the past half-century (Robinson, *Physical Geography*, p. 190). It is a singular coincidence that the depth and depression of the Dead Sea are very nearly equal, each about 1300 feet; the elevation of Jerusalem above the Mediterranean is about twice, and above the Dead Sea about three times that number (*Id.* p. 190).

*The water of the Dead Sea* is more intensely salt than that of any other sea known. It has also a bitter nauseous taste, and leaves upon the skin a slight greasy feeling. Yet it is transparent as the water of the Mediterranean; and its colour is the same, a delicate green. Its specific gravity, and consequent buoyancy, is very great. The writer floated easily in an upright position with head and shoulders above the surface. Lynch says that eggs, which would have sunk in the ocean, floated here with only two-thirds immersed. This peculiarity was well known to the ancients (Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* iv. 8. 4; Arist. *Meteor.* ii. 3; see also in Ireland, pp. 241, 249).

The following analyses of the water will be useful to the scientific student, and will best account for the foregoing facts. The water analysed by Dr. Apjohn was lifted half a mile from the mouth of the Jordan, near the close of the rainy season, and naturally exhibits a smaller amount of salt and less specific gravity. That examined by Booth was drawn up by Lynch from a depth of 1110 feet. The third specimen was taken from the north-west shore in March 1849.

	Apjohn.	Booth.	Thornton and Herapath.
Specific gravity . .	1153	1227	1172
Chloride of calcium .	2'438	3'107	2'455
„ magnesium .	7'370	14'589	7'822
„ sodium .	7'839	7'855	12'109
„ potassium .	0'852	0'658	1'217
„ ammonium .	...	...	0'005
„ aluminum .	...	...	0'055
„ manganese .	0'005	...	0'005
„ iron .	...	...	0'002
Bromide of magnesium	0'201	...	0'251
Sulphate of lime .	0'075	0'070	0'067
Bromide of potassium	...	0'137	...
Organic matter (nitrogenous) . . . .	...	...	0'061
Total . . .	18'780	26'416	24'055 p. c.



Many other analyses have been made, differing more or less from the foregoing. Such differences must be expected. When the sea is flooded by freshets the amount of salts in solution will be less; when low, after the evaporation of the summer, the amount will be more.

The presence of these foreign ingredients in such quantities is easily accounted for. The washings of the salt range of Usdum, and numerous brackish springs along the shores, supply the salt; the great sulphur fountain at Callirhoë, and many others on the north and west, with the sulphur, bitumen, iron, etc., found so abundantly in the later deposits, supply the other ingredients. It is known also that large masses of bitumen are occasionally forced up from the bed of the sea; and it may be that beneath its waves are fountains and deposits more numerous and more remarkable than those in the surrounding rocks and plains. Then, too, the constant evaporation takes away the pure water, but leaves behind all the salts, which are thus gradually increasing in quantity.

The water is fatal to animal life; and this fact, according to Jerome, originated the name *Dead Sea* (ad *Ezech.* xlviii. 8; cf. Galen, *de Simpt.* iv. 19). Shells and small fish, in a dead or dying state, have been picked up along the northern shore, and are found in some of the little fountains along the western coast; but they are all of foreign importation. Recent investigations have led some to suppose that the Dead Sea does contain and support a few inferior organisations; but the fact has not as yet been established on conclusive evidence (see, however, Grove in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, iii. 1183 d).

Lying in this deep caldron, encompassed by naked white cliffs and white plains, exposed during a great part of the year to the unclouded beams of a Syrian sun, it is not strange that the shores of the Dead Sea should exhibit an almost unexampled sterility, and a death-like solitude; nor is it strange that in a rude and unscientific age the sea should have become the subject of wild and wondrous superstitions. 'Seneca relates that bricks would not sink in it. Early travellers describe the lake as an infernal region; its black and fetid waters always emitting a noisome smoke or vapour, which, being driven over the land, destroys all vegetation like a frost. Hence, too, the popular report that birds cannot fly over its deadly waters' (Robinson, *Phys. Geog.* p. 199). Such stories are fabulous. It is true that the tropical heat causes immense evaporation, the exhalations from the sulphurous springs and marshes taint the air for miles, and the miasma of the swamps on the north and south give rise to fevers, and render the ordinary inhabitants feeble and sickly. But this has no necessary connection with the Dead Sea, or the character of its waters. The marshes of Iskanderûn are much more unhealthy than any part of the Ghôr. Wherever a copious fountain bubbles up along the shores, or a mountain-streamlet affords water for irrigation, tangled thickets of tropical trees, shrubs, and flowers, spread out their foliage. And there birds sing as sweetly as in more genial climes, and the Arab pitches his tent like his brethren on the eastern plateau, and an abundant harvest rewards the labours of the husbandman. Tristram exclaims with something of enthusiasm: 'What a sanitarium Engedi might be made, if it were only accessible, and some enterprising specu-

lator were to establish a hydropathic establishment! Hot water, cold water, and decidedly salt water baths, all supplied by nature on the spot, the hot sulphur springs only three miles off, and some of the grandest scenery man ever enjoyed, in an atmosphere where half a lung is sufficient for respiration' (p. 295).

ORIGIN AND HISTORY.—It is a question of the highest importance, and one which has created much controversy among scientific and Biblical students, whether the present physical aspect of the Jordan valley and shores of the Dead Sea tends to throw any light upon its origin, or upon the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. This is a subject of great difficulty, and perhaps of still greater delicacy in the present day. Strong statements have been made on both sides. While some Biblical students have perhaps committed themselves to rash and fanciful theories, it cannot be denied, on the other hand, that sneering references have been made to Bible history, and aspersions cast on conscientious and able Biblical interpreters which are altogether unworthy of men who profess to be in search of truth.

Our knowledge of the physical structure of the Jordan valley, and of the various strata and deposits along the shores of the Dead Sea, is not yet sufficiently extensive or minute to enable us to construct a satisfactory theory on the points at issue. But it may be well to state here in a few simple propositions what are the actual statements made in Scripture about the Dead Sea, and what are the facts which scientific investigation, so far as hitherto prosecuted, has established.

The references to the Dead Sea in Scripture are few, and mostly incidental. Three passages deserve special attention. In Gen. xiii. 10, where the sacred writer relates the story of the separation of Abraham and Lot, he represents the two as standing on the mountain-top east of Bethel. He then says, 'Lot lifted up his eyes, and beheld all the plain (or circuit) of Jordan, that it was well watered everywhere, before the Lord destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, even as the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt, as thou comest unto Zoar.' It has been inferred from this that the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, and the whole plain around them, must have been in sight at the time referred to, and must therefore have been situated at the northern end of the Dead Sea, which alone is visible from the height at Bethel. But a careful examination of the passage shows that this does not follow. The patriarchs looked toward 'the circuit of the Jordan.' It is not implied that they saw it all, nor is it said that Sodom and Gomorrah were in sight. They saw enough to give them a general idea of the whole region. One thing is evident from the statement: a remarkable change was effected in the plain at the time of the destruction of Sodom. It was fertile and well watered *before* that event; but manifestly not so, or not so much so, *after* it. And this is corroborated by the narrative in Gen. xix. 24, 25.

The second passage is Gen. xiv. 2-10, which contains the story of Lot's capture. Verse 3 is important: 'All these (kings) were joined together in the vale of Siddim, *which is the Salt Sea.*' There cannot be a doubt that the idea here expressed is that the district called in the time of Lot 'the Vale of Siddim,' had become, in the time of the writer 'the Salt Sea,' or at least constituted a



part of that sea. The Hebrew phrase establishes the identity of the two just as certainly as the similar phrase in verse 2 establishes the identity of Bela and Zoar. Attempts have been made to get over this on the ground that the clause is an explanatory note by a subsequent writer; and that though the narrative itself may be authentic the note 'must stand or fall on its own merits' (Smith's *Dict. of Bible*, iii. 1186). This is a dangerous mode of criticism, and unsound as dangerous. The clause is found in all the ancient MSS. and versions, and in the Targum of Onkelos. Its genuineness rests on the very same basis as the other portions of the narrative. We have the same evidence of its Mosaic authorship as we have of any other part of the book. It was manifestly the opinion of Moses that the Vale of Siddim was submerged. Another point in the narrative demands attention. The route of the invading host is traced. They attacked the Rephaim in Bashan, then marched southward through Moab and Edom to Paran on the west side of the Arabah, opposite Edom. There they turned, and after resting at the fountain of Kadesh, they swept the territory of the Amalekites on the south of Judah, and of the Amorites 'who dwelt in Engedi.' Having thus ravaged all the countries surrounding the cities of the plain, they descended upon their territory from the west. The inhabitants now came out against them, and were marshalled in the vale of Siddim. The exact locality of the vale is not described. It may have been north, or it may have been south of Engedi; one thing, however, is certain: if the western shores of the sea were then as they are now, no army could have marched along them from Engedi to Jericho. On the other hand, from Engedi there is a good path southward. It is said, moreover, that 'the Vale of Siddim was full of bitumen pits' (ver. 10). There is no part of the valley north of the sea to which this would apply; nor indeed is there any plain or vale along its shores 'full of bitumen pits at the present day.' These facts render it impossible that the Vale of Siddim could have been on the plain of Jericho; and they seem to confirm the previous statement that Siddim was submerged. [SIDDIM.]

The third passage is Gen. xix. 24, 25:—'Then the Lord rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven; and he overthrew those cities, and all the plain, and all the inhabitants of the cities, and that which grew upon the ground.' Abraham, when on the succeeding morning he reached the mountain brow, 'looked toward Sodom and Gomorrah, and toward all the land of the plain, and beheld, and lo, the smoke of the country went up as the smoke of a furnace' (ver. 28).

Such, then, are the facts recorded in Scripture. The whole must stand or fall together. We have no authority for selecting such portions as may suit our own preconceived opinions, and then rejecting the rest. [See also SODOM.]

The physical facts ascertained by scientific research are as follows:—The formation of the great valley of the Jordan must have been long antecedent to historic times, and coeval with the existing mountain-ranges. The valley was at some remote period filled with water to the level of the ocean. The water has gradually decreased, apparently by evaporation, and has left a number of shore-lines traced by terraces along the mountain

sides, all antecedent to historic times. The portion of the Dead Sea north of el-Lisân forms a distinct basin, and appears to have done so from a time long anterior to Abraham. The southern section is different. It is very shallow. Its bottom is slimy. 'Sulphur springs stud its shores, sulphur is strewn, whether in layers or in fragments, over the desolate plains, and bitumen is ejected in great floating masses from the bottom of the sea, oozes through the fissures of the rocks, is deposited with gravel on the beach, or, as in the Wady Mohawat, appears with sulphur to have been precipitated during some convulsion' (Tristram, p. 358), and that at a period long subsequent to the latest diluvial formation, and apparently within the historic period.

There can be no doubt that the destruction of the cities was miraculous. A shower of ignited sulphur was rained upon them. May we not connect this historic fact with the observed fact just stated? Again, it is said that 'the plain of Siddim was filled with bitumen pits.' Bitumen is inflammable, and when ignited by the fiery shower would burn fiercely. May we not also connect this with the phenomena of Wady Mahawat, of which Tristram says: 'The whole appearance points to a shower of hot sulphur, and an irruption of bitumen upon it, which would naturally be calcined and impregnated with its fumes'? (p. 356). The sacred writer further says that the vale of Siddim became the Salt Sea, or was submerged. The southern part of the lake is now a muddy flat covered with a few feet of water. Suppose the vale to have sunk a few feet, or the water to have risen a few feet after the miraculous destruction of the cities, either supposition would accord with the Biblical narrative, would not be without a parallel in the history of countries exposed to earthquakes, and would not be opposed to any results of modern observation. It would accord besides with the views of ancient writers and with uniform Jewish tradition (Joseph. *Antiq.* i. 9; *Bell. Jud.* iv. 8. 4; Reland, pp. 254, seq.)

This was the view suggested by Dr. Robinson, and sanctioned by the distinguished geologist Leopold von Buch. In his latest work, published since his death, Robinson says: 'It seems to be a necessary conclusion that the Dead Sea extended no farther south than the peninsula, and that the cities destroyed lay on the south of the lake as it then existed. Lot fled from Sodom to Zoar, which was *near* (Gen. xix. 20); and Zoar, as we know, was in the mouth of Wady Kerak, as it opens upon the neck of the peninsula. The fertile plain, therefore, which Lot chose for himself, where Sodom was situated, and which was well watered, like the land of Egypt, lay also south of the lake, 'as thou comest to Zoar' (Gen. xiii. 10, 11). Even to the present day more living streams flow into the Ghôr at the south end of the sea, from wadis of the eastern mountains, than are found so near together in all Palestine besides. Tracts of exuberant fertility are still seen along the streams, though elsewhere the district around the southern bay is almost desert' (*Physical Geogr. of the Holy Land*, p. 213). Notwithstanding the arguments and almost contemptuous insinuations of some recent writers, not a single fact has been adduced calculated to overthrow this view; but, on the contrary, each new discovery seems as if a new evidence in its favour.

It must be admitted, however, that these are still

subjects for observation and scientific research, rather than for speculation and dogmatic affirmation. It is greatly to be desired that some accomplished practical geologist should undertake a thorough examination of the valley of the Jordan and Dead Sea. He would reap a rich harvest; and he would confer a rich boon as well upon science as upon Biblical literature.

It is not strange that the Dead Sea was never navigated to any extent. Fish do not exist in it; and the sterile character of the shores made water transit of little importance. Josephus appears to state that the Moabites crossed the sea to invade Judah (*Antiq.* ix. 1. 2); and he informs us that the Romans used boats against the fugitive Jews (*Bell. Jud.* iv. 7. 6; cf. iv. 8. 4). Costigan, an Irish traveller, was the first in modern times to navigate this Sea of Death. Having descended the Jordan in a little boat, he crossed to the peninsula of Lisân. For three days he had no fresh water; and he was carried to Jerusalem to die. No record of his journey has been found. In 1837 Moore and Beek had a light boat conveyed from Jaffa. They succeeded in visiting some points, and making a few experiments with boiling water, which were the first to prove that the lake was below the level of the ocean. Ten years later, Lieutenant Molyneux of the British navy took a boat down the Jordan, visited the peninsula, and took some soundings. He was able to return to his ship, but died shortly afterwards. A brief record of his voyage is given in the *Journal of the R. G. S.* vol. xviii. The expedition of Lynch in 1848 was the only one crowned with success. This was in part owing to the superior organisation and strength of the party, and in part to the fact that it was undertaken at a comparatively cool season, April and May. Even this, however, was too late. Several of the party took fever; and one, Lieutenant Dale, died. The unfortunate expeditions of Costigan and Molyneux were made in July and August respectively. Winter is the proper season for any such undertaking. Rain seldom falls on the shores; the air during the depth of winter is fresh and balmy, and cold almost unknown.

**LITERATURE.**—Josephus gives a brief description of the Dead Sea (*Bell. Jud.* iv. 8. 4); and several Greek and Roman authors, scientific as well as geographical, speak of its wonders. Extracts from the principal of these may be seen in Reland's *Palæstina* (pp. 238-258). Among modern writers the following may be consulted with advantage:—Seetzen, in Zach's *Monatliche Correspondenz*, vols. 17, 18, 26, 27; Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria*; Irby and Mangles, *Travels*; Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*; Ritter, *Pal. und Syr.* ii. 557-780; Poole, in *Journal of R. G. S.* vol. xxvi. The books containing the fullest and latest accounts are—Robinson, *B. R.* i. 501-523; ii. 187-192; and *Physical Geog. of Pal.* pp. 187-216; De Saulcy, *Voyage autour de la Mer Morte*, and *Voyage en Terre Sainte*; Tristram, *The Land of Israel*, pp. 242-366; and Lynch, *Official Report*, which contains Anderson's *Geological Reconnaissance*, published at the National Observatory, Washington 1852.—J. L. P.

#### VI. THE LAKE MEROM. [MEROM.]

**SEA, MOLTEN** (ים מוצק). The immense brazen reservoir which, with smaller lavers [LAVER], stood in the court of Solomon's temple, was thus,

by hyperbole, denominated. It was of a hemispherical figure, ten cubits in width, five deep, and thirty in circumference. In 1 Kings vii. 26 it is stated to have contained 2000 baths, equal to 16,000 gallons; but in 2 Chron. iv. 5 it is said to have contained 3000 baths, and the latter estimate is followed by Josephus. It was probably capable of holding the larger quantity, but did not usually contain more than the smaller. It was decorated on the upper edge with figures resembling lilies in bloom, and was enriched with various ornamental objects; and it rested, or seemed to rest, upon the backs of twelve oxen, three looking to the north, three to the east, three to the south, and three to the west (1 Kings vi. 26; vii. 40-47; 2 Chron. iv. 3-5). The Jewish writers state that this great basin was supplied with water by a pipe from the well of Etam, although some few allege that it was filled by the manual labour of the Gibeonites. It was, according to the same accounts, kept constantly flowing, there being spouts which discharged for use from the basin as much water as it received from the well of Etam. If this be correct, it is not improbable that the spouts discharged



466. Fountain of the Lions.

their water through the mouths of the oxen—or, as some suppose, through embossed heads in the sides of the vessel. This is perhaps the largest vessel of molten brass which was ever made—other large reservoirs, which might compete in dimensions with it, being either of wood, marble, or sheet copper. The Fountain of the Lions in the Moorish palace (Alhambra), at Grenada, is of stone, and the animals which support it are lions; but it supplies some remarkable analogies to Solomon's great work, in imitation of which it is said to have been constructed. The conception, and still more the successful execution of this great work, gives a very favourable idea of the state of the metallurgical arts in the time of Solomon.—J. K.

**SEAL.** There seem to have been two kinds of seals in use among the Hebrews. A notion appears to exist that all ancient seals, being signets, were rings, intended to be worn on the hand. But this was by no means the case; nor is it so now in the East, where signet-rings are still, probably, as common as they ever were in ancient times. Their general use of seals was very different from ours, as they were employed not for the purpose of impressing a device on wax, but in the place of a sign-manual, to stamp the name of the owner upon any document to which he desired to affix it. The name thus impressed had the same legal validity as the actual signature, as is still the case in the East. This practice may be illustrated by a circumstance which occurred in the last days of George IV. When he became too ill to affix his



sign-manual to the numerous documents which required it, a fac-simile was engraved on a stamp, by which it was in his presence impressed upon them. By this contrivance any one may give to any paper the legal sanction of his name, although he may be unable to write; and the awkward contrivance to which we resort in such cases, of affixing a cross or mark with the signature of an attesting witness, is unnecessary. For this purpose the surface of the seal is smeared with a black pigment, which leaves the figure of the body of the seal upon the paper, in which the characters appear blank or white. The characters required are often too large or too many to be conveniently used in a signet-ring, in which case they are engraved on a seal shaped not unlike those in use among ourselves, which is carried in the bosom, or suspended from the neck over the breast. This custom was ancient, and, no doubt, existed among the Hebrews (Gen. xxxviii. 18; Cant. viii. 6; Haggai ii. 23). These seals are often entirely of metal—brass, silver, or gold; but sometimes of stone set in metal. As an appendage thus shaped might be inconvenient from the pressure of its edges, the engraved stone was sometimes made to turn in its metal frame, like our swivel seals, so as to present a flat surface to the body. Very ancient Egyptian seals of this kind have been found.

If a door or box was to be sealed, it was first fastened with some ligament, over which was placed some well-compacted clay to receive the impression of the seal. Clay was used because it hardens in the heat which would dissolve wax; and this is the reason that wax is not used in the East. A person leaving property in the custody of strangers—say in one of the cells of a caravanserai—seals the door to prevent the place from being entered without legal proof of the fact. The simplicity of the Eastern locks, and the ease with which they might be picked, render this precaution the more necessary. We have sometimes seen a coarsely-engraved and large wooden seal employed for this purpose. There are distinct allusions to this custom in Job xxxviii. 14; Cant. iv. 12.

Signet-rings were very common, especially among persons of rank. They were sometimes wholly of metal, but often the inscription was borne by a stone set in silver or gold. The impression from the signet-ring of a monarch gave the force of a royal decree to any instrument to which it was affixed. Hence the delivery or transfer of it to any one gave the power of using the royal name, and created the highest office in the state (Gen. xli. 42; Esth. iii. 10, 12; viii. 2; Jer. xxii. 24; Dan. vi. 10, 13, 17; comp. 1 Kings xxi. 8). Kings being so much employed as seals, were called טבאוֹת *tabbooth*; which is derived from a root signifying to imprint, and also to seal. They were commonly worn as ornaments on the fingers—usually on the little finger of the right hand (Exod. xxxv. 22; Luke xv. 22; James ii. 2).—J. K.

SEASONS. [PALESTINE.]

SEBA. [SHEBA.]

SEBAC (סֶבַךְ) occurs in two or three places of the O. T., and is considered by some to be the name of a particular plant, as the bramble, smilax, jasmine, atriplex; by others it is supposed to denote briars or thorns. Celsius, however, has shown

that the meaning of the term is *perplexitas*, 'id quod densum et intricatum est;' that it is especially applied to the branches of trees, shrubs, and climbing plants, and is hence rightly translated in the A. V., in Gen. xxii. 13: 'And Abraham beheld a ram caught in a *thicket* (*sebac*) by his horns.' So in Is. ix. 18; x. 34.—J. F. R.

SECUNDUS (Σεκοῦνδος), a disciple of Thesalonica, who accompanied Paul in some of his voyages (Acts xx. 4).

SEER. [PROPHECY.]

SEFORNO, or SPHORNO, OBADIAH B. JACOB, was born at Cesena in Bologna *circa* 1475. He distinguished himself as a physician, Hebraist, and commentator; went to Rome in 1498, where he became the Hebrew tutor of the celebrated John Reuchlin, the father of the German Reformation; returned to Bologna, where he practised medicine, and died in 1550. His contributions to the elucidation of the Scriptures are:—(1.) A commentary on the Pentateuch, entitled *the Light of the Lord* (אֹר יְהוָה), which was first edited by Salomon Luzzatto, Venice 1507, and is now reprinted in Frankfurter's Rabbinic Bible [FRANKFURTER; RABBINIC BIBLES]. (2.) A commentary on the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes, Venice 1567, also reprinted in Frankfurter's Rabbinic Bible. (3.) A commentary on the Book of Job, entitled *the Righteous Judgment* (כִּשְׁפֵּט צַדִּיק), Venice 1590, and in Frankfurter's Rabbinic Bible. (4.) A commentary on the Psalms, Venice 1586, and in Frankfurter's Rabbinic Bible. (5.) A commentary on Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, in Frankfurter's Rabbinic Bible. (6.) A commentary on Ruth in the same Rabbinic Bible. Besides these published commentaries, Sphorno also wrote expositions of the books of Jonah, Habakkuk, and Zechariah, which are still in MS. (comp. Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, col. 2075, etc.; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, iii. 319).—C. D. G.

SEILER, GEO. FRIED., D.D., professor of theology and superintendent at Erlangen, was born 24th October 1733, and died 13th May 1807. He was a voluminous writer. His principal Biblical works are *Biblische Hermeneutik oder Grundsätze u. Regeln zur Erklärung der H. S. des A. u. N. T.*, Erl. 1800 [translated into Dutch with additions by J. Heringa, Leyd. 1804; into English with additional notes by W. Wright, LL.D., Lond. 1835]; *Üebersetzung der Schriften des N. T. mit erklärungen*, 2 vols. 1806; and Translation of the Psalms, 1788, and of Isaiah, 1783, with notes. His *Opuscula Theologica*, Erl. 1793, contains some valuable suggestions as to the interpretation of prophecy. Dr. Pye Smith speaks of Seiler with high commendation in his *Scripture Testimony*, ii. 432, 4th ed.—W. L. A.

SEIR (שֵׁעִיר, *hairy*; Sept. Σηελ). 1. A patriarch or chief of the Horim, who were the former inhabitants of the country afterwards possessed by the Edomites.

2. SEIR, MOUNT. The mountainous country of the Edomites, extending from the Dead Sea to the Elanitic Gulf. The name is usually derived from the Seir above-mentioned, and as he was a great chief of the original inhabitants, it is difficult to reject such a conclusion. Some, however, as

Gesenius, would rather regard Seir as an appellative, and as denoting 'the shaggy mountain'—i.e. clothed or bristly with woods and forests; but this is not, in any marked way, a characteristic of the range in question. [IDUMÆA; SELAH.]

SE'IRIM (שְׂעִירִים), the pl. of שְׂעִיר, *Sa'ir*, a *he-goat* (so called because of its hirsute and shaggy fleece, from *Sa'ir*, *hairy, shaggy, rough*), used to designate objects of religious worship (Lev. xvii. 7; 2 Chron. xi. 15, A. V. *devils*; Sept. μάταιοι), probably the goat deity Mendes of the Egyptians (Hengstenberg, *Authent. d. Pentat.* i. 119). In Is. xiii. 21, xxxiv. 14, it has been supposed by some to designate a species of demon, a fabulous being half man half goat (A. V. *Satyrs*; Sept. δαίμονια, Targ. שְׂדֵי, *demons*). The Vulg., however, gives *pilosi*, and there is no reason for departing from the ordinary meaning of the word. The prophet classes the Se'irim in these passages with animals, and he probably intended to denote some species of wild animal of the hircine order (see Henderson's note on the passages, and Alexander's Do.) [LILITH].—W. L. A.

SELAH. [PSALMS.]

SELAH, or rather SELA' סֶלָה, 'rock,' with the article in 2 Kings xiv. 7, הַסֶּלָה 'the rock'; Gr. ἡ Πέτρα, Petra, which has the same signification as Selah; sometimes plural, αἱ Πέτραι), the metropolis of the Edomites in Mount Seir. In the Jewish history it is recorded that Amaziah, king of Judah, 'slew of Edom in the valley of Salt ten thousand, and took Selah by war, and called the name of it Joktheel unto this day' (2 Kings xiv. 7). This name seems however to have passed away with the Hebrew rule over Edom, for no further trace of it is to be found; and it is still called Selah by Isaiah (xvi. 1). These are all the certain notices of the place in Scripture; for it may well be doubted whether it is designated in Judg. i. 36 and Is. xlii. 11, as some suppose. We next meet with it as the Petra of the Greek writers, which is merely a translation of the native name Selah. The earliest notice of it under that name by them is connected with the fact that Antigonus, one of Alexander's successors, sent two expeditions against the Nabathæans in Petra (Diod. Sic. xix. 94-98). For points of history not immediately connected with the city, see IDUMÆA; NEBAIOTH. Strabo, writing of the Nabathæans in the time of Augustus, thus describes their capital:—'The metropolis of the Nabathæans is Petra, so called; for it lies in a place in other respects plain and level, but shut in by rocks round about, but within having copious fountains for the supply of water and the irrigation of gardens. Beyond the enclosure the region is mostly a desert, especially towards Judæa' (*Geog.* xvi. p. 906). At this time the town had become a place of transit for the productions of the east, and was much resorted to by foreigners (Diod. Sic. xix. 95; Strabo, *l. c.*) Pliney more definitely describes Petra as situated in a valley less than two miles (Roman) in amplitude, surrounded by inaccessible mountains, with a stream flowing through it (*Hist. Nat.* vi. 28). About the same period it is often named by Josephus as the capital of Arabia Petraea, with which kingdom it passed under the immediate sway of the Romans in the time of Trajan, whose successor

Hadrian seems to have bestowed on it some advantage, which led the inhabitants to give his name to the city upon coins, several of which are still extant (Mionnet, *Med. Antiques*, v. 587; Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* ii. 503). In the 4th century Petra is several times mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome; and in the Greek ecclesiastical Notitiæ of the 5th and 6th centuries it appears as the metropolitan see of the third Palestine (Reland, *Palæst.* pp. 215, 217); the last-named of the bishops is Theodorus, who was present at the council of Jerusalem in A.D. 536 (*Oriens Christ.* iii. 725). From that time not the slightest notice of Petra is to be found in any quarter; and as no trace of it as an inhabited site is to be met with in the Arabian writers, the probability seems to be that it was destroyed in some unrecorded incursion of the desert hordes, and was afterwards left unpeopled. It is true that Petra occurs in the writers of the era of the Crusades; but they applied this name to Kerek, and thus introduced a confusion as to the true Petra which is not even now entirely removed. It was not until the reports concerning the wonderful remains in Wady Musa had been verified by Burckhardt, that the latter traveller first ventured to assume the identity of the site with that of the ancient capital of Arabia Petraea. He expresses this opinion in a letter dated at Cairo, Sept. 12th, 1812, published in 1819, in the preface to his *Travels in Nubia*; but before its appearance the eminent geographer, Carl Ritter, had suggested the same conclusion on the strength of Seetzen's intimations (*Erdkunde*, ii. 117). Burckhardt's view was more amply developed in his *Travels in Syria*, p. 431, published in 1822, and received the high sanction of his editor, Col. Leake, who produces in support of it all the arguments which have since been relied upon—namely, the agreement of the ancient descriptions with this site, and their inapplicability to Kerek; the coincidence of the ancient specifications of the distances of Petra from the Elanitic



467. Petra, from above the Amphitheatre.

Gulf and from the Dead Sea, which all point to Wady Musa, and not to Kerek; that Josephus, Eusebius, and Jerome testify that the Mount Hor where Aaron died was in the vicinity of Petra; and that to this day the mountain which tradition and circumstances point out as the same, still rears its lonely head above the vale of Wady Musa; while in all the district of Kerek there is not a single mountain which could in itself be regarded as Mount Hor, and even if there were its position



would be incompatible with the recorded journeyings of the Israelites (Leake's Preface to Burckhardt's *Travels in Syria*, pp. vii.-ix.; Robinson's *Palestine*, ii. 576-579; 653-659).

The ruined city lies in a narrow valley surrounded by lofty, and, for the most part, perfectly precipitous mountains. These natural barriers seem to have constituted the real limits of the city; and they give an extent of more than a mile in length, nearly from north to south, by a variable breadth of about half a mile. Several spurs from the surrounding mountains encroach upon this area; but, with inconsiderable exceptions, the whole is fit for building on. The sides of the valley are walled up by perpendicular rocks, from four hundred to six or seven hundred feet high. The northern and southern barriers are neither so lofty nor so steep, and they both admit of the passage of camels. A great many small recesses or side valleys open into the principal one, thus enlarging as well as varying almost infinitely the outline. With only one or two exceptions, however, they have no outlet, but come to a speedy and abrupt termination among the overhanging cliffs, as precipitous as the natural bulwark that bounds the principal valley. Including these irregularities, the whole circumference of Petra may be four miles or more. The length of this irregular outline, though it gives no idea of the extent of the area within its embrace, is perhaps the best measure of the extent of the excavations.

The chief public buildings occupied the banks of the river and the high ground further south, as their ruins sufficiently show. One sumptuous edifice remains standing, though in an imperfect and dilapidated state. It is on the south side of the river, near the western side of the valley, and seems to have been a palace rather than a temple. It is called Pharaoh's house, and is thirty-four paces square. The walls are nearly entire, and on the eastern side they are still surmounted by a handsome cornice. The front, which looks toward the north, was ornamented with a row of columns, four of which are standing. An open piazza, behind the colonnade, extended the whole length of the building. In the rear of this piazza are three apartments, the principal of which is entered under a noble arch, apparently thirty-five or forty feet high. It is an imposing ruin, though not of the purest style of architecture, and is the more striking as the only edifice now standing in Petra.

A little east of this, and in a range with some of the most beautiful excavations in the mountain on the east side of the valley, are the remains of what appears to have been a triumphal arch. Under it were three passages; and a number of pedestals of columns, as well as other fragments, would lead to the belief that a magnificent colonnade was connected with it.

A few rods south are extensive ruins, which probably belonged to a temple. The ground is covered with fragments of columns five feet in diameter. Twelve of these, whose pedestals still remain in their places, adorned either side of this stately edifice. There were also four columns in front and six in the rear of the temple. They are prostrate on the ground, and Dr. Olin counted thirty-seven massive frustra, of which one of them was composed.

Still further south are other piles of ruins—columns and hewn stones—parts no doubt of im-

portant public buildings. The same traveller counted not less than fourteen similar heaps of ruins, having columns and fragments of columns intermingled with blocks of stone, in this part of the site of ancient Petra. They indicate the great wealth and magnificence of this ancient capital, as well as its unparalleled calamities. These sumptuous edifices occupied what may be called the central parts of Petra. A large surface on the north side of the river is covered with substructions, which probably belonged to private habitations. An extensive region still farther north retains no vestiges of the buildings which once covered it.



468. Ruined Temple.

The attention of travellers has been chiefly engaged by the excavations which, having more successfully resisted the ravages of time, constitute at present the great and peculiar attraction of the place. These excavations, whether formed for temples, tombs, or the dwellings of living men, surprise the visitor by their incredible number and extent. They not only occupy the front of the entire mountain by which the valley is encompassed, but of the numerous ravines and recesses which radiate on all sides from this enclosed area. They exist, too, in great numbers in the precipitous rocks which shoot out from the principal mountains into the southern, and still more into the northern part of the site, and they are seen along all the approaches to the place, which, in the days of its prosperity, were perhaps the suburbs of the overpeopled valley. Were these excavations, instead of following all the sinuosities of the mountain and its numerous gorges, ranged in regular order, they probably would form a street not less than five or six miles in length. They are often seen rising one above another in the face of the cliff; and convenient steps, now much worn, cut in the rock, lead in all directions through the fissures, and along the sides of the mountains, to the various tombs that occupy these lofty positions. Some of them are apparently not less than from two hundred to three or four hundred feet above the level of the valley. Conspicuous situations, visible from below, were generally chosen; but sometimes the opposite taste prevailed, and the most secluded cliffs, fronting towards some dark ravine, and quite hidden from the gaze of the multitude, were



preferred. The flights of steps, all cut in the solid rock, are almost innumerable, and they ascend to great heights, as well as in all directions. Sometimes the connection with the city is interrupted, and one sees in a gorge, or upon the face of a cliff, fifty or a hundred feet above him, a long series of steps rising from the edge of an inaccessible precipice. The action of winter torrents and other agencies have worn the easy ascent into a channel for the waters, and thus interrupted the communication.



469. Interior of a Tomb.

The situations of these excavations are not more various than their forms and dimensions. Mere niches are sometimes cut in the face of the rock, of little depth and of various sizes and forms, of which it is difficult to conjecture the object, unless they had some connection with votive offerings and religious rites. By far the largest number of excavations were manifestly designed as places for the interment of the dead, and thus exhibit a variety in form and size, of interior arrangement and external decorations, adapted to the different fortunes of their occupants, and conformable to the prevailing tastes of the times in which they were made. There are many tombs consisting of a single chamber, ten, fifteen, or twenty feet square by ten or twelve in height, containing a recess in the wall large enough to receive one or a few deposits, sometimes on a level with the floor, at others one or two feet above it, and not unfrequently near the ceiling, at the height of eight or ten feet. Occasionally oblong pits or graves are sunk in the recesses, or in the floor of the principal apartment. Some of these are of considerable depth, but they are mostly choked with stones and rubbish, so that it is impossible to ascertain it. In these plebeian tombs there is commonly a door of small dimensions, and an absence of all architectural decorations; in some of larger dimensions there are several recesses occupying two or three sides of the apartment. These seem to have been formed for family tombs. Besides these unadorned habitations of the humble dead, there is a vast number of excavations enriched with various architectural ornaments. To these unique and sumptuous monuments of the taste of one of the most ancient races of men with whom history has made us acquainted, Petra is indebted for its great and peculiar attractions. This ornamental architecture is wholly confined to the front, while the interior is quite plain and destitute of all decoration. Pass the threshold, and nothing is seen but perpendicular

walls, bearing the marks of the chisel, without mouldings, columns, or any species of ornament. But the exteriors of these primitive and even rude apartments exhibit some of the most beautiful and imposing results of ancient taste and skill which have remained to our times. The front of the mountain is wrought into façades of splendid temples, rivalling in their aspect and symmetry the most celebrated monuments of Grecian art. Columns of various orders, graceful pediments, broad rich entablatures, and sometimes statuary, all hewn out of the solid rock, and still forming part of the native mass, transform the base of the mountain into a vast splendid pile of architecture, while the overhanging cliffs, towering above in shapes as rugged and wild as any on which the eye ever rested, form the most striking and curious of contrasts. In most instances it is impossible to assign these beautiful façades to any particular style of architecture. Many of the columns resemble those of the Corinthian order, but they deviate so far both in their forms and ornaments from this elegant model, that it would be impossible to rank them in the class. A few are Doric, which are precisely those that have suffered most from the ravages of time, and are probably very ancient.

But nothing contributes so much to the almost magical effect of some of these monuments as the rich and various colours of the rock out of which, or more properly in which, they are formed. The mountains that encompass the vale of Petra are of sandstone, of which red is the predominant hue. Their surface is a good deal burned and faded by the elements, and is of a dull brick colour; and most of the sandstone formations in this vicinity, as well as a number of the excavations of Petra, exhibit nothing remarkable in their colouring which does not belong to the same species of rock throughout a considerable region of Arabia Petræa. Many of them, however, are adorned with such a profusion of the most lovely and brilliant colours as it is scarcely possible to describe. Red, purple, yellow, azure or sky blue, black and white, are seen in the same mass distinctly in successive layers, or blended so as to form every shade and hue of which they are capable—as brilliant and as soft as they ever appear in flowers, or in the plumage of birds, or in the sky when illuminated by the most glorious sunset. The red perpetually shades into pale, or deep rose or flesh colour, and again approaches the hue of the lilac or violet. The white, which is often as pure as snow, is occasionally just dashed with blue or red. The blue is usually the pale azure of the clear sky, or of the ocean, but sometimes has the deep and peculiar shade of the clouds in summer when agitated by a tempest. Yellow is an epithet often applied to sand and sandstone. The yellow of the rocks of Petra is as bright as that of saffron. It is more easy to imagine than describe the effect of tall, graceful columns, exhibiting these exquisite colours in their succession of regular horizontal strata. They are displayed to still greater advantage in the walls and ceilings of some of the excavations where there is a slight dip in the strata.

We have thus endeavoured to give the reader a general idea of this remarkable place. Detailed descriptions of the principal monuments have been furnished by Laborde (*Voyage en Arabie Pétrée*), Robinson (*Biblical Researches*), and Olin (*Travels in the East*, from which the above description has



been chiefly taken). Interesting notices of Petra may also be found in the respective *Travels, Journeys*, etc., of Burckhardt, Macmichael, Irby and Mangles, Stephens, Lord Lindsay, and Schubert. —J. K. [On the identity of Petra and Kadesh, see KADESH.]

SELAU (סֵלָא, Sept. *δρυγομήτρα*; Vulg. *coturnix*, A. V. *quail*) occurs in Exod. xvi. 13; Num. xi. 31, 32; Ps. cv. 40. Quails form a subdivision of the *Tetraonide*, or grouse family, being distinguished from partridges by their smaller size, finer bill, shorter tail, and the want of a red naked eyebrow and of spurs on the legs. There are several species, whereof the common, now distinguished by the name of *Coturnix dactylisomans*, is abundant in all the temperate regions of Europe and Western Asia, migrating to and from Africa in the proper season. Thus it crosses the Mediterranean and Black Seas twice a year in vast multitudes; but being by nature a bird of heavy flight, the passage is partially conducted by way of intermediate islands, or through Spain; and in the East, in still greater numbers, along the Syrian desert into Arabia, forming, especially at the spring season, innumerable flocks. They alight exhausted with fatigue, and are then easily caught. Guided by these facts, commentators have been led to identify the Hebrew סֵלָא with the quail; although other species of partridges, and still more of *Pterocles* ('sand grouse'), abound in Western Asia; in particular *Pterocles Alchata*, or *Attagen*, which is found, if possible, in still greater numbers on the deserts, and has been claimed by Hasselquist as the *selav* of Exodus. But the present Arabic name of the quail is *selwa*; and the circumstances connected with the bird in question—found on two occasions by the people of Israel in and around the camp so abundantly as to feed the whole population in the desert (Exod. xvi. 3-13), and at Kibroth-Hattaavah, both times in the spring—are much more applicable to flights of quail alighting in an exhausted state during their periodical migration, than to the *pterocles*, which does not proceed to so great a distance, has very powerful wings, is never seen fatigued by migration, is at all times a tenant of the wilderness far from water, and which, strictly taken, is perhaps not a clean bird, all the species subsisting for the most part on larvae, beetles, and insects. We regard these considerations as sufficient to establish the accuracy of the A. V.

Of a bird so well known no further description appears to be necessary. The providential nature of their arrival within and around the camp of the Israelites, in order that they might furnish meat to a murmuring people, appears from the fact of its taking place where it was not to be expected—the localities, we presume, being out of the direction of the ordinary passage; for, had this not been the case, the dwellers in that region, and the Israelites themselves, accustomed to tend their flocks at no great distance from the spot, would have regarded the phenomenon as a well-known periodical occurrence.—C. H. S.

SELDEN, JOHN, an eminent lawyer and antiquarian, was born at Salvington, a hamlet in the parish of West Farring, near Worthing, in Sussex, Dec. 16, 1584. He received the rudiments of his education at the free school of Chichester, and

at fourteen he entered at Hart or Hert Hall (since merged in Magdalen Hall), Oxford, where, although possessing great abilities, he did not particularly distinguish himself. He entered himself at Clifford's Inn, 1602, for the study of law; and in 1604 removed to the Inner Temple for the completion of his legal studies. He acquired very early a taste for antiquarian research, in which department he afterwards became so eminent. He was, in fact, one of the most learned men of his age. He lived in stirring times, and was, almost inevitably, mixed up with the stormy politics of the period; but he belonged to no extreme party, although a friend of liberty and of the popular cause. He died Nov. 30, 1654. His works are very numerous and learned; the following are those which require special notice here:—1. *De Diis Syris Syntagmata Duo*, 1617, which contains a history of the idol deities mentioned in Scripture, and a summary of Syrian idolatry. 2. *De Successione in bona Defuncti ad Leges Ebraeorum*, 1631. An improved edition of this work appeared in 1636, including an additional treatise entitled: *De Successione in Pontificatum Ebraeorum*. Both these treatises were republished by the author, with additions, in 1638. Their titles sufficiently indicate their nature and objects. 3. *De Jure Naturali et Gentium juxta Disciplinam Ebraeorum, libri septem*, 1640. In this work the author treats of the seven so-called precepts of Noah, and gives a digest of all the laws of the Jews, distinguishing those which belong to universal law from those which are merely national and local. 4. *Uxor Ebraica; seu de Nuptiis et Divoritiis ex Jure Civili, id est Divino et Talmudico Veterum Ebraeorum, tres libri*, 1646. Everything relating to marriage and divorce among the Jews will be found treated of here. 5. *De Synedriis et Prefecturis Juridicis Veterum Ebraeorum*, 1650. In this work, on which Selden spent twelve years, he sets forth everything recorded of the Sanhedrim or Juridical Courts of the Jews, with collateral notices of similar institutions in other countries (Johnson's *Memoirs of John Selden*; *English Cyclopædia*, art. 'Selden'; *Gen. Hist. and Crit. Dic.* vol. ix. art. 'Selden').—I. J.

SELEUCIA (Σελευκεία), a city of Syria, situated about sixteen miles west of Antioch on the sea-coast, near the mouth of the Orontes; sometimes called Seleucia Pieria, from the neighbouring Mount Pierus; and also Seleucia ad Mare, in order to distinguish it from several other cities of the same name, all of them denominated from Seleucus Nicanor. Paul and Barnabas on their first journey embarked at this port for Cyprus (Acts xiii. 4; see also 1 Maccab. xi. 8; Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 9. 8). —J. K.

SELEUCUS IV., surnamed PHILOPATOR, was the son and successor of Antiochus the Great. He is described as 'king of Asia'—i.e. of the provinces included in the Syrian monarchy (2 Maccab. iii. 3; comp. 1 Maccab. viii. 6; xi. 13; xii. 39; xiii. 32). He was in general conciliatory in his policy towards the Jews, and even went so far as to undertake a large part of the expenses of the temple service (2 Maccab. iii. 3, 6). Through the false representations of a Jewish officer named Simon, he was led to attempt to carry away the treasures stored up in the temple, in which, however, he failed. The agent he employed in this attempt was Heliodorus, by whom he was after-

wards treacherously assassinated. He died B.C. 175, after having reigned twelve years. He is referred to in the book of Daniel (xi. 20) as 'a raiser of taxes' (referring probably to some heavy impositions which his necessities obliged him to impose on his subjects), and his death by treachery foretold.—W. L. A.

SEMAMITH (שֶׁמַמִּית; Sept. *καλαβώτης*; Vulg. *stellio*), a species of lizard (Bochart, *Hieroz.* ii. 150). The modern Greeks seem to have borrowed this word from the Hebrews, for they call the lizard *σαμίδμυθος* (Salmas. *Exercit. Plin.* p. 817). In the A. V. the word is erroneously rendered by 'spider' (Prov. xxx. 28).—W. L. A.

SEMLER, JOH. SALOMO, D.D., ordinary professor of theology at Halle, was born at Saalfeld 18th Dec. 1725, died 14th March 1791. He may be regarded as the principal founder of the rationalistic school of criticism and exegesis in Germany. He was a very prolific writer, but his works have now little beyond a historical value as marking an epoch in the history of Biblical science. His most effective works were his *Abhandlung von feier untersch. des Canons*, 4 vols. 1771-1775; *Vorbereitung zur theol. hermeneutik*, four parts, Halle 1760-69; *Apparatus ad liberalem N. T. interpretationem*, Halle 1767; *Neue Untersuch. über d. Apokal.* Halle 1796. He wrote also paraphrastic commentaries on Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, 2d Peter, and Jude, 1 John, James; but these are of little value.—W. L. A.

SENEH (סֵנֶה) occurs in the well-known passage of Exod. iii. 2, where the angel of the Lord appeared unto Moses in a flaming fire, out of the midst of a bush (*seneh*), and the bush was not consumed. It occurs also in vers. 3 and 4, and in Deut. xxxiii. 16. The Septuagint translates *seneh* by the Greek word *βῆρος*, which usually signifies the *Rubus* or *Bramble*; so in the N. T. *βῆρος* is employed when referring to the above miracle of the burning bush. The monks of the monastery of St. Catherine, on Mount Sinai, have a species of *rubus* planted in their garden, near their Chapel of the Burning Bush; but this cannot be considered as any proof of its identity with the *seneh*, from the little attention which they have usually paid to correctness in such points. Bové says of it, 'C'est une espèce de Rubus, qui est voisin de notre R. fruticosus.' The species of *rubus* are not common either in Syria or Arabia. *Rubus sanctus*, the holy bramble, is found in Palestine, and is mentioned by Dr. Russell as existing in the neighbourhood of Aleppo, and Hasselquist found a *rubus* among the ruins of Scanderetta, and another in the neighbourhood of Seide. It is also found among the ruins of Petra (?) (Calcott). Celsius and others quote Hebrew authors as stating that Mount Sinai obtained its name from the abundance of these bushes (*seneh*): 'Dictus est mons Sinai de nomine ejus.' But no species of *rubus* seems to have been discovered in a wild state on this mountain. This was observed by Pococke. He found, however, on Mount Horeb several hawthorn bushes, and says that the holy bush was more likely to have been a hawthorn than a bramble, and that this must have been the spot where the phenomenon was observed, being a sequestered place and affording excellent pasture, whereas near the

chapel of the holy bush not a single herb grows. Shaw states that the *Oxyacantha arabica* grows in many places on St. Catherine's mountain. Bové says, on ascending Mount Sinai: 'J'ai trouvé entre les rochers de granit un *mespilus* voisin de l'*Oxyacantha*.' Dr. Robinson mentions it is called *zarur*; but it is evident that we cannot have anything like proof in favour of either plant.—J. F. R.

SENEH (סֵנֶה; *Sēna*; *Sene*), the name given to one of the two sharp rocks which rose on either side of the pass at Michmash, the scene of Jonathan's romantic adventure against the Philistines. The word may signify 'a thorn,' or 'a tooth,' and was probably applied to the rock on account of its pointed top. In the sides of the wild pass the writer saw several crags whose form and position would suit the requirements of the narrative (1 Sam. xiv. 4; see Robinson, *B. R.* i. 441.)—J. L. P.

SENIR (שֵׁנִיר), the Ammonite name for the mountain which the Hebrews called *Hermon*, and the Phœnicians *Sinai*. [HERMON.]

SENNACHERIB, king of Assyria, who in the fourteenth year of King Hezekiah (B.C. 713) came up against all the fenced cities of Judah and took them; on which Hezekiah agreed to pay the Assyrian monarch a tribute of three hundred talents of silver and thirty talents of gold. This, however, did not satisfy Sennacherib, who sent an embassy with hostile intentions, charging Hezekiah with trusting on 'this bruised reed Egypt.' The king of Judah in his perplexity had recourse to Isaiah, who counselled confidence and hope, giving a divine promise of miraculous aid. Meanwhile, 'Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia,' and of Thebes in Egypt, had come out to fight against the Assyrians, who had threatened Lower Egypt with an invasion. On learning this, Sennacherib sent another deputation to Hezekiah, who thereon applied for aid to Jehovah, who promised to defend the capital. 'And it came to pass that night that the angel of the Lord went out and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore and five thousand; and when they arose early in the morning behold they were all dead corpses' (2 Kings xviii. 13, seq.) On this, Sennacherib returned to Nineveh, and was shortly after murdered by two of his sons as he was praying in the house of Nisroch his god (2 Kings xix. 36, seq.; 2 Chron. xxxii.; Is. xxxvii.) [MERODACH-BALADAN].—J. K.

SEORAH (שְׁעָרָה, said to be derived from שְׁעָרָה, 'hair'; A. V. *barley*) derives its name in Hebrew, according to lexicographers, from its long awns, or beards, as they are also called, somewhat resembling hair. This grain is mentioned in Scripture as cultivated and used in Egypt (Exod. ix. 31), and in Palestine (Lev. xxvii. 16; Deut. viii. 8; 2 Chron. ii. 10; Ruth ii. 17; 2 Sam. xiv. 30; Is. xxviii. 25; Jer. xli. 8; Joel i. 11). Barley was given to cattle, especially horses (1 Kings iv. 28), and was indeed the only corn grain given to them, as oats and rye were unknown to the Hebrews, and are not now grown in Palestine, although Volney affirms (ii. 117) that small quantities are raised in some parts of Syria as food for horses. Hence barley is mentioned in the Mishnah (*Pesach.* fol. 3) as the food of horses and asses. This is still the chief use of barley in



Western Asia. Bread made of barley was, however, used by the poorer classes (Judg. vii. 13; 2 Kings iv. 42; John vi. 9, 13; comp. Ezek. iv. 9). In Palestine barley was for the most part sown at the time of the autumnal rains—October, November (Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr. ad Matt.* xii. 1), and again in early spring, or rather as soon as the depth of winter had passed (*Mish. Berachoth*, p. 18). This later sowing has not hitherto been much noticed by writers on this part of Biblical illustration, but is confirmed by various travellers who observed the sowing of barley at this time of the year. Russell says that it continues to be sown until the end of February (*Nat. Hist. Aleppo*, i. 74; see his meaning evolved in the *Pictorial Palestine*, *Phys. Hist.* p. 214; comp. p. 229). The barley of the first crop was ready by the time of the Passover, in the month Abib, March–April (Ruth i. 22; 2 Sam. xxi. 9; Judith viii. 2); and if not ripe at the expiration of a (Hebrew) year from the last celebration, the year was intercalated (Lightfoot, *ut supra*) to preserve that connection between the feast and the barley-harvest which the law required (Exod. xxiii. 15, 16; Deut. xvi. 16). Accordingly, travellers concur in showing that the barley-harvest in Palestine is in March and April—advancing into May in the northern and mountainous parts of the land; but April is the month in which the barley-harvest is chiefly gathered in, although it begins earlier in some parts and later in others (*Pict. Palestine*, pp. 214, 229, 239). At Jerusalem Niebuhr found barley ripe at the end of March, when the later (autumnal) crop had only been lately sown (*Beschreib. von Arabien*, p. 160).

The passage in Is. xxxii. 20 has been supposed by many to refer to rice, as a mode of culture by submersion of the land after sowing, similar to that of rice, is indicated. The celebrated passage, 'Cast thy bread upon the waters,' etc. (Eccles. xi. 1), has been by some supposed to refer also to such a mode of culture. But it is precarious to build so important a conclusion, as that rice had been so early introduced into the Levant, upon such slight indications; and it now appears that barley is in some parts subjected to the same submersion after sowing as rice, as was particularly noticed by Major Skinner (i. 320) in the vicinity of Damascus. In Exod. ix. 31 we are told that the plague of hail, some time before the Passover, destroyed the barley, which was then in the green ear; but not the wheat or the rye, which were only in the blade. This is minutely corroborated by the fact that the barley sown after the inundation is reaped, some after ninety days, some in the fourth month (Wilkinson's *Thebes*, p. 395), and that it there ripens a month earlier than the wheat (Sonnini, p. 395).

SEPHAR (סֶפֶר; Sept. Σαφρα), 'a mountain of the east,' a line drawn from which to Mesha formed the boundary of the Joktanite tribes (Gen. x. 30). The name may remind us of Saphar, which the ancients mention as a chief place of South Arabia. The excellent map of Berghaus exhibits on the south-west point of Arabia a mountain called Sabber, which perhaps supplies the spot we seek. If this be the case, and Mesha be (as usually supposed) the Mesene of the ancients, the line between them would intersect Arabia from north-east to south-west. That Sefhar is called 'a mountain of the east,' is to be understood with reference to

popular language, according to which Arabia is described as the 'east country.' See Baumgarten, *Theolog. Commentar zum A. T.* i. 152.—J. L. P.

SEPHARAD (סֶפְרָד; Sept. Ἐφραθά), a region to which the exiles from Jerusalem were taken (Obad. 20). Most of the Rabbins regard Sepharad as Spain, interpreting the whole passage with reference to their present captivity or dispersion; and so we find it in the Syriac and Chaldee. Jerome informs us that the Hebrew who was his instructor told him that Bosphorus was called Sepharad, whither Adrian is said to have sent the Jews into exile. That the district Sepharad is to be sought somewhere in the region of the Bosphorus has lately been confirmed by a palæographic discovery. In the celebrated cuneiform inscription containing a list of the tribes of Persia (Niebuhr, tab. 31, lett. i.), after Assyria, Gorydene, Armenia, Cappadocia, and before Ionia and Greece, is found the name CPaRaD, as read both by Bournouf and Lassen; and this was recognised also by De Sacy as the Sephar of Obad. 20. It was therefore a district of western Asia Minor, or at least near to it (Bournouf, *Mém. sur Deux Inscr. Cuneif.* 1836, p. 147; Gesenius, *Thesaur.* s. v.)—J. K.

SEPHARVAIM (סֶפְרַוַּיִם; Sept. Σεφραβαϊμ), a city of the Assyrian empire whence colonists were brought into the territory of Israel, afterwards called Samaria (2 Kings xvii. 24; xviii. 34; xix. 13; Is. xxxvi. 19; xxxvii. 13). The place is probably represented by Sipphara in Mesopotamia, situated upon the east bank of the Euphrates above Babylon (Ptol. v. 18).

SEPTUAGINT. [GREEK VERSIONS.]

SEPTUAGINT CHRONOLOGY. [CHRONOLOGY.]

SEPULCHRE. [BURIAL.]

SERAH (שֶׁרָה, 'abundance,' Sept. Σάρα), daughter of Asher, named among those who went down into Egypt (Gen. xli. 17; Num. xxvi. 46; 1 Chron. vii. 30). The mention of a female in a list of this kind, in which no others of her sex are named, and contrary to the usual practice of the Jews, seems to indicate something extraordinary in connection with her history or circumstances. This has sufficed to excite the ever-active imaginations of the Rabbins, and Serah shares with the princess of Egypt who saved Moses, with Jochebed his mother, and with Deborah, the honour of occupying a prominent place in their fables.—J. K.

SERIAH (שֶׁרִיָּה and שֶׁרִיָּהוּ, 'warrior of Jehovah,' Sept. Σαράτας). There are several persons of this name in Scripture.

1. The scribe or secretary of David (2 Sam. viii. 17). This person's name is in other places corrupted into שֶׁרָיָה, A. V. Sheva (2 Sam. xx. 25), שֶׁרִישָׁה, Shisha (1 Kings iv. 3), and שֶׁרִישָׁה, Shavsha (1 Chron. xviii. 16).

2. The high-priest at the time that Jerusalem was taken by the Chaldeans. He was sent prisoner to Nebuchadnezzar at Riblah, who put him to death (2 Kings xxv. 18; 1 Chron. vi. 14; Jer. lii. 24; Ezra vii. 1).

3. Son of Tanhumeth, an accomplice of Ishmael

in the conspiracy against Gedaliah (2 Kings xxv. 23; Jer. xl. 8).

4. Son of Kenaz, and father of Joab, chief of the valley of the Charashim (1 Chron. iv. 13, 14).

5. Ancestor of Jehu (1 Chron. iv. 35).

6. One of the children of the province who returned with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 2), called Azariah Neh. vii. 7.

7. The father of Ezra (Ezra vii. 1).

8. A priest who signed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 2).

9. A priest, son of Hilkiah, who was ruler of the house of God after the return from Babylon (Neh. xi. 11). He is called Azariah 1 Chron. ix. 11.

10. The head of a priestly house that went up with Zerubbabel (Neh. xii. 1, 2).

11. Son of Azriel, one of the persons charged with the apprehension of Jeremiah and Baruch (Jer. xxxvi. 26).

12. Son of Neriah, who held a high office in the court of King Zedekiah, the nature of which is somewhat uncertain. In the A. V. we have, 'This Seraiah was a quiet prince,' where the words rendered 'quiet prince' are שֶׁר מְנוּחָה, which, according to Kinichi, means 'a chamberlain,' or one who attended the king when he retired to rest; but better, perhaps, according to Gesenius, 'chief of the quarters' for the king and his army, that is *quartiermaster-general*. This Seraiah was sent by Zedekiah on an embassy to Babylon, probably to render his submission to that monarch, about seven years before the fall of Jerusalem. He was charged by Jeremiah to communicate to the Jews already in exile a book in which the prophet had written out his prediction of all the evil that should come upon Babylon. It is not stated how Seraiah acquitted himself of his task; but that he accepted it at all shows such respect for the prophet as may allow us to conclude that he would not neglect the duty which it imposed.—J. K.

SERAPHIM (שֶׁרָפִים; Sept. Σεραφίμ), or SERAPHIS, the plural of the word שֶׁרָף *saraph*, 'burning, or 'fiery:' celestial beings described in Is. vi. 2-6 as an order of angels or ministers of God who stand around his throne, having each six wings, and also hands and feet, and praising God with their voices. They were therefore of human form, and, like the Cherubim, furnished with wings as the swift messengers of God. Some have indeed identified the Cherubim and Seraphim as the same beings, but under names descriptive of different qualities; *Seraphim* denoting the burning and dazzling appearance of the beings elsewhere described as *Cherubim*. It would be difficult either to prove or disprove this; but there are differences between the *cherubim* of Ezekiel and the *seraphim* of Isaiah, which it does not appear easy to reconcile. The 'living creatures' of the former prophet had four wings; the 'seraphim' of the latter, six; and while the cherubim had four faces, the seraphim had but one (comp. Is. vi. 2, 3; Ezek. i. 5-12). If the figures were in all cases purely symbolical, the difference does not signify; and whether they were so or not must be determined by the considerations which have been indicated under *CHERUBIM*.

There is much symbolical force and propriety in the attitude in which the Seraphim are described as standing; while two of their wings were kept ready for instant flight in the service of God, with

two others they hid their face, to express their unworthiness to look upon the divine majesty (comp. Exod. iii. 6), and with two others they covered their feet or the whole of the lower part of their bodies—a practice which still prevails in the East, when persons appear in a monarch's presence. It may be seen in the article *SERPENT*, that a species of serpent was called *Saraph*; and this has led some to conceive that the Seraphim were a kind of basilisk-headed Cherubim (Bauer, *Theolog. A. T.* p. 189); or else that they were animal forms with serpents' heads, such as we find figured in the ancient temples of Thebes (Gesen. *Comment. in Jes.*) Hitzig and others identify the Seraphim with the Egyptian Serapis; for although it is true that the worship of Serapis was not introduced into Egypt till the time of the Ptolemies, it is known that this was but a modification of the more ancient worship of Kneph, who was figured under the form of a serpent of the same kind, the head of which afterwards formed the crest of Serapis.—J. K.

SERGIUS PAULUS (Σέργιος Παῦλος), a Roman proconsul in command at Cyprus, who was converted by the preaching of Paul and Barnabas (Acts xiii. 7). The title given to this functionary exhibits one of those minute accuracies which, apart from its inspiration, would substantiate the sacred book as a genuine and contemporary record. Cyprus was originally a *praetorian* province (στρατηγική), and not *proconsular*; but it was left by Augustus under the Senate, and hence was governed by a proconsul (ἀνθύπατος), as stated by the Evangelist (Acts xiii. 6, 8, 12; Dion. Cass. liv. p. 523; Kuinoel, on Acts xiii. 7; see also the art. *CYPRUS*). Sergius is described by the Evangelist as a 'discreet' or 'intelligent' man; by which we are probably to understand that he was a man of large and liberal views, and of an inquiring turn of mind. Hence he had entertained Elymas, and hence also he became curious to hear the new doctrine which the apostle brought to the island. Nothing of his history subsequent to his conversion is known from Scripture. There is no reason to suppose that he abandoned his post as governor of Cyprus; but the legends assert that he did so, and followed Paul; and that eventually he went with the apostle into Spain, and was left by him at Narbonne in France, of which he became the bishop, and died there.—J. K.

SERPENT. [NACHASH; ACHSUB; PETHEN; SARAPH; SHEPHIPHON; TSEPHA']

SERPENT, BRAZEN. [BRASS, SERPENT OF.]

SERUG (שֶׁרוּג, *shoot, tendril*; Sept. and N. T. Σερούχ), son of Reu, and father of Nahor the grandfather of Abraham (Gen. xi. 20; 1 Chron. i. 6). He was 130 years old at the birth of Nahor, and died at the age of 330. The name occurs in the genealogy of Christ (Luke iii. 35). The Jewish traditions affirm that Serug was the first of his line who fell into idolatry; and this seems to be sanctioned by, and is probably built upon, the charge of idolatry brought against Terah and the fathers beyond the Euphrates in Josh. xxiv. 2.—J. K.

SERVANT. [SLAVE.]

SETH (שֵׁט, *compensation*; Sept. Σήθ), the third son of Adam, to whom Eve gave this name in consequence of regarding him as sent to replace



Abel, whom Cain had slain (Gen. iv. 25, 26; v. 3, *seq.*)

# SEVEN. [NUMBER.]

SHAALBIM (שַׁעֲלָבִים, *city of foxes*; Sept.

Judg. i. 35, Θαλαβίν; Alex. αἱ ἀλώπεκες; in 1 Kings iv. 9 Σαλαβίν; Alex. Σαλαβείμ), called also SHAAL-ABBIN, a city of the tribe of Dan (Josh. xix. 42), but of which it could not for a long while dispossess the Amorites (Judg. i. 35). In the time of Solomon it was the station of one of the twelve officers or intendants appointed to regulate the collection of provisions for the court (1 Kings iv. 9). One of David's worthies belonged to this place (2 Sam. xxiii. 32; 1 Chron. xi. 33).—J. K.

# SHAALIM. [SHALIM.]

SHAARAIM and SHARAIM (שַׁעֲרַיִם, 'two gates'; Σακαρίμ; and τῶν πηλῶν; Alex. Σαργαρεῖμ; *Saraim*), a town of Judah situated in the Shephelah, near Azekah (Josh. xv. 36). It was along 'the way of Shaaraim' that the Israelites pursued the Philistines after David's victory over Goliath in the valley of Elah. That valley runs down among the hills for some distance, and then forks below Tell Zakariah; one branch, or rather side valley, running to Gath (Tell es-Safieh), and the other to the plain of Ekron. Perhaps the town of Shaaraim may have been situated at the fork, and may have taken its name from the 'two passes' (1 Sam. xvii. 52; *Handbook for S. and P.* p. 252). The site has not been identified.

2. A town on the southern border of Palestine, occupied by the descendants of Shimei, the Simeonite, and mentioned in connection with Ziklag and other cities in that region. Nothing more is known of it than the simple fact stated in 1 Chron. iv. 31.—J. L. P.

SHAASHGAZ (שַׁעֲשֻׁגָז; Sept. Ταθ), the appropriate name (meaning in Persian, *servant of the beautiful*) of a Persian eunuch, the keeper of the women in the court of Ahasuerus (Esther ii. 14).

SHABLUL (שְׁבַלְלִל; A. V. *snail*). Snails and slugs are not very common in countries so dry in summer as Palestine. Hence, perhaps, the fact that there is only one allusion to them in Scripture. This occurs in Ps. lviii. 8, where the figure seems to be more significant if understood of snails without shells—i.e. slugs, rather than shell-snails—though true of both. 'Let them melt away . . . as the snail which melteth as it goeth.' The name itself, *shablul*, from a verb signifying 'to smear' or 'soil,' has reference to the slime and moisture of this animal (like λείμαξ, from λείβω). The Sept. does not regard the word as denoting a snail at all, but in the text cited translates it by κηρός, 'bees' wax.'—C. H. S.

SHACHAPH (שַׁחַף). This occurs as the name of an unclean bird (Lev. xi. 16; Deut. xiv. 15). In the A. V. it is rendered 'cuckow'; but that this is the bird intended some think improbable, partly because the cuckoo is not in affinity with any of the other birds mentioned, partly because of its great rarity in the part of the world inhabited by those for whom the prohibition was designed. The LXX. and the Vulg. make it the sea-gull or seamew (λάπος, *larus*), and this Bochart endeavours to support by tracing the word to שַׁחַף, *to become thin*,

on the ground that the gull is a bird that cannot be fattened—an assertion the very opposite of the fact. Dr. Shaw identifies it with the *Rhoad*, a species of bustard; but this is improbable. The subject is so involved in obscurity that perhaps the rendering in the A. V. is as near the truth as any other that has been suggested.—W. L. A.

SHADDAI (שַׁדַּי), an epithet of God, usually preceded by אֱלֹהִים in the Pentateuch (Gen. xvii. 1; xxviii. 3; xxxv. 11; xliii. 14; xlviii. 3; Exod. vi. 3). It occurs without אֱלֹהִים in Num. xxiv. 4, 16; Ruth i. 20, 21; Job v. 17, vi. 4, and frequently; Ps. lxviii. 15, xci. 1; Is. xiii. 7; Ezek. i. 24; Joel i. 15). Different derivations of the word have been suggested. Maimonides (*More Nev.* i. 63), following the Targumists, regards it as a compound of שׁ for אִשָּׁר, *who*, and י, *sufficient* = *qui sufficiens est*, or *qui sufficientia est*. Gesenius treats it as a plur. magistrat. from a sing. שַׁד, *powerful*, from שָׁדַד, *to exert power, to force*. Ewald, on the contrary, regards it as an antique singular, like יִשַׁי, *Yishai* (Jesse), and בַּרְזַי, *Barzai* (*Ausf. Lehrb. des Heb. Spr.* sec. 155 c). Others again take it to be a plur. from שָׁד, with the suffix of the first person. The view of Ewald seems that to be preferred. As to the meaning of the epithet all are agreed; it signifies the *Almighty*.—W. L. A.

SHADRACH, the Chaldee name of Hananiah, one of the three friends of Daniel who were delivered from the burning fiery furnace [ABEDNEGO; HANANIAH].

SHAIT (שַׁיִת) occurs in several passages of Isaiah: v. 6; vii. 23, 24, 25; ix. 18; x. 17; xxvii. 4; in all of which it is associated with *shamir*, the two being translated *thorns and briars* in the A. V. From the context of all the passages it is evident that some weed-like plants are intended, either of a thorny or prickly nature, or such as spring up in neglected cultures and are signs of desolation, and which are occasionally employed for fuel. Nothing has, however, been ascertained respecting the plant intended by *shait*, and consequently it has been variously translated in the several versions of the Scriptures.—J. F. R.

SHAKED (שֶׁקֶד) occurs in several passages of Scripture, and is generally acknowledged to mean the *almond* (Gen. xliii. 11; Exod. xxv. 33, 34; xxxvii. 19; Num. xvii. 8; Eccles. xii. 5, and in Jer. i. 11). In the article LUZ we have already stated that from the similarity of that word to the Arabic Louz, there could be no doubt of the former having the same meaning as the latter, both denoting the almond. There is nothing remarkable in a tree like this, so conspicuous from its early flowering, showy appearance, and useful fruit, having two names; one (*luz*) applicable to the tree, and the other (*shaked*) to the fruit. Rosenmüller says: 'The difference between *luz* and *shaked* seems to be that the former word designates the 'wild,' the latter the 'cultivated' tree.' The almond tree is said to be called *shaked*, because it flowers earlier in the spring than other trees. R. Solomon, on Eccles. xii. 5, as translated by Celsius (*Hierobot.* i. p. 297), says: '*Shaked* est arbor Amygdalarum, et sic dicitur quia flores mature profert ante omnes arbores.' This is well known to be the case even

in this country. It was observed by the ancients (comp. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xvi. 25). The name *shaked* is said to be derived 'a verbo שָׁקַד *shakad*, assiduus et diligens fuit;' and which is also translated 'to make haste,' 'to awake early.' As the almond-tree is a native of Syria and Palestine, and extends from thence to Afghanistan, and is not likely to have been indigenous in Egypt, almonds were very likely to form part of a present from Jacob, even to the great men of Egypt; the more especially as the practice of the East is for people to present what they can afford in their respective stations. The form of the almond would lead to

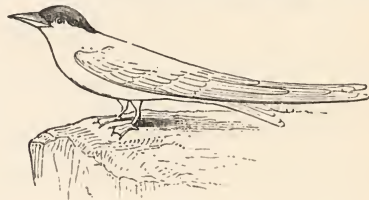


470. Almond-tree.

its selection for ornamental carved work, independently of its forming an esteemed esculent, as well as probably yielding a useful oil. In Eccles. xii. 5, it is said: 'The almond-tree shall flourish, and the fruit of the caper [ABYONAH] droop, because man goeth to his long home.' This evidently refers to the profuse flowering and white appearance of the almond-tree when in full bloom, and before its leaves appear. It is hence adduced as illustrative of the hoary hairs of age, in the same way as the drooping of the fruit of the caper seems to refer to the hanging down of the head. 'There are two species of *Amygdalus* in Palestine; the common *almond*-tree, and the *peach*-tree, and both are this month (January) in blossom in every part of Palestine, on both sides of the Jordan. It was doubtless from this winter blossoming of the almond-tree, not less than from the snowy whiteness of the blossoms, that the hoary head of the aged man is, by a beautiful metaphor, said in Scripture to flourish like the almond-tree' (Kitto, *Physic. Hist. of Palestine*).—J. F. R.

SHALACH (שָׁלַח, Lev. xi. 17; Deut. xiv. 17), in common with the usual Greek version *καταράκτης*, is considered to have reference to darting, rushing, or stooping like a falcon; and accordingly has been variously applied to the eagle, the jer-falcon, the gannet, the great gull, and the cormorant. Of the Hebrew *Shalach* nothing is known

but that it was an unclean bird. The Greek *καταράκτης*, though noticed by several authors, is not referred always to the same genus, some making it a minor gull, others a diver. Cuvier considers Gesner to be right in considering it to denote a gull, and it might certainly be applied with propriety to the black-backed gull, *Larus marinus*, or to the glaucous, *Larus glaucus*; but although birds of such powerful wing and marine *habitat* are spread over a great part of the world, it does not appear that, if known at the extremity of the Mediterranean, they were sufficiently common to have been clearly indicated by either the Hebrew or Greek names, or to have merited being noticed in the Mosaic prohibition. Both the above are in general northern residents, being rarely seen even so low as the Bay of Biscay, and the species now called *Lestris cataractes* is exclusively arctic. With



471. Caspian Tern.

regard to the cormorant, birds of that genus are no doubt found on the coasts of Palestine, where high cliffs extend to the sea-shore; such, for example, as the *Phalacrocorax pygmaeus*; but all the species dive, and none of them rush flying upon their prey, though that habit has been claimed for them by commentators, who have mixed up the natural history of 'cormorants' with that of the 'sula' or 'gannet,' which really darts from great elevations into the sea, to catch its prey, rising to the surface sometimes nearly half a minute after the plunge, as we ourselves have witnessed. But the gannet (solan goose) rarely comes farther south than the British Channel, and does not appear to have been noticed in the Mediterranean. It is true that several other marine birds of the north frequent the Levant; but none of them can entirely claim Aristotle and Oppian's characters of 'cataractes,' for though the wide throat and rather large head of the dwarf cormorant may be adduced, that bird exceeds in stature the required size of a small hawk; and fishes, it may be repeated, swimming and diving, not by darting down on the wing, and is not sufficiently numerous or important to have required the attention of the sacred legislator. Thus reduced to make a choice where the objections are less and the probabilities stronger, we conclude the *shalach* to have been a species of 'tern,' considered to be identical with the *Sterna Caspica*, so called because it is found about the Caspian Sea; but it is equally common to the Polar, Baltic, and Black Seas, and if truly the same, is not only abundant for several months in the year on the coast of Palestine, but frequents the lakes and pools far inland; flying across the deserts to the Euphrates, and to the Persian and Red Seas, and proceeding up the Nile. It is the largest of the tern or sea-swallow genus, being about the weight of a pigeon, and near two feet in length, having a large black naped head; powerful, pointed crimson bill; a white and grey body, with forked tail, and wings



greatly exceeding the tips of the tail; the feet are very small, weak, and but slightly webbed, so that it swims perhaps only accidentally, but with sufficient power on land to spring up and to rise from level ground. It flies with immense velocity, darting along the surface of the sea to snap at mollusca or small fishes, or wheeling through the air in pursuit of insects; and in calm weather, after rising to a great height, it drops perpendicularly down to near the surface of the water, but never alights except on land; and it is at all times disposed to utter a kind of laughing scream. This tern nestles in high cliffs, sometimes at a very considerable distance from the sea. *Sterna Nilotica* appears to be the young bird, or one nearly allied.

Thus the species is not likely to have been unknown to the Israelites, even while they were in the desert; and as the black tern, *Sterna nigricans*, and perhaps the *Procellaria obscura* of the same locality may have been confounded with it, their number was more than sufficient to cause them to be noticed in the list of prohibited birds. Still the propriety of the identification of *shalach* with the 'great tern' must in some measure rest upon the assumption that the Greek *καταράκτης* is the same. We figure one that was shot among a flight of these birds some distance up the river Orontes.—C. H. S.

SHALEM (שָׁלֵם; Sept. Σαλήμ), a city of Shechem, to which Jacob came (Gen. xxxiii. 18). This has by some been supposed to be the place still bearing the name *Salim*, a village to the east of Nablús (the ancient Shechem), and therefore lying in the line of Jacob's journey. The majority of modern interpreters, however, prefer rendering the passage by 'Jacob came in peace to the city of Shechem.' At the same time there seems no serious objection to the rendering in the A. V., which is also that of the LXX., the Vulg., and the Peshito Syr. (see Robinson, *Bib. Res.* ii. 279; Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. 72).—W. L. A.

SHALIM [prop. SHAALIM], THE LAND OF (אֶרֶץ שָׁלֵם; Sept. ἡ γῆ Σαλήμ; Alex. Σααλείμ), a district through which Saul passed in search of his father's asses (1 Sam. ix. 4). It may be the same as 'the land of Shual' (1 Sam. xiii. 17).—†

SHALISHA (שָׁלִישָׁה; Sept. Σελχά), a district in the vicinity of the mountains of Ephraim (1 Sam. ix. 4), in which appears to have been situated the city of Baal-Shalisha (2 Kings iv. 42). This city is called by Eusebius Beth-Salisha, and is placed by him 15 miles from Diospolis (Lydda), towards the north.

SHALLECHETH, THE GATE (שַׁעַר שְׁלֵכֶת; Sept. ἡ πύλη πασσοφορίου), one of the gates of the house of the Lord. It was to the westward, and led to the causeway of the going up—i. e. the embankment leading up from the central valley of the city to the sacred enclosure. As this still remains, the gate Shallecheth has, with considerable probability, been identified with 'the *Bab silsileh*, or *Sinsleh*, which enters the west wall of the Haram area, opposite the south end of the platform of the Dome of the Rock, about 600 feet from the south-west corner of the Haram wall' (Smith, *Dict. of the Bible*, s. v.).—W. L. A.

SHALLUM (שָׁלֹום, *retribution*; Sept. Σαλλούμ), the fifteenth king of Israel. In the troubled times which followed the death of Jeroboam II., B. C. 772, his son Zechariah was slain in the presence of the people by Shallum, who by this act extinguished the dynasty of Jehu. Shallum then mounted the throne (B. C. 771), but occupied it only one month, being opposed and slain by Menahem, who mounted the throne thus vacated (2 Kings xv. 10-15).

2. A king of Judah, son of Josiah (Jer. xxii. 11), better known by the name of Jehoahaz [JEHOAHAZ, 2].

3. The husband of Huldah the prophetess (2 Kings xxii. 14). Several other persons of this name occur in Ezra ii. 42; vii. 2; x. 24, 42; Neh. iii. 12; vii. 45; 1 Chron. ii. 40; iv. 25; vii. 13; ix. 19.—J. K.

SHALMANESER, king of Assyria [ASSYRIA].

SHAMGAR (שָׁמְגָר; Sept. Σαμεγάρ), son of Anath, and third judge of Israel. It is not known whether the only exploit recorded of him was that by which his authority was acquired. It is said that he 'slew of the Philistines 600 men with an ox-goad' (Judg. iii. 31). It is supposed that he was labouring in the field, without any other weapon than the long staff armed with a strong point, used in urging and guiding the cattle yoked to the plough, when he perceived a party of the Philistines, whom, with the aid of the husbandmen and neighbours, he repulsed with much slaughter. The date and duration of his government are unknown, but may be probably assigned to the end of that long period of repose which followed the deliverance under Ehud. In Shamgar's time, as the song of Deborah informs us (Judg. v. 6), the condition of the people was so deplorably insecure that the highways were forsaken, and travellers went through by-ways; and, for the same reason, the villages were abandoned for the walled towns.—J. K.

SHAMIR (שָׁמִיר), a precious stone, named in Jer. xvii. 1; Ezek. iii. 9; Zech. vii. 12. The Sept. in Jer. xvii. 1, and the Vulgate in all the passages, take it for the diamond. The signification of the word, 'a sharp point,' countenances this interpretation, the diamond being for its hardness used in perforating and cutting other minerals. Indeed, this use of the *shamir* is distinctly alluded to in Jer. xvii. 1, where the *stylus* pointed with it is distinguished from one of iron (comp. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxvii. 15). The two other passages also favour this view by using it figuratively to express the hardness and obduracy of the Israelites. Our A. V. has 'diamond' in Jer. xvii. 1, and 'adamant' in the other texts: but in the original the word is the same in all. Bochart, however (*Hieroz.* iii. 843, *seq.*), rejects the usual explanation, and comparing the word *shamir* with the Greek *σμίρις* or *σμίρις*, conceives it to mean 'emery.' This is a calcined iron mixed with silicious earth, occurring in livid scales of such hardness that in ancient times, as at present, it was used for polishing and engraving precious stones, diamonds excepted (Hoffmann, *Mineral.* i. 561, *seq.*). Rosenmüller is in favour of the diamond in his *Scholia*; but in his *Alterthumskunde* he takes up Bochart's notion, and urges that if the Hebrews had been acquainted with the diamond, and the manner of working it, we should doubtless have found it among the stones

of the high-priest's breastplate; and that, as the *shamir* was not one of the stones thus employed, therefore it was not the diamond. But to this Winer well answers, that it was perhaps not used because it could not be engraved on, or was possibly not introduced until a later period. The argument drawn from the rarity of the word in the O. T. is of little weight, and there is no necessity for seeking an Oriental origin of the word *שָׁמִיר*, or ground for considering it identical with *shamir*, as it may easily be traced from the Greek itself. (See Passow, *s. v.*; Eichhorn, *De Gemmis Sculpt. Hebr.*)—J. K.

SHAMIR (שָׁמִיר) occurs in all the passages in which the word *shait* occurs, with the addition of Is. xxxii. 13: 'Upon the land of my people shall come up thorns (*kozim*) and briers' (*shamir*). Being associated with *koz*, it has been inferred that *shamir* must also mean some thorny plant.

*samir*, in Arabic, according to Celsius (*Hierobot.* xi. p. 188), from Abulfeda, is a thorny plant, said



472. *Zizyphus Paliurus*.

to be a species of *sidri*, which does not bear fruit. *Sidr* is another name of *Nabca*, a species of *Zizyphus*. No plants are more common in the warm and dry uncultivated parts of the East than prickly species of *Zizyphus*, which impede the path and choke up vegetation, and are therefore very suitable for the illustration of the passages in which *shamir* occurs. This kind of *sidri* not bearing fruit may be the *Paliurus aculeatus* of botanists.—J. F. R.

SHAMIR, 1. A city of Judah (Josh. xv. 48). 2. A city in the mountains of Ephraim, where Tola lived and was buried (Judg. x. 1, 2).

SHAMMAH (שָׁמַח, *astonishment*; Σαματα), one of the three chief of the thirty champions of David. The exploit by which he obtained this high distinction, as described in 2 Sam. xxiii. 11, 12, is manifestly the same as that which, in 1 Chron. xi. 12-14, is ascribed to David himself, assisted by Eleazar the son of Dodo. The inference, therefore, is, that Shammah's exploit lay in the assistance which he thus rendered to David and Eleazar. It consisted in the stand which the others enabled David to make, in a field of lentiles, against the

Philistines. Shammah also shared in the dangers which Eleazar and Jashobeam incurred in the chivalric exploit of forcing a way through the Philistine host to gratify David's thirst for the waters of Bethlehem (2 Sam. xxiii. 16).

Other persons of this name occur. 2. A son of Reuel (Gen. xxxvi. 13, 17). 3. A brother of David (1 Sam. xvi. 9; xvii. 3), who is elsewhere called Shimeah (2 Sam. xiii. 3, 32) and Shimma (1 Chron. ii. 13). 4. One of David's thirty champions, seemingly distinct from the chief of the same name (2 Sam. xxiii. 33). 5. Another of the champions distinguished as Shammah the Harodite; he is called Shammoth in 1 Chron. xi. 27, and Shamhuth in 1 Chron. xxvii. 8. That three of the thirty champions should bear the same name is somewhat remarkable.—J. K.

SHAPHAN (שָׁפָן) occurs in Lev. xi. 5; Deut. xiv. 7; Ps. civ. 18; Prov. xxx. 26. Commentators in general now conclude, on the most satisfactory grounds, that those versions which give Cony for the Hebrew Shaphan are incorrect; but several still maintain that the species to which Shaphan belongs ruminates, which is equally an error. The Shaphan is, in truth, as Bruce justly indicated, the same as the Ashkoko, the Ganam, not Daman, Israel, the Wabber of the Arabs, and in scientific zoology is one of the small genus Hyrax, distinguished by the specific name of Syrian (*Syriacus*). Externally, the hyrax is somewhat of the size, form, and brownish colour of a rabbit, and, though it has short round ears, sufficiently like for inexact observers to mistake the one for the other.



473. *Hyrax Syriacus*.

The hyrax is of clumsier structure than the rabbit, without tail, having long bristly hairs scattered through the general fur; the feet are naked below, and all the nails are flat and rounded, save those on each inner toe of the hind feet, which are long and awl-shaped; therefore the species cannot dig, and is by nature intended to reside, not, like rabbits, in burrows, but in the clefts of rocks. This character is correctly applied to the Shaphan by David.

Their timid gregarious habits, and the tenderness of their paws, make them truly 'the wise and feeble folk' of Solomon; for the genus lives in colonies in the crevices of stony places in Syria, Palestine, Arabia, Eastern Egypt, Abyssinia, and even at the Cape of Good Hope, where one or two additional species exist. In every locality they are quiet gentle creatures, loving to bask in the sun, never stirring far from their retreats, moving with caution, and shrinking from the shadow of a passing bird; for they are often the prey of eagles and hawks. Their habits are strictly diurnal, and they feed on vegetables and seeds.—C. H. S.



SHAPHAN, the scribe or secretary of king Josiah (2 Kings xxii. 3, 12; Jer. xxxvi. 10; comp. Ezra viii. 11). Contemporary with him was a state officer named Ahikam, constantly mentioned as 'the son of Shaphan' (2 Kings xxii. 12; xxv. 22; Jer. xxvi. 24; xxxix. 14; and perhaps xxix. 3); but whether this Shaphan, the father of Ahikam, was the same with Shaphan the scribe, remains a matter of some uncertainty. Shaphan the scribe appears to have had the charge of receiving and paying out money for the king (2 Kings xxii. 4; 2 Chron. xxiv. 9; comp. 2 Kings xii. 10). Ewald calls him *finance-minister* (*Gesch.* iii. 697).

SHARAB (שָׂרָב). This word properly means 'heat of the sun,' as in Is. xlix. 10. Hence it is used to designate a phenomenon which is frequent in Arabia and Egypt, and may be occasionally seen in the southern parts of Europe; called by the Arabs *Serab*, and by the French *le Mirage*, by which name it is also commonly known in English. Descriptions of this illusion are often given by travellers. It consists in the presentation to the view of a lake or sea in the midst of a plain where none in reality exists. It is produced by the refraction of the rays of light, during the exhalation of vapours, by the excessive heat of the sun; and it frequently exhibits, along with the undulating appearance of water, the shadows of objects within or around the plain, both in a natural and in an inverted position. The deception is most complete, and to the weary traveller who is attracted by it in the highest degree mortifying, since, instead of refreshing water, he finds himself in the midst of nothing but glowing sand. It is often used proverbially, or for the sake of comparison, by the Arabs, as in the Koran (Sur. xxiv. 39): 'But as for those who believe not, their works are like the Serab of the plain: the thirsty imagines it to be water, but when he reaches it he finds it is nothing.' The same figure occurs in Is. xxxv. 7: 'The *sharab* shall become a lake'—*i. e.* the illusive appearance of a lake in the desert shall become a real lake of refreshing waters. (See Gesenius and Henderson on Isaiah, and comp. the descriptions and explanations in Kitchin's *Physical History of Palestine*, pp. 147, 150, 151.)—J. K.

SHAREZER (שָׂרְאֶצֶר, Persic, *prince of fire*; Sept. Σαρασέρ), a son of Sennacherib, one of those who slew his father (2 Kings xix. 37; Is. xxxvii. 38). Another person of this name occurs in Zech. vii. 2.—J. K.

SHARON (שָׂרֹן, with the art. 'the plain'; Σαρόν; in Is. lxx. 10, δρυμός; and in Cant. ii. 1, πεδιον; *Saron*), a plain of Palestine extending along the sea-coast from the southern base of Carmel to Joppa. It was celebrated for its pastures, and upon it Shitrai the Sharonite fed the herds of king David (1 Chron. xxvii. 29). Isaiah, when predicting the returning prosperity of Israel, says, 'Sharon shall be a fold for flocks' (Is. 10). The language is very expressive. The best pastures of the land were on this plain. So long as the curse rested on the country they were deserted; but the very first evidence of returning blessings would be the return of the flocks to these pastures. Sharon was celebrated for its beauty as well as its richness (Is. xxxv. 2); and for its flowers as well as its pastures (Cant. ii. 1); and among the most

graphic predictions of divine vengeance upon a sin-stained country was the declaration, 'Sharon is like a wilderness' (Is. xxxiii. 9).

Sharon is once mentioned in the N. T. under its Greek form *Saron*. When Peter cured Æneas at Lydda, Luke says, 'all that dwelt at Lydda and Saron saw him, and turned unto the Lord' (Acts ix. 35). Reference may be made to a village in the plain, or more probably to the plain itself, as Lydda stood on its southern border.

Eusebius and Jerome mention two Sharons, the one between Tabor and Tiberias, and the other extending from Cæsarea on the sea-coast to Joppa (*Onomast.* s. v. *Saron*). The latter is doubtless the place referred to by the sacred writers (cf. Jerome, *ad Is.* lxx. 10 and xxxiii. 9). Even now, though almost deserted, Sharon furnishes some of the richest pasture-lands in Palestine. It is abundantly watered by large fountains and streams descending from Carmel on the north, and the mountains of Samaria on the east. The writer has traversed it in several directions, and he was always struck with the luxuriance of its grass and the beauty of its flowers (see *Handbook*, pp. 380, *seq.*; Porter, *Giant Cities*, pp. 223, *seq.*).

In Is. lxx. 10 the Septuagint renders Sharon, δρυμός, which signifies 'a wooded region'; and this word appears to have been applied by Greek writers as a proper name to the plain (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 13. 3; *Bell. Jud.* i. 13. 2; Strabo, xvi. p. 758; Reland, pp. 188, *seq.*) It was appropriate, for not only do the oak forests of Carmel stretch down into Sharon, but it is interspersed, especially on the north and east, with groves and extensive copses.

The scenery and physical features of the plain have already been described under the article PALESTINE.

Some have supposed that *Lasharon*, mentioned in Josh. xii. 18, is identical with Sharon. This, however, is very improbable. The point is examined in the article LASHARON.

2. A region situated on the east side of the Jordan, mentioned in connection with Gilead and Bashan. The exact position is not defined, and the name only occurs in 1 Chron. v. 16. It seems probable that some plain is meant; and as it was possessed by the Gadites, it may be that plain or plateau which extends eastward from Rabbath-Ammon and Gerasa towards Bozrah.—J. L. P.

SHARUHEN (שָׂרְהוֹן; Sept. οἱ ἀγροὶ αὐτῶν reading probably שָׂרְהוֹן), a city mentioned among those allotted to Judah in the country of Simeon (Josh. xix. 6). In ch. xv. 32 we find Shilchim in place of this; and in 1 Chron. iv. 31 Shaaraim. These are probably different names of the same place. Knobel suggests *Tell Sheriah*, at the head of the *Wady Sheriah*, as probably identical with Sharuhin (*Exeget. Hdb.* in loc.)—W. L. A.

SHAVE. [BEARD; HAIR; MOURNING.]

SHAVEH (שָׁוֶה; Sept. Σαβύ), a valley on the north of Jerusalem, called also the King's Dale (Gen. xiv. 17; comp. 2 Sam. xviii. 18).

SHAVEH-KIRJATHAIM (שָׁוֶה קִרְיָתַיִם; Sept. ἐν Σαβὴ τῇ πόλει; Gen. xiv. 5), a plain near the city of Kirjathaim, beyond Jordan, which eventually belonged to Reuben (Num. xxxii. 37; Josh. xiii. 19).

SHEALTIEL (שְׂאִלְתִּיֵּאל, *asked of God*; Sept. Σαλαθιήλ). [SALATHIEL.]

SHEAR-JASHUB (יֵשׁוּב, *the remnant shall return*; Sept. ὁ καταλειφθεὶς Ἰασοῦβ), son of the prophet Isaiah, who accompanied his father when he proceeded to deliver to king Ahaz the celebrated prophecy contained in Is. vii. (see ver. 3). As the sons of Isaiah sometimes stood for signs in Israel (Is. viii. 18), and the name of Maher-shalal-hash-baz was given to one of them by way of prophetic intimation, it has been conjectured that the somewhat remarkable name of Shear-jashub intimated that the people who had then retired within the walls of Jerusalem should return in peace to their fields and villages. But we cannot build on this, as it is not distinctly stated that the name of Shear-jashub was chosen, like that of his brother, with any prophetic intention.—J. K.

SHEBA, SEBA, SABÆANS. As much confusion has been introduced by the variety of meanings which the name *Sabæans* has been made to bear, it may be proper to specify in this place their distinctive derivations and use. In our A. V. of Scripture the term seems to be applied to three different tribes:—1. To the *Sebaiim* (סְבִיאים, with a *samech*), the descendants of Seba or Saba, son of Cush, who ultimately settled in Ethiopia (see the article *Seba*). 2. To the *Shebaiim* (שְׂבִיאים, with a *shin*), the descendants of Sheba, son of Joktan, the *Sabei* of the Greeks and Romans, who settled in Arabia Felix. They are the 'Sabæans' of Joel iii. 8, to whom the Jews were to sell the captives of Tyre. The unpublished Arabic version, quoted by Pococke, has 'the people of Yemen.' Hence they are called 'a people afar off,' the very designation given in Jer. vi. 20 to Sheba, as the country of frankincense and the rich aromatic reed, and also by our Lord in Matt. xii. 42, who says, the queen of Sheba, or 'the south,' came, ἐκ τῶν περὶ τῶν ἄκρων τῆς γῆς, 'from the earth's extremes.' 3. To another tribe of *Shebans* (שְׂבִיאים, also with a *shin*), a horde of Bedawee marauders in the days of Job (ch. i. 15); for whether we place the land of Uz in Idumæa or in Ausitis, it is by no means likely that the Arabs of the south would extend their excursions so very far. We must, therefore, look for this tribe in Desert Arabia; and it is singular enough, that besides the Seba of Cush, and the Shaba of Joktan, there is another Sheba, son of Jokshan, and grandson of Abraham by Keturah (Gen. xxv. 33); and his posterity appear to have been 'men of the wilderness,' as were their kinsmen of Midian, Ephah, and Dedan. To them, however, the above-cited passage in the prophecy of Joel could not apply, because in respect neither to the lands of Judah nor of Uz could they be correctly described as a people 'afar off.' As for the *Sabaim* of Ezek. xxiii. 42 (which our version also renders by 'Sabæans'), while the Keri has סְבִיאים, the Kethib has שְׂבִיאים, *i. e.* 'drunkards,' which better suits the context.

Yet, as if to increase the confusion in the use of this name of 'Sabæans,' it has also been applied—4. To the ancient star-worshippers of Western Asia, though they ought properly to be styled *Tsabiens*, and their religion not Sabaism but *Tsabism*, the name being most probably derived from

the object of their adoration, יְצִבָּה, *the host*, *i. e.* of heaven (see an excursus by Gesenius in his translation of Isaiah, *On the Astral Worship of the Chaldeans*). 5. The name of Sabæans, or Sabians, has also been given to a modern sect in the East, the *Mandaites*, or, as they are commonly but incorrectly called, the 'Christians' of St. John; for they deny the Messiahship of Christ, and pay superior honour to John the Baptist. They are mentioned in the Koran under the name of *Sabianna*, and it is probable that the Arabs confounded them with the ancient Tsabians above mentioned. Norberg, however, says that they themselves derive their own name from that which they gave to the baptist, which is *Abo Sabo Zakrio*; from Abo, 'father'; *Sabo*, 'to grow old together'; and *Zakrio*, *ex. gr.* Zecharia. 'The reason they assign for calling him *Sabo* is because his father, in his old age, had this son by his wife *Anschbat* (Elizabeth), she being also in her old age (see Norberg's *Codex Nasareus, Liber Adami Apellatus*, and Silvestre de Sacy, in the *Journal des Savans* for 1819).

SEBA (סֶבָא) was the eldest son of Cush (Gen. x. 7; 1 Chron. i. 9), and gave name to the country of Seba or Saba, and to one of the tribes called Sabæans, not, however, the *Shebaiim* (with a *shin*), but the *Sebaiim* (with a *samech*). There seems no reason to doubt that their ultimate settlement was in that region of Africa which was known to the Hebrews as the land of Cush, and to the Greeks and Romans as Ethiopia; and the Scriptural notices respecting them and their country have been already anticipated in the articles CUSH and ETHIOPIA. If the kingdom of *Seba* was the far-famed Meroë, and the kingdom of *Sheba* the no less famous Yemen, then it is with peculiar propriety that the king of African Seba in the west, and the king of Asiatic Sheba in the east, are represented by the Psalmist (Ps. lxxii. 10) as bearing their united homage to the 'great king of Judah.' The commerce and wealth of these Sabæans of Ethiopia, as also their gigantic stature, are alluded to by the prophet Isaiah (ch. xliii. 3; xlv. 14), and his testimony is confirmed by the profane writers of antiquity. The passages quoted, however, are the only places in Scripture where the Sabæans of Africa are expressly mentioned; for the Sabæans of Job i. 15 were a tribe of Bedowees, or 'men of the desert,' descended from Sheba, grandson of Keturah; and the Sabæans of Joel iii. 8 were the posterity of another Sheba, son of Joktan, in Arabia Felix. There was, indeed, another Sheba, the son of Raagmah and the grandson of Cush, and consequently the nephew of the Seba who is the subject of the present article, but his posterity appear to have mingled with those of his uncle. As for the 'Sabæans' mentioned in our version at Ezek. xxiii. 42, although the Keri reading is סְבִיאים, *Sabaim*, the Kethib has שְׂבִיאים *Sobeim*, 'drunkards,' which gives a better sense; besides that elsewhere the African Sabæans are not styled *Sabaim* but *Sebaiim*, and the Arab Sabæans, *Shebaiim*.—N. M.

SHEBAH, prop. SHIBE'AH (שִׁבְעָה; Sept. ὄκος), the well dug by Isaac's servants, and which gave its name to Beersheba (Gen. xxvi. 33) [BEER-SHEBA].





ST. ROLDS.  
SOUTHERN.





SHEBARIM (שֶׁבָרִים, with the def. art.), a place to which the men of Ai chased the Israelites (Josh. vii. 5). The LXX. Targ. and Syr. treat the word as part of the verb שָׁבַר, *to break*, and translate accordingly 'until they had broken or destroyed them.' But this is inadmissible; partly because the word cannot be so construed, partly because the history shows that only a very few of the Israelites were slain on this occasion. The use of the def. art. *The Shebarim*, favours the opinion that the word is a proper name; but whether it denotes *stone quarries* (as Keil suggests), or *rough broken ground*, as others propose, cannot be determined.—W. L. A.

SHEBAT (שֶׁבַט; Sept. Σαβάρ), the eleventh month of the Hebrew year, from the new moon of February to the new moon of March. The name only occurs once in Scripture (Zech. i. 7), and is the same which is given in the Arabic and Syriac languages to the same month.

SHEBNA (שֶׁבְנָא, *a youth*; Sept. Σοβνάς), the prefect of the palace to king Hezekiah (Is. xxii. 15); afterwards promoted to be scribe or secretary to the same monarch, when his former office was given to Eliakim (Is. xxii. 15; xxxvi. 3; 2 Kings xviii. 26, 27; xix. 2).

SHEBO (שֶׁבֹּה; Sept. ἀχάτης; Vulg. *achates*), a precious or rather ornamental stone, which was one of those in the pectoral of the high-priest (Exod. xxviii. 19; xxxix. 12). It seems not to have been questioned that some stone of the agate kind is intended. This stone is popularly known in this country under the name of Scotch pebble. Theophrastus describes the agate as 'an elegant stone, which took its name from the river Achates (now the Drillo in the Val di Noto) in Sicily, and was sold at a great price' (καλὸς καὶ λίθος καὶ ὁ Ἀχάτης ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀχάτου ποταμοῦ τοῦ ἐν Σικελίᾳ καὶ πωλεῖται τίμιος, 58). This, no doubt, means that the stone was first found by the Greeks in the Achates. But it must have been known long before in the East; and, in fact, there are few countries in which agates of some quality or other are not produced. The finest are those of India; they are plentiful, and sometimes fine, in Italy, Spain, and Germany; but those found in this country are seldom good.

We have no evidence that agates were found in Palestine. Those used in the desert were doubtless brought from Egypt. Pliny says that those found in the neighbourhood of Thebes were usually red, veined with white. Agate is one of the numerous modifications of form under which silica presents itself, almost in a state of purity, forming 98 per cent of the entire mineral. The silicious particles are not so arranged as to produce the transparency of rock crystal, but a semi-pellucid, sometimes almost opaque substance, with a resinous or waxy fracture; and the various shades of colour arise from minute quantities of iron. The same stone sometimes contains parts of different degrees of translucency, and of various shades of colour; and the endless combinations of these produce the beautiful and singular internal forms, from which, together with the high polish they are capable of receiving, agates acquire their value as precious stones. Agates are usually found in detached

rounded nodules in that variety of the trap rocks called amygdaloid or mandelstein, and occasionally in other rocks. Some of the most marvellous specimens on record were probably merely fancied, and possibly some were the work of art, as it is known that agates may be artificially stained. From Pliny we learn that in his time agates were less valued than they had been in more ancient times (*Hist. Nat.* xxxvii. 10). The varieties of the agate are numerous, and are now, as in the time of Pliny, arranged according to the colour of their ground. The Scripture text shows the early use of this stone for engraving; and several antique agates, engraved with exquisite beauty, are still preserved in the cabinets of the curious.—J. K.

SHECHEM (שֶׁכֶּם; Sept. Συχέμ, also τὰ Σίκιμα), a town of central Palestine, in Samaria, among the mountains of Ephraim (Josh. xx. 7; 1 Kings xii. 25), in the narrow valley between the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim (comp. Judg. ix. 7; Joseph. *Antiq.* iv. 8. 44), and consequently within the tribe of Ephraim (Josh. xxi. 20). It is in N. lat. 32° 17', E. long. 35° 20', being thirty-four miles north of Jerusalem and seven miles south of Samaria. It was a very ancient place, and appears to have arisen as a town in the interval between the arrival of Abraham in Palestine and the return of Jacob from Padam-aram, for it is mentioned only as a place, described by reference to the oaks in the neighbourhood, when Abraham came there on first entering the land of Canaan (Gen. xii. 6). But in the history of Jacob it repeatedly occurs as a town having walls and gates: it could not, however, have been very large or important, if we may judge from the consequence which the inhabitants attached to an alliance with Jacob, and from the facility with which the sons of the Patriarch were able to surprise and destroy them (Gen. xxxiii. 18, 19; xxxiv. 1, 2, 20, 24, 26). After the conquest of the country, Shechem was made a city of refuge (Josh. xx. 7), and one of the Levitical towns (Josh. xxi. 21), and during the lifetime of Joshua it was a centre of union to the tribes (Josh. xxiv. 1, 25), probably because it was the nearest considerable town to the residence of that chief in Timnath-serah. In the time of the judges, Shechem became the capital of the kingdom set up by Abimelech (Judg. ix. 1, *seq.*), but was at length conquered and destroyed by him (Judg. ix. 34). It must, however, have been ere long rebuilt, for it had again become of so much importance by the time of Rehoboam's accession, that he there gave the meeting to the delegates of the tribes, which ended in the separation of the kingdom (1 Kings xii. 10). It was Shechem which the first monarch of the new kingdom made the capital of his dominions (1 Kings xii. 25; comp. xiv. 17), although later in his reign the pleasantness of Tirzah induced him to build a palace there, and to make it the summer residence of his court; which gave it such importance, that it at length came to be regarded as the capital of the kingdom, till Samaria eventually deprived it of that honour (1 Kings xiv. 7; xvi. 24; see ISRAEL). Shechem, however, still thrived. It subsisted during the exile (Jer. xli. 5), and continued for many ages the chief seat of the Samaritans and of their worship, their sole temple being upon the mountain (Gerizim), at whose foot the city stood (Joseph. *Antiq.* xi. 8. 6; comp. John iv. 20; and see also the articles EBAL

and GERIZIM; SAMARITANS). The city was taken, and the temple destroyed, by John Hyrcanus, B.C. 129 (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 9. 1; *De Bell. Jud.* i. 2. 6). In the N. T. it occurs under the name of Sychar (Συχαρ; John iv. 5), which seems to have been a sort of nickname (perhaps from שֶׁקֶר, *sheker*, 'falsehood,' spoken of idols in Hab. ii. 18; or from שִׁכְוֹר, *shikkor*, 'drunkard,' in allusion to Is. xxviii. 1, 7)—such as the Jews were fond of imposing upon places they disliked; and nothing could exceed the enmity which existed between them and the Samaritans, who possessed Shechem. Stephen, however, in his historical retrospect, still uses the proper and ancient name (Acts vii. 16). Not long after the times of the N. T. the place received the name of Neapolis, which it still retains in the Arabic form of Nablûs, being one of the very few names imposed by the Romans in Palestine which have survived to the present day. It had probably suffered much, if it was not completely destroyed, in the war with the Romans, and would seem to have been restored or rebuilt by Vespasian, and then to have taken this new name; for the coins of the city, of which there are many, all bear the inscription, Flavia Neapolis—the former epithet no doubt derived from Flavius Vespasian (Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 433; Mionnet, *Méd. Antig.* v. 499). The name occurs first in Josephus (*De Bell. Jud.* iv. 8. 1), and then in Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* v. 14), Ptolemy (*Geog.* v. 16). There had already been converts to the Christian faith at this place under our Saviour, and it is probable that a church had been gathered here by the apostles (John iv. 30-42; Acts viii. 25; ix. 31; xv. 3). Justin Martyr was a native of Neapolis (*Apolog.* ii. 41). The name of Germanus, bishop of Neapolis, occurs in A.D. 314; and other bishops continue to be mentioned down to A.D. 536, when the bishop John signed his name at the synod of Jerusalem (Reland, *Palast.* p. 1009). When the Moslems invaded Palestine, Neapolis and other small towns in the neighbourhood were subdued while the siege of Jerusalem was going on (Abulfeda, *Annal.* i. 229). After the taking of Jerusalem by the Crusaders, Neapolis and other towns in the mountains of Samaria tendered their submission, and Tancred took possession of them without resistance (Will. Tyr. ix. 20). Neapolis was laid waste by the Saracens in A.D. 1113; but a few years after (A.D. 1120) a council was held here by king Baldwin II., to consult upon the state of the country (Fulcher, p. 424; Will. Tyr. xii. 13). Neapolis was not made a Latin bishopric, but belonged probably to that of Samaria, and the property of it was assigned to the abbot and canons of the Holy Sepulchre (Jac. de Vitriacus, ch. lviii.) After some disasters in the unquiet times which ensued, and after some circumstances which show its remaining importance, the place was finally taken from the Christians in A.D. 1242, by Abu Ali, the colleague of Sultan Bibars, and has remained in Moslem hands ever since.

There is no reason to question that the present town occupies the site of the ancient Shechem, although its dimensions are probably more contracted. The fertility and beauty of the deep and narrow valley in which the town stands, especially in its immediate neighbourhood, have been much admired by travellers, as far exceeding what they had seen in any other part of Palestine. This valley is not more than 500 yards wide at the town,

which stands directly upon its watershed, the streams on the eastern part flowing off east into the plain, and so towards the Jordan, while the fountains on the western side send off a pretty brook down the valley N.W. towards the Mediterranean. The town itself is long and narrow, extending along the N.E. base of Mount Gerizim, and partly resting upon its declivity. The streets are narrow; the houses high, and in general well built, all of stone, with domes upon the roofs as at Jerusalem. The bazaars are good and well supplied. There are no ruins which can be called ancient in this country, but there are remains of a church of fine Byzantine architecture, and a handsome arched gateway, both apparently of the time of the first Crusades. These occur in the main street, through the whole length of which a stream of clear water rushes down—a rare circumstance in the East. The population of the place is rated by Dr. Olin at 8000 or 10,000, of whom 500 or 600 are Christians of the Greek communion, and the rest Moslems, with the exception of about 130 Samaritans, and one-third that number of Jews. The inhabitants bear the character of being an unusually valiant as well as a turbulent race, and some years since maintained a desperate struggle against the Egyptian government in some bloody rebellions (Robinson, *Palestine*, ii. 94-136; Olin, *Travels*, ii. 339-365; *Narrative of the Scottish Deputation*, pp. 208-218; Schubert, *Morgenland*, iii. 136-154; Winer, *Real-wört.* s.v.; Lord Nugent, *Lands Classical and Sacred*, ii. 172-180).—J. K.

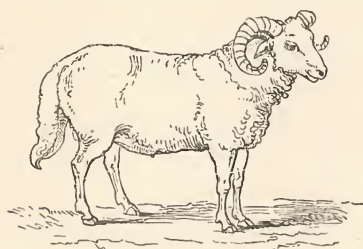
[Near to Nablûs are two famous spots which tradition signalises as the well of Jacob and Joseph's tomb. The former lies about a mile and a half to the west of the city; it is in the middle of the ruins of a church by which it was formerly surrounded. The opening over the well is an orifice in a dome or arch, less than two feet in diameter. The well is very deep, not less than 75 feet (Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. 56). The latter is about a quarter of a mile north of the well, and is a tomb of the ordinary kind, enclosed in a square of high white-washed walls. In the walls are two slabs with Hebrew inscriptions (Wilson, ii. 61). There seems no reason to doubt the accuracy of these traditional identifications, especially the former. It is one in which Jews, Samaritans, Christians, and Mohammedans agree, and which everything connected with the well itself favours. We may therefore, with all confidence, regard this as the memorable spot beside which the Saviour sat and conversed with the woman of Samaria.]

SHECHEM, son of Hamor, prince of the country or district of Shechem, in which Jacob formed his camp on his return from Mesopotamia. This young man having seen Jacob's daughter Dinah, was smitten with her beauty, and deflowered her. This wrong was terribly and cruelly avenged by the damsel's uterine brothers, Simeon and Levi, as described in the article DINAH (Gen. xxxv.) It seems likely that the town of Shechem, even if of recent origin, must have existed before the birth of a man so young as Hamor's son appears to have been; and we may therefore suppose it a name preserved in the family, and which both the town and the princes inherited. Shechem's name is always connected with that of his father Hamor (Gen. xxxiii. 19; xxxiv.; Acts vii. 16).—J. K.

SHECHINAH. [SHEKINAH.]



SHEEP (שֶׂה, צֹאן, with the varying forms צֹאֵן, צֹאִים, and צֹאֶה, the latter generally used as a collective term, including goats; Arab. *zain*; צֶבֶד, a lamb under a year old; אֵיל, the adult ram, but originally applied also to the males of other ruminants, such as deer, etc.; רֶחֶל, a female or ewe sheep—all referable to Hebrew roots with apposite meanings, deserving the more confidence since the earliest patriarchs of the nation, being themselves shepherds and graziers, had never at any time received this portion of their domesticated cattle from foreign nations, and therefore had indigenous names for them). Domestic sheep, although commonly regarded as the progeny of one particular wild species, are probably an instance, among many similar, where the wisdom of Providence has provided subsistence for man in different regions, by bestowing the domesticating and submissive instincts upon the different species of animals which the human



474. Syrian Sheep.

family might find in their wanderings; for it is certain that even the American *argali* can be rendered tractable, and that the Corsican *musmon* will breed with the common sheep. The normal animal, from which all or the greater part of the western domestic races are assumed to be descended, is still found wild in the high mountain regions of Persia, and is readily distinguished from two other wild species bordering on the same region. What breeds the earliest shepherd tribes reared in and about Palestine can now be only inferred from negative characters; yet they are sufficient to show that they were the same, or nearly so, as the common horned variety of Egypt and continental Europe: in general white, and occasionally black, although there was on the upper Nile a speckled race; and so early as the time of Aristotle the Arabians possessed a rufous breed, another with a very long tail, and above all a broad-tailed sheep, which at present is commonly denominated the Syrian. These three varieties are said to be of African origin, the red hairy, in particular, having all the characteristics to mark its descent from the wild *Ovis Tragelaphus* or *Barbatus* (كشش), or *Kebseh* of the Arabian and Egyptian mountains [RAMS' SKINS RED]. Flocks of the ancient breed, derived from the Bedouins, are now extant in Syria, with little or no change in external characters, chiefly the broad-tailed and the common horned white, often with black and white about the face and feet, the tail somewhat thicker and longer than the European. The others are chiefly valued for the fat of their broad tails, which taste not unlike marrow; for the flesh of neither

race is remarkably delicate, nor are the fleeces of superior quality. Sheep in the various conditions of existence wherein they would occur among a pastoral and agricultural people are noticed in numerous places of the Bible, and furnish many beautiful allegorical images, where purity, innocence, mildness, and submission are portrayed—the Saviour himself being denominated 'the Lamb of God,' in twofold allusion to his patient meek-



475. Supposed Kesitah.

ness and to his being the true paschal lamb, 'slain from the foundation of the world' (Rev. xiii. 8). Besides the words above noticed, the term קֶשִׁיטָה, occurring only Gen. xxxiii. 19; Job xlii. 11, has been by some rendered *sheep* or *lambs*. [KESITAH.]

SHEEP-GATE, THE (שַׁעַר הַצֹּאן; Sept. ἡ πύλη ἡ προβατική), one of the ancient gates of Jerusalem, the position of which is uncertain (Neh. iii. 1, 32; Robinson, *B. R.* i. 472). If it be this which is referred to in John v. 3 (where the A. V. has *sheep-market*, but without any authority, the probable supplement to προβατική being πύλη) it was probably near the temple (Lightfoot, *Harmonia Evangg.* p. iii.; *Opp.* i. 532).—W. L. A.

SHEEP-MARKET. [SHEEP-GATE.]

SHEKEL. [WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.]

SHEKEL. Besides being a weight, the shekel was, before the Exile, established as uncoined money. In silver shekels were paid the contributions to the Temple (Exod. xxx. 13), the fines for offences (Exod. xxi. xxii.; Deut. xxii. 19, 29; Lev. v. 15), taxes exacted by kings or governors (2 Kings xv. 20; Neh. v. 15), purchasable articles (2 Sam. xxiv. 24; 2 Kings vii. 1), etc. In some cases large sums were weighed together (Gen. xxiii. 16; Jer. xxxii. 9), though it is certain that there were pieces of different denominations—both half and quarter shekels (Exod. xxx. 13, 15; 1 Sam. ix. 8, 9). [MONEY.] In many instances relating to purchases, a word is omitted in the Hebrew, and the rendering is always 'a thousand,' or the like, 'of silver.' The term 'pieces' has been supplied in the A. V., but there is not much doubt that 'shekels' is the word understood in all cases. [PIECE OF SILVER.]

Of the extant silver and copper shekels of the time of Simon Maccabæus a list has already been given in a previous article. [MONEY.] It may, however, be observed that, notwithstanding the authority of the principal numismatists of Italy, Germany, Spain, and England, M. de Saulcy has recently objected to the attribution of these silver and copper shekels and their divisions to Simon Maccabæus, preferring still to adhere to his former opinion that they were struck by Jaddua the high-priest, at the time of Alexander the Great (*Rev. Num. Franc.* 1864, p. 373). That they were struck at this period is impossible for many reasons, and

principally on account of their weight, as Alexander would never have allowed any other weight but the Attic to have been used by the Jews, whereas these shekels belong to the Phœnician or Æginetan talent. [WEIGHTS.] For further information on this question, consult the remarks of the Abbé Cavedoni (*Le Princ. Quest. riguardanti la Num. Giud. definitiv. decise*, Modena 1864) and F. W. Madden (*Num. Chron.* N. S. vol. v. p. 191).

We may now allude to the rendering of the Hebrew 'shekel' of the O. T. by διδραχμα in the LXX. This has caused a difficulty to many writers; but the objections have been already ably treated by the late Colonel Leake [DIDRACHM], who supposes that 'as the word διδραχμον is employed by the LXX. synonymously with σίκλος for the Hebrew word shekel, the shekel and didrachmon were of the same weight,' and 'from the fact of the half shekel of the Pentateuch being translated by the LXX. τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ διδράχμου, therefore the Attic and not the Græco-Egyptian didrachm was intended by them' [DIDRACHM; MONEY]. Were this the case, the didrachm of the LXX. would be a shekel, and the didrachm of the N. T. a half shekel [STATÉR]. It is, however, extremely probable that the Alexandrian Jews adopted the term 'didrachm' as the common name of the coin which was equal in weight to the shekel—i. e. the so-called tetradrachm of the Ptolemaic talent, but really a didrachm—as there were few, if any, current Attic didrachms at the time of our Lord; and this is singularly corroborated, as Mr. Poole has suggested (art. 'Money,' Dr. Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*), in the account of the miracle of the tribute-money, when St. Peter finds a *stater*, which was a *silver tetradrachm* [STATÉR] in the mouth of the fish, to pay for our Lord and himself. The tax of half a shekel was still paid by the Jews, when dispersed throughout the world, for the use of the Temple (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 9. 1); and Josephus uses the term διδραχμον, whereas he should have said τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ διδράχμου. But in all probability he employs it as St. Matthew does the plural, τὰ διδραχμα (Matt. xvii. 24), to express the *tax*, and not the *payment*, or he intends it to represent two Attic drachms, each such drachm being equivalent to a quarter of a Maccabæan shekel (F. W. Madden, *Hist. of Jewish Coinage*, p. 238; cf. p. 234). Thus is explained another curious passage in Josephus (*Antiq.* iii. 8. 2), in which he says, ὁ δὲ σίκλος, νόμισμα Ἑβραίων ἐν Ἀττικᾷ δέχεται δράχμας τέσσαρας, thus making the shekel equal to four current Attic drachms, and not to the older pieces of full weight [STATÉR]. As 'thirty shekels of silver' was the price of blood to be paid in the case of a servant accidentally killed (Exod. xxi. 32), it has been suggested (Smith's *Dict. of Bible*, s.v. 'Piece of Silver') to understand by the 'thirty pieces of silver' for which our Lord was betrayed 'thirty shekels of silver,' not current shekels, but the tetradrachms of the Greek cities of Syria and Phœnicia, which have the same weight as the shekels of Simon Maccabæus.

In Neh. v. 15 mention is made of forty shekels of silver paid to the governors, and probably these shekels may have been the silver coin circulating in Persia called σίκλος. This coin has generally been considered a kind of shekel; but as, according to Xenophon (*Anab.* i. 5, 6), it was equal to 7½ Attic oboli, and an obolus weighed 11.25 grains (11.25 + 7.5 = 85.375), giving a Persian silver coin of 84 grains, it is clear that the σίκλος

can have no connection with the σίκλος (weighing 220 grains), excepting in name. (Cf. Leake, *Num. Hell. Europe*, p. 21; F. W. Madden, *Hist. Jew. Coin.* p. 20.) [DRACHM; *note*.] But at this time there were coins also current in Persia of the same standard as the shekel (Mionnet, *Descrip. de Méd.* vol. v. p. 645, Nos. 30-40; *Suppl.* vol. viii. p. 426, Nos. 29-33).—F. W. M.

SHEKINAH or SHECHINAH (שְׁכִינָה), a term applied by the ancient Jews, especially in the Chaldee Targums, to that visible symbol of the divine glory which dwelt in the tabernacle and temple. The word, though nowhere met with in this form in the Scriptures, is a direct derivative from the Hebrew root שָׁכַן *shachan*, 'to dwell,' 'to dwell in a tent or tabernacle,' which is of frequent occurrence in the sacred writers, and is used mainly to imply the *tabernacled presence and residence* of the Most High by a visible symbol among the chosen people. Though found in several connections where the sense of *secular habitation* is obvious, yet there can be no doubt that the dominant idea is that of *sacred indwelling*, of which the following passages afford striking specimens: Exod. xxv. 8, 'Let them make me a tabernacle that I may dwell (שָׁכַנְתִּי) among them.' Exod. xxix. 45, 'And I will dwell (שָׁכַנְתִּי) among the children of Israel, and will be their God.' Num. v. 3, 'That they defile not their camps, in the midst whereof I dwell (שָׁכַנְתִּי).' Ps. lxxviii. 16, 'This is the hill which God delighteth to dwell in, yea, the Lord will dwell in it (יִשְׁכֵּן) for ever.' Ps. lxxiv. 2, 'Remember—this Mount Zion wherein thou hast dwelt (שָׁכַנְתָּ).' It is more especially employed when the Lord is said to 'cause his name to dwell,' implying the stated visible manifestation of his presence. Ezra vi. 12, 'And the God that had caused his name to dwell there (שָׁכַן שְׁמוֹ), literally, *hath shekinized his name*' (comp. Deut. xii. 11; xiv. 23; xvi. 6; xxvi. 2). It is emphatically employed in speaking of the cloud of the divine glory dwelling upon Mount Sinai: Exod. xxiv. 16, 'And the glory of the Lord abode (יִשְׁכֵּן) upon Mount Sinai.' The term *shekinah* (שְׁכִינָה) is defined by Buxtorf (*Lex. Talm.* voc. שָׁכַן) as meaning primarily *habitation*, or *inhabitation*, but as having a dominant reference to the *divine glory in its outward visible manifestation*. The term is of very frequent occurrence in the Chaldee Targums, where it is employed interchangeably with 'Glory,' 'Glory of the Lord,' 'Angels of the Lord,' and often with 'Lord' (Jehovah) itself. The citations that follow will more fully disclose the usage in this respect: Ps. lxxii. 2, 'This Mount Zion wherein thou hast dwelt;' Targ. 'wherein thy *shekinah* has dwelt.' Exod. xxv. 8, 'Let them make me a tabernacle that I may dwell among them;' Targ. 'I will make my *shekinah* to dwell among them;' Arab. 'I will make my light (or splendour) to dwell among them.' Haggai i. 8, 'I will take pleasure, and will be glorified, saith the Lord;' Targ. 'I will make my *shekinah* to dwell there in glory.' Ps. lxxxv. 10, 'His salvation is nigh them that fear him, that glory may dwell in our land;' thus explained by Aben Ezra, 'That the *shekinah* may be established in the land.' It would be easy to multiply these quotations to almost any extent, but sufficient has been produced to illustrate the *usus loquendi*, and to show that we have ample



authority for employing the term with the utmost freedom in reference to the divine *theophanies* or *manifestations*.

From the tenor of these and a multitude of similar texts, it is evident that the Most High, whose essence no man hath seen, or can see, was pleased anciently to manifest himself to the eyes of men by an external visible symbol.\* As to the *precise nature* of the phenomenon thus exhibited, we can only say that it appears to have been a concentrated glowing brightness, a preternatural splendour, an effulgent something, which was appropriately expressed by the term 'Glory;' but whether in philosophical strictness it was material or immaterial, it is probably impossible to determine. A luminous object of this description seems intrinsically the most appropriate symbol of that Being of whom, perhaps, in allusion to this very mode of manifestation, it is said, that 'he is light,' and that 'he dwelleth in light unapproachable, and full of glory.' The presence of such a sensible representation of Jehovah seems to be absolutely necessary in order to harmonise what is frequently said of 'seeing God' with the truth of his nature as an incorporeal and essentially invisible spirit. While we are told in one place that 'no man hath seen God at any time,' we are elsewhere informed that Moses and Aaron, and the seventy elders, 'saw the God of Israel,' when called up to the summit of the Holy Mount. So also Isaiah says of himself (Is. vi. 1, 5) that 'in the year that king Uzziah died he saw the Lord sitting upon his throne,' and that, in consequence, he cried out, 'I am undone; for mine eyes have seen the Lord of hosts.' In these cases it is obvious that the object seen was not God in his essence, but some external visible symbol, which, because it stood for God, is called by his name.

It seems beyond question that the divine appearance vouchsafed in the earlier ages of the world to the patriarchs and prophets, was under the aspect, or with the accompaniment of light or fire, or that which conveys to the mind the idea of 'Glory.' Thus, in Stephen's account of the call of Abraham (Acts vii. 2): 'And he said, Men, brethren, and fathers, the God of Glory appeared unto our father Abraham when he was in Mesopotamia,' etc. This is a phrase very unwonted in plain narrative prose, and doubtless carries with it an allusion to the fact of God's appearing in a *glorious* manner, with a bright and overpowering effulgence, or, in other words, by the symbol of the *shekinah*. So, too, when he appeared to Moses in the burning bush, it was doubtless by the usual symbol; and this supernatural light or fire, glowing with a lambent and vivid, but innocuous flame, was no other than the splendour of the *shekinah*. To this august phenomenon the apostle plainly alludes when speaking of the distinguished prerogatives of the covenanted race (Rom. ix. 4), 'to whom pertaineth the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law,' etc.

\* Even at the early period of the expulsion of our sinning progenitors from Paradise, such a manifestation seems to have been made in connection with the cherubim which the Most High placed (Heb. יִשְׁכָּן *yishkan*, shekinised) at the east of the garden of Eden, and which, probably, constituted that 'presence of the Lord,' from which Cain fled after the murder of his brother.'

But of all these ancient recorded theophanies, the most signal and illustrious was undoubtedly that which was vouchsafed in the pillar of cloud that guided the march of the children of Israel through the wilderness on their way to Canaan. A correct view of this subject clothes it at once with a sanctity and grandeur which seldom appear from the naked letter of the narrative. There can be little doubt that the columnar cloud was the seat of the *shekinah*. We have already seen that the verb שָׁכַן is applied to the abiding of the cloud

on the summit of the mountain (Exod. xxiv. 16). Within the towering aerial mass, we suppose, was enfolded the inner effulgent brightness, to which the appellation 'Glory of the Lord' more properly belonged, and which was only occasionally disclosed. In several instances in which God would indicate his anger to his people, it is said that they looked to the cloud and beheld the 'Glory of the Lord' (Num. xiv. 10; xvi. 19, 42). So when he would inspire a trembling awe of his majesty at the giving of the Law, it is said, the 'Glory of the Lord appeared as a devouring fire' on the summit of the Mount. Nor must the fact be forgotten in this connection, that when Nadab and Abihu, the two sons of Aaron, offended by strange fire in their offerings, a fatal flash from the cloudy pillar instantaneously extinguished their lives. The evidence would seem then to be conclusive, that this wondrous pillar-cloud was the seat or throne of the *shekinah*, the visible representative of Jehovah dwelling in the midst of his people.

But it will be proper, in a matter of so much importance, to enter somewhat more fully into the genius of that mode of diction which obtains in regard to the *shekinah*; particularly the usage by which the term 'Angel' is applied to this visible phenomenon deserves our investigation. This term occurs frequently in the Arabic version of those passages which speak of the divine manifestations, especially as made in connection with the cloudy pillar. Thus, when we read (Exod. xiii. 21), 'That the Lord went before them in a pillar of cloud by day, and by night in a pillar of fire;' the Arabic translation has it, 'The angel of the Lord went before them.' This is countenanced by the express language of Exod. xiv. 19, 'And the angel of God, which went before the camp of Israel, removed and went behind them; and the pillar of the cloud went from before their face, and stood behind them.' Here it is obvious that the same object is set before us under two different forms of expression; the 'Pillar of Cloud' in the last clause being evidently the same as 'Angel of God' in the first. In seeking the true solution of this phraseology, it is necessary to bear in mind that 'Angel,' in the Scripture idiom, is a term of *office*, and not of *nature* [ANGELS]. It is by no means confined to any order of rational, intelligent, or *personal* beings, whether celestial or terrestrial. Though primarily employed to denote *messengers*, yet nothing is clearer than that it is used in speaking of *impersonal* agents, such as winds, fires, pestilences, remarkable dispensations—anything in fact which might serve as a *medium* to make known the divine will, or to illustrate the divine working: 'He maketh the winds his angels, and the flaming fires his ministers.'

From the wide and extensive use of the term *angel* in the language of Holy Writ, we are pre-

pared to recognise at once the propriety of its application to the *theophanies*, or special manifestations of the Deity, of which so much is said in the O. T. We perceive that we are furnished from this source with a key to all those passages in which mention is made of the appearance of the *angel of the Lord*, whether to Abraham, to Isaac, to Jacob, to Hagar, to Moses, or any of the ancient worthies. So far as the letter is concerned, the intimation would seem, in many cases, to be, that a created and delegated angel was sent upon various messages to the patriarchs, and became visible to their eyes and audible to their ears. These celestial messengers have been supposed occasionally to speak in the name, and even in the person, of him whose mandates they communicated. Thus, when Abraham was about to offer up Isaac we are told that the *angel of the Lord* called to him out of heaven, and said (Gen. xxii. 15-18), 'By myself I have sworn, that in blessing I will bless thee, and that in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven,' etc. This might seem at first view to be the voice of an angel messenger speaking in the name, and by the authority, of him who sent him. But from the usage now developed, we understand that it was the *visible object that appeared*, which is called the angel. So when it is said that 'the angel of the Lord appeared to Moses in the burning bush,' we see it was the burning bush itself that was called the angel, because it was the *medium of manifestation* to Jehovah in making this communication to his servant. The language which he utters on that occasion is evidently not competent to any created being, and must be considered as proceeding from the *shekinah*, to which no other than the infinite Spirit was present. The appropriation, therefore, of this language to the majestic pillar of cloud viewed as the *shekinah* of Jehovah, receives a countenance which cannot be questioned. We see no room to hesitate in believing, that when it is said 'the *angel of God* went before them,' the meaning is, that the pillar of cloud went before them; or, in other words, that the pillar is called 'the angel.'

In pursuance then of this train of investigation, we advance to another phasis of the mystic column that marshalled the way of the sojourning hosts in their march to Canaan. In Exod. xxiii. 2 it is said, 'Behold I send an angel before thee to keep thee in the way, and to bring thee into the place that I have prepared. Beware of him, and obey his voice, provoke him not; for he will not pardon your transgressions: for my name is in him.' The first impression, upon the perusal of this, would perhaps be, that a created and tutelary angel was intended, one whom, whether visible or invisible, they used to treat with the greatest reverence as a kind of personal representative of Jehovah himself. This representative and commissioned character would be apt to be recognised in the phrase, 'my name is in him,' equivalent, as would be supposed, to the declaration, 'my authority is in him.' But then, on the other hand, we have shown that the term 'angel' is applied to the cloudy pillar, and as we have no intimation of any other angel being visibly present with the travelling tribes, the inference is certainly a fair one, that the angel here mentioned is but the designation of that glorious object which stood forth to the eye of the congregation as having the *shekinah* essentially connected with it.

And now, with the light of this peculiar usage to

guide us, can we hesitate in regard to the genuine scope of the following passage from Isaiah, which we must assuredly recognise as a parallelism (Is. lxiii. 8)? 'For he said, surely they are my people, children that will not lie; so he was their Saviour. In all their afflictions he was afflicted, and the *angel of his presence* saved them: in his love and in his pity he redeemed them; and he bore them and carried them all the days of old.' The allusion is undoubtedly to the same grand symbolical object which we are now considering. After what has been said we can have no difficulty in understanding why the title 'Angel of his presence,' is applied to the cloudy column of the wilderness. It was evidently so termed because it was the medium of manifestation to the divine presence. The invisible Deity, in some mysterious manner, dwelt in it, and was associated with it. It was called the 'Angel of the Divine Presence,' or more literally *face* (פָּנִי), because as the human face is the grand medium of expression to the human spirit, so the *shekinah* was the medium of manifestation or expression to the Divine Spirit. Indeed Moses, on one occasion, when apprehensive that the guiding glory of his people would be withdrawn on account of their transgressions, makes use of this language: 'If thy presence go not with me, carry us not up hence. And the Lord said, my presence shall go with thee.' So also in Deut. iv. 37 we find the word *presence* or *face* used with a personal import: 'And because he loved thy fathers, therefore he chose their seed after them, and brought thee out in his sight (בְּפָנָי, *with, by, or through, his presence*—i.e. the angel of his presence), with his mighty power out of Egypt.' We see not, therefore, that anything is hazarded in the position that the *angel of God's presence* of whom Isaiah speaks is essentially the same with the *angel of God's pillar* of which Moses speaks, and which is invested with personal attributes, because the Israelites were taught to view it in a personal character as a visible representative of their covenant God.

But our conception of the subject is essentially incomplete without the exhibition of another aspect of the cloudy pillar. This is as the *oracle* of the chosen people. So long as that sublime symbol continued as the outward visible token of the divine presence, it performed the office of an oracle in issuing commands and delivering responses. 'They called upon the Lord,' says the Psalmist (Ps. xcix. 6, 7), 'and he answered them. He *spoke unto them in the cloudy pillar*;' that is, the cloudy pillar was the medium of his communications. This is indeed sufficiently express; but still more unequivocal is the language of Exod. xxxiii. 9: 'And it came to pass, as Moses entered into the tabernacle, the cloudy pillar descended and stood at the door of the tabernacle, and *talked with Moses*.' It is true indeed that in our established version we read that '*the Lord* talked with Moses,' but the words 'the Lord' are printed in italics to show that there is nothing in the original answering to them. We have given a literal translation; still there is no special impropriety in supplying the words as above, if it be borne in mind that the mystic pillar was regarded as a visible embodiment of Jehovah, and, therefore, that in the diction of the sacred writer the two terms are equivalent and convertible. This is evident from what follows in the connection: 'And all the people saw the cloudy pillar stand at the tabernacle door, and the Lord



spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh to his friend.' The 'Lord' here must unequivocally be applied to the symbol of the Lord, or the *shekinah*, which was the true organ of communication with the people. It would be easy to carry out this line of investigation to still further results; but the considerations which have been offered will suffice to indicate the general bearings of this interesting subject.

See Lowman, *On the Shekinah*; Taylor's *Lettres of Ben Mordecai*; Skinner's *Dissertation on the Shekinah*; Watt's *Glory of Christ*; Upham, *On the Logos*; Bush's *Notes on Exodus*; Tenison, *On Idolatry*; Fleming's *Christology*.—G. B.

**SHELEPH** (שֶׁלֶפֶח; Σαλέφ; Alex. Σαλέφ; *Saleph*), the second son of Joktan, and founder of one of the minor tribes of eastern Arabia. After the genealogical records in Gen. x. 26, and 1 Chron. i. 20, there is no mention of this tribe in Scripture. The whole family of the Joktanites, or as they are called by Arab writers Beni Kahtân, settled in south-eastern Arabia [JOKTAN; ARABIA].

Ptolemy, in enumerating the Arab tribes in the interior of Arabia, mentions the *Salapenæ* (Σαλαπηνῶν), which appears to be the gentile form of *Saleph* (Σαλέφ), the Greek representative of the Semitic *Sheleph* (Ptol. vi. 7). Bochart was the first to suggest this identity (*Opera*, i. 99); and his opinion is fully corroborated by the researches of Niebuhr and other Oriental scholars since his time. Niebuhr found in the province of Yemen an extensive district called *Salfie* (or *Salafiyeh*), which doubtless retains the name of the primeval tribe (*Description de l'Arabie*, p. 214). The name appears to have been given to the region by the tribe of *Beni Sulaf*, mentioned by Arab historians as forming a subdivision of the Beni Kahtân.

Forster endeavours to identify the Beni Saleph with the Meteyr tribe, whose chief residence is in Kasym, in the province of Nejd (*Geog. of Arabia*, i. 109; Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins*, p. 233). For this, however, there appears to be no sufficient evidence.—J. L. P.

**SHELOMITH** (שְׁלֹמִית), the name of several persons male (1 Chron. xxiii. 18; xxiii. 9; xxvi. 25; Ezra viii. 10) and female (Lev. xxiv. 11; 1 Chron. iii. 19).

**SHEM** (שֵׁם; name; Sept. Σήμ), one of the three sons of Noah (Gen. v. 32), from whom descended the nations enumerated in Gen. x. 22, *seq.*, and who was the progenitor of that great branch of the Noachic family (called from him Semitic or Semitic) to which the Hebrews belong. The name of Shem is placed first wherever the sons of Noah are mentioned together: whence he would seem to have been the eldest brother. But against this conclusion is brought the text Gen. x. 21, which according to the Authorised, and many other versions, has 'Shem the brother of Japheth the elder;' whence it has been conceived very generally that Japheth was really the eldest, and that Shem is put first by way of excellency, seeing that from him the holy line descended. But this conclusion is not built upon a critical knowledge of the Hebrew, which would show that הֶנֶךְ, 'the elder,' must in this text be referred not to Japheth but to Shem, so that it should be read 'Shem . . . the elder brother of Japheth.' The current version of

the text is sanctioned only by the Septuagint among the ancient versions, and it is there supposed by some to be corrupt. The Samaritan, Syriac, Arabic, and Vulgate, adopt the other interpretation, which indeed is the only one that the analogy of the Hebrew language will admit. The whole Bible offers no other instance of such a construction as that by which אֶחָיו יֶפֶת הֶנֶךְ becomes 'the brother of Japheth the elder,' which indeed would be an awkward phrase in any language. The object of the sacred writer is to mark the seniority and consequent superiority of Shem. He had already told us (Gen. ix. 24) that Ham was, if not the youngest, at least a younger son of Noah, and he is now careful to acquaint us that Shem, the stem of the Hebrews, was older than Japheth (see Baumgarten, *Theolog. Commentar zum Alten Test.*; Geddes, *Critical Remarks*: respecting the posterity of Shem, see NATIONS, DISPERSION OF).—J. K.

**SHEMAIAH** (שְׁמַעְיָה, whom *Jehovah* hears; Sept. Σαμαίας). 1. A prophet of the time of Rehoboam who was commissioned to enjoin that monarch to forego his design of reducing the ten tribes to obedience (1 Kings xii. 22-24). In 1 Chron. xii. 15, this Shemaiah is stated to have written the Chronicles of the reign in which he flourished.

2. A person who, without authority, assumed the functions of a prophet among the Israelites in exile. He was so much annoyed by the prophecies which Jeremiah sent to Babylon, the tendency of which was contrary to his own, that he wrote to Jerusalem, denouncing the prophet as an impostor, and urging the authorities to enforce his silence. In return he received new prophecies, announcing that he should never behold that close of the bondage which he fancied to be at hand, and that none of his race should witness the re-establishment of the nation (Jer. xxix. 24-32).—J. K. [Many others of the same name are mentioned, but none requiring special notice].

**SHEMARIM**. [WINE.]

**SHEMEBER** (שִׁמְעָבֶר, lofty flight; Sept. Συμβέρ), king of Zeboim, one of the five 'cities of the plain' (Gen. xiv. 2).

**SHEMEN**. [OIL.]

**SHEMER** (שִׁמֶר, lees; Sept. Σεμήρ), the owner of the hill of Samaria, which derived its name from him. Omri bought the hill for two talents of silver, and built thereon the city, also called Samaria, which he made the capital of his kingdom (1 Kings xvi. 24) [see SAMARIA]. As the Israelites were prevented by the law (Lev. xxv. 23) from thus alienating their inheritances, and as his name occurs without the usual genealogical marks, it is more than probable that Shemer was descended from those Canaanites whom the Hebrews had not dispossessed of their lands.

**SHEMINITH**. [PSALMS.]

**SHEMITIC**, or rather **SEMITIC LANGUAGES**,\* a term commonly applied to a certain number of cognate idioms supposed to have been

\* Having devoted special articles to the different branches of the Shemitic Languages, it is our intention here to give only the briefest pos-

spoken by the Shemites—*i.e.* the descendants of Shem. Considering, however, that the Canaanites and the Phœnicians, the Cushites and a number of Arabic tribes, all derived in the genealogical list of Genesis x. from Cham, *did* speak 'Shēmitic,' while Elam and Lud derived from Shem did not, as far as our present information goes (Ashur has now the benefit of a strong doubt):—that designation, first advocated by Eichhorn and Schlözer, must be pronounced a complete misnomer, although it has kept its ground up to this moment for sheer want of a precise and accurate term. It has supplanted that other one, used from the Church Fathers downward, of 'Oriental Languages;' a denomination perfectly satisfactory to the 'linguistic consciousness' of generations that viewed Hebrew as the mother of all languages, and whose acquaintance with Eastern idioms was limited to this and an imperfect idea of Phœnico-Punic, 'Chaldee'—Jewish or Christian—and Arabic. But when, towards the end of the last century, the gigantic discoveries in the realm of Eastern philology suddenly made these idioms shrink into the small proportions of a family of dialects confined for a long period to a narrow corner of the south-west of Asia; that most comprehensive name of Oriental Languages had, notwithstanding single protests, to be put aside for ever. Leibnitz's suggestion of 'Arabic' being too narrow for the whole stock, 'Syro-Arabic,' formed in analogy to 'Indo-European,' was proposed, but that too has not been found generally expressive enough, apart from the objection of its being apt to be erroneously understood in a linguistical rather than in a geographical sense. Thus, in default of a better name, the above will probably be retained for some time to come, with the distinct understanding of its being a false and merely conventional expression.

Comparative philology, although, compared with what we now understand by this term, a very embryonic one, exercised itself at an early period, and in a vague manner, in these idioms. The resemblance between them is indeed so striking at first sight—its roots being as nearly identical as can be—that it could hardly have been otherwise. It is the difference between them rather than the similarity that requires a closer scrutiny in order to be discovered at all. As it is, they do not vary among themselves to the extent even of the dialects in any single group of the Indo-European languages. Yet, as we shall further show, the idea still entertained by not a few scholars—viz. of one of the Shemitic languages standing in the relation of maternity to another—must now be utterly discarded, and all that can be granted to the speculative 'Science of Language' is the possibility of some kind of extinct prototype, out of which they might have individually developed. Exactly as there is an 'Idea' (in the Platonic sense) of a primeval mother of all the Indo-European tongues floating before the minds of our modern investigators.

Meanwhile, the existence of three distinct 'Shemitic' dialects of independent existence, each bearing a clearly-marked individuality of its own in historical times, has been established beyond all

sible *resumé*; and in taking a general and comprehensive view of the questions connected with this subject, we presuppose an acquaintance with its details.

doubt; and, as usual, different names and divisions have been proposed for them. The most widely adopted and the most rational ones are those that are taken from the abodes of the different tribes who first spoke them. Thus we have: *a.* The northern or north-eastern branch—*i.e.* that of the whole country between the Mediterranean and the Tigris, bordered by the Taurus in the north; by Phœnicia, the land of Israel, and Arabia, in the south; and embracing Syria, Mesopotamia (with its different 'Arams'), and Babylonia. This is called the 'Aramaic' branch. *b.* The idiom spoken by the inhabitants of Palestine: 'Hebraic.' And *c.* That of the south or the peninsula of Arabia—'Arabic'; the idiom confined to this part up to the time of Mohammed. Another recent division is the so-called historical, framed in accordance with the preponderance of these special branches at different periods. By this the Hebraic would assume the first place, extending from the earliest times of our knowledge of it down to the 6th century B. C., when the Aramaic begins to take the lead, and the field of Hebrew and Phœnician—the chief representatives of Hebraic—becomes more and more restricted. The Aramaic again would be followed by the Arabic period, dating from the time of Mohammed, when the Islam and its conquests spread the language of the Koran, not merely over the whole Shemitic territory, but over a vast portion of the inhabited globe. But this last division is so arbitrary, not to say fallacious—for there is every reason to suppose that 'Aramaic' flourished vigorously in its own sphere during, if not before the whole Hebraic period, and again that 'Hebraic' (as Phœnician) kept its ground simultaneously with the later 'Aramaic' period—that its own authors had to hedge it in with many and variegated restrictions. So that it is, in fact, reduced simply to a 'subjective' notion or method, not further to be considered. But we further protest all the more strongly against it, as it might easily lead to the belief that the one idiom gradually merged into the other—Hebrew *into* Aramaic, Aramaic *into* Arabic, much as Latin did into the *Vulgar*—which would be utterly contrary to fact. The vulgar Arabic spoken now in Palestine no more developed out of Aramaic, than the English spoken in Ireland developed out of Celtic or 'Fenian.'

Sinking for a moment the distinctions between these different Shemitic idioms, and viewing them as one compact Unity, more especially in comparison with that other most important family, the Indo-European languages, we are struck, as were the Church Fathers and the mediæval grammarians, with more signs of primæval affinity than their mere identity of word-roots. And indeed, if this had constituted our sole proof and criterion, the circle of relationship would have had to be widened to an astonishingly large extent. One of the chief and indisputable characteristics of Shemitic has, since the days of Chajug, been held to be their trilateralness. That is, that every word consists, in the first instance, merely of three consonants, which form, so to say, the soul of the idea to be expressed by that word; while the respective special modifications are produced by certain vowels or additional letters. Some of the latter have, in a few instances, remained stationary, but even then they are always clearly distinguishable from the root, as mere casual accessories. But these very additional and only casually



annexed consonants have led investigation to doubt that time-hallowed axiom of trilateralism. So far, it has been said, from this being a primæval inborn attribute of these idioms, nay, a sign of their having been handed down (especially in the Hebraic form) as nearly like their original prototype as can be: it is rather a sign of a very advanced stage of a development in which they all participated, and which renders them almost as unlike their primitive type as any foreign group of languages. There must have been a time, it is contended, when not three, but two radicals with an intermediate vowel—a monosyllable in fact—formed the staple of some original 'Shemitic' language. Out of this they may have sprung simultaneously, by one of those linguistic revolutions consequent upon sudden historical events—emigrations and the like. Not indeed in the sharply-outlined form in which we now find them, but predisposed to their development of linguistic individual peculiarities: one and all however bent upon the extension of their monosyllabic root into a trilateral—in a way that the consonant prefixed should express what *nuances* an advancing civilisation found it necessary to distinguish in every one of the scanty roots forming the common stock of the whole Shemitic family. These bilaterals, to which the roots thus are traced back, are nearly all of an onomatopoeical nature; that is, they are imitative sounds of a primitive kind. As long as they were used, the untold grammatical distinctions of an advanced human stage—flexions, categories, constructions—could, if they existed at all, only have existed in an embryonic state.—The authors and defenders of this ingenious conjecture—the unexpected use of which we shall presently show—fail, however, to answer the question, when and how this most extraordinary step from two to three letters could so suddenly and simultaneously have been introduced as must needs be presupposed. Not one of the monosyllabic languages known to us has ever changed its roots in this extraordinary manner, and the adduced analogy of the quadrilaterals having been formed from the trilaterals is not to the point.

Yet this analytical discovery of monosyllabic bases, if it does not assist us as much as was expected in the solution of the many difficult problems offered by the Shemitic idioms when compared among themselves; was made to support a much more sweeping theory—viz. that of an original affinity, nay identity, between Shemitic and Aryan, at some most remote period. A period, in fact, when Aryans and Shemites dwelt in the same homesteads; a period anterior to the final development of the roots of their—common—rudimentary language, and, of course, long anterior to grammars: and therefore also called the *antegrammatical* stage. And this theory has been advocated and warmly defended from Schlegel down to our day by some of the most eminently Aryan and Shemitic scholars. Nay, even the absurd extreme to which it has been carried by Delitzsch and Fürst did not bring its original form into discredit. These two scholars, to wit, do not stop at the affinity, but assume a downright relationship of parentage between the two groups. Their proofs and their specimens of words, however, do not sufficiently support their hypothesis. For the most part arbitrary to an immense degree, and erroneous in their application, they resolve themselves either into accidental similarities or into such affinities as are easily

explained by late importations (the existence of which has never been doubted) from one group into the other—caused by the constant contact between the two families in prehistorical as well as historical times. Quite apart from that other most unfortunate accident of their trying to prove their case by certain talmudical and Syriac words which bore an undeniable family-likeness to certain Greek and Latin words of similar meanings; but which were really words taken from Greek and Latin in late Roman times, and spelt in a slightly disguised Shemitic fashion.

We cannot in this place further enlarge upon a point which trenches so nearly upon those obscure problems about the origin of language in general, that prominently occupy the minds of scientific inquirers in these days. Whatever be the final issue, if ever there be one, we cannot but simply state the fact that, grammatically, there cannot be a more radical difference than that which exists between the two groups, while lexically or etymologically a certain affinity between them is perfectly incontestable even to the most critical and unprejudiced eye. However different the conclusions they draw, on these points even the most extreme schools agree. But whether, as some hold, there was once a stage where there was no grammar at all, or whether there was a kind of grammar which contained the two subsequently so widely varying forms of it *in nuce*; or again whether the two races ever did inhabit the same soil at all, and the phenomenon of the lexical property common to both may be explained on the one hand by certain linguistic laws that unchanging rule body and soul of humanity and produce everywhere the same onomatopoeical sounds, the origin of which we may or may not be able to trace in our present stage, and on the other hand by a certain interchange of ideas and objects at different periods of their existence:—we shall leave undiscussed in this place, content to have shown the different standpoints. The most remarkable, and perhaps the least easily-accounted for phenomenon, is the striking similarity of the pronouns and numerals, not only in Indo-Germanic and Shemitic, but even in Coptic, which for this and other reasons has indeed been held by some to be both lexically and grammatically the Chamite link between the two. With what small show of reason, however, we cannot stop to explain.

Among these last-mentioned curious mutual interchanges that took place in what we may call—comparatively speaking—historical times, we find first of all certain Egyptian words that have early crept into Hebrew, partly possibly before the sojourn at Goshen. Thus we find *אור*, *ארהו*, *פרעה*, *אברך*, *תבנה*, *תבנה*, and others, some of them still to be found in Coptic, and not explained by Shemitic etymology. On the other hand, certain words, chiefly designations of animals, are found in Coptic which are taken from Shemitic—*גמל*, *פיל*, *איל*, *נישר*, etc. Next stand those verbal importations from India, brought home by the trading expeditions to 'Ophir'—*ארהלים*, *קוף*, *נר*, *כרכם*, and the like—which are easily traceable to Sanscrit and its dialects. [And here we would draw attention to the word *יון* (Yavan), the Shemitic designation for the Greeks, which seems to be the Sanscrit *युवजान* Yuvajana = Lat. juvenis—i.e. a younger branch (of emigrants probably).] Strangely enough, while the Greek was enriched to

an extraordinary extent by the Shemitic traders, in proportion to the immense variety of articles then imported into Greek ports; the Greek idiom is generally supposed to have added next to nothing to the Shemitic before the time of Alexander. Vegetable substances, precious stones, materials for garments, the garments themselves, animals, musical instruments, weights, and last not least, the letters of the alphabet—all these, together with their native names, were imported by Shemites (Phœnicians) into the Greek territory and language, when they first emerged from their narrow West-Asiatic homes and opened up a trade with the whole world. The use of many of these words in the fragments of the most ancient Greek literature that has survived shows them to have been at the earliest period already part and parcel of that idiom to such an extent that even their origin had been completely forgotten, cf. *ἄνωβ*, *ὑσσώπος*; *בשם*, *βάλσαμον*; *בוץ*,

*βύσσος*; *לכנה*, *λίβανος*; *ספיר*, *σάπφειρος*; *כתונת*, *χιτὼν*; *כנור*, *κινύρα*, etc. Whether, however, many of the hitherto unexplained Shemitic words may or may not be Greek, and date from exactly the same period, and their importation be owing to the same causes, we cannot here discuss.

And leaving altogether the ever-shifting quicksands of this lexical affinity between the two families, which, as we said, cannot but be accepted in the main as an established fact, we come to the more safe and easy ground of their grammatical difference. This may be summed up briefly in the above-mentioned present triliteral nature of the Shemitic roots; and in the peculiarity of the three consonants that constitute them representing the idea, and the ever-changing vowels added to them its ever-changing aspects, varieties, and modifications. The consonants of the Shemitic root form, in this wise, without the accessory vowels, an unpronounceable word, while the Indo-Germanic root or word is complete and self-sufficient. Among further most vital differences between the two, we may point to the totally different way of the declensions of their nouns (cf. the Shemitic status constructus and emphaticus), the numerous verbal modes utterly unknown to the Aryan conjugation, the absence of a definite tense in Shemitic, the inability of the latter of forming compound nouns or new nuances of verbs by prepositions, and the like. All of which cripples the action of the Shemitic idioms to no small extent, while the unlimited power of forming words upon words at the spur of the moment, and the marvellous flexibility of the verb and the precision of its tenses, endow the Aryan with unequalled wealth, power, and elegance.

This most fittingly leads us to the question of the respective 'ages' of these two prominent families of languages. Not that to the one or the other is to be assigned a longer, more ancient term of existence—for this notion of the direct parentage is, as we said, confined to bygone unscientific centuries, and to the Delitzsch-Fürst school: if there be one. But it may fairly be asked—and this is by no means a barren speculation—which may have retained its ancient stamp with greater fidelity, and which thus reflects best the shape of its original? And there can be but one answer. The more simple, child-like, primitive of the two is, without any doubt, the Shemitic. Abstraction and metaphysics, philosophy and speculation, as we find them in the Aryan, are not easily expressed in an

idiom bereft of all real syntactic structure; bereft further of that infinite variety of little words, particles, conjunctions, auxiliary verbs, etc., which, ready for any emergency, like so many small living links, imperceptibly bind word to word, phrase to phrase, and period to period: which indeed are the very life and soul of what is called Construction. This want of exactness and precision, moreover, naturally inherent in idioms represented by words of dumb sounds, whose meaning must be determined according to circumstances by a certain limited number of shifting vowels, whose conjugations, though varied and flexible to an extraordinary degree, yet lack a proper distinction between the past and the future (cf. the Hebrew 'perfect' and 'aorist,' which lend themselves to almost any tense between past and future). There certainly is—who can doubt it?—notwithstanding all these shortcomings, a strength, a boldness, a picturesqueness, a delicacy of feeling and expression about these Shemitic idioms which marks them, one and all, as the property of a poetically, not to say 'prophetically' inspired race. But compare with this the suppleness of Aryan languages and that boundless supply of aids that enable them to produce the most telling combinations at the spur of the moment; their exquisitely consummate and refined syntactical development, that can change, and shift, and alter the position of word, and phrase, and sentence, and period, to almost any place, so as to give force to any part of their speech. With all these, and a thousand other faculties and capabilities, they might certainly at first sight almost lead one to the belief that they must have grown upon another stock—the Shemitic—and outgrown it. But discarding this unscientific notion, it cannot be denied that they are the 'younger' of the two. The stage of Realism, as represented by the former, must naturally have preceded that of Idealism, of which the Aryan alone is the proper type and expression. The Shemitic use of the materialistic, 'sensual,' term for physiological and psychological phenomena must be older than the formation and common usage of the Aryan abstract term. The name for the outward tangible impression which must have everywhere been identical originally with that of the sensation or idea connected with it, has remained identical in the Shemitic from its earliest stage to its final development. It is, in fact, this unity of idea and expression, which, above all other symptoms, forces us irresistibly to place the Shemitic into the first rank as regards 'antiquity,' such as we explained it; that is, of its having retained the closest likeness to some original form of human speech that preceded both the other family of language and itself.

The signs characteristic of the common Shemitic stock have been touched upon already in the foregoing paragraphs, as far as they could be brought to bear upon the questions under consideration. To these we may now add the peculiarity of there being but two genders in Shemitic, and that these are also distinguished in the second and third person of the verb; that, further, the genitive is formed by the juxtaposition merely of the two respective nouns, slightly changed in their vocalisation, while prepositions principally form the other cases, and suffixes indicate the oblique cases of pronouns.

We shall now, as summarily as possible, speak



of the Shemitic idioms in their special branches, and endeavour to point out as we proceed whatever is best fit to throw a light on the many questions respecting their comparative age, development, and history, referring always for fuller details and points beyond our present task to the several articles devoted to them individually in the course of this work. The first and to the Biblical student most important of these idioms, is the middle-Shemitic, Hebraic, or Hebrew, the language of the Hebrew people during the time of their independence in Canaan. The term Hebrew (עברי) itself has been derived by some from Eber, the father of Peleg and Joktan; by others from the appellative עבר, scil. הנהר—i. e. the other side of the river Euphrates, whence the Abrahamites immigrated into Canaan (LXX. ὁ περάτης). This double derivation is already mentioned in Theodoretus; other derivations are from עבר, to explain, etc. No less

have Iberians, Arabians, and other words of similar sound been pressed into the service. The canonical books of the O. T. do not use that term to designate the language, which they call variously שפת כנען, language of Canaan, in contradistinction to Egyptian; and יהודית Jewish, in contradistinction to Aramaic (or Ashdodian). It first occurs in Ecclesiasticus and Josephus, as ἑβραϊστὶ, γλῶττα τῶν Ἑβραίων. In the N. T., ἑβραϊστὶ, ἑβραῖς διδλεκτος, means Aramaean, in contradistinction to Greek. Philo, ignorant of the language, calls it γλωσσὴν χαλδαϊκὴν. When Aramaic had, after the return from the captivity, become the popular tongue, and Hebrew was chiefly confined to temple, syna-

gogue and academy, it received the name לשון הקדש, holy language, or, more accurately, לשון בית קודש, language of the sanctuary. One of the many vexed and barren questions connected with it is that regarding its original soil—that is, whether Abraham imported it as his own native tongue into Canaan, or whether, finding it there, he and his descendants merely adopted it. Those who held or hold Hebrew to be, if not the oldest of all languages, the oldest at least of the Shemitic idioms, naturally decide for the former view, since it could not but have remained the traditional inheritance of the chosen race. The defenders of the latter view, on the other hand, point to the circumstance that Abraham came from Mesopotamia, where Aramaic was the common idiom used—e.g. by Laban, the grandnephew of Abraham (Gen. xxxi. 47), as a translation of Jacob's Hebrew; further, to its denomination 'language of Canaan,' the geographical position of which country, between the Aramæans and the Arabs, would seem exactly to correspond to the linguistical position of their respective tongues. Again, the close resemblance of the Phœnician to the Hebrew, and certain

proper names of Canaan, such as מלכי צדק, and the like, are brought forward in support of this second theory. Yet there is a third—viz. that the idiom itself may first have been fully developed by the Abrahamides in Canaan, who may have neither brought it nor found it there, but from a fusion of their own original 'Aramaic' and the Canaanitish language spoken in their new homes produced it and developed it.

Intimately connected with this question is the more general one as to the age of this language

itself. That it was the aboriginal tongue from which all others have been derived is, as we hinted before, an opinion not in accordance with the uncontested results of modern philology. The argument of the etymology of certain proper names in the early documents of Genesis (אדם from אדמה, earth; חוה from חַי, life, etc.), was already disposed of by Grotius, who held that Moses may have translated them simply into Hebrew according to the genius of this language, and by Clericus, who pointed out how these names were chiefly appellative names, to a great extent given after the events had taken place to which they point. Yet it was further argued, many names (from Kain to Lemech principally) allow of no etymology whatsoever, therefore this must be the original tongue of all men. Such most primitive arguments, however, disposed of, we are still left in the utmost uncertainty: and, in the absence of documents and testimonies, we must resign ourselves to give up all hopes of ever arriving at more than vague theories on the subject. Much more to the purpose, however, is the attempt to find out the relative position of Hebrew among its sister idioms. The oldest Shemitic documents that have survived are in Hebrew, and in them we find this language and its structure fully developed; so fully indeed, that what progress we do perceive in it is a downward progress: the beginning of decay. It further bears so distinctive a character of high antiquity, originality, simplicity, and purity—the etymology of its grammatical forms is still at times so clearly visible in it and it alone, while it has disappeared in the other dialects—that if not the oldest absolutely, it is certainly the one Shemitic tongue which seems to come nearest to the one primitive type of the Shemitic idioms now generally assumed. With regard to its lexical and grammatical position, it occupies that mean between the Aramaic as the poorest, and the Arabic as the richest. Its principal wealth and strength, however, lies in its religious and ethical element. Whatever may have been lost of its documents and the words which they contained, that which remains is sufficient to show the peculiar tendency and character of its vocabulary. There are, e.g., 14 different terms for 'ask, inquire,' 24 for 'keep the Law,' 9 for 'trust in God,' etc. Of foreign elements we chiefly discover those original terms for foreign objects, persons, or dignities, introduced from the Egyptian idiom during the Mosaic period, and from the Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, etc., at later times. Few traces are found of dialectal differences—although there are some of a vulgar idiom (מן, מנה, Manna, etc.)—while on the other hand the difference between prosaic and poetical diction is most striking. Fuller forms in flexions, in suffixes, peculiar formations of nouns, the use of grand epithets, and above all, rare words (mostly Aramaic), are the distinguishing characteristic of its poetry. It loves to draw for peculiarity of expression both upon the ancient and partly obsolete stock of words, and upon the language of the common people: no less than upon dialects of idiomatic affinity. Other poetical peculiarities are the omission of the relative or the use of the demonstrative in its stead, the omission of the article, and the like.

There is, however insignificant the changes undergone by the Hebrew and the Shemitic languages in general be, as compared with those of Indo-Germanic—and the reasons for this stability of the

former are founded in their whole character and history—yet a certain change noticeable in the Hebrew, as preserved in the O. T. Whether this be due to the difference<sup>1</sup> of the ages in which the several books were written, or to peculiarities of the respective writers, as some hold, seems hardly to allow of a doubt. Whatever may be owing to provincialism, or individuality, or even to the more solemn and therefore different style of poetry—and we cannot always distinguish these things as clearly as we could wish—enough remains to show a gradual and important difference between the earlier and the later stages of the language in the earlier and later books of the O. T. Certain corresponding periods—two, three, or more—have accordingly been assumed. Thus some distinguish between the time before and that after the exile; others between Mosaic, Davidic, Solomonic periods, and the period after the exile. Yet these divisions are of a most precarious nature. It is quite true that certain words and forms which occur in the Pentateuch do not occur again until very late. That again, terms used at first in prose occur afterwards only in poetry, or have completely changed their forms and meanings. Further it is undoubtedly true that during the Davidian time, and that of his son, the influence of the schools founded by Samuel, and the influence of two such eminent kings and their brilliant literary achievement, together with the flourishing condition of the country itself, could not but make itself felt also in a generally higher and finer cultivation of style, diction, and language, throughout the writings of the period. It must also be allowed that the Assyrian invasion, and all its consequences—principally the spread of Aramæan in Palestine—corrupted the purity of the language, blunted its sense of grammatical niceties, and caused those who most desperately clung to the ancient style to introduce, instead of the living elements of former days, dead archaisms. But we doubt whether any genuine division can be instituted, as long at least as the now prevailing uncertainty as to the date of certain parts of the Scripture will last—and we fear it will not soon be removed.

Vague though our notions about the time when Hebrew was first spoken be, we have the clearest dates as to the time of its disappearance as a living language. When at the return from the exile all the ancient institutions were restored, it was found that the people no longer understood their own Scriptures in their vernacular, and a translation into Aramaic (out of which sprang the Targums) had to be added, 'so that they might understand them.' It soon became, as we said, the language of the schools and of public worship almost exclusively, somewhat like the Latin in the Middle Ages.

Closely allied to the Hebrew, as already observed by Augustine, Jerome, and others, is the Phœnician, which in our own days, with the increasing number of monuments brought to light, has risen to high importance. No language of antiquity perhaps was so widely spread. The whole ancient world almost being the vantage-ground of Phœnician enterprise, the language was naturally disseminated over the widest possible space, and the natural consequence was, that gradually yielding to foreign influence it did not keep up its original purity, and became in proportion more and more divergent from the Hebrew. Characteristic to it are

certain inflexions it retained, which were long obsolete in Hebrew, no less than certain words and phrases, considered archaic in Hebrew, but of common occurrence in Phœnician. Again, there is a tendency towards a darkening, so to say, of vowels—*e.g.* the Hebrew *a* becomes occasionally *o*, the *e* becomes *i* or *y*, the *i* changes into *y* or *u*, the *o* into *u*, and the like. The gutturals are at times interchanged, consonants are assimilated or omitted, etc. A grammar of this idiom has not been attempted yet, nor does the knowledge of the inflexions which we possess offer sufficient material for a systematic investigation at this present moment. A few items towards it, however, are, that the Hebrew termination of the nominative in *ah* becomes *at* in Phœnician, that the formation of the pronoun differs, that there is a greater variety of genitive forms in the Phœnician, etc. The abundance of Aramaism noticed in the language may have crept in at a late period only. The surviving remnants consist merely of inscriptions on coins and stones, chiefly discovered in their colonies. Of a written literature nothing has come down to us, save a few proper names and texts imbedded in a fearfully mutilated state in Greek and Roman writings, and a few scraps of extracts from their writers translated into Greek, but of extremely doubtful genuineness. From all we can gather there must have existed an immense number of Phœnician writings at a remote period of antiquity: chiefly of a theological or theogonical nature, whose authors were identified with the gods themselves. From the Phœnician is to be distinguished the Punic, a corrupted dialect of it, spoken in the western colonies up to the 7th century A.D., while the mother-tongue had completely died out on its native soil as early as the 3d century. There was even a translation of the Bible extant in Punic, but not a trace of it has remained.

We now turn to the northern Shemitic or 'Aramaic' branch, spoken between the Mediterranean and the Tigris; north of Phœnicia, the land of the Israelites, and Arabia; and south of the Taurus; a dialect poorer both grammatically and phonetically than either of the two others. Its peculiarities, moreover, are much of the nature of provincialisms, or perhaps even point to a stage of corruption of language. Thus it is not the change of vowel which produces the passive mood, but a special prefix (את); the article does not begin but end the word; the sibilants are hardened (cf. דָּהָב, gold; סוֹר, rock; תוֹב, return), etc. The earliest trace of its distinction from the Hebrew is

the well-known translation of Jacob's נָלַךְ into נִיר שְׁהֶרֶתָּ. A very difficult question, and one, we fear, not to be solved before further progress in our knowledge of cuneiform literature has been made, is that of the language of Babylonia. That Aramaic was spoken there is undoubted, but whether it was the only idiom prevalent, as in Syria and Mesopotamia, or whether the Chaldeans who had conquered Babylonia had brought with them another non-Shemitic (Medo-Persian) language 'akin to the Assyrian,' has been the subject of long discussions. But even granted that 'Chaldean' was akin to Assyrian, it need not therefore by any means have been a non-Shemitic language. It is, on the contrary, now assumed almost unanimously to be Shemitic; how far, however, it differs from the other dialects, and in particular what may have



been its direct or indirect influence upon Aramaic, we cannot here investigate.

Considering the vast importance of cuneiform studies—for Shemitic in general, and for our knowledge of Aramaic or 'Chaldee' in particular—we shall try briefly to sum up the results hitherto arrived at in this youngest of philological and palaeographical sciences. There are three principal kinds of cuneiform—a mode of writing, be it observed by the way, principally used for monumental records: a kind of cursive being used for records of minor importance—called respectively the Persian, Median, and Assyrian. The first, which seems to have died out 370 B.C., has from 39 to 44 alphabetical signs or combinations, which never consist of more than five wedges. Its words are divided by oblique strokes. The language it represents is Indo-Germanic—the mother of Zend. The second, variously called Median, Scythic, etc., and supposed to represent a Turanian dialect, is the least known and the least important. An alphabet of about 100 syllabic combinations has been constructed out of the very scanty remains in which it appears. The third and most momentous kind, the Assyrian, seems to have spread widest. Not only in Babylon and Nineveh, on the Euphrates and Tigris, but in Egypt itself has it been found. More than 400 combinations, phonetic, syllabic, and ideographic, have been distinguished in it, although our knowledge is limited to a proportionately small number of them. But the difficulties offered here are of the most extraordinary kind. The spelling is varied constantly, the signs occasionally represent different sounds (polyphonous), and the same sounds again are represented by different signs (homophonous). Finally, not one, but five or more dialects have been traced in them; dialects belonging to different tribes or periods. Thus it will be easily understood that many and momentous philological problems await their solution from the progress on this field; and little but conjecture is as yet allowed on the special points of our present subject. Of a primæval Babylonian literature, however, supposed to be preserved in certain Arabic translations, of which some hopes were entertained of late years, nothing reliable has come to light—although the existence of ancient Babylonian writings on mathematics, astronomy (combined with astrology), and chronology, is affirmed by ancient authors.

Turning, however, to what specimens of 'Aramaic' there are preserved, we first of all find certain dialects represented in them which have been variously divided into 'Chaldee' and 'Aramaic,' or into 'East-Aramaic' and 'West-Aramaic,' or again, into 'Jewish,' 'Heathen,' and 'Christian,' and finally, into 'Palestinian' and 'Babylonian' Aramaic. Discarding the term 'Chaldee' as liable to give most rise to misunderstanding—it is first found in the Alexandrines (χαλδαϊστί), and was adopted by Jerome—we may, for the sake of brevity, distinguish between Aramæan (אַרַמִּיָּת)

and Syriac (סורִיָּת, דְּבַר הַנְּהַר, לְשׁוֹן דְּבַר הַנְּהַר), which carry, at least in their present form of writing, the most unmistakable line of demarcation on their face. In the first, the Aramaic (Jewish), we have further to distinguish—*a.* The *Galilean* dialect, which seems to have been notorious for its carelessness in the use and pronunciation of its consonants and vowels. The sounds of K and Ch, P and B, etc.,

and above all the gutturals, were hardly distinguishable in their speech. Of so little importance, indeed, do these seem to have been, that they are frequently lost altogether, and entirely new sounds and compounds are formed—scarcely to be reduced to any grammatical or logical rule—by the mere vulgarity of an idiom saturated, moreover, with unconglomerated foreign elements to the last degree. *b.* The *Samaritan*—*i. e.* vulgar Hebrew and Aramæan mixed up together, in accordance with the genesis of the people itself. It, too, changes its gutturals, uses the *y* most extensively, and does not distinguish the mute consonants. *c.* The *Jerusalem* or *Judean* dialect scarcely ever pronounces the final gutturals; and has besides many peculiar turns of its own, which show all the symptoms of provincialism, but it boasts of a fuller vocalisation. Its orthography, however, is one of the strangest imaginable. This last is the most important dialect of the three Aramaic ones, for in it the whole gigantic targumic and (partly) talmudical literature is written, while of the Samaritan there exist but few documents of a theological (Sam. Version), liturgical, and grammatical nature, and the Galilean never had, as far as we know, any literature of its own. We need but briefly mention here the minor ('heathen') branches, such as *Zabian*—standing between Aramaic and Syriac, the language of a mystico-theosophical sect called the Mendaïtes (= Gnostics), which is largely mixed with Persian elements, and almost bereft of grammar; the *Palmyrene*, a kind of Syriac, written in square Hebraic characters; and the *Egypto-Aramaic*, found on some monuments (stone of Carpentras, Papyri), probably due to Babylonian Jews living in Egypt, who had adopted the religion of their new country.

All 'Aramæan' literature—in contradistinction to 'Syriac'—is, it need hardly be added, Jewish; from the chapters in Daniel, written in this idiom, to the last remnant penned in Palestine or Babylon (the worship in the temple and the earlier schools being, as we said, the only places for which the 'Holy Language,' was partly retained), this was the exclusively used popular idiom. It had, in fact, become so popular and universal that it came to be called Ἑβραϊστί (N. T. *passim*). How it grew to be so universally adopted has hardly been sufficiently explained as yet; for the Captivity alone, or even any number of successively returning batches of immigrants from Babylonia, do not quite account for the phenomenon of a seemingly poor and corrupt dialect supplanting so completely that other hallowed by the most sacred traditions, that this became a dead language in its own country. The fact, however, is undeniable, as at the time of Christ even Scripture itself was popularly only known through the medium of the Aramaic Targums. Nearly all the Shemitisms in the N. T. are Aramaic, and the same may be said with regard to those found in Josephus: cf. Matt. v. 22, ῥακά = רִיקָא; xvi. 17, βάρ Ἰωνᾶ = בֶּר יוֹנָה; xxvii. 46, ἡλὶ

ἡλὶ λημὰ σαβαχθονί = אֱלִי לִכּוֹה שְׁבַח־תִּנִּי; 1 Cor. xvi. 22, μαρὰν ἀθά = מָרָן אַתָּה; Joseph. *Antiq.* iii. 10. 6, Ἀσαρθᾶ = עֲצֵרְתָּה; iii. 7. 1, οὗς Χαραίας καλοῦσι = כְּהֵנִיָּה, etc.

'Syriac' is the designation of an idiom used since the second Christian century in the church, which, though written in different characters (Estrangelo), is yet so closely akin to Aramæan that up to this

day the opinions are divided as to the propriety of making any difference at all between the two. As distinguishing marks between them have been adduced, principally, the 'darker' vocalisation of Syriac—*o* for *a*, *au* or *ai* for *o* or *i*, etc.—its different accentuation, its *š* as the prefix of the 3d pers. future for the Aramaic *š*, the formation of the Syriac infinite by *š*, and its greater wealth of words, chiefly taken from the Greek; all of which, however, together with other peculiarities, are reduced by the advocates of the unity of both dialects to provincial differences and to the peculiar circumstances of the times. But here again, without entering more fully into the question, we can only venture the statement that there seems to be a great *prima facie* probability at least for their being radically identical; only let it not be forgotten that in order to be able to form a real judgment it will be first of all necessary that carefully-prepared editions of the literatures of both should be in our hands. Something has been done for the comparatively poor Syriac branch; for the Aramaic, nothing. That, however, the present Maronite dialect, as well as those of the Jacobites, Nestorians, and other Chaldee Christians, is essentially different from both Syriac and Aramaic, is undoubted: just as the vulgar Arabic spoken in Morocco and Algeria differs from classical Arabic [ARAMAIC; SYRIAC].

The Southern or 'Arabic' branch presents to us the most remarkable phenomenon of one special idiom—the Arabic—suddenly, as it were, starting out of utter obscurity as the richest, most complete, and most refined among its sister idioms, at a time comparatively modern, and exactly when the two other branches seemed to have accomplished their mission, and what remained of their life was merely artificial. So exquisitely finished and so boundlessly wealthy, both lexically and grammatically, has it been from the moment when it first became known, that, as there was no unripe infancy and no struggling growth observable in it, so there was also no age, and far less a decay. It thus ranks as the freshest and 'youngest:' precisely in the same sense as the Hebrew may be styled the 'oldest' among the Shemitic idioms—not, as we said above, on account of its having in reality preceded the others, or still less of its having given birth to the others, but because for some reason or other its growth stopped at a certain period, and it seems to have retained its ancient physiognomy, while its sister dialects went on developing and renewing themselves as much as in them lay and circumstances permitted. As the Arabic was in the 6th century, so it remained almost unchanged up to our day, except perhaps that in absorbing foreign, especially Greek elements of culture, it did not assimilate them quite in the same congenial manner as an Indo-Germanic idiom would have done. But for all that this language must have an age equal at least to that of the other two sister dialects. There are traces of its peculiarities—peculiarities which divide it as sharply as can be from them—to be found in the earliest records of the O. T. We have, e.g.

the article אל (the Hebrew אלה) אלמדר (Gen. x. 26), and further in words like אלאמים, אלאש, אלקים.

אלקש. The phenomenon, further, of a real declension by the change of the termination of the cases, by certain 'broken' plurals, etc., together with many forms of its conjugation, entirely and

radically unknown to Shemitic as represented by its other dialects, proves its early and most independent existence. That, further, the Arabs stood in great renown for wisdom, or what we should now call literary proficiency—if this be not a misnomer for a time when writing was unknown among them—in the earliest historical times, seems clear enough from the queen of Sheba's being an Arab queen, the friends of Job being Arabs, and Solomon's own wisdom being compared to the wisdom of the Arabs. How it came to pass that absolutely nothing should have survived of all that literature which certainly must have been produced among them is a phenomenon no less remarkable. Although two facts must be borne in mind always—viz. that it all was oral and that it was in verse, or at least in a rhythmical form adapted to those early proverbial sayings and poems of which a vague Arabic tradition still speaks; and Mohammed, for reasons of his own, discouraged, nay condemned, poetry—the sole vehicle of all science, all tradition, all religion, before him, in the 'time of ignorance.' A comparison between the Arabic and the two other branches most strikingly shows that superabundance, lexically and grammatically, of the former over the two latter of which we spoke. No one, the Arabs hold, could, without being inspired, keep the whole wealth of their language in his memory. For not only have single words (sword, lion, serpent, etc.), hundreds and thousands of nuances of terms, but many a single word has untold numbers of different meanings. The number of its root and words is like 3, respectively 10, to those of the Hebrew—such as the monuments of both now are in our hands. No doubt, had more survived of the Hebrew literature, the proportion would not have been quite as startling—for we now have only fragments of its religious writings to compare with the endless series of historical, poetical, philological, astronomical, and other Arabic literature; a literature which indeed does not leave a single part of science or belles lettres uncultivated, and which spreads over about eight hundred years—subsequently to the time of Greece and Rome. Nor can the brilliant Hebrew literature that sprang up in the middle ages, partly through Arabic influence, be taken into account. Arabic, though its 'classical' period may be closed with Mohammed, never became Neo-Arabic, while the difference between classical Hebrew and late Hebrew, which had to coin new words at every turn, is quite unmistakable. Arabic grammar shows the same ascendancy over that of its sister idioms as does its dictionary. It has twice as many forms of conjugation as the Hebrew, itself richer than the Aramaic by the Hiphal, the futurum *paragop.* and *apocop.* etc. The Arabic has, besides, over both the advantage of a *comparative*, and of a *dual* in the verb. The Hebrew לִי verbs, which in Aramaic are hardly distinguishable from the לִי, in Arabic split into the two distinct forms of לִי and לִי; just as many a Hebrew root with more than one signification appears in Arabic as a variety of roots, by a slight change of a consonant. Nay, of these, it has five more than the Hebrew and Aramaic. It has also, through the amplitude of its vocalisation, the charm of a more sonorous, a fuller and richer tone and colour than either. But it must also be acknowledged that the harmonious flow of the more ancient idioms, their unfettered ease and freedom,



together with a number of peculiar forms, like the parallelism with its exquisite natural beauty, is lost to a great extent in the Arabic, in which the work of the schools, their pedantic striving after a consummate correctness of expression, and their rhetorical 'painting of the lily,' is often painfully clear. But to the Arabic alone is also due the spread of Shemitic—which had been carried atomically, so to speak, by the Phœnicians to the ends of the earth, but which, with a few isolated exceptions, never really struck root anywhere—to an extent never dreamed of by any ancient or even modern language; a spread that has not ceased yet, but is enlarging its circles from year to year, together with Islam itself. It is, however, as we said, only the last century before Mohammed, that has left us a few traces of preislamic literature. From the time of Mohammed it grew with exotic rapidity into one of the most widely and brilliantly cultivated. It embraced well nigh all the branches of human knowledge and research. Theology, medicine, philosophy, philology, history, mathematics, geography, astronomy, etc., are most extensively represented—though as yet only a beginning has been made in making the treasures of information these works contain as widely useful as they might be made. From the 14th century, however, the glory of Arabic literature began to wane.

We have here spoken only of the chief representative of the Arabic branch, the Arabic itself—still spoken now in the whole south-west of Asia, in the north and east of Africa, in Malta, partly even in India, and everywhere in fact where Mohammedanism reigns supreme—which was originally the dialect of one tribe only, viz. the Koreish. The ancient traditions speak of Cahtanic and Ismaelitic dialects: but at present we can only make a vague distinction between those of Yemen and of Hedjaz, during the anteislamic times. As the Koreish in the north-west were the spokesmen, as it were, of the latter, so the Himyars or Homerites made their dialect the predominant one in the South, until the Koran swept it completely out of Arabia, and, save a few scattered quotations imbedded in later writings, and some partly mutilated inscriptions of difficult reading and more difficult understanding, every trace of it in its original form has disappeared. The Ethiopic or Geez alone, which was spoken up to the 14th century in Abyssinia, seemed to have come nearest to it. But considering the scantiness of its own literary remains, which are chiefly of a theological nature (partly unpublished), and as such subject to the influence of foreign (European) missionaries—who also left their imprint upon it in its exceptional writing from left to right; considering further the small progress we have as yet made in deciphering the Himyaritic, nothing but a very cautious judgment on the relation of the two can be pronounced. The Amharic, a barbarous Gheez dialect, stands, so to say, on the utmost line of the Arabic Shemite, and deserves but a passing mention. The idioms of the Gallas, Hamtonga, and a number of other tribes, however, no longer belongs to the Shemitic, notwithstanding some outer resemblances which have misled former investigators.

Respecting the visible representation of the Shemitic Languages, it may be broadly observed that writing, which in no language fully expresses all the sounds in their various shades, has, in the Shemitic

Languages this additional imperfection, that only the consonants—the skeleton of the word—are represented by real letters, while the vowels originally are either entirely omitted, or only the longer ones are expressed by certain consonants (*matres lectionis*). It was only at a comparatively late period that also the minor vowels were added in the shape of little strokes and dots above or below the line, but this aid too is only intended for less practised readers. Arabic and Hebrew are still commonly written and printed without vowels. Another point is the direction of the Shemitic writing from right to left (of which only modern Ethiopic makes an exception), a peculiarity still inherent in the alternate line of the *Boustrophedon* of the early Greeks. The nearest approach to the most ancient form of the Shemitic characters is found in the Phœnician, from which also all our European alphabets are derived [ARABIC LANGUAGE; ARAMAIC; HEBREW; WRITING, etc.]

SHEN (שֵׁן), *The shen*; Sept. τῆς παλαιᾶς, reading probably שֵׁן, *old*, a place between which and Mizpeh Samuel set up the stone Ebenezer (1 Sam. vii. 12). It has not been identified.—†

SHENIR. [SENIR.]

SHEOL. [HADES.]

SHEPHAM (שֶׁפָּחַם, 'a bare region,' from שֶׁפַּח 'to scrape'; Σεφαμάρ; *Sephama*), a place mentioned only in the description given by Moses of the eastern border of the Land of Promise (Num. xxxiv. 10, 11). It lay between Hazar-enan and Riblah. Hazar-enan, as has been stated, is probably identical with the village of Kuryetein; and Riblah still retains its old name and site on the banks of the Orontes; Shepham, therefore, must be sought for somewhere between these two. No trace of the name has yet been found; but the bare treeless country shows that the name was an appropriate one. It ought to be borne in mind that in the above passage Moses is not describing the country which was actually allotted to the twelve tribes, but only the country given to them in covenant promise on certain conditions (see art. PALESTINE, p. 383; Porter's *Damascus*, ii. 354, seq.)—J. L. P.

SHEPHATIAH (שֶׁפְּתִיָּה, *whom Jehovah defends*; Sept. Σαφατία). 1. A son of David by Abital (2 Sam. iii. 4).

2. One of the nobles who urged Zedekiah to put Jeremiah to death (Jer. xxxviii. 1).

3. One of the heads of families who settled in Jerusalem after the exile (Neh. xi. 6).

4. The head of one of the families, numbering three hundred and seventy-two persons, of the returned exiles (Ezra ii. 4, 57).

The same name, with a slight variation in the original (שֶׁפְּתִיָּה), but not in the A. V., occurs in the following:

5. A son of king Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. xxi. 2).

6. One of the chief of those valiant men who went to David when at Ziklag (1 Chron. xii. 5).

7. The governor of the tribe of Simeon in the time of David (1 Chron. xxvii. 16).

SHEPHELAH, THE (שֶׁפְּלָהָה), the native name of the tract of country lying between the highlands of Judæa and the Mediterranean, to the south of

Sharon. In the Onomasticon it is described as the region round Eleutheropolis on the north and west (s. v. *Sephela*). In the A. V. the word is invariably treated as an appellative, and is rendered by 'vale,' 'valley,' 'plain,' 'low plains,' 'low country' (Deut. i. 7; Josh. ix. 1; x. 40; xi. 2, 16; xii. 8; xv. 33; Judg. i. 9; 1 Kings x. 27; 1 Chron. xxvii. 28; 2 Chron. i. 15; ix. 27; xxvi. 10; xxviii. 18; Jer. xvii. 26; xxxii. 44; xxxiii. 13; Obad. 19; Zech. vii. 7). In 1 Maccab. xii. 38 the Greek form of the word *Sephela* (Σεφέλα) is retained in the A. V.

In Josh. xv. 33-47 the cities in the Shephelah are enumerated. They are presented in four groups; the first (33-36) comprising those situated in the hilly region at the northern end of the plain; the second (37-41) those of the plain itself; the third (42-44) those in the southern part of the hill-region; and the fourth (45-47) those on the coast of Philistia. This shows that the term *Shephelah* did not originally denote a plain, or that if it did it was used in this instance to denote not only the plain but the hills inclosing it [PLAINS; PHILISTIA; PHILISTINES].—W. L. A.

#### SHEPHERD. [PASTURAGE.]

SHEPHIPHON (שִׁפְפוֹן) is a viper with two scales on the head, one above each eye, standing erect somewhat in the form of horns. This is a dangerous species, usually burrowing in sand near the holes of jerboas, and occasionally in the cattle-paths; for there are now few or no ruts of cart-wheels, where it is pretended they used to conceal themselves to assault unwary passers. It is still common in Egypt and Arabia. The other species is the *Eryx* *Cerastes* of Daudin, also small, having no movable poison-fangs, but remarkable for two very long back teeth in the lower jaw, which pass through the upper jaw, and appear in the shape of two white horns above its surface. It is known to the Egyptian Arabs by the name of Harbagi, which may be a distortion of *Ophis* in Horapollo, and is classed by Hasselquist among slow-worms, because in form the tail does not taper to a point. Its colours are black and white marblings, and the eyes being lateral and very near the snout the species has an exceedingly sinister aspect, which may be the cause of the ancient opinion that the

מֶלֶכָה *melekeh*, or basilisk, for we take it for this species, killed with its looks, and had a pointed crown on the head: now serpents in the form of slow-worms, reputed to kill by their sight, are evidently not rapid in their movements.—C. H. S.

#### SHEPHUPHAN. [MUPPIM.]

SHESH (שֵׁשׁ), also SHESHI, translated *fine linen* in the A. V., occurs twenty-eight times in Exodus, once in Genesis, once in Proverbs, and three times in Ezekiel. Considerable doubts have, however, always been entertained respecting the true meaning of the word; some have thought it signified *fine wool*, others *silk*; the Arabs have translated it by words referring to colours in the passages of Ezekiel and of Proverbs. Some of the Rabbins state that it is the same word as that which denotes the number six, and that it refers to the number of threads of which the yarn was composed. Thus Abarbanel on Gen. xxv. says: 'Schesh est linum Ægyptiacum, quod est preti-

osissimum inter species lini. Quum vero tortum est sex filis in unum, vocatur *schesh*, aut *schesh moschisar*. Sin ex unico filo tantum, dicitur *bad*' (Cels. *Hierobot.* ii. p. 260). This interpretation, however, has satisfied but few. The Greek Alexandrian translators used the word βύσσως, which by some has been supposed to indicate 'cotton,' and by others 'linen' [Byssus].

In the several passages where we find the word *Shesh* used, we do not obtain any information respecting the plant; but it is clear it was spun by women (Exod. xxx. 25), was used as an article of clothing, also for hangings, and even for the sails of ships, as in Ezekiel xxvii. 7. It is evident from these facts that it must have been a plant known as cultivated in Egypt at the earliest period, and which, or its fibre, the Israelites were able to obtain even when in the desert. As cotton does not appear to have been known at this very early period, we must seek for *shesh* among the other fibre-yielding plants, such as flax and hemp. Both these are suited to the purpose, and were procurable in those countries at the times specified. Lexicographers do not give us much assistance in determining the point, from the little certainty in their inferences. The word *shesh*, however, appears to us to have a very great resemblance, with the exception of the aspirate, to the Arabic name of a plant, which, it is curious, was also one of those earliest cultivated for its fibre, namely *hemp*.

Of this plant, one of the Arabic names is حشيش

*husheesh*, or the herb *par excellence*, the term being sometimes applied to the powdered leaves only, with which an intoxicating electuary is prepared. This name has long been known, and is thought by some to have given origin to our word *assassin* or *hassasin*. Makrizi treats of the hemp in his account of the ancient pleasure-grounds in the vicinity of Cairo, 'famous above all for the sale of the *hasheesh*, which is still greedily consumed by the dregs of the people, and from the consumption of which sprung the excesses, which led to the name of 'assassin' being given to the Saracens in the holy wars.'

Hemp is a plant which in the present day is extensively distributed, being cultivated in Europe, and extending through Persia to the southernmost parts of India. There is no doubt, therefore, that it might easily have been cultivated in Egypt. We are, indeed, unable at present to prove that it was cultivated in Egypt at an early period, and used for making garments, but there is nothing improbable in its having been so. Indeed, as it was known to various Asiatic nations, it could hardly have been unknown to the Egyptians. Hemp might thus have been used at an early period, along with flax and wool, for making cloth for garments and for hangings, and would be much valued until cotton and the finer kinds of linen came to be known.

So many words are translated *linen* in the A. V. of the Scriptures, that it has been considered doubtful whether they indicate only different qualities of the same thing, or totally different substances. The latter has by some been thought the most probable, on account of the poverty of the Hebrew language; hence, instead of considering the one a synonym of the other, we have been led to inquire, as above, whether *shesh* may not signify cloth made of *hemp* instead of flax. This would leave *bad* and



*pishtah* as the only words peculiarly appropriated to *linen* and *flax*. The passages in which *bad* occurs have already been indicated [BYSSUS]. On referring to them we find that it is used only when articles of clothing are alluded to. It is curious, and probably not accidental, that the Sanscrit word *pat* signifies cloth made from flax-like substances. It has been remarked that the official garments of the Hebrews, like those of the Egyptians, were all made of linen; and we find in the several passages where *bad* occurs that linen garments and clothes, linen breeches, linen girdle, linen ephod, linen mitre, are intended; so in Exod. xxxix. 28, and they made for Aaron and his sons 'a mitre of fine linen, and goodly bonnets of fine linen, and linen breeches of fine twined linen.' There is reason to believe that the mummy-cloths are composed very generally, if not universally, of linen cloth.—J. F. R.

SHESHACH (שֶׁשַׁח), a name twice given by Jeremiah to Babylon (Jer. xxv. 26; li. 41). Its etymology and proper signification are doubtful. The Jewish interpreters, followed by Jerome, suppose שֶׁשַׁח, *Sheshach*, to stand for בָּבֶל, *Babel*, according to the secret or cabalistic mode of writing called *athbash*, in which the alphabet is inverted, so that ת, the last letter, is put for א, the first; ש, the penultimate letter, for ב, the second, and so on; and this they suppose was done by the prophet for fear of the Chaldeans. But Gesenius very properly asks, even supposing these cabalistic mysteries of trifling had been already current in the time of Jeremiah, which cannot by any means be admitted, how comes it to pass that Babylon is in the very same verse mentioned under its own proper name? C. B. Michaelis ingeniously conjectures that שֶׁשַׁח comes from שִׁכְשַׁח, *shikshach*, 'to overlay with iron or other plates,' so that it might designate Babylon as χαλκόπυλος. Von Bohlen thinks the word synonymous with the Persian *Shih-Shah*—i.e. 'house of the prince;' but it is doubtful whether, at so early a period as the age of Jeremiah, Babylon could have received a Persian name that would be known in Judæa.—J. K.

SHESHAN (שִׁשָּׁן, *lily*; Sept. Σωσαν), a Hebrew who, during the sojourn in Egypt, gave his daughter in marriage to his freed Egyptian slave (1 Chron. ii. 34). [JARHAH.]

SHESHBAZZAR. [ZERUBBABEL.]

SHETHAR (שֶׁתָּר; Pers., *a star*; Sept. Σαθραβαῖος), one of the seven princes of Persia and Media, 'who saw the king's face, and sat the first in the kingdom' (Esther i. 14; comp. Ezra vii. 14).

SHETHAR-BOZNAI (שֶׁתָּר בּוֹזְנַי; Pers., *shining star*; Sept. Σαθαρβουζαναῖ), one of the Persian governors in Syria who visited Jerusalem in company with Tatnai, to investigate the charges made against the Jews (Ezra v. 3; vi. 6). [TATNAI.]

SHEVA. [SERAIAM.]

SHEW-BREAD. In the outer apartment of the tabernacle, on the right hand, or north side, stood a table, made of acacia (shittim) wood, two cubits long, one broad, and one and a half high, and covered with laminae of gold. The top of the leaf of this table was encircled by a border or rim of gold. The frame of the table, immediately

below the leaf, was encircled with a piece of wood of about four inches in breadth, around the edge of which was a rim or border, similar to that around the leaf. A little lower down, but at equal distances from the top of the table, there were four rings of gold fastened to the legs, through which staves covered with gold were inserted for the purpose of carrying it (Exod. xxv. 23-28; xxxvii. 10-16). These rings were not found in the table which was afterwards made for the temple, nor indeed in any of the sacred furniture, where they had previously been, except in the ark of the covenant. Twelve unleavened loaves were placed upon this table, which were sprinkled with frankincense (the Sept. adds salt; Lev. xxiv. 7). The number twelve represented the twelve tribes, and was not diminished after the defection of ten of the tribes from the worship of God in his sanctuary, because the covenant with the sons of Abraham was not formally abrogated, and because there were still many true Israelites among the apostatising tribes. The twelve loaves were also a constant record against them, and served as a standing testimonial that their proper place was before the forsaken altar of Jehovah.

The loaves were placed in two piles, one above another, and were changed every Sabbath-day by the priests. The frankincense that had stood on the bread during the week was then burnt as an oblation, and the removed bread became the property of the priests, who, as God's servants, had a right to eat of the bread that came from his table; but they were obliged to eat it in the holy place, and nowhere else. No others might lawfully eat of it; but in a case of extreme emergency the priest incurred no blame if he imparted it to persons who were in a state of ceremonial purity, as in the instance of David and his men (1 Sam. xxi.

4-6; Matt. xii. 4). The bread was called לֶחֶם פָּנִים, 'the bread of the face,' or 'of the presence,' because it was set forth before the face or in the presence of Jehovah in his holy place.\* This is translated 'shew-bread.' It is also called לֶחֶם הַמַּעֲרֹכָה, 'the bread arranged in order,' and לֶחֶם הַמִּיד, 'the perpetual bread,' because it was never absent from the table (Lev. xxiv. 6, 7; 1 Chron. xxiii. 29).

Wine also was placed upon the table of 'shew-bread,' in bowls, some larger, קַעֲרוֹת, and some smaller, כַּפּוֹת, also in vessels that were covered, קַשּׁוֹת, and in cups, מִנְקִיּוֹת, which were probably

\* [But so were *all* the objects within the sanctuary, and there seems no reason for specifically affixing this description to the shew-bread if nothing more is intended to be conveyed by it than simply that the bread was set forth before the Lord. It is probable that a deeper symbolical meaning is intended by the phrase. The 'bread of the presence,' like 'the angel of the presence' (Is. lxiii. 9), was probably so called because in some special manner it betokened or symbolised God's presence with his people. Was it not intended to be a perpetual memorial to Israel that God is the support, the sustenance, the strength of his people; that it is his presence with them that gives them spiritual nourishment, even as bread sustains and nourishes the body? (Comp. Bähr, *Symbolik des Mos. Cult.* i. 425, ff.)—ED.]

employed in pouring in and taking out the wine from the other vessels, or in making libations. Gesenius calls them 'pateræ libatoriae'; and they appear in the A. V. as 'spoons' (see generally Exod. xxv. 29, 30; xxxvii. 10-16; xl. 4, 24; Lev. xxiv. 5-9; Num. iv. 7).—J. K.

**SHIBBOLETH** (שִׁבּוֹלֶת). The word means a stream or flood, and was hence naturally suggested to the followers of Jephthah, when, having seized the fords of the Jordan to prevent the retreat of the defeated Ephraimites, they sought to distinguish them through their known inability to utter the aspirated sound *sh*. The fugitives gave instead the unaspirated *s*, *sibboleth*, on which they were slain without mercy (Judg. xii. 6). The certainty which was felt that the Ephraimites could not pronounce *sh* is very remarkable, and strongly illustrates the varieties of dialect which had already arisen in Israel, and which perhaps even served to distinguish different tribes, as similar peculiarities distinguish men of different counties with us. If what is here mentioned as the characteristic of a particular tribe had been shared by other tribes, it would not have been sufficiently discriminating as a test. [HEBREW LANGUAGE].—J. K.

**SHIBMAH**, or more properly **SIBMAM** (שִׁבְמָה; Σεβμάδ; *Sebamad*), a city, occupied and rebuilt by the Reubenites (Num. xxxii. 38). It was situated on the plateau east of the Dead Sea. It originally belonged to that section of the territory of Moab which was captured by the Amorites under Sihon (Num. xxi. 26). From the Amorites Moses took it, and gave it to the children of Reuben (xxxii. 1, *seq.*) Shibmah is grouped with Heshbon and Nebo, and must consequently have stood near the western brow of the plateau. A comparison of Num. xxxii. 38 with ver. 3 of the same chapter shows that Shibmah and *Shebam* are identical. The only difference in the Hebrew words is the addition of the fem. termination to the former. They are both rendered Σεβμάδ in the LXX.; but the Vulgate has *Saban* for Shebam.

In Josh. xiii. 19, the A. V. reads Sibmah, which is the proper pronunciation of the Hebrew according to the Masoretic pointing. It is unquestionably the same place which Isaiah mentions in his lamentation over Moab: 'The fields of Heshbon languish, and the vine of Sibmah' (xvi. 8, 9). The environs, it appears, were famous for their vineyards; and Jeremiah, when predicting the desolation of Moab, laments in the same strain: 'O vine of Sibmah, I will weep for thee. . . I have caused wine to fail from the winepress; none shall tread with shouting' (xlviii. 32, 33).

It will be observed that these prophets speak of the city as belonging to Moab, whereas in the books of Numbers and Joshua it is enumerated among the cities of Reuben. The reason is, on the captivity of the transjordanic tribes by the Assyrians, the Moabites returned to their ancient possessions, and reoccupied their ancient cities, and among them Sibmah [MOAB]. Though Eusebius mentions the name in his *Onomasticon*, it does not appear that he knew anything of it (s.v. *Sebama*); but Jerome (*Comment. in Isai.* xvi. 8) says, 'Inter Esbon et Sabama vix quingenti passus sunt.' He must have known the place therefore; and from the way in which it is grouped in the Bible it seems to have been on the south or south-west of Hesh-

bon; but even the minute researches of De Saulcy, in his recent tour through that country, have failed to discover a trace of it. There are several nameless ruins mentioned by him and noted in his map, one or other of which may mark the site (*Voyage en Terre Sainte*, i. pp. 277, *seq.*) It is interesting to observe, however, that around Heshbon he found traces of the vineyards for which the region was once celebrated; and that from the lips of the Bedawin both he and Tristram (*Land of Israel*, p. 535) heard the name *Neba* given to a mountain-peak a short distance south-west of Heshbon [NEBO].—J. L. P.

**SHICRON** (שִׁכְרוֹן, 'drunkenness'; Σοκρώς; Alex. Ἀκκαρών; *Sechirona*), a town on the northern border of Judah, mentioned only in Josh. xv. 11. It is located between Ekron and Jabneel, and apparently very close to the former, as it lay between it and the low range of Mount Baalah, which is only a very short distance west of Ekron (*Handbook*, p. 275). The writer was unable to discover any trace of this old town. It appears to have been unknown to Eusebius (*Onomast.* s.v. 'Sacharona').—J. L. P.

**SHIELD**. [ARMS.]

**SHIGGAION**. [PSALMS.]

**SHIHOR** and **SIHOR** (שִׁיחֹר, 'dark' or 'turbid,' from the root שָׁחַר; δολιχῆρος; *fluvius turbidus*; ὄρια; *Sihor*; μεταβολή; *Nilus*; Ἰγών; *aque turbide*), one of the names given to the river Nile, probably arising from its dark and turbid waters, like the Greek Μῆλας (Gesen. *Thesaurus*, p. 1393). The word is variously rendered in the Sept. and Vulgate, as seen above; and there is some little doubt as to its exact meaning in every passage in which it occurs—whether it is applied to the Nile, the river of Egypt, or to Wady-el-Arish, the torrent of Egypt [RIVER]. It is plain that in Is. xxiii. 3, it must be identical with יְאֹר, the Egyptian name of the Nile: 'And in great waters the fruit of *Shihor*, the harvest of *Yeor*, was her revenue'; so also in Jer. ii. 18 it must likewise mean the Nile, which forms the all but exclusive drink of the Egyptians.

There may be more doubt about the other two passages in which the name occurs. In 1 Chron. xiii. 5 it is mentioned as the southern boundary of David's kingdom: 'David gathered all Israel, from Shihor of Egypt even unto the entering of Hemath.' At this period the kingdom of Israel was at the highest pitch of its prosperity. David's rule extended over a wider space than any other monarch who ever sat upon the throne; and 'probably as an evidence of this fact, and as a recognition of the fulfilment of the divine promise to Abraham—'Unto thy seed have I given this land, from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates'—the sacred historian may here have meant the Nile. Yet in other places, where the northern boundary is limited to the 'entrance of Hamath,' the southern is usually 'the torrent of Egypt,' that is, Wady (נהל, not נהר) el-Arish (Num. xxxiv. 5; 1 Kings viii. 65).

The passage in Josh. xiii. 3 is even more obscure. The sacred writer is describing the territory still remaining to be conquered at the close of his life, and when about to allot the conquered portion to



the tribes: 'This is the land that yet remaineth: all the borders of the Philistines and all Geshuri,

from *Sihor*, which is before (על־פני, 'in the face of; not 'east of,' but rather 'on the front of') Egypt, even unto the borders of Ekron northward.' Keil argues that Wady el-Arish, and not the Nile, must here be meant (*ad loc.*); but his arguments are not conclusive. Joshua may have had the Lord's covenant promise to Abraham in view; if so, Sihor means the Nile; but, on the other hand, if he had the boundaries of the land as described by Moses in Num. xxxiii. 5, *seq.*, in view, then Sihor must mean Wady el-Arish. It is worthy of note, that while in all the other passages in which this word is used, it is anarthrous, here it has the article. This does not seem to indicate any specific meaning; for it can scarcely be doubted that here and in 1 Chron. xiii. 5 the word is employed in the same sense. Gesenius considers that Sihor, wherever used, means the Nile; and upon a careful consideration of the several passages, and of the etymology of the word, the writer is of opinion that it cannot appropriately be applied to Wady el-Arish, and must therefore be regarded as a name of the river Nile (see Ges. *Thes.* p. 1393; Jerome, *ad Isa.* xxiii. 3; Reland, *Pal.* p. 286).—J. L. P.

SHIHOR-LIBNATH (שִׁיחֹר לִבְנָת; δ Σιῶν καὶ Λαβανῶν; Alex. Σῶρ κ. Λ.; *Sihor et Labanath*), a river or stream, as appears from the etymology of the word, on the southern boundary of the tribe of Asher, near Carmel. It is only mentioned in Josh. xix. 26. Gesenius suggests that the river Belus, now called Nahr Namân, is meant, because on its banks glass was first made; and the word *Libnath* may probably refer to that fact, as it signifies 'whiteness' (*Thes.* p. 1393). This is a very questionable theory; and the Belus seems to be too far north for the requirements of the words of Joshua. Reland would identify Shihor-Libnath with the Crocodile river between Carmel and Caesarea, because the Nile is called Shihor, and it contains crocodiles; and hence a similar name was given to this stream, which was also supposed to contain them (*Pal.* p. 289). This view is still more fanciful than the preceding. Perhaps the sacred writer may have given this name to some little town upon the banks of one of the streamlets which fall into the Mediterranean between Carmel and Dor. The sand there is white and glistening, and for a town built upon the bank of one of the streams the name Shihor-Libnath would be appropriate.—J. L. P.

SHIKMOTH (שִׁקְמוֹת) and SHIKMIM (שִׁקְמִים), translated 'sycamore,' occur in several passages of the O. T., but always in the plural. From the context it is evident that it must have been a tree of some size, common in the plains, unable to bear great cold, with wood of inferior quality, but still cultivated and valued on account of its fruit. It was not what is called sycamore in this country, which is a kind of maple, and in some of its characters the reverse of what is required; but the tree which was called *συκῆμορος* by the Greeks (from *συκῆ*, a fig, and *μόρος*, the mulberry tree), and which is the *Ficus Sycomorus* of botanists, being a genuine species of *Ficus*, to which the ancient name has been added as the specific one. The fruit in its general characters

resembles that of the fig, while the leaves resemble those of the mulberry tree.

The ancients were well acquainted with it; and it is common in Egypt as well as in Syria. In Egypt, being one of the few trees indigenous in that country, its wood was proportionally much employed, as in making mummy-cases, though it is coarse-grained, and would not be valued where other trees are more common (comp. Is. ix. 10; 1 Kings x. 27; 2 Chron. i. 15). The sycamore being a tree abundant in Egypt, must necessarily be one suited to plains and vales, and hence would also be one likely to be injured by cold (comp. Ps. lxxviii. 47). That the sycamore was cultivated and esteemed in Palestine we learn from 1 Chron. xxvii. 28: 'And over the olive trees and the *sycamore* trees that were in the low plains was Baalhanan the Gederite.' This was on account of its fruit, which it bears on its stem and branches, like the common fig, and continues to produce in succession for months. The fruit is palatable, sweetish in taste, and still used as food in the East.



476. Sycamore-Fig. (*Ficus Sycomorus*.)

One mode of ripening the fruit is supposed to be alluded to in Amos vii. 14: 'I was an herdsman, and a *gatherer* of sycamore fruit;' but the latter part of the sentence is understood to mean 'scraping or making incisions in the sycamore fruit,' and to refer to the practice mentioned by Hasselquist as existing even in modern times. When the fruit has reached the size of an inch in diameter, the inhabitants pare off a part at the centre point. They say that without this operation it would not come to maturity. The same practice is mentioned by Theophrastus and Pliny, etc. As the sycamore is a lofty, shady tree, it was well suited for climbing up into, as described in Luke xix. 4, where Zacchæus ascends one to see Jesus pass by.—J. F. R.

SHILHIM. [SHARUHEN.]

SHILOAH. [SILOAM.]

SHILOH (שִׁילֹה), the epithet applied, in the prophetic benediction of Jacob on his death-bed

(Gen. xlix. 10), to the personage to whom 'the gathering of the nations should be,' and which has ever been regarded by Christians and by the ancient Jews as a denomination of the Messiah. The oracle occurs in the blessing of Judah, and is thus worded: 'The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come: and unto him the gathering of the people shall be.' The term itself, as well as the whole passage to which it belongs, has ever been a fruitful theme of controversy between Jews and Christians; the former, although they admit for the most part the Messianic reference of the text, being still fertile in expedients to evade the Christian argument founded upon it. Neither our limits nor our object will permit us to enter largely into the theological bearings of this prediction; but it is perhaps scarcely possible to do justice to the discussion as a question of pure philology, without at the same time displaying the strength of the Christian interpretation, and trenching upon the province occupied by the proofs of Jesus of Nazareth being the Messiah of the O. T. prophecies.

Before entering upon the more essential merits of the question, it may be well to recite the ancient versions of this passage, which are mostly to be referred to a date that must exempt them from the charge of an undue bias towards any but the right construction. Influences of this nature have, of course, become operative with Jews of a later period. The version of the Sept. is peculiar: 'A prince shall not fail from Judah nor a captain out of his loins, *ὅς ἀν ἐλθῇ τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ, until the things come that are laid up for him.*' In some copies another reading is found, *ὃς ἀποκείται, for whom it is laid up;* meaning doubtless in the kingdom—for whom the kingdom is laid up in reserve. This rendering is probably to be referred to an erroneous lection, *אִשֶּׁר לוֹ, whose it is.* Targ. Onk.: 'One having the principality shall not be taken from the house of Judah, nor a scribe from his children's children, until the Messiah come, whose the kingdom is.' Targ. Jerus.: 'Kings shall not fail from the house of Judah, nor skilful doctors of the law from their children's children, till the time when the King's Messiah shall come.' Syr.: 'The sceptre shall not fail from Judah, nor an expounder from between his feet, till he come whose it is;' i.e. the sceptre, the right, the dominion. Arab.: 'The sceptre shall not be taken away from Judah, nor a lawgiver from under his rule, until he shall come whose it is.' Sam.: 'The sceptre shall not be taken away from Judah, nor a leader from his banners, until the Pacific shall come.' Lat. Vulg.: 'The sceptre shall not be taken away from Judah, nor a leader from his thigh—donec veniet qui mittendus est, *until he shall come who is to be sent.*' This is evidently founded

upon mistaking in the original שִׁלֹּה שִׁלָּח, which latter comes from the root שָׁלַח, signifying to send. It is, however, adopted by Grotius as the truest reading, the present form of the word being owing, in his opinion, to the error of transcribers in substituting ה for ח.

Various other etymologies have been assigned to the term, the advocates of which may be divided into two classes: those who consider the word שִׁלָּה as a compound; and those who deem it a radical or simple derivation. Those of the first class coincide,

for the most part, with the ancient interpreters, taking שִׁלָּה as equivalent to שָׁלוּ, and this to be made up of ש, the contraction of אִשֶּׁר, *who*, and לוֹ, the dative of the third personal pronoun. The rendering, accordingly, in this case, would be *cujus est, or cui est, whose it is, to whom it belongs*—i.e. the sceptre or dominion. This interpretation is defended by Jahn (*Eint. in A. T.* i. p. 507, and *Vat. Mes.* ii. p. 179). It is approved also by Hess, De Wette, Krummacher, and others. The authority of the ancient versions, already alluded to, is the principal ground upon which its advocates rely. But to this sense it is a serious objection, that there is no evidence that the abbreviation of אִשֶּׁר into ש was known in the time of Moses. There is no other instance of it in the Pentateuch, and it is only in the book of Judges that we first meet with it. However the rendering of the old translators is to be accounted for, there is no sufficient ground for the belief that the form in question was the received one in their time. If it was, we should doubtless find some traces of it in existing manuscripts.

But though these copies exhibit the reading שִׁלֹּה, not one of them gives שָׁלוּ, and but very few שִׁלָּה: which Hengstenberg deems of no consequence, as the omission of the *yod* was merely a defective way of writing, which often occurs in words of similar structure. An argument for this interpretation has indeed been derived from Ezek. xxi. 27, where the words, 'until he shall come, whose is the dominion, אִשֶּׁר לוֹ הַמּוֹשֵׁב, are regarded as an obvious paraphrase of שָׁלוּ or שִׁלָּה. But to this it may be answered, that while Ezekiel may have had the present passage in his eye, and intended an allusion to the character or prerogatives of the Messiah, yet there is no evidence that this was designed as an interpretation of the name under consideration. The reasons, therefore, appear ample for setting aside, as wholly untenable, the explication of the time here propounded, without adverting to the fact that the ellipsis involved in this construction is so unnatural and violent, that no parallel to it can be found in the whole Scriptures.

Another solution proposed by some expositors is, to derive the word שִׁלָּה from שָׁלַח, *child*, and the suffix ה for י. This will yield the reading, 'until his (Judah's) son or descendant, the Messiah, shall come.' Thus the Targ. Jon.: 'Until the time when the King's Messiah shall come, *the little one of his sons.*' This view is favoured by Calvin (*in loc.*) and by Knapp (*Dogn.* ii. p. 138), and also by Dathe. But as this resolves שִׁלָּה into a synonym with שָׁלוּ, *after-birth* (Deut. xxviii. 57), rendered 'young one,' it requires us to adopt the unnatural supposition, that the term properly denoting the *secundines*, or the membrane that encloses the foetus, is taken for the foetus itself. Besides, this exposition has an air of grossness about it which prompts its involuntary rejection.

The second class consists of those who consider שִׁלָּה as a radical or simple derivative. Of these we may remark, that it is principally among the Jews that the opinion of Aben Ezra finds currency, who makes שִׁלָּה here to be the name of the place (Shiloh) where the tabernacle was first fixed after the conquest of Canaan. The sense of the oracle,





who grievously insulted king David when he fled from Absalom (2 Sam. xvi. 5-13). The king not only saved him from the immediate resentment of his followers, but on his triumphant return by the same road after the overthrow of his rebellious son, he bestowed on Shimei the pardon which he implored (2 Sam. xix. 16). It seems, however, that it was policy which chiefly dictated this course, for it was by the advice of David himself (1 Kings ii. 8, 9) that Solomon, after his father's death, made Shimei a prisoner at large in Jerusalem (1 Kings ii. 36, 37). Three years after he broke his parole by leaving Jerusalem in pursuit of some runaway slaves, and was, on his return, put to death by order of the king (1 Kings ii. 39-46).—J. K.

SHIMRON (שִׁמְרוֹן; Συμρών; Alex. Σεμρών, and Σομερών; *Semeron*), one of the ancient cities of Canaan, whose king joined with Jabin, king of Hazor, in the attempt to resist the conquests of Joshua (Josh. xi. 1). The position of the city is not stated; it can only be inferred that it was situated somewhere in the north of Palestine. It is, however, in all probability the same place which, as is stated in Josh. xix. 15, was allotted to Zebulun, and is grouped with Idalah and Bethlehem. The site of Bethlehem is known. It is about six miles west of Nazareth. Guided by the Vatican MS. of the Septuagint, we might identify Shimron with the village of *Simónieh*, which stands about two miles south-east of Bethlehem. Under its Greek name, *Simonias*, it is mentioned in the Life of Josephus as a village of Galilee (*Vita*, 24). The position, as well as the name, favours the identity; and the same view is taken by the Jewish Rabbins (See Ges. *Thes.* 1445).

In Josh. xii. 20 the king of SHIMRON-MERON (שִׁמְרוֹן מֶרֶוֹן; Alex. Ἀμαρών; *Semeron*) is mentioned among those conquered by the Israelites. Probably the same city is meant. According to the tradition, however, existing among the Jews of Safed, Shimron-Meron is identical with the sacred village of *Meiron*, where the tombs of the Rabbis Hillel and Shammai are still preserved and honoured (Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. 313). Reland maintains, on the other hand, that Shimron and Shimron-meron are identical, and, according to the Talmudical writers, are now represented by Semunieh (*Pal.* p. 1017). On the whole, this seems more probable.—J. L. P.

SHINAR (שִׁנְעַר; Sept. Σεναρ, *Sennaar*), the district of country in which were the cities of Babel (Babylon), Erech (Orchoi), Calneh (probably Niffer), and Accad. It was a level country, where 'they had brick for stone, and slime [bitumen] used they for mortar' (Gen. xi. 2, 3). These facts identify it with the district afterwards known as Babylonia, of which Shinar was probably the primitive name. Of the name itself no satisfactory explanation has been given [BABYLONIA].—W. L. A.

SHIP. In few things is there greater danger of modern associations misleading the reader of the Scriptures than in regard to the subject of the present article. To an Englishman a ship calls up the idea of 'the wooden walls of old England,' which have so long withstood the 'battle and the breeze,' and done so much to spread the fame and the in-

fluence of the British nation throughout the world. But both the ships and the navigation of the ancients, even of the most maritime states, were as dissimilar as things of the same kind can well be to the realities which the terms now represent. Navigation confined itself to coasting; or if necessity, foul weather, or chance drove a vessel from the land, a regard to safety urged the commander to a speedy return, for he had no guide but such as the stars might afford under skies with which he was but imperfectly acquainted. And ships, whether designed for commercial or warlike purposes, were small in size and frail in structure, if our immense piles of oak and iron be taken as the objects of comparison.

The Jews cannot be said to have been a seafaring people; yet their position on the map of the world is such as to lead us to feel that they could not have been ignorant of ships and the business which relates thereunto. Phœnicia, the north-western part of Palestine, was unquestionably among, if not at the head of the earliest cultivators of maritime affairs. Then the Holy Land itself lay with one side coasting a sea which was anciently the great highway of navigation, and the centre of social and commercial enterprise. Within its own borders it had a navigable lake. The Nile, with which river the fathers of the nation had become acquainted in their bondage, was another great thoroughfare for ships. And the Red Sea itself, which conducted towards the remote east, was at no great distance even from the capital of the land. Then at different points in its long line of sea-coast there were harbours of no mean repute. Let the reader call to mind Tyre and Sidon in Phœnicia, and Acre (Acco) and Jaffa (Joppa) in Palestine. Yet the decidedly agricultural bearing of the Israelitish constitution checked such a development of power, activity, and wealth, as these favourable opportunities might have called forth on behalf of seafaring pursuits. There can, however, be no doubt that the arts of shipbuilding and of navigation came to Greece and Italy from the East, and immediately from the Levant; whence we may justifiably infer that these arts, so far as they were cultivated in Palestine, were there in a higher state of perfection, at an early period at least, than in the more western parts of the world (Ezek. xxvii.; Strabo, lib. xvi.; Comenz, *De Nave Tyriâ*). In the early periods of their history the Israelites themselves would partake to a small extent of this skill and of its advantages, since it was only by degrees that they gained possession of the entire land, and for a long time were obliged to give up the sovereignty of very much of their seaboard to the Philistines and other hostile tribes. The earliest history of Palestinian ships lies in impenetrable darkness, so far as individual facts are concerned. In Gen. xlix. 13 there is, however, a prophecy, the fulfilment of which would connect the Israelites with shipping at an early period: 'Zebulun shall dwell at the haven of the sea, and he shall be for a haven of ships, and his border shall be unto Zidon' (comp. Deut. xxxiii. 19; Josh. xix. 10, *seq.*): words which seem more fitly to describe the position of Asher in the actual division of the land. These local advantages, however, could have been only partially improved, since we find Hiram, king of Tyre, acting as carrier by sea for Solomon, engaging to convey in floats to Joppa the timber cut in Lebanon for the temple, and leaving to the

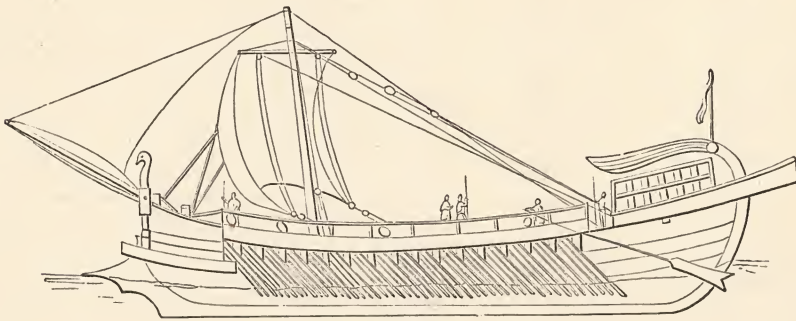


Hebrew prince the duty of transporting the wood from the coast to Jerusalem. And when, after having conquered Elath and Ezion-geber on the further arm of the Red Sea, Solomon proceeded to convert them into naval stations for his own purposes, he was still, whatever he did himself, indebted to Hiram for 'shipmen that had knowledge of the sea' (1 Kings ix. 26; x. 22). The effort, however, to form and keep a navy in connection with the East was not lastingly successful; it soon began to decline, and Jehoshaphat failed when at a later day he tried to give new life and energy to the enterprise (1 Kings xxii. 49, 50).

In the time of the Maccabees Joppa was a Jewish seaport (1 Maccab. xiv. 5). Herod the Great availed himself of the opportunities naturally afforded to form a more capacious port at Cæsarea (Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* iii. 9. 3). Nevertheless no purely Jewish trade by sea was hence even now called into being. Cæsarea was the place whence Paul embarked in order to proceed as a prisoner to Rome (Acts xxvii. 2). His voyage on that occasion, as described most graphically in the Acts of the Apostles (ch. xxvii. xxviii.), if it requires some knowledge of ancient maritime affairs in order to be rightly understood, affords also rich and valuable

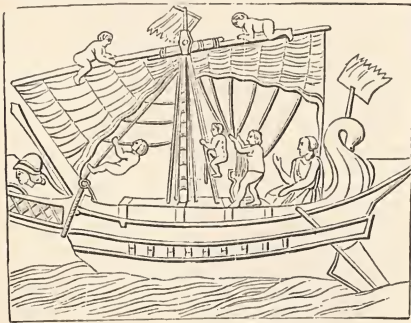
materials towards a history of the subject, and might, we feel convinced, be so treated as of itself to supply many irresistible evidences of the certainty of the events therein recorded, and, by warrantable inferences, of the credibility of the evangelical history in general. No one but an eyewitness could have written the minute, exact, true, and graphic account which these two chapters give.

The reader of the N. T. is well aware how frequently he finds himself with the Saviour on the romantic shores of the sea of Gennesareth. There Jesus is seen, now addressing the people from on board a vessel, *πλοῖον* (Matt. xiii. 2; Luke v. 3); now sailing up and down the lake (Matt. viii. 23; ix. 1; xiv. 13; John vi. 17). Some of his earliest disciples were proprietors of barks which sailed on this inland sea (Matt. iv. 21; John xxi. 3; Luke v. 3). These 'ships' were indeed small. Josephus designates the ships here employed by the term *σκάφη*. They were not, however, mere boats. They carried their anchor with them (*De Bell. Jud.* iii. 10. 1; *Vit.* xxxiii.) There was too a kind of vessel larger than this, called *σχεδια* by Josephus, who narrates a sea-fight which took place on the lake, conducted on the part of the Romans by Vespasian himself (*De Bell. Jud.* iii. 10. 9). It



477. Ancient Ship of the largest kind.

thus appears that the lake was not contemptible, nor its vessels mean; and those should hence learn to qualify their language who represent the Galilean fishermen as of the poorest class.

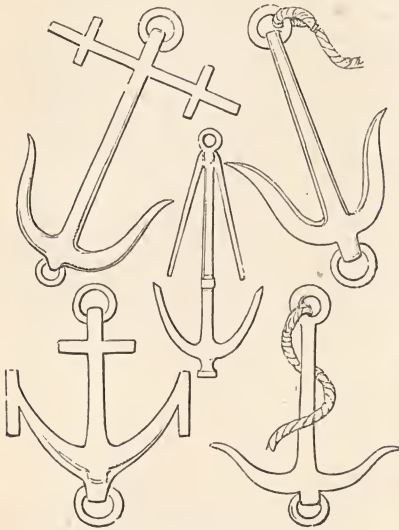


478. Ancient Light-vessel, Pompeii.

The vessels connected with Biblical history were for the most part ships of burden, almost indeed exclusively so, at least within the period of known historical facts, though in a remote antiquity the

Phœnician states can hardly fail to have supported a navy for warlike, as it is known they did for predatory purposes. This peculiarity, however, of the Biblical ships exonerates the writer from entering into the general subject of the construction of ancient ships and their several sub-divisions. A good general summary on that head may be found in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, p. 875, *seq.* A few details respecting chiefly ships of burden may be of service to the Scriptural student. In a ship of this kind was Paul conveyed to Italy. They (*naves onerariæ*) were, for the purposes to which they were destined, rounder and deeper than ships of war, and sometimes of great capacity. In consequence of their bulk, and when laden, of their weight, they were impelled by sails rather than by oars. On the prow stood the insignia from which the ship was named, and by which it was known. These in Acts (xxviii. 11) are called *παράσημον*, 'sign,' which it appears consisted in this case of figures of Castor and Pollux—*lucida sidera*—brilliant constellations, auspicious to navigators (Horat. *Od.* i. 3; Liv. xxxvii. 92; Tac. *Ann.* vi. 34; Ovid. *Trist.* i. 10. 1). Each ship was provided with a boat, intended in the case of peril to facilitate escape,

σκάφη (Acts xxvii. 16, 30, 32; Cic. *De Invent.* ii. 51); and several anchors (Acts xxvii. 29, 40; Cæs. *Civ.* i. 25); also a plumb-line for sounding (Acts xxvii. 28; Isidor. *Orig.* xix. 4). Among the sails one bore the name of ἀπρέμων, translated in Acts xxvii. 40, by 'mainsail;' but possibly the word may rather mean what is now termed the 'topsail' (*Schol. ad Juven.* xii. 68). In great danger it was customary to gird the vessel with cables, in order to prevent her from falling to



479. Ancient Anchors.

pieces under the force of wind and sea (Acts xxvii. 17; Polyb. xxvii. 3. 3; Athen. v. 204; Hor. *Od.* i. 14. 6). The various expedients that were employed in order to prevent shipwreck are described to the eye in the passage in the Acts. First, the vessel was lightened by throwing overboard all lumber, luggage, and everything that could be spared. The term employed by Luke is σκευή (xxvii. 19), one of a very wide signification, which the words we have just employed do not, we think, more than equal. If the peril grew more imminent,



480. Modern Levantine Ship.

the freight was sacrificed (xxvii. 38). When hope or endurance had come to a period, recourse was had to the boat, or efforts were made to reach the shore on spars or rafts (xxvii. 38, 44). The captain was denominated ναύκληρος (xxvii. 11), steersman, though he was a different person from him

who had the actual charge of the helm, who bore the name of κυβερνήτης, which is the root of our word 'governor' (Lat. gubernator, helmsman).

The dangers of the ocean to sailors on board such ships as these were, and in the then ignorance of navigation, caused sailing to be restricted to the months of spring, summer, and autumn; winter was avoided. To the Romans the sea was opened in March and closed in November (Cæs. *Bell. Gall.* iv. 36; v. 23; Philo, *Opp.* iv. 548; Acts xxvii. 9); and ships which towards the end of the year were still at sea earnestly sought a harbour in which to pass the winter (Acts xxvii. 12).

Schlözer, *Vers. einer Allg. Geschichte d. Handels u. d. Schifffahrt in den alt. Zeiten*, Rostock 1760; *La Marine des Anciens Peuples*, par Le Roy, Paris 1777; Berghaus, *Gesch. d. Schifffahrtskunde* 1792; Benedict, *Vers. e. Gesch. d. Schifff. u. d. Handel bei den Alten*, 1809; Howell, *On the War Gallies of the Ancients*; A. Jal, *Archéologie Navale*, Paris 1840; Böckh, *Urkunden über das Seewesen des Attischen Staates*; Smith, *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, Lond. 1848, 2d ed. 1856.—J. R. B.

#### SHIPRAH. [PUAH.]

SHISHAK (שִׁשַׁק; Sept. Σουσακιμ), a king of Egypt contemporary with Jeroboam, to whom he gave an asylum when he fled from Solomon (1 Kings xi. 40). This was indicative of his politic disposition to encourage the weakening of the neighbouring kingdom, the growth of which under David and Solomon was probably regarded by the kings of Egypt with some alarm. After Jeroboam had become king of Israel, and probably at his suggestion, Shishak invaded the kingdom of Judah, B.C. 971, at the head of an immense army; and after having taken the fortified places, advanced against Jerusalem. Satisfied with the submission of Rehoboam, and with the immense spoils of the Temple, the king of Egypt withdrew without imposing any onerous conditions upon the humbled grandson of David (1 Kings xiv. 25, 26; 2 Chron. xii. 2-9). Shishak has been identified as the first king of the 22d or Diospolitan dynasty, the Sesonchis of profane history. His name has been found on the Egyptian monuments in the form of She-shonk. He is said to have been of Ethiopian origin, and it is supposed that, with the support of the military caste, he dethroned the Pharaoh who gave his daughter to Solomon (1 Kings iii. 1). In the palace-temple of Karnak there still exists a large bas-relief representing Sesonchis, who bears to the feet of three great Theban gods the chiefs of vanquished nations. To each figure is attached an oval, indicating the town or district which he represents. One of the figures, with a pointed beard and a physiognomy which some decide to be Jewish, bears on his oval characters which M. Champollion interprets *Yooda Melchi*, or 'kingdom of Judah,' a name whose component letters agree with the hieroglyphics, though Sir J. G. Wilkinson and others think that the place it holds is not sufficiently marked to satisfy the scruples of a rigid sceptic. It is well to observe that this figure has not, as some have hastily conceived, been alleged to represent the king, but to personify the kingdom of Judah (Champollion, *Système Hieroglyph.* p. 205; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, i. 85; Wilkinson. *Anc. Egypt.* i. 37; Cory, *Chronological Inquiry*, p. 5) [CHRONOLOGY].—J. K.



## SHITTAH (שִׁטָּה) and SHITTIM (שִׁטִּים)

occur in several passages of Exodus, and indicate the kind of wood which was employed in making various parts of the tabernacle while the Israelites were wandering in the wilderness. It is mentioned also as forming part of the offerings, as in Exod. xxv. 5, 'rams' skins dyed red, and badgers' skins, and *shittim* wood;' and in xxxv. 7, 24. In Is. xli. 19 it is mentioned as a tree worthy of planting. According to some it was some valuable foreign wood.

But there does not appear any proof that *shittim* was an imported wood, and it is more probable that it was the wood of a tree of the desert. Rosenmüller (after Celsius, ii. p. 499) says: 'The Hebrew name, which is properly *shintah*, was formed from the Egyptian word *shant*, the double *t* being substituted for the *nt*, for the sake of sound and an easier pronunciation.' The Arabs also call it

قرظ *kart* or *karatz*, written also *kharad*. The Arabs pronounce the Egyptian name *sout*. This is a tree of the genus *Acacia*, found both in Egypt and in the deserts of Arabia (Prosper Alpinus, *De Plantis Aegypti*, p. 6). 'The acacia tree,' says Dr. Shaw, 'being by much the largest and most common tree in these deserts (Arabia Petrea), we



48r. *Acacia Seyal*.

have some reason to conjecture that the *shittim* wood was the wood of the acacia, especially as its flowers are of an excellent smell, for the *shittah* tree is, in Is. xli. 19, joined with the myrtle and other fragrant shrubs.' Mr. Kitto says: 'The required species is found in either the *Acacia gummifera*, or in the *A. Seyal*, or rather in both. They both grow abundantly in the valleys of that region in which the Israelites wandered for forty years, and both supply products which must have rendered them of much value to the Israelites. We think the probability is, that the *A. Seyal* supplied the *shittim* wood, if indeed the name did not denote acacia wood in general. This tree grows from fifteen to twenty feet in height.' Robinson and Smith frequently mention the *Seyal* as occurring in the same situations. It is very probable therefore that it yielded the *shittim* wood of Scripture.—J. F. R.

SHITTIM (שִׁטִּים, *The Acacias*; Sept. *Sar-τελν*), the place where the Israelites encamped for the last time before they crossed the Jordan (Num. xxv. 1; comp. Micah vi. 5), and from which Joshua sent spies to spy the land as far as Jericho (Josh. ii. 1). It was in the Arboth of Moab, at the foot of the mountain-range Abarim, and immediately under Nebo and opposite to Jericho (Deut. xxxii. 49). Hence it is to be looked for near the point where the Wady Hesban enters the plains of Moab, probably to the south of this wady. According to Josephus (*Antiq.* iv. 8. 1) the town of Abila was afterwards built on the site of Shittim, 60 stadia from the Jordan (Keil, *Comment. on Josh.* p. 79). The full name seems to have been *Abel Hashshittim* (which see).—W. L. A.

SHITTIM, VALLEY OF, mentioned in Joel iii. 18. It must certainly have been west of the Jordan, and probably in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, although the particular vale cannot now be distinguished. The name is probably to be regarded as an appellative—'acacia vale' denoting, perhaps, as that tree delights in a dry soil, an arid, unfruitful vale.

SHOA (שׁוֹא; Sept. *Σοῦ*; Alex. *Σοῦδ*). [KOA.]

SHOE. [SANDAL.]

SHOHAM (שׁוֹהָם), a precious stone mentioned in Gen. ii. 12; Exod. xxviii. 9; xxxv. 9-27; Job xxviii. 16; Ezek. xxviii. 13. That it is really unknown is evinced by the variety of opinions which have been hazarded concerning it. In the two last texts the Sept. makes it the beryl (*βηρύλλιον*), and is followed by the Vulgate. Josephus also gives it the same name (*Antiq.* iii. 7. 5). This is a great weight of authority; and whether the beryl be the *shoham* or not, it is a Scriptural stone by virtue of the mention of it in Rev. xxi. 20. There is no doubt that the stone which we call beryl is the substance to which the ancients gave the same name. It is of a pale sea-green colour, inclining sometimes to water blue, and sometimes to yellow. In its crystallised form it exhibits hexagonal columns striped longitudinally. The *shoham* furnished the shoulder-pieces in the breastplate of the high-priest, on each of which six names were engraved; and for this purpose the stalky beryl, consisting of long, stout, hexagonal pieces, was peculiarly suited. Beryls are found, but not often, in collections of ancient gems. In Gen. ii. 12 the *shoham* is named as the product of Havilah; in Job xxviii. 16 it is mentioned as a stone of great value, being classed with the sapphire and the gold of Ophir; in Ezek. xxviii. 13 it appears as a valuable article of commerce.

In Gen. ii. 12 the Sept. renders the word, which it elsewhere gives as the beryl, by *λίθος ὁ πράσινος*, or the 'chrysoprasus,' according to its etymology, 'leek-green stone;' but as the ancients did not nicely distinguish between stones of similar quality and colour, it is probable that the beryl is still intended by the translator in this text. The chrysoprasus (*χρυσόπρασος*) is, however, a Scriptural stone, being named in Rev. xxi. 20. It is, as the name imports, of a greenish golden colour, like a leek—*i.e.* usually apple-green—passing into a grass-green (Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xvii. 20, 21).

Luther, relying upon the authority of some ancient versions, makes the *shoham* to have been

the onyx, an interpretation which Braun, Michaelis, Eichhorn, and others support on etymological grounds. This, indeed, is the stone usually given for the Shoham in Hebrew lexicons, and is the one which the A. V. has also adopted.—J. K.

SHOR (שׁוֹר), a generic word denoting an animal of the bovine species, whether male or female, young or old. It is sometimes used collectively of several animals (Gen. xxxii. 6; 1 Sam. xxii. 19; 2 Sam. xv. 3), but generally it is used of only one (Exod. xxi. 28, 29, 37; xxii. 8, 9; xxxiv. 19; Lev. vii. 23; xxii. 27; xxvii. 26; Num. xxii. 4; Neh. v. 18; Job vi. 5; xxi. 10; Is. i. 3). It is used metaphorically of a *chief* or *leader* (Deut. xxxiii. 17). A singular use of it occurs Gen. xlix. 6, where according to some it stands for *men of valour or strength*; but the rendering in the margin of the A. V. ('they houghed oxen') is probably the true one: while they slew the men they disabled the cattle, at least such as they did not care to drive off as spoil (xxxiv. 28). [BAQAR.]—W. L. A.

SHOSHANNIM. [PSALMS; SHUSHAN.]

SHU'AL שׁוּאֵל and 'ש, jackal (?), are both somewhat arbitrarily interpreted by the word 'fox;' although that denomination is not uniformly employed in different texts (Judg. xv. 4; Neh. iv. 3; xi. 27; Ps. lxxiii. 10; Cant. ii. 15; Lam. v. 18; Ezek. xiii. 4). Fox is thus applied to two or more species, though only strictly applicable in a systematic view to *Taaleb*, which is the Arabic name of a wild canine, probably the Syrian fox—*Vulpes Thaleb* or *Taaleb* of modern zoologists—and the only genuine species indigenous in Palestine. Fox is again the translation of ἀλώπηξ, in Matt. viii. 20; Luke ix. 58; xiii. 32: but here also the word in the original texts may apply generically to several species rather than to one only.



482. Syrian Fox.

We have no proof that *shu'al* denotes exclusively the fox, and that *iyim* and Hasselquist's little foxes refer solely to jackals; particularly as these animals were, if really known, not abundant in Western Asia, even during the first century of the Roman empire; for they are but little noticed by the Greek writers and sportsmen who resided where now they are heard and seen every evening; these authorities offering no remark on the most prominent characteristic of the species—namely, the chorus of howlings lasting all night—a habit so intolerable that it is the invariable theme of all the Semitic writers since the Hegira whenever they mention the jackal. We may therefore infer that *shu'al* is a general denomination, and that *iyim*, if the etymology be just, is derived from howling or barking, and may designate the jackal, though more probably it includes also those wild Canidae which have a similar habit.

*Vulpes Thaleb*, or *Taleb*, the Syrian fox, is of the size of an English cur fox, and similarly formed; but the ears are wider and longer, the fur in general ochry-rufous above, and whitish beneath: there is a faint black ring towards the tip of the tail, and the back of the ears are sooty, with bright fulvous edges. The species burrows, is silent and solitary, extends eastward into Southern Persia, and is said to be found in Natolia. Ehrenberg's two species of *Taleb* (one of which he takes to be the *Anubis* of ancient Egypt, and Geoffrey's *Canis Niloticus*, the Abou Hossein of the Arabs) are nearly allied to or varieties of the species, but residing in Egypt, and further to the same south, where it seems they do not burrow. The Syrian *Taleb* is reputed to be very destructive in the vineyards, or rather a plunderer of ripe grapes; but he is certainly less so than the jackal, whose ravages are carried on in troops and with less fear of man.

None of the explanations which we have seen of the controverted passage in Judg. xv. 4, 5, relative to the *shu'alim*, foxes, jackals, or other canines, which Samson employed to set fire to the corn of the Philistines, is altogether satisfactory to our mind. First, taking Dr. Kennicott's proposed explanation of the case by changing שׁוּעִלִים

to שְׁעִלִים, thus reading 'sheaves' instead of 'foxes,' and translating שְׁעִלֵּי 'ends' instead of 'tails,' the meaning then would be, that Samson merely connected by bands or ends three hundred shocks of corn, already reaped, and thus burned the whole. We admit that this, at first view, appears a rational explanation; but it should be observed that three hundred shocks of corn would not make two stacks, and therefore the result would be quite inadequate, considered as a punishment or act of vengeance upon the Philistine population, then predominant over the greater part of Palestine: and if we take shocks to mean corn-stacks, then it may be asked how, and for what object, were three hundred corn-stacks brought together in one place from a surface of country at least equal to Yorkshire? The task, in that hilly region, would have occupied all the cattle and vehicles for several months; and then the corn could not have been threshed out without making the whole population travel repeatedly, in order finally to reload the grain and take it to their threshing-floors.

Reverting to the interpretation of foxes burning the harvest by means of firebrands attached to their tails, the case is borne out by Ovid (*Fasti*, iv. 681)—

'Cur igitur misse junctis ardentia telis  
Terga ferunt vulpes?'

And again in the fable of Aphonius, quoted by Merrick; but not, as is alleged, by the brick with a bas-relief representing a man driving two foxes with fire fastened to their tails, which was found twenty-eight feet below the present surface of London; because tiles of similar character and execution have been dug up in other parts of England, some representing the history of Susanna and the elders, and others the four Evangelists, and therefore all derived from Biblical, not pagan sources.

Commentators, following the reading of the Septuagint, have with common consent adopted the interpretation, that two foxes were tied together by their tails with a firebrand between them. Now this does not appear to have been the practice of



the Romans, nor does it occur in the fable of Aphonius. We understand the text to mean that each fox had a separate brand; and most naturally so; for it may be questioned whether two united would run in the same direction. They would assuredly pull counter to each other, and ultimately fight most fiercely; whereas there can be no doubt that every canine would run, with fire attached to its tail, not from choice but necessity, through standing corn, if the field lay in the direction of the animal's burrow; for foxes and jackals, when chased, run direct to their holes, and sportsmen well know the necessity of stopping up those of the fox while the animal is abroad, or there is no chance of a chase. We therefore submit that by the words rendered 'tail to tail' we should understand the end of the firebrand attached to the extremity of the tail. Finally, as the operation of tying three hundred brands to as many fierce and irascible animals could not be effected in one day by a single man, nor produce the result intended if done in one place, it seems more probable that the name of Samson, as the chief director of the act, is employed to represent the whole party who effected his intentions in different places at the same time, and thereby insured that general conflagration of the harvest which was the signal of open resistance on the part of Israel to the long-endured oppression of the Philistine people. These observations, though by no means sufficiently answering all the objections, are the best we can offer on a difficult question, which could not be passed over altogether without notice [KELEB; ZEEB].—C. H. S.

SHUAL, LAND OF (אַרְצֵ שְׁוָאֵל; ἡ γῆ Σωαλ; *terra Sual*). When describing the routes taken by the Philistine spoilers who went forth from the garrison at Michmash, the sacred writer says: 'One company turned unto the way of Ophrah, unto the land of Shual' (1 Sam. xiii 17). Ophrah, as has been seen [OPHRAH], is probably identical with Taiyibeh, a village about six miles north-east of Bethel. The land of Shual, therefore, doubtless lay in that region. It is a wild mountainous district, a maze of rocky hill-tops, intersected by deep ravines which run down into the Jordan valley. The name appears to have been forgotten. The word *Shual* signifies 'fox' or 'jackal'; and both these animals abound amid the rocks of this district. Jackals are especially numerous; and the writer has more than once been kept awake for hours in his tent by their howlings.—J. L. P.

SHUCKFORD, SAMUEL, D.D. Of the time and place of his birth we have not been able to find any record. He was educated at Caius College, Cambridge, and was successively curate of Shelthorpe, Norfolk, prebendary of Canterbury, and rector of All-Hallows, Lombard Street, London. He died in 1754. He wrote *The Sacred and Prophane History of the World connected, from the creation of the world to the dissolution of the Assyrian Empire*. Of this work, which was designed to complete that of Prideaux, only four volumes appeared, bringing down the history to the death of Joshua. It is a work of solid learning, though inferior to that of Prideaux.—W. L. A.

SHUHITE, THE (שְׁחִיטָה, *The Shuchite*), a designation of Bildad, one of the friends of Job (Job ii. 11, etc.) It is probably a patronymic from שָׁחַט,

*Shuach*, one of the sons of Abraham by Keturah. In the Peutinger Tables the district immediately above Babylonia is called *Sohene*; and the Assyrian inscriptions mention a powerful tribe, the *Tsuchi*, located above Hit on both sides the Euphrates. In these names we have probably traces of the Shuchites. Some, however, think that the *Sakkala* which Ptolemy (v. 14) places eastward of Batanea is more probably their representative.—W. L. A.

SHULAMITE, THE (הַשְׁלֵמִית), the name given to a person in the Song of Solomon. Whether this is a proper name, *Shulamith*, or an ethnic designation, and whether it is used of the heroine of the song or of some other, are points to be discussed elsewhere. [SOLOMON, SONG OF].—†

SHUMIM (שְׁוִמִּים) occurs only once in Scripture (Num. xi. 5), where it is translated *garlick* in the A. V. There can be no doubt of its being correctly so translated, as the Arabic ثوم (*thom*)

still signifies a species of garlic, which is cultivated and esteemed throughout Eastern countries. Ancient authors mention that garlic was cultivated in Egypt. Herodotus enumerates it as one of the substances upon which a large sum (1600 talents)



483. Shallot. (*Allium Ascalonicum*.)

was spent for feeding labourers employed in building the pyramids; so also Pliny, who, moreover, states that it was so highly esteemed, that 'allium cepasque inter Deos in jurejurando habuere olim Ægyptiæ.' The species considered to have been thus cultivated in Egypt is *Allium Ascalonicum*, which is the most common in Eastern countries, and obtains its specific name from having been brought into Europe from Ascalon. It is now usually known in the kitchen-garden by the name of 'eschalot' or 'shallot,' and is too common to require a fuller notice.—J. F. R.

SHUNAMMITE, THE (הַשְׁנַמִּיתָה; Sept. ἡ Σωμαννίτις), one resident in Shunem; applied to Abishag (1 Kings i. 3, 15; ii. 17, 21, 22), and to the hostess of Elijah (2 Kings iv. 12, 25, 36). As the modern name of Shunem is Solam, it has been suggested that Shunammite and Shulamite are identical (see Gesenius and Fürst on the word).—W. L. A.

SHUNEM (שֻׁנֵם; Sept. Σουνῆμ), a town of the tribe of Issachar (Josh. xix. 18), where the Philistines encamped before Saul's last battle (1 Sam. xxviii. 4), and to which belonged Abishag, the last wife of David (1 Kings i. 3), and 'the Shunammite woman' with whom Elisha lodged (2 Kings iv. 8-37; viii. 1-6). Eusebius and Jerome describe it as, in their day, a village, lying five Roman miles from Mount Tabor towards the south. They call it Sulem (Σουλῆμ). It has of late years been recognised in a village called Solam, three miles and a half north of Zerin (Jezreel), which is a small place on the slope of a hill, where nothing occurs to denote an ancient site (Elliot, ii. 378; Schubert, iii. 165; Robinson, iii. 169, 170). —J. K.

#### SHUPHAN. [SHUPPIM.]

SHUPPIM is mentioned (1) in 1 Chron. vii. 12 (שֻׁפִּים; Σαφῖν; Alex. Σαφῆμ; *Sephm*) as one of the two 'children of Ir.' If, as is likely, this Ir be the same as the 'Iri' of ver. 7, the son of Bela, Shuppim was the great-grandson of the patriarch Benjamin. There is no good reason for identifying the subject of this article with the Muppim of Gen. xli. 21, or Shephuphan (less correctly Shuphan) of Num. xxvi. 39, and Shephuphan of 1 Chron. viii. 5, as we have shown elsewhere [MUPPIM]; so that the difficulty of assigning to Benjamin a descendant of the third generation at the time of his removal with Jacob into Egypt is avoided in this instance. (2.) SHUPPIM (שֻׁפִּים; Σαφῖν; Alex.

Σεφφῆμ; *Saphan*) is mentioned again in 1 Chron. vii. 15. According to A. V. he is the same man as occurs in ver. 12. The Vulgate, however, not only varies the name, but makes the bearer of it one of the sons of Machir, of the tribe of Manasseh ['Machir autem accepit uxores filiis ejus Happphim et Saphan']. This verse from its obscurity has given rise to much discussion among commentators and variety among the chief versions. The Sept. follows the original more closely, and so partakes of its obscurity, which the A. V. and the Vulgate only escape by a paraphrase instead of a version [comp. LXX. Μαχὴρ ἐλαβεν γυναῖκα τῶ 'Αφφῆμ καὶ Σεφφῆμ with the Masor. text מַכִּיר לָקַח אִשָּׁה תֶּן 'Αφφῆμ καὶ Σεφφῆμ].

לְחָפִים וְלִשְׁפִים. The Peschito seems to have treated the proper names of the clause as appellatives. Manifest also are the expedients of critics to smooth the difficulties of the verse. Some (Houbigant, Clericus) suppose an omission of some words in the text; others (among them Bertheau) a redundancy from the margin, and they would remove the words לְחָפִים וְלִשְׁפִים out of the text. Most, however, accept the text as substantially correct, but differ in its interpretation. Some, and they are the majority, take the sense adopted in our A. V., regarding the ל prefixed to the names as a sign of the periphrastic genitive (see Gesen. *Gram.* sec. 115), before which they would supply an understood אָחוֹת [sister] from the succeeding clause. They thus produce the version: 'Machir took to wife [the sister] of Huppim and Shuppim.' (The high authority of D. Kimchi favours this construction; see also J. H. Michaelis, *Comment. in Hagiograph.* in loc.) This view makes our Shuppim and his brother Benjamites, as mentioned in ver. 12, whose sister Maachah became the wife of

Machir of the tribe of Manasseh. As, however, the ל may well be the sign of an acquisitive dative dependent on the verb לָקַח, the simplest translation would be that of the Vulgate [and probably of the Sept. also]: 'Machir took a wife for Huppim and Shuppim' (comp. 1 Sam. xxv. 45)—supposing these to be his sons, and therefore Manassites. The support of these ancient versions to this view goes far to obviate the objection which arises from the improbability of two brothers being found in a family of Manasseh bearing the same names as the two Benjamite brothers mentioned only three verses before. This sense is supported by Movers (*Chronik.* 89; see Bertheau, *in loc.*) (3.) In 1 Chron. xxvi. 16 mention is made of another SHUPPIM (שֻׁפִּים;

Sept. Alex. Σεφῆμ; *Sephim*), a Levite, one of the doorkeepers appointed (together with the Merarite Hosah) to superintend the watch on the western side of the temple, including 'the gate Shallecheth.' Bertheau (*in loc.*) supposes this insertion of Shuppim's name to be a copyist's error, arising from a repetition of the preceding word הָאֲסָפִים [Kennicott among his MSS. discovered שֻׁפִּים with *samech* (instead of שְׁפִים with *shin*), which is nothing but a repetition, as Bertheau supposed, of the last letters of the הָאֲסָפִים, and he sees a confirmation of his view in the absence, as he says, of the name from the Septuagint. This statement is not absolutely correct. The Codex Alex. reads Σεφῆμ, and the Vulgate also treats the word as a proper name: so that ancient texts must have had the same reading as the Masoretic, which our A. V. follows. It must not, however, be denied that there is force in Bertheau's supposition. From ver. 14, 15, it appears that the lots 'eastward,' 'northward,' and 'southward,' fell in each case to *individuals*; it is not easy therefore to see why *two* persons should be mentioned for the 'westward' lot. In the Vatican text of the Sept., ver. 16 begins with the words ἐς δεύτερον τῶ 'Οσᾶ πρὸς δυομαῖς, making the last lot fall but to one man, like the preceding three. The phrase ἐς δεύτερον seems to indicate that the text which it translates had the word שְׁנֹם (*two*) instead of שֻׁפִּים. Now it is observable that the 17th verse actually terminates with the words לְאֲסָפִים שְׁנִים [the best MSS. not having the שְׁנִים repeated], 'Asuppim, two.' If we suppose the 15th verse to terminate with the same words, which are equally suitable *there*, then our 16th verse will begin with

וְלִחְסָה, 'and to Hosah westward'—a reading which will square evenly with the two foregoing verses. If this conjecture be true, our third Shuppim the Levite is of course to be cancelled.—P. H.

SHUR (שֹׁר; Sept. Σούρ), a city on the confines of Egypt and Palestine (Gen. xvi. 7; xx. 1; xxv. 18; 1 Sam. xv. 7; xxvii. 8). Josephus makes it the same as Pelusium (*Antiq.* vi. 7. 3; comp. 1 Sam. xv. 7); but this city bore among the Hebrews the name of Sin. More probably Shur was somewhere in the vicinity of the modern Suez. The desert extending from the borders of Palestine to Shur is called in Exod. xv. 22 the 'desert of Shur,' but in Num. xxxiii. 8 the 'desert of Etham.' —J. K.

SHUSHAN (שֹׁשָׁנָה), also SHOSHANNAH (שֹׁשָׁנָה; Sept. κρήνη), occurs in several passages of the O.



T., and is translated *lily* in the A. V. The word has been variously interpreted by translators, being by some thought to be the rose, by others the violet or convallaria, a jasmine, or some one or more of the plants included under the general name of lily. But it appears to us that none but a plant which was well known and highly esteemed would be found occurring in so many different passages. Thus, in 1 Kings vii. 19-26, and 2 Chron. iv. 5, it is mentioned as forming the ornamental work of the pillars and of the brazen sea, made of molten brass, for the house of Solomon, by Hiram of Tyre. In Canticles the word is frequently mentioned; and it is curious that in five passages (Cant. ii. 2 and 16; iv. 5; vi. 2 and 3) there is a reference to feeding among lilies: which appears unaccountable, when we consider that the allusion is made simply to an ornamental or sweet-smelling plant; and this the *shushan* appears to have been from the other passages in which it is mentioned (Cant. ii. 1, 2; v. 13; vii. 2). If the book of Canticles is the production of Solomon it may be presumed to contain allusions to Egyptian objects, from his connection by marriage with that country; and in this case the lily to which he refers may be a plant of Egypt rather than of Palestine. And this appears to us to be the case, especially as the water-lily or lotus of the Nile seems suitable to most of the above passages. Herodotus (ii. 92) says: 'When



484. Lotus. Water-lily.

the waters have risen to their extremest height, and all the fields are overflowed, there appears above the surface an immense quantity of plants of the lily species, which the Egyptians call the lotus; having cut down these they dry them in the sun. The seed of the flowers, which resembles that of the poppy, they bake, and make into a kind of bread: they also eat the root of this plant, which is round, of an agreeable flavour, and about the size of an apple. There is a second species of the lotus, which grows in the Nile, and which is not unlike a rose. The fruit, which grows from the bottom of the root, resembles a wasp's nest: it is found to contain a number of kernels of the size of an olive stone, which are very grateful either fresh or dried.' All this exists even to the present day. Both the roots and the stalks form articles of diet in Eastern countries, and the large farinaceous seeds

of both the nymphæa and nelumbium are roasted and eaten. Hence probably the reference to feeding among lilies in the above-quoted passages.

In confirmation of this view we may adduce also the remarks of Dr. W. C. Taylor in his *Bible illustrated by Egyptian monuments*, where he says that the lilies of the xlv. and lxix. Psalms have puzzled all Biblical critics. The title, 'To the chief musician upon Shoshannim,' has been supposed to be the name of some unknown tune to which the Psalm was to be sung. But Dr. Taylor says: 'The word Shoshannim is universally acknowledged to signify lilies, and lilies have nothing to do with the subject of the ode. But this hymeneal ode was intended to be sung by the female attendants of the Egyptian princess, and they are called 'the lilies,' not only by a poetic reference to the lotus lilies of the Nile, but by a direct allusion to their custom of making the lotus lily a conspicuous ornament of their head-dress.' Thus, therefore, all the passages of Scripture in which *Shoshan* occurs appear to be explained by considering it to refer to the lotus lily of the Nile.—J. F. R.

SHUSHAN, or SUSA (שִׁשָּׁן; Sept. Σοῦσα), the chief town of Susiana, and capital of Persia, in which the kings of Persia had their winter residence (Dan. viii. 2; Neh. i. 1; Esther i. 2, 5). It was situated upon the Eulæus or Choaspes, probably on the spot now occupied by the village Shus (Rennel, *Geog. of Herodotus*; Kinneir, *Mem. Pers. Empire*; K. Porter, *Travels*, ii. 4, 11; Ritter, *Erzkunde Asien*, ix. 294; *Pictorial Bible*, on Dan. viii. 2). Others believe the site to be that of Shuster (Vincent, *Commerce and Navig. of the Ancients*; Von Hammer, in *Mem. of the Geog. Soc. of Paris*, ii. 320, seq.; 333, seq.) At Shus, which is the more likely position, there are extensive ruins, stretching perhaps twelve miles from one extremity to the other, and consisting, like the other ruins of this region, of hillocks of earth and rubbish covered with broken pieces of brick and coloured tile. At the foot of these mounds is the so-called tomb of Daniel, a small building erected on the spot where the remains of that prophet are locally believed to rest. It is apparently modern; but nothing but the belief that this was the site of the prophet's sepulchre could have led to its being built in the place where it stands (Malcolm, *Hist. of Persia*, i. 255, 256); and it may be added that such identifications are of far more value in these parts, where occasion for them is rare, than among the crowded 'holy places' of Palestine. The city of Shus is now a gloomy wilderness, infested by lions, hyenas, and other beasts of prey. It is in N. lat. 31° 56' and E. long. 48° 26'.—J. K.

SHUTHELAH. [BECHER.]

SIBBECHAI. [HUSHATHITE.]

SIBMAH. [SHIBMAH.]

SICHEM. [SHECHEM.]

SICYON (Σικυών), a city lying on the north coast of the Peloponnesus, to the west of Corinth, and capital of the small state Sicyonia (1 Maccab. xv. 23). It no longer exists.—†

SIDDIM, THE VALE OF (עֵמֶק הַשִּׁדִּים; ἡ φάραγξ ἡ ἀλυκή, and ἡ κοιλίς ἡ ἄ. ; *vallis silvestris*). In the article SALT SEA the vale of Siddim has

been noticed. In this place it may be well to group together the leading statements made regarding it in Scripture history, and to combine with them the results of recent scientific research in the region in which it must have been situated.

The word *Siddim* appears to be from the root שָׁדַד, 'to be straight or level.' The singular שָׁדָד or שָׁדָה would thus signify 'a level field'; and the phrase *Emek Siddim* (שְׁדִיִּים, pl.), 'the valley of fields.' So it is rendered substantially in the Targums, and in the version of Saadias (سرج الحقل).

The authors of the Septuagint probably thought that the clause 'which is the Salt Sea,' was explanatory of the word *Siddim*, which they therefore rendered ἡ ἀλυσή. Or perhaps they may have read הַשְׂדִּים instead of הַשְׂדִּים; and ἀλυσή may be an error for ἀλυσκός = ἀλυσώδης, 'wooded'; a view which is corroborated by the Vulgate, which has *silvestris*; and by the reading of Symmachus and Theodotion, τῶν ἀλσῶν. Kalisch gives another explanation: '*Emek ha-Siddim* is a valley filled with rocks and pits (v. 10), causing obstructions and obstacles (comp. سى and سددة; Aquil. ἐν κοιλάδι τῶν περιπεδῶν).

The word rendered 'vale' is in Hebrew *Emek*, which means a low or sunk tract of land. It was probably a section of the Arabah somewhat lower than the rest; perhaps resembling the plain of Sakhah at the southern end of the Dead Sea. It was 'full of bitumen-pits,' or, as the Hebrew idiom expresses it, it was 'wells wells of bitumen' (בְּאֵרֵי חִמְרִי). They are so numerous as to stud its whole surface (ver. 10). It was the battle-field in which the king of Sodom and his allies were vanquished. It seems probable, though it is not stated, that Sodom and Gomorrah were situated in the vale. Be this as it may, the vale was included in the general destruction when 'the Lord rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the Lord in heaven' (xix. 24).

But the most remarkable fact regarding the vale of Siddim is that stated in ver. 3—'*It is the Salt Sea*' (הוּא יָם הַמֶּלַח). The meaning of these words cannot be mistaken; and it has already been shown that we have no more ground for questioning their genuineness than for questioning the genuineness of any other passage in Genesis. There is abundant evidence that the book as it now stands was the production of Moses. He may have embodied in it authentic documents handed down from a remoter age, arranging and supplementing them as he deemed necessary. But his additions would be as authoritative as the documents themselves. Until we can prove from clear evidence that the clause was interpolated by an uninspired writer, we must regard it as an integral part of the Mosaic record, and we must believe that the vale of Siddim was submerged.

The most careful explorations of recent travellers have not brought to light a single fact calculated to overthrow this view. On the contrary, the following results of scientific research go far to establish it. At the present day there are no bitumen-pits in the plains around the Dead Sea, and time could not have effaced them had they remained above water. It has been ascertained, from masses

of bitumen frequently thrown to the surface, that there must be wells of bitumen in the bed of the sea towards its southern end. Traces of what appears to have been 'a shower of sulphur' have been discovered recently on the south-west shore; and with it are layers and lumps of bitumen calcined by heat [SALT SEA]. The section of the Dead Sea south of el-Lisân has been found to be very shallow, only a few feet, and in places only a few inches of water covering a flat slimy plain—whereas the whole northern section is a deep and regularly-formed basin.

These facts would seem at least to suggest that that section of the Dead Sea which is south of the peninsula covers the region which was called in Lot's time 'the vale of Siddim.'—J. L. P.

SIDÈ (Σιδῆ), a town in Pamphylia on the coast, thirty stadia to the west of the river Melso. It is now called *Esy Adalia* (Beaufort, *Karamania*, p. 146, ff.)—†

SIDON. [ZIDON.]

SIHON (סִיחֹן, *sweeping away*; i.e. a warrior sweeping all before him; Sept. Σηών), the king of the Amorites, reigning at Heshbon, who was destroyed, and his kingdom subjugated, in the attempt to resist the progress of the Israelites through his dominions (Num. xxi. 21, 23, seq.) [AMORITES.]

SIHOR. [SHIHOR.]

SIHOR-LIBNATH. [SHIHOR-LIBNATH.]

SILAS (Σίλας), a contraction of SILVANUS (Σιλωνός), a distinguished Christian teacher in the church at Jerusalem, who, with Barnabas, was associated by that church with Paul (Acts xv. 22, 32), and accompanied him in his second journey through Asia Minor to Macedonia (Acts xv. 40; xvi. 19, 25; xvii. 4). He remained behind at Berea for a short time, when Paul was obliged to flee from that place (Acts xvii. 10, 14). They met again at Corinth (Acts xviii. 5; comp. Thess. i. 1), where Silas was active in the work of an evangelist (2 Cor. i. 19). He is invariably called Silvanus in the Epistles, but the contraction Silas is always used in the Acts. Whether this Silvanus is the same person who was the bearer of St. Peter's epistle to the churches in Asia Minor (1 Pet. v. 12) cannot be ascertained. The traditions (ap. Dorotheum et Hippolytum) regard Silas and Silvanus as different persons, making the former bishop of Corinth and the latter bishop of Thessalonica. See Fabricius, *Lux Evang.* p. 117; Cellarius, *Diss. de Sila Viro Apostol.*—J. K.

SILK. Whether this fabric was known to the Hebrews is extremely doubtful. There is no word in Hebrew answering to it, for the Hebrew words translated *silk* in the A. V., מָשִׁי (Ezek. xvi. 10, 13), and קָשִׁי (Prov. xxxi. 22), cannot be proved to be properly so rendered. Of the latter, indeed, it may be confidently affirmed that it is erroneously so rendered [SHESH]; and the presumption that the former designates *silk* rests solely on its being supposed to stand connected with the verb מָשָׁה, *mashah*, to draw out. The LXX. render it by τριχαπτον, which, though it may be used of silk, is used generally of any fine fabric. Some have suggested that the word קָשִׁי (Amos iii. 12) should be rendered *silk*, from a supposed identity with the



Arabic *dimakso* or *dimkās* silk. But this denotes *raw silk*, not *spun* or *thread silk*; and besides, the Hebrew and Arabic words are different (Henderson, *in loc.*; Pusey, *in loc.*) The only undoubted reference to silk in the Bible is in Rev. xviii. 12, where *σηρικόν* is mentioned as among the treasures of Babylon.—W. L. A.

SILLON (סִלּוֹן) occurs in Ezek. xxviii. 24, where it is rendered 'prickling brier' in the A. V. As

*sillon* is here mentioned with *koz*, it has been inferred that it must mean something of the same kind. Several Arabic words resemble it in sound; as *seel*, signifying a kind of wormwood; *silleh*, the plant *Zilla myagrurum*; *sillah*, the *πάρος* of the Greeks, supposed to be *Salsola kali* and *S. tragus*; *sulal* or *sulalon*, which signifies the *thorn* of the date-tree, while the Chaldee word *sillela* signifies a thorn simply. It is probable, therefore, that *sillon* has something of the same meaning, as also *sal-*



485. Village of Siloam.

*lonim* or *sillonim*, which occurs in Ezek. ii. 6 along with *sarabim*; but we are unable to fix upon any particular plant of Syria as the one intended.—J. F. R.

SILOAH. [SILOAM.]

SILOAM (Σιλωάμ), or SHILOAH (שִׁילֹחַ). The name Siloah or Siloam is found only three times in Scripture as applied to water: once in Isaiah

(viii. 6), who speaks of it as running water; again, as a pool, in Neh. ii. 15; and lastly, also as a pool, in the account of our Lord's healing the man who had been born blind (John ix. 7-11). None of these passages affords any clue to the situation of Siloam; but this silence is supplied by Josephus, who makes frequent mention of it as a fountain (*De Bell. Jud.* v. 4, sec. 1, 2), and indicates its situation at the mouth of the valley of Tyropæon,

where the fountain, now and long since indicated as that of Siloam, is still found. He describes its waters as sweet and abundant. Jerome (*Comment. in Esa.* viii. 6), indicating its situation more precisely, also mentions its irregular flow—a very remarkable circumstance, which has been noticed by most subsequent pilgrims and travellers. This assures us that the present fountain of Siloam is that which he had in view; and that it is the same to which the Scriptural notices refer there is no reason to doubt. The pool of Siloam is within and at the mouth of the valley of Tyropœon, and about eighty paces above its termination is that of Jehoshaphat. The water flows out of a small artificial basin under the cliff, the entrance to which is excavated in the form of an arch, and is immediately received into a larger reservoir, fifty-three feet in length by eighteen feet in width. A flight of steps leads down to the bottom of the reservoir, which is nineteen feet deep. This large receptacle is faced with a wall of stone, now slightly out of repair. Several columns stand out of the side walls, extending from the top downward into the cistern, the design of which it is difficult to conjecture. The water passes out of this reservoir through a channel cut in the rock, which is covered for a short distance; but subsequently it opens and discloses a lively copious stream, which is conducted into an enclosed garden planted with fig-trees. It is afterwards subdivided, and seems to be exhausted in irrigating a number of gardens occupied with figs, apricots, olive and other trees, and some flourishing legumes. The small upper basin or fountain excavated in the rock is merely the entrance, or rather the termination of a long and narrow subterranean passage beyond, by which the water comes from the Fountain of the Virgin. This has been established beyond dispute by Dr. Robinson, who, with his companion, had the hardihood to crawl through the passage. They found it 1750 feet in length, which, owing to its windings, is several hundred feet more than the direct distance above ground. It is thus proved that the water of both these fountains is the same, though some travellers have pronounced the water of Siloam to be bad, and that of the other fountain good. It has a peculiar taste, sweetish and very slightly brackish, but not at all disagreeable. Late in the season, when the water is low, it is said to become more brackish and unpleasant. The most remarkable circumstance is the ebb and flow of the waters, which, although often mentioned as a characteristic of Siloam, must belong equally to both fountains. Dr. Robinson himself witnessed this phenomenon in the Fountain of the Virgin, where the water rose in five minutes one foot in the reservoir, and in another five minutes sunk to its former level. The intervals and the extent of the flow and ebb in this and the fountain of Siloam vary with the season; but the fact, though it has not yet been accounted for, is beyond dispute (see Robinson's *Palestine*, i. 460, 492-498; Olin's *Travels*, ii. 153, 154; Williams's *Holy City*, pp. 378, 379).—J. K.

SILVANUS. [SILAS.]

SILVER. [KESEPH.]

SILVERLINGS (שִׁלְשִׁלִּים; LXX. σίκλος; Vulg. *argentus* sc. *siclus*), a word employed once in the A. V. (Is. vii. 23) as a translation of the Hebrew שִׁלְשִׁלִּים, which is generally elsewhere rendered in

the LXX. by ἀργύριον, though sometimes by χρυσός, and in the A. V. by 'silver' or 'money,' [PIECE OF SILVER.]—F. W. M.

SIMEON (שִׁמְעוֹן, *favourable hearing*; Συμεών).

1. The second son of Jacob, born of Leah (Gen. xxix. 33), and progenitor of the tribe of the same name. He was the full brother of Levi (Gen. xxxiv. 25; xxxv. 23), with whom he took part in cruelly avenging upon the men of Shechem the injury which their sister Dinah had received from the son of Hamor (Gen. xxxiv. 25-30). [DINAH.] The ferocity of character thus indicated probably furnishes the reason that Joseph singled Simeon out to remain behind in Egypt, when his other brethren were the first time dismissed (Gen. xlii. 24); but when they returned he was restored safely to them (Gen. xliii. 23). Nothing more of his personal history is known. The tribe descended from Simeon contained 59,300 able-bodied men at the time of the Exode (Num. i. 23), but was reduced to 22,200 before entering Palestine (Num. xxvi. 14). This immense decrease in the course of one generation was greater than that sustained by all the other tribes together, and reduced Simeon from the third rank to the lowest of all in point of numbers. It cannot well be accounted for but by supposing that the tribe erred most conspicuously, and was punished most severely in those transactions which drew down judgments from God. As it appeared that Judah had received too large a territory in the first distribution of lands, a portion of it was afterwards assigned to Simeon. This portion lay in the south-west, towards the borders of Philistia and the southern desert, and contained seventeen towns (Josh. xix. 1-9). However, the Judahites must afterwards have re-appropriated some of these towns; at least Beersheba (1 Kings xix. 3) and Ziklag (1 Sam. xxvii. 6) appear at a subsequent period as belonging to the kingdom of Judah. The remarkable passage in 1 Chron. iv. 41-43 points to an emigration of or from this tribe, perhaps more extensive than the words would seem to indicate, and suggests that when they ceased to have common interests this small tribe was obliged to give way before the greater power of Judah and the pressure of its population (comp. Gen. xlix. 7). Nothing more of this tribe is recorded, although its name occurs in unhistorical intimations (Ezek. xlviii. 24; Rev. vii. 7).

2. The aged person who, when Jesus was presented by his mother at the temple, recognised the infant as the expected Messiah, and took him in his arms and blessed him, glorifying God (Luke ii. 25-35). The circumstance is interesting, as evincing the expectations which were then entertained of the speedy advent of the Messiah; and important from the attestation which it conveyed in favour of Jesus, from one who was known to have received the divine promise that he should 'not taste of death till he had seen the Lord's Christ.'

3. A person surnamed NIGER, probably from his swarthy complexion, or perhaps from his belonging to the negro race. He was one of the most distinguished among the prophets and teachers in the primitive church at Antioch (Acts xiii. 1).

SIMON (Σίμων), the same name, in origin and signification, as SIMEON.

1. Son of Matthias. [MACCABEAN FAMILY.]

2. The apostle to whom Christ gave the name



of Peter, after which he was rarely called by his former name alone, but usually by that of Peter, or else Simon Peter [PETER].

3. SIMON ZELOTES (Σίμων ὁ Ζηλωτής), one of the twelve apostles (Luke vi. 15; Acts i. 13), and probably so named from having been one of the Zealots. He is also called 'The Canaanite' (Σίμων ὁ Κανανίτης) in Matt. x. 4; Mark iii. 18. This is not to be taken for a Gentile name; it is an Aramaic word (ܣܝܡܢ) signifying 'zeal,' and therefore of the same signification as Zeletes. Simon is the least known of all the apostles, not a single circumstance beyond the fact of his apostleship being recorded in the Scriptures. He is probably to be identified with Simon the son of Cleophas; and if so, the traditions concerning that person given by those who make them distinct must be assigned to him. These traditions, however, assign a different destiny to this Simon, alleging that he preached the Gospel throughout North Africa, from Egypt to Mauritania, and that he even proceeded to the remote isles of Britain.

4. A brother of the apostles James and Jude, and a kinsman of Jesus (Matt. xiii. 55; Mark vi. 3). According to some he is the same with the Simon Zelotes above mentioned; but for this there is no evidence. The prevailing opinion is that he is the Simeon who became bishop of the church at Jerusalem after the death of James (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 11; iv. 22); but according to Eusebius this Simeon was the son of Clopas, and if so could not be the same as the brother of James and Jude. It is of him that Eusebius records that when Trajan caused search to be made for all those who claimed to be of the race of David, he was accused before Atticus, the governor of Palestine, and after enduring great torture was crucified, being then 120 years of age (Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* iii. 32; Epiphanius, *Hæres.* c. 14; Tillemont, *Hist. Eccles.* ii. 204).

5. The father of Judas Iscariot (John vi. 71; xii. 4; xiii. 2, 26).

6. A Pharisee who invited Jesus to his house (Luke vii. 40, 43, 44).

7. SIMON THE LEPER, so called from having formerly been afflicted with leprosy (Matt. xxvi. 6; Mark xiv. 3). He was of Bethany, and after the raising of Lazarus gave a feast, probably in celebration of that event, at which both Jesus and Lazarus were present (comp. John xii. 2). He was therefore probably a near friend or relation of Lazarus: some suppose that he was his brother; others that he was the husband of Mary, the sister of Lazarus, who at this feast anointed the Lord's feet, and that Lazarus abode with them. But all this is pure conjecture.

8. SIMON THE CYRENIAN, who was compelled to aid in bearing the cross of Jesus (Matt. xxvii. 32; Mark xv. 21; Luke xxiii. 26). Whether this surname indicated that Simon was one of the many Jews from Cyrene who came to Jerusalem at the Passover, or that he was originally from Cyrene, although then settled at Jerusalem, is uncertain. The latter seems the more likely opinion, as Simon's two sons, Alexander and Rufus, were certainly disciples of Christ; and it was perhaps the knowledge of this fact which led the Jews to incite the soldiers to lay on him the burden of the cross. The family of Simon seems to have resided afterwards at Rome; for St. Paul, in his epistle to the church there, salutes the wife of Simon with tender-

ness and respect, calling her his 'mother,' though he does not expressly name her: 'Salute Rufus, and his mother and mine' (Rom. xvi. 13).

9. SIMON THE TANNER, with whom St. Peter lodged at Joppa (Acts ix. 43; x. 6; xvii. 32). He was doubtless a disciple. His house was by the sea-side, beyond the wall, as the trade of a tanner was one which the Jews did not allow to be carried on inside their towns.

10. SIMON MAGUS. In the eighth chapter of the Acts we read that Philip the Evangelist, whilst preaching the gospel in a city of Samaria, came in contact with a person of the name of Simon, who had formerly exercised immense power over the minds of the people by his skill in the resources of magic. So high were the pretensions of this impostor, and so profound the impression he had made on the minds of the multitude, that they not only received with readiness all that he taught, but admitted his claim to be regarded as an incarnation of the demiurgic power of God. The doctrines of Philip, however, concerning Christ as the true and only incarnation of Deity, supported by the unparalleled and beneficent miracles which he performed, had the effect of dispelling this delusion, and inducing the people to renounce their allegiance to Simon and receive baptism as the disciples of Christ. On the mind of Simon himself a deep impression was also produced. In his former pursuits he had been probably not a little of a dupe as well as a deceiver, for the belief in the reality of magical power was so widely diffused through the East that we can easily suppose Simon to have been thoroughly convinced, not only that the possession of such power was attainable, but that the charms of which he was master actually conferred upon him a portion of that power, though very far short of what he pretended to have. To his mind, therefore, the idea in all probability suggested by the miracles of Philip, the reality of which he could not doubt, was, that here was a magician of a higher order than himself—one who was possessed of charms and secrets more powerful and mysterious than those which he had obtained. To Philip, consequently, as a greater master of his science than himself, he deemed it wise to succumb, in the hope doubtless of being able ere long to participate in his knowledge and to wield his power. With this view he professed himself a disciple of Jesus, and as such was baptized by Philip.

On the news of Philip's success reaching Jerusalem, Peter and John went down to Samaria to confer upon the new converts the spiritual gifts which were vouchsafed to the primitive churches. During their visit Simon discovered that by means of prayer and the imposition of hands the apostles were able to dispense the power of the Holy Ghost; and supposing probably that in this lay the much-prized secret of their superior power, he attempted to induce the apostles to impart to him this power by offering them money. This, which for such a man was a very natural act, intimated to the apostles at once his true character (or rather, to express more accurately our conviction, it enabled them to manifest to the people and publicly to act upon what their own power of discerning spirits must have already taught them of his true character); and accordingly Peter indignantly repudiated his offer, proclaimed his utter want of all true knowledge of Christian doctrine (so we understand the words οὐκ ἔστι σοι μερίς οὐδὲ κληρος ἐν τῷ λόγῳ



τούτω, ver. 21), and exhorted him to repentance and to prayer for forgiveness. The words of Peter on this occasion, it is justly remarked by Neander, 'present the doctrine of the gospel, which so expressly intimates the absolute necessity of a right state of mind for the reception of all that Christianity conveys, in direct opposition to the Magianism, which denies all necessary connection between the state of mind and that which is divine and supernatural, brings down the divine and supernatural within the sphere of ordinary nature, and imagines that divine power may be appropriated by means of something else than that which is allied to it in man's nature, and which supplies the only point of union between the two' (*Apostol. Zeitalt.* i. 82). The solemn and threatening words of the apostle struck dread into the bosom of the impostor, who besought the apostle to pray for him that none of the things he had threatened might come upon him—an entreaty which shows that his mind still laboured under what Neander above describes as the chief error of the Magian doctrine.

After this we read no more of Simon Magus in the N. T. By the ecclesiastical writers, however, he is frequently referred to, and several curious particulars are recorded concerning him, some of which must unquestionably be abandoned to the region of fable, but many of which are apparently true. According to Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. sec. 26), Theodoret (*Hæret. fab.* i. 1), Epiphanius (*Hæret.* xxi. 55), and others, he was a native of Gittion or Gittum, a town of Samaria. The Clementine Homilies (ii. 22) inform us that he studied at Alexandria; but their authority is very doubtful. Josephus speaks of a Simon Magus who was a dependent of Felix and the minister of his vices (*Antiq.* xx. 7. 2), and whom Neander regards as the same person with the one now under notice (*lib. cit.* p. 84). Justin says he went to Rome in the reign of Claudius, where he attracted much attention, and gained such reverence that he was worshipped as a god. The same writer affirms that he even saw a statue erected in the Tiber, between the two bridges, to his memory, and bearing the inscription 'SIMONI DEO SANCTO,' and this is repeated by many of the fathers. It is now, however, very generally supposed that Justin's partial acquaintance with the Latin language and mythology led him to mistake a statue of the Sabine deity, Semo, for one to Simon, a supposition which it is hardly possible to resist when we know that a piece of marble has been found in an island of the Tiber actually bearing the inscription SEMONI SANCO DEO FIDIO SACRUM (Salmasius, *Ad Spartianum*, p. 38; Van Dale, *De Oraculis*, p. 579; Burton, *Heresies of the Apostolic Age*, p. 374, etc.) Eusebius adds (*Hist. Eccles.* ii. 13, 14), that the popularity of the impostor was completely destroyed by St. Peter's coming to Rome; and later writers give us a wonderful legend of his destruction by the miraculous power of the apostle's prayers joined to those of St. Paul. All are agreed in regarding these legendary accounts as fabulous, but Dr. Burton has with much ingenuity endeavoured to expiscate the truth which may be involved in them. According to his view it is probable that Simon, in endeavouring to work something that should pass for a miracle, and to maintain his credit against the apostles, met with an accident which ended in his death (*lib.*

*cit.* p. 371). To us it appears more probable that the whole is a mythic fable; the silence of all the earlier fathers regarding it is sufficient to invalidate its pretensions to be viewed as history.

Simon's doctrines were substantially those of the Gnostics, and he is not without reason regarded as the first who attempted to engraft the theurgy and egotism of the Magian philosophy upon Christianity. He represented himself, according to Jerome (*In Matt.* Opp. iv. 114), as the Word of God, the Perfection, the Paraclete, the Almighty, the All of Deity; and Irenæus (i. 20) tells us he carried with him a beautiful female named Helena, whom he set forth as the first idea (*ἔννοια*) of Deity. If this be not exaggerated fable on the part of his enemies, we must suppose that such modes of speech and representation were adopted by him as suited to the highly allegorical character of Orientalism in his day: for were we to suppose him to have meant such utterances to be taken literally, we should be constrained to look upon him in the light of a madman.

Comp. Tillemont, *Mémoires*, tom. i. p. 158, ff.; Beausobre, *Hist. du Manichéisme*, tom. i.; Ittigius, *Hist. Eccles. Selecta Capita*, v. 16, etc.; Mosheim, *Hist. of the Church*, Cent. i. 5, 12; *De Rebus Christianorum*, etc., p. 190, ff.; Burton's *Heresies of the Apostolic Age*, Lect. iv.; Milman, *Hist. of Christianity*, vol. ii. p. 96, ff., etc.—W. L. A.

SIMON, RICHARD, was born at Dieppe, May 13, 1638. He entered the congregation of the Oratory at an early age, and soon distinguished himself as a learned and laborious Hebrew scholar. He taught philosophy first at Juilly, and then at Paris, where he employed himself in forming a catalogue of the numerous and valuable Oriental MSS. in the library of the Oratory, and thence making collections which assisted him greatly in his subsequent labours. From the beginning of his career he was distinguished by a boldness of thought and action which are rarely found in members of his communion; and the first work of magnitude which he attempted was prompted by the offer of 12,000 livres by the Protestants of Charenton for a new translation of the Bible in place of that of Geneva, which was objected to as antiquated and obscure. But his plan of a version which should be equally acceptable to Protestants and Roman Catholics had no result except to bring upon him the rebukes of his Roman Catholic brethren. His celebrity is chiefly owing to his (1.) *Critical History of the O. T.*, first published in 1678. In the course of this work he denies that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch, and attributes its compilation to scribes of the time of Esdras, acting under the direction of the Great Synagogue. So daring a criticism could not fail to excite the alarm of his censor Pirot, and was by him submitted to Bossuet, who obtained an order from the Chancellor to forbid its publication until more rigorously examined. The result of the examination was a decree of council suppressing the work, and ordering all copies of it to be destroyed. One of these escaped, and was the basis of a defective edition published by the Elzevirs in Holland. A Latin translation by Aubert de Verse is still more defective. But a very correct edition, with preface, apology, marginal notes, and controversial tracts, was published at Rotterdam in 1685, by Raineer Leers. An English translation was published in London in 1682. The scandal



occasioned by this work fell on the congregation of the Oratory, and after a vain attempt by Abel-Louis de Sainte Marthe, the general of the order, to make him modify his views, he was ejected from the body, and retired to his cure at Bolleville in Normandy. Having returned to Paris after an absence of two years, he published in 1689 his (2.) *Critical History of the N. T.*, and in 1690 his (3.) *Critical History of the Versions of the N. T.* These works were well received, and it was proposed to republish his *Histories*, while Bossuet wished to engage him in the translation into Latin of a number of the theological tractates of the Greek church for the information of Catholics. But these plans fell to the ground from his refusal to alter his criticisms on the Pentateuch, and in 1693 he published at Rotterdam his (4.) *Critical History of the Principal Commentators on the N. T.*, in which he spoke very contemptuously of councils and fathers, especially St. Augustine, while he extolled the merits of Grotius and the Unitarians. His next work was (5.) *A French Translation of the N. T. with critical remarks*, printed in 1702 at Trevoux, the capital of the little state of Dombes, to whose sovereign, the Duke du Maine, he dedicated the work. But notwithstanding the *privilege* of this prince, and the approbation of Bouvet, a doctor of the Sorbonne, the keen judgment of Bossuet detected false views and dangerous principles in every part of the work, and stopped its publication. This led to a good deal of controversy, and some manœuvring on the part of Simon, who succeeded in obtaining for it the privilege of Pontchartrain, the Chancellor of France. But the Cardinal de Noailles, Archbishop of Paris, forbade its perusal by a mandate of the 15th October 1702. Simon, however, had powerful supporters, and it required all the address and resolution of Bossuet to obtain a revocation of the privilege granted by Pontchartrain, and pass against the work a mandate similar to that of the Cardinal Archbishop. He died at Dieppe, April 11, 1712, after leaving his books and MSS. to the Cathedral of Rouen.

He was a man of immense learning, and his works abound in curious and instructive observations; but he was too fond of new and paradoxical opinions, and too obstinately attached to those he had formed, never allowing that any harm could result from them. He had the fancy of writing under fictitious names, and did not scruple to disown a work which he thought it dangerous to acknowledge. He wrote many books besides the above, among which may be named *Fides Ecclesie Orientalis*, 1671 and 1682; *Ceremonies et Coutumes des Juifs d'aujourd'hui*, translated from the Italian of Leon de Modena—the edition of 1681 has a supplement on the Caraites and Samaritans; *Histoire Critique de la Creance et des Coutumes des nations du Levant*, 1684, 1711; *Histoire de l'Origine et des Progres des Revenus Ecclesiastiques*, 1684; *Novorum Bibliorum Synopsis*—this was the project of a new Polyglott to contain the Hebrew and the Greek text, and the Latin Vulgate, in three columns, 1684; the work was far advanced at the time of his death. *Ambrosii Origenis Epistola de Novis Bibliis Polyglottis* contains the plan of a dictionary and Hebrew grammar, to be used with his Polyglott.—M. H.

SIMONIS, JOH., conrector of the gymnasium, and professor of church history and antiquities in

the university of Halle, was born 10th Feb. 1698, and died 2d Jan. 1768. He was an excellent Hebraist. Besides an admirable edition of the Hebrew text of the O. T., often reprinted, he issued an *Onomasticon V. T.* 1741; *N. T. et Libb. V. T. apocryphorum*, 1762; *Lexicon Manuale Heb. et Chald.* 1752, 1771, re-edited by Eichhorn 1793, and again by Winer 1828.—W. L. A.

SIN (סִין; Sept. Σαῖς), a city of Egypt, which is mentioned in Ezek. xxx. 15, 16, in connection with Thebes and Memphis, and is described as 'the strength of Egypt,' showing it to have been a fortified place. The Sept. makes it to have been Saïs, but Jerome regards it as Pelusium. This latter identification has been generally adopted, and is scarcely open to dispute. Sin means 'mire,' and Pelusium, from the Greek *pelos*, has the same meaning, which is, indeed, preserved in the modern name Tineh, 'clay,' all doubtless derived from the muddy nature of the soil in the vicinity. Sir J. G. Wilkinson, however, supposes that the ancient native name more nearly resembled the PEREMOUN or PHEROMIS of the Copts; and the latter is doubtless the origin of the Farama of the Arabs, by which it is still known. Pelusium was anciently a place of great consequence. It was strongly fortified, 'being the bulwark of the Egyptian frontier on the eastern side, and was considered the 'key,' or, as the prophet terms it, 'the strength' of Egypt' (*Hist. Bell. Alexand.* pp. 20, 27; *Liv.* xiv. 11; *Joseph. Antiq.* xiv. 8. 1; *De Bell. Jud.* i. 8. 7; i. 9. 3). It was near this place that Pompey met his death, being murdered by order of Ptolemy, whose protection he had claimed. It lay among swamps and morasses on the most easterly estuary of the Nile (which received from it the name of Ostium Pelusiacum), and stood twenty stades from the Mediterranean (Strabo, xvi. p. 760; xvii. 801, 802; *Plin. Hist. Nat.* v. 11). The site is now only approachable by boats during a high Nile, or by land when the summer sun has dried the mud left by the inundation: the remains consist only of mounds and a few fallen columns. The climate is very unwholesome. (Wilkinson's *Mod. Egypt.* i. 406, 444; Savary's *Letters on Egypt*, i. let. 24; Henniker's *Travels*).—J. K.

SIN, THE WILDERNESS OF, the desert tract on which the Israelites entered on turning off from the Red Sea (Exod. xvi. 1; xvii. 1; Num. xxxiii. 12) [SINAI].

SINAI (סִינַי; *Swâ*; Alex. in *Judg.* v. 5, *Seuâ*, and in *Neh.* ix. 13, *Suwa*; in the N. T. *Swâ*; *Sinai*), a well-known mountain in the peninsula formed by the gulfs of Suez and Akabah. The name appears to be primeval, and its meaning is unknown. It is mentioned thirty-one times in the Pentateuch, and only four times in the rest of the O. T. (*Judg.* v. 5; *Neh.* ix. 13; *Ps.* lxxviii. 8, 17), and four in the N. T. (*Acts* vii. 30, 38; *Gal.* iv. 24, 25). It would thus appear that the name had in a great measure become obsolete at an early period.

The leading statements made regarding Sinai in the Pentateuch demand special notice, as they constitute the chief evidences in establishing its identity. A small section of the wilderness through which the Israelites passed took its name from the mountain (Exod. xix. 1, 2). In one direction was



Rephidim, only a short day's march distant; while Kibroth-hattaavah lay a day's march in another. The 'desert of Sinai,' therefore, could only have been a very few miles across.

In the third month of their journey, the Israelites 'departed from Rephidim, came into the wilderness of Sinai . . . and camped before the mount' (xix. 1, 2). The base of the mount in front of the camp appears to have been so sharply defined that barriers were put up to prevent any of the people from approaching rashly or inadvertently to 'touch the mount' (ver. 12). The 'top of the mount' was in full view from the camp; so that when the Lord 'came down' upon it, the thick cloud in which his glory was shrouded was 'in sight of all the people' (ver. 11, 16). While Moses was receiving the law on the summit of Sinai, 'the thunders and lightnings, and the voice of the trumpet' were so near the camp, that the people in terror 'removed and stood afar off,' yet still remained in sight of the mount, for 'the sight of the glory of the Lord was like devouring fire on the top of the mount in the eyes of the children of Israel' (cf. xx. 18; xxiv. 17). Upon that peak the tables of the law were twice given to Moses, with all the details of the rites and ceremonies recorded in the Pentateuch (xxi. 18; xxxiv.) Sinai was thus emphatically 'the mount of the Lord' (Num. x. 33). There the Lord spake with Moses 'face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend' (Exod. xxxiii. 11); and there he revealed himself in such glory and majesty as were never witnessed on earth.

In these notices 'there are implied three specifications, which must all be present in any spot answering to the true Sinai:—1. A mountain-summit overlooking the place where the people stood. 2. Space sufficient, adjacent to the mountain, for so large a multitude to stand and behold the phenomena on the summit; and even when afraid, to remove afar off and still be in sight. 3. The relation between this space where the people stood and the base of the mountain must be such that they could approach and stand at 'the nether part of the mount;' that they could also touch it; and that bounds could be set round the mount' (*Bibliotheca Sac.* May 1849, p. 382).

Another point of interest to the geographer is the connection established in Scripture between Horeb and Sinai.

Horeb is mentioned before Sinai. It was the spot on which Moses had his first interview with Jehovah at the 'burning bush;' and it is called 'the mountain of God' (Exod. iii. 1, 2). When the people were at Rephidim, Moses was commanded to go and smite the rock in Horeb, and from it a supply of water was obtained (xvii. 6). An incidental notice in Exod. xxxiii. 6 shows that Horeb was beside the camp in 'the desert of Sinai;' and another notice in Deut. iv. 10-12 identifies it with Mount Sinai (cf. Deut. xviii. 16; Ps. cvi. 19). Perhaps Horeb may have been the name given to a mountain-group, while Sinai was restricted to one peak (see, however, Robinson, *B. R.* i. 120; Winer, *R. W.* s. v. 'Sinai;') Lepsius, *Letters*, p. 365; and the clever, but not convincing arguments of Sandie, pp. 208, *seq.*)

Such, then, are the general conclusions to which an examination of the Biblical narrative leads, apart altogether from ecclesiastical tradition and modern theory; and to these the writer feels himself bound to adhere.

The question now arises: Are there sufficient data to determine conclusively the mountain-peak to which the name Sinai was given? This is a question not merely of literary curiosity, but of the highest geographical importance. A brief sketch of the geography of the peninsula will best prepare the way for a satisfactory answer, and the identification of Sinai.

The physical features of the peninsula are broadly and deeply marked. In form a triangle, it is shut in on two sides by the gulfs of Akabah and Suez, and on the third by the desert of Tih. Within these outer barriers are others, enclosing what may be termed the shrine. Along the southern edge of Tih runs, like a vast wall, a bleak limestone ridge; and south of it again is a parallel belt of sandy plain, appropriately termed *Debbet er-Ramleh*. A naked gravelly plain called el-Kâa extends along the whole shore of the gulf of Suez. Between el-Kâa, Debbet er-Ramleh, and the gulf of Akabah, lies a group of mountains, triangular in shape, which forms as it were the nucleus of the peninsula, and is now called emphatically *el-Tôr*, 'The mountains.'

On the north and west the group has projecting buttresses of ruddy sandstone, on which most of the inscriptions in the 'written valley' are traced; but the main body, and all the loftiest peaks are granite, and exhibit a variety of colouring—red, yellow, purple, and green—making them objects of singular beauty when bathed in the bright sunshine. They are all, however, naked and desolate. As the eye wanders over their riven sides, and up their jagged peaks, not a tree, not a shrub, not a blade of grass is seen (cf. Olin, *Travels*, i. 389). Rugged passes, almost as bare and dry and desolate as the granite cliffs overhead, wind from the outer borders up into the centre of the group. On penetrating these ravines, a few acacias are here and there seen in a cranny of the rocks, and a clump of wild palms is occasionally met with fringing a well or fountain. In the heart of these mountains, in nature's profoundest solitude, amid scenery unsurpassed for wild and stern grandeur, history, tradition, and geography, have combined to locate Sinai, 'the mount of the Lord,' and all those wondrous events which were enacted round it.

There are three claimants for the name SINAI; and it will be necessary to examine them successively.

1. *Mount Serbâl*.—Its claims are advocated by Lepsius (*Letters from Egypt*, London 1853), Bartlett (*Forty Days in the Desert*), Stewart (*The Tent and the Khan*), and others. The arguments in its favour may be thus summed up:—It was the most conspicuous mountain in the peninsula, and therefore the best known to the Egyptian colonists. Near its northern base was the oasis of Feirân, which was probably the centre of the primeval Sinaitic population; and the summit of Serbâl would form their natural sanctuary. Moses, knowing such a fertile and well-watered spot as Feirân, would never have led the Israelites past it, but would naturally select it as the place of the permanent camp (Lepsius, pp. 356-363). Besides, it is supposed to be more in accordance with the narration of the wilderness journey than any other mountain; and it is alleged that early historical tradition is wholly in its favour.

The two last arguments are the only ones of any weight; and neither of them stands the test of



critical examination. The basis of Lepsius' argument is that Rephidim is identical with Feirân; and that Moses selected this spot as the site of a permanent camp because it was well watered and fertile; but the sacred writer tells us that in Rephidim 'there was no water for the people to drink' (Exod. xvii. 1). With strange inconsistency Lepsius affirms that the 'wonderful fountain of Feirân' was opened by the miracle recorded in Exod. xvii. If so, then how could the place have been well watered previously? But further: Rephidim was a day's march—probably a short one—from the permanent camp before Sinai (xix. 1). These facts totally overthrow the alleged argument from Scripture.

The historical argument is not more convincing, although Dean Stanley somewhat rashly says: 'It (Serbâl) was undoubtedly identified with Sinai by Eusebius, Jerome, and Cosmas; that is, by all known writers till the time of Justinian' (*S. and P.* p. 40). Eusebius merely states that 'Rephidim is a place in the wilderness by Horeb, and that there Joshua fought with Amalek near Pharan.\* Jerome only translates his words without addition or comment (he renders *ἐγγυς* by *prope*). The language of Cosmas is equally indefinite,† especially as it is known that Pharan was a pretty large district, and that Horeb is said to be *six miles* distant from it.‡

But the nature of the country around Serbal is sufficient of itself to show that it could not possibly have been Sinai. Wady Feirân is three miles distant, and from it an occasional pass only can be got at the summit. Wady Aliyât, which leads up to Serbâl, is narrow, rugged, and rocky, affording no place for a large camp. This is acknowledged on all hands (Lepsius, pp. 423, *seq.*; Bartlett, p. 57; Stanley, p. 44; Sandie, *Horeb and Jerusalem*, p. 149); and as there is no other valley or plain at the base of the mountain, it follows that Serbâl cannot be Sinai.

2. *Jebel Mûsa* is the Sinai of recent ecclesiastical tradition, and it has found some advocates among

modern travellers (Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, i. 219; Sandie, *Horeb*, etc.) It is situated in the very centre of the mountain group; but it is neither so lofty nor so commanding as some others around it. Its elevation is only about 7000 feet, while Jebel Katherîn, three miles south, is 8700 feet, and Um Shaumer beyond it attains an altitude of 9300



486. Sketch Plan of Sinai.

feet. Jebel Mûsa is the highest point of a short isolated ridge which runs from north-west to south-east, between the two parallel ravines of Shueib and Leja. At one end (the south-east) it is bounded by a rugged wady called Sebafeyeh, at the other by the upland plain of *er-Rahah*. In Wady Shueib, on the north-east of the ridge, stands the convent of St. Catherine, with the naked cliffs rising almost perpendicularly over it. In the glen of Leja, on the opposite side, is the reputed rock of Moses. The peak of *Jebel Mûsa* ('Moses' Mountain'), which the monks identify with Sinai, is at the southern extremity of the range, overlooking Wady Sebafeyeh and a confined region of rugged gravelly hills near it. The summit is a platform about thirty paces in diameter, partly covered with ruins. At its eastern end is a little chapel, and near it a mosque. Notwithstanding the elevation the view is not extensive; and no plain is in sight on which the camp of the Israelites could have stood; nor is the base of the peak at all so clearly defined as the incidents of the sacred narrative require.

Various traditions—Jewish, Christian, and Mohammedan—have found a local habitation on this mountain. A rugged ancient path, in many places hewn into flights of steps up the granite cliffs, passes a grotto of the Virgin, the cave where Elijah

\* His words are: 'Ραφιδίμ, τόπος τῆς ἐρήμου παρὰ τὸ Χωρήβ ὄρος . . . ἐνθα καὶ πολεμεῖ Ἰησοῦς τὸν Ἀμαλὴκ ἐγγυς Φαράν (*Onomast.* s. v.)

† Εἴτα πάλιν παρενέβαλον εἰς Ῥαφιδίον, εἰς τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Φαράν· καὶ διψουσάντων αὐτῶν, πορεύεται κατὰ πρόσταξιν Θεοῦ ὁ Μωϋσῆς μετὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ ἡ βασιδὸς ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ, εἰς Χωρήβ τὸ ὄρος, τοιούτως ἐν τῷ Σινάϊ, ἐγγυς ὄντι τῆς Φαράν ὡς ἀπὸ μιλίων ἑξ (*Topogr. Christ.* v.)

‡ The writer has not considered it necessary to discuss the argument grounded on the remarkable Siniatic inscriptions, though Lepsius presses it, and Stanley says that the natural inference from them is that Serbal 'in the earlier ages enjoyed a larger support of tradition than Gebel Mousa' (p. 39). But how can this be? Wady Mokatteb, in which most of the inscriptions are found, is the leading route to Jebel Mûsa as well as to Serbâl. Inscriptions have also been discovered on the northern road from Egypt to Jebel Mûsa by Surabet el-Khâdem; and they are much more numerous in the passes around Jebel Mûsa—in Wady Leja, Nukb Hâwy, etc.—than in Wady Aliyât, the only pass leading to Serbâl. It may be safely affirmed that the Siniatic inscriptions do not, for the present at least, affect the question at issue in any way (*Handbook*, pp. 16, *seq.*)



dwelt in Horeb, the footmarks of Mohammed's camel, and other spots equally apocryphal, in its winding course to the summit. This is the Sinai of tradition, but certainly not that of the Bible.

3. *Ras es-Sufsâfeh* is the third claimant for the name Sinai; and its claim is valid. It forms the north-western point of the ridge of which Jebel-Mûsa is the south-eastern. The name signifies 'the peak (or head) of the willow';\* and is derived from a willow-tree which grows in a cleft on its side. The summit is very clearly defined, rising high above all the other peaks near it. In front it descends in broken crags of naked granite to Wady er-Râhah. The view from it is not so extensive as that from Jebel Mûsa, but it is far more interesting and impressive. The whole extent of the plain of er-Râhah, measuring more than two miles in length, and ranging from one-third to two-thirds of a mile in breadth, is visible. The

eye can follow its windings as it runs away among the mountains in the distance. The level expanse of Wady esh-Sheikh, which joins er-Râhah, is also seen opening out on the right; while opposite it on the left is another section of plain forming a recess in the mountains. From near the summit a wild ravine runs down the front of the mountain, conveying a winter torrent into er-Râhah. Up this ravine the ascent may be made from the plain. It is rugged and steep; but an active mountaineer, such as Moses was, could easily accomplish it.

There can scarcely be a doubt that Râs es-Sufsâfeh is Sinai, 'The Mount of the Lord'; every requirement of the sacred narration is supplied, and every incident illustrated, by the features of the surrounding district. Here is a plain sufficient to contain the Israelitish camp, and so close to the mountain's base that barriers could be erected to prevent the rash or the heedless from touching it.



487. The Summit of Mount Sinai.

Here is a mountain-top where the clouds that enshrined the Lord when he descended upon it would be visible to the vast multitude, even when in fear they would withdraw from the base, and retire to a distance. From this peak the thunderings and the voice of Jehovah would resound with terrific effect through the plain, and away among the cliffs and glens of the surrounding mountains. When descending through the clouds that shrouded it, Moses could hear also the songs and shouts of the infatuated people as they danced round the golden calf; and in 'the brook that descends out of the mount' (Deut. ix. 21), through the ravine into er-Râhah, he could cast the dust of the destroyed

idol. In fact, the mountain, the plain, the streamlet, and the whole topography, correspond in every respect to the historical account given by Moses.

The words of Dean Stanley are equally graphic and convincing. 'No one who has approached the Ras Sasâfeh through that noble plain, or who has looked down upon the plain from that majestic height, will willingly part with the belief that these are the two essential features of the view of the Israelite camp. That such a plain should exist at all in front of such a cliff is so remarkable a coincidence with the sacred narrative, as to furnish a strong internal argument, not merely of its identity with the scene, but of the scene itself having been described by an eyewitness. The awful and lengthened approach, as to some natural sanctuary, would have been the fittest preparation for the coming scene. The low line of alluvial mounds at the foot of the cliff exactly answer to the 'bounds' which were to keep the people off from 'touching

\* Stanley spells it *Sasâfeh*, and is followed by most recent travellers. The proper orthography, as all Arabic scholars must know, is *Sufsâfeh*,

صفاة.



the mount.' The plain itself is not broken and uneven, and narrowly shut in, like almost all others in the range, but presents a long retiring sweep, against which the people could 'remove and stand afar off.' The cliff, rising like a huge altar, in front of the whole congregation, and visible against the sky in lonely grandeur from end to end of the whole plain, is the very image of 'the mount that might be touched,' and from which the voice of God might be heard far and wide over the stillness of the plain below, widened at that part to its utmost extent by the confluence of all the contiguous valleys. Here, beyond all other parts of the peninsula, is the adytum, withdrawn as if in the 'end of the world,' from all the stir and confusion of earthly things' (pp. 42, 43).

It is a remarkable fact that Sinai never became a place of Jewish pilgrimage. Elijah went there, but it was at the command of God, and to escape the vengeance of Jezebel. He is the only Jew, so far as history tells, who visited 'the mount of the Lord' after the time of Moses. At a very early period, however, in the Christian era, Sinai began to be an object of reverence. It appears that refugees from persecution in Egypt first sought an asylum amid the mountains. Anchorites consequently flocked to it, and convents were at length founded. The poor monks had hard fare, and were exposed during a long course of ages to persecutions and fearful massacres at the hands of the wild nomads. In the early part of the 6th century the emperor Justinian caused a church to be erected, and a fortified convent to be built round it, to protect the monks from the incursions of the Ishmaelites. It is the same which still exists in the wild ravine under the northern brow of Sinai. The number of resident monks is now usually about twenty-four, though in the 14th century it is said to have been as high as four hundred. They are ruled by a prior; but there is an archbishop who always resides at Constantinople, and is one of the four independent archbishops of the Greek Church. The library of the convent contains some 1500 printed books, and about 700 manuscripts. A few of the latter are of great antiquity and value; among them Tischendorf was so fortunate as to discover, in the year 1859, the celebrated *Codex Sinaiticus*, one of the most ancient and valuable copies of the Greek N. T. extant (Robinson, *B. R.* i. 88-144; Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria*, pp. 541-590; *Bibliotheca Sac.* May 1849, pp. 381-386; Stanley, *S. and P.* pp. 3-77; Beamont, *Cairo to Sinai*, pp. 58-85; Sandie, *Horeb and Jerusalem*, pp. 154-224. The German writers—Ritter, *Pal. und Syr.* i.; Ruppel, *Reise*; Schubert, *Reise*, ii.; and Niebuhr, *Description de l'Arabie*—may be consulted with advantage; and full descriptions of the convent, with views, are given in Laborde's *Mount Sinai and Petra*, and in Bartlett's *Forty Days in the Desert*).

The remarks of Mr. Beamont, a recent and observant traveller, are of some importance, as showing that some traces of the ancient Scripture names still linger around Mount Sinai: 'Two or three facts seem to me well worthy of observation. Immediately above Wady esh-Sheikh rises Gebel Fureia; the front of this is named Gebel *Seneh*. Of this name our sheikh from Tor knew nothing; but our guide on Ras es-Sufsafeh needed no prompting to give it its designation. This cluster of Fureia or Zipporah is nearly parallel with the cluster of Jebel Musa, and extends northward from

it to the head of the central Sinaitic cluster. Separated from the same central cluster of Jebel Musa on the left by Wady Leja runs another parallel range of Sinaitic rocks. To one of these, and separated from Gebel Fureia by the broad er-Rahah, the name *Urrebbek* is given. This name also, as well as the name of the other group, was spontaneously assigned to it by our guide Mohammed. I was rather sceptical on the point, and made him repeat his designation three or four times, that there might be no mistake. My orthography is intended to express, as nearly as I can, the sound of his utterance, for it would have been vain to ask him to spell the word. Supposing, then, that his nomenclature was correct, we have a cluster bearing the name of *Seneh* (*Sinai*; cf. Stanley, p. 42) on the right of Gebel Musa, and one bearing the name *Urrebbek* (*Horeb*) on the left; the central cluster itself has no local appellative, and is called after the prophet Moses. May we not, then, suppose that this central cluster bore the name Sinai or Horeb indiscriminately, serving as the nucleus to which the ranges of Sinai and Horeb trended; and that, after the delivery of the law from the peak of Ras es-Sufsafeh, this bare the special name of Mountain of Moses; and that subsequently the local designations were restricted to the ridges on the right and left?' (*Cairo to Sinai*, pp. 81, 82).

The name *Wady er-Rahah*, which is given to the upland plain in front of Ras es-Sufsafeh, is also

suggestive. It signifies 'The vale of rest' (رَاحَة),

rest after labour, as that enjoyed by beasts of burden at the close of the day. This is very expressive as applied to the long encampment of the Israelites in this plain, after the toilsome march from Egypt. The monks, as has been stated, give the name of Jebel Mûsa to the southern peak of the central ridge, identifying it with Sinai; but they identify Ras es-Sufsafeh with Horeb. There are several traditional sites pointed out in Wady er-Rahah along the base of Sufsafeh, but they are so manifestly apocryphal as to be scarcely worth notice; such as the hill on which Aaron stood, the mould in which the golden calf was formed, and the pit of Korah (*Handbook*, p. 35).

It is worthy of note that no other district in the whole peninsula, with the exception of a small portion of Wady Feirân, possesses such supplies of water and pasture as that around Mount Sinai. When the springs and wells are dry elsewhere, the Bedawin resort hither. On Sinai itself, on Jebel Katherin, in Wady el-Leja, in the convent, and in the plain of Rahah, are perennial sources. The pastures, too, among the rocks, and in the glens and little upland plains, are comparatively abundant (see Olin, *Travels*, i. 386, 415).—J. L. P.

SINAPI (*Σινάπι*), translated 'mustard tree' in the A. V. of the N. T., has engaged the attention of many commentators, great difficulty having been experienced in finding a plant with the requisite characteristics. The subject was investigated by the present writer in a paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society on the 16th March 1844. The passages of the N. T. in which the word occurs are Matt. xiii. 31; xvii. 20; Mark iv. 31; Luke xiii. 19; xvii. 6; and it may easily be shown how unsuitable are the plants which have been adduced to the circumstances of the sacred narrative. There

is a tree found near Jerusalem, but most abundantly on the banks of the Jordan and round the sea of Tiberias, the seed of which is employed as a substitute for mustard; it is called *khardal*, which, indeed, is the common Arabic name for mustard. There are different species of *khardal*:—1. *Khardal*, or common mustard; 2. *Khardal barree*, or wild mustard; 3. *Khardal roomee*, Turkish mustard. The last appears to be the plant referred to. In the writer's *Illustrations of Himalayan Botany*, he found a tree of N. W. India, which was there called *khajjal*, and which appeared possessed of the requisite properties, but he could not find it mentioned in any systematic work, or local Flora, as a native of Palestine. The plant is *Salvadora Persica*, a large shrub, or tree of moderate size, a native of the hot and dry parts of India, of Persia,



488. *Salvadora Persica*.

and of Arabia. Dr. Roxburgh describes the berries as much smaller than a grain of black pepper, having a strong aromatic smell, and a taste much like that of garden cresses. Dr. Lindley informed the writer that he had seen them in a collection made by Bové. Lastly, Irby and Mangels, in their travels, mention a tree which they suppose to be the mustard tree of Scripture. They met with it while advancing towards Kerek from the southern extremity of the Dead Sea. It bore its fruit in bunches resembling the currant; and the seeds had a pleasant, though strongly aromatic taste, nearly resembling mustard. They say: 'We think it possible that this is the tree our Saviour alluded to in the parable of the mustard seed, and not the mustard plant which we have in the north, and which, even when growing large, can never be called a tree, whereas the other is really such, and birds might easily, and actually do, take shelter under its shadow.'

It is interesting to know that the name *khajjal* is applied, even in so remote a country as the north-west of India, to the same plant which, in Syria, is called *khardal*, and which no doubt is the *khardal* of the Talmudists, one of whom describes it as a tree of which the wood was sufficient to cover a potter's shed; and another says that he was wont to climb into it, as men climb into a fig-tree. Hence the author has no doubt but that *Salvadora Persica* is the mustard tree of Scripture. The plant has a small seed, which produces a large

tree with numerous branches, in which the birds of the air may take shelter. The seed is possessed of the same properties, and is used for the same purposes, as mustard, and has a name, *khardal*, of which *sinapi* is the true translation, and which, moreover, grows abundantly on the very shores of the sea of Galilee, where our Saviour addressed to the multitude the parable of the mustard seed.—J. F. R.

SINIM (סִינִים; Sept. γῆ Περσῶν), a people whose country, 'land of Sinim,' is mentioned only in Is. xlix. 12, where the context implies a remote region, situated in the eastern or southern extremity of the earth. Many Biblical geographers think this may possibly denote the Sinese or Chinese, whose country is Sina, China. This ancient people were known to the Arabians by the name of

سِينَ, *Sin*, and to the Syrians by that of سِينَ, *Tsini*; and a Hebrew writer may well have heard of them, especially if sojourning at Babylon, the metropolis, as it were, of all Asia. This name appears to have been given to the Chinese by other Asiatics; for the Chinese themselves, though not unacquainted with it, do not employ it, either adopting the names of the reigning dynasties, or ostentatiously assuming high-sounding titles—*ex. gr.* Tchungkue, 'central empire.' But when the name was thus given by other nations, and whence it was derived, is uncertain. The opinion of those writers is possibly correct who suppose that the name סִינִים, *Sinese*, came from the fourth dynasty, called Tshin, which held the throne from 249 to 206 B.C. (Du Halde, *Descript. de la Chine*, i. sec. 1, p. 306; A. Rémusat, *Nouv. Mélanges Asiatiques*, ii. 334, *seq.*; Klaproth, *Journal Asiat.* x. 53, *seq.*) A people called Tshinas are spoken of in the laws of Menu, and the name of this dynasty may have been known among foreign nations long before it acquired the sovereign power over all China. See this view more largely stated by Gesenius (*Thesaurus*, pp. 948-950). It is not void of probability, but objections to it are obvious and considerable. Some, therefore, think that by the Sinim the inhabitants of Pelusium (*Sin*) are, by synecdoche, denoted for the Egyptians (Bochart, *Phaleg*, iv. 27). But as the text seems to point to a region more distant, others have upheld the claims of the people of Syene, taken to represent the Ethiopians (Michaelis, *Spicil.* ii. 32, *seq.*; *Suppl.* p. 1741, *seq.*) [SYENE.] If, however, 'the land of Sinim' was named either from *Sin* or *Syene*, it is remarkable that the LXX., who knew Egypt well, should have gone eastward in search of it, even so far east as Persia; and if they considered it as lying in the remote eastern parts of the Persian empire, which extended to the borders of India, the great step which is thus taken in the direction of China would give some support to the identification of the Chinese with the Sinim.—J. K.

SINITE (סִינִי; Sept. Ἀσσηναῖος), a people probably near Mount Lebanon (Gen. x. 17; 1 Chron. i. 15). Strabo mentions a city in Lebanon called Sinna (*Geog.* xvi. 756). Jerome also speaks of a place called Sini, not far from Arca (*Quæst. Heb. in Gen.*)

SIN-OFFERING. [OFFERING.]



SION (שִׁיּוֹן; Sept. Σῴων), a name (perhaps the ancient name) of Mount Hermon (Deut. iv. 48). In the Apocryphal books and in the N. T. Mount Zion (צִיּוֹן) is called Sion (Σῴων); comp. 1 Maccab. iv. 37, 60; v. 54, etc.; Heb. xii. 22; Rev. xiv. 1.

SIONITA, GABRIEL. [GABRIEL SIONITA.]

SIRIM (סִרִּים) occurs in several passages, *ex. gr.* in Eccles. vii. 6, 'as the crackling of thorns (*sirim*) under a pot,' etc.; Is. xxxiv. 13, 'And thorns (*sirim*) shall come up in her palaces,' etc.; Hosea ix. 6; Amos iv. 2; Nahum i. 10). The LXX. and other translators have employed words signifying thorns as conveying the meaning of *sirim*, but nothing has been advanced to lead us to select one plant more than another.—J. F. R.

SIRION or SHIRION (שִׁרְיֹן, Deut. iii. 9; שִׁרְיֹן, Ps. xxix. 6), the Sidonian name for Hermon. The word signifies breastplate, and Gesenius supposes it may have been imposed as a name on Mount Hermon from some fancied resemblance of that elevation to a breastplate, as the Greek Σωπῆξ was the name of a hill near Magnesia.—W. L. A.

SIRPAD (סִרְפָּד) is mentioned only once by Isaiah (lv. 13): 'And instead of the brier (*sirpad*) shall come up the myrtle.' Though this has generally been considered a thorny and prickly plant, it does not follow from the context that such a plant is necessarily meant. It would be sufficient for the sense that some useless or insignificant plant be understood, and there are many such in desert and uncultivated places. In addition to *Paliurus Carduus*, *Urtica*, *Conyza*, species of *Polygonum*, of *Euphorbia*, etc., have been adduced; and also *Ruscus aculeatus*, or 'butcher's broom.'—J. F. R.

SIS (סִיס) or SUS (סוּס) occurs only in Is. xxxviii. 14, Jer. viii. 7, where it is translated *crane* in the A. V. The LXX. give χελιδών, and this is probably the true meaning, as Bochart has shown (*Hieroz.* ii. 1. 69), although Rabbinical writers produce Arabic authority to prove that *Sis* is the name of a long-legged bird. *Sis*, however, is an imitative name expressive of the swallow's voice or twitter. Bochart says that the Venetians call the swallow *Zisilla*. He also calls attention to the connection between *Sis* and the Egyptian *Isis*, of whom it was fabled that she was turned into a swallow.

The species of swallows in Syria and Palestine, so far as they are known, appear all to be the same as those of Europe: they are—1. *Hirundo rustica* or *domestica*, the chimney swallow, with a forked tail, marked with a row of white spots, whereof *Hirundo Syriaca*, if at all different, is most likely only a variety.

2. *Hirundo Urbica*, the martin or common window swallow. These two are most likely the species comprehended under the name of *Sis*.

3. *Hirundo Riparia*, sand-martin or shore-bird, not uncommon in northern Egypt, near the mouths of the Delta, and in southern Palestine, about Gaza, where it nestles in holes, even on the sea-shore.

4. *Hirundo Assus*, the swift or black martin, distinguished by its larger size, short legs, very long

wings, forked tail, and by all the toes of the feet turning forward: these, armed with small, crooked, and very sharp claws, enable the bird to hang against the sides of walls, but it cannot rise from the ground on account of the length of its wings. The last two, but more particularly this species, we take to be the *Deror*, on account of the name *Dururi*; which was most probably applied to it, because the swift martin prefers towers, minarets, and ruins to build in, and is, besides, a bird to which the epithet of 'free' is particularly ap-



489. The Swift.

plicable [DEROR]. On the European coast of the Mediterranean it bears the name of *Barbota*, and in several parts of France, including Paris, is known by the vulgar name of 'le Juif,' the Jew; and, finally, being the largest and most conspicuous bird of the species in Palestine, it is the type of the heraldic martlet, originally applied in the science of blazon as the especial distinction of Crusader pilgrims, being borrowed from Oriental nations, where the bird is likewise honoured with the term *Hadjji*, or Pilgrim, to designate its migratory habits.—C. H. S.

SISERA (סִסְרָא, *battle array*; Sept. Σισάρα).

1. The general in command of the mighty army of the Canaanitish king Jabin. As this is the only instance in those early times of armies being commanded by other than kings in person, the circumstance, taken in connection with others, intimates that Sisera was a general eminent for his abilities and success. He was, however, defeated by Barak, and slain (Judg. iv. 2-22), under the circumstances which have been described in the article Jael. (See Stanley, *Lectures on the Jewish Church*, Lect. xiv.)

2. The head of one of the families that came up with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 53; Neh. vii. 55). They appear among the Nethinim, and were probably the descendants of a Canaanite captive. [NETHINIM.]

SIVAN (סִיָּן; Sept. Σῴων), the third month of the Hebrew year, from the new moon of June to the new moon of July. The name admits of a Hebrew etymology; but as it occurs only in Esther viii. 9, it is better to regard it as of Persian origin, like the other names of months—the corresponding Persian month being called *Sefendarmed*; Zend, *Çpenti Armaiti*; Pehlvi. *Sapandomad* (Benfey,

*Monatsnamen*, pp. 13, 41, *seq.*; 122, *seq.*; *Gesen. Thesaur.* p. 946).

SLAVE (עֶבֶד; Sept. *παῖς*, δούλος, οἰκέτης; Vulg. *servus*; A. V., *servant* and *bondman*; Fem. אִמָּה and עֲבֵדָה, δούλη, παιδίσκη, οἰκέτις, *ancilla*). The term slavery, though frequently applied to the Jewish system of servitude, is not wholly appropriate. Among the Greeks and Romans it properly expressed the legal condition of captives taken in war, or the victims of the existing slave-trade and the offspring of female slaves. Those slaves were held to be the absolute property of their masters, and their slavery was regarded as perpetual and hereditary. Nor does Jewish servitude bear any resemblance to modern slavery, which, however it may differ from the Greek and Roman in some of its minor incidents, resembles it in its essential principles. If under the Roman law slaves were held 'pro nullis, pro mortuis, pro quadrupedibus,' so under the law of some modern Christian states they have been adjudged to be chattels personal in the hand of their owners, to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever; and their slavery, like that of the ancient Romans, is, as a necessary consequence, perpetual and hereditary.

It is difficult to trace the origin of slavery. It may have existed before the deluge, when violence filled the earth, and drew upon it the vengeance of God. But the first direct reference to slavery, or rather slave-trading, in the Bible, is found in the history of Joseph, who was sold by his brethren to the Ishmaelites (Gen. xxxvii. 27, 28). In Ezek. xxvii. 12, 13, we find a reference to the slave-trade carried on with Tyre by Javan, Tubal, and Meshech. And in the Apocalypse we find enumerated in the merchandise of pagan Rome (the mystic Babylon) *slaves* (σῶματα) and the souls of men (Rev. xviii. 13).

The sacred historians refer to various kinds of bondage:—

1. *Patriarchal Servitude*.—The exact nature of this service cannot be defined; there can be no doubt, however, that it was regulated by principles of justice, equity, and kindness. The servants of the patriarchs were of two kinds, those 'born in the house,' and those 'bought with money' (Gen. xvii. 13). Abraham appears to have had a large number of servants. At one time he armed three hundred and eighteen young men, 'born in his own house,' with whom he pursued the kings who had taken 'Lot and his goods, and the women also, and the people,' and recaptured them (Gen. xiv. 1-16). The servants born in the house were perhaps entitled to greater privileges than the others. Eliezer of Damascus, a home-born servant, was Abraham's steward, and, in default of issue, would have been his heir (Gen. xv. 2-4). This class of servants was honoured with the most intimate confidence of their masters, and was employed in the most important services. An instance of this kind will be found in Gen. xxiv. 1-9, where the eldest or chief servant of Abraham's house, who ruled over all that he had, was sent to Mesopotamia to select a wife for Isaac, though then forty years of age. The authority of Abraham was that of a prince or chief over his patriarchate or family, and was regulated by usage and the general consent of his dependents. It could not have been otherwise in his circumstances; nor,

from the knowledge which the Scriptures give of his character, would he have taken advantage of any circumstances to oppress or degrade them: 'For I know him, saith the Lord, that he will command his children and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment, that the Lord may bring upon Abraham that which he hath spoken of him' (Gen. xviii. 19). The servants of Abraham were admitted into the same religious privileges with their master, and received the seal of the covenant (Gen. xvii. 9, 14, 24, 27).

There is a clear distinction made between the 'servants' of Abraham and the things which constituted his property or wealth. Abraham was very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold (Gen. xiii. 2, 5). But when the patriarch's power or greatness is spoken of, then servants are spoken of as well as the objects which constituted his riches (Gen. xxiv. 34, 35). It is said of Isaac: 'And the man waxed great, and went forward, and grew until he became *very great*, for he had possession of flocks, and possession of herds, and great store of *servants*' (Gen. xxvi. 13, 14, 16, 26, 28, 29). When Hamor and Shechem speak to the Hivites of the riches of Jacob and his sons, they say: 'Shall not their cattle and their substance and every beast of theirs be ours?' (Gen. xxxiv. 23). Jacob's wives say to him: 'All the *riches* which God hath taken from our father, that is ours and our children's.' Then follows an inventory of property: 'All his cattle,' 'all his goods,' 'the cattle of his getting.' His numerous servants are not included with his property (comp. Gen. xxxi. 43-16, 18). When Jacob sent messengers to Esau, wishing to impress him with an idea of his state and sway, he bade them tell him not only of his *riches*, but of his *greatness*, and that he had oxen and asses and flocks, and men-servants and maid-servants' (Gen. xxxii. 4, 5). Yet in the present which he sent there were no servants, though he manifestly selected the most valuable kinds of property (Gen. xxxii. 14, 15; see also xxxiv. 23; xxxvi. 6, 7). In no single instance do we find that the patriarchs either gave away or sold their servants, or purchased them of *third* persons. Abraham had servants 'bought with money.' It has been assumed that they were bought of third parties, whereas there is no proof that this was the case. The probability is that they sold themselves to the patriarch for an equivalent; that is to say, they entered into voluntary engagements to serve him for a longer or shorter period of time, in return for the money advanced them. It is a fallacy to suppose that whatever *costs* money *is* money or property. The children of Israel were required to purchase their first-born (Num. xviii. 15, 16; iii. 45, 51; Exod. xiii. 13; xxxiv. 20). They were, moreover, required to pay money for their own souls; and when they set themselves or their children apart by vow unto the Lord, the price of release was fixed by statute (Lev. xxvii. 2-8). Boaz bought Ruth (Ruth iv. 10). Hosea bought his wife (Hos. iii. 2). Jacob bought his wives Rachel and Leah; and not having money, paid for them in labour, seven years apiece (Gen. xxix. 16-23). That the purchase of wives, either with money or by service, was the general practice, is plain from such passages as Exod. xxii. 17, and 1 Sam. xviii. 25. But the idea of property does not appear in any of these purchases. For the various ways in



which the terms 'bought,' 'buy,' and 'bought with money,' are used, consult Neh. v. 8; Gen. xlvii. 18-26, etc. In Lev. xxv. 47 will be found the case of the Israelite who became the servant of the stranger. The words are: 'If he sell himself unto the stranger.' Yet the 51st verse says that this servant was 'bought,' and that the price of the purchase was paid to himself. For a further clue to Scripture usage, the reader is referred to 1 Kings xxi. 20, 25; 2 Kings xvii. 17; Is. lv. 1; lli. 3; see also Jer. xxxiv. 14; Rom. vi. 16; vii. 14; John viii. 34. Probably Job had more servants than either of the patriarchs to whom reference has been made (Job i. 2, 3). In what light he regarded, and how he treated, his servants, may be gathered from Job xxxi. 13-23. And that Abraham acted in the same spirit we have the divine testimony in Jer. xxii. 15, 16, 17, where his conduct is placed in direct contrast with that of some of his descendants, who used their neighbour's service without wages, and gave him not for his work (ver. 13).

2. *Egyptian Bondage*.—The Israelites were frequently reminded, after their exode from Egypt, of the oppressions they endured in that 'house of bondage' from which they had been delivered by the direct interposition of God. The design of these admonitions was to teach them justice and kindness towards their servants when they should become settled in Canaan (Deut. v. 15; viii. 14; x. 19; xv. 15; xxiii. 7, etc.), as well as to impress them with gratitude towards their great deliverer. The Egyptians had domestic servants, who may have been slaves (Exod. ix. 14, 20, 21; xi. 5). But the Israelites were not dispersed among the families of Egypt—they formed a special community (Gen. xli. 34; Exod. viii. 22, 24; ix. 26; x. 23; xi. 7; iv. 29; ii. 9; xvi. 22; xvii. 5; vi. 14). They had exclusive possession of the land of Goshen, 'the best part of the land of Egypt.' They lived in permanent dwellings, their own houses, and not in tents (Exod. xii. 22). Each family seems to have had its own house (Exod. xii. 4; comp. Acts vii. 20); and judging from the regulations about eating the passover, they could scarcely have been small ones (Exod. xii. etc.) They appear to have been well clothed (Exod. xii. 11). They owned 'flocks and herds, and very much cattle' (Exod. xii. 4, 6, 32, 37, 38). They had their own form of government; and although occupying a province of Egypt, and tributary to it, they preserved their tribes and family divisions, and their internal organisation throughout (Exod. ii. 1; xii. 19, 21; vi. 14, 25; v. 19; iii. 16, 18). They had to a considerable degree the disposal of their own time (Exod. iii. 16, 18; xii. 6; ii. 9; iv. 27, 29, 31). They were not unacquainted with the fine arts (Exod. xxxii. 4; xxxv. 22, 35). They were all armed (Exod. xxxii. 27). The women seem to have known something of domestic refinement. They were familiar with instruments of music, and skilled in the working of fine fabrics (Exod. xv. 20; xxxv. 25, 26); and both males and females were able to read and write (Deut. xi. 18, 20; xvii. 19; xxvii. 3). Their food was abundant, and of great variety (Exod. xvi. 3; Num. xi. 4, 5; xx. 5). The service required from the Israelites by their taskmasters seems to have been exacted from males only, and probably a portion only of the people were compelled to labour at any one time. As tributaries,

they probably supplied levies of men, from which the wealthy appear to have been exempted (Exod. iii. 16; iv. 29; v. 20). The poor were the oppressed; 'and all the service wherewith they made them serve was with rigour' (Exod. i. 11-14). But Jehovah saw their 'afflictions and heard their groanings,' and delivered them, after having inflicted the most terrible plagues on their oppressors.

3. *Jewish Servitude*.—Whatever difficulties may be found in indicating the precise nature of patriarchal servitude, none exists in reference to that which was sanctioned and regulated by the Mosaic institutes.

The moral law is a revelation of great principles. It requires supreme love to God and universal love among men, and whatever is incompatible with the exercise of that love is strictly forbidden and condemned. Hence immediately after the giving of the law at Sinai, as if to guard against all slavery and slave-trading on the part of the Israelites, God promulgated this ordinance: 'He that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hands, he shall surely be put to death' (Exod. xxi. 16; Deut. xxiv. 7). The crime is stated in its threefold form, man-stealing, selling, and holding; the penalty for either of which was death. The law punished the stealing of mere property by enforcing restitution, in some cases twofold, in others fivefold (Exod. xxii. 14). When property was stolen, the legal penalty was compensation to the person injured; but when a man was stolen, no property-compensation was allowed; death was inflicted, and the guilty offender paid the forfeit of his life for his transgression; God thereby declaring the infinite dignity and worth of man, and the inviolability of his person. The reason of this may be found in the great fact that God created man in his own image (Gen. i. 26-28)—a high distinction, more than once repeated with great solemnity (v. 1; and ix. 6). Such was the operation of this law, and the obedience paid to it, that we have not the remotest hint that the sale and purchase of slaves ever occurred among the Israelites. The cities of Judæa were not, like the cities of Greece and Rome, slave-markets, nor were there found throughout all its coasts either helots or slaves.

[There were three causes of servitude to native Hebrews: *i.* A man might be constrained by poverty, especially when in debt, to sell himself to another Hebrew (Lev. xxv. 39). This was, however, to be a purely voluntary act on his part; there is no evidence that the law authorised a creditor forcibly to constrain his debtor to servitude, though at a later period usage seems to have sanctioned this (2 Kings iv. 1; Neh. v. 5; Matt. xviii. 25). The law also prescribed that the person so selling himself should be treated as a hired servant and receive wages (Lev. xxv. 39, 40), so that this servitude really amounted to nothing more than that the man bound himself to serve a particular master as a hired servant for a specified time. Necessity might also compel a Hebrew to bind himself in the same way to a stranger resident in the land; in this case it became the duty of his kindred to rescue him if they could; but if they could not, or if he could not save enough out of his wages to redeem himself, he must serve until the year of jubilee brought him release (Lev. xxv. 47-54). *ii.* The law enacted servitude as a penalty for the commission of theft when restitution could not be made as the law prescribed (Exod. xxii. 1-14). It was



provided, however, that this servitude should last only until the bondman had by his labour made restitution to the amount of his theft. *iii.* The law permitted a man to sell his daughter to another man to be his wife, or the wife of his son (Exod. xxi. 7). The woman thus sold was not free to go out at the expiry of a period like the men-servants; but, on the other hand, the man to whom she was sold came under obligation, if he did not wish to make her his wife, to allow her to be redeemed, or if he betrothed her to his son, to make provision for her as for a daughter, and if either he or his son, after marrying her, took another wife, this was in no respect to be to her disadvantage; in case of his violating these conditions, she was at liberty to go out free. A Hebrew master might also give to his bond-servant a wife; and if the husband, on obtaining his freedom, chose to leave his master's service, the woman and her children remained with the master (Exod. xxi. 4, 5).

As respects those who were not Hebrews, they might become the property of Hebrew masters, either as captives taken in war (Deut. xx. 14; Num. xxxi. 26, ff.) or by being purchased of foreign dealers (Lev. xxv. 44-46). According to the Talmud, as explained by Bartenora and Maimonides (*Mish. Kadush. i. 3*), any person doing a slave's work became thereby a slave. Such were considered their master's property in a sense in which the Hebrew slave was not.

That the servants in an Israelitish household were of different grades may be inferred from the nature of the case; but our information on that subject is scanty. Eliezer, the servant of Abraham, is described as the steward of his house; and there was, doubtless, in all families of wealth, such an officer (comp. Luke xvi. 1, ff.) Among the female servants the *Amah* was superior to the *Shipchah* (comp. 1 Sam. xxv. 41); the former was probably the housekeeper, the latter a servant of all work. In a position of peculiar importance stood the nurse. [NURSE.]

Servitude among the Hebrews was rendered easy by many benevolent provisions. The master was not suffered to forget that naturally he and his servant were equals; each returning Sabbath reminded him of this, when his servant was entitled to rest as well as he (Deut. v. 14, 15; comp. Job xxxi. 13, 14).] However acquired, the law gave the Jewish servants many rights and privileges: they were admitted into covenant with God (Deut. xxix. 10, 13); they were guests at all the national and family festivals (Exod. xii. 43, 44; Deut. xii. 18; xvi. 10-16); they were stately instructed in morals and religion (Deut. xxxi. 10-13; Josh. viii. 33-35; 2 Chron. xvii. 8, 9; xxxv. 3; xxxiv. 30; Neh. viii. 7, 8); they were released from their regular labour nearly one-half of their term of servitude—viz. every seventh year (Lev. xxv. 3-6); every seventh day (Exod. xx.).] at the three annual festivals (Exod. xxxiii. 17; xxxiv. 23)—viz. the Passover and Feast of Weeks, which lasted each seven days, and the Feast of Tabernacles, which lasted eight. Also on the new moons, the Feast of Trumpets, and the Day of Atonement. Besides these were the local festivals (Judg. xxi. 19; 1 Sam. ix. 12, 22, etc.), and the various family feasts, as the weaning of children, marriages, sheep-shearing, and circumcisions; the making of covenants, etc. (1 Sam. xx. 6, 28, 29). To these must be added the Feast of Purim, which lasted three days,

and the Dedication, which lasted eight. The servants of the Israelites were protected by the law equally with their masters (Deut. i. 16, 17; xxvii. 19; Lev. xix. 15; xxiv. 22; Num. xv. 29); and their civil and religious rights were the same (Num. xv. 15, 16, 29; ix. 14; Deut. i. 16, 17; Lev. xxiv. 22). [MURDER.] To these might be added numerous passages which represent the Deity as regarding alike the natural rights of all, and making for all an equal provision (2 Chron. xix. 7; Prov. xxiv. 23; xxviii. 21; Job xxxiv. 19; 2 Sam. xiv. 14; Eph. vi. 9). Finally, these servants had the power of changing their masters, and of seeking protection where they pleased (Deut. xxiii. 15, 16); and should their masters by any act of violence injure their persons, they were released from their engagements (Exod. xxi. 26, 27). The term of Hebrew servitude was six years, beyond which they could not be held unless they entered into new engagements (Exod. xxi. 1-11; Deut. xv. 12); but it might be greatly shortened by the occurrence of the year of Jubilee, when all went free.

[JUBILEE.] In the case of strangers, over whom the rights of the master were comparatively absolute (Lev. xxv. 44-46), servitude terminated in every case on the return of the jubilee, when liberty was proclaimed to all (Lev. xxv. 8, 10, 54). On one occasion the state of the sexennial slavery was violated, and the result was fearful (Jer. xxxiv. 8-22). See also Exod. xxi. 20; Lev. xix. 20-22; Tobit x. 10 (*σώματα*); Ecclus. vii. 20, 21; x. 25; xxxiii. 24-31. The slave, however, might be manumitted at any term by the master (Exod. xxi. 26, 27; Lev. xix. 20).

[If a servant did not choose to go free when the period of his servitude terminated, his master was required to signify this formally to the judges, and then to take an awl and bore it through the servant's ear (through the hole made for the ear-ring probably), so as to fasten him to the door-post; after which he became the master's servant in perpetuity. The same law held in the case of a maid-servant (Exod. xxi. 5, 6; Deut. xv. 16, 17). Whether this engagement was affected by the jubilee is a point of uncertainty. Jewish opinion is in favour of the affirmative (Joseph. *Antiq.* iv. 8. 28); but the other view is to be preferred. [JUBILEE.]

No provision of the law authorised a master to inflict personal chastisement on a servant. In the case of children born in the house, however, such chastisement would be inflicted as a matter of course when deserved; and there are indications that even in the case of adults it was not unusual to inflict it. The law may be regarded as tacitly recognising it, for it provides that if a master shall destroy the eye or strike out the tooth of his servant, whether male or female, the party so injured shall be entitled to freedom (Exod. xxi. 26, 27). Should the servant die under his master's hand, the law enacted that it should be held as a case of murder. [MURDER.] Such provisions show that the right over life and limb claimed by the slave-masters of Greece and Rome in respect of their servants was not recognised among the Hebrews.]

4. *Gibeonitish Servitude.*—The condition of the inhabitants of Gibeon, Chephirah, Beeroth, and Kirjath-jearim, under the Hebrew commonwealth, was not that of slavery. It was voluntary (Josh. ix. 8-11). They were not employed in the families of the Israelites, but resided in their own cities,



tended their own flocks and herds, and exercised the functions of a distinct though not independent community (Josh. x. 6-18). The injuries inflicted on them by Saul were avenged by the Almighty on his descendants (2 Sam. xxi. 1-9). They appear to have been devoted exclusively to the service of the 'house of God' or the Tabernacles, and only a few of them comparatively could have been engaged at any one time. The rest dwelt in their cities, one of which was a great city, as one of the royal cities. The service they rendered may be regarded as a natural tribute for the privilege of protection. No service seems to have been required of their wives and daughters. On the return from the Babylonish captivity they dwelt at Ophel (Neh. iii. 26). See also 1 Chron. ix. 2; Ezra ii. 43; Neh. vii. 25; viii. 17; x. 28; xi. 21 [NETHINIM].

5. *Roman Slavery*.—Our limits will not allow us to enter into detail on the only kind of slavery referred to in the N. T., for there is no indication that the Jews possessed any slaves in the time of Christ. Suffice it therefore to say that, in addition to the fact that Roman slavery was perpetual and hereditary, the slave had no protection whatever against the avarice, rage, or lust of his master. The bondsman was viewed less as a human being, subject to arbitrary dominion, than as an inferior animal, dependent wholly on the will of his owner. The master possessed the uncontrolled power of life and death over his slave—a power which continued at least to the time of the Emperor Hadrian. He might, and frequently did, kill, mutilate, and torture his slaves, for any or for no offence, so that slaves were sometimes crucified from mere caprice. He might force them to become prostitutes or gladiators; and instead of the perpetual obligation of the marriage-tie, their temporary unions (*contubernia*) were formed and dissolved at his command, families and friends were separated, and no obligation existed to provide for their wants in sickness or in health. But, notwithstanding all the barbarous cruelties of Roman slavery, it had one decided advantage over that which was introduced in modern times into European colonies, both law and custom being decidedly favourable to the freedom of the slave (*Inquiry into the State of Slavery among the Romans*, by W. Blair, Esq., 1833). The Mohammedan law also, in this respect, contrasts favourably with those of the European settlements.

6. *Christianity in relation to Slavery*.—The laws which the great Deliverer and Redeemer of mankind gave for the government of his kingdom, were those of universal justice and benevolence, and as such were subversive of every system of tyranny and oppression. To suppose, therefore, as has been rashly asserted, that Jesus or his apostles gave their sanction to the existing systems of slavery among the Greeks and Romans, is to dishonour them. That the reciprocal duties of masters and servants (*δοῦλοι*) were inculcated, admits, indeed, of no doubt (Col. iii. 22; iv. 1; Tit. ii. 9; 1 Pet. ii. 18; Eph. vi. 5-9). But the performance of these duties on the part of the masters, supposing them to have been slave-masters, would have been tantamount to the utter subversion of the relation. There can be no doubt either that 'servants under the yoke,' or the slaves of heathens, are exhorted to yield obedience to their masters (1 Tim. vi. 1). But this argues no appro-

val of the relation; for—(1.) Jesus, in an analogous case, appeals to the paramount law of nature as superseding such temporary regulations as the 'hardness of men's hearts' had rendered necessary; and (2.) St. Paul, while counselling the duties of contentment and submission under the inevitable bondage, inculcates at the same time on the slave the duty of adopting all legitimate means of obtaining his freedom (1 Cor. vii. 20, 21). We are aware that the application of this passage has been denied by Chrysostom, Photius, Theodoret, and Theophylact, who maintain that it is the state of slavery which St. Paul here recommends the slave to prefer. But although this interpretation is indeed rendered admissible by the context, yet the more received meaning, or that which counsels freedom, is both more easily connected with the preceding phrase, 'if thou mayest be made free, use it rather,' and is, as Neander observes, 'more in accordance with the liberal views of the free-minded Paul' (Billroth, 'Commentary on Corinthians,' in *Bib. Cabinet*). Besides which, the character of the existing slavery, to which we shall now refer, was utterly inconsistent with the entire tenor of the moral and humane principles of the precepts of Jesus.

Although the condition of the Roman slaves was no doubt improved under the emperors, the early effects of Christian principles were manifest in mitigating the horrors, and bringing about the gradual abolition of slavery. Onesimus, according to the concurrent testimony of antiquity, was liberated by Philemon (Philem. ver. 21). The servile condition formed no obstacle to attaining the highest dignities of the Christian priesthood. Our space will not allow us to pursue this subject. 'It was,' says M. Guizot, 'by putting an end to the cruel institution of slavery that Christianity extended its mild influence to the practice of war; and that barbarous art, softened by its humane spirit, ceased to be so destructive' (Milman's *Gibbon*, i. 61). 'It is not,' says Robertson, 'the authority of any single detached precept in the gospel, but the spirit and genius of the Christian religion, more powerful than any particular command, which has abolished the practice of slavery throughout the world.' Although, even in the most corrupt times of the church, the operation of Christian principles tended to this benevolent object, they unfortunately did not prevent the revival of slavery in the European settlements in the 16th and 17th centuries, together with that nefarious traffic, the suppression of which has rendered the name of Wilberforce forever illustrious. Modern servitude had all the characteristic evils of the Roman, except, perhaps, the uncontrolled power of life and death, while it was destitute of that redeeming quality to which we have referred, its tendency being to perpetuate the condition of slavery. It has also been supposed to have introduced the unfortunate prejudice of colour, which was unknown to the ancients (Linsant's *Essai*, 1841). It was the benevolent wish of the philosophic Herder (*History of Man*, 1788) that the time might come 'when we shall look back with as much compassion on our inhuman traffic in negroes as on the ancient Roman slavery or Spartan helots.' This is now no longer a hope, so far as England is concerned, as she not only set the example of abolishing the traffic, but evinced the soundness of her Christian principles by the greatest national act of justice which history



has yet recorded, in the total abolition of slavery throughout all her dependencies.—W. W.

**SLAVONIC VERSION.** This translation, embracing the O. and N. T., was made by Cyril of Thessalonica and his brother Methodius, who invented the Slavic alphabet. In the O. T. the Septuagint was followed; and in the New the original Greek, in MSS. belonging to the Constantinopolitan family. According to Alter, the O. T. portion was originally made from the *Vetus Italica*, and altered in the 14th century from Greek MSS. This is a very questionable opinion. The translation is very literal, so that the idiom of the Slavonic is often violated for the sake of retaining the Greek construction. Of the readings adopted by Griesbach, this version has many. The edition of the entire Bible published at Östrog, 1581, is the basis of all succeeding impressions. It is disputed whether the text of the N. T. has been altered from the Latin. Probably Hug is right in thinking so, notwithstanding Dobrowsky's opinion to the contrary. In 1843 two copies of the Gospels were published at Petersburg and Paris, from MSS. of the 11th century, by Vostokow and Silvestre.—S. D.

**SLIME.** [CHEMAR.]

**SLING.** [ARMS.]

**SMITH** (חָרָץ), a workman in stone, wood, or metal, like the Latin *faber*, but sometimes more accurately defined by what follows, as חָרָץ בְּרֹחַל, a workman in iron, a smith; Sept. τέκτων, τέκτων σιδήρου, χαλκός, τεχνίτης; Vulg. *faber et faber ferrarius* (1 Sam. xiii. 19; Is. xlv. 1, 2; liv. 16; 2 Kings xxiv. 14; Jer. xxiv. 1; xxix. 2). In 2 Chron. xxiv. 12, 'workers in iron and brass' are mentioned. The first smith mentioned in Scripture is Tubal-Cain, whom some writers, arguing from the similarity of the names, identify with Vulcan (Gerh. Vossius, *De Orig. Idolol.* i. 16). He is said to have been an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron (Gen. iv. 22), or perhaps more properly, a whetter or sharpener of every instrument of copper or iron. So Montanus, '*acuentem omne artificium æris et ferri*'; Sept. σφυροκόπος χαλκός χαλκοῦ καὶ σιδήρου; Vulg. 'fuit malleator et faber in cuncta opera æris et ferri.' Josephus says that he first of all invented the art of making brass (*Antiq.* i. 2. 2). As the art of the smith is one of the first essentials to civilisation, the mention of its founder was worthy of a place among the other fathers of inventions. So requisite was the trade of a smith in ancient warfare that conquerors removed these artificers from a vanquished nation, in order the more effectually to disable it. Thus the Philistines deprived the Hebrews of their smiths (1 Sam. xiii. 19; comp. Judg. v. 8). So Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, treated them in later times (2 Kings xxiv. 14; Jer. xxiv. 1; xxix. 2). With these instances the commentators compare the stipulation of Porsenna with the Roman people, after the expulsion of their kings: 'Ne ferro, nisi in agricultura, uterentur' (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxi. 14). Cyrus treated the Lydians in the same manner (Herod. i. 55, 156). מַסְכֵּי, *smith*, occurs in 2 Kings xxiv. 14, 16; Sept. συγκλινοντα; Jer. xxiv. 1; xxix. 2; Vulg. 'clusor,' or 'inclusor.' Buxtorf

gives 'claustrarius, faber ferrarius.' The root סָכַר, *to close*, indicates artificers 'with busy hammers closing rivets up;' which suits the context better than other renderings, as setters of precious stones, seal-engravers, etc. In the N. T. we meet with Demetrius, 'the silversmith,' at Ephesus, ἀργυροκόπος, 'a worker in silver,' Vulg. *argentarius*; but the commentators are not agreed whether he was a manufacturer of small silver models of the Temple of Diana, ναοὺς ἀργυροῦς, or at least of the chapel which contained the famous statue of the goddess, to be sold to foreigners, or used in private devotion, or taken with them by travellers as a safeguard; or whether he made large *coins* representing the temple and image. Beza, Scaliger, and others, understand a coiner or mintmaster (see Kuinoel *in loc.*) That the word may signify a silver-founder, is clear from the Sept. rendering of Jer. vi. 29. From Plutarch (*Opp.* t. ix. pp. 301 and 473, ed. Reisk) and Hesychius it appears that the word signifies any worker in silver or money. A copper-smith named Alexander is mentioned as an opponent of St. Paul (2 Tim. iv. 14). [COAL; IRON; METALS; HANDICRAFT.]—J. F. D.

**SMITH, JOHN PYE, D.D., LL.D.**, was born at Sheffield 25th May 1774. He was educated at Rotherham College, and became first (1801) classical, and afterwards (1805) theological tutor in Homerton College. At a later date he conjoined with this the office of pastor of the congregation meeting in the Old Gravel Pits meeting-house. He wrote *The Scripture Testimony to the Messiah*, 2 vols. 8vo, 1818-1821, 3 vols. 1829, do. 1837, 2 vols. 1847; *Four Discourses on the sacrifice and priesthood of Christ*, 1828, 3d ed. 1847; *Principles of Interpretation as applied to the Prophecies of Scripture*, 1829, 2d ed. 1831; *The relation between Holy Scripture and some parts of Geological Science*, 8vo, 1839, 4th ed. 1848; besides many sermons, controversial pieces, and reviews. After his death appeared *First Lines of Christian Theology*, being notes of his lectures to his students, 1854, 2d ed. 1860. He wrote also several articles in this work. He was one of the greatest Biblical scholars of his day; and the works above enumerated are full of most valuable criticism and exegesis. He died at Guildford 5th Feb. 1851.—W. L. A.

**SMYRNA** (Σμύρνα), a celebrated commercial city of Ionia (Ptolem. v. 2), situated near the bottom of that gulf of the Ægean Sea which received its name from it (Mela, i. 17. 3), at the mouth of the small river Meles, and 320 stades north of Ephesus (Strabo, xv. p. 632). It is in N. lat. 38° 26', E. long. 27° 7'. Smyrna was a very ancient city, but having been destroyed by the Lydians it lay waste 400 years, to the time of Alexander the Great (Plin. v. 29; Pausan. vii. 5); or, according to Strabo, to that of Antigonus. It was rebuilt at the distance of twenty stades from the ancient city (Strabo, xiv. p. 646), and we soon find it flourishing greatly; and in the time of the first Roman emperors it was one of the finest cities of Asia (Strabo, iv. 9). It was at this period that it became the seat of a Christian church, which is noticed in the Apocalypse, as one of 'the seven churches of Asia' (Rev. i. 11; ii. 8-11). It was destroyed by an earthquake in A.D. 177; but the emperor Marcus Aurelius caused it to be rebuilt with even more than its former splendour. It afterwards, however, suffered greatly from earthquakes and



conflagrations, and must be regarded as having declined much from its ancient importance, although from the convenience of its situation it has still maintained its rank as a great city and the central emporium of the Levantine trade; and seeing the terrible decay which has fallen upon the numerous great and beautiful cities of Asia Minor, its relative rank among the existing cities of that region is probably greater than that which it anciently bore. The Turks call it Izmir. It is a better built town than Constantinople, and in proportion to its size there are few places in the Turkish dominions which have so large a population. It is computed at 130,000, of which the Franks compose a far greater portion than in any other town of Turkey; and they are generally in good circumstances. Next to the Turks the Greeks form the most numerous class of inhabitants, and they have a bishop and two churches. The unusually large proportion of Christians in the town renders it peculiarly unclean in the eyes of strict Moslems, whence it has acquired among them the name of Giaour Izmir or Infidel Smyrna. There are in it 20,000 Greeks, 8000 Armenians, 1000 Europeans, and 9000 Jews: the rest are Moslems.

The prosperity of Smyrna is now rather on the increase than the decline; houses of painted wood are giving way in all directions to mansions of stone; and probably not many years will elapse before the modern town may not unworthily represent that city which the ancients delighted to call 'the lovely—the crown of Ionia—the ornament of Asia.'

Smyrna stands at the foot of a range of mountains, which enclose it on three sides. The only ancient ruins are upon the mountains behind the town, and to the south. Upon the highest summit stands an old dilapidated castle, which is supposed by some to mark the previous (but not the *most* ancient) site of the city; frequent earthquakes having dictated the necessity of removing it to the plain below, and to the lower declivities of the mountains. Mr. Arundell says: 'Few of the Ionian cities have furnished more relics of antiquity than Smyrna; but the convenience of transporting them, with the number of investigators, has exhausted the mine; it is therefore not at all wonderful that of the stoas and temples the very ruins have vanished; and it is now extremely difficult to determine the sites of any of the ancient buildings, with the exception of the stadium, the theatre, and the temple of Jupiter Acreus, which was within the Acropolis' (*Discoveries in Asia Minor*, ii. 407). Of the stadium here mentioned the ground-plot only remains, it being stripped of its seats and marble decorations. It is supposed to be the place where Polycarp, the disciple of St. John, and probably 'the angel of the church of Smyrna' (John ii. 8), to whom the Apocalyptic message was addressed, suffered martyrdom. The Christians of Smyrna hold the memory of this venerable person in high honour, and go annually in procession to his supposed tomb, which is at a short distance from the place of martyrdom (Rosenmüller, *Alterthumsk.* i. 2. 224, seq.; Turner, *Travels*, iii. 138-141; 285-291; Arundell, u. s.; Richter, p. 495; Schubert, i. 272-283; *Narrat. of Scottish Mission*, pp. 328-336; *Eöthen*, ch. v.)—J. K.

SNAIL. [CHOMET; SHABLUL.]

SNOW. [PALESTINE].

SO (סֹד ; Sept. Σηγώρ), a king of Egypt, whom Hoshea, the last king of Israel, called to his help against the Assyrians under Shalmaneser (2 Kings xvii. 4). It has been questioned whether this So was the same with Sabaco (Shebek), the first king of the Ethiopian dynasty in Upper Egypt, or his son and successor Sevechus (Shebetek), the second king of the same dynasty, and the immediate predecessor of Tirhakah. Winer hesitates between them, and Gesenius concludes for the latter. Sevechus reigned twelve years, according to Manetho, fourteen according to Syncellus. This name, in Egyptian Sevech, is also that of the god Saturn (Champollion, *Panth. Egypt.* Nos. 21, 22; Winer, *Real-Wörterb.* s. v.; Gesenius, *Comment. in Jes.* i. 696).—J. K.

SOAP. [BORITH; NETER].

SOCOH (סֹכֹחַ). 1. (Sept. Σαωχά; Alex. Σαχά). A town in the Shephelah classed with Jarmuth, Adullam, and Azekah (Josh. xv. 35). It has been identified with the ruins of *Esh-Shuweikeh*, in the Wady Sumt, about three miles and a half to the S.W. of Jerusalem (Robinson, *Bib. Res.* ii. 343; Von Raumer, *Paläst.* p. 218; Porter, *Handbook*, p. 249).

2. (Sept. Σαχά; Alex. Σαχά). A town belonging also to Judah, but in the hill region (Josh. xv. 48). Robinson found in the Wady el-Khalil a place bearing the name *esh-Shuweikeh*, like the preceding, which he identifies with this Socoh (ii. 195).

*Shuweikeh* (شوبكة) is the diminution of *Shaukeh* (شوكه).

In 1 Kings iv. 10 Socoh (A. V. Sochoh) is mentioned as one of the places whence provisions were drawn for Solomon's household; this was probably the town in the Shephelah. The Socoh (A. V. Socho) of 1 Chron. iv. 18 was probably also one of the above, but which remains uncertain.—W. L. A.

SODOM (סְדֹם; Σόδομα; *Sodoma*), the chief city of the Pentapolis, situated in the valley of the Jordan. There are various opinions as to the meaning of the word Sodom. Primeval names of places were generally descriptive; and it might throw some light on the site of this ancient city, and on the features of the district in which it stood, could the signification of its name be discovered. This cannot now be done with certainty. It may be from an obsolete root equivalent to שָׂדֶם, 'to burn,' and might thus mean 'burning,' a signification applicable to the bituminous plain of Siddim, in or near which it was situated; or the same word may signify 'a cultivated field,' and may have been derived from that fertile circuit of the Jordan which the sacred writer states was 'like the garden of the Lord' (Gen. xiii. 10). Philology throws no clearer light than this on Sodom's wondrous mystery.

The exact geographical position of Sodom is nowhere described with such accuracy in the Bible as absolutely to determine its site. When giving the bounds of the territory colonised by the old Canaanites, the sacred writer locates Sodom with Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboim, and Lasha, in a group at the south-eastern angle (x. 19). A more definite description is given in the narrative of the separation of Abraham and Lot (xiii.) The patriarchs were standing on the summit of the ridge east of



Bethel, which commands a portion of the plain of Jericho and of the Dead Sea beyond it. 'And Lot lifted up his eyes and beheld all the circuit (כְּכֹל) of

the Jordan, that it was all well watered everywhere, before the Lord destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, like the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt, towards Zoar' (v. 10). Sodom stood in the 'circuit of the Jordan'; but this term is indefinite. It may mean, and probably in its widest sense did mean (cf. PLAIN, 5), the whole valley of the Jordan from Tiberias southward; or it may have been applied in a more restricted sense to what may be called the valley of the Dead Sea basin. But whatever may be its specific meaning here, it would unquestionably be an overstraining of the words to say that Lot absolutely saw the whole of the region. If it included merely the plain of Jericho, as some seem to suppose, this would not be strictly true, for the intervening hills cover a large section of its western side. The meaning evidently is, that Lot saw so much of 'the circuit of the Jordan,' and of its rich fields and pastures, as gave him a general idea of the whole.

Another point deserves notice. 'The circuit of the Jordan' extended 'towards Zoar' (בְּאַחַד צֶעַר). This remark might determine the bounds of the circuit, but unfortunately the site of Zoar is disputed. It will be shown, however, that it probably stood at the south-east angle of the Dead Sea [ZOAR]; and if so 'the circuit of the Jordan' must have included the whole of the Dead Sea basin.

It has been alleged that because the Jordan falls into the Dead Sea at the northern end, the district called 'the circuit of the Jordan' could not have extended farther south. This statement has no weight. Names derived from rivers and towns often extend to a wide region; and the very word circuit would seem to denote a district defined by some great natural boundaries, such as the mountain-ranges which shut in the Jordan valley. It is not uncommon in the present day for geographers to give the name 'Jordan valley' to the whole valley reaching from Hermon to Jebel Usdom. It would seem from the statement in ver. 12 that whatever may have been the bounds of 'the circuit of the Jordan,' Sodom was situated near its extremity; for it is said, 'Lot dwelt in the cities of the circuit, and pitched his tents as far as Sodom' (עַד־סֹדֹם). Sodom appears to have been the limits of his selected region.

The words of Scripture, therefore, lead to no such conclusion as that Sodom must have been situated to the north of the Dead Sea. They are very indefinite; but they seem on careful and critical examination to render it probable that Sodom stood much farther south—a view which, as will be seen, is confirmed by other considerations.

It has already been shown [SALT SEA; SIDDIM] that the narrative given in Gen. xiv. favours the view that would place Sodom south of Engedi. It is not distinctly said that Sodom stood in the vale of Siddim; but it may be inferred from the narrative that it must have been either in the vale or very close to it. The vale was the battle-field in which the people attempted to defend their cities; and immediately after the battle Sodom was plundered, and Lot, who seems to have been then living in the town, was taken captive (v. 12).

Nothing absolutely certain regarding the site of

Sodom can be gathered from the history of its destruction, except that it was near Zoar—so near that Lot, escaping from Sodom at dawn, was able to reach Zoar at sunrise. The distance, therefore, could not have been more than four or five miles. Abraham was at the time encamped at Hebron. The Lord visited him there; and Abraham went with Him on the way toward Sodom. On the next day—the day of the destruction of the guilty cities—Abraham went out to the place where he had stood before the Lord. It must have been some mountain-brow not very far distant from his tent:—'And he looked toward Sodom and Gomorrah, and toward all the land of the circuit, and saw, and behold the smoke of the country rose like the smoke of a furnace' (xix. 28). Hebron is nearly due west of Engedi, which stands about the middle of the western shore of the Dead Sea. There is a commanding peak about three miles east of Hebron from which a portion of the southern end of the sea, and of the peninsula of el-Lisân, can be seen; though the northern end and the whole plain of the Jordan are completely shut out by intervening ridges. A very early tradition locates on this peak, now crowned by the village of Beni Naim, the scene of Abraham's intercession for Sodom (Robinson, *B. R.* i. 490).

The testimony of ancient historical and geographical writers regarding the site of Sodom is conflicting. Some affirm that it was engulfed by the waters of the Dead Sea, others that it was on the shore. Josephus places the territory of Sodom at the southern end of the lake (*Bell. Jud.* iv. 8. 2); and he says of the lake that it 'extends toward Zoar in Arabia' (iv. 8. 4). Adamnanus repeats these statements almost in the same words (Reland, p. 451). Ancient writers, therefore, in so far as they give any information on the point, agree in locating Sodom at the southern end of the Dead Sea.

The existing names and physical features of the region appear to support the same view. On the south-west shore of the lake is the remarkable range of salt hills called *Khashm Usdom*, 'the ridge of Sodom.' Bitumen-pits are now unknown in any part of the plain, but large masses of bitumen are frequently thrown up from the bottom of the lake, south of el-Lesân, especially after earthquakes, which in this region are very numerous, as if indicating that the 'slime-pits' of the ancient vale of Siddim still exist beneath the waves. [SIDDIM.] In destroying Sodom 'the Lord rained upon it brimstone and fire from heaven' (Gen. xix. 24); and Tristram, who has made a more thorough examination of the region than any other man, describing a remarkable deposit discovered by him in Wady Mohawat, at the north end of the salt range, says: 'The whole appearance points to a shower of hot sulphur and an irruption of bitumen upon it, which would naturally be calcined and impregnated by its fumes; and this at a geological period quite subsequent to all the diluvial and alluvial action of which we have such abundant evidence' (*Land of Israel*, p. 356; SALT SEA).

These historic statements, allusions, and scientific discoveries may not determine the site of Sodom with such absolute certainty as to command the assent of all parties; but certainly they do tend to locate, with a high degree of probability, that ancient city towards the south end of the Dead Sea,

The destruction of Sodom ranks among the most



wonderful events in Bible history. In the original narrative, and in every subsequent allusion made to it in Scripture, it is described as miraculous. The sin of the people became so great, so abominable, so universal, that even Divine mercy could no longer suffer it to pollute the earth—a mercy that would have spared the whole guilty Pentapolis had only ten righteous men been found therein. Sulphur and fire were rained upon the cities and the plain from heaven. The destructive power of these agencies was doubtless greatly increased by the bitumen which was so abundant in the surrounding region. It was a fiery destruction, and the Bible nowhere takes cognisance of any other element. The cities were totally consumed, and their ruin was final. In fact, the destruction of Sodom and the other cities of the plain was so terrible and so complete, that it was taken in all subsequent ages as the type of utter and everlasting ruin. Thus Jeremiah writes: 'As in the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah, and the neighbour cities thereof, saith the Lord, no man shall abide there, neither shall a son of man dwell in it' (xlix. 18). The same idea is expressed in many other passages (Deut. xxix. 23; Is. xiii. 19; Jer. l. 40; and in the N. T., Rom. ix. 29; 2 Pet. ii. 6; Jude 7); but none of these are opposed to the theory that the site of Sodom was subsequently covered with water. On a first view, Zeph. ii. 9 might appear to be so: 'Surely Moab shall be as Sodom, and the children of Ammon as Gomorrah, even the breeding of nettles, and salt-pits, and a perpetual desolation.' But the grand idea before the prophet's mind is manifestly *utter and perpetual desolation*, without any special reference to the nature of that desolation.

Fire was the agent employed in the destruction of Sodom. The city was burned, and left desolate. The word 'overthrew' (וַיִּהְרֹס; κατέστρεψε; subvertit)—'He overthrew these cities, and the whole district'—may perhaps imply something more than, or additional to, the action of the fire. Taken in connection with another statement, this appears still more probable. In Gen. xiv. 3 it is said: 'All these joined in the vale of Siddim, *that is the Salt Sea*.' We cannot doubt that the vale of Siddim was submerged; but it is not said that Sodom was in it. The probability is that it was in it; and this was the common belief in ancient times, and is so still. Some even went so far as to affirm that the ruins of the cities could be seen beneath the waves (D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, s. v. *Daoura*; Reland, p. 257). Josephus, however, says: 'Adjacent to it (the Dead Sea) is the land of Sodom, in ancient times a favoured district, renowned for its productions and the wealth of its cities; but now totally burnt up. It is said that it was consumed by lightning, and accordingly vestiges of the divine fire, and some faint remains of the five cities, are still discernible' (*Bell. Jud.* iv. 8. 4). Tacitus gives a similar account: 'At a small distance from the lake lie those wide extended plains which tradition says were formerly a rich and fertile country, abounding with populous cities, but long since destroyed by fire from heaven, and now a barren desert' (*Hist.* v. 7). Strabo is less definite; but he states that 'some of the cities were swallowed up' (*Geog.* xvi. p. 764). Reland held that though the vale of Siddim was submerged, Sodom

was not in it (pp. 254, *seq.*) De Saulcy is the most ardent champion of this view in modern times. He even believes that he has discovered the ruins of Sodom in the remains of an old tower at the northern end of the salt hills, to which he has given the name *Kharbet Esdoun* (*Journey round the Dead Sea*, i. 453). It is unfortunate for the alleged discovery that no other traveller has been able to find on the spot a trace of this name, or any remains that would indicate the site of a city (Tristram, p. 329; Van de Velde, *Travels*, ii. 115, *seq.*)

Mr. Grove (Smith, *Dict. of Bible*, s. v. 'Sodom' and 'Siddim') goes much farther than either Reland or De Saulcy. He maintains that neither Sodom nor the vale of Siddim was submerged; and that the explanatory clause in Gen. xiv. 3, '*that is the Salt Sea*,' is an interpolation of a late writer. Such a statement from so high an authority upon sacred geography the present writer cannot pass without a solemn protest. The Bible does not shrink from the most searching criticism; but to pronounce a clause spurious without adducing, or being able to adduce, a particle of evidence from MS., version, or ancient quotation, is not criticism (see more fully on this point in the article SIDDIM).

The most careful survey of the shores of the Dead Sea has failed to bring to light a single vestige of Sodom. It is in the highest degree probable that the city stood somewhere near the range of Khashm Usdom, and gave to it the name which it has handed down to our own day. But whether the site was on the shore, and has been completely obliterated by the action of the fiery shower, and the lapse of well nigh four thousand years; or whether the waters of the Dead Sea, as they covered the vale of Siddim, covered also the scathed ruins of Sodom, it is now, and probably ever will be, impossible satisfactorily to determine. The recent discoveries of Mr. Tristram are most interesting and important, and it is to be hoped they will be followed up by properly qualified men.

The probable mode of the destruction of Sodom, and the supposed traces of it recently discovered by Tristram, have already been described in the articles SALT SEA and SIDDIM, to which the present article is to some extent supplementary.—J. L. P.

SODOMITE (קִדְּשָׁי, a male prostitute set apart in the service of an idol for abominable indulgence (Deut. xxiii. 17; 1 Kings xiv. 24; xv. 12; xxii. 46; 2 Kings xxiii. 7; Job xxxvi. 14). The word is derived from קִדַּשׁ, *to devote, separate, consecrate, be holy*, and is used only of such as were devoted to prostitution as a religious service. The fem. קִדְּשָׁה, *q'dēshah*, occurs Gen. xxxviii. 21, 22; Deut. xxiii. 17; Hos. iv. 14. A prostitute for hire ('harlot') was called זֹנָה, *zōnah*.—W. L. A.

SOHERETH (סֹהֲרֵת; ὁλίθος), a kind of costly stone used for tessellated pavements (*Esth.* i. 6). It seems to have been either a species of black marble, as a similar word in Syriac would suggest; or else marble marked with round spots like shields—*i.e.* spotted or shielded marble. This interpretation finds the meaning in the Hebrew word סֹהֲרָה, *sohrah*, which is the name for a shield. It is, however, easier to discover the meaning of the name than the application of it. We do not feel satisfied with that which has been given;

and still less with that of Hartmann (*Hebräerin*, iii. 363), who supposes the *sohereth* to have been *tortoise-shell*, consisting, as it were, of shields; for tortoise-shell would hardly be interspersed in a pavement with various kinds of marble.—J. K.

SOLOMON (שְׁלֹמֹה, *pacific*; Sept. Σαλωμών).

[What is known of the early history of Solomon may be stated in a few sentences. The youngest son of David and Bathsheba (1 Chron. iii. 51), he seems to have been from his birth the object of his father's special affection. By this time the 'man of war from his youth' had softened down into one in whom religious feeling and peaceful aspirations predominated, and he indicated this by the name he gave his son, *Shelomoh*, 'the peaceful.' That he might fulfil the high destinies these names express was the desire of his father's heart; and we may rest assured that nothing would be wanting to make his training and education such as should best secure this result. We only know, however, that he was committed to the care of Nathan the prophet (2 Sam. xii. 25), where the true reading probably is: 'And he (David) entrusted him to Nathan the prophet, and he (Nathan) called him Jedidjah [*i.e.* loved of *Jehovah*]', according to the word (דָּבִיד) of the Lord.]

Though a favourite with his father, no intention of making him heir to his throne seems to have been entertained by David until after the revolt and death of Absalom. When that took place, the influence of Bathsheba was employed, apparently with the concurrence of Nathan the prophet, to obtain from the king a solemn promise that Solomon should be his successor on the throne (1 Kings i. 11-14). The promise thus given was not, however, followed by any public action, until circumstances occurred which threatened failure to the project.]

In the declining age of David, his eldest surviving son, Adonijah, endeavoured to place himself on the throne, by the aid of Joab the chief captain, and Abiathar one of the chief priests, both of whom had been associated with David's early sufferings under the persecution of Saul. The aged monarch did not for a moment give way to the formidable usurpation, but at the remonstrance of his favourite Bathsheba, resolved forthwith to raise Solomon to the throne. To Joab he was able to oppose the celebrated name of Benaiah; to Abiathar, his colleague Zadok and the aged prophet Nathan. The plot of Adonijah was at once defeated by this decisive measure; and Solomon, being anointed by Nathan (1 Kings i. 5-40), was solemnly acknowledged as king. The date of this event is, as nearly as can be ascertained, B.C. 1015.

The death of David would seem to have followed very quick upon these transactions. At least, no public measures in the interval are recorded, except Solomon's verbal forgiveness of Adonijah. But after the removal of David, the first events of which we hear are the destruction of Adonijah, Joab, and Shimei, son of Gera, with the degradation of Abiathar.

[This has been by some attributed to that jealous cruelty so common in Oriental despots, which leads the newly-crowned monarch to remove by death all who, by their proximity to the throne or their real or supposed unfriendliness to the king, might be induced to disturb, by treasonable at-

tempts, his reign. But for this there are no grounds. Had Solomon been moved by such jealous fears, there were others of his father's sons besides Adonijah against whose ambition he would have sought to protect himself, by putting them to death. But no such act is recorded; on the contrary, we know that one of them, Nathan, became the head of a family, from which the failure in the direct line was at a later period filled up (Luke iii. 27, 31 [SALATHIEL]; comp. Zech. xii. 12). It is to be kept in mind, also, that Adonijah had obtained his favour on the express condition of his acting as a 'worthy' man for the future, and with the assurance that if 'wickedness' should be found in him he should die. That his request through Bathsheba for Abishag, the virgin concubine of David, to be his wife, should have been construed into a breach of this contract, may seem strange to us; but looked at from an Oriental point of view it is not so. We need not resort to the very doubtful supposition that Abishag was the Shunamite of the Song of Songs, and the object of Solomon's first love, to account for the severe sentence which he pronounced on Adonijah for aspiring to her hand. The request was in itself a presumptuous one. It was a request that Solomon would concede to him one of the treasures which fell by right to the reigning prince; and very probably Solomon may have detected in it the promptings of a restless ambition, if not a covert attempt to get a foothold for subsequent treason. As for Joab, his crimes had already brought on him the condemnation of David himself, and Solomon simply carried out his father's sentence when he caused him to be slain. Shimei had proved himself so dangerous a subject, that the confining him as a prisoner on parole in Jerusalem was only an act of policy at once wise and merciful; and when he broke his parole and went beyond the allotted bounds, he violated the condition on which he held his life, and few monarchs would have hesitated to follow the same course as Solomon in putting him to death. The disgrace and banishment of Abiathar may have been essential to the order and security of the new government. Solomon is not the only prince whom history commemorates as needing to consolidate his power by getting rid of a meddling and unfriendly priest. Unlike most other princes, however, in similar circumstances, Solomon contented himself with banishing his enemy, instead of imprisoning him or putting him to death.]

After this the history enters upon a general narrative of the reign of Solomon; but we have very few notices of time, and cannot attempt to fix the order of any of the events. All the information, however, which we have concerning him, may be consolidated under the following heads: (1) his traffic and wealth; (2) his buildings; (3) his ecclesiastical arrangements; (4) his general administration; (5) his seraglio; (6) his enemies.

(1.) The overflowing wealth in which he is so vividly depicted is not easy to reduce to a modern financial estimate; partly because the numbers are so often treacherous, and partly because it is uncertain what items of expenditure fell on the general funds of the government. In illustration of the former topic, it is enough to observe that the money prepared for the temple by David is computed in 1 Chron. xxix. 4 at 3000 talents of pure gold and 7000 of silver, while in xxii. 14 it is called



100,000 of gold and 1,000,000 of silver; also the sum for which David buys the floor of Araunah is, in 2 Sam. xxiv. 24, 50 shekels of silver; but this in 1 Chron. xxi. 25 is become 600 shekels of gold. Efforts are made to resolve the former difficulty; but they are superseded by the latter, and by numerous other manifestly exaggerated figures. But abandoning all attempt at numerical estimates, it cannot be doubted that the wealth of Solomon was very great; and it remains for us to consider from what sources it was supplied.

The profound peace which the nation enjoyed as a fruit of David's victories stimulated the industry of all Israel. The tribes beyond the Jordan had become rich by the plunder of the Hagarenes, and had a wide district where their cattle might multiply to an indefinite extent. The agricultural tribes enjoyed a soil and climate in some parts eminently fruitful, and in all richly rewarding the toil of irrigation; so that, in the security of peace, nothing more was wanted to develop the resources of the nation than markets for its various produce. In food for men and cattle, in timber and fruit trees, in stone, and probably in the useful metals, the land supplied of itself all the first wants of its people in abundance. For exportation, it is distinctly stated that wheat, barley, oil, and wine, were in chief demand; to which we may conjecturally add wool, hides, and other raw materials. The king had undoubtedly large districts and extensive herds of his own; but besides this, he received presents *in kind* from his own people and from the subject nations; and it was possible in this way to make demands upon them, without severe oppression, to an extent that is unbearable where taxes must be paid in gold or silver. He was himself at once monarch and merchant; and we may with much confidence infer that no private merchant will be allowed to compete with a prince who has assumed the mercantile character. By his intimate commercial union with the Tyrians he was put into the most favourable of all positions for disposing of his goods. That energetic nation, possessing so small a strip of territory, had much need of various raw produce for their own wants. Another large demand was made by them for the raw materials of manufactures, and for articles which they could with advantage sell again; and as they were able to furnish so many acceptable luxuries to the court of Solomon, a most active exchange soon commenced. Only second in importance to this, and superior in fame, was the commerce of the Red Sea, which could not have been successfully prosecuted without the aid of Tyrian enterprise and experience. The navigation to Sheba, and the districts beyond—whether of Eastern Arabia or of Africa—in spite of its tediousness, was highly lucrative, from the vast diversity of productions between the countries so exchanging; while, as it was a trade of monopoly, a very disproportionate share of the whole gain fell to the carriers of the merchandise. The Egyptians were the only nation who might have been rivals in the southern maritime traffic; but their religion and their exclusive principles did not favour sea-voyages; and there is some reason to think that at this early period they abstained from sending their own people abroad for commerce. The goods brought back from the south were chiefly gold, precious stones, spice, almug or other scented woods, and ivory; all of which were probably so abundant in their

native regions as to be parted with on easy terms, and of course were all admirably suited for re-exportation to Europe. The carrying trade, which was thus shared between Solomon and the Tyrians, was probably the most lucrative part of the southern and eastern commerce. How large a portion of it went on by caravans of camels is wholly unknown; yet that this branch was considerable is certain. From Egypt Solomon imported not only linen yarn, but even horses and chariots, which were sold again to the princes of Syria and of the Hittites, and were probably prized for the superior breed of the horses, and for the light, strong, and elegant structure of the chariots. Wine being abundant in Palestine, and wholly wanting in Egypt, was no doubt a principal means of repayment. Moreover, Solomon's fortifying of Tadmor (or Palmyra), and retention of Thapsacus on the Euphrates, show that he had an important interest in the direct land and river trade to Babylon, although we have no details on this subject. The difficulty which meets us is, to imagine by what exports, light enough to bear land carriage, he was able to pay for his imports. We may conjecture that he sent out Tyrian cloths and trinkets, or Egyptian linen of the finest fabric; yet in many of these things the Babylonians also excelled. On the whole, when we consider that in the case of Solomon the commercial wealth of the entire community was concentrated in the hands of the government, that much of the trade was a monopoly, and that all was assisted or directed by the experience and energy of the Tyrians, the overwhelming riches of this eminent merchant-sovereign are perhaps not surprising.

The visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon, although not strictly commercial, rose out of commercial intercourse, and may perhaps be here noticed. The territory of Sheba, according to Strabo, reached so far north as to meet that of the Nabathæans, although its proper seat was at the southernmost angle of Arabia. The very rich presents made by the queen show the extreme value of her commerce with the Hebrew monarch; and this early interchange of hospitality derives a peculiar interest from the fact that in much later ages—those of the Maccabees and downwards—the intercourse of the Jews with Sheba became so intimate, and their influence, and even power, so great. Jewish circumcision took root there, and princes held sway who were called Jewish. The language of Sheba is believed to have been strongly different from the literate Arabic; yet, like the Ethiopic, it belonged to the great Syro-Arabian family, and was not alien to the Hebrew in the same sense that the Egyptian was; and the great ease with which the pure monotheism of the Maccabees propagated itself in Sheba, gives plausibility to the opinion that even at the time of Solomon the people of Sheba had much religious superiority over the Arabs and Syrians in general. If so, it becomes clear how the curiosity of the southern queen would be worked upon by seeing the riches of the distant monarch, whose purer creed must have been carried everywhere with them by his sailors and servants.

(2.) Besides the great work which has rendered the name of Solomon so famous—the Temple at Jerusalem—we are informed of the palaces which he built—viz. his own palace, the queen's palace, and the house of the forest of Lebanon, his porch

(or piazza) for no specified object, and his porch of judgment, or law court [PALACE]. He also added to the walls of Jerusalem, and fortified Millo ('in the city of David,' 2 Chron. xxxii. 5), and many other strongholds. The temple seems to have been of very small dimensions—60 cubits long, 20 broad, and 30 high (1 Kings vi. 3)—or smaller than many moderate-sized parish-churches in England; but it was wonderful for the lavish use of precious materials. Whether the three palaces were parts of the same great pile, remains uncertain. The house of the forest of Lebanon, it has been ingeniously conjectured, was so called from the multitude of cedar pillars, similar to a forest. That Solomon's own house was of far greater extent than the temple appears from its having occupied thirteen years in building, while the temple was finished in seven. In all these works he had the aid of the Tyrians, whose skill in hewing timber and in carving stone, and in the application of machines for conveying heavy masses, was of the first importance. The cedar was cut from Mount Lebanon, and, as would appear, from a district which belonged to the Tyrians; either because in the Hebrew parts of the mountain the timber was not so fine, or from want of roads by which it might be conveyed. The hewing was superintended by Tyrian carpenters, but all the hard labour was performed by Hebrew bondsmen. This circumstance discloses to us an important fact—the existence of so large a body of public slaves in the heart of the Israelitish monarchy, who are reckoned at 153,600 in 2 Chron. ii. 17; see also 1 Kings ix. 20-23. During the preparation for the temple, it is stated (ver. 13-18) that 70,000 men were employed to bear burdens, 80,000 hewers of wood in the mountains; besides 3300 overseers. The meaning of this, however, is rather obscure; since it also states that there was a 'levy' of 30,000, of whom 10,000 at a time went to Lebanon. Perhaps the 150,000 was the whole number *liable to serve*, of whom only one-fifth was actually called out. From the large number said to 'bear burdens,' we may infer that the mode of working was very lavish of human exertion, and little aided by the strength of beasts. It is inferred that at least the Hittites had recognised princes of their own, since they are named as purchasers of Egyptian chariots from Solomon; yet the mass of these nations were clearly pressed down by a cruel bondage, which must have reacted on the oppressors at every time of weakness. The word **סֵבַע**, which is translated 'levy' and 'tribute,' means especially the personal service performed by public slaves, and is rendered 'task' in Exod. i. 11, when speaking of the Israelites in Egypt.

(3.) After the death of Nathan and Zadok, those faithful friends of David, although Solomon continued to celebrate with the same splendour all the exterior ceremonies of worship, it is hard to believe that much of that spirit of God which was in his father animated his ecclesiastical proceedings. Side by side with the worship of Jehovah foreign idolatries were established; and the disgust which this inspired in the prophets of Jehovah is clearly seen in the address of Ahijah the Shilonite to Jeroboam, so manifestly exciting him to rebel against the son of David (1 Kings xi. 29-39). The priests were too much under the direct domination of the crown to act an independent part; the prophets had little sympathy with the routine of pompous solemnities. Solomon himself, with all his erudition and insight

into man's nature, had little, as far as we are aware, of that devotional character and susceptible feeling which distinguished David; and however well meant his ostentatious patronage of divine worship, it probably could have produced no spiritual fruit, even if he had not finally neutralised it by his impartial support of heathen superstitions.

(4.) Concerning his general administration little is recorded beyond the names of various high officers. Among his chief ministers (1 Kings iv. 1-6) are named a son of Zadok and two sons of Nathan. There is a difficulty in the list, since it names Abiathar and Zadok as joint priests, at a time when Benaiah is already 'over the host;' although the latter event could not have been until after the death of Joab, and therefore after the ejection of Abiathar. The two sons of Nathan seem to be named as peculiarly eminent; for one of them, Azariah, is said to have been 'over the officers;' the other, Zabud, is called 'principal officer and the king's friend.' It is not likely that any other considerable changes were made in his government, as compared with David's, than such as peace and commerce, in place of war, necessitate. Yet it is probable that Solomon's peculiar talents and taste led him to perform one function which is always looked for in Oriental royalty—viz. to act personally as *judge* in cases of oppression. His award between the two contending mothers cannot be regarded as an isolated fact: and 'the porch of judgment' which he built for himself may imply that he devoted fixed portions of time to the judicial duties (see 2 Kings xv. 5 of Jotham). In all the older civilisation of the world, the quality most valued in a judge is the ability to detect truth in spite of the perjury of witnesses, or defect of (what we should esteem) legal evidence; a defect which must be of daily occurrence where the art of writing is little used for common contracts. The celebrity which Solomon gained for wisdom, although founded mainly perhaps on his political and commercial sagacity, must have received great popular impetus from his administration of law, and from his readiness in seeing through the entanglements of affairs which arise in commercial transactions.

(5.) For the harem of Solomon—consisting of 700 wives and 300 concubines—no other apology can be made than the fact that in countries where polygamy is not disreputable an unlimited indulgence as to the number of wives is looked upon as the chief luxury of wealth and the most appropriate appendage to royalty. Permission once being given and the taste established, nothing but poverty can set a limit; since an establishment of a hundred or a thousand wives is perhaps more harmonious than one of two or three. The only remarkable facts are, his marriage with an Egyptian princess, and his establishment of his wives' idolatry.

The commercial union of Tyre with Egypt, in spite of the vast diversity of genius between the two nations, was in those days very close; and it appears highly probable that the affinity to Pharaoh was sought by Solomon as a means of aiding his commercial projects. Although his possession of the Edomite ports on the gulf of Akaba made him to a certain extent independent of Egypt, the friendship of that power must have been of extreme importance to him in the dangerous navigation of the Red Sea; and was perhaps a chief cause of his brilliant success in so new an enterprise. That Pharaoh continued for some time on good terms



with him, appears from a singular present which the Egyptian king made him (1 Kings ix. 16): 'Pharaoh had gone up and taken Gezer, and burnt it with fire, and slain the Canaanites that dwelt in the city, and given it for a present unto his daughter. Solomon's wife;' in consequence of which Solomon rebuilt and fortified the town. In his declining years, a very different spirit is manifested towards him by Shishak, the new Egyptian king; whether after the death of the princess who had been the link between the two kingdoms, or from a new view of policy in the new king, is unknown.

The proceedings of Solomon towards the religion of his wives has been mildly or approvingly regarded by various learned men as being only what we have learned to name *Toleration*. But such a view seems to imply a want of discrimination between those times and our own; and besides, would require us to suppose the statements in the history to be exaggerated, as though they were highly improbable. The religions of antiquity, being essentially ceremonial, were of a most obtrusive kind. It is one thing to allow men in private to hold their conscientious sentiments, or indeed by argument and discussion to aim at propagating them, and quite another to sanction public idolatries, which appeal to and allure the senses of the ignorant, and scandalise the minds of the better taught; to say nothing of the impurities and cruelties with which these idolatries were almost always connected. The spirituality and individuality of religion were not as yet so developed as to allow of our ascribing Solomon's conduct to right and noble views of toleration. Besides, he was under no necessity to marry these foreign wives at all. Unless prompted by mere voluptuousness (as in the case of the concubines), he must have taken them from political motives; although distinctly knowing that the step would draw after it his public establishment of heathen sin and superstition. This is widely different from allowing foreigners, who for trade resided in the country, to practise their own religious ceremonies at their own prompting and expense; and yet even this, if permitted at all, would have been permitted only within walled and separated streets appropriated to the foreigners, by a king anxious to obey the law of Moses and of Jehovah in ever so liberal and unconfined a spirit. This is a topic of prime consequence in the history of the Jewish monarchy. Modern commentators, impressed with the importance of liberty of conscience, are naturally prone to suspect that the prophetic or priestly feeling under which the history of the kings was composed has misrepresented the more liberal policy of these monarchs. But granting, as we may, that it was not given to those prophets or priests to understand the Christian rule of universal toleration, it is certain that the times were not ripe for the application of that rule, and that the most earnest, devout, and spiritually enlightened men of those days were the most vehemently opposed to a public toleration of idolatry. Taking this merely as a great and unaltable *fact*, it was shortsighted policy in Solomon, as well as worldly want of faith, to seek to conciliate the foreign heathen at the expense of the devoted allegiance of God's chosen ones in Israel. He won at best a momentary goodwill from Ammonites, Moabites, or Sidonians, by such an affinity, and by such an introduction of their favourite idols: he lost the heart of the prophets of Jehovah, and, as a result, he could not

transmit to his son more than a fraction of his kingdom. It is no mere fiction of priestly prejudice, but a historical certainty, that David owed his rise mainly to the overruling and pervading power exerted on him by the pure and monotheistic faith of the prophets; while Solomon lost (for his posterity) the kingdom of the ten tribes, and perpetuated strife, weakness, debasement, and superstition, by preferring the attractive splendours of this world to that godliness which would in the end have been rewarded even in the present life.

(6.) The enemies especially named as rising against him in his later years, are Jeroboam, Hadad the Edomite, and Rezon of Damascus. The first is described as having had no treasonable intentions until Solomon sought to kill him, on learning the prophecy made to him by Ahijah. Jeroboam was received and fostered by Shishak, king of Egypt, and ultimately became the providential instrument of punishing Solomon's iniquity, though not without heavy guilt of his own. As for Hadad, his enmity to Israel began from the times of David, and is ascribed to the savage butchery perpetrated by Joab on his people. He also, when a mere child, was warmly received in Egypt, apparently by the father-in-law of Solomon; but this does not seem to have been prompted by hostility to David. Having married the sister of Pharaoh's queen, he must have been in very high station in Egypt; still, upon the death of David, he begged leave to depart into Edom, and during the earlier part of Solomon's reign was probably forming his party in secret, and preparing for that dangerous border warfare which he carried on somewhat later. Rezon, on the contrary, seems to have had no personal cause against the Hebrew monarchy; but having become powerful at Damascus and on its frontier, sought, not in vain, to aggrandise himself at its expense. In the long continuance of peace David's veterans had died, and no successors to them can have been trained; and considering the other great expenses of the court, it may be confidently inferred that the standing army had not been kept up in any efficiency. The revenues which would have maintained it were spent on a thousand royal wives. The king himself was unwarlike; and a petty foe, if energetic, was very formidable. Such were the vexations which darkened the setting splendours of the greatest Israelitish king. But from within also his prosperity was unsound. Deep discontent pervaded his own people, when the dazzle of his grandeur had become familiar; when it had become clear that the royal wealth, instead of denoting national wellbeing, was really sucked out of the nation's vitals. Having no constitutional organ to express their discontent, they waited sullenly until the recognition of a successor to the crown should give them the opportunity of extorting a removal of burdens which could not permanently be endured.

The picture of Solomon here drawn is far less favourable than could be wished, yet an endeavour has been made to keep close to the facts. Undoubtedly the book of Chronicles—which (contrary to custom) in this reign adds little or nothing to that of the Kings—by omission nevertheless gives a seriously altered view of this celebrated man; for not only are his numerous marriages, his idolatries, his oppressions, his vexatious enemies, and the grave rebuke of the prophet Ahijah, left out of

the narrative entirely, but his building of a special palace for his Egyptian queen is ascribed to his pious objection to her dwelling in the house of David, because of the ark having passed through it (2 Chron. viii. 11). From a mind of so sensitive scrupulosity no one could have expected an establishment of heathenish worship. This very circumstance will show how tender was the feeling of the Levitical body towards him, and how little likely it is that the book of Kings has in any way given a discoloured and unfair view of his lamentable worldliness of principle.—F. W. N.

SOLOMON'S SONG, one of the three canonical volumes—the other two being *Proverbs* and *Ecclesiastes*—which have come down to us by tradition as the production of the son of David.

1. *The Title of the Book and its Signification.*—The title of this book in the Hebrew is שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים, which is literally translated by the Sept. ᾠδὴ ᾠδαίων; Vulg. *canticum canticorum*, and in the A. V. *song of songs*. Now, according to the Hebrew usage, which has its analogy in Greek, Latin, etc., of expressing the superlative in substantives denoting quality, by the construction of the same noun in the genitive, either with or without the article, song of songs denotes *the finest, the most beautiful, or the most excellent song*. For instances of this construction without the article comp. עֶבֶר עֲבָדִים, *servant of servants*—i.e. *most abject servant*, Gen. ix. 25; קֹדֶשׁ קִדְשִׁים, *holy of holies*—i.e. *most holy*, Exod. xxix. 37; xxx. 10; Num. iii. 32; and the Greek θεῶν θεῶν, ἑορτῶν ἑορτῶν; with the article see שְׁמֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם, *the heaven of heavens*—i.e. *the highest heaven*, Deut.

x. 14; אֱלֹהֵי הָאֱלֹהִים, *the God of gods*; אֲדֹנָי הָאֲדֹנִים, *the Lord of lords*, Deut. x. 17; 1 Kings viii. 27; 2 Chron. ii. 5; iii. 8, 10, and the Greek ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευμένων, Κύριος τῶν κυριευόντων, 1 Tim. vi. 15; Gesenius, *Gram.* sec. 119, 2; Ewald, *Lehr.* sec. 313 c. Hence the explanation of the

Midrash Jalkut בְּשִׁירֵי וְהַמְשֹׁכָה וְהַמְשֻׁבָּה, *the song which is celebrated and sublime among songs*—which is followed by Rashi, Rashbam, Ibn Ezra, Luther, and most modern commentators and lexicographers. The assertion of Kleuker, etc., that this interpretation of the Rabbins is more owing to their preconceived notion about the sublime contents of the book than to the real meaning of these words, is refuted by Rashbam and other Rabbins, who refer to the above-named examples to corroborate the superlative signification of this phrase, and not to the contents of the book. Hengstenberg's opinion that this poem is called by the superlative name—viz. *most excellent song*—because the subject-matter of it is the most glorious one, the heavenly Solomon, has no foundation whatever in the phrase itself, since the word שִׁיר, which the Sept. translates ᾠδὴ, ᾠδα, denotes any kind of song, either sacred or profane (Is. xxiii. 16; xxiv. 9; Prov. xxv. 20; Eccles. vii. 5 with Ps. xxxiii. 3; xl. 3, *al.*) Other explanations of the title '*song of songs*'—i.e. '*a song from the songs of Solomon*' (*Midrash Rabba on the Song of Songs*; Kimchi, etc.), '*a collection of songs*' (Kleuker), '*a chain of songs, a string of songs*,' comparing שִׁיר with the Chaldee שִׁירָא, שְׁרָא, Greek σείρα, *chain* (Velthusen, Paulus, Good, etc.)—are alike contrary to the Hebrew usage of the word שִׁיר and to the construc-

tion שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים. That the Rabbinical explanation of this title is grammatically the only admissible one is admitted even by those who regard this book as a collection of separate songs (*ex. gr.* Döpfke, Magnus, Noyes, etc.)

2. *Design and Method of the Book.*—The design of this charming poem is to teach us a lesson of practical righteousness by the record of an extraordinary example of virtue in a young maiden in humble life who encountered and conquered the greatest temptations from the most exalted personage in the land. The simple story divested of its poetic form is as follows:—A village girl, the daughter of a widowed mother of Shulam, is betrothed to a young shepherd, whom she met whilst tending the flock. Fearing lest the frequent meetings of these lovers should be the occasion of scandal, the brothers of the Shulamite employ her in the vineyard on their farm. Whilst on the way to this vineyard she one day falls in with the *cortège* of King Solomon, who is on a spring visit to the country. Struck with her great beauty the king captures her, conveys her to his royal pavilion, then conducts her to Jerusalem in great pomp, in the hope of dazzling and overcoming her with his splendour, and eventually lodges her in his harem. But all is in vain. True to her virtuous love, she resists all the allurements of the exalted sovereign, spurns all his promises to elevate her to the highest rank, and in the midst of the gay scenes assures her humble shepherd, who followed her to the capital, that her affections are sacredly and inviolably pledged to him. Solomon, convinced at last that all his advances are in vain, allows her to quit the royal residence. Hand in hand the two faithful lovers return to her native place, and on their way home visit the tree under which their love-spark was first kindled, and there renew their vows of constancy and fidelity. On their arrival they are welcomed by their companion shepherds, and she is rewarded by her brothers for her exemplary virtue.

The method which the sacred writer adopts in relating this story, though it is like most poetic narratives of a similar kind in profane compositions, differs materially from all other books of Holy Writ. The *plot*, if such it may be called, develops itself gradually, and the thread of the argument is formed from the utterances of the Shulamite, the shepherd, the king, the court ladies, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the brothers of the Shulamite, and the companions of the shepherd. All these interlocutors or ideal *dramatis personæ* are alternately represented as speaking, but without any such declarations as we find in the book of Job—viz. 'After this Job opened his mouth,' etc., 'then Eliphaz the Temanite answered and said,' 'then answered Bilad the Shuhite and said,' etc. etc.—and without separate names or initial letters of names to indicate the different speakers. It is this which makes it difficult to distinguish between the different persons, and has caused the diversity of opinion even among those commentators who agree about the design and method of the book, as to which of the speakers the several portions are to be assigned.

3. *Division, Contents, and Form of the Book.*—But notwithstanding the difficulties referred to, the division of the poem and the sundry interlocutors may be ascertained from the recurrence of different periods and phrases. Thus, for instance, the recurrence of the same formula three times (ii. 7; iii. 5; viii.



4), and the employment of another closing sentence (v. 1), divide the song into *five sections*. The heroine of the story is easily distinguished by the feminine gender of the verb, adjective, or noun, as 'I am swarthy but comely' (i. 5), where both adjectives, *swarthy* (שְׁחֹרֶה) and *comely* (נְאוֹה), are feminine and plainly indicate the speaker. Her beloved shepherd, when speaking, spoken to, or spoken of, is recognised by the *pastoral language* (i. 3, 4, 7; ii. 12; iii. 4, etc.); her royal tempter is distinguished by express allusions to his *exalted position* (i. 9-11; vi. 4-vii. 10); and her brothers are recognised by a comparison of ii. 15 with i. 6 and viii. 8, 9. The court ladies of the harem are known when speaking to the Shulamite by the phrase '*fairest of women*,' which they employ in addressing her (i. 8; v. 9; vi. 1), and when spoken to by the appellation '*daughters of Jerusalem*' (i. 5; ii. 7; iii. 5, 10; v. 8; viii. 4); whilst the inhabitants of Jerusalem (iii. 6-11), and the companions of the shepherd (viii. 5), are sufficiently indicated by the context.

(a.) THE FIRST SECTION (i. 2-ii.).—The Shulamite, forcibly brought into the gynæceum of Solomon's tent in the country, expresses in the midst of the court ladies her longing to be reunited with him whom she prizes above all things (i. 2, 3). She implores him to come to her rescue, for though brought by the king into his royal tent, her love is fondly doting on him who is the admiration of all upright maidens (4); she repels the scornful reflections of the court ladies because of her soliloquy (5, 6), and implores her beloved to tell her where he tends his flock that she may find him (7). The court ladies, in feigning sympathy for the Shulamite, reply to this entreaty (8). Meanwhile the king comes in and tries to win her affections by flatteries and promises (9-11); but it is in vain, for no sooner does the king retire to his table than she holds sweet converse with her beloved (12-ii. 6), and in an ecstasy adjures the court ladies not to attempt to persuade her to love any one else (7).

(b.) THE SECOND SECTION (ii. 8-iii. 5).—To account for the cause of the severity of her brothers, mentioned in chap. i. 6, the Shulamite relates that her beloved shepherd came one spring morning to invite her to the fields (ii. 8-14); her brothers having overheard the invitation gave her employment in the vineyard (15), out of fraternal solicitude for the reputation of their sister; she, however, consoled herself with the assurance, that though separated from her at that time, her beloved would come again in the evening (16, 17); and as he did not come she under difficult circumstances went to seek him in the night, and found him (iii. 1-4). Possessing him she again reiterates the adjuration to the court ladies not to persuade her to love any one else (5).

(c.) THE THIRD SECTION (iii. 6-v. 1).—The scene now changes; the pavilion in his summer residence is broken up, and Solomon, with the royal *cortège*, is returning to Jerusalem. As the splendid procession approaches the royal city the volumes of incense, the gorgeously-decorated palanquin, the magnificent body-guard, and the costly diadem of the sovereign, become the objects of general admiration, and are in turn discussed by the inhabitants of Jerusalem (iii. 6-10), who at last call out the ladies to gaze at that part of the scene which interests them most (11). The shepherd, who followed his beloved to the royal gynæceum in Jeru-

salem, stands at the foot of the seraglio talking to her; he praises her charms (iv. 1-5); she modestly interrupts him, and tells him that she is ready to escape with him that very evening (6); he proffers his assistance, declaring that her charms had inspired him with courage sufficient for the occasion (7-9), depicts these charms (10, 11), and praises her virtue and chastity (12-16). She declares that whatever she possesses is his (16); whereupon they fall into each other's arms (v. 1 a), and so touching is the scene of their momentary reunion that some of the court ladies, moved with sympathy, urge them on to take their fill of delight (v. 1 b).

(d.) THE FOURTH SECTION (v. 2-viii. 4).—The sympathies manifested by some of the court ladies for the Shulamite at the close of the last section encourage her to relate to them a dream which she had recently had. The purpose of this narrative is the description of the shepherd to which it leads, and which is necessary to the completion of the whole drama. As the Shulamite, in describing this beautiful and fickle dream (v. 2-7), entreated the court ladies that if perchance they should anywhere meet her beloved they are to let him know how she was languishing on account of her separation from him (8), these inmates of the gynæceum ask her what there is about him to cause such an attachment (9); and she, only too pleased to comply with the request, gives them a description of the shepherd (10-16). Struck with so charming a description of his personal appearance, the court ladies offer the Shulamite to go with her to seek him (vi. 1). To which she replies that her beloved as a shepherd is among the scenes of nature, and again reiterates her never-changing love for him (2, 3). On hearing that the beloved is being sought for, Solomon immediately presents himself, seeks to win the Shulamite's affections by extolling her beauty (4-7), by promising to elevate her to the highest dignity (8, 9), and by telling her that she is the admiration of all the court ladies (10). She explains how she came to be seen by the court ladies, and withdraws (11, 12); the king calls her back (13 b), and as she returns describes her charms, and wishes to enjoy the love of one so beautiful (vii. 1-9). She refuses the king's overtures, stating that her affections are sacredly espoused to another (10); then addressing herself to her beloved she entreats him to take her away from the court, and descants upon their rural pleasures (11-13). Remembering, however, that circumstances even at home prevented the full manifestation of her love, she longs for those obstacles to be removed (viii. 1, 2). She is completely overcome by these thoughts of her beloved, wishes that no one but her beloved may support her (3), and with the little strength she has left reiterates the refrain of adjuration that the court ladies should not persuade her to transfer her affections (4).

(e.) THE FIFTH SECTION (viii. 5-14) states the damsel's victory over all her temptations. The king, convinced that nothing could induce the Shulamite to transfer her affections, releases her from the gynæceum in the royal palace, and, accompanied by her beloved shepherd, she returns to her humble rural home. The companions of the shepherd, who are as much interested in the virtuous victory of the shepherdess as the court ladies were in the success of Solomon, welcome their arrival (viii. 5 a); the lovers on their way visit the tree under which they were first betrothed, and there



declare that the divine spark of love which had been kindled in their hearts is never to be quenched (5 6-7). The brothers are then made to repeat the promise which they gave their sister to reward her virtue (8, 9); the Shulamite alludes to her successful resistance of all allurements, and obtains the reward (10-12). The shepherd now asks his beloved shepherdess to sing for him and his companions, who come together to express their congratulations that one of their humble occupation has, by her extraordinary victory, brought such honour upon the whole class; and she repeats the same song which she had sung in sorrow (comp. ii. 17), but in a far different tone, for 'the mountains of separations' are now changed into the much wished-for mountains of pure delight, 'hills of aromatics' (13, 14).

As to its *form*, though the Song of Songs does not quite conform to the rules of the regular drama according to the modern notion of this term, yet there can be but little doubt that it possesses all the essential elements and the organic structure of an amœbean or dramatic poem. It has a plot in the Hebrew sense of the word, which develops itself gradually; it has *dramatis personæ*, who at certain intervals make their appearance and take their part in the intrigue, with this peculiarity, however, that they are reciting instead of performing what they are supposed to do; it has regular pauses or divisions marked by refrains, thus dividing it into distinct parts analogous to our acts or scenes; each act represents the heroine as going through some new trial, and terminates in the triumph of virtue over temptation; and all parts stand to one another in a definite order of sequence, embodying one concerted action, and tending to one conclusion. Moreover, it has a chorus, though it is somewhat different from the chorus of our dramas, inasmuch as it has no rigorous identity, but consists sometimes of the sympathising court ladies, sometimes of the citizens of Jerusalem, and sometimes of the shepherd's companions. The poem, however, was not designed to be acted on the stage of a theatre, as the Hebrews had no stage before the time of Herod, but was most probably intended to be recited on marriage-festivals, and other stated occasions, when the virtue of women was to be celebrated.

3. *Importance of the Book.*—If the purport of the Song of Songs were simply to celebrate the chaste connubial affections subsisting between the sexes, which God has sacredly implanted in our breasts, which are the basis of moral life and domestic happiness, and the figures of which he himself employs to exhibit his love to us, this of itself is a theme of paramount sublimity and importance, and would entitle it to a place in the canon of Holy Writ, which is designed to aid us in the virtuous enjoyments of the life that now is, as well as to prepare us for the life that is to come. We have, therefore, no hesitation in endorsing the sentiments of the eminent Niebuhr, contained in his reply to a young pastor who wanted to know why a love-song was admitted into the Biblical canon: 'As for me, I should believe that something was wanting in the Bible if there could not be found there any expression of the deepest and strongest of the feelings of mankind' (Renan, *La Cantique des Cantiques*, p. 147). The Song of Songs, however, does more than simply celebrate the tender affections subsisting between husband and wife. It depicts to

us, for our instruction in practical righteousness, the triumph of virtue over temptations most seductive and extraordinary, and tells us that the one who comes off more than conqueror is *a woman*—a humble village girl. The most cursory glance at the history and treatment of woman in olden times, and in some countries even to the present day, as well as an examination into the cause of this ill treatment, will show the need and importance of recording such an example of female virtue as is celebrated in the Song of Songs. The woman whom God designed as *the helpmate and counterpart* of man has been reduced by her guardian and protector to be the slave of his carnal lusts. He gives her no credit for virtue, and for this reason places her in the most inaccessible part of the house, sets dogs and eunuchs to guard the doors of her chambers, and makes the harem as impenetrable as a prison; none but the nearest relatives are allowed to see her, and when necessitated to pass through the street her countenance is thickly veiled, and eunuchs watch her movements. The conduct of Potiphar's wife, and of Bath-sheba with David, was calculated to confirm man in his opinion that woman was naturally unfaithful and incontinent, and that it was requisite to exclude her from society in order to preserve her morals. Now, the virtuous example of the Shulamite recorded in this poem strikes at the root of all the reproaches and wrongs of woman. If it was deemed of sufficient importance for our instruction to record in Holy Writ that a Hebrew slave was tempted by a woman of high rank, resisted the temptation, and though left to suffer for a season, was ultimately rewarded for his virtue (Gen. xxxix. 7, etc.); and if it was needed for our warning to relate that Bath-sheba, to whom, as the wife of an officer of rank and accustomed to wealth and luxury, temptation from high quarters could not have been very powerful, surrendered her virtue to royal blandishments—surely it is of paramount importance to celebrate the example of the Shulamite. A village girl—a humble shepherdess—to whom the promise of costly apparel and of elevation from a low and toilsome occupation to the highest rank, must have been an extraordinary allurements, through her womanly and sacred virtue is enabled to spurn all the blandishments of the greatest monarch, and triumph over all the temptations. And has this example ceased to be needed? The revelations of our divorce courts show that we might do well to 'read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest' the noble story of the Shulamite.

4. *The Interpretation of the Book.*—No book has furnished a wider field for the speculations and visionary projects of those who substitute their own imaginations and enthusiastic feelings for the teachings of Scripture than the Song of Songs. The varieties and absurdities of these so-called expositions are a solemn warning against departing from the established laws of language and the canons of historico-critical exegesis. As it would require a large folio volume to give a history of its interpretation, we can only give here a general classification of the main views about the import of the Song of Songs. Bating the great differences in the details, the interpretations may be divided into three general classes or schools—viz. i. *The Literal School*, which considers the description as real, maintaining that the words are to be taken in their obvious sense as delineating an historical fact or imaginary plot.



ii. *The Allegorical School*, which maintains that the description has no historical truth for its basis, and that the words contain some latent meaning. And  
 iii. *The Typical School*, which unites the other two views; it admits the literal meaning, but regards it as typical of spiritual truth.

i. *The Literal School*.—The literal interpretation of the Song of Songs was defended in the time of Christ by the school of Shammai, which maintained, in opposition to the school of Hillel, that Canticles and Ecclesiastes are uninspired productions. At the election, however, of R. Eleazar b. Azzariah to the presidency of the Sanhedrim (*circa* A.D. 90), it was ruled that the Song is inspired, and that it is of sublime allegorical import (*Ḥadajim*, iii. 5; *Edajoth*, v. 3; *Aboth de Rabbi Nathan*, cap. i.) This silenced the literalists among the Jews, till, about A.D. 1100, when they made themselves heard again, as is evident from the scolding exclamation of Ibn Ezra (1140): 'Far be it, far be it! to think that the Song of Songs is an amatory composition!' (*Preface to his comment on the Song*). With the progress of grammatico-historical exegesis in the 12th and 13th centuries, the literalists increased, and we actually find a MS. commentary of this period (*Bodleian Library, Oppenheim Collection*, N. 625) almost anticipating the results of modern criticism. The anonymous commentator maintains that *this Song celebrates the virtuous love contracted between a humble shepherd and shepherdess*, and regards Solomon as a *distinct person*, whom the shepherdess adduces to illustrate her deep and sincere attachment to her beloved shepherd, affirming that if this monarch were to offer her all the splendour and luxury of his court to transfer her affections to him, she would spurn it all and remain faithful to her humble lover. The literal interpretation had now such a phalanx of able defenders, that Isaac Abi Sahula, being solicited by his friends to write an exposition of this book (1284), felt it no easy task to decide between the powerful rivals (*Ginsburg, Comment.* p. 57). Salomon Löwisohn (1796-1821), however, was the first who elucidated the true design of this poem, showing that the Song of Songs *celebrates the victory of true and virtuous love in humble life over the blandishments of royalty*. This view gained strength from its being adopted by Dr. Herxheimer (1848), chief rabbi of Anhalt, and Dr. Philippson, chief rabbi of Magdeburg, and is now defended by almost all the literary Jews. In the church, the literalists, who appeared at a very early period, had at first to endure a harder fate than in the synagogue. As early as the days of Philastrius (*cir.* 387), the view entertained by some rabbins that the Song of Songs depicts a literal love-adventure of Solomon, found its way into the church, but unlike the heads of the synagogue, the bishop of Brescia (Brixia) branded these literalists as heretics (*Liber de hæres.*) The existence of those who defended the literal interpretation about this period is also attested by Gregory of Nyssa (*circa* A.D. 331-396). It is from Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus (*circa* 386-457), that we first learn the particular views of those who espoused the literal interpretation. He tells us that some assert that Solomon composed this song to celebrate his nuptials with Pharaoh's daughter. Amongst these was no less a person than Theodore, bishop of Mopsuestia (*circa* 350-429), who was at that time the most distinguished commentator in the Syrian church, and was κατ' ἐξοχήν, styled *interpres*. Others, who also maintained that it re-

cords a love-adventure of Solomon, substituted Abishag the Shulamite for Pharaoh's daughter. Whilst others again treated it with a little more reverence, and regarded it as a royal discourse, taking the bride to be the people of Israel, and the bridegroom the king. The thunders, however, of the councils, which were hurled against these heretics, quelled for centuries the literal interpretation, and it was only at the time of the Reformation that we find Sebastian Castellio (1515-1563), the celebrated translator of the Bible, venturing to remark on ch. vii. 1, '*Salamitha amica Solomonis et Sponsa*,' and urging the removal of the Song of Songs from the canon. But even in the Reformed church such an opinion was not to be tolerated, and, at the instigation of Calvin, the learned Castellio was banished from Geneva. For the first time we now hear an eccentric voice raised in England for the defence of the literal meaning of the Song, declaring that '*it was written by Solomon when he was wicked, and foolish, and lascivious, and idolatrous*' (Whiston, *Supplement to the Essay towards restoring the true text of the O. T.* pp. 5, 10, London 1723). In Germany the literal interpretation was defended with greater reverence, learning, and taste by the erudite Michaelis, who maintained, in the notes to Bishop Lowth's *Praelections*, that this Song *describes the chaste passions of conjugal and domestic love, that it is recommended as a pattern to mankind, and celebrated as a subject of gratitude to the great Author of happiness*. The honour, however, of first elucidating the true design of this book, as anticipated by the Jews of the Middle Ages, is due to Jacobi (1771), who showed that it does not describe the chaste passion of conjugal love, but *celebrates fidelity*. The ranks of the literalists in Germany were strengthened by the accession of Herder (1778), the pious poet, who, though mistaking its true design, denounced the allegorisers as violating common-sense and the laws of language, and maintained that *this Song celebrates true and chaste love in various stages*; by the learned Kleuker (1780), who held a similar view to that of Herder; by Ammon (1790); by the orthodox Umbreit (1820); and by the profound Ewald (1826), who in a masterly manner worked out the plan exhibited by Jacobi. Döpke, too (1829), though not defending this view, rejected the allegorical interpretation. In England, after an interval of nearly a century, the literal interpretation found a powerful defender in Dr. Pye Smith (*Scripture Test. to the Messiah*, vol. i. book i. cap. 11); the same opinion was defended in America by Dr. Noyes (1846), who maintained that the Song is a collection of erotic songs; whilst in Germany, where the exegesis of the O. T. is prosecuted more largely and successfully, the view that this poem celebrates the victory of virtuous love in humble life over the allurements of royalty was propounded by such critics as Heiligstedt (1848), Böttcher (1849), Meier (1854), Friederich (1855), Hitzig (1855), and Vaihinger (1858). This is also the view of Dr. Davidson (1856) in England, of M. Renan (1861) in France, of the Rev. W. Houghton (Trübner 1865), and it may now be regarded as generally prevailing among the best Biblical critics.

ii. *The Allegorical School*.—From the discussion in the Mishna already alluded to, there can be but little doubt that the allegorical interpretation was



the more prevalent one in the synagogue in the time of Christ, especially in the school of Hillel. According to the ancient allegorical explanation of the synagogue, 'the beloved' is *the Lord*, 'the bride' is *the congregation of Israel*, and the Song is a consecutive allegorico-prophetic history of the Jewish nation, beginning either with the exodus from Egypt or from the call of Abraham, and detailing their doings and sufferings down to the coming of the Messiah and the building of the third temple. This view, which is given in the Talmud and in the Midrash, is elaborately pounded in the Chaldee paraphrase (*circa* A.D. 600), and is consistently and uniformly set forth in all the allegorical commentaries till the 12th century; *ex. gr.* the comment. of Saadia Gaon (892-942), Rashi (1040-1105), Rashbam (1085-1154), Ibn Ezra (1088-1176), Ibn Aknin (1160-1226), etc. At the beginning of the 11th century, when the Arabic philosophy was largely studied among the Jewish literati, the traditional prophetic-historical allegory was exchanged for a philosophical allegory. Thus Ibn Caspi (1280-1340), maintains that Solomon depicts in this Song *the union between the active intellect (intellectus agens) and the receptive or material intellect (intellectus materialis)*. This view is also defended by Moses Ibn Tibbon (1244-1274); by the eminent poet and commentator, Immanuel Romi (1265-1330); Ralbag (1288-1342), etc. For about four hundred years this philosophical allegory disputed the field with the prophetic-historical allegory, when Don Isaac Abravanel started a new allegorical theory—viz. *that the bride is wisdom, with whom Solomon converses*. Leon Hebraeus, son of Abravanel, defended the same view (*De Amore dial. cap. iii.*) This seems to have been the finishing-stroke to the allegorical interpretation among the Jews, for it soon began to lose favour, and has now almost entirely been relinquished.

How or by what right the early fathers of the Christian church came to discard the authorised allegorical interpretation of the synagogue which obtained in and after the time of Christ, is difficult to divine. Suffice it to say that Origen (*circa* 185-254), as we see from the fragments of his commentary, exchanged the historico-allegorical interpretation, which he must have learned from his Jewish rabbi, for an allegory of his own, maintaining that the bridegroom is *Christ*, the bride is *the soul of man* created after the image of God, the companions of the bridegroom are *the angels and saints in heaven*, and the maidens are *the believers on earth*. Traces of the prophetic-historical allegory, however, are to be seen in the fragments of the Homily on the Paralytic Man of Cyril of Jerusalem (*circa* 215-386), where this father explains sundry passages of the Song. According to him, Solomon's palanquin (iii. 9) is *the cross*, its silver legs are *the thirty pieces of silver* which brought Christ to the cross, the purple cushion is *the purple garment* in which the Saviour was mocked, the nuptial crown is *the crown of thorns* (*Op. p. 314*, ed. Oxon. 1703). Athanasius of Alexandria (*circa* 296-373), the great opponent of Arius, an advocate of the deity of Christ, as might have been expected, saw in the Song of Songs nothing else than *a jubilee song of the church at the incarnation of the Son of God*. St. Jerome (*circa* 346-420), who, like Origen, learned to interpret the Song allegorically from his Jewish rabbi,

imported it into the Latin church. But he, too, discarded the authorised historico-allegorical interpretation of the time of Christ, and, like Origen, made it to celebrate the union of Christ with the soul of man or the church.

As the literal view was branded as heretical, the interpretations of Origen and St. Jerome became the authorised expositions for the Greek and Latin Churches, and the schoolmen of the middle ages found in the Song an unfathomable abyss of mysticism, into whose depths they could dive as deeply as their speculative minds and fertile imaginations prompted them. The continued and earnest study of the allegory disclosed to the students thereof, both in the Eastern and Western churches, new mysteries, and it was discovered that the bride is the Virgin Mary, and that the Song sets forth the blessedness of the Virgin above that of all other saints. This view now fairly occupied the field, and was propounded by the learned Greek physician, Michael Constantine Psellus (1020-1106), in his Greek and Latin metrical paraphrase of the Song of Songs (*Opp. vol. viii. p. 289*, ed. 1746); by Rupert of Deutz (*circa* 1076-1113), in his commentary on Canticles (*De Incarnatione Domini*, in seven books); by Richard of St Victor (+ 1173), and by all the Spanish prelates. The only other favourite interpretation with which the prophetic-mariolatry allegory had to compete, and into which indeed it was merged, is the prophetic-historical, started by Nicolas de Lyra (*circa* 1270-1340), maintaining that the bridegroom is God, and the bride the church under both dispensations, that chap. ii. vi. describes the history of the Israelites from the Exodus to the birth of Christ, and chap. vii. to the end *the origin of the Christian church, her progress, and the peace which she attained in the days of Constantine*. In the Reformed Church the prophetic-historical allegory was espoused in England by Brightman (1580), according to whom chap. i. iv. 6 describes *the condition of the legal church* from the time of David to the death of Christ, and chap. iv. 7-viii. 14 *the state of the Evangelical church* from A.D. 34 to the second coming of Christ; by Cotton (1642), etc.; and on the Continent by John Cocceius (1603-1699), Hennischius (1638), Puffendorff (1776), Hug (1803), Keiser (1825), etc. Luther, however, being dissatisfied with both these theories, as well as with the merging of these into one, advanced a new allegory altogether—viz., *'that the bride is the happy and peaceful state under the dominion of Solomon, and that the Song is a hymn of praise in which Solomon thanks God for the obedience rendered to him as a divine gift.'* This view was also espoused by John Brentius, the Suabian reformer.

The view started by Abravanel and Leon Hebraeus, that the bride represents wisdom, with whom Solomon is conversing, was now also introduced into the Christian church by no less a person than Rosenmüller (*Scholia*, ix. 270). In England, however, Mr. Thrupp, one of the latest allegorists (1862), has returned to the early patristic allegory, whilst Mr. Dunn, the last allegoriser (1865), espouses a modified form of Abravanel's view—namely, that the Song celebrates 'the union of the soul and divine wisdom, and the blessedness therefrom arising.'

iii. *The Typical or Mystical School.*—The view of Theodore of Mopsuestia, that the bride in this Song is Pharaoh's daughter, which was evidently derived from those literalising Jews who questioned



the canonicity of the book, seems to have been traditionally preserved in the East since the Jacobite primate, Abul-Farja (1226-1286) describes it in his Arabic history as a matter of course, that outwardly the Song is a dialogue between Solomon and his bride, Pharaoh's daughter. This typical theory gained special favour among our English Reformers, as is evident from the headings in the various editions of what is called Matthew's Bible (1537, 1549, 1551, etc.), which are as follows: 'A mystical device of the spiritual and godly love between Christ, the spouse, and the church or congregation, his spouse. Solomon made this ballad or Song by himself, and his wife, the daughter of Pharaoh, under the shadow of himself, figuring Christ, and under the person of his wife, the church.' This view, which evidently owes its origin to the want felt by the allegorisers of a *literal* basis whereupon to rear their speculations, was defended by the celebrated Grotius (1635-1645), the learned Bishop Bossuet (1690), and Calmet (1726), in France; and by Bishop Lowth (1753), Bishop Percy (1764), Durell (1772), Hodgkin (1786), Williams (1801), etc., in England; whilst in Germany, where the arguments of Calovius prevented this theory from taking root, Delitzsch (1851) offers a compromise, maintaining that the Song poetically describes a love-relationship formed by Solomon, that 'the idea of marriage is the idea of the Song,' and that it may figuratively represent the union of God with his people.

5. *The Arguments for and against the Allegorical Interpretation.*—A. The following arguments are urged in support of the allegorical interpretation:—

i. The insertion of this book in the sacred canon premises its *spiritual* import, since it would be contrary to the genius of the Bible, which breathes religious feelings filled with theocratic views of things, to suppose that it describes human love. But granting that it simply depicts the tender affections subsisting between a sacredly-espoused couple, we have only to quote the admission of an able allegorist, that a passion so strong, so universal, so essential to happiness—to the very existence of the human race—is worthy of a place in a revelation from God to man. 'It would be strange, indeed, if one of the most important and never absent phenomena in the moral and physical creation of man should never be noticed in a revelation to him from his Creator' (Dr. Stowe in Kitto's *Journal of Sacred Lit.* 1852, p. 831, etc.) Surely the pleasures of chaste love cannot be deemed less worthy of record than the sorrows arising from bereaved friendship (2 Sam. i. 17, etc.) The design of the book, however, as already shown, is not merely to celebrate love, but to record an example of virtue.

ii. It is urged that the language put by the sacred writer into the mouth of the bride shows that this poem is an allegory, because in its literal sense such language would be contrary to nature and the modesty of women. But if it be true that the language of this poem would outrage female decency and modesty, if taken to be addressed to *human love*, surely it must be far more outrageous when put into the mouth of a humble, penitent, and submissive church, as addressing *the Lord of lords*. Besides, the perusal of Oriental compositions of a similar nature will show that this poem is in perfect harmony with the habits and tastes of the people; and no less authorities than Bishop Bossuet

and Bishop Lowth, scholars of the highest culture and most refined taste, have bestowed unlimited praise on the truthfulness and beauties of the Song, regarded merely as a relic of ancient erotic poetry.

iii. The language and imagery employed in this Song, and the bridegroom and bride here introduced, are, it is said in other parts of the Bible, applied to the Lord and his people. Thus Exod. xxxiv. 15, 16; Lev. xx. 5, 6; Num. xv. 39; Deut. xxxi. 16; 2 Chron. xxi. 13; Ps. lxxiii. 27; Ezek. vi. 9, represent Israel as affianced to the true God, whom they could not leave for idols without incurring the guilt of adultery. In Is. liv. 5 God calls himself *husband*. Israel is called his *bride* in Is. lxii. 4, 5; comp. also Is. l. 1; Jer. iii. 1-11; xvi.; Hos. i.-iii.; Matt. ix. 15; John iii. 29; 2 Cor. xi. 2; Eph. v. 22-32; Rev. xix. 9; xxi. 2, 9; xxii. 17. But i. This only shows that if we had indubitable proof, as in the passages cited, that a whole book in the sacred canon is entirely devoted to symbolise, under the figure of *husband and wife*, the covenant-relationship subsisting between *God and his people*, it would be nothing strange but rather in harmony with these passages. Because some passages of Scripture distinctly tell us that in them the terms husband and wife symbolise the relationship between God and his people, are we therefore to attach this symbolical meaning to these terms whenever they are employed, and when their tropical use is not indicated? ii. The image of marriage was never used *before* the days of Solomon to denote a spiritual relationship. The phrase, '*to go a whoring after other Gods*,' to which reference is made, does not mean that Israel, by worshipping idols, commits *spiritual adultery* against the true God to whom they were affianced, thus presupposing God to be their *husband* and Israel his *wife*. It describes a *literal fact*, the libidinous orgies and prostitutions connected with the worship of idols (Num. xxv. 1; Hos. iv. 13, etc.), as is evident from Exod. xxxiv. 15, 16, where this phrase first occurs, and where it is applied to *heathen women* worshipping their *own* Gods. These women did not stand in such covenant-relationship to the God of Israel, and therefore could not incur the guilt of *spiritual adultery*, yet they are described as '*whoring after THEIR Gods*.' But even admitting that it does suggest a marriage relationship, the distance between a *suggestive phrase* of this kind and an *entire book* of marital descriptions is so great, that the one cannot reasonably be supposed to have suggested the other. And iii. There is no analogy whatever even between the language used by the prophets *after* the days of Solomon in the passages cited and that of this poem. In the former, the *wedded relation* forms the comparison; in the latter, *ante-nuptial* is the theme. In the former, the *general* idea of the figure is briefly used, without any particulars of the person, dress, scenery, etc., are minutely described. In the former, God is represented as the High and Holy One inhabiting eternity, and in his infinite condescension and compassion, loving, with the tenderness of a husband, Israel, who is represented as an unlovely, ungrateful, and unfaithful wife; in the latter, the bridegroom and the bride are placed upon an *equality*; nay, the bridegroom declares that his heart has been ravished by the charms and faithfulness of the bride. In the former we are *distinctly told* that the husband means the Lord, and the wife the people



of Israel, so that the most superficial reader is compelled to perceive it; in the latter we have *no intimation whatever* that the lovers are intended to represent God and his people, and no reader would ever gather it from the poem.

*iv.* It is urged that the 45th Psalm, which celebrates allegorically the union of the Messiah and the Church, plainly shows the allegorical import of the Song of Songs. But this Psalm itself is simply a congratulatory nuptial song, composed to celebrate a king's marriage with a princess of Tyre, and there is nothing in it which compels us to understand it allegorically. The quotation of the seventh and eighth verses in Heb. i. 8, 9, only proves that these verses refer in a higher sense to the Messiah, but not that *the whole* psalm is descriptive of him. Who would think of allegorising the 8th chapter of Isaiah because vers. 17 and 18 are quoted in the same epistle (Heb. ii. 13)? But granting that Ps. xlv. is an allegory, the two cases are still essentially different. In Ps. xlv. 7 the bridegroom is addressed as *God*, and this verse is quoted in the N. T., whereas there is nothing of this kind in the Song of Songs.

*v.* The pantheistic poetry of the Mohammedan Sufis, in which religious and devotional feelings are allegorically expressed, is adduced as another argument in support of the allegorical theory. But in the Islam and Hindoo poems the name of the Deity is distinctly mentioned, which is not the case in the Song of Songs; besides, some of the poems in question were allegorised at a later period, when the literal interpretation began to give offence.

B. We shall now give some of the reasons *against* the allegorical interpretation:—

*i.* In every allegory or parable employed in the Scriptures, as in every good human composition, something is wrought into its texture to indicate most unmistakably its allegorical design; that under the garb of an immediate representation is conveyed one more remote (comp. Judg. ix. 7-20; 2 Kings xiv. 9, 10; Ps. lxxx. 8-16; Is. v.; Ezek. xvi., xxxvii. 1-14; also the parables of Christ, Acts x. 10-17; Gal. iv. 22-31). If, therefore, the author of this poem had intended it to be understood allegorically, he would have given some indication to that effect, especially as the allegories occasionally used in this very book (Song iv. 12; v. 1; vii. 7, 8) are rendered plain and obvious. As there is, however, not the slightest intimation in the whole of this lengthy poem that it is designed to be allegorical, we are not warranted in assuming it. To take one entire book of the Scriptures to be allegorical, without even an obscure hint of its allegorical import in the book itself, is to violate the established laws of language, and to expose all other volumes of Holy Writ to a similar treatment. If one chooses to allegorise one portion without any internal evidence, another may choose to allegorise another portion.

*ii.* The fact that our Lord and his apostles never once refer to this book is against its allegorical interpretation. If this song, according to the first and last allegorisers, 'celebrates the glories of the Messiah, and all the mercies which through him flow to the people of God,' it is more spiritual and more evangelical than any other portion of the O. T., surpassing even the writings of Isaiah, who is called *the fifth Evangelist*, and is, in fact, what Origen calls it, '*The Holy of Holies*.' Is it possible that our Saviour and his apostles, who in their dis-

putations with the Jews so frequently quote the prophecies of Isaiah, and other passages of the O. T. which are far less evangelical and Messianic, would never refer to the Christology of this book? Is it possible that the apostle Paul, who so frequently describes the relation of Christ to the church by the union subsisting between husband and wife (2 Cor. xi. 2; Rom. vii. 4; Eph. v. 23-32), would be totally silent about the book which, above all others in the O. T., sets forth this union?

*iii.* Solomon is not the man from whom a production of such preeminent spirituality and evangelical truth can be expected. In looking at the Scriptures we see the same agreement between the inspired authors and their respective productions which exists between ordinary writers and their works. Inspiration, like Providence, selected the fittest instruments for its work. Thus between the history of Moses and his writings, of David and his writings, of Paul and his writings, of John and his writings, there is a natural uniformity. Accordingly we have not only to suppose Solomon to have been more spiritually-minded than any saint of the Jewish economy, but to have stood upon a level with the most enlightened and Christ-loving under the present dispensation, to have written in such a strain. Where is any such qualification in Solomon even remotely intimated in any part of the Scriptures? The wisdom which he asked, which he received, and for which he gained celebrity, was that displayed in his civil government, and the first fruits of which were given in the decision upon the litigation of the two mothers. The fact that the poetry which he wrote upon natural history, consisting of 1005 songs, was not deemed worthy of a place in the canon, shows that his muse did not indulge in a devotional strain. The extensive harem which he had displays his inordinate desire for foreign women, who in old age inveigled him into the worship of idols. Is he the man whose love-song is to be regarded as preeminently spiritual, and to be exalted as more evangelically rapturous than any other portion of Holy Writ? Who can conceive that he who caused an irreparable breach in his kingdom should *represent himself* as the Prince of Peace, or that he who was the embodiment of carnal propensities should describe under the figure of *chaste love* the union of Christ and his church? As David was not qualified to build the temple because he had been a man of war and shed blood, so Solomon was not qualified to write in such a strain about Christ and his church as the allegory presupposes, because he had been a man of lust and had turned aside to idolatry. This argument urged in our commentary weighed so heavily with Mr. Thrupp, one of the most recent allegorisers (*Introd. to his Comment.* p. 2, etc.), that he was obliged to give up the Solomonic authorship rather than abandon the allegory; forgetting however that in relinquishing the former, which has been handed down to us by the unanimous voice of both the synagogue and the church, he therewith sacrificed the only cogent argument for the allegorical interpretation—viz. that it has been traditionally transmitted by the church universal.

*iv.* But if even allegorisers are constrained to admit the incongruity of making Solomon the author of so sublime a song, surely it is equally incongruous to suppose that some other inspired writer composed this book to symbolise by Solomon the union of Christ and his church. To select



a man who revelled more in an eastern harem, and had a greater number of wives than any other individual mentioned in the O. T. (1 Kings xi. 1-8), in order to symbolise by his voluptuous love the most sacred love subsisting between God or the Messiah and his people, is as incongruous as it would be to select the most notorious and abandoned polytheist as a symbol of monotheism.

v. It is almost blasphemous to suppose Christ addressing his church in the language of chap. vii. 2-9, where the most indelicate desire for carnal intercourse is expressed. This is the blandishment of seduction, and not the language of him who was 'holy, harmless, undefiled, and separate from sinners,' and who spake as never man spake.

vi. The church universal has shown her consciousness of the indecency of this language at the sacrifice of consistency. Though, through the importation of it by Origen into the Eastern section, and by Cyprian, Augustine, and especially St. Jerome, into the Western section, she has espoused the ancient Jewish notion that this Song is allegorical, yet she has systematically abstained from ordering it to be read publicly. The oldest lectionaries exhibit no lessons from the Song of Songs: in the Anglican Church, which is pre-eminently based upon Scripture and the usage of antiquity, it is authoritatively excluded from the Calendar of Lessons, whilst the majority of the most able and pious allegorisers caution against the use of it. How is this fact to be reconciled with the view that this Song is the most evangelical and the most sublime in spiritual sentiments of all the O. T. books? How extraordinary that a book should be proscribed from the pericopes, a single passage of which, according to one of the most intelligent allegorisers, 'tells us of the resurrection of Christ from the dead at the early morning hour,' 'that no part had been spared, that the cup of misery had been drunk to the full,' and 'that for the sudden triumph of Christ's resurrection from the dead the body of the faithful had not been prepared!' (Thrupp's *Comment.* p. 198, etc.) Does not this show that the allegory is not a matter of choice, but deemed a necessity, and that the distinguished spiritual rank assigned to it above the rest of the O. T. books arises from the principle that where in its literal sense sin is believed to abound there in its spiritual acceptance grace must much more abound?

vii. What is, however, most subversive of the allegorical theory is the fact that *three* principal persons appear in this Song—viz. a shepherd, a shepherdess, and a king—and that it is the shepherd and not the king who is the object of the maiden's affection. This has been recognised by some of the most learned Jewish commentators of the middle ages (viz. Ibn Ezra, Immanuel, etc.), and must be evident to every unbiased reader of the Song of Songs.

6. *Author and Date of the Book.*—The inscription certainly assigns the authorship of this book to

Solomon. The  $\text{לְשׁוֹמוֹן}$  prefixed to  $\text{שְׁלֹמֹה}$  is the so-called *Lamed auctoris*, which is used in the titles of psalms and other Hebrew poems to describe the *author* (Ps. iii. 1; iv. 1, *al.*); whilst the additional  $\text{אֲשֶׁר}$ , not found in other inscriptions, is owing to the article in  $\text{שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים}$ , which generally, though not always, is followed by this pronoun (Gen. xxix. 9; xl. 5; xlvii. 4; 1 Kings iv. 2; Gesenius,

*Gramm.* sec. 115, 1; Ewald, *Lehrbuch*, sec. 292 a).

Hence the rendering of  $\text{אֲשֶׁר לְשׁוֹמוֹן}$  by *respecting Solomon*, and the assertion that it denotes *the theme* or the person of the poem, are contrary to usage, and are rightly rejected by modern grammarians and lexicographers. The appeal to the Septuagint, which, according to the Vatican text, renders this phrase by  $\delta \epsilon \sigma \tau \epsilon \Sigma \alpha \lambda \omega \mu \acute{\omega} \nu$ , in support of the view that it indicates the *subject* of the song, is nugatory, inasmuch as  $\Sigma \alpha \lambda \omega \mu \acute{\omega} \nu$  is not the nominative but genitive (Winer, *N. T. Grammar*, sec. 10). But though the inscription ascribes the authorship to Solomon, internal evidence is decidedly against it, and leaves no doubt that the title owes its origin to the voice of tradition, as will be seen from the following reasons:—i. The author of the book invariably uses the abbreviated form  $\text{ש}$  of the relative pronoun, whereas the inscription has the relative  $\text{אֲשֶׁר}$  in its full and usual form. The homoeophony of the words  $\text{אֲשֶׁר}$  and  $\text{שִׁיר}$  is not sufficient to account for so extraordinary a divergence, seeing that no such homoeophony occurs in the book itself. ii. Solomon would surely not designate his own production by the appellation '*the most excellent song*.' iii. The description of the royal *cortège*, and the summons to the people to admire Solomon in his grandeur (iii. 6-11), cannot possibly be ascribed to him without accusing him of great conceit and vanity. iv. Tirzah is put in authoritative dignity on a level with Jerusalem (vi. 4), which undoubtedly shows that the Song of Songs was written after the revolt of the ten tribes, when these two cities were the rival capitals of the two kingdoms. v. It is a psychological impossibility that Solomon would have satirised himself by writing a poem to show how his artful blandishments to seduce a virtuous woman utterly failed. When Mr. Brown, in his excellent article 'Canticles' in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, says that this does not militate against Solomon being the author of this book, and that 'his conduct could easily be traced to a spirit of generous self-accusation,' we can only reply that no such spirit is traceable in the book itself, and that chap. vii. 7-10 indicates the very reverse of such a spirit. The author must have been a member of the kingdom of Israel; a subject of the kingdom of Judah, where the Solomonic dynasty reigned, and where Solomon's memory was cherished, would never have ventured to write such a poem. This is also corroborated by the fact that the writer repeatedly mentions Lebanon (iv. 8) and places in the northern kingdom.

Though the exact *date* of the book cannot be ascertained, yet its powerful and fluent style, the originality of its figures, the freshness of its landscapes, its life-like descriptions of local circumstances, the imagery drawn from the royal court of Solomon, the horses of Pharaoh, the tower of David, the tower of Solomon, the pools of Heshbon, etc. etc., show that it must have been written in the most flourishing time of the Hebrew language, and *shortly after the death of Solomon*.

7. *Canonicity and Position of the Book.*—We have the same evidence for the canonicity of the Song of Songs as that which is commonly adduced for the canonicity of any other portion of the O. T. The very rejection of its allegorical import and inspiration by some in the school of Shammai (A.D. 80) proves that it formed a part of the canon in the days

of Christ. As this has been shown elsewhere in this Cyclopædia [GAMALIEL II.], it is needless to repeat it here. Hence it is found in the Septuagint, in the translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, in the catalogue of the canon given in the Talmud (*Baba Bathra*, 14 b), in the catalogue of Melito (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 26), etc. etc. Those who in modern days have questioned the canonicity of this book have done so not from external evidence, but from misapprehension of its design.

The Song of Songs is the first of the five *Megilloth* (המשי מגילות) or scrolls which are annually read in the synagogue on five stated occasions. The reason for its occupying the first position in the present arrangement of the Hebrew canon is that the Feast of Passover, on which it is read, is the first in order of these five occasions.

8. *Literature*.—Besides the Septuagint, the Vulgate, and especially the Syriac version, which is superior to the other ancient versions, are to be mentioned the commentaries of Rashi, Rashbam, and Ibn Ezra, contained in the Rabbinic Bibles [RABBINIC BIBLES]. The best modern exegetical helps are—Mason Good, *Song of Songs, translated from the original Hebrew*, London 1803; Ewald, *Das Hohe Lied Salomo's*, Göttingen 1826; Döpke, *Philologisch-critische Commentar zum Hohen Liede Salomo's*, Leipzig 1829; Hirzel, *Das Lied der Lieder*, Zürich 1840; Magnus, *Kritische Bearbeitung und Erklärung des Hohen Liedes*, Halle 1842; Hitzig in *Kurzege. exegetisch Handbuch zum A. T.* vol. xvi. Leipzig 1855; Weissbach, *Das Hohe Lied Salomo's*, Leipzig 1858; Renan, *La Cantique des Cantiques*, Paris 1861. The most recent commentaries defending the allegorical view are by the Rev. A. M. Stuart, 2d ed., 1860; and the Rev. J. T. Thrupp, M.A. (Macmillan) 1862. A very excellent *Essay on the Canticles*, defending the literal view, has just been published by the Rev. W. Houghton, M.A. (Trübner) 1865. For analyses of most of the commentaries, as well as of the MSS. cited in this article, we must refer to our *Historical and Critical Commentary on the Song of Songs* (Longman) 1857.—C. D. G.

SOLOMON, WISDOM OF. [WISDOM OF SOLOMON.]

SONG. [POETRY.]

SOOTHSAYER. [DIVINATION.]

SOPATER (Σώπατρος), a Christian at Berea, and one of the party of brethren who accompanied Paul into Asia Minor from Greece (Acts xx. 4). He is supposed to be the same with the Sosipater (Σωσιπάτρος) named in Rom. xvi. 21; and, if so, was a kinsman of St. Paul. In some MSS. (A, B, D, E, and N) his father's name is given as Pyrrhus.

SORCERER. [DIVINATION.]

SOREK (שֹׂרֵק; Sept. σωρήκ), a vine of the finest and noblest kind (Is. v. 2; comp. Gen. xlix. 11, where שֹׂרֵקָה, *sorekah*, is translated a 'choice vine'; and Jer. ii. 21, where שֹׂרֵק, *sorek*, is rendered 'noble vine'). [VINE.]

SOREK, THE VALLEY OF (נַחַל שֹׂרֵק; 'אל-סוֹרֵקָה; Alex. χειμάρριος Σωρήκ; *Vallis Sorec*), a valley mentioned only in the sad story of Samson: 'He loved a woman in the valley of Sorek, whose

name was Delilah' (Judg. xvi. 4). It was evidently in Philistia, and doubtless one of those wadys which, descending from the mountains of Judah, wind across the fertile plain of the Shephelah. It was perhaps near Samson's native city Zorah. This appears to be the opinion of Eusebius and Jerome; for though they do not identify the wady, they mention a village called *Capharsorech* to the north of Eleutheropolis, near Saara (ZORAH; *Onomast.* s. v. *Sorech*). The word *Sorek* signifies a vine of a choice kind, and the name appears to be still extant in Arabic (Gesenius, *Thes.* 1343). It is rendered 'choicest vine' in Is. v. 2. Doubtless Wady Sorek took its name from its vineyards.

On the south side of the ridge on which the city of Zorah stood, and between it and Bethshemesh, runs a wide and fertile valley, whose shelving sides of white limestone are admirably adapted for the cultivation of the vine. It winds away across the plain, passing the sites of Ekron and Jabneel. This may possibly be the valley of Sorek. Its modern name, *Wady es-Surâr* (الصرار), bears some remote resemblance, at least in sound, to the Biblical *Sorek* (*Handbook*, p. 282).—J. L. P.

SOSIPATER. [SOPATER.] Another of this name is mentioned in 2 Maccab. xii. 19-24.

SOSTHENES (Σωσθένης), the chief of the synagogue at Corinth, when Paul was in that city on his second journey into Greece (Acts xviii. 17). He was seized and beaten by the people before the judgment-seat of Gallio, on account of the tumult raised by the Jews against Paul, of which he seems to have been one of the leaders. He is supposed to have been afterwards converted to Christianity, as a Sosthenes is mentioned by Paul as 'a brother,' and coupled with himself in 1 Cor. i. 1. This identity is, however, a pure conjecture, and not remarkably probable. Apart from it, however, we know nothing of this second Sosthenes. Eusebius makes him one of the seventy disciples, and later tradition describes him as a bishop of Kolophon.—J. K.

SOUTH. The country, or quarter of the heavens, which the Shemite, standing with his face to the east, supposes to be on his right hand. It is denoted by seven Hebrew words (1. נָנֵב; 2. דְּרוֹם; 3. מִיָּם; 4. יָמִין; 5. חֲדָר; 6. מְדִבֵּר; 7. מִיָּם), nearly all of which refer to some characteristic of the region to which they are respectively applied. 1. נָנֵב (root נָנַב in Syr. and Chald., *to be dry*), probably derived its name from the hot drying winds which blow annually into Syria over Africa and Arabia. 'In March,' says Volney, 'appear in Syria the pernicious *southerly* winds, with the same circumstances as in Egypt—that is to say, their *heat*, which is carried to a degree so excessive, that it is difficult to form an idea of it without having felt it; but one can compare it to that of a great oven when the bread is drawn out (*Voyage en Syrie et Egypte*, tom. i. p. 297; comp. p. 55; Luke xii. 55, 'When ye see the south wind blow ye say, There will be heat;') and see Kitto's *Physical History of Palestine*, month of March, pp. 221, 222). The word is occasionally applied to a parched or dry tract of land. Caleb's daughter says to her father, 'Thou hast given me a south,' or rather 'dry land;' אֶרֶץ הַנֶּבֶב (Vulg. *terram arentem*);



'give me also springs of water' (Judg. i. 15; comp. ver. 9). At other times the word refers to those arid regions, notwithstanding their occasional fertility, over which the south wind blows into Syria. So the Sept. and Vulg. understood the 'whirlwinds from the south' (Is. xxi. 1; ὁ δὲ ἐρήμου, *turbines ab Aphrico*). 'The burden of the beasts in the south' is rendered τῶν τετραπύδων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ (Is. xxx. 6). At other times the word is rendered by νότος and λίψ, which latter is the Hellenised form of Libs, *Ventus ex Lybia*, the south-west wind, and, by metonymy, the quarter whence it blows. In several instances the Hebrew word is simply put into Greek letters: thus, τὴν Ναγέβ, Josh. x. 40; τὴν γῆν Ναγέβ, *Alex. τὴν Ναγέβ, al. Ναγέβ*, xi. 16; Ναγέβ, Cyr. Ἀγέβ, Obad. 19, 20; and once, probably by a corruption, it is ἀργάβ, 1 Sam. xx. 41, *al. νεγίβ, al. νεγέβ, al. ἐργάβ*. The Vulgate renders the word by 'meridies, australis plaga, terra meridiana, auster ab Aphrico, terra australis.' More than once the Septuagint differs widely from the present Hebrew text; thus in Ezek. xx. 47, it renders צפונה מננב by ἀπὸ ἀπηλιώτου ἕως βορρᾶ; Vulg. 'ab-austro usque ad aquilonem'; so also in Exod. xxvi. 35, פאת ננבה is rendered πρὸς βορρᾶν; Vulg. 'ad austrum.' It is also used in the geographical sense in Num. xxxiv. 3; Josh. xv. 2; 1 Chron. ix. 24; 2 Chron. iv. 4; Ezek. xl. 2; xlv. 9, etc. But a further and important use of the word is as the name or designation of the desert regions lying at the south of Judæa, consisting of the deserts of Shur, Zin, and Paran, the mountainous country of Edom or Idumæa, and part of Arabia Petrea (comp. Mal. i. 3; Shaw's *Travels*, p. 438). Thus Abraham, at his first entrance into Canaan, is said to have 'gone on toward the south' (Gen. xii. 9); Sept. ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, Aquila νότονδε, Symmachus εἰς νότον; and upon his return from Egypt into Canaan, he is said to have gone 'into the south' (xiii. 1); Sept. εἰς τὴν ἐρημον; Vulg. 'ad australem plagam,' though he was in fact then travelling northward. Comp. ver. 3, 'He went from the south to Bethel,' Sept. εἰς τὴν ἐρημον; Vulg. 'a meridie in Bethel.' In this region the Amalekites are said to have dwelt 'in the land of the south,' when Moses sent the spies to view the land of Canaan (Num. xiii. 29), viz. the locality between Idumæa and Egypt, and to the east of the Dead Sea and Mount Seir [AMALEKITES]. The inhabitants of this region were included in the conquests of Joshua (x. 40). Whenever the Septuagint gives the Hebrew word in the Greek letters, Ναγέβ, it always relates to this particular district. To the same region belongs the passage, 'Turn our captivity as the streams in the south' (Ps. cxv. 4); Sept. ὡς χειμάρρους ἐν τῷ Νότῳ, 'as winter torrents in the south' (Vulg. 'sicut torrens in Austro'); which suddenly fill the wadis or valleys during the season of rain (comp. Ezek. vi. 3; xxxiv. 13; xxxv. 8; xxxvi. 4, 6). These are dry in summer (Job vi. 15-18). The Jews had, by their captivity, left their country empty and desolate, but by their return would 'flow again into it.' Through part of this sterile region the Israelites must repass in their vain application to Egypt (Is. xxx. 6; comp. Deut. vii. 15). It is called the Wilderness of Judæa (Matt. iii. 1; Josh. xv. 61; comp. Ps. lxxv. 6, Hebrew or margin; see also Jer. xvii. 26; xxxii. 44; xxxiii. 14; Ezra xx. 46, 47; xxi. 4; comp. Obad. 19, 20; Zech. ix.

7). Through part of this region lay the road from Jerusalem to Gaza, 'which is desert' (Acts viii. 26). Thus, as Drusius observes, the word often means not the whole southern hemisphere of the earth, but a desert tract of land to the south of Judæa. Sometimes it is used in a relative sense; thus, the cities of Judah are called 'the cities of the south' (Jer. xlii. 19), relatively to Chaldæa, expressed by 'the north' (i. 14; comp. iv. 6; vi. 1). Jerusalem itself is called 'the forest of the south field,' or *country*, like the Latin *ager* (Ezek. xx. 46; comp. Gen. xiv. 7) [FOREST]. Egypt is also called 'the south'; thus, 'the king of the south' (Dan. xi. 5) is Ptolemy Soter and his successors; comp. ver. 6, 9, 11, 15, 25, 29, 40; but in the last-named verse, Mede understands the Saracen from Arabia Felix (*Works*, pp. 674, 816). 2. דרום, which, according to Gesenius, is a word of uncertain derivation. It is rendered by λίψ, Sept. Deut. xxxiii. 23; by νότος, Eccles. i. 6; xi. 3; Ezek. xl. 24, 27, 28, 44, 45; xli. 11; and by θάλασσα, Ezek. xlii. 18. Vulg. 'meridies, auster, australis, ventus australis.' 3. תימן and its adverb תימנה, strictly what lies to the right; Sept. νότος, λίψ; and sometimes the word is simply put into Greek letters; thus, Θαμάν (Hab. iii. 3). Indeed all the three preceding words are so rendered (Ezek. xx. 46), 'Τὴ ἀνθρώπου, στήρσον τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἐπὶ θαμάν, καὶ ἐπιβλεψὼν ἐπὶ δαρὸν, καὶ προφήτευσον ἐπὶ δρυμὸν ἡγούμενον ναγέβ: where perhaps the vocabulary of the translator did not afford him sufficient variety. The Vulgate here gives 'viam austri, ad aphricum, ad saltum agri meridiani,' and elsewhere renders the Hebrew word by 'meridiana plaga, ad meridiem.' It occurs in Exod. xxvi. 35; Num. ii. 10; iii. 29; x. 6; Job ix. 7; xxxix. 26; Ps. lxxviii. 26; Cant. iv. 16; Is. xlii. 6; Hab. iii. 3; Zech. ix. 14; xiv. 4. In Zech. vi. 6 it denotes Egypt. It is poetically used for the south wind, like Shakspeare's 'sweet south'; Ps. lxxviii. 26, νότον, *Africum*, and Cant. iv. 16, νότε; for the explanation of the latter see NORTH. Observe that תימנה and ננב are interchanged in Exod. xxvi. 18; xxxvi. 23; Ezek. xlvii. 1. 4. מִן, also meaning the right side and south. Thus Ps. lxxxix. 12, 'Thou hast made the north and the south'; Sept. θάλασσα; Vulg. *mare*. The word is evidently here used in its widest sense, comprehending not only all the countries lying south, but also the Indian Ocean, etc., the whole hemisphere. Aquila, βορρᾶν καὶ δεξιάν; Theodotion, βορρᾶν καὶ νότον. In some passages where our translation renders the word *right*, the meaning would have been clearer had it rendered it *south* (1 Sam. xxiii. 19, 24; 2 Sam. xxiv. 5; Job xxiii. 9). 5. חֶרֶר, 'Out of the south cometh the whirlwind' (Job xxxvii. 9), literally 'chamber' or 'storehouse,' ἐκ ταμείων, *interioribus*. The full phrase occurs in ch. ix. 9, חֶרֶרִי תִמֶן, *taiméi vñov, interiora austri*, the remotest south; perhaps in both these passages the word means the chambers or storehouses of the south wind. 6. מִדְבָּר, 'Promotion cometh not from the south' (Ps. lxxv. 6), literally 'wilderness,' ἀπὸ ἐρήμων, *desertis montibus*. 7. מִיָּם, 'And gathered them out of the lands, and from the south' (Ps. cvii. 3), θάλασσα, *mare*; where Gesenius contends that it ought to be translated 'west,' though it stands opposed to מִצְפֶּן, as it is indeed so translated under exactly the same circumstances in Is. xlix. 12. He refers to Deut. xxxiii. 23, and Amos viii.

12. It is also thus rendered in our version of the first of these references; and on the latter we can only refer to Archbishop Newcome's *Version of the Minor Prophets*, Pontefract 1809, pp. 51, 52. In the N. T. we have *vōtos* in the geographical sense, βασιλισσα *vōtou*, *regina austri*, Matt. xii. 42 [SHEBA, QUEEN OF]; and Luke xiii. 29; Rev. xxi. 13. The word *μεσημβρια* is also translated 'south' in Acts viii. 26, *κατὰ μεσημβρίαν*, *contra meridianum*. It is used in the same sense by Josephus (*Antiq.* iv. 5. 2). In Symmachus (1 Sam. xx. 41) for *צפון*. Hesychius defines *Μεσημβρία* τὰ τοῦ Νότου μέρος καὶ τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας μέσον. The south-west *λίψ* occurs in St. Paul's dangerous voyage (Acts xxvii. 12); 'a haven of Crete,' *βλέποντα κατὰ λίβα*, *respicientem ad africanum*, by metonymy the *wind*, for the quarter whence it blows. The south wind is mentioned ver. 13, *vōtos*, *auster*, and xxviii. 13 [WINDS].—J. F. D.

SOUTH RAMOTH. [RAMATH-NEGEB.]

SOWER, SOWING. [AGRICULTURE.]

SPAIN (Σπανία, Rom. xv. 24, 28; Ἰσπανία, 1 Maccab. viii. 3). This name was anciently applied to the whole peninsula which now comprises Spain and Portugal (Cellar. *Notit.* i. 51, *seq.*) In the time of Paul Spain was a Roman province, and many Jews appear to have settled there. It seems clear from Rom. xv. 24, 28, that Paul formed the design of proceeding to preach the gospel in Spain: that he ever executed this intention is necessarily denied by those who hold that the apostle sustained but one imprisonment at Rome—viz. that in which the Acts of the Apostles leave him; and even those who hold that he was released from this imprisonment can only conjecture that, in the interval between it and the second, he fulfilled his intention. There is, in fact, during the three first centuries no evidence on the subject, beyond a vague intimation by Clement, which is open to different explanations [PAUL]; and later traditions are of small value.—J. K.

SPANHEIM, FREDERIC, was born at Amberg, in the Upper Palatinate, in 1600. He was successively professor of philosophy and of divinity at Geneva, and professor of divinity at Leyden, where he died in 1649. He was a man of great learning and ability. His principal work is *Dubia Evangelica*, 3 parts, Genev. 1639. This work is devoted to the elucidation of obscure passages, especially in St. Matthew's Gospel, and to the confutation of errorists of various classes. It is a work of vast learning and great acuteness. Another Frederic Spanheim, son of the preceding, born at Geneva 1632, died at Leyden 1701, was distinguished for his ability and learning. In his collected works (3 vols. fol. Lug. Bat. 1701) are several treatises of interest to the Biblical student, especially relating to questions of chronology, geography, and history. W. L. A.

SPARROW. [TSIPPOR.]

SPEAR. [ARMS.]

SPEARMEN. [DEXIOLABOS.]

SPENCER, JOHN, D.D., a learned English divine, was born in Kent, 1630, and graduated at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, where he took successively the degrees of B.A. (1652), B.D. (1659), and D.D. (1663), and of which he became

Fellow, and afterwards Master. In 1677 he was made Dean of Ely. Having previously published some works of minor interest, he in 1685 gave to the world the great work which has made his name famous: *De Legibus Hebræorum Ritualibus, et earum Rationibus, tres libri*. This was afterwards enlarged, especially by the addition of a fourth book; and still farther improved by Chappellow, who published a new edition with the author's last additions and corrections, in 2 vols. fol., 1727. This is usually regarded as the best edition, although that by Pfaff, 2 vols. fol., Tübingen 1732, is, in some respects, more desirable, as it contains a dissertation by the editor on the life of Spencer, the value of his work, its errors, and the authors who have written against it. The work is preceded by *Prolegomena*, in which the author shows that the Mosaic laws were not given by God arbitrarily, but were founded on reasons which it is desirable and profitable to search into, so far as the obscurity of the subject permits. The work itself is divided into three (in the second edition into four) books. The *first* book treats of the general reasons of the Mosaic laws, with a dissertation on the *Theocracy*. The *second* considers those laws to which the customs of the Zabeans, or Sabeans, gave occasion, with a dissertation on the apostolic decree, Acts xv. The *third* discusses the laws and institutions to which the usages of the Gentiles furnished the occasion, in eight dissertations:—1. Of the rites generally transferred from Gentile customs to the law; 2. Of the origin of sacrifice; 3. Of purifications; 4. Of New Moons; 5. Of the Ark and Cherubim; 6. Of the Temple; 7. Of the origin of Urim and Thummim; 8. Of the Scape-goat. The *fourth* book treats of the rites and customs which the Jews borrowed from the Gentiles, without, so far as appears, any divine warrant; with a dissertation on phylacteries. The great error of this learned and admirable work is its derivation, to an undue extent, of the rites and ceremonies of the Jewish law from the idolatrous nations around; but the error is one of excess, not of principle; for much that was incorporated in Judaism had been in existence from the earliest ages. The author, after a life of the closest study, died May 27, 1695, aged 65 years (see *Gen. Dic. Hist. and Crit.* vol. ix.; and Pfaff's ed. of *De Legibus*).—I. J.

SPICES. This word, which occurs very frequently in the A. V., has usually been considered to indicate several of the aromatic substances to which the same general name is applied in the present day. The Hebrew words so translated are NECOTH, BOSEM, and SAMMIM, the corresponding Greek being *ἀρώμα*. These may indicate different things, as the two first words, or be merely different names, as *spices* and *aromatics* in English may be applied to the same kind of substances. *Sammim*, rendered in Exod. xxx. 7 *incense*, and in ver. 34 *spices*, may be supposed to mean drugs and aromatics in general. When these are separately noticed, especially when several are enumerated, their names may lead us to their identification. Dr. Vincent has observed that 'in Exod. xxx. we find an enumeration of cinnamon, cassia, myrrh, frankincense, stacte, onycha, and galbanum, all of which are the produce either of India or Arabia.' More correctly, cinnamon, cassia, frankincense, and onycha, were probably obtained from India; myrrh, stacte, and some frankincense, from the east coast



of Africa, and galbanum from Persia. Nine hundred years later, or about B.C. 588, in Ezek. xxvii. the chief spices are referred to, with the addition however of calamus. They are probably the same as those just enumerated. Dr. Vincent refers chiefly to the *Periplus*, ascribed to Arrian, written in the 2d century, as furnishing a proof that many Indian substances were, at that time, well known to commerce, as aloe or agila wood, gum bdellium, the goagal of India, cassia and cinnamon, nard, costus, incense—that is, olibanum, ginger, pepper, and spices. If we examine the work of Dioscorides we shall find all these, and several other Indian products, not only mentioned, but described, as schoenanthus, calamus aromaticus, cyperus, malabathrum, turmeric. Among others, Lycium indicum is mentioned. This is the extract of barberry root, and is prepared in the Himalayan mountains (Royle on the Lycium of Dioscorides, *Linnean Trans.*) It is not unworthy of notice, that we find no mention of several very remarkable products of the East, such as camphor, cloves, nutmeg, betel leaf, cubebs, gamboge; all of which are so peculiar in their nature that we could not have failed to recognise them if they had been described at all, like those we have enumerated as the produce of India. These omissions are significant of the countries to which commerce and navigation had not extended, at the time when the other articles were well known (*Hindoo Medicine*, p. 93). If we trace these up to still earlier authors, we shall find many of them mentioned by Theophrastus, and even by Hippocrates; and if we trace them downwards to the time of the Arabs [SPIKENARD], and from that to modern times, we find many of them described under their present names in works current throughout the East, and in which their ancient names are given as synonyms. We have, therefore, as much assurance as is possible in such cases, that the majority of the substances mentioned by the ancients have been identified; and that among the spices of early times were included many of those which now form articles of commerce from India to Europe. This has been shown in the articles on the different substances [AHALIM; ALMUG; CHELBENAH; HOBNIM; KANEH-BOSEM; KETZIAH; KIDDAH; KINNAMON; LEBONA; LOT; MOR; NERD; NATAF; NECOTH].—J. F. R.

SPIDER. [ACCABISH; SEMAMITH.]

SPIKENARD. [NERD.]

SPIRIT, AND HOLY SPIRIT. The word for 'spirit' in the Hebrew is רִיחַ; in the Greek, πνεῦμα; and in the German, *geist*. It is one of the most generic terms in either the English, Hebrew, or Greek language. A somewhat extended reference to the *usus loquendi*, both of the O. T. and N. T., is necessary, in order to ascertain its Scriptural use and import.

Its leading significations may be classed under the following heads:—

1. The primary sense of the term is *wind*. 'He that formeth the mountains and createth the wind' (רִיחַ, Amos iv. 13; Is. xxvii. 8). 'The wind (πνεῦμα) bloweth where it listeth' (John iii. 8). This is the ground idea of the term 'spirit'—air—ether—air refined, sublimated, or vitalised: hence it denotes—

2. *Breath*, as of the mouth. 'At the blast of the breath of his nostrils (רִיחַ נֶפֶשׁ) are they con-

sumed' (Job iv. 9). 'The Lord shall consume that wicked one with the breath of his mouth' (רִיחַ πνεύματος τοῦ σόουματος, 2 Thes. ii. 8).

3. The *vital* principle which resides in and animates the body. In the Hebrew, נֶפֶשׁ is the main specific term for this. In the Greek it is ψυχή, and in the Latin *anima*. 'No man hath power over the spirit (בְּרוּחַ) to retain the spirit' (Eccles. viii. 8; Gen. vi. 17; vii. 15). 'Jesus yielded up the ghost' (ἀφῆκε τὸ πνεῦμα, Matt. xxvii. 50). 'And her spirit (πνεῦμα αὐτῆς) came again,' etc. (Luke viii. 55).

In close connection with this use of the word is another—

4. In which it has the sense of *apparition—spectre*. 'They supposed that they had seen a spirit,' i.e. spectre (Luke xxiv. 37). 'A spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have' (ver. 39; Matt. xiv. 26).

5. The *soul*—the rational immortal principle, by which man is distinguished from the brute creation. It is the τὸ πνεῦμα, in distinction from the ἡ ψυχή. With the Latins it is the *animus*. In this class may be included that use of the word spirit in which the various emotions and dispositions of the soul are spoken of. 'Into thy hands I commend my spirit' (τὸ πνεῦμά μου, Luke xxiii. 46; Acts vii. 59; 1 Cor. v. 5; vi. 20; vii. 34; Heb. xii. 9). 'My spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour' (Luke i. 47). 'Poor in spirit' (πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι) denotes humility (Matt. v. 3). 'Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of' (Luke ix. 55), where πνεῦμα denotes *disposition* or *temper*. 'He that hath no rule over his own spirit' (οὐκ ἔχει τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πνεῦμα, Prov. xxv. 28; xvi. 32; Eccles. vii. 9). 'The moral affections are denominated 'the spirit of meekness' (Gal. vi. 1); 'of bondage' (Rom. viii. 15); 'of jealousy' (Num. v. 14); 'of fear' (2 Tim. i. 7); 'of slumber' (Rom. xi. 8). In the same way also the intellectual qualities of the soul are denominated 'the spirit of counsel' (Is. xi. 2); 'the spirit of knowledge' (Is. xi. 2); 'the spirit of wisdom' (Eph. i. 17); 'the spirit of truth and of error' (1 John iv. 6).

6. The race of superhuman created intelligences. Such beings are denominated spiritual beings because they have no bodies like ours. To both the holy and the sinning angels the term is applied. In their original constitution their natures were alike pure spirit. The apostasy occasioned no change in the *nature* of the fallen angels as spiritual beings.

In the N. T. demonology, δαίμων, δαιμόνιον, πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον, πνεῦμα πονηρὸν, are the distinctive epithets for a fallen spirit. Christ gave to his disciples power over unclean spirits (πν. ἀκαθάρτων, Matt. x. 1; Mark i. 23; Luke iv. 36; Acts v. 16). The holy angels are termed spirits—'Are they not all ministering spirits?' (leitourgikὰ πνεύματα, Heb. i. 14). 'And from the seven spirits (ἐπτά πνευμάτων) which are before his throne' (Rev. i. 4).

7. The term is applied to the Deity, as the sole, absolute, and uncreated Spirit. 'God is a Spirit' (πνεῦμα ὁ Θεός). This, as a predicate, belongs to the divine nature, irrespective of the distinction of persons in that nature. But its characteristic application is to the third person in the Divinity, who is called the Holy Spirit (Πνεῦμα ἅγιον), because of his essential holiness, and because in the Christian scheme it is his peculiar work to sanctify the people

of God. He is denominated *The Spirit*, by way of eminence, as the immediate author of spiritual life in the hearts of Christians. The N. T. writers are full and explicit in referring the principle of the higher life to the Spirit. In the O. T. the reference is more general. The Spirit is an all-pervading, animating principle of life in the world of nature. In the work of creation the Spirit of God moved upon, or brooded over, the face of the waters (Gen. i. 2; Job xxvi. 13). This relation of the Spirit to the natural world the ancients expressed as *Ens extra—Ens super—Ens intra mundum*. The doctrine of the Spirit, as the omnipresent life and energy in nature, differs from Pantheism on the one hand, and from the Platonic soul of the world on the other. It makes the Spirit the immanent divine causality, working in and through natural laws, which work is called *nature*; as in the Christian life he is the indwelling divine causality, operating upon the soul, and through divine ordinances; and this is termed *grace*. The Spirit in the world may be considered as the divine omnipresence, and be classed among the doctrines which are more peculiarly theological. But the indwelling and operation of the Spirit in the heart of the believer is an essential doctrine of *Christianity*. The one province of the Spirit is nature, the other grace. Upon the difference between the two, in respect to the Spirit's work, rests the Christian consciousness. The general presence and work of the Spirit in nature is not a matter of consciousness. The special presence and work of the Spirit in the heart of the believer, by the effects which are produced, is a matter of which, from consciousness, there may be the most consoling and delightful assurance.

The words Spirit and Holy Spirit frequently occur in the N. T., by metonymy, for the influence or effects of his agency.

a. As a procreative power—'the power of the Highest' (Luke i. 35).

b. As an influence, with which Jesus was endowed (Luke iv. 1).

c. As a divine inspiration or *afflatus*, by which the prophets and holy men wrote and spoke (*ἐν πνεύματι, διὰ πνεύματος, ὑπὸ πνεύματος*). 'Holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost' (2 Pet. i. 21; Num. xi. 26; Neh. ix. 30; Ezek. iii. 12, 14). John in Patmos was wrapped in prophetic vision—was *ἐν πνεύματι* (Rev. i. 10; iv. 2; xvii. 3).

d. As miraculous gifts and powers, with which the apostles were endowed, to qualify them for the work to which they were called. 'Jesus breathed on them, and said unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost' (*λάβετε Πνεῦμα ἅγιον*, John xx. 22). 'And they were filled with the Holy Ghost,' etc. (Acts ii. 4). 'They were baptized with the Holy Ghost' (*ἐν Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ*, Acts i. 5; comp. Joel ii. 28 with Acts ii. 16-18, where the *רוח* of the prophet is translated *πνεῦμα* by the apostle).

But the phrase *Holy Spirit* is specially used to denote a *divine personal agent*. The Holy Spirit is associated, as a distinct person, with the Father and the Son in the baptismal formula and the apostolical benediction. The Father and Son are real persons. It is reasonable to think that the spirit who is joined with them in this solemn form of induction into the Christian church, is also a personal agent, and not an abstraction—a mere power or influence. The subject is baptized into

the belief of three personal agents. To suppose that, in this solemn profession of faith, he avows his belief in the Father and the Son, and the *power* or *influence* of God, is forced and frigid.

He is baptized into the *name* of each of the three—*εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος* (Matt. xxviii. 19). The word *ὄνομα*, Heb. *שֵׁם*, is the appellation of a person. And when used tropically, as in Acts i. 5, it stands for persons, and not for their influence, or virtue, or power. So in the formula *ὄνομα=ἁγίου πνεύματος*, by the *usus loquendi* is required to be the designation of a personal agent. We are not baptized into the name of an influence or a power, but into the name of a person—of three real and distinct subjects, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

In the apostolical benedictions, the Spirit, as a person, is associated in the same way with the Father and Son. 'The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all' (2 Cor. xiii. 13). In this uniting of the three there is the recognition of the distinct personality of each, in the separate charisma which is appropriated to each. The *χάρις* is from Christ, the *ἀγάπη* from God—*i.e.* the Father—and the *κοινωνία* from the Spirit. The act of communion, of fellowship, implies a divine personal agent as really as does the grace or the love. The three are connected in a similar way in 1 Cor. xii. 4-6.

Distinct personal acts and attributes are ascribed to the Holy Spirit too frequently and fully to admit of explanation by the *prosopopeia*.

The Holy Ghost *speaks*, by *Isaías* the prophet (Acts xxviii. 25), expressly (1 Tim. iv. 1). He *teaches* (Luke xii. 12). He *reproves* the world of sin (John xvi. 8). The Spirit helpeth our infirmities, and maketh intercession for the saints (Rom. viii. 26, 27). He is *grieved* (Eph. iv. 30).

Apostles are set apart to him in the work of the ministry, and he appoints them to that work (Acts xiii. 2; xv. 28).

These are all acts which imply a personal agent. Speaking, teaching, reproof, grief, intercession, are predicable only of a personal subject, except in the language of poetry or eloquence. In serious didactic style, in the language of prescription, of promise, of permanent institution and instruction, where clearness and precision, and not strong figures, are expected, they must denote a *person*.

And these acts and attributes distinguish the Spirit from the person of the Father on the one hand, and from the personal subjects upon which he acts on the other.

The Spirit, as a personal agent, comes from the Father, is sent by the Father, and of course cannot be the Father. As sent by the Father, he maketh intercession for the saints, *according to the will of God*—*i.e.* the Father from whom he came. The Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God (1 Cor. ii. 10). If there be no distinct personality of the Spirit separate from that of the Father, the real import of these passages must be, that the Father comes from himself, is sent by himself, makes intercession to himself, according to the will of himself, and that he searches the deep things of himself—which is the style of writing not to be ascribed to any rational man, and certainly not to inspired apostles. Nor can the personality of the Spirit, as Socinus affirms, be



taken for the subjects who are affected by the divine influence. He is as distinct from the disciples, to whom he was sent, as from the Father, by whom he was sent. The promise of Christ is, that the Father will give them another comforter, one to take his place as a teacher and comforter. And that comforter, he says, 'which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall *teach* you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance' (John xiv. 16, 26). This Παράκλητος, sent from the Father to teach, and guide, and comfort the disciples, is as manifestly distinct from the disciples whom he came to teach as the Father was, from whom he came, or as Christ was, who had been their teacher.

The procession of the Spirit may be considered as the intrinsic relation which he sustains to the Father and the Son, or with respect to the mode of his manifestation. In respect to the former, the procession (ἐκπόρευσις) of the Spirit has an implied reference to the generation (γέννησις) of the Son and the ἀγέννητος of the Father. The Father is unbegotten, the Son is begotten; the Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, says the Greek church, from the Father and Son says the Latin church. Christ says that the Spirit of truth proceedeth from the Father, παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται (John xv. 26). There is no such explicit statement in the Scriptures of the procession of the Spirit from the Son, yet equivalent expressions of the doctrine are supposed to be there. The Holy Ghost is called the Spirit of the Father, because he proceeds from the Father. For the same reason he is called the Spirit of Christ; because he proceedeth from the Father and the Son, because he is sent by both Father and Son: hence the formula of the Latin church has always been, 'Spiritus S. a Patre et Filio, non factus, nec creatus, nec genitus, sed procedens.' The addition of the Filioque to the Constantinopolitan confession of faith, by the Latin fathers, occasioned the division of the church into the Eastern and Western, or the Greek and Latin branches. It is from the relation implied in the procession, that the Spirit is called the third person in the Godhead. The Father is considered as *first* in the order, as the fountain and source of all things. The Son is the second person, as being begotten by the Father; and the Spirit is the third, as proceeding from and sharing the nature of both. 'These distinctive appellations denote,' says Augustine, 'the reciprocal relations of the three persons to each other, and not the substance itself, which is but one.' The order has relation to the distinction of persons; the unity of the divine nature has respect to the substance. The homoousia includes the three. The hypostasis applies to the distinctions. As to the homoousia, there is but one God; as to the hypostasis there are three persons. The subordination of the Spirit does not imply inferiority, but is a term of office or of relation. Thus it is that the Scripture doctrine, maintaining the unity of the divine nature as belonging to the Father, Son, and Spirit, and also the proper distinction between the three, closes the door equally against Arianism and Sabellianism.

The Spirit of God (1 Cor. ii. 11) is not a created spirit; and if uncreated, it must be divine in the highest sense; but this Spirit is the Holy Spirit, and a proper person; hence he is God.

As the author of regeneration, or of the new spiritual and incorruptible life in the heart of the

believer, he must be divine. This change, the Scriptures abundantly declare, is wrought by the Spirit and power of God.

Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost is the only sin for which there is no remission (Matt. xii. 31). This sin against the Holy Spirit, in whatever it may consist, is distinguished from all other sins by a degree of guilt which renders it unpardonable. If he be not in his nature truly God, there is nothing in him to give to sin against him such a peculiar aggravation. Although it is not simply because the Spirit is God that blasphemy against him is unpardonable—for then would blasphemy against the Father and the Son also be unpardonable—yet it is a sin against God, and, as being against the third person of the Godhead, it is aggravated to a degree of enormity which it could not receive if committed against any other being than God.

The divine and incommunicable attributes of the Deity are ascribed to the Spirit. These attributes belong exclusively to the divine nature; he who possesses them must have the divine nature and honour as God (for proof texts, see TRINITY).

Works truly divine are attributable to the Holy Spirit, as creation and preservation, and especially the work of sanctification. There are diversities of gifts, and there are differences of administrations, but the same Spirit. 'All these worketh that one and self-same Spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will' (1 Cor. xii. 4-11). Hence Peter calls the Holy Ghost, God (Acts v. 3, 4).

Of the office of the Holy Spirit, it is only necessary to say that it is not ministerial, like that of the angels and apostles, but it is the peculiar work in the salvation of man which he performs, as sent by the Father and the Son. Paul has developed the functions or charismata of the office with great clearness in 1 Cor. xii., in which he shows that the diversities of gifts are all by the same Spirit. Each charisma is the 'manifestation of the Spirit' (ἡ φανέρωσις τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος). This manifestation was in some particulars different in the apostolic age from what it was after Christianity was established. The gifts which were peculiar to that age, and which evinced the presence of the Holy Spirit by some immediate effect, remarks Neander, are called in the N. T. δυνάμεις, σημεῖα, τέρατα. That period, he says, was peculiarly the creative epoch of Christianity. Other gifts belong to the office and operation of the Spirit in every age of the church, for the perfecting of the saints and the edifying of the body of Christ. [SPIRITUAL GIFTS.]

The views of the first Christians respecting the Holy Spirit were vague and diverse. His power had penetrated and pervaded the early church, and yet, in general, no distinct and adequate conceptions of him were formed in the mind. Baumgarten says, 'The doctrine of the Holy Spirit remained a long time undecided. It lay near to the first church in a *practical* respect only. 'We see from this,' says Neander, 'how completely religion is a thing of life, before it can obtain for itself an adequate form of development in definite conceptions.' Some believed him to be a mere power; some confounded the idea of person with the charisma; others supposed him to be a creature; others believed him to be God; and others still were undecided. The practical recognition of him, however, as the principle of the divine life in man, was almost universal in the early church.

The more distinct conceptions of the nature of

the Spirit arose out of the baptismal formula, and the discussion of the doctrine of the Trinity, especially of the Arian controversy. Athanasius, Basil, and the Gregories believed in the equality of the Spirit, and contended that it was a common church doctrine from the beginning. The Council of Nice says: 'We believe in the Holy Ghost.' In the Constantinopolitan confession the deity of the Spirit was affirmed with more distinctness, and his procession from the Father alone implied. The council at Antioch rejected the homoousia in respect both to the Spirit and the Son. Under Theodosius the Scripture doctrine was restored, and it has since remained the catholic doctrine.—E. A. L.

**SPIRITUAL GIFTS** (τὰ πνευματικά suppl. χαρίσματα), a phrase used to denote those endowments which were conferred on persons in the primitive church, and which were manifested in acts and utterances of a supernatural kind.

The phrase is taken from 1 Cor. xii. 1, where the words *περὶ τῶν πνευματικῶν* are rendered in the A. V. 'concerning spiritual gifts.' The accuracy of this rendering is generally admitted; for though some would take *πνευματικῶν* as masculine, and understand it, as in xiv. 37, of persons spiritually endowed, the tenor of the entire passage shows that it is of the gifts themselves and not of the parties endowed with them that the apostle speaks in this chapter (comp. xiv. 1).

It is from the apostle's statements in this chapter that our information concerning the spiritual gifts of the primitive church is chiefly drawn.

1. The first thing to be noted is what may be called the fundamental condition and test of these gifts. This is the acknowledgment of Jesus Christ as Lord. 'I give you to understand,' says the apostle, 'that no man speaking by the Spirit of God calleth Jesus accursed, and that no man can say that Jesus is the Lord but by the Holy Ghost' (ver. 3). The denunciation of Jesus as an impostor, whether that came forth in the shape of an imprecation (*ἔστω ἀνάθεμα*) or in the shape of an assertion (*ἔστω ἀνάθεμα*), having reference to his having died as one accursed (comp. Gal. iii. 13), proved sufficiently that the party uttering it was not under the influence of the Spirit; whilst on the other hand the recognition of Jesus as the Lord—i.e. the admission of his Messianic claims and the submission to his supreme authority—formed the antithesis to this, and was a proof that the party was under the power of the Holy Ghost. The primary condition, then, of the possession of spiritual gifts was sincere adherence to Jesus as the Messiah. Apart from this there might be the arts of the magician or soothsayer, but no effects produced by the Spirit of God.

2. The source of these spiritual gifts was God's grace, and the agent by whom they were produced was the Holy Ghost. They were *χαρίσματα* or *grace-gifts*; and the apostle expressly says that amid diversity of gifts it is one and the same Spirit by whom they are bestowed, and amid diversity of services it is one and the same Lord by whom they are appointed, and amid diversity of operations it is one God who energises all in all (ver. 4-6).

3. When the apostle speaks here of *χαρίσματα*, *διακονίαι*, and *ἐνεργήματα*, the inquiry is suggested how these three expressions are to be taken.

Are they intended to mark off three distinct classes of spiritual gifts? or do they describe the same objects under different aspects? or is the first the generic class under which the other two are subsumed as species? Each of these views has found advocates. The Greek fathers generally regard these as simply different names for the same object (comp. Chrysostom *in loc.*), but most recent writers regard them as relating to distinct classes. (For different classifications on this principle, see Aquinas, *Summa Theol.* ii. 2, qu. 171; Estius on 1 Cor. xii.; Olshausen on do., etc.) The objection to all the arrangements on this principle is, that they are all more or less arbitrary, so that what is placed by one under one head is with equal plausibility placed by another under another. The opinion that *Charisma* is the genus of which *Diakonai* and *Energēmata* are species, is open to the objection that to make *diakonai* a kind of *charisma* is somewhat forced, and besides it does not accord with the parallelised structure of the apostle's statement, which plainly makes these three objects collateral with each other. The opinion which has most in its favour is that we have here only one object presented under different aspects. On this principle the three classes may be arranged thus:—These endowments of the primitive church are—1. *Gifts of divine grace*, as the principle of the new life which with its manifold capabilities is communicated by the indwelling Spirit of God; 2. *Ministries*, as means by which one member serves for the benefit of others; and 3. *Operations, effects* by which the *charismata* manifest their active power. This seems a highly probable explanation of the apostle's words; nor do we see the harshness in it of which Kling, from whom we have taken it, complains.

4. Side by side with this parallel arrangement of the gifts, the apostle places in another series of parallels the *agency* by which each of these is produced and sustained. The two series may be tabulated thus:—

CHARISMATA (given by) THE SPIRIT.

MINISTRIES (directed by) THE LORD.

EFFECTS (produced by) THE FATHER.

In the first two of these parallel propositions there is an ellipsis of the verb; but this the mind naturally supplies from the analogy of the last in which the verb is enunciated (see Henderson *on Inspiration*, p. 181).

5. It has appeared to some that there is a correspondence between the gifts enumerated in verses 8-10, and the church offices enumerated in ver. 28 (Horsley, *Serm.* xiv. appendix). The number of both is the same; there are nine gifts and nine offices. But beyond this the correspondence only very partially exists, and in order to give it even a semblance of existing throughout, not only must very fanciful analogies be traced but some palpable errors in interpretation committed (Henderson, p. 183).

6. The suggestion of Beza that the enumeration of gifts in ver. 8-10 is divided into co-ordinate groups, distinguished by the pronouns *ᾧ μὲν*, ver. 8; *ἐτέρῳ δέ*, ver. 9; *ἐτέρῳ δέ*, ver. 10, has been very generally followed by interpreters. Thus Meyer arranges them in the following scheme:

I. Charisms which relate to *intellectual* power.

1. *λόγος σοφίας*; 2. *λόγος γνώσεως*.

II. Charisms which are conditioned by *heroic faith* (Glaubensheroismus). 1. The *πίστις* itself;



2. The operation of this *in act*—a. *ἰάματα*; b. *δυνάμεις*; 3. The operation of this *in word*, *προφητεία*; 4. The critical operation of this, *διακρίσεις πνευμάτων*.

III. Charisms relating to the *γλώσσαι*. 1. Speaking with tongues; 2. Interpreting of tongues.

Henderson adopts substantially the same arrangement (*Inspiration*, p. 185, ff.), like Meyer, laying stress on the use of the pronoun *ἐτέρω* in place of *ἄλλω* by the apostle in his enumeration [*ἐτέρω* is selected because a distinct class follows; only thus can we account for the apostle's not proceeding with *ἄλλω*—Meyer; comp. Tittmann, *Synonymus*, ii. 28, E. T.] To all such attempts at classification De Wette objects—1. That *ὃ μὲν, ἐτέρω δέ, ἐτέρω δέ*, do not stand in relation to each other, but *ἐτέρω δέ* is always opposed to the nearest preceding *ἄλλω δέ*, so that neither can the one denote the genus nor the other the species; 2. If anything could mark a division, it would be the repeated *κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πν.*, with the concluding *πάντα δὲ ταῦτα* of ver. 11, but even thus we should gain nothing; for in ver. 10 heterogeneous objects are united; 3. There is no reason to expect a classification, for the enumeration is not complete, see ver. 28; 5. The classification proposed [by Meyer] is in itself unsatisfactory; plainly the speaking with tongues is more closely akin to prophesying than to gifts of healing; and as Kling observes, the *διακρίσεις πνευμάτων* and the *ἐρμηνεῖα γλωσσῶν* relate to the understanding and not to heroic faith. In these reasons there is much force; and though the apostle's arrangement has the aspect of a classified scheme, we feel constrained to conclude with Kling that we must leave it undecided whether and how they can be classified. Neander, followed by Billroth and Olshausen substantially, without insisting on the apostle's words, contents himself with the obvious division of these charisms into two great classes—the one of which embraces such gifts as manifest themselves by word, and the other such as manifest themselves by deed; and each of these presents two subordinate classes, determined by the relation of the man's own mental culture and capacity to the working on him of the Spirit; so that in a man of high culture and intellectual power the *λόγος γνώσεως* would be manifested, while to one of less culture the Holy Spirit would come with a power which overwhelmed his self-consciousness and made him the almost mechanical utterer of what did not pass through the medium of his own intelligence (*Apostol. Zeitalt.* i. 174, ff.; E. T. i. 132).

7. Taking in order, as they stand in the text, the gifts enumerated, we have—i. The *λόγος σοφίας* and the *λόγος γνώσεως*. *Λόγος* is used here, as frequently elsewhere in the N. T., as = *sermo, discourse, utterance*. To *σοφία* and *γνώσις* various meanings have been attached. A common explanation is, that *σοφία* is the practical, and *γνώσις* the theoretical or speculative presentation of truth; but this, though adopted by Neander, Olshausen, and others, as well as the antithetical opinion advanced by Bengel, Storr, Rosenmüller, etc., that *σοφία* is the theoretical, and *γνώσις* the practical, is sufficiently refuted by the consideration that the practical and the theoretical apprehension and exposition of the truth, merely as such, cannot be properly regarded as coming among the miraculous gifts of the Spirit; such attainments are not *κατὰ*

*πνεῦμα* in the sense in which Paul uses that phrase here. Meyer makes *σοφία* the higher Christian wisdom as such; *γνώσις* the speculative, deeper, more penetrating knowledge of it; while Estius reverses this, making *λόγος σοφίας* 'gratiam de iis, quæ ad doctrinam religionis ac pietatis spectant, disserendi ex causis supremis,' and *λογ. γνώσεως* 'gratia disserendi de rebus Christianæ religionis ex iis quæ sunt humanæ scientiæ aut experientiæ,' i.e. of bringing principles of human philosophy or facts of human experience to bear on the illustration of divine truth. Henderson takes *σοφία* to be comprehensive of 'the sublime truths of the gospel directly revealed to the apostles, of which the *λόγος* was the supernatural ability rightly to communicate them to others;' and by *γνώσις* the possession by divine communication of 'an exact and competent knowledge of the truths which God had already revealed through the instrumentality of the prophets and apostles, in consequence of which those who possessed it became qualified, independently on the use of all ordinary means, forthwith to teach the church' (p. 188, ff.). Osiander makes *σοφία* the apprehension of divine truth in its totality, of the ends and purposes of God, of the plan and work of redemption, of the revelation of salvation through Christ in its connection, its divine system and organism; and *γνώσις* the penetrating knowledge of particulars, given by God, with their inward appropriation and experience (John vi. 69; xvii. 3; Phil. iii. 8). This last seems to be on the whole the least arbitrary and most probable interpretation—it being of course kept in view that the apprehension and experience of divine truth, whether as a whole or in its parts, as well as the power of giving this forth in discourse, is not such as mere human intelligence and study could attain, but such as was *κατὰ πνεῦμα*.

ii. *Πίστις*.—All are agreed that this cannot be understood of that faith which saves—justifying faith; and most regard it as a *fides miraculosa*, such as our Lord speaks of (Matt. xvii. 20; xxi. 21), and to which St. Paul refers (1 Cor. xiii. 2); a firm persuasion that on fitting occasions the divine power would be put forth to work miracles. Meyer thinks this too narrow, because under *πίστις* are ranked not only *ἰάματα* and *δυνάμεις*, but also *προφητεία* and *διακρίσεις πνευμάτων*. He would therefore understand by *πίστις* here 'a high degree of faith in Christ—a faith-heroism whose operation in some was in healings, etc.' As, however, such faith in Christ must mean faith in Him as the risen Lord, the source of miraculous power, whether exercised in healing diseases or in utterances of knowledge, this opinion seems to resolve itself into a substantial identity with the other.

iii. *χαρ. ἰαμάτων*.—This all are agreed in understanding as the power of healing disease directly without the aid of therapeutic applications. The plural is used to indicate the variety of diseases, and the various gifts of healing them possessed in the church.

iv. *ἐνεργήμ. δυνάμεων*.—This is generally referred to the working of miracles of a higher kind than the healing of disease—miracles which consist not in the performing without means what means may effect, but in the performance of what no means can effect, such as the raising of the dead, the exorcism of demons, the infliction, by a word, of death as a punishment, etc.

v. *προφήτεία*.—This refers not to ordinary reli-



gious discourses for the edification of the church, but to such a forth-speaking of the mind of God in relation to truth, duty, or coming events, as the inward action of the Holy Spirit on the mind may produce; Chrysost. *ὁ προφητεύων πάντα ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος φθέγγεται*. That the gift of predicting future events was possessed in the early church, we see from such instances as Acts ii. 27, 28; xxi. 11, etc.; but the *προφητεία* of the N. T. does not generally relate to this; it usually has reference to the utterance of doctrine given by revelation from God (comp. 1 Cor. xi. 3; xiv. 26-33, etc.)

*vi. διακρίσεις πνευμάτων*.—From 1 Cor. xiv. 29 (comp. 1 Thes. v. 21; 1 John iv. 1) we learn that professed prophetic utterances were to be subjected to trial, that nothing unchristian or unedifying might pass under that name; and it is to this that the gift now before us relates. Even apostles would seem to have submitted their doctrine to the judgment of these gifted critics (1 Cor. xiv. 37).

*vii. γένη γλωσσῶν*.—That this refers to the *λαλεῖν γλώσσῃ* or *γλώσσαις* which existed in the Corinthian church, and indicates that of these *γλώσσαι* there were various kinds, is undoubted; but in what this gift consisted is a question involved in great difficulty, and to which very different answers have been given. We may at once dismiss some of these as not deserving serious consideration—viz. 1. That of Bardili and Eichhorn, who take *γλώσσα* in the literal sense of *tongue*, and suppose that the *λαλεῖν* was a sort of inarticulate babble, an ecstatic utterance of mere sounds made by the tongue—an opinion which is irreconcilable with the idea of this being a gift of the Holy Ghost, with the possibility of an *interpretation* of the sounds uttered, with what St. Paul says xiv. 18, and with the use of the plural in the phrase *γλώσσαις λαλεῖν*; 2. That of Bleek, who takes *γλώσσα* in the sense of *gloss*—i. e. archaic, poetical, or provincial word or idiom—a meaning which belongs to the technicalities of the grammarians, and is quite foreign to the language of the N. T.; and 3. That of Billroth, who supposes *γλώσσα* to mean a composite language formed of the elements of various tongues, and in its composition affording a symbol of the uniting power and universality of Christianity—which is at the best only a pleasing fancy. The only two opinions worth considering are the old view that these *γλώσσαι* were actual foreign tongues which the gifted persons spoke without having learned them; and the opinion, subject to various modifications, that they were new and divinely-inspired utterances of a kind transcending the ordinary capacity and intelligence of men.

Before entering on the consideration of these views, it may be well to state articulately the various peculiarities of this gift. These may be gathered from the statements of the apostle. From these we learn that it was a gift of the Spirit (1 Cor. xii. 11, 28, 30); that it belonged only to some in the church (xii. 11, 30); that it stood in some relation to the gift of prophesying—was inferior to it in point of utility, but afforded greater scope for display (xiv. 5, 6, 18, 19); that it was exercised in acts of prayer and praise (xiv. 2, 14, 15, 16, 17); that it was not exercised through the medium of the intelligence (*νοῦς*), and so was unintelligible without an interpretation, which the party exercising it might not be capable of supplying, as it was the result of a distinct gift, which might or might not accompany the other (xiv. 5,

6, 13, 16, 23); that it might appear to one unaccustomed to it a frenzy (xiv. 23); that it had the effect of an instrument giving an uncertain sound, or was no better than the speaking of a barbarian, or the clang of a cymbal, when not interpreted (xiv. 7-9; xiii. 1); and that its use was to serve as a sign [for evidence of God's presence] to those who did not believe (xiv. 22).

Let us now turn to the former of the two opinions above noticed: those who hold this to be *γλώσσα* in the sense of *language*; and they support their opinion by an appeal to our Lord's promise to his disciples that, as a sign of his presence with them, they should speak with new tongues (*καίνας γλώσσας*, Mark xvi. 17), and to the occurrences of the day of Pentecost when the apostles spake with other tongues (*ἐτέρας γλ.*; Acts ii. 4, ff.) This argument, it must be admitted, is not without force. It seems altogether probable that the event of the day of Pentecost was a fulfilment of the promise of Christ to his disciples, and if we assume (as the narrative seems to intimate) that on that occasion the apostles did receive the faculty of speaking foreign tongues through the agency of the Spirit, there is great plausibility in the conclusion that the gift of tongues bestowed on the primitive church consisted in the possession of this faculty. It is frivolous to object to this, as De Wette and Meyer do, that the speaking of a language one has never learned is psychologically impossible, for, if divine interposition be admitted, it is idle to set limits to its operation: 'with God all things are possible;' and He who caused 'the dumb ass to speak with man's voice,' could surely employ the organs of a man to utter a foreign tongue of which he was ignorant. In the way of the conclusion, however, above stated, that the gift of which the apostle treats in writing to the Corinthians is the *same* as that promised by our Lord, and received by the apostles on the day of Pentecost, there are many serious difficulties. For one thing, it must strike every one that if the apostles possessed the power of speaking foreign tongues miraculously, they appear to have made very little use of it for the purposes of their mission; for, with the exception of the instance of the day of Pentecost, we do not read of their ever using this gift for the purpose of addressing foreigners. The most serious objections, however, to the opinion that the Glossolalia of the Corinthians was a speaking in foreign tongues, are derived from what the apostle says about it in writing to them. 1. The use of the phrase *γλώσσῃ λαλεῖν* is not in accordance with this view; this phrase cannot mean 'to speak a foreign language.' 2. The Glossolalia was unintelligible to *every one* till interpreted (xiv. 2), which could not be said of a foreign tongue actually vernacular to certain people. 3. When the apostle (xiv. 9) specifies a speaking *διὰ τῆς γλώσσης*, he cannot be understood as referring to the tongue as the instrument of speech, which would give a most insipid turn to his words; he must refer to the Glossolalia as a gift, and in this case his statement becomes exceedingly vapid if we understand that gift to have consisted in the power of speaking foreign tongues. 4. This gift was used in individual prayer to God; and St. Paul, who possessed this gift above others, used it chiefly in secret: can we understand this of a speaking to God in foreign tongues? 5. The apostle places the



Glossolalia in opposition, not to speaking in the vernacular tongue, but to speaking intelligibly, or *ἐν ἀποκαλύψει ἢ ἐν γνώσει, ἢ ἐν προφητείᾳ, ἢ ἐν διδασκῇ* (xiv. 14, 15, 16, 6). 6. The apostle compares the glossai with foreign tongues, which assumes that they were not the same (xiv. 10, ff.) And 7. Had the apostle had the speaking of foreign tongues in view, he would have made the exercise of them dependent on the presence of those by whom they were understood, not on their bearing on the edification of the church.

On these grounds we are constrained to believe on the assumption that the *καὶ αὐαὶ γλῶσσαι* of our Lord's promise, and the *ἐτέραι γλῶσσαι* of the day of Pentecost, mean foreign languages; that the speaking with tongues of the Epistle to the Corinthians was a gift of a different kind. There are, however, some difficulties connected with that assumption which it is only fair to state. In proceeding to this we may remark *in limine*, that the terms *καὶ αὐαὶ* and *ἐτέραι* by no means necessarily indicate foreign existing tongues; they merely characterise the tongues in question as *new* and *different* compared with those with which the parties were already familiar. We are not, therefore, obliged to understand our Lord's promise as referring to the faculty of speaking *foreign* tongues. There seems also an *a priori* improbability that such a faculty would be miraculously conferred when it was one for which no special need existed, the Greek tongue being so widely diffused that the first preachers of Christianity were not likely to go where it was not known. This consideration is heightened by the fact already referred to, that, excepting on the day of Pentecost, there is no hint that they ever used this faculty in preaching to heathens. As to the day of Pentecost, it strikes one as noticeable that the gift of tongues came upon the disciples when they were alone, and when, therefore, there was not only no need to speak with foreign tongues, but very strong reasons why, even if they knew such tongues, they should refrain from using them. It is singular also that such a gift should be called into exercise in addressing persons all of whom understood a common language, and to all of whom at once Peter apparently spoke on the same day without an interpreter. Moreover, one cannot refrain from asking, How was this speaking in different foreign tongues conducted? Did the gifted persons all speak at once? or did they speak one after the other? If the former, would not the confusion of sounds be such as to render their speaking a mere babel? if the latter, would not a longer time have been requisite for the whole to speak than the conditions of the narrative allow us to suppose? In fine, supposing the disciples to have spoken intelligibly to these people in their respective languages, why should they have appeared to any of the bystanders as men filled with new wine? Does not this imply an excited utterance and gesticulation altogether foreign to the case of men who had simply to tell their fellow-men such truths as those which these disciples had to publish? To these difficulties in the way of the common understanding of this narrative, we do not attach so much importance as to suppose that they impugn its authenticity; now are we induced by them to accept the hypothesis of some that the disciples spoke in Greek or Aramaic, but were miraculously understood by the hearers each in his own language. But they do seem to lead to the

conclusion that, though the speaking of foreign languages might sometimes attend the gift of tongues, this was neither its invariable nor its peculiarly distinctive peculiarity.

This brings us to the consideration of the opinion that the tongues were new languages in the sense of being ecstatic utterances, inspired and dictated by the Holy Spirit, and of a kind above what the ordinary faculties of the individual could reach.

We may pass by the opinion of Rossteuscher and Thiersch, that these tongues were angel-tongues, and that the gift consisted in the privilege of communing with God as the angels do; for this is a mere conjecture without any foundation in the statements of the apostle; the allusion in xiii. 1 to the 'tongues of angels' being merely a rhetorical device to heighten the contrast the apostle is instituting. Schulz restricts the tongues to ecstatic utterances of praise to God; but this is too narrow a view, as is evident from 1 Cor. xiv. 13-17. Neander thus describes the state of the speaker with tongues: 'The soul was immersed in devotion and adoration. Hence prayer, singing God's praise, testifying of the great doings of God, were suited to this state. Such an one prayed in the Spirit; the higher spiritual and emotional life predominated in him, but a development to the understanding was wanting. The consequence was that since out of his peculiar feelings and views he formed a peculiar language for himself, he wanted the faculty of so expressing himself as to be understood by the mass' (*Ap. Zeit.* i. 179). Olshausen adopts substantially the same view, only he differs from Neander in supposing that the speaking of foreign languages was *included* in the speaking with tongues. Meyer understands by 'the *γλῶσσαι λαλεῖν* such devotional utterances in petition, praise, and thanksgiving, as were so ecstatic that the action of the person's own understanding was suspended, whilst the tongue, ceasing to be the organ of the individual reflection, acted independently of this, as it was moved by the Holy Ghost.' Hence he thinks the term *γλῶσσα* came to be applied to this gift, the tongue acting as it were independently of the understanding, and for itself. Hence also he accounts for the use of the plural *γλῶσσαι λαλεῖν*, and the *γένη γλωσσῶν*, as in such a case there would doubtless be varieties of utterances, arising from differences of degree, direction, and impulse, in the ecstasy. With this view in the main the majority appear to concur, and it appears to us to meet all the requirements of the case; only that with Olshausen we would include the speaking of foreign tongues as among the occasional manifestations of this gift. Its essence, however, lay in its being an ecstatic power of speech, the result of the man's being lifted out of himself and made to give utterance in broken, fragmentary, excited outbursts of thoughts and feelings, especially of rapturous devotion, beyond the ordinary range of humanity. Possibly there may be an allusion to such ecstatic devotions in the *στεναγμοὶ ἀλαλήτοις* of Rom. viii. 26.

viii. *ἐρμηνεῖα γλωσσῶν*. As the *γλῶσσα* translated the *νοῦς*, it could be made to convey edification to the hearers only as it was explained; and for this purpose the Holy Spirit gave some persons the faculty of comprehending it, and thereby of giving its meaning to others. This gift sometimes was bestowed on the same person who had the gift of tongues.



8. Such were the gifts of the Spirit enjoyed by the primitive church. They were different and variously distributed according to the sovereign will of the giver. But amid all this diversity the church remained one—the indivisible body of Christ pervaded and influenced by the one Spirit of all grace. Hence all these gifts were to be subordinated to the end of edifying the church; and more than all of them charity was to be sought (1 Cor. xii. 11-31).

9. *Literature*.—The commentaries on 1 Cor. of Meyer, Olshausen, Billroth, Osiander, and Kling; De Wette's *Excursus* on Acts ii.; Neander, *Apostol. Zeitalt.* i.; Henderson, *Lectures on Inspiration*; Bleek in the *Studien u. Kritiken* for 1829 and 1830; Wieseler in *do.* for 1838; Schulz in *do.* for 1839; Thiersch, *Kirche im Apost. Zeit.*; Rossteuschler, *Gabe d. Sprachen im Ap. Zeit.* 1850.—W. L. A.

SPOIL. [BOOTY.]

SPOUSE. [MARRIAGE.]

SPRING. [PALESTINE.]

STACHYS (Στάχυς), an unknown person, from his name apparently a Greek, a disciple at Rome and a friend of Paul (Rom. xvi. 9).

STACKHOUSE, THOMAS, a learned and laborious divine of the Church of England, born in 1680. He was at one time English pastor at Amsterdam, and after serving some cures near London, obtained the living of Beenham-Valence in Berkshire, where he died October 11, 1752. He took part in the disputations which were called forth by the wild notions of Woolston on the supposed allegorical character of the person and writings of Moses, and of the miracles of Jesus Christ, and published in 1730, *A fair state of the Controversy between Mr. Woolston and his Adversaries*. This was followed in 1731 by a *Defence of the Christian Religion*, of which there was a second edition in 1733. It was translated into French by Chais, The Hague 1738. A German translation by H. C. Lemker was also published at Hanover and Göttingen in 1750. But the chief work of Stackhouse was his *New History of the Bible from the beginning of the world to the birth of Jesus Christ*, which was published in 1732 in 2 vols. folio, and of which there have been several editions. That of 1752 is much esteemed on account of its engravings. He was the author of several other works.—M. H.

STACTE. [NATAF.]

STANDARDS. Standards and ensigns are to be regarded as efficient instruments for maintaining the ranks and files of bodies of troops; and in Num. ii. 2 they are particularly noticed, the Israelites being not only enjoined to encamp 'each by the standard of his tribe and the ensign of his father's house,' but, as the sense evidently implies, in orders or lines. It is clear, when this verse is considered in connection with the religious, military, and battle pictures on Egyptian monuments, that the Hebrews had ensigns of at least three kinds, namely—1. The great standards of the tribes, serving as rallying signals for marching, forming in battle array, and for encamping; 2. The divisional standards of clans (משפחות, *mishpachoth*); and 3. Those of houses or families (בית אבות, *beth aboth*); which after the occupation of the Promised Land may

gradually have been applied more immediately to corps and companies, when the tribes, as such, no longer regularly took the field. That there were several standards may be inferred from the uniform practice of the East to this day; from their being useful in manœuvres, as already explained, and as shown in the Egyptian paintings; and from being absolutely necessary; for had there been only one to each tribe, it would not have been sufficiently visible to crowds of people of all ages and both sexes, amounting in most cases to more than 100,000, exclusive of the incumbrance of their baggage. Whole bodies, therefore, each under the guidance of the particular clan ensign, knew how to follow the tribal standard; and the families offered the same convenience to the smaller divisions. It may be doubted whether these three were enough for the purpose; for if they were carried in the ranks of the armed bodies, it must have been difficult for the households to keep near them; and if they were with the crowd, the ranks must have had others to enable them to keep order, as we find that even in the Roman legions, thoroughly trained as they were, numerous vexilla were still held to be necessary. That there were others might be inferred (Is. xiii. 2; Jer. li. 27) from the circumstance of their being planted on the summit of some high place to mark the point where troops were to assemble; these last, therefore, were not ensigns of particular bodies, but signals for an understood purpose, such as both the Greeks and Romans employed when the general gave notice of his intention to engage by hoisting above his tent a red tunic, or when Agamemnon recalled his troops in order to rally them by the signal of a purple veil.

But what the form, colours, materials, and symbols of the Hebrew ensigns were, it is more difficult to determine, chiefly because there has been a great quantity of learned trifling among Rabbinical writers and more modern heralds, all equally bent upon fearless assertions, and with so little true knowledge of the customs of antiquity that they have uniformly described these ensigns as flags in shape like modern banners—a form not yet shown to have existed in the west of Asia or Europe anterior to the first invasion of the Huns, excepting on some naval medals of the empire. In a collection of drawings, now before us, of 124 Egyptian, a considerable number of Persian, Bactrian, Etruscan, and Greek ensigns, and a very large series of Roman, all are effigies, spolia of animals or plants, tablets, globes, vexilla, or dragons. The vexillary or labarum form is known to be of Oriental (Bactrian) origin, and the dragon similarly originated among the equestrian nations of the East. It consisted of a head of metal with an open mouth, which turned on a spindle at the neck, where a long bag of coloured stuff was sewn to it, and kept the open mouth to the wind, filling the bag with air, and causing it to flout and twist like a serpent's tail. It was the origin of the vane and pendant: when the metal head was omitted on account of its weight on the top of a spear, and the bag which formed the body and tail was cut open, or reduced to one breadth, the dragon became the flammula or pennon of more recent times. The vexillum was a substitute for a tablet ensign, being made of cloth, and spread upon a short bar, placed crosswise on the summit of a pole.

As early as the days of the exode of Israel, the Egyptians had ensigns of different kinds. We ob-



serve on the monuments\*—1. Thrones or palanquins, indicating the great and sacred centre of an army. 2. Royal fans attending the sacred centre; they are the '*Efthoudes* of India;' always carried by princes, or sons of the Pharaoh, on the summit of long poles, and therefore intended as signs of honour, not for use as umbrellas. 3. A long spar borne on the shoulders of a row of men, surmounted by a globe with an enormous double feather, apparently twelve or fourteen feet high, and four or five broad, coloured green, white, and red. This has been denominated the standard of Sesostris, and was most likely the signal ensign of encampment, which was fixed before the royal tent, and when set up must have been visible high above all

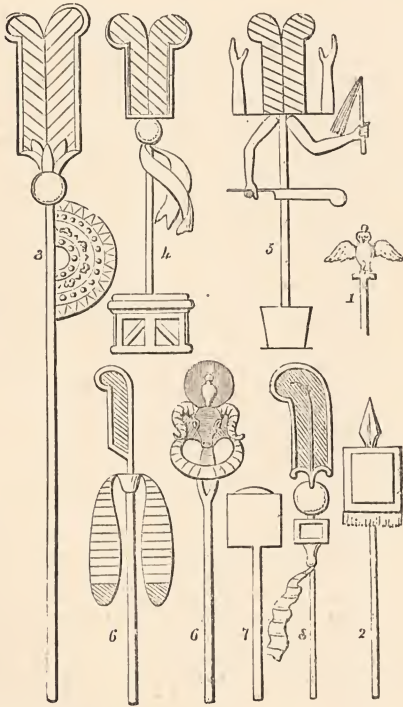
ensigns, with and without shawls beneath them, ensigns of particular temples, idols, cities, nomes. 7. Square tablets on poles borne by the file-leader of a tribe. 8. Ostrich-feather ensigns, carried as marks of honour by princes, and sometimes seen stuck at the back in a broad belt.

Ostrich feathers occur again as an ensign of the Lebanon people, or a nation of Palestine, which is represented submitting to Sesostris. These ensigns are not necessarily made of plumes of the bird, and they occur white, white with a black bar, and barred red and white, red, white and black, and red, white, and green; so that there were many belonging to different appropriations. Indeed this ensign is still in use in Yemen and the southern desert, where many sheiks have it borne on bamboo poles as the cognisance of their clans.

These details we have deemed necessary in order to show that at the time when Israel departed out of Egypt, most if not all of these kinds of ensigns were well known, and that therefore it is likely they were, under proper modifications, adopted by that people when about to become wanderers over desert regions where order and discipline, directing signals, telegraphs, and indications of water would be most useful; and as the Egyptians, in common with other organised nations, had a *tensa deorum*, or sacred centre for their gods and the royal tent, so also had the chosen race a sacred centre, the twelve tribes taking their well-known stations around it—that centre rendered the more awful and sublime by the cloud hovering, or the light shining, above it. [ENCAMPMENT.]

From the kind of service which each class of ensign was to render, we may take for granted

that the tribal standard (דגל, *degheh*), at all times required to be distinguishable 'afar off,' would be elevated on high poles with conspicuously marked distinctions, and that therefore, although the mottoes ascribed to the twelve tribes, and the symbolical effigies applied to them, may or may not have been adopted, something like the lofty flabelliform signa of Egypt most likely constituted their particular distinction; and this is the more probable as no fans or umbrellas were borne about the ark, and, being royal, no chief, not even Moses himself, could assume them; but a priest or Levite may have carried that of each tribe in the form of a fan, as the distinction of highest dignity, and of service rendered to the Lord. They may have had beneath them vittæ, or shawls, of the particular colour of the stone in the breastplate of the high-priest (although it must be observed that that ornament is of later date than the standards); and they may have been embellished with inscriptions, or with figures, which, at a time when every Hebrew knew that animal-forms and other objects constituted parts of written hieroglyphic inscriptions, and even stood for sounds, could not be mistaken for idols, the great lawgiver himself adopting effigies when he shaped his cherubim for the ark and balls for the brazen sea. In after ages we find typical figures admitted in the ships carved on the monuments of the Maccabees, being the symbol of the tribe of Zebulun, and not even then prohibited, because ships were inanimate objects. As for the 'abomination of desolation,' if by that term the Roman eagle was really meant, it was with the Jews more an expression of excited political feeling under the form of religious zeal, than of pure devotion, and



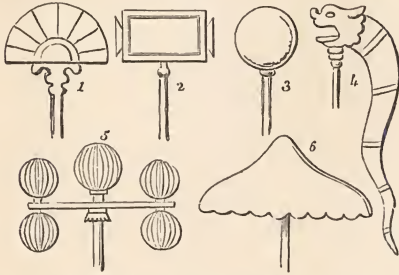
490. 1. Bactrian eagle; 2. Persian vexillum; 3. Standard of Sesostris; 4. Egyptian ensign set in a frame, signal of castrametation and of direction; 5. Telegraphic ensign, varying with each Pharaoh; 6. Subordinate Egyptian ensigns; 7. Tribal tablet; 8. Plume ensign used in temples.

the other signa. 4. Standards of lower elevation, always with two great feathers issuing from a globe, and the foot set in a portable frame; which we take to be the sign of castrametation and of direction, serving as temporary guiding posts, indications of wells, lines of front in camp, etc. 5. We have found several tablets on poles, similarly set in frames, but with particular symbols above the tablet, and two, three, or four arms holding objects that can be inserted or taken off, and the arms themselves apparently movable, the whole having the appearance of a complete telegraph. 6. Besides these there are very many varieties of effigial

\* See woodcut, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

one of the many signs which preceded their national doom.

There is reason to believe that the *mishpachoth*, or ensigns of the clans, and מִשְׁכָּח (aotli), were, at least in the earlier ages, symbolical figures; and that the shekels ascribed to David, bearing an olive or citron branch, to Nehemiah with three lilies, to Herod Agrippa with three ears of corn, and to Tryphon with a helmet and star, were so many types of families, which may all have been borne as sculptured figures, or, when the purism of



491. 1. Egyptian fans of state attending the king, or stuck upon the sacred arks; 2. Tablet ensign of the Jews (?), as represented on the arch of Titus; 3. Globe signum of Augustus; 4. Dragon ensign, common to many nations; 5. Parthian standard; 6. State umbrella, on a coin of Augustus.

later times demanded it, may have been painted upon tablets, like the supposed family or clan motto on the ensign of the Maccabees (מַכְבֵּי). The practice was equally common among the heathen Egyptians, Persians, and Greeks; and perhaps the figures of those actually used in Jerusalem are represented in the sculptured triumphal procession on the arch of Titus, where the golden candlestick and other spoils of vanquished Judah are portrayed. A circumstance which confirms the meaning of the objects represented upon the Jewish shekels is, that on the reverse of those of Herod Agrippa is seen another sovereign-ensign of Asia—namely, the umbrella (*chattah*, *chutah* of India), always attending monarchs, and sculptured at *Chehel Minar*, and at *Nacshi-Boostan*, where it marks the presence of the king. It is still the royal token through all the East and Islam Africa; and it appears that in the Macedonian era it was adopted by the Græco-Egyptian princes; for Antony is reproached with joining the Roman Eagles to the state umbrella of Cleopatra:—

‘Interque signa (turpe!) militaria  
Sol aspiciet conopium.’—Hor. *Epod.* ix.

The ensign of the family or clan of the royal house then reigning, of the judge of Israel, or of the captain of the host, was no doubt carried before the chief in power, although it does not appear that the Hebrew kings had, like the Pharaohs, four of them to mark their dignity; yet from analogy they may have had that number, since the practice was also known to the Parthian kings subsequently to the Byzantine emperors, and even to the Welsh princes.—C. H. S.

STAR IN THE EAST. Matthew (ch. ii. 1, *seq.*) relates that at the time of the birth of our Lord there came wise men (magi) from the East to Jerusalem, to inquire after the newly-born king of the Jews, in order that they might offer him

presents and worship him. A star, which they had seen in the East, guided them to the house where the infant Messiah was. Having come into his presence, they presented unto him gifts—gold, and frankincense, and myrrh.

The solid learning and free conjecture of Christian divines have combined with the unfriendly daring of infidelity to cast a heap of difficulties on the particulars involved in this passage of Holy Writ. Our space will not allow us to review and examine what has been written by friends and enemies on the subject. We must content ourselves with a brief statement of what appears to us the right view of the case, referring in justification to the authorities whence we have drawn our materials.

These wise men were Chaldean magi. During many centuries the magi had been given to the study of astronomy, and for some considerable time before the birth of our Lord they had corrupted and disfigured their scientific knowledge by astrological speculations and dreams. A conviction had long been spread throughout the East, that about the commencement of our era a great and victorious prince, of the Messiah, was to be born. His birth was in consequence of words of sacred Scripture (Num. xxiv. 17), connected with the appearance of a star. Calculations seem to have led the astrological astronomers of Mesopotamia to fix the time for the advent of this king in the latter days of Herod, and the place in the land of Judæa. Accordingly, at the appointed time, two planets, Jupiter and Saturn, were in conjunction under such circumstances as to appear one resplendent heavenly body, and to marshal the way for the magi from their own homes to Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and the inn.

This view, which owes its origin to the astronomer Kepler, has been investigated and approved by some of the soundest minds of Germany. Under the influence of a conjunction of Jupiter, Saturn, and Mars, which took place in the year 1604, Kepler was led to think that he had discovered means for determining the true year of our Saviour's birth. He made his calculations, and found that Jupiter and Saturn were in conjunction in the constellation of the Fishes (a fish is the astrological symbol of Judæa) in the latter half of the year of Rome 747, and were joined by Mars in 748. Here then he fixed the first figure in the date of our era, and here he found the appearance in the heavens which induced the magi to undertake their journey, and conducted them successfully on their way. Others have taken up this view, freed it from astrological impurities, and shown its trustworthiness and applicability in the case under consideration. It appears that Jupiter and Saturn came together for the first time on May 20th in the twentieth degree of the constellation of the Fishes. They then stood before sunrise in the eastern part of the heavens, and so were seen by the magi. Jupiter then passed by Saturn towards the north. About the middle of September they were near midnight both in opposition to the sun, Saturn in the thirtieth, Jupiter in the fifteenth degree, being distant from each other about a degree and a half. They then drew nearer: on October 27th there was a second conjunction in the sixteenth degree, and on November 12th there took place a third conjunction in the fifteenth degree of the same constellation. In the two last conjunctions the in-



terval between the planets amounted to no more than a degree, so that to the unassisted eye the rays of the one planet were absorbed in those of the other, and the two bodies would appear as one. The two planets went past each other three times, came very near together, and showed themselves all night long for months in conjunction with each other, as if they would never separate again. Their first union in the east awoke the attention of the magi, told them the expected time had come, and bade them set off without delay towards Judea (the fish land). When they reached Jerusalem the two planets were once more blended together. Then, in the evening, they stood in the southern part of the sky, pointing with their united rays to Bethlehem, where prophecy declared the Messiah was to be born. The magi followed the finger of heavenly light, and were brought to the child Jesus. The conclusion in regard to the time of the advent is, that our Lord was born in the latter part of the year of Rome 747, or six years before the common era.

We have not presented this view from any leaning in favour of a rationalistic interpretation, believing that God could, had he so pleased, have created a heavenly body for the purpose. But it must also be said that the Divine Ruler of the universe is frugal (*absit invidia verbo*) of his instrumentalities, and might well, in the case before us, make use, for the gracious purposes of his providence, of cosmical arrangements which he had fixed ere the earth and heavens were made. They are, however, facts which have been set forth. As facts, they explain a passage on which many doubts and difficulties have lain. The reader will determine whether he finds the explanation satisfactory. Kepler's ideas may be found in the essay *De Jesu Christi servatoris nostri vero anno natalitio*, and more fully in *De vero anno quo aternus Dei filius humanam naturam assumpsit*, Frankfurt 1614. His view was taken up, and presented with approbation to the literary world, by a learned prelate of the Lutheran church, Bishop Miinter (*Der Stern der Weisen*, Kopenh. 1827). It also gained approval from the celebrated astronomer Schubert of Petersburg (*Vermischten Schriften*, Stuttgart 1823). The learned and accurate Ideler (*Handbuch der Chronologie*, Berlin; see vol. ii. p. 399, *seq.*) reviewed the entire subject, and signified his agreement. Hase and De Wette, however, have stated objections. A recent writer of considerable merit, Wieseler (*Chronolog. Synop. der 4 Evangelien*, Hamburg 1843), has applied this theory of Kepler's in conjunction with a discovery that he has made from some Chinese astronomical tables, which show that in the year of Rome 750 a comet appeared in the heavens, and was visible for seventy days. Wieseler's opinion is, that the conjunction of the planets excited and fixed the attention of the magi, but that their guiding-star was the aforesaid comet.—J. R. B.

STATER (στατήρ; *stater*; A. V. 'a piece of money,' margin 'stater').

The word *stater*, from ἵστημι, means a coin of a certain weight, and hence a standard, and was a term applied by the Greeks to coins of gold, electrum, and silver. The principal earlier gold staters were those of Cræsus (Κροσειοί), the Persian darics (στατήρες Δαρεικοί, Δαρεικοί), and those of Athens.

The didrachms of the Perso-Euboic, and the third a didrachm of the Attic talent. The staters of Cræsus, which were the earliest gold coins that came to Greece (Herod. i. 54), have about the same weight as the darics—i.e. 128 grains Troy—which weight is a little less than that of an Attic stater. The electrum staters of the west of Asia Minor were commonly called in ancient times Cyzicene staters (στατήρες Κυζικηνολ, Κυζικηνολ). They consist of about one-fourth part of silver and three-fourths of pure gold (Plin. N. H. xxxiii. 4, 23), and weigh about 248 grains troy. According to ancient authority (Demosth. in *Phorm.* p. 914), they passed on the Bosphorus, a little after the year B.C. 335, for 28 Athenian silver drachms, whilst the *stater aureus* of Athens, weighing 133 grains troy, was current at 20 (Xenoph. *Anab.* i. 7, 18, speaking of the daric); hence 20 : 133 :: 28 : 186+. The silver in them was evidently not counted, and this stater, which weighed 186+ grains, was equal to a low didrachm of the Æginetan talent. Other staters are mentioned as being in circulation in Greece; those of Lampsacus, which in all specimens we have seen have exactly the weight of a daric; of Phocæa (Thucyd. iv. 52; Demosth. in *Boeot.* p. 1019); of Corinth (Pollux, iv. 174; ix. 80); and those of Philip of Macedon and Alexander the Great, who issued them of the weight of Attic didrachms. The stater is thus always a didrachm. The name, however, was in later times applied to the tetradrachm of Athens (Phot. s. v. *στατήρ*; Hesych. s. v. γλαῦκες Λαυριωτικαί), and attempts have been made to prove that even in the time of Thucydides the tetradrachm bore the name of stater (Thucyd. iii. 70, Dr. Arnold's note). The term stater was also applied to the gold tetradrachms (commonly called octodrachms) of the Ptolemies. There seems then to be no doubt that the name stater was first applied to the didrachm and then to the tetradrachm, as a standard coin of both metals.

The word stater is only once mentioned in the N. T., in the account of the miracle of the tribute-money. On our Lord's arrival at Capernaum, they who received the didrachms (οἱ τὰ διδραχμα λαμβάνοντες) asked St. Peter if his master paid the tribute (didrachms, ὁ διδάσκαλος ὑμῶν οὐ τελεῖ τὰ διδραχμα; Matt. xvii. 24-27). Many commentators, both ancient and modern—and among them Augustine, Origen, and Jerome—have entirely missed the meaning of this miracle, by interpreting the payment as a *civil* one, which it certainly was not (Alford, *in loc.*) The didrachm refers to the sum paid annually by the Jews of twenty years old and upwards to the temple at Jerusalem (Exod. xxx. 13). This was half a shekel, called by the LXX. τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ διδράχμου [DIDRACHM; SHEKEL]. Now, at the time of Augustus the Attic tetradrachm had fallen so as to be equal to the Phœnician didrachm, and to four denarii of the weight of that period, and the weights of the shekel and its half are the same as those of the debased Attic tetradrachm and its half [SHEKEL], the silver currency of Palestine consisting of tetradrachms of the cities of Syria and Phœnicia. In order to pay this tax, St. Peter was commanded by our Lord to cast a hook into the sea and take up the fish that first came up, inside the mouth of which was discovered a stater, which was to be paid for our Lord and himself. This stater must therefore have been a silver tetradrachm, as no

other stater was current in Palestine at the time. 'It is observable,' says Mr. Poole (art. 'Stater,' Dr. Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*), 'in confirmation of the minute accuracy of the evangelist, that at this period the silver currency in Palestine consisted of Greek imperial tetradrachms or staters, and Roman denarii of a quarter their weight, didrachms having fallen into disuse. Had two didrachms been found by St. Peter, the receivers of tribute would scarcely have taken them; and no doubt the ordinary coin paid was that miraculously supplied.' The tetradrachms of Syria and Phœnicia during the 1st century were always of pure silver, but afterwards the coinage became greatly debased, though Antioch continued to strike tetradrachms to the 3d century, but they gradually depreciated. It was required, as Mr. Poole has observed to me (*Hist. of Jew. Coinage*, p. 240), that the tribute should be paid in full weight, and therefore the date of the gospel must be of a time when staters of pure silver were current. In all probability the 'thirty pieces of silver' for which our Lord was betrayed were also staters or tetradrachms of the Greek cities of Syria or Phœnicia [PIECE OF SILVER].—F. W. M.

STEEL. The word so rendered in the A. V. properly means 'copper' [NECHOSHETH]. It is doubtful if the Hebrews were acquainted with the process of hardening iron into steel; for though the 'northern iron' of Jer. xv. 12 has been supposed by some to be 'steel,' this is by no means certain; it may have been only a superior sort of iron. The word פלדה, *palda* (Nahum ii. 3 [A. V. 4]), translated in the A. V. 'torches,' is also supposed to denote 'steel,' and to refer to the flashing scythes of the Assyrian chariots (Henderson, *in loc.*)—W. L. A.

STEPHANAS (Στεφανᾶς), a disciple at Corinth, whose household Paul baptized (1 Cor. i. 16), being the first converted to Christianity in Achaia (1 Cor. xvi. 15). From the last of these texts it would appear that Stephanas and his family, in the most exemplary manner, 'addicted themselves to the ministry of the saints;' which some interpret of their having taken upon them the office and duty of deacons; but which seems to admit of a larger sense—viz. that all the members of this excellent family ministered to the wants and promoted the comfort of their fellow-Christians, whether strangers or countrymen. That Stephanas was present with St. Paul when he wrote the first epistle to the Corinthians is evident from 1 Cor. xvi. 17. As 'the household of Stephanas' is mentioned in both texts, it has been supposed that Stephanas himself was dead when Paul wrote; but in verse 17 it is said, 'I am glad of the coming of Stephanas.'—J. K.

STEPHEN (Στέφανος), one of the seven first deacons, and the proto-martyr of the Christian church. It appears from his name that he was a Hellenist, as it was not common for the Jews of Palestine to adopt names for their children, except from the Hebrew or Syriac; though of what country he was is unknown. He is represented by Epiphanius (xl. p. 50) as one of the seventy disciples chosen by Christ; but this statement is without authority from Scripture, and is, in fact, inconsistent with what is there mentioned concerning him. He is spoken of by others as one of the first

converts of Peter on the day of Pentecost; but this also is merely conjectural. Jerome (on Is. xlv. 12) and others of the Fathers praise him as a man of great learning and eloquence. The first authentic notice we find of him is in Acts vi. 5. In the distribution of the common fund that was entrusted to the apostles (Acts iv. 35-37) for the support of the poorer brethren (see Mosheim, *De Rebus Christ. ante Const.* p. 118, and *Dissert. ad Hist. Eccles. pertin.*), the Hellenistic Jews complained that a partiality was shown to the natives of Palestine, and that the poor and sick among their widows were neglected. Whether we conceive with Mosheim (*De Rebus*, etc. p. 118), that the distribution was made by individuals set apart for that office, though not yet possessing the name of deacons; or with the writer in the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana* (art. 'Ecclesiastical History;' see also Archbishop Whately's *Kingdom of Christ*), we conclude that with the office they had also the name, but were limited to Hebrews; or whether we follow the more common view, as set forth by Bohmer (*Diss.* vii.; *Juris Eccles. Antiq.*), does not materially affect the present subject. The complaint of the Hellenists having reached the ears of the apostles, immediate directions were given by them with a view to remove the cause of it. Unwilling themselves to be called away from their proper employment of extending the bounds of the Christian community, they told the assembled multitude of believers to select seven men of their own number, in whose faith and integrity they might repose entire confidence, for the superintendence of everything connected with the relief of the poor. The proposal of the apostles met with the approbation of the brethren, who proceeded at once with the choice of the prescribed number of individuals, among whom Stephen is first mentioned; hence the title of first deacon, or first of the deacons, is given to him by Irenæus (Iren. i. 12). He is distinguished in Scripture as a man 'full of faith and of the Holy Ghost' (Acts vi. 5). The newly-elected individuals were brought to the apostles, who ordained them to their office, and they entered upon their duties with extraordinary zeal and success. The number of the disciples was greatly increased, and many priests were among the converts. In this work Stephen greatly distinguished himself by the miracles he performed before the people, and by the arguments he advanced in support of the Christian cause. From his foreign descent and education he was naturally led to address himself to the Hellenists, and in his disputations with Jews of the Synagogue of the Libertines and Cyrenians, etc. [SYNAGOGUE and LIBERTINE], he brought forward views of the Christian scheme that could not be relished by the bigots of the ancient faith. As they were unable to withstand his powers of reasoning, their malice was excited; they suborned false witnesses against him, and dragged him before the Sanhedrim as a blasphemer. The charge brought against him was, that he had spoken against the law and the Temple, against Moses and against God. This accusation was calculated to incite all parties in the Sanhedrim against him (comp. Acts xxii. 22); and upon receiving it the predetermined purpose of the council was not to be mistaken. Stephen saw that he was to be the victim of the blind and malignant spirit which had been exhibited by the Jews in every period of their history. But



his serenity was unruffled; his confidence in the goodness of his cause, and in the promised support of his Heavenly Master, imparted a divine tranquillity to his mind; and when the judges fixed their regards upon him, the light that was within beamed forth upon his countenance, and 'they saw his face as if it had been the face of an angel' (Acts vi. 15).

Benson (*History of the First Planting of the Christian Religion*) and others have considered the testimony of the witnesses against Stephen as in every respect false, and that we are not even to suppose that he had stated that Christ would change the customs which Moses delivered (Acts vi. 14), upon the ground of the improbability of more being revealed to Stephen than to the apostles, as to the abolition of the Levitical ceremonies. From the strain of the martyr's speech, however, a different conclusion may be drawn. His words imply, in various passages, that external rites were not essential, and that true religion was not confined to the temple service (Acts vii. 8, 38, 44, etc.) And there seems much plausibility in the conjecture of Neander (*Planting and Training of the Christian Church*, translated by Ryland, vol. i. p. 56, *seq.*), that Stephen and the other deacons from their birth and education were less under the influence of Jewish prejudices than the natives of Palestine, and may thus have been prepared to precede the apostles themselves in apprehending the liberty which the gospel was to introduce. The statements of Stephen correspond in more than one particular with what was afterwards taught by St. Paul.

His speech is well deserving of the most diligent study, and the more it is understood the higher idea will it convey of the degree in which he possessed the qualities ascribed to him in the sixth chapter. Very different views have been taken of it by commentators. Upon the whole we are inclined to follow that which is given by Neander in the work referred to. Even as a composition it is curious and interesting from the connection which may be discovered between the various parts, and from the unity given to the whole by the honesty and earnestness of the speaker. Without any formal statement of his object, Stephen obviously gives a confession of his faith, sets forth a true view of the import of his preaching in opposition to the false gloss that had been put upon it, maintains the justness of his cause, and shows how well founded were his denunciations against the impious Jews.

He first enters upon a historical statement, involving a refutation of the charges which had been made against him of hostility to the O. T. institutions; but at the same time showing that acceptance with God does not depend upon outward relations. Under the same form he illustrates the providential care exercised by the Almighty in regard to the Jewish people, along with the opposition exhibited by the Jews towards those sent to them by God. And he points the application of his whole discourse by charging his carnal-minded hearers with resisting, like their fathers, the Holy Ghost. The effect upon his auditors was terrible. Conscience-smitten, they united in wreaking their vengeance on the faithful denouncer of their guilt. They drowned his voice with their clamorous outcries, they stopped their ears against him, they rushed on him with one

accord in a tumultuary manner, they carried him forth, and without waiting for the authority of law, they stoned him to death as a blasphemer. [STONING.]

The frantic violence of his persecutors did not disturb the tranquillity of the martyr, and he died praying that his murderers might be forgiven (vii. 60). In his prayer he showed that a new spirit had been introduced into the world, and taught the Christians that the example of their Divine Master was to be followed even in circumstances that they might have conceived to be impossible. Nor was this prayer without effect. Saul of Tarsus, who consented to his death (viii. 1), and kept the clothes of them that stoned him (vii. 58), heard his words, mocking, doubtless, like the rest. But the prayer was heard, and to it we owe the ministry of the apostle Paul (Tillemont, *Mémoires*, vol. ii. p. 8).

The only other particular connected with Stephen, mentioned in Scripture, is, that 'devout men carried him to his burial, and made great lamentation over him' (viii. 2). No information is given respecting the time of his death, or the place of his burial. In the fifth century (415), however, the relics of the martyr were said to have been miraculously discovered by a Greek priest of the name of Lucian (Luciani Presbyteri *Epistola de Inventione S. Stephani*), and they were brought to Europe by Orosius. Evodius, Bishop of Myala, wrote a small treatise concerning the miracles performed by them; and Severus, a bishop of the island of Minorca, wrote a circular letter of the conversion of the Jews in that island, and of the miracles wrought in that place by the relics which Orosius left there. These writings are contained in the works of Augustine, who gives the sanction of his authority to the incredible follies they record (*De Civit. Dei*, xxii. 8).

Since the fifth century, Stephen's day has been celebrated on the 26th of December. The date is confessed by many Roman Catholic writers to be arbitrary, and is wholly without authority.—J. K.

STEPHENS, more correctly STEPHEN (ETIENNE), the family name of an illustrious succession of learned printers, of whom, however, we have to notice specially here only Robert. He was the son of Henri Etienne (Henricus Stephanus), the printer of the *Quincuplex Psalterium* of Le Fevre d'Estaples, Paris 1509, 1513, and who died in 1520. Robert was born at Paris in 1503. Having received a learned education, he devoted himself to the editing and issuing of carefully-printed editions of learned works. In 1545 he issued, under the simple title of *Biblia*, an edition of the Vulgate, with a new Latin translation of the Bible, printed in parallel columns, and in a type of exquisite beauty. Explanatory notes are added in the margin, and as some of these gave offence to the doctors of the Sorbonne as savouring of the Reformed doctrines, Stephens thought it prudent, on the death of his father, to remove to Geneva. Before leaving Paris, however, he had issued his edition of the Greek N. T., first in a small form (known as the *O mirificam* edition, from the first words of the preface), Paris 1546, 1549, and afterwards in fol. with various readings from MSS. collated by his son Henry. At Geneva he printed an edition of the Greek text with the Vulgate rendering, and that of Erasmus, 1551. This

edition presented the text for the first time divided into verses. Two editions of the Hebrew Bible were also printed by him, one with the Commentary of Kimchi on the minor prophets, in 13 vols. 4to, Paris 1539-43; another in 10 vols. 16mo, Paris 1544-46. It is to him we owe the *Thesaurus Lingue Latine*, 4 vols. fol.; as to his son Henry the *Thesaurus Ling. Græcæ* is due—two monuments of vast learning and unwearied diligence. Robert Stephens died at Geneva, 6th September 1559.—W. L. A.

**STOCKS.** Three Hebrew words are thus rendered in the A. V.—1. מִדְּפַכֶּת (Jer. xx. 2; xxix. 26; 2 Chron. xvi. 10). This is supposed to have been rather a sort of pillory in which the head and hands were fastened, than an instrument for fastening by the feet. But this is quite uncertain.

2. כַּר (Job xiii. 27; xxxiii. 11). As this is expressly described as a fetter for the feet it probably answered to our *stocks*.

3. עֶכֶס (Prov. vii. 22). This was probably a fetter fastened round the ankle. The same word is used for an anklet (Is. iii. 18). The ὄζλον (A. V. 'stocks') to which Paul and Silas were made fast (Acts xvi. 24) may have been 'stocks,' but was probably simply a bar of wood, to which they were chained by the feet.—W. L. A.

**STOICS AND EPICUREANS.** [PHILOSOPHY, GREEK.]

**STONING.** [PUNISHMENTS.]

**STORAX** (Στύραξ) occurs in Ecclesiasticus xxiv. 15 [as the rendering of στακτή. In Gen. xxxvii. 24 Aquila renders נִכְאֵת by στύραξ, as also xliii. 11, where he is followed by the Vulg.] Sweet storax is mentioned by various Greek writers, from the time of Hippocrates to that of Dioscorides. Several kinds of it were known, varying chiefly in the form in which it was obtained, or the degree of adulteration to which it had been subjected. Most of the kinds are still known in commerce. It is obtained by incisions made in the bark of the tree called *styrax officinale* by botanists. This tree is a native of Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine, and is about twenty feet high, with leaves like those of the quince, and flowers somewhat resembling those of the orange. Storax was, and is still, much esteemed, both as an incense and for its medical properties. It consists chiefly of resin, a volatile oil, and some benzoic acid. It has a grateful balsamic odour, which no doubt made it valued in ancient times.—J. F. R.

**STORK** (חִסְדִּיָּה, *chasidah*). In Egypt, the two species collectively are called *Anaseh*; the white, more particularly, *Belari*; in Arabic *Zakid*, *Zadig* (?), *Abuhist*, *Heklek*, *Hegleg*, and *Hadji Luglug*, the three last-mentioned expressing the peculiar clatter which storks make with their bills, and *Hadji*, or pilgrim, denoting their migratory habits. This quality several of the Western names likewise indicate, while our word stork is an appellation which extends to the Icelandic, Danish, Swedish, German, Hungarian, Lette, and Wallachian languages, and is presumed originally to have been *Stor eger*—i.e. migrating *Heron*. Some would derive stork from the Greek *στοργή*, with which it agrees in sound, but has no affinity of meaning, though it corroborates the interpretation of *Cha-*

*sidah* in the Hebrew, similarly implying affection, piety, mercy, and gratitude. This name results from a belief, general through all ancient Asia, in the attachment of these birds to each other; of the young towards the old, and of the parents towards their young. Without, therefore, admitting the exaggerated reports, or the popular opinions of the East, respecting the stork, enough is shown to justify the identification of *Chasidah* with that bird; notwithstanding that some learned commentators have referred the word to heron, and to several other birds, though none upon investigation are found to unite in the same degree the qualities which are ascribed to the species in Lev. xi. 19; Deut. xiv. 18; Job xxxix. 13; Ps. civ. 17; Jer. viii. 7; Zech. v. 9.



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Storks are about a foot less in height than the crane, measuring only three feet six inches from the tip of the bill to the end of the toes, and nearly the same to the end of the tail. They have a stout, pointed, and rather long bill, which, together with their long legs, is of a bright scarlet colour; the toes are partially webbed, the nails at the extremities flat and but little pointed beyond the tips of the joints. The orbits are blackish, but the whole bird is white, with the exception of a few scapulars, the greater wing covers, and all the quills, which are deep black; they are doubly scalloped out, with those nearest the body almost as long as the very foremost in the wing. This is a provision of nature, enabling the bird more effectually to sustain its after weight in the air—a faculty exceedingly important to its mode of flight, with its long neck and longer legs equally stretched out, and very necessary to a migrating species believed to fly without alighting from the Lower Rhine, or even from the vicinity of Strasburg, to Africa, and to the Delta of the Nile. Storks build their nests in pine, fir, cedar, and other coniferous trees, but seem to prefer lofty old buildings, towers, and ruins. There are always several located on the tops of the isolated pillars at Persepolis; and they often obstruct the Muesim by nestling in their way, about the summits of the minarets which these servants of the mosques must ascend to call the congregation to prayer. Several modern writers still assert the filial affection of young storks, whom they describe as assisting their aged parents when they cannot any longer fly with vigour, and as bringing them food when unable to provide for themselves; but without entirely rejecting the fact of affectionate relations among these birds, it may be remarked that there is no evidence to support this assertion.—C. H. S.



STRANGER (תִּשְׁבִּי, נִכְרִי). This term is applied in the O. T. to a person stately resident in Palestine, but who was not of Hebrew descent. A distinction is made between such and the נִכְרִי, or *foreigner*—that is, a heathen usually resident in a country out of Palestine. Such belonged to the גֵּוִים or Gentiles. Distinct from both was the אֲזִיחַ, or native-born Israelite.

For the laws and usages of the Hebrews in relation to strangers, see MOSES, LAWS OF; and PROSELYTE.—W. L. A.

STRAW. [TEBEN.]

STREETS. [TOWNS.]

STRIPES. [PUNISHMENTS.]

STUART, MOSES, was born at Wilton, Connecticut, 26th March 1780. He was educated at Yale College, where he took his degree in 1799, with the highest honours. He was successively tutor in Yale College (1802-1804), pastor of a congregational church at New Haven (1806), and professor of sacred literature at Andover (1810), an office which he held until 1848, when his increasing infirmities constrained him to resign it. He died 4th January 1852. His life was one of incessant labour, devoted chiefly to Biblical literature. In this he led the way in his own country with most happy results. His own contributions to sacred learning are very valuable; but perhaps he did even more by the impulse he gave to Biblical study and the sound principles of Biblical exegesis which he instilled into the minds of his younger brethren, especially in America, than by the works which he himself published. His chief writings are *A Grammar of the Hebrew Language*, 1831, of which a 5th edition appeared at Oxford in 1838; a *Hebrew Chrestomathy*, 1832; *Course of Hebrew Study*, 1830; a *Grammar of the N. T. Dialect*, 2d edition, 1841; *Commentary on the Ep. to the Hebrews* (2 vols. 1827, reprinted London 1828), on the *Ep. to the Romans* (1832, London 1833), on the *Apocalypse* (1845, Edinburgh 1847), on *Daniel* (1851), *Ecclesiastes* (1851), and *Proverbs* (1852). He was also a large contributor to the *Biblical Repository* and the *Bibliotheca Sacra*. A monument has been erected to his memory at Andover, on which he is styled 'The Father of Biblical Science in his native country.'—W. L. A.

SUCCOTH (סֻכּוֹת; Σκηναι; Σοκχώδ; Alex. Σωχώ; *Socoth*), a town in the valley of the Jordan. It had its origin, as well as its name, in the temporary sojourn of Jacob on his way from Padanaram to Palestine. 'And Jacob journeyed to Succoth, and he built him an house, and made booths (*Succoth*) for his cattle; therefore the name of the place is called *Succoth* ('booths')." The writer has frequently seen such 'booths' occupied by the Bedawin of the Jordan valley. They are rude huts of reeds, sometimes covered with long grass, sometimes with a piece of a tent. They are much used by a semi-nomad people. Jacob probably remained for some time in this fertile spot, which must have reminded him of the banks of the Euphrates (Gen. xxxiii. 17). The situation is approximately indicated by the fact that Jacob was on his way from Peniel to Shechem. Peniel was apparently on the north bank of the Jabboc (xxxii. 22, 23); and it

would seem that after his interview with Esau on the south bank, he turned back to avoid farther intercourse with his dangerous brother; and instead of following him to Edom he recrossed the Jabboc and descended to the valley of the Jordan, where he resolved to rest for a time amid its luxuriant pastures (see however Kalisch, *ad loc.*; Ritter, *Pal. und Syr.* ii. 447).

The next notice of Succoth is in Joshua's description of the territory of Gad. To this tribe the middle section east of the Jordan was allotted, including the valley of the Jordan up to the Sea of Galilee [GAD]. Among the towns in the valley is *Succoth* (Josh. xiii. 27). Nothing more can be inferred from this than that it lay on the east bank of the river.

In the narrative of Gideon's pursuit of Zeba and Zalmunna it is said: 'And Gideon came to Jordan, *passed over* . . . and said unto the men of Succoth, etc.' (Judg. viii. 5). The tale there recorded of the mingled cowardice and perfidy of the inhabitants, and of Gideon's terrible vengeance, is one of the most harrowing in the Bible. At that period Succoth must have been a place of importance, when it ventured to refuse the request of Gideon. Its 'princes and elders,' too, are said to have numbered 'threescore and seventeen men.'

Though the rulers were slain the city continued to prosper, and in the days of Solomon it was well known. The sacred historian informs us that the brazen vessels of the temple were cast 'in the circuit (בְּכִכָּר) of the Jordan, in the clay ground, between Succoth and Zarthan' (1 Kings vii. 46; 2 Chron. iv. 17). Succoth gave its name to 'a valley' (עֲמֹק), probably a lower section of 'the circuit,' or great plain of the Jordan (cf. 'the vale of Siddim,' which was also called an *Emek* in 'the circuit of the Jordan,' Ps. lx. 6).

Jerome observes, in his notes on Genesis:—'There is to this day a city of this name (*Succoth*) beyond Jordan in the region of Scythopolis' (*Opera*, ii. 989: ed. Migne); but in the *Onomasticon* both Jerome and Eusebius merely state that it is the place where Jacob dwelt on his return from Mesopotamia, without indicating its site or appearing to know of its existence (s. v. 'Sceneæ').

Burckhardt on his way from Beisan to es-Salt forded the Jordan two hours (about six miles) below the former, and observes in a note (*Travels in Syria*, p. 345): 'Near where we crossed, to the

south, are the ruins of *Sukkot* (سُكُوت).' The ruins seem to have been on the east bank of the river, though he does not expressly say so. This may possibly be the Succoth of Jerome; but it is too far north to suit the requirements of the narrative in Genesis.

Robinson discovered another ruin called *Sákát* (سَاكُوت), which is radically as well as topographically different from the *Sukkot* of Burckhardt, situated on the west bank of the Jordan, about fifteen miles south of Beisan. Near it is a copious fountain, and the plain around it is covered with most luxuriant vegetation. The ruin is merely that of a common village, a few foundations of unhewn stones' (*Bib. Res.* iii. 309; cf. Van de Velde, *Travels*, ii. 343). Its position on the west bank prevents its being identified with the Succoth of the Bible, but it is just possible that the name may

have been transferred from the ancient town on the east side to a more modern village on the west (see also Ritter, *Pal. und Syr.* ii. 446).

2. Succoth was a station of the Israelites in the desert, the first after their departure from Egypt: 'And the children of Israel journeyed from Rameses to Succoth' (Exod. xii. 37). Probably here, too, the name may have been given to the spot from the temporary booths which some of the more delicate would naturally attempt to construct for themselves on that the first night of life under the open heaven. Succoth was still within the land of Egypt, or at least within a region of habitation and cultivation; for it was not until the close of their second march that they 'encamped in Etham, in the edge of the wilderness' (xiii. 20; cf. Num. xxxiii. 5, 6).

The exact position of Succoth has not been, and probably never can be, satisfactorily determined. The line of march which the Israelites followed will be discussed in another place [WANDERING, WILDERNESS OF].—J. L. P.

SUKKIIMS (סֻכִּיִּים; Τρωγούδιαι; Alex. Τρωγολούδιαι; *Trogoditæ*), one of the three great nations which composed the army of Shishak king of Egypt when he came up against Rehoboam in Jerusalem (2 Chron. xii. 3). They are only mentioned in the one passage; and the name seems to have been unknown to ancient geographers. Both the LXX. and Vulgate render the word *Trogodytes*; but upon what authority is unknown. It may be conjectured that, as they are joined with the Ethiopians, and as there were Trogodytes in Ethiopia (Herod. iv. 183), the ancient translators considered Sukkiim a proper name for them (Winer, *R. W.* s. v. 'Suchim'). Strabo states that 'the Trogodytes, in the latitude of Meroë, are distant ten or twelve days' journey from the Nile' (*Geog.* xvii. 786). It is more probable, however, that the Sukkiim were a nomad people, and were so called because of their living in tents [SUCCOTH]. This is the opinion of Gesenius (*Thesaurus*, p. 953).—J. L. P.

SUMMER. [PALESTINE.]

SUN (שֶׁמֶשׁ; ἥλιος). For the sun as a luminary, see LIGHT. For the worship of the sun, see IDOLATRY. For the standing still of the sun, see JOSHUA, BOOK OF.

SUPH (סֻפְּה), translated 'flags' in the A. V., means some aquatic plant. It is mentioned in Exod. ii. 3, 5; Is. xix. 6; Jonah ii. 6; but it is difficult to say whether it may not have been used in a comprehensive sense, as seaweed is with us, rather than have been confined to one of the plants growing in the sea. The word *suph* occurs in several other passages; these, however, have reference to the Red Sea, which by the Hebrews was called *Suph Sea*. Rosenmüller states that this, 'in the Coptic version of the Pentateuch and the Psalms, is called by its old Egyptian name, the *Shari Sea*.' But *Shari*, or, as the Greeks pronounced it, *Sari*, is the Egyptian name for tangles or seaweeds, of which there is great abundance in that sea. In Jonah ii. 5—'seaweed was wrapped around my head'—one of the *fuci* would seem to be indicated. Lady Calcott selects *zostera marina*, or sea-wrack, which resembles them in habit. It has by others been translated *juncus*, *arundo*,

*carex*, etc. Rosenmüller says there is no doubt that a species of *sari* is denoted by *suph*, which, according to Pliny, grows on the banks of the Nile. 'Fruticosi est generis sari, circa Nilum nascens, duorum ferme cubitorum altitudine, pollicari crassitudine; coma papyri, similique manditur modo.' This is supposed to be some reed, or grass-like plant. It is curious that the names *sar* and *sari* extend even to India. There is a species of *saccharum* growing in the neighbourhood of Calcutta which has been named *S. Sari* by Dr. Roxburgh.—J. F. R.

SURENHUSIUS (SURENHUYS), WILHELM, professor of Greek and Hebrew at Amsterdam, flourished in the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century. He edited a beautifully printed edition of the *Mishna*, *sive totius Hebræorum juris, rituum, antiquitatum et legum oralium Systema, cum Maimonidis et Bartenoræ Commentariis integris*, etc. 6 vols. fol. Amsterdam 1690-1703; on the merits of which see Wolf, *Bib. Hebr.* ii. 886. He published also ספרה כשורה *sive Βιβλος Κατάλλαξης*, in quo secundum Vett. Theoll. Hebr. formulas allegandi et modos interpretandi, conciliantur loca ex V. in N. T. allegata, 4to, Amsterdam 1713, a work of unsurpassed value on the subject to which it relates.—W. L. A.

SURETYSHIP. [LOAN.]

SUS (סֹּס, ἵππος). It appears to be substantiated, that the Horse was derived from High Asia, and was not indigenous in Arabia, Syria, or Egypt. They are not mentioned among the presents which Pharaoh bestowed upon Abraham, and occur in Scripture for the first time when the patriarch Joseph receives them from the Egyptians in exchange for bread (Gen. xlvii. 17)—evidently as valuable animals, disposed of singly, and not in droves or flocks, like cattle and asses. They were still sufficiently important to be expressly mentioned in the funeral procession which accompanied the body of Jacob to his sepulchre in Canaan (Gen. i. 9); and, for centuries after, it does not appear that, under the domestic management of the Egyptians, unless the murrain had greatly reduced them, horses had multiplied as they would have done in a land more congenial to their habits, since only six hundred chariots appear to have pursued Israel (Exod. xiv. 7)—even admitting that there were other chariots and horsemen not included in that number. In the sculptured battle-scenes which are believed to represent victories of Sesostris, or of Thothmes II. and III., over nations of Central Asia, it is evident that the enemy's armies, as well as the foreign allies of Egypt, are abundantly supplied with horses, both for chariots and for riders; and in triumphal processions they are shown as presents or tribute—proving that they were portions of the national wealth of conquered states sufficiently valuable to be prized in Egypt. At a later period, the books of Deuteronomy (xvii. 16, for the future kings of Israel are forbidden to possess many) and Joshua (xi. 4) furnish similar evidence of abundance of horses in the plains of Syria; and in Job occurs a description of a perfect war-horse couched in the bold figurative language of inspiration, such as remains unequalled by any other poet, ancient or modern. Though the Israelites had chariots and horsemen opposed to them in the plain country from their first entrance into the land of promise; as in Judges iv. 15,



where we find Sisera with his chariots of war defeated at the foot of Mount Tabor; yet not being intended to make military conquests beyond the mountain-basin and the adjacent territory assigned them, they long remained without cavalry or chariots themselves (Deut. xvii. 16; 2 Sam. viii. 4): they obeyed the divine injunction to abstain from possessing horses, and, to the time of David, hamstrung such as they captured from their enemies. It appears, however, that a small cavalry force was raised by him; and as in all the military operations of Western Asia there was a tendency to increase the mounted force and neglect the infantry, on the full establishment of royalty, when the Hebrew government acquired a more political structure, the reign of Solomon displayed a military system which embraced a regular body of horse and of chariots, evidently become the more necessary since the limits of his sway were extended to the shores of the Arabian Gulf, and far into the Syrian desert (1 Kings x. 26). Solomon likewise acted with commercial views in the monopolising spirit which Eastern sovereigns have been prone to exercise in all ages. He bought chariots and teams of horses in Egypt, and probably in Armenia, 'in all lands,' and had them brought into his dominions in strings, in the same manner as horses are still conducted to and from fairs: for this interpretation, as offered by Professor Paxton, appears to convey the natural and true meaning of the text; and not 'strings of linen yarn,' which here seem to be out of place (2 Chron. i. 16, 17; ix. 25, 28).

The Tyrians purchased these objects from Solomon, and, in the time of Ezekiel, imported horses themselves from Togarmah or Armenia. On returning from the Babylonish captivity, the common possession of horses in Palestine was no longer opposed; for Nehemiah numbers seven hundred and thirty-six belonging to the liberated Hebrews (Neh. vii. 68).

All the great original varieties or races of horses were then known in Western Asia, and the Hebrew prophets themselves have not unfrequently distinguished the nations they had in view, by means of the predominant colours of their horses—and that more correctly than commentators have surmised. Taking Bochart's application of the Hebrew names, the bay race, אָדוֹם *adom*, emphatically belonged to Egypt and Arabia Felix;

the white, לְבָנִים *lebonim*, to the regions above the Euxine Sea, Asia Minor, and northern High Asia; the dun, or cream-coloured, שְׂרָקִים *serukim*, to the Medes; the spotted piebald, or skewbald, בְּרָדִים *berudim*, to the Macedonians, the Parthians, and later Tahtars; and the black, שְׁחֹרִים *shachorim*, to the Romans; but the chestnuts, אֲמֹץ *amutz*, do not belong to any known historical race (Zech. i. 8; vi. 2).

Bay or red horses occur most frequently on Egyptian painted monuments, this being the primitive colour of the Arabian stock; but white horses are also common, and, in a few instances, black—the last probably only to relieve the paler colour of the one beside it in the picture. There is also, we understand, an instance of a spotted pair, tending to show that the valley of the Nile was originally supplied with horses from foreign sources and distinct regions, as indeed the tribute pictures further attest. The spotted, if not real, but painted

horses, indicate the antiquity of a practice still in vogue; for staining the hair of riding animals with spots of various colours, and dyeing their limbs and tails crimson, is a practice of common occurrence in the East, and was exemplified in London when the late Shah of Persia presented the Prince Regent with several white and grey horses, all of which were ridden to Carlton Palace with their tails dyed crimson, as we ourselves witnessed. [CHAMOR.]

On the natural history of the horse there is no occasion to enter in this place; but it may be proper to notice that the riding-bridle was long a mere slip-knot, passed round the under jaw into the mouth, thus furnishing only one rein; and that a rod was commonly added to guide the animal with more facility. The bridle, however, and the reins of chariot-horses were, at a very early age, exceedingly perfect; as the monuments of Egypt, Etruria, and Greece, amply prove. Saddles were not used, the rider sitting on the bare back, or using a cloth or mat girded on the animal. The Romans, no doubt copying the Persian Cataphractæ, first used pad saddles, and from the northern nations adopted stimuli or spurs. Stirrups were unknown. Avicenna first mentions the *rikiab*, or Arabian stirrup, perhaps the most ancient; although in the tumuli of Central Asia, Tahtar horse skeletons, bridles, and stirrup saddles, have been found along with idols; which proves the tombs to be more ancient than the introduction of Islam. With regard to horse-shoeing, Bishop Lowth and Bracy Clark were mistaken in believing that the Roman horse or mule shoe was fastened on without nails driven through the horny part of the hoof, as at present. A contrary conclusion may be inferred from several passages in the poets; and the figure of a horse in the Pompeii battle mosaic, shod in the same manner as is now the practice, leaves little doubt on the question.—C. H. S.

SUSA. [SHUSHAN.]

SUSANCHITES (שִׁשְׁכִּי; Sept. Σουσάνχαιτοι), one of the nations settled by the king of Assyria in Samaria (Ezra iv. 9). The name has reference to Shushan. [SHUSHAN.]

SUSANNAH. [DANIEL, APOCRYPHAL ADDENDA TO.]

SWALLOW. [AGUR; DEROR; SIS.]

SWAN. [TINSEMEETH.]

SWEARING. [OATH.]

SWEAT, BLOODY. [BLOODY SWEAT.]

SWINE (חֲזִיר *chazir*). We have already noticed these animals [CHAZIR], chiefly as they occur in a wild state, and here refer to the domesticated breeds only, because they appear to have been repeatedly introduced and reared by the Hebrew people, notwithstanding the strong prohibitions in the law of Moses (Is. lkv. 4).

Egyptian pictures, the parable of the Prodigal Son, and Christ's miraculous cure of the demoniac, when he permitted swine to be possessed and destroyed by rushing over a precipice into the sea of Galilee, furnish ample proofs that during the dominion of the Romans they were kept around the kingdom of Judah; and the restrictive laws of Hyrcanus on this subject indicate that the Jews themselves were not altogether strangers to this

unlawful practice. Commentators ascribe this abundance of swine to the numerous Pagan sacrifices of these animals in the temples: but we do not deem this to be a sufficiently correct view of the case, since hogs of every denomination were less used for that purpose than oxen, goats, and sheep. May it not be conjectured that in those days of a greatly condensed population the poor found in swine's flesh, and still more in the fat and lard, melted for culinary purposes, as it still is in every part of pagan Africa, a most desirable aliment, still more acceptable than the salt fish imported from Sidon, to season their usual vegetable diet? 'When the melting fire burneth, the fire causeth the waters to boil' (Is. lxiv. 2); and, again, 'a broth of abominable things in their vessels' (Is. lxv. 4). For, although the Mosaic law justly condemned the use of swine's flesh, at the time of the departure of Israel out of Egypt, when the state of slavery the people had been in, there is reason to believe, had greatly multiplied leprosy, and, moreover, when it was important to enforce cleanliness among the multitude on many accounts; yet the reasoning of the ancients and of commentators, Rabbinical and medical, regarding the unhealthiness of sound pork, in moderate quantities, as a condiment, or more generally as an article of food, is entirely erroneous. For in some provinces of ancient Persia, the practice of curing animal food was known so early, that the procession of tribute-bearing deputies from the several satrapies, sculptured on the great stairs at Persepolis, represents at least one nation bringing preserved flesh meat, apparently hams; and already, before the conquest of northern Gaul by Cæsar, pork and various sausages were exported from Belgium to the Roman capital. Neither in the tropics nor in the East, during the first centuries of Christianity, or in the era of the Crusades, or among the Christians of the present day, are any ill effects ascribed to the use of swine's flesh; and the Moslem population, which is debarred the use of this kind of food, is, perhaps, more liable to disease and to the plague than others, because it lacks the stamina of resistance to infection, and that supply of digestive nutriment which keeps the alimentary system in a healthy condition. The rich Moslem supply the deficiency by vegetable oils and butter or ghee; hence, while the wealthy official class multiplies, the poorer classes, for want of a cheap supply of similar ingredients, diminish.—C. H. S.

#### SWORD. [ARMS.]

SYCAMINE TREE (*Συκάμινος*) is mentioned only once in the N. T., in Luke xvii. 6: 'And the Lord said, If ye had faith as a grain of mustard-seed, ye might say unto this *sycamine*-tree,' etc. From a slight similarity in name, this tree has often been confounded with the *sycamore*, both by ancient and modern writers. Both trees are, however, mentioned by the apostle, who must have had the technical knowledge necessary for distinguishing such things. Though the English version avoids translating the word, there can be little doubt of the mulberry-tree being intended; and it is frequently so rendered. Thus, Dioscorides says, *Μορέα ἢ Συκαμινέα*, etc., 'Mulberry or sycamine is well known.' Celsus shows (*Hierobot.* i. 290), by quotations from Athenæus, Galen, etc., that the Greeks called it by both names; and Corn. Celsus (*De Medicina*, iii. 18) says expressly: 'Græci morum

*συκάμινον* appellant.' But still even ancient authors confound it with the sycamore, and therefore modern writers may be excused when so doing. Dr. Sibthorpe, who travelled as a botanist in Greece, for the express purpose of identifying the plants known to the Greeks, says that in Greece the white mulberry-tree is called *μούρεα*; the black mulberry-tree, *συκαμινέα*. The mulberry, moreover, is a tree which we might expect to find men-



493. Black Mulberry—*Morus nigra*.

tioned in Scripture, since it is so common in Palestine. It is constantly alluded to by old travellers, and indeed is much cultivated in the present day, in consequence of its affording food for the silkworm; and it must have been common also in early times, or the silkworms would not have obtained suitable food when first introduced. As the mulberry-tree is common, as it is lofty and affords shade, it is well calculated for the illustration of the above passage of Luke.—J. F. R.

SYCAMORE is a species of fig, *N. Ficus Sycamoros* of botanists, and the same as SHIKMOL.—J. F. R.

SYCHAR (*Συχάρ*; and *Συχάρ*; *Sichar*, and *Sychar*). This name is but once mentioned, and it has created considerable controversy. Our Lord left Judæa for Galilee, 'and,' the evangelist says, 'he must needs go through Samaria. He cometh, therefore, to a city of Samaria which is called Sychar' (John iv. 5). The form of expression is somewhat peculiar. It would seem to convey the idea that the city was an obscure one, or else that, whilst Sychar was its popular name, it had another. The common opinion is that Sychar is only another name for the better known Sychem or Shechem. It is necessary to examine the evidence on which this theory is supposed to rest.

The position of Sychar is very clearly indicated in the gospel of John: 'It was near the parcel of ground which Jacob gave to his son Joseph. And Jacob's well was there.' The well was in the 'parcel of ground,' and it exists to this day in the entrance of the valley of Nâbulus, at the foot



of Mount Gerizim. But the well is a mile and a half from the site of Shechem, now Nâbulus; and the question arises—If Sychar and Shechem were identical, could it be described as *near* (πλησίον) the well, while at such a distance? The word πλησίον is indefinite. It is difficult to say what distance would be called 'near.' It would appear, however, that the city must have been a good way off, for the disciples had gone there to buy bread, and they were absent some time. It has been said that, as the woman came from the city to draw water at this well, Sychar could not have occupied the site of Nâbulus, because in that town there are numerous fountains. To one conversant with Eastern life and habits, such an argument has no weight. The mere fact of the well having been Jacob's would have given it virtue in the estimation of the old Samaritans. And even independent of its associations, some little superiority in the quality of the water would have attracted people to it from a still greater distance (*Handbook*, p. 342). No farther information is given by the sacred writer, and the question is thus left undecided.

The testimony of ancient geographers does not tend to remove the difficulty. Eusebius writes: 'Sychar, before Neapolis (πρὸ τῆς Νέας Πόλεως), near the field which Jacob gave to his son Joseph. . . . And to this day it is pointed out.' Jerome translates his words, and adds, apparently referring to the site, *ubi nunc ecclesia fabricata est* (*Onomast.* s.v. 'Sychar'). Of Sichem Eusebius says that it was shown as a desert place in the suburbs of Neapolis, where was also Joseph's tomb; and Jerome simply translates the words (s.v. 'Sichem'). Again, when describing *Luza*, Eusebius says: 'It lies beside Sichem' (παρὰκειμένη Σιχὲμ) in the *ninth mile* (Jerome has *third mile*) from Neapolis' (s.v. 'Luza'; cf. *Terebinthus*). According to the Bourdeaux Pilgrim, who travelled in A.D. 333, by Neapolis, at the base of the mountain, stood *Sichem*, beside Joseph's monument, in the field his father gave him; and a thousand paces farther was *Sychar*, whence the Samaritan woman came to draw water at Jacob's well.\* Thus these writers distinguish between Sychar and Sichem, and they make both distinct from Neapolis.

But Jerome gives an entirely different account elsewhere. Speaking of St. Paula's journey, he says: 'She passed *Sichem*, not as many erroneously read it *Sichar*, which is now called Neapolis.† And in his questions on Genesis, he says, that according to Greek and Latin custom, the Hebrew *Sichem* is written *Sicima*; but the reading *Sichar* is an error; and he adds that it is now called Neapolis.‡ So Adamnan writes of Arculf, who

travelled in the 7th century: 'He visited the town called in Hebrew *Sichem*, but by the Greeks and Latins *Sicima*, and now more usually *Sychar*' (*Early Travels*: Bohn, p. 8). In the 12th century Phocas says: 'Sychar was the metropolis of the Samaritans, and was afterwards called Neapolis' (Re-land, *Pal.* 1009).

The weight of ancient testimony therefore appears to be in favour of identifying Sichem, Sychar, and the Greek Neapolis.

Various theories have been advanced as to the origin and meaning of the name Sychar. It has been suggested that the Jews applied it as a by-name in scorn to the Samaritan capital. If so, it may be derived from שָׁכָר, *falsehood*, in allusion to the false Samaritan worship on Gerizim (cf. John iv. 22; Hab. ii. 18); or from שָׁכָר, *drunken*, with a reference to Is. xxviii. 1, where Samaria is called 'The crown of pride to the drunkards of Ephraim.' The son of Sirach speaks of 'the foolish people that dwell in Sikima' (l. 28. See in *Lightfoot, Opera*, ii. 586; Robinson, *B. R.* ii. 290; Lange, *Life of Christ*, ii. 337; Hengstenberg on *St. John* iv. 5).

It has been thought that Sychar may be identified with the little village of *Askar*, on the south-eastern declivity of Mount Ebal (Van de Velde, *Memoir*, p. 350; Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, p. 472). The etymology, however, is against it, and also the topography. Our Lord was on his way to Galilee. The great road runs past the mouth of Wady Nâbulus. Jacob's well is on the southern side of the opening; and Askar about half a mile distant on the northern side. The main road passes quite close to both. Our Lord sat down by the well while the disciples turned aside into the city to buy bread. Had Askar been the city this would have been unnecessary; for by continuing their route for a short distance farther they would have been within a few paces of the city. There is besides a copious spring at Askar. If, on the other hand, Sychar stood on the site of Nâbulus, then Jacob's well was the natural place for our Lord to remain until the return of his disciples. Besides, Eusebius and the Bourdeaux Pilgrim, if they are to be taken as authorities, locate Sychar at Jacob's well.—J. L. P.

SYCHEM (Συχέμ), the name for Shechem in Acts vii. 16, being that also used in the Septuagint version of the O. T. [SHECHEM].

SYENE (סֵנַי; Sept. Συήνη), a city of Egypt, situated in the Thebais, on the southern extremity of the land towards Ethiopia (Ptol. iv. 5; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* v. 10; xii. 8; Strabo, pp. 787, 815). Ezekiel, describing the desolation to be brought upon Egypt through its whole extent, says: 'Thus saith the Lord, I will make the land of Egypt utterly desolate, from the tower of Syene even to the border of Cush (Arabia);' or, as some read it, 'from Migdol to Syene,' implying, according to either version of the passage, the whole length of the country from north to south. Syene is repre-

\* 'Civitas Neapoli.—Inde ad pedem montis ipsius locus est, cui nomen est *Sechim*. Ibi positum est monumentum, ubi positus est Joseph in villa quam dedit ei Jacob pater ejus. . . . Inde passus mille, locus est cui nomen *Sechar*, unde descendit mulier Samaritana ad eundem locum, ubi Jacob puteum fodit, ut de eo aqua impleret' (*Itin. Hieros.* ed Wessel. p. 587).

† 'Transivit *Sichem*, non ut plerique errantes legunt *Sichar*, quæ nunc *Neapolis* appellatur, et ex latere montis Garizim extractam circa puteum Jacob intravit ecclesiam,' etc. (*Epist. ad Eustoch.*; *Opera*, i. 888; ed. Migne).

‡ 'Sicima juxta Græcam et Latinam Consuetu-

dinem, Alioquin Hebraice SICHEM dicitur, ut Joannes quoque Evangelista testatur; licet vitiose, ut *Sichar* legatur, error inolevit; et est nunc *Neapolis* urbs Samaritorum (*Opera*, ii. 1004; ed. Migne).

sented by the present Assouan, which exhibits few remains of the ancient city, except some granite columns of a comparatively late date, and the sekos of a small temple. This building has been supposed by late travellers to have contained the famous well of Strabo (*Geog.* xvii. p. 817), into which the rays of a vertical sun were reported to fall during the summer solstice, a circumstance, says the geographer, that proves the place 'to lie under the tropic, the gnomon at midday casting no shadow.' But although excavations have been carried on considerably below the pavement, which has been turned up in search of the well it was thought to cover, no other results have been obtained than that this sekos was a very improbable site for such an observatory, even if it ever existed; and that Strabo was strangely misinformed, since the Egyptians themselves could never in his time have imagined this city to lie under the tropic; for they were by no means ignorant of astronomy, and Syene was, even in the age of Hipparchus (B.C. 140, when the obliquity of the ecliptic was about  $23^{\circ} 51' 20''$ ), very far north of that line. The belief that Syene was in the tropic was however very general in the time of the Romans, and is noticed by Seneca, Lucan, Pliny, and others. But, as Sir J. G. Wilkinson remarks, 'a well would have been a bad kind of observatory if the sun had been really vertical; and if Strabo saw the meridian sun in a well, he might be sure he was not in the tropic' (*Mod. Egypt and Thebes*, ii. 286). The same writer adds: 'Unfortunately the observations of the ancient Greek writers on the obliquity of the ecliptic are not so satisfactory as might be wished, nor are we enabled, especially as La Grange's theory of the annual change of obliquity being variable is allowed to be correct, to ascertain the time when Assouan might have been within the tropic, a calculation or traditional fact in which, perhaps, originated the erroneous assertion of Strabo.' The latitude of Assouan is fixed by Wilkinson at  $24^{\circ} 5' 30''$ , and the longitude is usually given as  $32^{\circ} 55'$ .—J. K.

**SYNAGOGUE** (Συναγωγή, Προσευχή, Προσευκτήρια; Heb. בית תפלה, בית הכנסת; Moed Al; Aramaic כְּנִשְׁתָּא, כְּנִשְׁתָּא, כְּנִשְׁתָּא, the Jewish place of worship, wherein our Saviour performed some of his greatest miracles (Matt. xii. 9; Mark i. 23; Luke xiii. 11) and uttered some of his most sublime sayings (Luke iv. 16; John vi. 59).

1. *Name and its signification.*—Though the word συναγωγή is used in the Sept. to denote any kind of gathering, heap, mass, or assemblage, such as a gathering of fruits (for the Heb. אֶסְפָּה, אֶסְפָּה, Exod. xxiii. 16; xxxiv. 22), of water (מִקְוֵה, מִקְוֵה, Gen. i. 9; Lev. xi. 36), a heap of stones (גִּל, Job viii. 17), a band of singers (מִזְמֹר, Jer. xxxi. 4, 13), a mass or multitude of people or soldiers (אֶסְפָּה, Is. xxiv. 22; Ezek. xxxvii. 10), a tribe or family (בֵּית, 1 Kings xii. 21), etc. etc., yet its predominant usage in this version is to denote an appointed meeting of people either for civil or religious purposes, thus being synonymous with ἐκκλησία. This is evident from the fact that the Sept. uses συναγωγή 130 times for the Hebrew עֵדָה, and 25 times for קהל, which in 70 instances is rendered in the same version by ἐκκλησία. The synonymous usage in the Sept. of these two expressions is also seen in

Prov. v. 14, where ἐκκλησία and συναγωγή stand in juxtaposition for the Hebrew קהל and עדָה. This general signification of the term is also retained in the books of the Apocrypha, and it is not till we come to the N. T. that we find συναγωγή, like ἐκκλησία, used metonymically more especially for an appointed and recognised Jewish place of worship (Matt. iv. 23; vi. 2, 5; ix. 35, *al.*), and also for a Christian place of worship (James ii. 2; Rev. ii. 9; see also Ignatius, *Ep. ad Trall.* cap. v., *ad Polyc.* cap. iii.; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 6; Trench, *Synonyms of the N. T.* sec. 1). It was only when the total separation between the Jewish synagogue and the Christian church was accomplished that the former retained the appellation συναγωγή, whilst the latter assumed the distinguishing name ἐκκλησία. More definite than the Greek term synagogue is the ancient Hebrew name

Beth Tephila (בֵּית תְּפִלָּה, τόπος προσευχῆς, or simply προσευχῆς) = House of Prayer (1 Maccab. iii. 46; 3 Maccab. vii. 20; Acts xvi. 13, for which the Syriac rightly has בֵּית צְלוּתָה; Josephus, *Vita*, liv.), which is now obsolete, or Beth Ha-Keneseth (בֵּית הַכְּנִסֶּת) = House of Assembly, which has superseded it. This definite local signification of the term synagogue among the Jews has necessitated the use of another expression for the members constituting the assembly, which is כְּנִישְׁתָּא, צְבוּר, to express our secondary sense of the word ἐκκλησία.

2. *Site, structure, internal arrangement, use, and sanctity of the Synagogue.*—Taking the temple as the prototype, and following the traditional explanation of the passages in Prov. i. 21 and Ezra ix. 9, which are taken to mean that the voice of prayer is to be raised on heights (בְּרֹאשׁ תְּקִרָה), and that the sanctuary was therefore erected on a summit (לְרֹמֶם אֶת בֵּית אֱלֹהֵינוּ), the Jewish canons decreed that synagogues are to be built upon the most elevated ground in the neighbourhood, and that no house is to be allowed to overtop them (*Tosiphtha Megilla*, iii.; Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chezaka Hilchoth Tephila*, xi. 2). So essential was this law deemed, and so strictly was it observed in Persia, even after the destruction of the temple, that Rab (A.D. 165-247 [RAB]) prophesied a speedy ruin of those cities in which houses were permitted to tower above the synagogue, whilst R. Ashi declared that the protection of Sora was owing to the elevated site of its synagogues (*Sabbath*, 11 a). The river-side outside the city was also deemed a suitable spot for building the synagogue, because, being removed from the noise of the city, the people could worship God without distraction, and at the same time have the use of pure water for immersions and other religious exercises (Acts xvi. 13; Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 23; Juvenal, *Sat.* iii. 12, etc.; see also the Chaldee versions on Gen. xxiv. 62).

The building itself was generally in the form of a theatre; the door was always on the west, so that on entering the worshippers might at once face the front, which was turned towards Jerusalem, since the law is, that 'all the worshippers in Israel are to have their faces turned to that part of the world where Jerusalem, the Temple, and the Holy or Holies are' (*Berachoth*, 30 a). This law, which is deduced from 1 Kings viii. 29, Dan. vi. 10, and the allegorical interpretation of Song of Songs



iv. 4, also obtained among the early Christians (Origen, *Hom. v. in Num.* Opp. ii. 284) and the Mohammedans (*Koran*, *Sora* ii.) Hence all the windows were generally in the eastern wall, so that the worshippers might look towards the Holy City, in accordance with Dan. vi. 10. Like the temple, the synagogue was frequently without a roof, as may be seen from the following remark of Epiphanius: 'There were anciently places of prayer without the city, both among the Jews and the Samaritans . . . there was a place of prayer at Sichem, now called Neapolis, without the city in the fields, in the form of a theatre, open to the air, and without covering, built by the Samaritans, who in all things imitated the Jews' (*Contr. Hæres.* lib. iii. *hæres.* 80). It was this, coupled with the

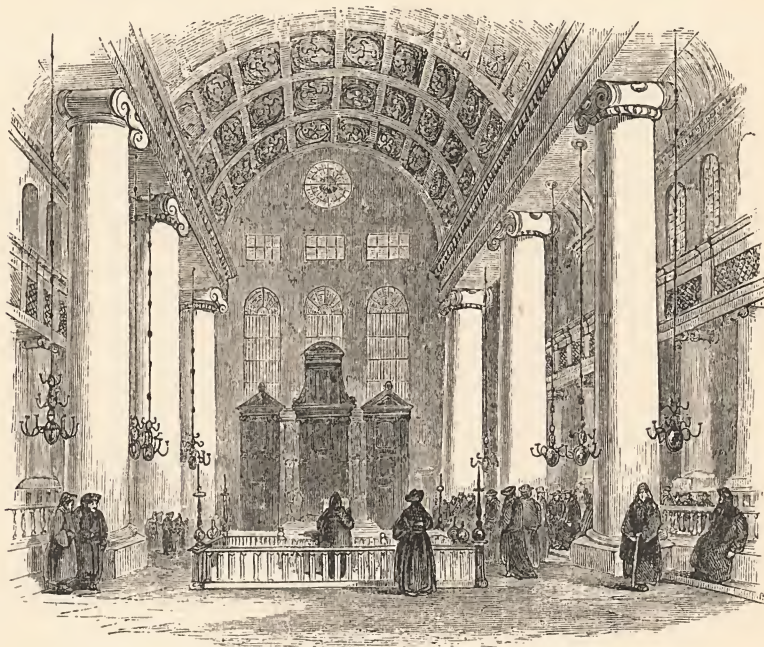
fact that the Jews had no images, which gave rise to the satirical remark of Juvenal—

'Nil præter nubes, et coeli numen adorant.'

*Sat.* xiv. 98.

In some places there were temporary *summer* and *winter* synagogues; they were pulled down and re-erected at the beginning of each season, so that the style of building might be according to the period of the year (*Baba Bathra*, 3 b).

At the wall opposite the entrance, or at the Jerusalem end, stood the *wooden chest* or *ark* (תיבה) containing the scrolls of the law. It stood on a raised base with several steps (ספסל = *sub-stellium*, דרנא *Jerusalem Megilla*, iii. 1), which the priests mounted when they pronounced the bene-



494. Jewish Synagogue in Amsterdam.

diction (Num. vi. 24-26) upon the congregation.

Hence the phrase עלה לדרון, which was retained after the destruction of the temple to describe the act of giving the benediction to the people by the priests (*Rosh Ha-Shana*, 31 b; *Sabbath*, 118 b). It is necessary to bear in mind that the ancient name for this ark is תיבה (comp. *Mishna Berachoth*, v. 3. 4; *Taanith*, ii. 1. 2; *Megilla*, iv. 4, *al.*), the name afterwards given to it (ארון) being reserved for the ark of the covenant tables which was wanting in the second temple. There was a

canopy (בילת) spread over the ark, under which were kept the vestments used during the service (*Jerusalem Megilla*, iii.) In some places the ark or chest had two compartments, the upper one containing the scrolls of the law, and the lower the synagogical garments of the officers of the community. The ark was not fastened to the wall but was free, so that it might easily be taken out-

side the door of the synagogue in case a death occurred in the place of worship, in order that the priests should be able to attend the service, or be removed into the streets when fasts and days of humiliation were kept (*Mishna Taanith*, ii. 1 [FASTS]). In later times, however, a recess was made in the wall, and the ark was kept there.

This recess was called the *Sanctuary* (קדש, היכל). On certain occasions the ark was removed from the recess and placed on the rostrum (בימה = βήμα) in the middle of the synagogue (*Tosiphta Megilla*, iii.; Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chesaka Hilchoth Lulab*, vii. 23. [TABERNACLES, FEAST OF.]

In the front of the ark was the desk of the leader of the divine worship; and as the place of the ark was amphitheatral, the desk was sometimes lower and sometimes higher than the level of the room. Hence the interchangeable phrases 'he who descends before the ark' (היורד לפני התיבה), and 'he



who ascends before the ark' (העובר לפני התיבה), used to designate the leader of divine worship in the synagogue (*Mishna Taanith*, ii. 2; *Berachoth*, v. 4; *Rosh Ha-Shana*, iv. 7; *Megilla*, iv. 3, 5, 7, *al.*)

The next important piece of furniture was the rostrum or platform (במה, מוגדל עץ) = βῆμα, (כורסיא), capable of containing several persons (*Neh.* viii. 4; ix. 4; *Joseph. Antig.* iv. 8. 12). On this platform the lessons from the law and the prophets were read, discourses delivered, etc. (*Mishna Sota*, viii. 8; *Babylon Succa*, 51 b; *Megilla*, 26 b [HAPHTARA]). There were no arrangements made at first for laying down the law whilst reading, and the one upon whom it devolved to read a portion of the pericope had to hold the roll in his hand till the second one came up to read, and relieved him of it. Afterwards, however, there was a reading-desk (אנלין) = ἀναλογεῖον on this platform, and the roll of the law was laid down during pauses, or when the *Methurgeman* (מתורגמן) = *Interpreter*, was reciting in the vernacular of the country the portion read (*Sota*, 68 b; *Megilla*, 26 b; *Jerusalem Megilla*, iii.). The reading-desk was covered with a cloth (פריסה), which varied in costliness according to the circumstances of the congregation (*Megilla*, 26 b). When the edifice was large this platform was generally in the centre, as was the case in the synagogue at Alexandria (*Succa*, 51 b).

There were also arm-chairs (קתדראות, מתדרין) = καθέδραι, קלטון (κλῆτρης), or seats of honour (πρωτοκαθεδρία), for the elders of the synagogue, the doctors of the law, etc. (*Matt.* xxiii. 2, 6; *Mark* xii. 39; *Luke* xi. 43; *Succa*, 51 b; *Maimonides*, *Hilchoth Tephila*, x. 4). They were placed in the front of the ark containing the law, or at the Jerusalem end, in the uppermost part of the synagogue, and these distinguished persons sat with their faces to the people, whilst the congregation stood facing both these honourable ones and the ark (*Tosiphta Megilla*, iii.). In the synagogue at Alexandria there were seventy-one golden chairs, according to the number of the members of the Great Sanhedrim (*Succa*, 51 b [SANHEDRIM]). In the synagogue of Bagdad 'the ascent to the holy ark was composed of ten marble steps, on the uppermost of which were the stalls set apart for the Prince of the Captivity and the other princes of the house of David' (Benjamin of Tudela, *The Itinerary*, vol. i. p. 105, ed. Ascher, London 1840).

There was, moreover, a perpetual light (נר תמיד), which was evidently in imitation of the temple light (*Exod.* xxvii. 20). This sacred light was religiously fed by the people, and in case of any special mercy vouchsafed to an individual, or of threatening danger, a certain quantity of oil was vowed for the perpetual lamp. This light was the symbol of the human soul (*Prov.* xx. 27), of the divine law (*Ibid.* vi. 23), and of the manifestation of God (*Ezek.* xliii. 2). It must, however, be remarked, that though the perpetual lamp forms an essential part of the synagogical furniture to the present day, and has obtained among the Indians, Greeks, Romans, and other nations of antiquity (Rosenmüller, *Morgenland*, ii. 156), yet there is no mention made of it in the Talmud.

Besides meetings for worship, the synagogues, or more properly the rooms connected with them, were also used as courts of justice for the local Sanhedrim (*Targum Jonathan* on *Amos* v. 12, 15;

*Jerusalem Sanhedrin*, i. 1; *Jerusalem Baba Mezia*, ii. 8; *Babylon Kethuboth*, 5 a; *Sabbath*, 150 a), and in it the beadle of the synagogue administered the forty stripes save one to those who were sentenced to be beaten (*Mishna Maccoth*, iii. 12, with *Matt.* x. 17; xxiii. 34). Travellers, too, found an asylum in the synagogue, meals were eaten in it (*Pesachim*, 101; *Bereshith Rabba*, cap. xlv.), and children were instructed therein (*Kiddushin*, 30 a; *Baba Bathra*, 21 a; *Taanith*, 24 b; *Berachoth*, 17 a; *Jebamoth*, 65 b). This, however, did not detract from its sanctity; for the synagogue once used for the divine worship was only allowed to be sold on certain conditions (*Mishna Megilla*, iii. i. 2).

3. *The officers and government of the Synagogue.*—The synagogues of the respective towns were governed by the elders (זקנים, πρεσβύτεροι, *Luke* vii. 3), who constituted the local Sanhedrim, consisting either of the twenty-three senators or the three senators assisted by four principal members of the congregation (*Megilla*, 27; *Joseph. Antig.* iv. 8, 14; *de Bell. Jud.* ii. 20. 5, with *Acts* vii. 5; xxi. 8), as this depended upon the size and population of the place [SANHEDRIM]. Hence these authorised administrators of the law were alternately denominated *shepherds* (פרנסים) = ποιμένες, *Jerusalem Psa.* viii. *Babylon Chagiga*, 60; *Sabbath*, 17 a; *Acts* xx. 28; *Eph.* iv. 11); the rulers of the synagogue, and the chiefs (ראשי הכנסת) = ἀρχισυνάγωγοι, ἀρχες, *Matt.* ix. 18, 23; *Mark* v. 22; *Luke* viii. 41; *Acts* xiii. 15), and *overseers* (ממונים) = προεστῶτες, *Mishna Taamid*, v. 1).

The president of the Sanhedrim was *ex officio* the head or chief of the synagogue, and was therefore ראשׁ הקהילה, the ruler of the synagogue (ראשׁ הכנסת) = ἀρχισυνάγωγος, *Mishna Sota*, vii. 1; *Sota*, vii. 7), whilst the other members of this body, according to their various gifts, discharged the different functions in the synagogue (1 *Tim.* v. 17), as will be seen from the following classification.

i. *The Ruler of the Synagogue* (ראשׁ הכנסת) = ἀρχισυνάγωγος, and his two Associates.—Though the supreme official, like the other two members of the local court, had to be duly examined by delegates from the Great Sanhedrim, who certified that he possessed all the necessary qualifications for his office (Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chesaka*, *Hilchoth Sanhedrin*, ii. 8; [SANHEDRIM]), yet his election entirely depended upon the suffrages of the members of the synagogue. The Talmud distinctly declares that 'no ruler (פרנס) = ποιμήν is appointed over a congregation unless the congregation is consulted'

אין מעמידין פרנס על הצבור אלא אם כן נמלכים) בצבור, *Berachoth*, 55 a). But once elected the ruler was the third in order of precedence in the temple synagogue—i.e. first came the high-priest, then the chief of the priests (סגן), and then the ruler of the synagogue (*Mishna Sota*, vii. 1; *Sota*, vii. 7), whilst in the provincial synagogues the respective rulers were supreme, and had the principal voice in the decision and distribution of the other offices. His two judicial colleagues aided him in the administration of the law.

ii. *The three Almoners* (נבאי צדקה) = διακόντοι; *Phil.* i. 1; 1 *Tim.* iii. 8, 12; iv. 6).—The office of almoner was both very responsible and difficult, as the poor-taxes were of a double nature, and in periodically collecting and distributing the alms, the almoner had to exercise great discretion from whom to demand them and to whom to give them.



There were, first, *the alms of the dish* (תמחוי), consisting of articles of food which had to be collected by the officials daily, and distributed every evening, and to which every one had to contribute who resided thirty days in one place; and there were, secondly, *the alms of the box* (קופה), consisting of money which was collected every Friday, was distributed weekly, and to which every one had to contribute who resided ninety days in one place. Two authorised persons had to collect the former, and three the latter. They were obliged to keep together, and were not allowed to put into their pockets any money thus received, but were to throw it into the poor-box. The almoners had the power of exempting from these poor-rates such people as they believed to be unable to pay, and to enforce the tax on such as pretended not to be in a position to contribute. They had also the power to refuse alms to any whom they deemed unworthy of them. All the three almoners had to be present at the distribution of the alms. The greatest care was taken by the rulers of the synagogue and the congregation, that those elected to this office should be 'men of honesty, wisdom, justice, and have the confidence of the people' (*Baba Bathra*, 8; *Aboda Sara*, 18; *Taanith*, 24; Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chezaka Hilchoth Mathenath Anjim*, ix.). Brothers were ineligible to this office; the almoners (פרנסין) were not allowed to be near relations, and had to be elected by the unanimous voice of the people (*Jerusalem Pea*, viii.).

iii. *The Legate of the congregation, or the Leader*

of divine worship (שליח צבור) = ἄγγελος ἐκκλησίας, ἀπόστολος).—To give unity and harmony to the worship, as well as to enable the congregation to take part in the responses, it was absolutely necessary to have one who should lead the worship. Hence, as soon as the legal number required for public worship had assembled (מניין), the ruler of the synagogue (פרנס = ποιμήν), or, in his absence, the elders (זקנים = πρεσβύτεροι), delegated one of the congregation to go up before the ark to conduct divine service. The function of the apostle

of the ecclesia (שליח צבור) was not permanently vested in any single individual ordained for this purpose, but was alternately conferred upon any lay member who was supposed to possess the qualifications necessary for offering up prayer in the name of the congregation. This is evident from the reiterated declarations both in the Mishna and the Talmud. Thus we are told that any one who is not under thirteen years of age, and whose garments are not in rags, may officiate before the ark (*Mishna Megilla*, iv. 6), that 'if one is before the ark [= ministers for the congregation], and makes a mistake [in the prayer], another one is to minister in his stead, and he is not to decline it on such an occasion' (*Mishna Berachoth*, v. 3). 'The sages have transmitted that he who is asked to conduct public worship is to delay a little at first, saying that he is unworthy of it, and if he does not delay he is like unto a dish wherein is no salt, and if he delays more than is necessary he is like unto a dish which the salt has spoiled. How is he to do it? The first time he is asked, he is to decline; the second time, he is to stir; and the third time, he is to move his legs and ascend before the ark' (*Berachoth*, 34 b). Even on the most solemn occasions, when the whole congregation fasted and assembled with the president and vice-president of

the Sanhedrim for national humiliation and prayer, no stated minister is spoken of; but it is said that one of the aged men present is to deliver a penitential address, and another is to offer up the solemn prayers (*Mishna Taanith*, ii. 1-4 [FASTS]). On ordinary occasions, however, the rabbins, who were the rulers of the synagogue, asked their disciples to act as officiating ministers before the ark (*Berachoth*, 34 a). But since the sages declared

that 'if the legate of the congregation (שליח צבור) ἄγγελος ἐκκλησίας, ἀπόστολος) commits a mistake whilst officiating, it is a bad omen for the congregation who delegated him, because a man's deputy is like the man himself' (*Mishna Berachoth*, v. 5); and moreover, since it was felt that he who conducts public worship should both be able to sympathise with the wants of the people and possess all the moral qualifications befitting so holy a mission, it was afterwards ordained that 'even if an elder (זקן = πρεσβύτερος) or sage is present in the congregation, he is not to be asked to officiate before the ark, but that man is to be delegated who is apt to officiate, who has children, whose family are free from vice, who has a proper beard, whose garments are decent, who is acceptable to the people, who has a good and amiable voice, who understands how to read the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa, who is versed in the homiletic, legal and traditional exegesis, and who knows all the benedictions of the service' (*Mishna Taanith*, ii. 2; *Gemara*, *ibid.* 16 a, b; Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chezaka Hilchoth Tephila*, viii. 11, 12, with *i* Tim. iii. 1-7; Tit. i. 1-9). As the legate of the people, the most sacred portions of the liturgy (א. קריש, קדושה, ברכת כהנים, עננו), which could only be offered up in the presence of the legal number, were assigned to him (*Berachoth*, 21 b, and Rashi, *in loco*), and he was not only the mouthpiece of those who were present in the congregation on the most solemn feasts, as on the Great Day of Atonement and New Year, but he was the surrogate of those who, by illness or otherwise, were prevented from attending the place of worship (*Rosh Ha-Shana*, 35; Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chezaka Hilchoth Tephila*, viii. 10).

iv. *The Interpreter or Methurgeman* (תורגמן, מתורגמן).—After the Babylonish captivity, when the Hebrew language was rapidly disappearing from among the common people, it became the custom to have an interpreter at the reading desk (בימה) by the side of those who were alternately called up to read the several sections of the lessons from the Law and the Prophets [HAPHTARA]. This *Methurgeman* had to interpret into Chaldee or into any other vernacular of the country a verse at a time when the lesson from the law was read, as the reader was obliged to pause as soon as he finished the reading of a verse in Hebrew, and was not allowed to begin the next verse till the *Methurgeman* had translated it; whilst in the lesson from the prophets three verses were read and interpreted at a time (*Mishna Megilla*, iv. 4). The reader and the interpreter had to read in the same tone of voice, and the one was not allowed to be louder than the other (*Berachoth*, 45 a). The interpreter was not allowed to look at the law whilst interpreting, lest it should be thought that the paraphrase was written down. Like that of conducting public worship, the office of interpreter was not permanently vested in any single indi-



dual. Any one of the congregation who was capable to interpret was asked to do so. Even a minor—i. e. one under thirteen years of age—or one whose garments were in such a ragged condition that he was disqualified for reading the lesson from the law, or a blind man, could be asked to go up to the reading-desk and explain the lesson (*Mishna Megilla*, iv. 5; Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chezaka Hilchoth Tephila*, xii. 10-14).

v. *The Chazan, or attendant on the Synagogue* (חזן הכנסת = ὑπηρετής) was the lowest servant, and was more like the sexton or the beadle in our churches. He had the care of the furniture, to open the doors, to clean the synagogue, to light the lamps, to get the building ready for service, to summon the people to worship, to call out (עומר) the names of such persons as were selected by the ruler of the synagogue to come up to the platform to read a section from the law and the prophets [HAPHTARA], to hand the law to ordinary readers, or to the ruler of the synagogue, when it had to be given to the high-priest, in which case the ἀρχιερεύς took the law from the *Chazan*, gave it to the chief priest, who handed it to the high-priest (*Mishna Joma*, viii. 1; *Sota*, vii. 7); he had to take it back after reading (Luke iv. 17-20), etc. Nothing, therefore, can be more clear than the position which this menial servant occupied in the synagogue in the time of Christ and a few centuries after. The Talmud distinctly declares that the *Chazan* is the beadle or the sexton of the congregation, and not the legate or the angel of the church (חזן הוא שמש של הקהל ואינו שליח צבור); comp. *Tosiphta Joma*, 68 b; and *Mishna Berachoth*, vii. 1, for the meaning of שמש. The notion that his office resembled that 'of the Christian deacon,' as well as the assertion that, 'like the *legatus* and the *elders*, he was appointed by the imposition of hands' (Plumptre, in *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*, s.v. 'Synagogue'), have evidently arisen from a confusion of the *Chazan* in the days of Christ with the *Chazan* five centuries after Christ. Besides, not only was this menial servant not appointed by the imposition of hands, but the *legatus* himself, as we have seen, had no laying on of hands. It was about A.D. 520, when the knowledge of the Hebrew language disappeared from among the people at large, that alterations had to be introduced into the synagogical service, which involved a change in the office of the *Chazan*. As the ancient practice of asking any member to step before the ark and conduct the divine service could not be continued, it was determined that the *Chazan*, who was generally also the schoolmaster of the infant school, should be the regular reader of the liturgy, which he had to recite with intonation (*Masecheth Sopherim*, x. 7; xi. 4; xiv. 9, 14; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, v. 26).

vi. *The ten Batlanim or Men of Leisure* (בטלנים).—No place was denominated a town, and hence no synagogue could legally be built in it which had not ten independent men who could be permanently in the synagogue to constitute the legal congregation whenever required (*Mishna Megilla*, i. 3; Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chezaka Hilchoth Tephila*, xi. 1). These men of leisure were either independent of business because they had private means, or were stipendiaries of the congregation, if the place had not ten men who could entirely devote themselves to this purpose (Rashi on *Megilla*,

5 a). They had to be men of piety and integrity (*Baba Bathra*, 28 a; *Jerusalem Megilla*, i. 4). In the middle ages these ten *Batlanim* consisted of those who discharged the public duties of the synagogue, and were identical with the rulers of the synagogue described above. Thus Benjamin of Tudela tells us that the ten presidents of the ten colleges at Bagdad were 'called the *Batlanim*, the *leisure men*, because their occupation consisted in the discharge of public business. During every day of the week they dispensed justice to all the Jewish inhabitants of the country, except on Monday, which was set aside for assemblies under the presidency of R. Samuel, master of the college denominated '*Geon Jacob*,' who on that day dispensed justice to every applicant, and who was assisted therein by the said ten *Batlanim*, presidents of the colleges' (*The Itinerary*, vol. i. p. 101, ed. Ascher, London 1840). This seems to favour the opinion of Herzfeld that the ten *Batlanim* are the same as the ten judges or rulers of the synagogue mentioned in *Aboth*. iii. 10, according to the reading of Bartenora; *Horajoth*, 3 b, etc. (comp. *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, i. 392).

4. *Time of Worship*.—As the Bible prescribes no special time for worship, but simply records that the Psalmist prayed three times a-day (Ps. lv. 18), and that Daniel followed the same example (Dan. vii. 11), the men of the Great Synagogue decreed that the worship of the synagogue should correspond to that of the temple. To this end they ordained that every Israelite is to offer either public or private worship to his Creator at stated hours three times a-day—i. In the morning (שחרית) at the third hour=9 A.M., being the time when the daily morning sacrifice was offered; ii. In the afternoon or evening (מנחה) at the ninth hour and a half=3.30 P.M., when the daily evening sacrifice was offered; and iii. In the evening (מעריב), or from the time that the pieces and the fat of the sacrifices, whose blood was sprinkled before sunset, began to be burned, till this process of burning was finished. As this process of burning, however, sometimes lasted nearly all night, the third prayer could be offered at any time between dark and dawn (*Mishna Berachoth*, iv. 1; *Gemara* *ibid.* 26 b; *Pesachim*, 58 a; *Jerusalem Berachoth*, iv. 1; *Joseph. Antig.* xiv. 4. 3). It is this fixed time of worship which accounts for the disciples assembling together at the third hour of the day (i. e. 9 A.M.) for morning prayer (שחרית) on the day of Pentecost (Acts ii. 1-15), and for Peter and John's going up to the temple at the ninth hour (i. e. 3 P.M.) for evening prayer (מעריב) (Acts iii. 1), as well as for Cornelius' prayer at the same hour (Acts x. 30). The statement in Acts x. 9, that Peter went up upon the house-top to pray about the sixth hour (=12.30 P.M.), has led some of our best expositors to believe that the hour mentioned in Acts iii. 11 and x. 30 is the time when the third prayer was offered. The two passages, however, and the two different hours refer to one and the same prayer, as may be seen from the following canon: 'We have already stated that the time for the evening prayer (מנחה) was fixed according to that of the daily evening sacrifice, and since this daily evening sacrifice was offered at the ninth hour and a half [=3.30 P.M.], the time of prayer was also fixed for the ninth hour and a half (=3.30 P.M.), and this was called the *Lesser Mincha* (מנחה קטנה). But as the daily evening sacrifice was



offered on the fourteenth of Nisan (ערב פסח) at the sixth hour and a half [= 12.30 P.M.], when this day happened to be on a Friday (ערב שבת) [PASS-OVER], it was enacted that he who offers his evening prayer after the sixth hour and a half [= 12.30 P.M.] discharges his duty properly. Hence, as soon as this hour comes, the time of obligation has come, and it is called the *Great Mincha* (מנחה גדולה); Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chezaka Hilchoth Tephila*, iii. 2; *Berachoth*, 26 b). This mistake is all the more to be regretted, since the accuracy in such minute matters on the part of the sacred writers shows how great is the trustworthiness of their records, and how closely and strictly the apostles conformed to the Jewish practices. The prayers three times a-day were not absolutely required to be offered in public worship in the synagogue every day. The times of public worship were —i. Monday and Thursday, which were the two market days in the week when the villagers brought their produce into the neighbouring town, and their matters of dispute before the local Sanhedrim, which held their courts in the synagogue (*Jerusalem Megilla*, v. 1; *Baba Kama*, 32 a [SANHEDRIM]), and on which the pious Jews fasted (Mark ii. 18; Luke v. 33; xviii. 12; Acts x. 30 [FASTS]); ii. The weekly Sabbath; and iii. Feast and Fasts. But though not obligatory, yet it was deemed specially acceptable if the prayers were offered even privately in the synagogue, since it was inferred from Mal. iii. 16 that the Shechinah is present where two or three are gathered together.

5. *The Legal Congregation and the Synagogical Worship*.—Though it was the duty of every Israelite to pray privately three times a-day, yet, as we have already seen, it was only on stated occasions that the people assembled for public worship in the legally-constituted congregation, and recited those portions of the liturgy which could not be uttered in private devotion. *Ten* men at least who had passed the thirteenth year of their age (בר מצוה) were required to constitute a legitimate congregation (כנין) for the performance of public worship. This number, which evidently owes its origin to the completeness of the ten digits, is deduced from the expression עשרה in Num. xiv. 27, where it is said 'how long shall I bear with this (עדה) congregation?' referring to the spies. As Joshua and Caleb are to be deducted from the twelve, hence the appellation congregation remains for the ten, and this number is therefore regarded as forming the legal quorum (*Mishna Sanhedrim*, i. 6; Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chezaka Hilchoth Tephila*, xi. 1). 'The *Shema* (שמע) must not be solemnly recited, nor must one go before the ark to conduct public worship, nor must the priests raise their hands to pronounce the benediction, nor must the lessons from the law or the prophets be read . . . . . unless there are ten persons present' (*Mishna Megilla*, iv. 3).

The most important features in the institutions of the synagogue are the *liturgy*, the reading of the law and the prophets, and the homilies. To know the exact words of the prayers which our Saviour and his apostles recited when they frequented the synagogue is to us of the utmost interest. That the Jews in the time of Christ had a liturgical service is certain; but it is equally certain that the present liturgy of the synagogue embodies a large admixture of prayers which were

compiled after the destruction of the second temple. Though the poetic genius of the Psalmists had vanished, and the temple music was hushed, yet numerous fervent and devout spirits were still unquenched in Israel. These earnest spirits made themselves audible in the synagogue in most devout and touching prayers, embodying the new anxieties, the novel modes of persecution and oppression which the Jews had to endure from the children of Christianity, the religion newly born and brought up in the lap of Judaism, who deemed it their sacred duty to heap unparalleled sufferings upon their elder brothers. These prayers, formed after the model of the Psalms, not only ask the God of Israel to pity the sufferers, to give them patience to endure, and in his own time to confound their enemies, and free them from all their troubles, but embody the teachings of the sages and the sentiments propounded by the *Hagadists* in the Sabbatic homilies. Hence, in describing the ritual of the synagogue it is most essential to separate the later element from the earlier portions. As it is beyond the limits of this article to trace the rise, progress, and development of all the component parts of the liturgy in its present order, we shall simply detail those portions which are undoubtedly the ancient nucleus, which beyond a question were used by our Saviour and his disciples, and around which the new pieces were grouped in the course of time.

i. *The Hymnal Group* (פסוקי זמירות).—Just as the temple building was the prototype for the synagogue edifice, so the temple service was the model for the ritual of the synagogue. Hence just as the temple service consisted of the priests reciting the Ten Commandments, pronouncing the benediction upon the people (Num. vi. 24-27), the offering of the daily morning and evening sacrifice, the Levites chanting Ps. cxv. 1-16; 1 Chron. xvi. 8-22 (הורו), during the morning sacrifice; and Ps. cxvi., 1 Chron. xvi. 23-36 (שירו) during the evening sacrifice, so the ritual of the synagogue consisted of the same benediction, the chanting of the sacrificial Psalms, as the sacrifices themselves could not be offered except in the temple, and sundry additions made by Ezra and the men of the Great Synagogue. It is for this reason that the ritual began with the temple Psalms. These were followed by the group consisting of Ps. c. [xix., xxxiv., xci., cxxxv., cxxxvi., xxxiii., xcii., xciii., cxlv.-cl.—those enclosed in brackets being omitted on the Sabbath—1 Chron. xxix. 10-13; Neh. ix. 6-12; Exod. xiv. 30-xv. 18, and sundry sentences not found in the Bible, denominated the order of the *Hymnal Sentences* (פסוקי זמירות). The use of this hymnal group as part of both the temple and the synagogue service is of great antiquity, as is attested by the *Sedar Olam*, xiv., and *Masceheth Sopherim*; see also *Sabbath*, 118 b, where we are told that הורו was ordained by David, and שירו by the *Sopherim* or scribes.

ii. *The Shema or Keriath Shema* (קריאת שמע) (שמע).—This celebrated part of the service was preceded by two benedictions, respectively denominated 'the Creator of Light' (יוצר אור) and 'Great Love' (אהבה רבה), and followed by one called 'Truth' (אמת), now expanded into אמת ויציב. The two introductory benedictions were as follows —a. 'Blessed are thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who createst light and foremost darkness, who makest peace and createst all things!



He in mercy causes the light to shine upon the earth and the inhabitants thereof, and in goodness renews every day the work of creation. Blessed art thou, the Creator of light! <sup>7</sup> *b*. 'With great love hast thou loved us, O Lord our God; thou hast shown us great and abundant mercy, O our Father and King, for the sake of our forefathers who trusted in thee! Thou who didst teach them the love of life, have mercy upon us, and teach us also . . . to praise and to acknowledge thy unity in love. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who in love hast chosen thy people!' (*Mishna Tuamid*, v. 1; *Berachoth*, 11 b). Hereupon the Ten Commandments were recited, which however ceased at a very early period, because the Sadducees declared that this was done to show that this was the most essential portion of the revealed law (*Mishna Tuamid*, v. 1, with *Berachoth*, 14 b). Then came the *Shema* proper, consisting of Deut. vi. 4-9; xi. 13-21; Num. xv. 37-41; and which was concluded with benediction *c*. entitled 'True and Established' (*אמת ויציב*) as follows:—'It is true and firmly established that thou art the Lord our God and the God of our forefathers; there is no God besides thee. Blessed art thou, O Lord, the redeemer of Israel!' (*Mishna Berachoth*, i. 4; *Gemara* *ibid.* 13 a; *Mishna Tuamid*, v. 1; *Gemara* *ibid.* 32 b). There is evidently an allusion to the reading of the *Shema* in the reply which our Saviour gave to the lawyer who asked him, 'Master, what must I do to inherit eternal life?' when the lawyer forthwith recited the first sentence of the *Shema* (Luke x. 26).

iii. The third portion which constituted the ancient liturgy embraces the *Eighteen Benedictions* (*שמונה עשרה*), called *kar' ἑξοχῆ*, the *Prayer* (*תפלה*). They are as follows:—1. (*ברוך*) Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, the God of our fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, great, omnipotent, fearful, and most high God, who bountifully shewest mercy, who art the possessor of all things, who rememberest the pious deeds of our fathers, and sendest the Redeemer to their children's children, for his mercy's sake is love, O our King, Defender, Saviour, and Shield! Blessed art thou, O Lord, the shield of Abraham! 2. (*אחיה נבור*) Thou art powerful, O Lord, world without end; thou bringest the dead to life in great compassion, thou holdest up the falling, healest the sick, loosest the chained, and shonest thy faithfulness to those that sleep in the dust. Who is like unto thee, Lord of might, and who resembles thee?—a Sovereign killing and bringing to life again, and causing salvation to flourish—and thou art sure to raise the dead. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who raisest the dead! 3. (*אחיה קדוש*) Thou art holy, and thy name is holy, and the holy ones praise thee every day continually. Blessed art thou, O Lord, the Holy God! 4. (*אחיה חונן*) Thou mercifully bestowest knowledge upon men and teachest the mortal prudence. Mercifully bestow upon us, from thyself, knowledge, wisdom, and understanding. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who mercifully bestowest knowledge! 5. (*השיבנו*) Our Father, lead us back to thy law; bring us very near, O our King, to thy service, and cause us to return in sincere penitence into thy presence! Blessed art thou, O Lord, who delightest in re-

pentance! 6. (*סלח*) Our Father forgive us, for we have sinned, our King pardon us, for we have transgressed, for thou art forgiving and pardoning.

Blessed art thou, O Lord, merciful and plenteous in forgiveness! 7. (*ראה*) Look at our misery, contend our cause, and deliver us speedily, for thy name's sake, for thou art a mighty deliverer. Blessed art thou, O Lord, the deliverer of Israel! 8. (*רפאנו*) Heal us, O Lord, and we shall be healed, save us and we shall be saved, for thou art our boast; grant us a perfect cure for all our wounds, for thou, O Lord our King, art a faithful and merciful physician. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who healest the sick of thy people Israel! 9.

(*ברוך עלינו*) Bless to us, O Lord our God, for good this year, and all its kinds of produce; send thy blessing upon the face of the earth, satisfy us with thy goodness, and bless this year as the years bygone. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who blesest the seasons! 10. (*תקע*) Cause the great trumpet to proclaim our liberty, raise the standard for the gathering of our captives, and bring us together from the four corners of the earth. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who gatherest together the dispersed of Israel! 11. (*השיבה*) Reinstall our judges as of old, and our councillors as of yore, remove from us sorrow and sighing, and do thou alone, O Lord, reign over us in mercy and love, and judge us in righteousness and justice. Blessed art thou, O Lord the King, who lovest righteousness and justice! 12. (*ולמשינים*) \* Let the apostates have

\* The story of this much misunderstood prayer, which has been used as a watchword by Christians in their persecutions and massacres of the Jews, and the reason why there are now *nineteen* benedictions in what is called 'the Eighteen Benedictions,' are as follows:—After the Babylonish captivity, when the revival of religious life in the synagogue, like the periodical revivals of religion in the Church, brought in its train a number of heretical sects—*ex. gr.* the Samaritans, the Hellenists, the Sadducees, the Romanisers, etc.—who alternately disturbed both the political and religious peace of the commonwealth, the orthodox community, who had suffered so much in the defence of their ancestral faith, demanded a public reprobation of those heresies. To comply with this pious wish, the spiritual heads of the people compiled this prayer, which is no more than what St. Paul did when he declared those accursed who promulgated heresies (1 Cor. xvi. 22; Gal. i. 8, 9), and what we do to the present day when, in the Athanasian Creed, we exclude from salvation all who reject the doctrines therein enunciated. As it was more especially directed against the Sadducees, who were rampant during the period of the second temple, this prayer is called the *Sadducees' Benediction*, or the *Invocation against the Sadducees* (*ברכת צדוקים*; *Berachoth*, 28 b, 29 a). After the destruction of the temple, the want of another prayer was felt to entreat God speedily to rebuild Jerusalem. To this effect

benediction 14 a (*לירושלים*) was compiled. This, however, occasioned a difficulty, since it was questioned whether it was right to add to the ancient stereotyped number of benedictions in the litany. R. Simon Hapetuli, who introduced the present order (*הסדרה*) of the benedictions, was for omitting the prayer against the heretics altogether, maintaining that it was no longer applicable, since the heretics, with the destruction of the temple, had



no hope, and let those who perpetrate wickedness speedily perish; let them all be suddenly cut off, let the proud speedily be uprooted, broken, crushed, and humbled speedily in our days. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who breakest down the enemy and humblest the proud! 13. (על הנדריקים) On the righteous, on the pious, on the elders of thy people, the house of Israel, on the remnant of the Scribes, on the pious proselytes, and on us, bestow, O Lord our God, thy mercy; give ample reward to all who trust in thy name in sincerity, make our portion with them for ever, and let us not be ashamed, for we trust in thee! Blessed art thou, O Lord, the support and refuge of the righteous!

14 a. (ולירושלים) To Jerusalem thy city in mercy return, and dwell in it according to thy promise; make it speedily in our day an everlasting building, and soon establish therein the throne of David. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who buiddest Jerusalem! 14 b. (את צמח) The branch of David, thy servant, speedily cause to flourish, and exalt his horn with thy help, for we look to thy help all day. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who causest to flourish the horn of David! 15. (שמע קולנו) Hear our

lost their political power, whilst R. Gamaliel II. of Jabne (A.D. 50-116 [GAMALIEL II.]), who was patriarch at that time, was for retaining it with some slight alterations, so as to adapt it to the altered circumstances and to the new heretics. Having carried his point, Gamaliel asked R. Samuel the younger, who supported him in his opinion on this question, to make the necessary alterations. The difficulty of increasing the ancient number of benedictions was obviated by combining the newly-compiled prayer for the speedy rebuilding of Jerusalem, or benediction 14 a (ולירושלים) with benediction 14 b (את צמח) *Jerusalem Berachoth*, iv. 2). Afterwards, however, when the people and R. Samuel himself began to doubt whether they had done right in merging the two benedictions into one, the prayer for Jerusalem, or benediction 14 a, and the prayer for the kingdom of David, or benediction 14 b, were separated. But as the prayer against the heretics was not cancelled, hence obtained the present nineteen instead of the original eighteen benedictions. To satisfy their scruples about this increased number, the Talmudists appeal to Ps. xxix., where the name of God occurs nineteen times, including אל (*Berachoth*, 28 b; Duschak, in *Illustrirte Monatschrift*, i. 176, ff.) This sufficiently shows how unfounded is the charge that the twelfth benediction, which was recited several centuries before the rise of Christianity, was originally compiled against Christians, and how much Eisenmenger (*Entdecktes Judenthum*, ii. 107, ff.) and the more genial M'Caul, who repeats him (*Old Paths*, ch. xvii. xix.), have to answer for perpetuating the enmity against the Jews by the false description of this prayer. It is to be regretted that the learned and liberal Mr. Plumptre allowed himself to be misled by M'Caul's remarks, and inserted in so influential a work as Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* (s. v. 'Synagogue'), the remark that the prayers contain 'curses against Christians under the name of Epicureans.' Both truth and the innocent Jewish blood shed by those Christians who believed this mischievous statement, alike call out that this error should be relinquished.

voice, O Lord our God, have pity and compassion on us, and receive with mercy and acceptance our prayers, for thou art a God hearing prayer and supplications. Our King, do not send us empty away from thy presence, for thou hearest the prayers of thy people Israel in mercy! Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hearest prayer! 16. (רצה) Be favourable, O Lord our God, to thy people Israel, and to their prayer; restore the worship to thy sanctuary, receive lovingly the burnt-sacrifice of Israel and their prayer, and let the service of Israel thy people be always well-pleasing to thee. May our eyes see thee return to Zion in love. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who restorest thy Shechinah to Zion! 17. (מודים) We thankfully confess before thee that thou art the Lord our God, and the God of our fathers, world without end, and that thou art the shepherd of our life and the rock of our salvation from generation to generation; we render thanks unto thee and celebrate thy praises. Blessed art thou, O Lord, whose name is goodness, and whom it becomes to praise!

18. (שים שלום) Bestow peace, happiness, blessing, grace, mercy, and compassion upon us and upon the whole of Israel, thy people. Our Father, bless us all unitedly with the light of thy countenance, for in the light of thy countenance didst thou give to us, O Lord our God, the law of life, lovingkindness, justice, blessing, compassion, life, and peace. May it please thee to bless thy people Israel at all times, and in every moment, with peace. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who blessest thy people Israel with peace!

These eighteen benedictions are mentioned in the *Mishna Rosh Ha-Shana*, iv.; *Berachoth*, iv. 3; *Tosiphtha Berachoth*, cap. iii.; *Jerusalem Berachoth*, ii.; *Megilla*, 17 a. We are distinctly told that they were ordained by the 120 elders of the Great Synagogue (*Megilla*, 17 b; *Berachoth*, 33 a; *Siphre* on Deut. xxxiii. 2), and we know that the representatives of the people (אנשי מעמד) recited them in the temple every day (*Sabbath*, 24 b), that the priests pronounced three of them upon the people every morning in the *Hall of Squares*

(לשכת הגזית) in the temple-court, and that the high-priest prayed the sixteenth (רצה) and the seventeenth (מודים) sections of this litany on the Great Day of Atonement (*Foma*, 68 b). There can therefore be no doubt that our Saviour and his apostles joined in these prayers when they resorted to the synagogue, and that when the apostles went on the top of the house to pray at the stated hour (Acts i. 13; x. 9), these benedictions formed part of their devotions. It must however be remarked that the three first and the three last benedictions are the oldest, that benedictions 4-15 were compiled during the Maccabean struggles and the Roman ascendancy in Palestine; and benediction 14 a was most probably compiled after the destruction of the second temple.

But though these three groups (viz. the Hymnal Group, the *Shema*, and the Eighteen Benedictions) constituted the liturgy of the Jews when engaged in public or private devotion during the period of the second temple, yet there were other prayers which could only be recited at public worship when the legal number (מניין) were properly assembled. The order of the public worship in the synagogue was as follows:—

(a.) *Morning Service*.—The congregation having



washed their hands outside the synagogue, and being properly assembled, delegated one of their number to go before the ark and conduct public worship. This *Legate of the congregation* (לְגַת הַקְּהִלָּה), who like the rest of the congregation was arrayed in his fringed garment, and with the phylacteries on his head and left arm [FRINGED GARMENT; PHYLACTERIES], began with reciting the *Kadish* (קְדִישׁ), the people responding to certain parts, as follows:—‘Exalted and hallowed be his great name in the world which he created according to his will; let his kingdom come in your lifetime and in the lifetime of the whole house of Israel very speedily. [Legate and congregation] Amen. Blessed be his great name, world without end. [Legate alone] Blessed and praised, celebrated and exalted, extolled and adorned, magnified and worshipped be thy holy name; blessed be he far above all benedictions, hymns, thanks, praises, and consolations which have been uttered in the world. [Legate and congregation] Amen. [Legate alone] May the prayers and supplications of all Israel be graciously received before their Father in heaven. [Legate and congregation] Amen. [Legate alone] May perfect peace descend from heaven, and life upon us and all Israel. [Legate and congregation] Amen. May he who makes peace in his heaven confer peace upon us and all Israel. [Legate and congregation] Amen. The similarity between this very ancient *Kadish* and the Lord’s prayer needs hardly to be pointed out. After this the legate recited in a loud voice the first sentence of the *Shema*, the rest being recited quietly by him and the congregation. Then followed the eighteen benedictions, for the third of which the *Kedusha* (קְדוּשָׁה) was substituted in public worship. It is as follows:—‘Hallowed be thy name on earth as it is hallowed in heaven above, as it is written by the prophet, and one calls to the other and says [congregation], Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God of Sebaoth, the whole earth is filled with his glory! [Legate] Those who are opposite them respond: [congregation] Blessed be the glory of the eternal, each one in his station. [Legate] And in thy Holy Word it is written, thus saying: [congregation] The Lord shall reign for ever, thy God, O Zion, from generation to generation, Hallelujah! [Legate] From generation to generation we will disclose thy greatness, and for ever and ever celebrate thy holiness; and thy praise shall not cease in our mouth, world without end, for thou, O Lord, art a great and holy king. Blessed art thou, holy God and king!’ On Monday, Thursday, Sabbath, Feasts and Fasts, lessons from the law and prophets were read [HAPHTARA], and (with the exception of Monday and Thursday) discourses delivered by the Rabbins. The service concluded with the priests pronouncing the benediction (Num. vi. 24-27).

(b.) *The Afternoon and Evening Prayer*.—Some of the Psalms in the Hymnal Group were omitted, otherwise the service was similar to that of the morning. The public worship of the feasts and fasts is described in the articles on the respective festivals, and in the article HAPHTARA. The other prayers which now precede and follow the three ancient groups in the present liturgy of the synagogue are not described in this article because they are of later origin.

6. *The Authority of the Synagogue*.—As the officers of the synagogue were also the administrators of justice, the authority which each assembly pos-

sessed extended to both civil and religious questions. The Rabbins, or the heads of the synagogue, as it is to the present day, were both the teachers of religion and the judges of their communities. Hence the tribunals were held in the synagogue (Luke xii. 11; xxi. 12), and the *Chazan* or beadle who attended to the divine service had also to administer the stripes to offenders (Luke iv. 17-20 with *Mishna Maccoth*, iii. 12; and Matt. x. 17; xxiii. 34; Mark xiii. 9; Acts xxii. 19; xxvi. 11). The Rabbins who had *diplomas* from the Sanhedrim, and after the Sanhedrim ceased from the *Gaonim* of the respective colleges at Sora and Pumbadita [SANHEDRIM; SCRIBES], and who were chosen by the different congregations to be their spiritual heads with the consent of the assembly, selected such of the members as were best qualified to aid them in the administration of the communal affairs. These constituted a local self-governing and independent college; they issued all the legal instruments, such as marriage-contracts, letters of divorce, bills of exchange, business contracts, receipts, etc. etc. They had the power of inflicting corporal punishment on any offender, or to put out of the synagogue (= excommunicate) altogether (Matt. xviii. 15-17; John ix. 22; xii. 42; xvi. 2). The punishment of excommunication, however, was very seldom resorted to, as may be seen from the fact that though Christ and his apostles opposed and contradicted the heads of the synagogue yet they were not put out of the synagogue.

7. *Origin and development of the Synagogue*.—According to tradition the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, instituted the prayers three times a-day (*Berachoth*, 26 b), and had places of worship (comp. the so-called Chaldee paraphrases of Onkelos, Jonathan b. Uzzel, and the Jerusalem Targum on Gen. xxiv. 62, 63; xxv. 27). We are assured that there were synagogues in the time of the pious king Hezekiah (*Sanhedrin*, 94 b); that the great

house (בֵּית גָּדוֹל) was a stupendous synagogue; that the many houses of Jerusalem (בְּתֵי יְרוּשָׁלַיִם), which Nebuchadnezzar burned (2 Kings xxv. 9), were the celebrated 480 synagogues which existed in Jerusalem (*Jerusalem Megilla*, iii. 1), and that in Babylon the synagogue was to be seen in which Daniel used to pray (*Erubin*, 21 a). And we have the testimony of Benjamin of Tudela, the celebrated traveller of the middle ages, that he himself saw the synagogues built by Moses, David, Obadiah, Nahum, and Ezra (*Itinerary*, vol. i. pp. 90, 91, 92, 106, 153, ed. Ascher, London 1840). It is in harmony with this tradition that St. James declares ‘Moses of old time hath in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogues every Sabbath day’ (Acts xv. 21 with Philo, ii. 167, 630; Joseph. *Cont. Apion.* ii. 18; *Baba Kama*, 82 a; *Jerusalem Megilla*, iv. 1). But these are simply traditions, which love to invest everything with the halo of the remotest antiquity. In the O. T. itself we find no trace of meetings for worship in synagogues. Temporary altars, groves, and high-places were used alike by the Jewish saints and sinners for the worship of God and idols. The only pre-exile instance which seems to indicate that the devout in Israel were in the habit of resorting to pious leaders for blessings and instruction on stated occasions is to be found in 2 Kings iv. 23, where the Shunammite’s husband asks: ‘Wherefore wilt thou go to him (Elisha) to day?’



It is neither new moon nor Sabbath.' Yet 2 Kings xxii. 8, etc.; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 14, etc., testify undoubtedly against the existence of places of worship under the monarchy. It is during the exile, whilst the temple-worship was in abeyance, that we find indubitable proof of the systematic meetings on fasts for devotion and instruction (Zech. vii. 3, 5; viii. 19). Religious meetings were also held on Sabbaths, and fasts to instruct the exiles in the divine law, and to admonish them to obey the divine precepts (Ezra x. 1-9; Neh. viii. 1, 3; ix. 1-3; xiii. 1-3). These meetings, held near the temple and in other localities, were the origin of the synagogue, and the place in which the people assembled was denominated בית הכנסת, *the house of assembly*. Hence also the synagogue in the temple itself. The elders of this synagogue handed the law to the high-priest (*Mishna Joma*, vii. 1; *Sota*, vii. 7, 8); aided in the sacrifices (*Taanith*, v. 5); took charge of the palms used at the feast of Tabernacles (*Succa*, iv. 4 [TABERNACLES, FEAST OF]); accompanied the pilgrims who brought their first-fruits (*Tosiphta Bikkurim*, ii.); officiated as judges (*Maccoth*, iii. 12), and superintended the infant schools (*Sabbath*, i. 3). These synagogues soon became very popular, so that the Psalmist in depicting worship in the time of the Maccabees declares that the many meeting-places of God—or 'the synagogues of God' as the A. V. rightly renders it—have been laid waste (Ps. lxxiv. 8). Later on we find the Jews possessing synagogues in the different cities of Syria, Asia Minor, Greece, Egypt, and wherever they resided. We hear of the apostles frequenting the synagogues in Damascus, Antioch, Iconium, Thessalonica, Berea, Athens, Corinth, Ephesus, etc. etc. (Acts ix. 2, 20; xiii. 14; xiv. 1; xvii. 1, 10, 17; xviii. 4, 19; xix. 8). There were numerous synagogues in Palestine, in Nazareth (Matt. xiii. 54; Mark vi. 2; Luke iv. 16), Capernaum (Matt. xii. 9; Mark i. 21; Luke vii. 5; John vi. 59), etc. etc.; and in Jerusalem alone there were 480 (*Jerusalem Megilla*, iii. 1; *Jerusalem Kethuboth*, xiii.) to accommodate the Jews from foreign lands who visited the temple. There were synagogues of the Libertines, Cyrenians, Alexandrians, Cilicians, and of the Asiatics (Acts vi. 9; *Tosiphta Megilla*, cap. ii.; *Babylon Megilla*, 26 a). When it is remembered that more than 2,500,000 of Jews came together to the metropolis from all countries to celebrate the Passover (Joseph. *Antiq.* vi. 9. 3; *Pesachim*, 64 a), this number of synagogues in Jerusalem will not appear at all exaggerated. An idea may be formed of the large number of Jews at the time of Christ, when it is borne in mind that in Egypt alone, from the Mediterranean to the border of Ethiopia, there resided nearly a million of Jews (Philo, *Against Flaccus*, ii. 523); and that in Syria, especially in the metropolis Antiochia, the Jews constituted a large portion of the population (Graetz, iii. 282, 2d ed.)

7. *Literature.*—*Jerusalem Megilla*, cap. iii.; Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chezaka Hilchoth Tephila*; Vitringa, *De Synagoga vetere*, Weissenfels 1726; Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, p. 366 ff., Berlin 1832; by the same author, *Die Ritus des synagogalen Gottesdienstes*, Berlin 1859; Edelman, *Higajon Leb*, Königsberg 1845; Herzfeld, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. i. pp. 24-30; 127, 391-394; ii. 129-134; 183-223; Nordhausen,

1855, 1857; Jost, *Geschichte des Judenthums*, vol. i. pp. 38 ff.; 168 ff.; 262 ff., Leipzig 1857-8; Duschak, *Illustrirte Monatschrift für die gesammten Interessen des Judenthums*, vol. i. pp. 83 ff., 174 ff., 409 ff., London 1865.—C. D. G.

SYNAGOGUE, THE GREAT (בֵּית הַנְּדוּלָה; Aramaic, כְּנִשְׁתָּא רַבְתָּא; συναγωγή μεγάλη, *Synagoga Magna*), *the Great Assembly*, or *the Great Synod*, according to Jewish history, denotes the council first appointed by Nehemiah after the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity to reorganise the religious life of the people.

1. *Name and its Signification.*—Though the verb בָּנָה, *to gather, to assemble*, occurs in the O. T. (Esth. iv. 16; 1 Chron. xxii. 2; Ezek. xxii. 21; xxxix. 28; Ps. cxlvii. 2), yet the noun בְּנִיָּת, *assembly*, *synagogue*, does not occur in Biblical Hebrew. In the Hebrew Scriptures the terms קָהָל, קָהָל, and אֲסֻפָּה are used for *congregation, assembly* [ECCLESIASTES], and there can be but little doubt that the non-biblical בְּנִיָּת is designedly employed to distinguish this assembly from all other gatherings. This is also the reason why the article is prefixed to the adjective alone, and not also to the noun—viz. בְּנִיָּת הַנְּדוּלָה, *the Great Synagogue*—inasmuch as this singles it out from the other בְּנִיָּתוֹת, *synagogues*, provincial or local, both great and small, which obtained at the same time, and which were designed for different objects. When Ewald asserts that 'in the Mishna language the substantive and the adjective never have the article together' (*Lehrbuch*, sec. 293 a, note), we can only refer to *Sabbath*, xvii. 4; *Joma*, iv. 3; *Taanith*, iii. 7; *Kethuboth*, vi. 7; *Nedarim*, iii. 11; *Nazir*, viii. 1; *Baba Bathra*, iv. 3, and to innumerable other passages in refutation of this assertion. According to the most ancient tradition, this assembly or synagogue was styled *great* because of the great work it effected in restoring the divine law to its former greatness, and because of the great authority and reputation which it enjoyed (*Jerusalem Megilla*, iii. 7; *Babylon Megilla*, 13 b; *Joma*, 69 b; *Erubin*, 13 b; *Sebachin*, 102; *Sanhedrin*, 14 a). The enactments of the Great Synagogue are often quoted in the name of אֲנָשֵׁי

בְּנִיָּת הַנְּדוּלָה, *the men of the Great Assembly*, or those who successively constituted its members during the long period of its existence. The abbreviated forms of these two names to be met with in Jewish literature are כְּנִשְׁתָּא הַנְּדוּלָה and אֲנָשֵׁי כְנִשְׁתָּא הַנְּדוּלָה = אֲנָשֵׁי הַנְּדוּלָה. Sometimes this assembly is also designated the 120 elders (בְּנֵי הַזֵּקֵנִים, *Megilla*, 17 b, 18 b).

2. *Number of Members and their Classification.*—We are told that Nehemiah organised the Great Synagogue (comp. Neh. x. 1-10 with *Midrash Ruth*, cap. iii.; *Jerusalem Shebiith*, v. 1), and that it consisted of 120 members (*Jerusalem Berachoth*, ii. 4; *Jerusalem Megilla*, i.; *Babylon Megilla*, 17 b). In looking at the register of the Great Assembly recorded in Nehemiah (x. 1-8), it will be seen that—i. Only 16 out of the 24 chiefs of the priests (1 Chron. xxiv. 7-18) are enumerated, and that for the 8 that are wanting 4 private persons are given—viz. Zidkijah, Daniel, Baruch, and Meshullam. ii. Of the 6 or 7 chief Levites—viz. Jeshua, Bani, Kadmiel, Hodijah, Sherebiah, Hashabniah—who returned with Zerubbabel and Ezra

(Neh. ix. 4, 5; Ezra v. 18, 19, 24), Bani is omitted, and 12 private individuals are mentioned who were undoubtedly the *doctors of the Law* (כֹּהֲנִים; Neh. viii. 7; ix. 3). *iii.* Of the 45 *chiefs of the people* (רָאשֵׁי הָעָם) only half are known as heads of families, and the rest are again distinguished private individuals. Here the families of David and Joab (comp. Ezra viii. 2, 9) are missing. And *iv.* Of the *representatives of the cities* there are only two mentioned—viz. Anathoth and Nebo—which plainly shows that others are omitted, since these two places did not at all distinguish themselves to be thus singled out. Now, in looking at the peculiar position in which they are placed among the heads of the people in the register of the exiles, it will be seen that the family of Hariph (Joseh) stand first; then follow the names of thirteen cities (viz. Gibeon, Bethlehem, Netophah, Anathoth, Beth-azmaveth, Kirjath-jearim, Chephirah, Beeroth, Ramah, Gaba, Michmas, Beth-el, and Ai); Nebo concludes the catalogue of the cities, and the family of Magbish follows upon it (Ezra ii. 18-30; Neh. vii. 24-33), which exactly corresponds with the order in the register of the Great Synagogue; Hariph begins, then come cities, *i.e.* Anathoth; Nebai comes last, and then again Magbish (Neh. x. 19, 20). There can, therefore, be no doubt that the above-named cities are to be inserted between Hariph and Anathoth. If we add to these 15 cities the other five specified in the register (viz. Lod, Hadid, Ono, Jericho, and Tekoa—Neh. vii. 36, 37), which were represented by this synod, we have in all twenty cities. We thus see that eight divisions of the priests are wanting—the family of Bani is missing from the Levites, seven families of the heads of the people have disappeared—and that thirteen of the representatives of the cities have dropped out. Now, if we supply those which have manifestly been dropped, and add them up with the private individuals mentioned in the register, we obtain the following representatives in the Great Synagogue:—28 priests, consisting of the twenty-four divisions and the four private individuals; 19 Levites, being the seven families and the twelve private persons; 50 Israelites, twenty-nine being chiefs of the people and twenty-one private persons—making in all 97, with Nehemiah 98, whilst the remaining 22 are the deputations of the cities. We thus obtain the 120 members of the Great Synagogue mentioned by the unanimous voice of tradition. It will also be seen from the above that these 120 members represented five classes, viz.—*i.* The *chiefs of the priestly divisions* (רָאשֵׁי בֵּית אֵב); *ii.* The *chiefs of the Levitical Families* (רָאשֵׁי הַלֵּוִיִּים); *iii.* The *heads of the Israelite Families* (רָאשֵׁי הָעָם); *iv.* *Representatives of Cities or the Elders* (וְקִנִּים; πρεσβύτεροι); and *v.* The *Doctors of the Law* (סוֹפְרִים; σοφισταί), from all grades. This number, however, was most probably restricted to the time of Nehemiah, as there can be no doubt that the assemblies which were afterwards held consisted of a smaller number, since, at the time when the Great Synagogue passed over into the Great Sanhedrim, the representatives consisted of seventy, which became the fixed rule for the Sanhedrim [SANHEDRIM].

3. *The work of the Great Synagogue.*—At its first organisation under Nehemiah, the representatives bound themselves by a most solemn oath (בְּאֵלֶּה

וּבִשְׁבוּעָה) to carry out the following six decisions, which were deemed most essential for the stability of the newly-reconstructed state:—*i.* Not to intermarry with heathen; *ii.* To keep the Sabbath holy; *iii.* To observe the Sabbatical year; *iv.* Every one to pay annually a third of a shekel to the temple; *v.* To supply wood for the altar; and *vi.* Regularly to pay the priestly dues (Neh. x. 28-39). The foundation for the reorganisation and reconstruction of the state and the temple-service being thus laid at the first meeting of this synod, the obtaining of the necessary materials for the successful rearing up of the superstructure and the completion of the edifice demanded that the synod should occasionally reassemble to devise and adopt such measures as should secure the accomplishment of the plan and the permanent maintenance of the sanctuary. To this end the members of the Great Synagogue, *vii.* Collected the canonical Scriptures. This was called forth by the effects of the first decision, which involved the expulsion of Manasseh, son of the high-priest Joiada, by Nehemiah and the synod for refusing compliance with that decision—*i.e.* to be separated from his heathen wife, the daughter of Sanballat (Neh. xiii. 23-29). In consequence of this, his father-in-law, Sanballat, obtained permission to build an opposition temple on Mount Gerizim, in which Manasseh became high-priest, and whither he was followed by many of the Jews who sympathised with him. This proceeding, however, compelled them to deny the prophets, because their repeated declarations about the sanctity of Jerusalem did not favour the erection of a temple out of the ancient metropolis. To erect a wall of partition between the Jews and these apostates, and to show to the people which of the ancient prophetic books were sacred, the *Sopherim* and the men of the Great Synagogue compiled the canon of the prophets. As the early prophets and the great prophets—*i.e.* Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel—like the Pentateuch, were already regarded as sacred, it only remained for the Great Synagogue to complete the *prophetic canon* by inserting into it the twelve minor prophets, which this synod accordingly did, as may be seen from *Baba Bathra*, 15; *Aboth di Rabbi Nathan*, cap. i; 2 Maccab. xii. 13. And though some of these authorities are no longer clear about the books inserted into the canon, yet they all testify to the fact that Nehemiah and the members of the Great Synagogue were engaged in collecting the canonical books of the prophets. The Hagiographa were not as yet made up, as is evident from the fact that the younger Sirach did not even know the expression כְּתוּבִים, but used the general term τὰ ἅλλα to denote them (*Preface to Ecclesi.*), and that in Alexandria additions were made to the book of Esther, and other books were inserted in what we now call the Hagiographa, as well as from the circumstance that the canonicity of some of the Hagiographa continued to be a point of difference between the schools of Shammai and Hillel, which could not have been the case if the canon of the Hagiographa had been definitely made up. *viii.* They wrote or compiled the book of Esther, as Krochmal has most conclusively shown (*Keren Chemed*, v. 74, ff., Prague 1841). *ix.* They compiled the ritual for private and public worship [SYNAGOGUE]; and *x.* They introduced schools for the study of the divine law (בֵּית וְעַד), and defined the precepts of Holy Writ. The



whole of this is indicated in the epitome of the three grand maxims transmitted to us in the laconic style of the Mishna, 'The prophets transmitted the divine law to the men of the Great Synagogue, who propounded the three maxims, be cautious in judging, get many disciples, and make a hedge about the law' (*Aboth*, i. 1). The other work of the men of the Greek synagogue which has come down to us in the name of the *Sopherim* is given in the article SCRIBES.

4. *Origin, Date, and Development of the Great Synagogue.*—It is supposed by many that Ezra was the founder of the Great Synagogue, and that he in fact was its president. Graetz, however, has adduced the following most conclusive arguments proving that Nehemiah originated it after the death of Ezra:—i. The very name of Ezra is not even mentioned in the register of the representatives, and it is inconceivable to suppose that the originator would have been omitted; and ii. Nehemiah, as is well known, went twice from Shushan to Jerusalem to restore order—viz. in the 20th year of Artaxerxes' reign (B.C. 446), and after the 32d year of his reign (B.C. 436-428). On his second arrival, he found Jerusalem in a most deplorable condition: the chiefs of the families had formed alliances with Sanballat the Horonite and Tobiah the Ammonite, enemies of the Jews, the Sabbath was desecrated, and the law of God and the sanctuary were disregarded (*Neh.* xiii. 6-31). Now the convention of the Great Synagogue was held expressly for the removal of these very evils; and since the representatives distinctly bound themselves by a most solemn oath to abstain from mixed marriages, to keep the Sabbath holy, and to attend sacredly to the sanctuary and its requirements, there can be no doubt that the synod was convened by Nehemiah after his second visit to Jerusalem to devise means in order to meet these perplexing points, and that because these evils disturbed the order of the community, therefore they were made the principal and express objects of the first synod. It is the position of cap. x. recording the convention of the Great Synagogue which has caused this error. But it is well known that the book of Nehemiah is not put together in chronological order. Graetz has shown in a masterly manner the proper position of the different chapters (*Frankel's Monatschrift*, vi. 62).

As to its date, the convention of this Great Synagogue was most probably one of Nehemiah's last acts, and it must have taken place after the death of Artaxerxes, else Nehemiah could not have remained in Jerusalem, since even the second permission to visit Jerusalem was granted to him on condition that he should return to Shushan. It could not therefore have taken place before 424 B.C. The Great Synagogue was most probably held 20 years after the restoration of the walls, or 35 years after Ezra's return. Ezra was then dead, and this is the reason why his name does not occur in the register of the representatives. The whole period of the great synagogue embraces about 110 years (B.C. 410-300), or from the latter days of Nehemiah to the death of Simon the Just, who was the last link of the chain constituting the synod (שמעון).

הצדיק היה משירי כנסת הגדולה (*Aboth*, i. 2). It then passed into the Sanhedrim, when the whole of its constitution was changed [SANHEDRIM].

It only remains to be added that the existence of

the Great Synagogue, which is attested by the unanimous voice of Jewish tradition, was first questioned by Richard Simon (*Hist. Crit. du Vieux Test.* lib. i. cap. viii.) Jacob Alting with more boldness rejected it altogether as one of the inventions of tradition (*Synagoga magna enim nec uno tempore nec uno loco vixit, eoque synagoga non fuit, rerum commentum est traditionarium, qui nullum alioquin nexum παραδόσεως reperire poterunt*—Opp. v. 382). He was followed by F. E. Rau (*Diatrise de Synag. Magna*, p. 66, etc., Utrecht 1726), and Aurivillius (*De Synag. vulgo dicta magna*, ed. J. D. Michaelis, Gottingen 1790), in their elaborate monographs on this subject. De Wette (*Einleitung in das A. T.* sect. 14) contemptuously dismisses it as 'a tradition which vanishes as soon as the passages are looked at whereon it is based, and as not even being a subject for refutation.' Those who condescend to argue the matter reject this tradition because it is not mentioned in the Apocrypha, Josephus, Philo, or the *Seder Olam*, and because the earliest record of it is in the Tract of the Mishna entitled *Aboth*. But surely this argument from the silence of a few writers cannot set aside the express and positive testimony of the Mishna, the Talmud, and the earliest Jewish works. Besides, the Book of Ecclesiasticus in its catalogue of Jewish heroes (cap. l.) does not mention Ezra; Josephus never alludes to the tribunal of 23 members, and the earliest patristic literature of the Jews does not breathe a syllable about the Maccabæan heroes. Would it be fair to conclude from this silence that Ezra, the tribunal, and the Maccabees, are a myth? In confirmation of the records in the Talmudic literature about the Great Synagogue, the following circumstantial evidence is to be adduced:—The errors of the Samaritans became rampant after the death of Nehemiah, whilst of the high-priests between Eliashib and Onias I. some were insignificant men and others were reprobates. Judaism moreover has no record whatever of any distinguished persons during this period. We should therefore have expected the religion of the people to be at the lowest ebb. 'But instead of declining we find Judaism rapidly rising. No trace is to be found in the whole of this period of the disturbances, misconceptions, and errors which prevailed in the time of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Zerubbabel. The law and the precepts were preeminently revered. The ancient collection of Ben Sirach's sayings, which reflects the spirit of the people in the pre-Simonian age, breathes a fervent enthusiasm for the inspired law (comp. *Ecclus.* ii. 16; vii. 29; ix. 15; x. 19; xv. 1; xix. 17; xxi. 11; xxiii. 27, and especially cap. xxiv.) Who then has kindled and sustained such an enthusiasm and religious spirit, if not an assembly similar to that convened by Nehemiah?' (Graetz in *Frankel's Monatschrift*, vi. 63, etc.)

5. *Literature.*—Wassermann in Jost's *Israelitische Annalen*, vol. ii. p. 163 ff., Frankfurt-on-the-Maine 1840; Sachs in *Frankel's Zeitschrift für die religiösen Interessen des Judenthums*, vol. ii. p. 301 ff., Berlin 1845; Krochmal, *More Nboche Ha-Seman*, pp. 52 ff., 102 ff., 166 ff., Leopoli 1851; Herzfeld, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. i. pp. 22 ff., 380 ff., vol. ii. 53, 244 ff., 264 ff., Nordhausen 1855-57; Jost, *Geschichte des Judenthums*, vol. i. pp. 35 ff., 95 ff., 270 ff.; Low, *Ben Chananja*, vol. i. pp. 102 ff., 193 ff., 292 ff., 338 ff., Szegedin 1858; and especially the

elaborate Essay of Graetz, in Frankel's *Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, vol. vi. pp. 31 ff., 61 ff., Leipzig 1857.—C. D. G.

SYNTYCHE (Συντύχη), a female Christian named in Phil. iv. 2.

SYRACUSE (Συράκουσαι), a celebrated city on the south-east coast of the island of Sicily. It was a strong, wealthy, and populous place, to which Strabo gives a circumference of not less than one hundred and eighty stades. The great wealth and power of Syracuse arose from its trade, which was carried on extensively while it remained an independent state under its own kings; but about 200 B.C. it was taken by the Romans, after a siege rendered famous by the mechanical contrivances whereby Archimedes protracted the defence. Syracuse still exists as a considerable town under its original name, and some ruins of the ancient city yet remain. St. Paul spent three days at Syracuse, after leaving Melita, when being conveyed as a prisoner to Rome (Acts xxviii. 12).—J. K.

SYRIA, a province and kingdom of Western Asia, the name, extent, and boundaries of which have been subjects of no little difficulty to both sacred and classic geographers.

The name *Syria* does not occur in Hebrew; but in the A. V. it is the usual, though not the uniform, rendering of the word *Aram* (אַרַם). This creates considerable confusion in sacred geography. Thus in Gen. x. 22 *Aram*, the youngest son of Shem, is mentioned as the founder of the Aramean nation, from whom the whole country colonised by his descendants took its name. The country is therefore rightly called 'Aram' in Num. xxiii. 7; but the very same Hebrew word is rendered *Mesopotamia* in Judg. iii. 10, and *Syria* in Judg. x. 6.

Aram was a wide region. It extended from the Mediterranean to the Tigris, and from Canaan to Mount Taurus. It was subdivided into five principalities:—1. *Aram-Damascus* (called in the A. V. 'Syria of Damascus'); 2. *Aram-Maachah*; 3. *Aram-Beth-Rehob*; 4. *Aram-Zobah*; and 5. *Aram-Naharaim* (Mesopotamia in the A. V.) These have already been described [ARAM]. When the kingdom of Damascus attained to great power under the warlike line of Hadad it was called by way of distinction *Aram*, which unfortunately is rendered 'Syria' in the A. V. (2 Sam. viii. 5, 12; 1 Kings x. 29; xv. 18; 2 Kings v. 1; xxiv. 2, etc.) This lax method of translation was borrowed from the Septuagint and Vulgate versions. The Targums retain *Aram*; and it would tend much to geographical accuracy and distinctness were the Hebrew proper names uniformly retained in the A. V.

The region comprehended by the Hebrews under the name *Aram* was not identical with that which the Greek writers and the authors of the N. T. included under *Syria*. It embraced all Mesopotamia and Assyria, while it excluded Phœnicia and the whole territory colonised by the Canaanites. [ARAM; CANAAN.]

In the N. T. the name *Syria* (Συρία) is not employed with great definiteness. In fact it is doubtful if ever the Greek geographers were agreed as to the exact boundaries of the country so called. St. Matthew, after mentioning the mighty works and wondrous teachings of our Lord in Galilee, says: 'His fame went throughout all Syria,' alluding apparently to the country adjoining Galilee on

the north (iv. 24). St. Luke applies the name to the Roman province of which Cyrenius was governor, and which did not include Palestine (ii. 2). In the same restricted sense the word is used in Acts xv. 23. The apostles in Jerusalem wrote 'unto the brethren of the Gentiles in Antioch, and Syria, and Cilicia;' and afterwards it is said that Paul, setting out from Antioch, 'went through Syria and Cilicia' (ver. 41; cf. Gal. i. 21). A wider signification seems to be attached to the name in other passages. It is said of Paul when going to Jerusalem, 'that he sailed thence (from Greece) into Syria'—giving this general name to Palestine as well as the country north of it (Acts xviii. 18; xx. 3). In one passage taken from the Septuagint the name is employed as an equivalent of the Hebrew *Aram* (Luke iv. 27; cf. 2 Kings v. 20).

The origin of the word is not quite certain. Some make it a corruption of *Assyria*. Herodotus says: 'The people whom the Greeks call *Syrians* are called *Assyrians* by the barbarians' (vii. 63); and these names were frequently confounded by the later Greek writers (Xen. *Cyr.* vi. 2. 19; viii. 3. 24); and apparently also by some of the Latins (Plin. *Hist. Nat.* v. 13). A much more probable etymology is that which derives *Syria* from *Tsur* (צֹר), the Hebrew name of the ancient city of Tyre. The distinction between *Syria* and *Assyria* is very great in Hebrew. The Greek form of the name derived from *Tsur* would be *Tsuria*, but as this could not be expressed by Greek letters it was softened down to *Syria*. *Assyria* is in Hebrew אַשּׁוּר, and in Greek Ἀσσυρία, and sometimes Ἀρουρία.

A still greater distinction between the names is found in the Assyrian inscriptions, where Assyria is called *As-sur*, while the Tyrians are the *Tsur-ra-ya*, the characters used being entirely different' (Rawlinson's *Herodot.* i. 63, note). Tyre was the most important city along the Mediterranean coast. With it and its enterprising merchants the Greeks soon became familiar; and they gave to the country around it the general name *Syria*—that is, 'region of Tyre.'

It is interesting to observe that the connection between *Syria* and *Aram* is noticed by Strabo when commenting on a stanza of Pindar:—'Others understand *Syrians* by the *Arimi*, who are now called *Aramei*' (xiii. p. 626; and xvi. p. 785); and again, 'Those whom we call *Syrians* (Σύριοι) are by the Syrians themselves called *Armenians* and *Arammœans*' (Ἀραμμαῖοι; i. 2. 34).

The name *Syria* was thus of foreign origin. It was never adopted or acknowledged by the people themselves; nor was it ever employed by native authors except when writing in Greek for Greeks. At the present day it is unknown in the country. It has been seen that in ancient times the name *Aram* was specially applied to Damascus and its kingdom. There is something analogous to this in modern usage. *Esh-Sham* (الشَّام) is the name

now commonly given to both city and country, though in more correct language the former is styled *Dimishk esh-Sham*.

EXTENT AND BOUNDARIES.—Ancient geographers do not agree as to the extent of *Syria*. Herodotus makes it reach to the Black Sea on the north (i. 6); to Paphlagonia and the Mediterranean on the west (i. 72; ii. 12, 116); to Egypt on the



south (ii. 158, 159); and to Media and Persia on the east (vii. 63). He confounded Syria and Assyria, and hence arose the error into which he fell regarding the extent of the former. The same view is taken by Xenophon (*Anab.* i. 4. 11-19). Even Strabo states in one place that 'the name Syria seems to extend from Babylonia as far as the bay of Issus, and anciently from this bay to the Euxine. Both tribes of the Cappadocians—those near the Taurus, and those near the Pontus—are called to this day Leuco-Syrians.' It is clear, however, from a subsequent sentence, that he in this place fell into the error of Herodotus; for he thus remarks: 'When the historians of the Syrian empire say that the Medes were conquered by the Persians, and the Syrians by the Medes, they mean no other Syrians than those who built the royal palaces of Babylon and Nineveh; and Ninus who built Nineveh in Aturia, was one of these Syrians' (xvi. p. 737). It is clear that for Syrians the name *Assyrians* should here be substituted. The great similarity of the names no doubt tended to create this confusion.

When writing directly of the country of Syria Strabo is more accurate. He describes its extent, boundaries, and divisions with great minuteness. 'Syria is bounded on the north by Cilicia (cf. Acts xv. 23) and Mount Amanus; on the east by the Euphrates and the Arabian Scenitæ, who live on this side (west) of the Euphrates; on the south by Arabia Felix and Egypt; on the west by the Egyptian and Syrian seas, as far as Issus' (xvi. p. 749). Pliny gives substantially the same boundaries. He says, however, that some geographers divide the country into four provinces—Idumæa, Judæa, Phœnicia, and Syria (*Hist. Nat.* v. 13; cf. Joseph. *Antiq.* x. 6. 1).

Ptolemy confines Syria within the same limits on the north, west, and east; but he marks its southern boundary by a line running from Dor, at the base of Carmel, by Scythopolis and Philadelphia, to Alsadamus Mons (Jebel Haurân). He thus includes Phœnicia, Galilee, and a portion of Peræa, but excludes Judæa and Idumæa (v. 15).

In this article the name Syria is confined to what appears to be its more strict N. T. signification. Its boundaries may be given as follows:—Palestine on the south; the Mediterranean on the west; Cilicia and Mount Amanus on the north; and the Euphrates and desert of Palmyra on the east. Its length, from the mouth of the Litâny on the south to the bay of Iskanderûn on the north, is 250 miles, and its breadth averages about 130 miles. Its area may thus be estimated at 32,500 square miles. It lies between lat. 33° 13' and 36° 42' N., and long. 34° 15' and 38° E.

**PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY.**—Syria, like Palestine, is divided into a series of belts, extending in parallel lines from north to south. 1. A narrow belt of plain along the seaboard. It embraces the plain of Issus, now Iskanderûn, on the north, extending as far as the bold promontory of Râs el-Khanzîr. South of the promontory is the fertile plain of Seleucia, now Suweidiyeh, at the mouth of the Orontes. Then follows the peak of Casius, which dips into the sea; and from its southern base down to the mouth of the Litâny stretches the plain of Phœnicia, varying in breadth from ten miles at Ladikiyeh to half a mile at Sidon. It is nearly all fertile; and some portions of it at Sidon, Beyrout, and Tripoli, are among the richest and most

beautiful in Syria. 2. A belt of mountains, the backbone of the country. It commences with the ridge of Amanus on the north; then follows Bargylus in the centre, and Lebanon on the south. 3. The great valley of Cœlesyria, and its northern extension the valley of the Orontes, form the next belt, and constitute one of the most remarkable features of the country. 4. The mountain-chain of Anti-Lebanon, though broken by the plain of Hamah, finds a natural prolongation in the ridge which rises in the parallel of the city of Hamah and runs northward beyond Aleppo. 5. Along the whole eastern border from north to south extends an arid plateau, bleak and desolate—the home of the roving Bedawîn.

**Plains.**—The plains of Phœnicia and Cœlesyria have been already noticed [PHŒNICIA; CŒLESYRIA]. The plain of Hamah is very extensive. It joins Cœlesyria on the south, and extends northward on both sides of the Orontes as far as Apamea, about seventy miles; while its breadth from the base of Lebanon to the desert is nearly thirty. Its surface is almost perfectly flat, its soil generally a rich black mould; water is abundant. Upon it once stood the large cities of Riblah, Laodicia ad Libanum, Emesa, Arethusa, Larissa, Hamath, and Apamea; all of which, with the exception of Hamath and Emesa (now Hums), are either in ruins or have dwindled down to poor villages. The plain of Damascus and its continuation towards Haurân on the south, are exceedingly fertile. [DAMASCUS.] The little plain of Issus between the mountains and the bay is now a pestilential marsh, on the borders of which stands the miserable village of Iskanderûn, the only seaport of Antioch and Aleppo. The plain of Suweidiyeh, at the mouth of the Orontes, is still a lovely spot, in part covered with orchards and mulberry plantations. On its northern border lie the ruins of Seleucia, the port from which Paul embarked on his first missionary journey (Acts xiii. 2-4), and once so celebrated for its docks and fortifications (Polybius v.).

**Mountains.**—The parallel ranges of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon have already been noticed. [LEBANON.] At the northern end of the former is the pass called in Scripture 'the entrance of Hamath.' [PALESTINE; HAMATH.] Beyond it, in a line with Lebanon, rises the range of Bargylus, and extends to Antioch. It is a rugged limestone ridge, rent and torn by wild ravines, thinly peopled, and sparsely covered with oaks. Its elevation is much inferior to Lebanon, and does not average more than 4000 feet. In the parallel of Antioch the chain meets the Orontes, and there sweeps round in a sharp angle to the south-west, and terminates in the lofty peak of Casius (now Jebel Okra), which rises abruptly from the sea to a height of 5700 feet, forming one of the most conspicuous landmarks along the coast of Syria. The Bargylus range has received the name *Jebel en-Nusairiyeh*, from the mysterious and warlike tribe of *Nusairiyeh*, who form the great bulk of its inhabitants.

At the northern extremity of the range, on the green bank of the rapid Orontes, stand the crumbling walls and towers of Syria's ancient capital, Antioch, now dwindled down to a poor town of some 6000 inhabitants. A few miles west of it, in a secluded mountain glen, are the fountains and ruins of *Beit el-Ma*, which mark the site of the once celebrated Daphne (*Handbook for S. and P.* p. 602.)



The valley through which the Orontes breaks is here narrow and wild. Beyond it rises steeply another mountain-range, which runs northward till it joins the Taurus, and has an average elevation of nearly 6000 feet. The scenery of this range is very grand—deep ravines shut in by cliffs of naked rock; conical peaks clothed with the dark foliage of the prickly oak; and foaming torrents fringed with dense copses of myrtle and oleander. On the west it sends out the lofty promontory of Râs el-Khanzîr, which shuts in the plain of Suweidiyeh; and farther north the curve of the bay of Iskanderûn sweeps so close to the rocky base of the range as to leave a pass only a few feet broad between the cliff and the sea. Here are the ruins of an ancient arch marking the site of the celebrated *Syrian Gates*; to the north of it is the battle-field of Issus. The southern section of this range was anciently called *Pieria*, and gave its distinguishing name to the city (*Seleucia Pieria*) at its base; the northern section was called *Amanus*. The whole ridge is now usually called Jawar Dagħ, though the southern portion is perhaps more commonly known as Râs el-Khanzîr.

On the eastern bank of the Orontes, near the ruins of Apamea, rises another but much lower range of hills, which runs northward, not in a regularly-formed ridge, but rather in detached clumps, to the parallel of Aleppo. The hills are mainly calcareous, well wooded in places, and intersected at intervals by fertile plains and vales. They are interesting to the traveller and antiquarian as containing some of the most remarkable ruins in Syria (*Handbook*, 615 *seq.*) The southern section is called Jebel Riha, the central Jebel el-'Ala, and the northern Jebel Simân, from its having been the home of St. Simon Stylite.

*Rivers.*—The Orontes is the largest river in Syria. It is now called *el-'Asy* ('The Rebellious'), and also *el-Maklûb* ('The Inverted'), from the fact of its running, as is thought, in a wrong direction. Its highest source is in the plain of Bukâ'a (*Calesyria*), at the base of Anti-Lebanon, beside the ruins of the ancient city of Libo. It runs north-west across the plain to the foot of Lebanon, where its volume is more than trebled by the great fountain of Ain el-'Asy (the *Ain* of the Bible). [PALESTINE.] Hence it winds along the plain of Hamath, passing Riblah, Hums, Hamah, and Apamea. At Antioch it sweeps round to the west through a sublime pass, and falls into the Mediterranean at Seleucia. Its scenery is in general tame and uninteresting. Its volume above Hamath is less than that of the Jordan; but lower down it receives several tributaries which greatly increase it. Its total length is about 150 miles. The Litâny is the next river in magnitude. Its principal sources are in the valley of Bukâ'a, at Baalbek, Zahleh, and Anjar (the ancient Chalcis). After winding down the Bukâ'a to its southern end, it forces its way through a sublime glen, which completely intersects Lebanon, and falls into the sea a few miles north of Tyre. [LEBANON.] The rivers Eleutherus, Lycus, and Adonis have been noticed in the article *LEBANON*, and the Abana and Pharpar under *DAMASCUS*. A small stream called Nahr Kowaik rises near the village of Aintab, flows southward through a narrow glen to Aleppo, waters the town and its gardens, and empties itself in winter into a marsh some twenty miles farther south.

*Lakes.*—There are only two lakes of any im-

portance in Syria. One lies some miles north of Antioch, and is called *Bahr el-Abiad*, 'White Lake.' It is about twenty-five miles in circuit, but has a broad margin of marsh, which is flooded after heavy rains. The other is on the Orontes, west of Hums, and is called Bahr Kades. It is about six miles long by from two to three broad, and is in a great measure, if not entirely, artificial. It is formed by a dam built across the valley. The water is thus raised to an elevation sufficient to supply the town and irrigate the surrounding plain (Porter, *Damascus*, ii. 344).

*Cities.*—The principal cities and towns of Syria are the following:—Damascus, pop. 150,000; Aleppo, pop. 70,000; Beyrout, pop. 50,000; Hamah, pop. 30,000; Hums, pop. 20,000; Tripoli, pop. 13,000; Antioch, Sidon, and Ladi-kiyeh. Besides these, which occupy ancient sites, there were in former times Palmyra in the eastern desert; Abila, on the river Abana; Chalcis, He-liopolis, and Lybo, in the valley of Coelesyria; Laodicia ad Libanum, Arethusa, and Apamea, in the valley of the Orontes; Seleucia, Aradus, and Byblos [GEBAL], on the sea-coast, and many others of less importance.

*POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY.*—Syria has passed through many changes. Its ancient divisions were numerous, and constantly varying. The provinces of the Biblical Aram have already been noticed. [ARAM.] Phœnicia was generally regarded as a distinct principality [PHŒNICIA], and the warlike tribes of Lebanon appear to have remained almost in a state of independence from the earliest ages. [LEBANON.] The political divisions, as enumerated by Greek and Roman geographers, are indefinite and almost unintelligible. Strabo mentions five great provinces:—1. *Commagene*, a small territory in the extreme north, with Samosata for capital, situated on the Euphrates; 2. *Seleucia*, lying south of the former, was subdivided into four districts according to the number of its chief cities: (1.) Antioch Epidaphne; (2.) Seleucia, in Pieria; (3.) Apamea; and (4.) Laodicia. In the district of Antioch was another subdivision, situated near the Euphrates, and called Cyrrhestice, from the town Cyrrhestis, which contained a celebrated temple of Diana. Southward were two subdivisions (apparently) of Apamia, called Parapotamia and Chalcidice, bordering on the Euphrates, and inhabited by Scenitæ. The territory of Laodicia extended south to the river Eleutherus, where it bordered on Phœnice and Coelesyria. 3. *Calesyria*, comprising Laodicia ad Libanum, Chalcis, Abilene, Damascus, Iturea, and others farther south, included in Palestine; 4. *Phœnicia*; 5. *Judea* (*Geogr.* xvi. pp. 748, *seq.*)

Pliny's divisions are still more numerous than those of Strabo. It appears that each city on rising to importance gave its name to a surrounding territory, larger or smaller, and this in time assumed the rank of a province (Pliny, *H. N.* v. 14-21).

Ptolemy mentions thirteen provinces:—Commagene, Pieria, Cyrrhestica, Seleucis, Casiotis, Chalcibonitis, Chalcis, Apamene, Laodicene, Phœnicia, Coelesyria, Palmyrene, and Batanea, and he gives a long list of the cities contained in them. He excludes Palestine altogether (*Geogr.* v. 15).

Under the Romans Syria became a province of the empire. Some portions of it were permitted to remain for a time under the rule of petty princes,



dependent on the imperial government. Gradually, however, all these were incorporated, and Antioch was capital. Under Hadrian the province was divided into two parts:—*Syria Major* on the north, and *Syria-Phœnice* on the south. Towards the close of the 4th century another partition of Syria was made, and formed the basis of its ecclesiastical government: 1. *Syria Prima*, with Antioch as capital; 2. *S. Secunda*, with Apamea as capital; 3. *Phœnicia Prima*, including the greater part of ancient Phœnicia—Tyre was its capital; 4. *Phœnicia Secunda*, also called *Phœnicia ad Libanum*, with Damascus for capital ('Car. a St. Paul,' *Geog. Sac.* p. 287).

At the present time Syria forms a portion of three pashalics: Aleppo, Damascus, and Sidon.

THE CLIMATE of Syria greatly resembles that of Palestine. The summits of Hermon and Lebanon are crowned with perpetual snow, and the high altitudes along these ranges are as cool as the south of England; but on the other hand the low marshy plains of the interior are very hot. The seaboard being much exposed to the sun's rays, and sheltered by the mountains behind, is generally sultry and subject to fevers; but there are a few places—such as Sidon, Beyrout, and Suweidiyeh—where the soil is dry and the air pure. Rain is more abundant than in Palestine, and even during summer light showers occasionally fall in the mountains.

HISTORY.—Syria was colonised by two distinct sections of the human family, the *Canaanites* and *Arameans*. The former settled on the coast and on the heights of Lebanon, and had one inland station at Hamath. The latter occupied Damascus and spread over the remaining portions of the country (Gen. x.) In the time of King David Syria appears to have been divided into a number of independent kingdoms, of which Damascus and Zobah were the chief [ARAM]. On the conquest of the former by Tiglath-Pileser, Syria became a province of the great Assyrian empire.

Immediately after the battle of Issus, Syria passed into the hands of a different dynasty and a different race. Alexander the Great became its ruler. On his death (B.C. 323), the fortunes of war threw it into the power of Seleucus Nicator, the founder of the dynasty of the *Seleucidæ*. This prince built Antioch and made it his capital. Many other cities were erected by him and his successors on the throne; and their splendid ruins still exist as memorials of wealth and taste, long since departed from this unhappy land. From the commencement of the reign of the *Seleucidæ* till the year B.C. 114, Antioch remained sole capital. But at this period Antiochus Cyzicenus, brother of the reigning monarch, established a new sovereignty at Damascus. Disorder henceforth reigned in every section of the country, and did not cease until Syria was captured by the Romans under Pompey in B.C. 65. The dynasty of the *Seleucidæ* ruled Syria for a period of 247 years.

While a portion of Syria was placed directly under the Roman governors, several cities with territories attached to them were made free. They had their own rulers and their own laws, though subject to the imperial government, and paying regular taxes. Two of these, *Abilene* and *Damascus*, are mentioned in the N. T. Scaurus was the first of the Roman governors of Syria. He was styled *Quæstor pro Pratore*; his two successors

were *Pro-Prators*; then followed a *Proconsul*, a *Quæstor*, a *Proconsul*, a *Prætor*, and a *Proconsul*; but in the year A.D. 41 Antony gave the government to his general D. Saxa, with the title of *Legate*, which was henceforth borne by all the governors (Appian, *Syr.*) The country remained under Roman and Byzantine rule till A.D. 634, when it was overrun by the Mohammedans under Khaled. Sixteen years later Damascus was made the capital of the Mohammedan empire. The subsequent history of Syria has no connection with Biblical literature. In the 11th century the Crusaders entered it, captured its principal cities, with the exception of Damascus, and retained possession of them about a hundred years. For more than two centuries after the expulsion of the Crusaders, Syria was the theatre of fierce contests between the warlike hordes of Tartary and the Mamluke rulers of Egypt. At length, in A.D. 1517, it was captured by the Turks under Sultan Selim I., and has since remained a portion of the Ottoman empire.

The following are the leading authorities on the history, geography, and inhabitants of Syria:—Norisius, *Opera*, iii.; Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*; Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, etc.; Russell, *Nat. Hist. of Aleppo*; Pococke, *Description of the East*; Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria*; Chesney, *Euphrates Expedition*; Porter, *Damascus*, and *Handbook*; Thomson in *Bib. Sac.* vol. v.; Lyde, *The Asian Mystery*.—J. L. P.

SYRIAC VERSIONS. I. The old Syriac version of the Scriptures is often called the *Peshito*, a word which signifies *simple* or *single*, applied to the work to mark its freedom from glosses and allegorical interpretations. The version is *simple* and *literal*, unencumbered with allegorising additions, or mystical, glossarial expositions. *Peshito* is the same as the Chaldee פְּשִׁטָּה, distinguished from מְדִרְשָׁה, the simple and literal, opposed to the allegorical and mystical sense of the Jews.

Various traditions about its origin have been current among the Syrians, which partake of the fabulous. Jacob of Edessa, in a passage communicated by Gregory bar Hebræus, speaks of 'those translators who were sent to Palestine by the apostle Thaddeus, and by Abgarus king of Edessa' (Wiseman, *Horæ Syriacæ*, p. 103). This statement is improbable, notwithstanding the desire of Hävernicks to recommend it; and must be classed with the other accounts, such as that of Jesudad, that a part was translated in the time of Solomon for the use of Hiram and the Tyrians; or that it was made by Assa the priest, whom the Assyrian sent to the Samaritans. Ephrem the Syrian, in the 4th century, refers to the translation in such a manner as implies its antiquity. It seems to have been generally circulated in his time among the Syrians, and therefore he speaks of it as *our version*; which he would scarcely have done had it not obtained general authority. Besides, many expressions in it were either unintelligible to this father or very obscure; and he considered it necessary to explain terms and phrases for the use of his countrymen. Wiseman has given the principal passages in which Ephrem explains obscure words, and changes them for others (*Horæ Syriacæ*, pp. 122-136). Such circumstances are favourable to the idea of an early origin. Yet it was not



made in the 1st century, if the N. T. part be considered contemporaneous with the O. T. Michaelis is decidedly incorrect on this head. Nor can it be said with probability that it was made in the 2d century, except at its very close. The beginning of the 3d is most likely, A.D. 200. The comparatively late origin of the fourth gospel necessitates this conclusion.

With regard to the O. T. part, we incline to the opinion that it was made by Christians. Had it proceeded from Jews, or from a Jew, it would hardly have been so free from the glosses in which that people indulged. It would also have resolved anthropomorphisms as is done in the Septuagint; and exhibited less awkwardness in rendering the Levitical precepts. Many of the names of unclean animals are wanting in the Syriac of Lev. xi., and the Hebrew words are often retained, not because the translator did not understand them, but because he was negligent (Hirzel, *De Pent. vers. Syr. indole quam Peshito vocant comment crit-exeget.* p. 127, *et seqq.*). Besides, the Messianic passages show that no Jew translated them. Yet Simon, and most modern Jews, Frankel (*Vorstudien zur Septuaginta*, p. 183; *Ueber den Einfluss der palæst. Exegese*, p. 140), Rapoport (*Bicure ha-Shanah*, Jahrg. 1844, p. 37; *Erech Millin*, p. 254), Graetz (*Geschichte der Juden*, vol. iv. p. 554), and Perles (*Meletemata Peshitthoniana*) attribute its origin to Jews. The main argument adduced by Frankel and Rapoport is, that Midrashic elements are found in it, which is inconclusive, unless it could be shown that the Christians were free from Jewish influences and modes of interpretation. The necessity or motive for Jews undertaking such a version is not clear, because they had Targumic interpretations or versions which are essentially in the same dialect. Dathe conjectured that the translator was a Jewish Christian, which is possible, since the version does present evidences of Jewish influences upon it. But there is no need of resorting to an intermediate opinion of this nature.

Some have thought that the Septuagint was consulted by the authors of the Peshito. There is considerable resemblance between it and our version—not so much in single passages as in its general tenor—and the influence of the Greek is tolerably clear, notwithstanding the attempts of Hävernick and Herbst to explain it away. It may be true that in many difficult passages the two versions disagree; that the additions to the text, larger or smaller, which the LXX. have, are wanting in the Peshito, while the latter has additions and omissions of its own; and that some books are entirely free from the influence of the Greek (see Hirzel, pp. 100-124). But the Septuagint may have been used notwithstanding. It is not necessary that the opinion about the Greek having been used by the Syriac translator should include a general agreement in difficult passages, in insertions and omissions; or that the evidence should be as palpable in some books as in others. *A priori*, it is certainly probable that a translation so much used by Christians at that time should have been consulted. Nor is it easy to resist the conclusion that the person who translated the prophets had the LXX. before him. This fact is perceptible in the Pentateuch; in the historical and poetic books it is less so.

Some have thought that the translator also used Targums. Had he been a Jew or a Jewish

Christian this could be readily accounted for, even without having recourse to the supposition that the Targums were actually used; since Jewish modes of interpretation were prevalent in Palestine, and there would therefore be an approach to the Chaldaic *usus loquendi*. Gesenius and Credner argue very plausibly that the use of a Targum in different books is clear. But the passages they adduce are not convincing. Thus the former quotes Is.

xxxiii. 7, where the Syriac renders ܐܢܝܢ ܕܥܡܝܢ

ܐܢܝܢ, if he shews them, in the third person, the Chaldee having ܐܢܝܢ ܕܥܡܝܢ—i.e. ܐܢܝܢ ܕܥܡܝܢ as the Syriac read it; whereas the Chaldee should be read in the first person, ܐܢܝܢ. But the reading is corrupt here, because Ephrem has the first person, ܐܢܝܢ, which must have been originally in the

Peshito (*Commentar ueber den Jesaia*, vol. i. pp. 83, 84). The strongest argument against the use of any of our present Targums is that they were not then in existence. Elements embodied in them were current in Palestine, but they had not been wrought up and enlarged as they now are. One thing is certain, that the version was taken from the original Hebrew. In establishing this fact, external and internal arguments unite. The text at its basis is substantially the Masoretic one.

Eichhorn has tried to show, from the constituents of the version itself, that it proceeded from several persons. Without assenting to all his arguments, or attaching importance to many of his presumptive circumstances, we are disposed to agree with him in opinion—not that it was made in pieces at different times, but at the same time generally, as a work for the use of the Syrian churches. Tradition is favourable to this hypothesis, if tradition has any weight; and the words of Ephrem himself agree, where he says on Josh. xv. 28, 'Since those who translated into Syriac did not understand the signification of the Hebrew word' (Von Lengerke, *Comment. Critica de Ephrem. Syr. s. s. interprete*, p. 24). The Peshito contains all the canonical books of the O. T. The apocryphal ones were not originally included; but they must have been rendered into Syriac soon after, for Ephrem quotes them. In his day the books of the Maccabees were wanting, and the additions to Daniel.

The Peshito in the N. T. is part of the version on the O. T., and was made continuously with it. Bishop Marsh argues conclusively against Michaelis, that it did not appear till after the canon had been formed; but he errs in putting the close of the canon about the middle of the 2d century. It wants the second and third epistles of John, the second of Peter, the epistle of Jude, and the Apocalypse. Nor were these books originally a part of it, as Hug supposes, asserting that they gradually disappeared from it in the 4th century. Bertholdt has shown the reverse (*Einleit. Theil ii.* p. 635).

As the O. T. was made from the original Hebrew, the N. T. part was translated from the Greek.

In consequence of the variety observable in the mode of translating different books, Hug thinks that the N. T. proceeded from different hands;



and this is perhaps correct, for the Gospels and Acts hardly seem to have been rendered by the same person. Hug assigns it to the *κοινή* *ἑκδόσις*, or unrevised text. The old Latin and it belong to the most ancient period of the text, and therefore agree so strikingly. But the text was revised like that of the old Latin; which accounts for many modern or Constantinopolitan readings. The Peshito, as we have it, represents a mixed Greek text—the ancient basis appearing through the later revision. The centre of revision was Edessa, where it was made in the former half of the 5th century. Hence it may be said that the present text of the Peshito belongs to the early part of the 5th century. Griesbach's statement is exaggerated—'Diversis temporibus ad Græcos codices plane diversos iterum iterumque recognita esse videtur'—but he afterwards qualified it in his *Meltemata ii.* where he speaks of but *one* reviser, and says very correctly that it took place in the epistles more than in the gospels. The able remarks of Hug led to this partial retraction.\* Gregory Bar Hebræus says that the Peshito has an impure, rude, and inelegant diction. Passages to this effect from Gregory's grammar are given by Assemani (*Biblioth. Oriental.* ii. p. 279, *et seqq.*), to which Wiseman has added another. Perhaps Bar Hebræus thought it exhibited the impure dialect used by the inhabitants of Palestine and Lebanon, as distinguished from the pure and elegant dialect which prevailed at Edessa and in all ulterior Syria. But the version was not made in Palestine; and its language was pure and good at the time of its origin. The late period at which Bar Hebræus wrote helped to disqualify him for judging of language current so long before his day.

The O. T. Peshito was first printed in the Paris Polyglott, with a Latin translation by Gabriel Sionita. The MS. or MSS. from which this editor printed were imperfect, having not only many hiatuses, but being deficient in whole books, such as Esther and the Apocrypha. But the editor can hardly be blamed for defective MSS.; and the very fact that he left lacunæ as he found them, which Walton admits, militates against the truth of the statement that he filled up lacunæ 'ex proprio ingenio' (Walton's *Prolegomena*, ed. Dathe, p. 609). Walton pronounces a severe judgment on the work of the learned Maronite. The same text was afterwards printed in the London Polyglott, not more correctly, but rather less so, as Roediger rightly affirms. Walton, it is true, supplied the missing apocryphal books and Esther; but instead of making the text better from the three MSS. which he had, he contented himself with reproducing that of Sionita, and giving collations of the three by Thorndyke in the sixth volume of his Polyglott (see *Hallische Literatur Zeitung*, 1832, No. 5, p. 38). The edition published by Professor Lee in 1823, 4to, for the use of the British and Foreign Bible Society, is one of the best. According to the account given by the editor himself in the *Classical Journal* for 1821 (p. 245, etc.), he used two MSS. of Ussher, one of Pococke, one formerly belonging to Ridley, another lent him by Adam Clarke, and the Travancore MS. which Buchanan brought from the

East, besides consulting the works of Ephrem, which have many quotations, and Bar Hebræus. The only tolerable lexicon is Michaelis's enlarged reprint of Castell, published at Göttingen in two parts, 1788, 4to; for Bernstein did not live to publish more than one part of his long-expected lexicon. The Pentateuch was printed separately by Kirsch, 1787, 4to; and the Psalter at Mount Lebanon 1585, 1610; at Paris by Gabriel Sionita, 1625; at Leyden by Erpenius, 1625; and at Halle by Dathe, 1768.

The N. T. Peshito was first made known in Europe by Moses of Mardin, a Syrian priest, who was sent by Ignatius, patriarch of Antioch in 1552, to Pope Julius III. to acknowledge the supremacy of the Roman pontiff, and also to superintend the printing of the Syriac Testament. It was first published at Vienna in 1555 by John Albert Widmanstad, chancellor of Austria under Ferdinand I. Two MSS. were employed in it (duo vetustissima exemplaria; duo singularis fidei exemplaria). It wants of course the last two epistles of St. John, the second of Peter, the epistle of Jude, and the Revelation. It also wants John vii. 53–viii. 11; some words in Matthew x. 8 and xxvii. 35; two verses in Luke xxii.—viz. 17, 18; and 1 John v. 7, all which are absent from Syriac MSS. In 2 Cor. v. 8 it has *in the heaven of purity*, which is found in Nestorian sources alone; but it has the usual reading in Hebrews ii. 9, not the Nestorian one *χρῆσι θεοῦ*.

The best editions of the N. T. Peshito next to Widmanstad's are Leusden and Schaaf's, Lugd. Bat. 1708 or 1709, 4to; that prepared for the Bible Society by Professor Lee, London 1816, 4to, probably to supersede the Gospels and Acts in Syriac, with a Latin translation, 4to, published the preceding year under Buchanan's editorship, Broxbourne; and that of Greenfield, 12mo, 1828, based on Widmanstad, with a Syriac preface by Lee, and an imperfect collation of readings. The best lexicon, which also serves for a concordance, is Schaaf's, 1709, 4to. The Peshito has been translated into English by Etheridge, 1846, 1849, 12mo, 2 vols.; and better by Murdock, in 1 vol. 8vo, New York 1851.

A new critical edition of the Peshito is a desideratum. Materials are not wanting in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, the Vatican, the British Museum, and the Bodleian. Among the treasures collected out of the Nitrian desert, there is a MS. of the Peshito Pentateuch in the British Museum, 14,425, dated 464 A.D. There is another MS. of the gospels of the 6th or 7th century. We do not believe, however, that the oldest MS. varies much from the text usually printed; as a collation of various chapters in the 464 A.D. MS. has yielded only a few unimportant variations, chiefly in orthography.

II. L. de Dieu first published the *Syriac Apocalypse* from a MS. formerly in the library of the younger Scaliger, and afterwards in that of the university at Leyden (Ludgini Batav. 1627, 4to); reprinted with a Latin version and notes in his *Critica Sacra*, Amsterdam 1693, fol. What version this MS. contains, or to what age it belongs, is very uncertain. The subscription to the MS. says that it was written by Gaspar from the land of the Indians. Another MS. at Florence written by Gaspar states that it was copied in 1582 from an autographic copy of Thomas of Harkel (see White's

\* Verissime enim clar. Hugius animadvertit, versionem hanc a Diorthote quodam videri recognitam fuisse ac castigatam (pp. li. lii.)



preface to the Philoxenian edition, p. xv.) It may be part of the Harclean recension of the Philoxenian, as Ridley, Storr, Michaelis, and Bertholdt think. But it is of an inferior type. It has fewer Greek words than the Philoxenian, several compounds are not expressed, the Syriac orthography is followed in proper names, and the version is on the whole not so literal. The translator has made many blunders. Hence we are not inclined to believe it a part of the Philoxenian. Its critical value is small.

III. The character of the version of the four epistles, first printed by Pococke from a MS. in the Bodleian (Leyden 1630, 4to), betrays a later age than the Peshito. It belongs probably to the Philoxenian before the latter was revised by Thomas of Harkel. These unauthentic portions of the Peshito were put with the authentic books of that version in the Paris Polyglott, whence they were transferred to the London one.

IV. The story of the adulteress in John vii. 53-viii. 11 was added in the latter work from a MS. belonging to Ussher, which contained the Philoxenian not the Peshito.

After the Syrian church was divided into different sections, various recensions of the Peshito appeared. The recension of the Nestorians is often quoted in the scholia of Gregory Bar Hebræus, and extended no farther, according to Wiseman, than the points appended to the Syriac letters. The *Karkaphension recension* is also cited by the same writer, and was long supposed to be a separate version, till the researches of Wiseman at Rome brought its true character to light. From the examination of two codices at Rome he ascertained that it was a mere revision of the Peshito, distinguished by a peculiar mode of pointing and a peculiar arrangement of the books, but not departing essentially from the common text. In this recension Job precedes Samuel, and the minor prophets succeed Isaiah immediately. The Proverbs follow Daniel. The arrangement of the N. T. books is as singular. It begins with the Acts of the Apostles and ends with the four gospels; while the epistles of James, Peter, and John, come before the fourteen Pauline letters. This is a Monophysite recension. According to Assemani and Wiseman, the name Karkaphension means *mountainous*; because it was made about Mount Sigara, where there was a monastery of Jacobite Syrians.

V. Besides the Peshito, Gregory Bar Hebræus, in the preface to his *Horreum Mysteriorum*, mentions another version of the N. T., the *Philoxenian* or *Harclean*.

This second version was made from the Greek into Syriac in the city of Mabug; and is so called from Philoxenus or Xenayas bishop of Mabug, in Syria. There is some doubt about the part which that ecclesiastic had in the translation; and the testimony of Bar Hebræus is not uniform. In one passage he says that it was made *in the time of* Philoxenus; in his *Chronicon*, that it was done by *his desire*; and in another place of the same work, that it was his own production. Moses Aghelæus (Assemani, *Biblioth. Oriental.* ii. p. 83) states that its author was Polycarp, rural bishop of Philoxenus. In an Arabic MS., quoted by Assemani (ii. p. 23), Philoxenus is said by a Jacobite author to have translated the four gospels into Syriac. The truth seems to be that Polycarp, acting under his auspices, made the version; Philoxenus hoping to

advance the Monophysite tenets by a new translation. One thing is certain, that it was made between the years 485 and 518 of the Christian era, most probably in 508 A.D. No MS. of this version as it came from the hands of Polycarp has been yet discovered, unless the Codex Angelicus at Rome, containing the four gospels, be such, as Bernstein supposes. It is described by Adler (p. 59, etc.); and by Bernstein (in the *Kritische Anmerkungen* prefixed to his edition of John's Gospel); the latter of whom gives a collation of its readings in John i.-v. The MS. itself is attributed to the 11th century; but the subscription is by another hand, and seems to have been taken from a Harclean MS. A few fragments, constituting the marginal annotations of a very ancient Vatican codex, examined by Wiseman, and numbered 153, belong to the unrevised version also. The passages are printed in his *Horæ Syriacæ*, p. 178, *et seq.* Moses Aghelæus says that Polycarp rendered the Psalter also into Syriac. If so, his version of it must have soon disappeared.

In A.D. 616 Thomas of Harkel or Harclea, in Palestine, afterwards a monk in the monastery of Taril, and subsequently bishop of Mabug, revised it in the monastery of Anaton at Alexandria; from which recension nearly all our knowledge of it is derived.

A postscript to the gospels which most MSS. have, states that Thomas corrected the gospels after two (some MSS. have *three*) Greek codices. A like subscription relates that the Acts and catholic epistles were revised after one Greek MS. This work of emendation was completed in 616. The basis was the Peshito.

The text of the Philoxenian as revised by Thomas, is furnished with obeli and asterisks. Most of the MSS., too, have critical remarks and readings in the margin, which Wetstein and White have ascribed for the most part to Thomas himself. In this conclusion Hug and Bertholdt agree. But others infer, from the fact of a codex being found in the Medicean library at Florence without Thomas's subscription, and yet with these signs (the codex representing, in Adler's opinion, the Philoxenian before revision—*N. T. Versiones Syriacæ*, etc. p. 55), that the obeli and asterisks were as early as the time of Polycarp himself. We agree with White that the obeli and asterisks were meant to show the difference between the old text and the Greek MSS. with which it was collated, though Wetstein and Storr suppose them to relate to the comparison of the new with the old Syriac version. It is matter of regret that they have been so often changed, confused, and removed from their places by ignorant transcribers (Adler, *Novi Test. Versiones Syriacæ*, etc. p. 51); so that it is impossible to tell the exact state in which they were at first; or to assign them to their probable author. The similar procedure of Origen offers an analogy which Thomas might be supposed to imitate, were it not for the fact that an asterisk for the most part indicates a word or words which were wanting in the Greek; and an obelus that the Syriac requires something to be added which the Greek is without.

The character of this version, based upon the Peshito, is extreme literality. It was the translator's aim to prevent a syllable of the original from being lost. The Syriac idiom, therefore, has been often sacrificed by rigid adherence to the original Greek. Greek words are used, even



the Greek cases appear, the Greek article is imitated by pronouns, Greek etymology is represented, and Greek constructions are not unusual. In consequence of this slavish adherence to the original, the style is greatly inferior to that of the Peshito, though its critical use is greater. Judging by the Florentine MS., we should say that Thomas's corrections were neither numerous nor important. He did not make extensive alterations in the Philoxenian text.

About the time of Thomas's revisal of Polycarp's version, Paul of Tela made the Hexaplar Syriac from the Septuagint. It is difficult to tell the connection that existed between the two. The one may have executed the version of the O. T. to accompany the new recension of the N. T., or Thomas may have imitated the procedure of Paul.

The marginal readings are probably the most valuable part of the version in a critical view. One of the Greek MSS. compared by Thomas had considerable affinity to D in the gospels and Acts. Of 180 marginal readings about 130 are found in B C D L i. 33, 69, etc. With D alone of MSS. it harmonises nineteen times in the gospels; with D and B seven times. With the Alexandrian or A alone it agrees twice, but with it and others D L eight times. With the Vatican or B alone it harmonises twice, but with it and others four times (see Adler, pp. 130, 131).

The most complete MS. of the version yet known is one formerly belonging to Ridley, now in the library of New College, Oxford (see Ridley's *De Syriacarum novi Fœderis versionum indole et usu dissertatio*, London 1761). It contains all the books of the N. T. except the Apocalypse, and from the 27th verse of the 11th chapter of the epistle to the Hebrews to the end. All other MSS. yet known contain no more than the gospels. In 1778 White published the four gospels from Ridley's MS. 4to. In 1799 the Acts and catholic epistles followed; and in 1803 the Pauline epistles. The editor gave a Latin version and notes.

In 1853 Bernstein published in 8vo St. John's Gospel in the Harclean text from a Vatican MS., No. 271, which has neither asterisks, obeli, nor marginal notes; but it has the vowel-points, together with Kushoi and Rucocli. This edition is accompanied by valuable critical remarks containing descriptions of some MSS., and comparisons of readings.

VI. In 1858 Dr. Cureton published the 'Remains of a very ancient Syriac recension of the four gospels in Syriac, hitherto unknown in Europe,' with an English translation and preface, 4to. The gospels are arranged thus: Matthew, Mark, John, Luke, and many parts are wanting—all Mark's gospel except xvi. 17-20. It contains only Matt. i. 1-viii. 22; x. 32-xxiii. 25; Mark xvi. 17-20; John i. 1-42; iii. 6; vii. 37; xiv. 10-12, 16-18, 19-23, 26-29; Luke ii. 48-iii. 16; vii. 33-xv. 21; xvii. 24-xxiv. 44. The editor thinks that it is a very ancient form of the Syriac gospels, not a version altogether independent of the Peshito; one less revised after Greek MSS. This opinion is substantially correct. It is an older version than the Peshito; which the author or authors of the latter consulted throughout. There is a considerable resemblance of the one to the other, so that their mutual dependence is clear. Entire verses are contained in both which are identical; while in others a very slight difference exists. The pas-

sages in which this agreement is seen are very numerous (see Hermansen's *Disputatio de codice evangel. Syriaco*, pp. 22, 23). It is remarkable, too, that the identity of the two appears in some places where both depart from the Greek, and in the use of very rare words, as is exemplified in Luke ix. 5, and in xiii. 9 where is the singular rendering for *εἰς τὸ μέλλον*, ܐܠܝܢܐ. But their diversities are also striking and numerous. The very method of translation is different, being freer and looser in the Curetonian than the Peshito; neither so accurate nor so terse. The editor is mistaken in believing that St. Matthew was made from an Aramaean text representing very nearly the original Hebrew of St. Matthew's Gospel. It is all but certain that the proper original document of the apostle Matthew comprehended little more than the discourses of Jesus; and therefore that 'the Gospel according to the Hebrews' was a copious and free enlargement of it both from tradition and the Greek gospel. Hence we can never hope to get at the original memoirs compiled by St. Matthew through the Syriac version. Abundant proof lies in the recension itself that St. Matthew was translated from the Greek, like the other gospels. Thus in Matt. vi. 24, 'or should bear one,' shows that *ἀνθίσταται* was confounded with *ἀνέστηται*; and in Matt. xxi. 16, 'I will prepare praise' proceeded from a like exchange of *κατηρίσω* and *καταρίσω*. The weakness of the arguments adduced by Cureton is apparent. Thus in Matt. xiii. 48 the version has ܐܬܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ, *the fishes that were*

*good, good* or the best fishes. This is simply a free version of the Greek *τὰ καλά*, omitting *εἰς ἀγρία*, inserting *fishes*, which is not in the Greek, and making *good* the superlative by repetition. But Cureton supposes that the translator confounded *טובין*, *good*, with *במכין*, *into baskets*, which is a gratuitous and most improbable conjecture. Again, in Matt. xx. 11 this version has ܐܬܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ, *when they saw*, for the Greek *λαβόντες*, which is merely an incorrect translation. But Cureton conjectures very unfortunately that the Greek translator took *היו* from *אחיו* of the Hebrew for *היו*, dropping the *א*. *אחיו* could not have been used here for *λαβόντες*, but some other verb. In iii. 17, where the Greek has *οὗτός ἐστιν*, the Syriac has *thou art*, which Cureton accounts for by conjecturing that the Greek translator read *הו* *אית* instead of *הו* *אנת*, which he rendered *οὗτός ἐστιν* instead of *σὺ εἶ*. A translator could not be guilty of such gross ignorance. Nothing can be juster than Hermansen's remark, that the words usually adduced by the learned editor from the gospels to prove the Aramaean original of this Syriac Matthew 'are miserably twisted to serve a purpose.' There is so much uniformity in the version as to show that it was made by one person, from one language, not from two. And there are marks of antiquity about it which show an age prior to the Peshito. Probably it was a local version made for private rather than public use; perhaps in Palestine. It formed the basis of the Peshito, for there is evidence enough of the translators who made the latter having worked upon the basis of this one, but everywhere with the Greek before them. As the Peshito was meant for public use in the churches it is more correctly and competently done. The looseness of rendering, and the incompetence so often seen in this old ver-



sion, are less frequent in the later one. The text of the gospels represented in this Syriac MS. is that of the end of the 2d century, when it was made. It often agrees with B C D, and the old Latin version before it was corrected by Jerome, especially its MSS. a b c; with D most of all. Very seldom does it coincide with A. alone. Thus in Matt. xix. 9 the words *καὶ ὁ ἀπολελυμένην γαμή-σας, μοιχᾶται* are omitted, as in D a b e ff; and to the 28th verse a long passage is added which is only in D a b c d. It omits Matt. xvi. 2, 3, with B and two other uncial MSS.; though the old Italic has them as well as D. In xiii. 55 it has *Joseph* with B C the old Italic, Vulgate, and other authorities.

As to the critical value of this recension compared with that of the Peshito, it has many older and better readings than the latter. But it has also inferior ones. It is therefore unfair to the Peshito to select a number of texts in which the Curetonian Syriac readings are obviously better and more ancient; omitting the places in which it is the reverse. In Luke xxiv. the fortieth verse is omitted, contrary to the Peshito and the most ancient uncial MSS. A B N. In Matt. xxii. 35 *καὶ λέγων* is read by the Curetonian; but it is absent from the Peshito, which is supported by B and N. In Matt. vii. 22 the words 'have we not eaten and drunk in thy name?' are inserted without any MS. authority, apparently from Luke xiii. 26. In Matt. xi. 23 instead of the usual Greek text it has 'thou shalt not be exalted to heaven but;' contrary to all authority and betraying at the same time a Greek original with *μή*. In Matt. xxi. 9 it is added at the end, 'and many went out to meet him, and were rejoicing and praising God concerning all that which they saw,' words wholly unauthorised. In xxi. 23 *διδάσκοντι* is omitted without authority. In xxiii. 18 from *ὅς εἰν* to *ἔστω* are also left out, contrary to all external evidence. In Luke vii. 16 is the unauthorised addition 'he set forth another parable.' In Luke xi. 29 'except the sign of the prophet Jonas' is omitted, contrary to MSS. Luke xx. 12 is omitted without authority. In xxii. ver. 20 is wanting, and 19 is put before 17; *διδόμενον* is also absent in 19 without authority. In John v. 8 we have the addition 'go away to thy house.' So too in the ninth verse, 'and he took up his bed,' is omitted. In vi. 20 *μή φοβεῖσθε* are left out, against MS. authority. In Matt. i. 8 three kings are put in the verse, Ahazia, Joash, Amuzia, which are not in MSS., and are contrary to the 17th verse. The opinion of so late a writer as Bar Salibi about the omission of these names, or even that of Mar Yakub the Persian, is of no account against all MSS. and the context.

A good deal of importance is attached by Cureton to the fact of St. Matthew's Gospel having a title attached to it, *ܡܬܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܬܝܬܐ*,

whereas the others have none. There is a small hole in the vellum immediately before *ܡܬܬܝܬܐ*, not large enough to have admitted a Dolath. As to the meaning of *ܡܬܬܝܬܐ* it is difficult to decipher. 'The distinct gospel' gives little sense. Nor does it appear to signify *explained, interpreted or translated* after the analogy of *ܡܬܬܝܬܐ* in Neh. viii. 8; because the Hebrew word has not that meaning in the passage. It is highly improbable

that it denotes interpretation from one tongue into another. It cannot be a general title, because there is no space between the name of Matthew and it. There is not even room for a Dolath between them. The most probable supposition is that of Gildemeister, that it is an epithet of the apostle, denoting him to be a *separated* or *select* one. As a title of honour attached to his name, it may stand before as well as after it. This view has historical support, for in the Eastern church the epithet is applied to the apostle exclusively, *Matthew the chosen* (see *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. xiii. p. 472, et seq.)

It is unnecessary to notice the arguments of the *Abbé Lehir* (Etude sur ancienne version Syriaque des Evangiles récemment découverte et publiée, par le Dr. Cureton, Paris 1859), because they are mostly directed to the support of the view which Dr. Cureton advocates. As far as his remarks go, Ewald has written conclusively upon the recension, deciding, as all scholars who have critical sagacity must do, in favour of the Greek original of Matthew and the priority of the version to the Peshito (*Fachbücher der biblischen Wissenschaft*, vol. ix.)

VII. The *Jerusalem* or *Palestino-Syriac* version of the N. T. This was discovered by Adler in a Vatican MS. (No. 19). From the subscription to the MS. it seems to have been written in a monastery at Antioch A.D. 1030. The dialect is peculiar, uncouth, and barbarous, being a mixture of Chaldee and Syriac similar to that of the Jerusalem Talmud. The *character* is also peculiar, approaching the Hebrew letters, but not very different from the Estrangelo. Dolath usually wants the diacritic point. The letter Pe has two forms, according as it is pronounced *f* or *p*. The MS. is merely a *lectionary* or *evangelistarium* containing lessons from the four gospels for the Sundays and festivals in the year. The version was made from the Greek, probably in the 6th century, and could only have been local. It is difficult to tell whether it formed part of a more extended version, or was taken simply from a Greek evangelistarium. The latter view throws its origin too late—viz. not before the 8th century. The only complete passage published till recently was owing to Adler—viz. Matt. xxvii. 3-32; and scholars could only repeat or work upon what he gave. But the version has been published entire by Count Minischalchi Erizzo at Verona 1861, 1864, 2 vols. 4to; the first containing the text, with a Latin translation; the second, prolegomena and a glossary. We are grateful to Minischalchi for his beautiful edition of the MS.; but his prolegomena are disappointing; showing besides numerous mistakes, little capacity for criticism. Critical editors of the Greek Testament cannot now overlook this very valuable document, whose readings are so important. It contains the following portions of the gospels: all Matthew except iii. 12; v. 34-41; vi. 25-34; vii. 19-23; viii. 14-19; x. 9-15, 23-31, 34-36; xi. 16-26; xii. 1-29, 38-50; xiii. 1-43, 55-58; xiv. 1-13, 35-36; xv. 1-20, 29-31; xvi. 1-12, 20-28; xvii. 20, 27; xviii. 5-9, 11, 21, 22; xix. 1, 2, 13-15; xx. 17-28; xxi. 44-46; xxvi. 40-43; all Mark except i. 12-34, 45; ii. 13, 18-22; iii. 6-35; iv.; v. 1-23, 35-43; vi. 6-13, 31-56; vii. 1-23; viii. 1-26, 32, 33; ix. 1-15, 31, 41-50; x. 1-31, 46-52; xi. 1-21, 26-33; xii. 1-27; xiii., xiv.; xv. 1-15, 33-42; all Luke except i. 69-75, 77-79; iii. 23-38; iv. 1-15, 37-44; v. 12-16,



33-39; vi. 11-16, 24-30, 37-49; vii. 17, 18, 30-35; viii. 22-25, 40; ix. 7-26, 45-56; x. 13-15, 22-24; xi. 1-26, 34-54; xii. 1, 13-15, 22-31, 41-59; xiii. 1-10, 30-35; xiv. 12-15, 25-35; xv. 1-10; xvi. 1-9, 16-18; xvii. 1, 2, 20-37; xviii. 1, 15-17, 28-34; xix. 11-48; xx. 9-44; xxi. 5-7, 20-24, 37, 38; xxii. 40, 41, 46-71; xxiii. 1-31, 50-56; all John except ii. 23-25; iii. 34-36; iv. 1-4, 43-45; v. 34, 45, 46, 71; vii. 30-36; xi. 46, 55-57; xiii. 18-30; xix. 21-24.

As to the readings, it appears to us that they are such as characterised the 5th and 6th centuries. The text is not that of **S**, **B**, **Z**, or even **D**, but rather that of **A** and **C**. In Matt. vi. it has the doxology of the Lord's prayer which is not in **S**, **B**, **D**, **Z**; it has John vii. 53-viii. 11; contains John v. 3, 4; has the usual order of the 4 and 5 verses in Matt. v.; and has the later enlarged form of v. 44. It also contains the last 12 verses of Mark xvi., contrary to **S** and **B**; has *υλος νοτ θεος* in John i. 18; and in Matt. xxii. 35 has the later reading *καὶ λέγων*, omitted in **B**, **L**, and the Peshito. It has also *οἱ δώδεκα* in Luke xxii. 14, with **A**, **C**, **E**, etc., but contrary to **S**, **B**, **D**, the Curetonian, Syriac, and Italic. In John i. 27 it has the words *ἐμπροσθέν μου γέγονεν* contrary to **S**, **B**, **L**, and the Curetonian Syriac; but with **A**, **E**, **F**, etc., the old Italic, Vulgate, and Peshito. In Matt. xix. 17 it has the old and genuine *τί με ἐρωτᾷς περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ*; in John iii. 15 *μὴ ἀπόλθῃται* ἀλλὰ are omitted with **S**, and the Curetonian Syriac, **E**, etc. On the whole, while it is easy to see a number of the oldest readings in the text, such as those in **S**, **B**, the old Italic, **D**, etc., yet the readings of a later period prevail. Its text, though often differing from the Peshito, is neither older nor better. The Greek at its basis is not anterior to the 5th century. Nothing is more incorrect than the assertions of Minischalechi that Matthew's Gospel is the apostle's authentic one; and that the source of the version was anterior to and wholly different from, that of the Peshito.

VIII. *Hexaplar-Syriac*.—A version of the Septuagint into Syriac was made by Paul of Tela, at Alexandria, at the instigation of the Monophysite patriarch Athanasius, A.D. 617. It is from Origen's Hexaplar text, with his critical remarks, the margin having notes respecting various readings, fragments of the versions of Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus, with scholia from Syriac and Greek writers.

The character of the version is extreme literalism. Every Greek word is rendered by a Syriac one, to the neglect of the laws of the language into which the version was made. This makes it very useful to the critic, and most important in restoring Origen's text. The Greek text at its basis agrees for the most part with the Codex Alexandrinus. But it often leans to the Vatican, and not seldom to the Complutensian texts. At other times it departs from all. Eichhorn has given copious examples of its peculiarities and uses; which are sufficient to prove its value in restoring the genuine text of the Septuagint as Origen left it.

Three MSS. containing this version, but none of them complete, have been known to scholars. That formerly possessed by Masius contained Joshua, Judges, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, Esther, Judith, Tobit, and a considerable part of Deuteronomy, as we learn from his commentary on Joshua, which contains a Latin version of that

book (Antwerp 1574, fol.) This codex has disappeared. Another in the Ambrosian Library at Milan contains the Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, the Wisdom of Solomon, Sirach, the twelve minor Prophets, Jeremiah, Baruch, Lamentations, Daniel, Ezekiel, Isaiah. A third MS. in the Paris Library has the fourth book of Kings. In 1787 Norberg published Jeremiah and Ezekiel from the Milan MS., with a Latin version. His transcript must have been very imperfect, judging from Bugati's remarks. In 1788 Bugati published Daniel. In 1820 the Psalms appeared, four years after his death, superintended by Cighera. In 1834, 1835, Middeldorff published in two volumes 4to, at Berlin, the four books of Kings, Isaiah, the twelve minor Prophets, Proverbs, Job, Canticles, Lamentations, and Ecclesiastes, with a commentary. The editor had only a faulty transcript of Norberg's, and did not collate the original. With the exception of Bugati's Daniel, none of these is well edited. Norberg's edition is very incorrect; nor is that of Middeldorff less so. In 1859 Rörðam issued *Libri Judicum et Ruth secundum versionem Syriaco-Hexaplaem ex codice Musei Britannici nunc primum editi, Græce translatis, notisque illustrati*, in two fasciculi, 1859, 1861, Copenhagen 4to. A competent scholar has undertaken the task of editing the remainder—Dr. Antonio Ceriani of Milan. In 1861 appeared his *Monumenta sacra et profana*, tom. i. fascic. i. Milan, containing, among other ancient documents, the Hexaplar-Syriac, Baruch, Lamentations, and the epistle of Jeremiah. In the preface, the learned editor states his intention to publish, from the Ambrosian MS. and others, the entire version, even the books printed before, of whose inaccurate execution he speaks in just terms. No more is yet published; and scholars must regret its being delayed by the issue of other ancient documents, such as those in tom. iii. fascic. i.

Most of the works on the literature of Syriac versions have been already quoted. In addition to them we may refer to Wichelhaus *De N. T. versione Syriaca antiqua*, etc., Halis, 1850; Lee's *Prolegomena to Bagster's Polyglot*; Bernstein's *Commentatio de Charklensi Novi Testamenti translatione Syriaca*, 1857; Reusch, *Syrus interpres cum fonte N. T. Græco collatus*, 1741; Storr's *Observationes super N. T. versionibus Syriacis*, 1772; Winer, *De usu vers. Syriacæ N. T. critico caute instituendo*, 1823; Loehlein, *Syrus ep. ad Ephesios interpres*, 1835; Michaelis, *J. D. Curæ in versionem Syriacam Actuum Apostolicorum*, 1755; Credner, *De prophetarum min. vers. Syr. quam Peshito vocant indole*, 1827; the Introductions of De Wette, Herbst, and Bleek, with Davidson's *Treatise on Biblical Criticism*, vol. ii.—S. D.

SYRO-PHŒNICIAN (Συροφονίσις, Συροφονικισσα), a native of Phœnicia Proper, called Syro or Syrian Phœnicia, from being included in the Roman province of Syria. It includes that part of the coast of Canaan, on the borders of the Mediterranean, in which the cities of Tyre and Sidon were situated; and the same country, which is called Phœnicie in the Acts, is in the Gospels called the coasts of Tyre and Sidon. The woman also described as Syro-Phœnician in Mark vii. 26, is in Matt. xv. 22 called a Canaanitish woman, because that country was still occupied by the descendants of Canaan, of whom Sidon was the



eldest son. Some MSS. read Σύρα Φωνίση, a Phœnician Syrian.

## T

TAANACH (תַּעֲנַךְ; Sept. Θανάκ), a royal city of the Canaanites (Josh. xii. 21), in the territory of Issachar, but assigned to Manasseh (Judg. i. 27; v. 19; Josh. xvii. 11-21; 1 Kings iv. 12). Schubert, followed by Robinson, finds it in the modern Ta'annuk, now a mean hamlet on the south side of a small hill, with a summit of table-land. It lies on the south-western border of the plain of Esdraelon, four miles south of Megiddo, in connection with which it is mentioned in the triumphal song of Deborah and Barak (Judg. v. 19). Schubert, *Morgenland*, iii. 164; Robinson, *Bib. Res.* iii. 156; *Bib. Sacra*, i. 76.

TAANATH SHILOH (תַּעֲנַת שִׁלֹּה; Sept. Θαναθ Σηλώ; Alex. Τηναθ Σηλώ), a place on the border-line of Ephraim (Josh. xvi. 6). In the *Onomasticon* it is placed between Neapolis and the Jordan, at the distance of ten Roman miles from the former. This would place it to the east of Shiloh; and it is probably the Θῆνα of Ptolemy, which he mentions along with Neapolis as the chief towns of Samaria (*Geog.* v. 16. 5). There is a place called Tāna N.E. of Migdel which some have identified with Taanath Shiloh, but without reason Robinson thinks (*Lat. B. R.* 295).—W. L. A.

TABBATH (טַבַּת; Sept. Ταβάθ; Alex. Γάβαθ), a place mentioned Judg. vii. 22, but which has not been identified. It may be the remarkable mound called *Tubukat-Fakil* (Robinson, *Later B. R.* iii. 321), which is in the same district in which the narrative would lead us to look for Tabbath.—W. L. A.

TABEAL (טַבְּעָל; *God is good*; Sept. Ταβεήλ), father of the unnamed person on whom Rezin king of Syria, and Pekah king of Israel, proposed to bestow the crown of Judah in case they succeeded in dethroning Ahaz (Is. vii. 6). Who 'Tabeal's son' was is unknown, but it is conjectured that he was some factious and powerful Ephraimite (perhaps Zichri, 2 Chron. xxviii. 7) who promoted the war in the hope of this result.

TABERAH, one of the stations of the Israelites in the desert. [WANDERING.]

TABERNACLE, THE (מִשְׁכָּן; *a dwelling*, אֹהֶל, *a tent*, σκηνή), called also TABERNACLE OF THE CONGREGATION (אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד), TABERNACLE OF WITNESS (אֹהֶל הָעֵדוּת), HOUSE OF THE LORD (בֵּית יְהוָה), SANCTUARY or HOLY PLACE (קֹדֶשׁ), מִקְדָּשׁ, ἁγίασμα, ἁγιαστήριον, τὸ ἅγιον, τὰ ἅγια), and, though rarely, TEMPLE OF THE LORD (הֵיכָל, יְהוָה, 1 Sam. i. 9; iii. 3; Ps. v. 8 [7]).

I. CONSTRUCTION AND HISTORY.—The first mention made in Scripture of the tabernacle as a holy place is in Exod. xxv., where are detailed the instructions which Moses received of the Lord when he was with him on the mount, concerning

the construction and furniture of the sanctuary. In these Moses was enjoined to follow closely the pattern (תַּבְּנִית, τὸ παραδέγμα) showed to him

by God. Whether we are to understand by this that God actually showed to Moses a *model* of the fabric he commanded him to rear, or only caused the *idea* of it to rise up clearly in his mind, is a question of little moment, so long as it is admitted that the plan of the fabric originated with God, and was by him communicated to Moses. The state in which Moses found the Israelites on his descent from the mount prevented the execution of this plan for some time; and in the interval a temporary substitute was provided in a tent which Moses caused to be pitched at a distance from the encampment of the people (Exod. xxxiii. 7). It has been supposed by some that this was the tent of Moses himself; but such a supposition seems inconsistent with the statement that it was at a distance from the camp, and that Moses went out to it and returned from it as did the rest (ver. 8, 9). To this tent the people went out when they sought to present themselves before God either in worship or to ask counsel of him. To Moses alone, however, appears to have been conceded the privilege of entering the tabernacle and enjoying immediate intercourse with God. To Joshua, his minister, the charge of keeping the tabernacle appears to have been entrusted (ver. 8-11).

After a season the tabernacle was erected according to the divine design. The materials for this erection were supplied by the free-will offerings of the people. They were of the most costly kind, consisting of gold, silver, and copper, cloths of the richest colours and finest fabric, the coarser fabrics of goats-hair cloth, rams' skins dyed red, and acacia wood, for the construction of the tabernacle; oil, spices, and sweet incense for the service of the sanctuary; and precious stones of various kinds to adorn the vestments of the priests (Exod. xxv. 3-7). To construct the tabernacle out of the materials thus collected, the skill of Bazaleel and Aholiab, men specially endowed by God with the necessary qualifications, was put in requisition; and under their directions, and by the labour of all the skilled artificers of the host, the work was accomplished (Exod. xxxv. 30, ff.). The entire structure with all its furniture was finished by the end of the first year of their wandering in the wilderness, and on the first day of the second year the tabernacle was set up and its services inaugurated with solemn pomp. The divine acceptance of the place which had been thus prepared for the habitation of the Lord was indicated by the settling down on it of a cloud, and the filling of it with the divine glory in such awful effulgence that even Moses dared not to enter the place (Exod. xl. 1, ff.).

As Moses describes minutely the construction of the tabernacle, it is easy to form a general conception of its form and arrangement. Josephus also describes it (*Antiq.* iii. 6), but he adds little to what the Bible supplies. The same may be said of Philo (*De Vit. Mosis*, Bk. iii.).

The tabernacle was an oblong rectangular structure, 30 cubits in length, 10 in height, and 10 in width. This is the measurement given by Josephus, and it agrees punctually with that of Moses. The only point that occasions difficulty is the statement that the end boards were eight in number, which



would give a width of 12 cubits. This, however, is easily explained. The measurements are of the *inner* side, and as the boards at the end would have to cover not only the space between the side boards, but also the ends of these, and as each board, according to Jewish tradition, was a cubit thick, we thus account for the number of cubits stated (outside width = 12 cubits; thickness of boards = 2 cubits; leaving 10 cubits for inside width). These corner boards were strongly coupled above and below to the sides, so as to be *flush* with them, and to keep all together. The framework of this structure was composed of acacia boards twenty in number on each side, and six at the west or inner end, with two corner boards, the east or outward end being left open. These boards were gilded; and they were fastened at the base by means of tenons which fitted into silver sockets; and they were kept together by means of bars of acacia wood, also gilded, which passed through rings of gold fastened in the upright boards. These bars were five in number on each side; but as to their arrangement there is some difference of opinion. Rashi thinks that the middle bar was twice the length of each of the other four, that it stretched from end to end of the side, and that the others were joined in pairs so as also to stretch the whole length of the side. Thus there were on each of the three sides an upper bar, consisting of two bars of equal length fitted to each other, an under bar the same, and a middle bar of one piece. This last Rashi thinks was made to pass through the centre of the boards, so as not to be visible from without—a statement which may or may not be accepted without affecting the other parts of this description. This view appears preferable to that commonly held, according to which all the five bars are supposed to have been of equal length, and to have run parallel to each other. In that case the description of the middle bar as one that was to reach from end to end would lose its significance, inasmuch as this would characterise all the bars. The arrangement described by Josephus, however, seems the most probable. He says: ‘Through the golden rings gilded bars were passed to unite the boards, the head of each bar being let into the head of another by means of tenons, after the manner of vertebrae made by an artificer. But, for the back, one entire bar passed through all the boards, and into it were fastened the ends of the side bars by sockets, so that the whole was firm.’ Something of this sort there must have been, else the back part of the structure would have been loose. An ingenious writer has recently started the hypothesis that the middle bar was a ridge-pole over which the coverings of the tent were hung (Smith, *Dict. of the Bible*, iii. 1452); but a bar which is described as the middle bar, which passed *בְּתוֹךְ הַקִּרְשִׁים* in the middle of (or between) the boards, could not be a pole passing above them, and forming the ridge of the roof.

The area thus formed was divided into two unequal portions, the outer one 20 cubits, the inner 10 cubits long. The latter was thus a cube of 10 cubits. This was the Most Holy place, into which the high-priest alone could enter. It was separated from the outer portion of the sanctuary by four pillars of acacia wood, gilded, on which was hung, by means of hooks of gold, a veil of the richest material, and most beautifully

adorned. At the outer entrance of the tabernacle there were five pillars of acacia wood, also gilded, and resting on bases of brass, on which was hung by golden hooks a veil adorned with needlework. This veil, Josephus says, came down to the middle of the pillars, and over it there was another of coarser materials, which served to protect it from the weather, and which could be drawn up with cords so as to afford a view of the more costly veil behind. Besides supporting the veils, these pillars probably contributed to the support of a framework on which the coverings of the roof were stretched.

No details are given either in the Bible or by Josephus of the construction of the roof; the coverings of it are alone mentioned. These coverings are minutely described by the historians. They were four in number. First came one made of ten curtains of delicate texture of byssus in various colours, and adorned with figures of cherubim; each curtain was 28 cubits in length, and 4 in breadth; they were hung five on each side, these being probably sewed together (Rashi on *Exod.* xxvi. 3), so as to form a sheet 20 cubits by 28, and the two sheets were coupled together by loops and taches of gold. The second covering was formed by eleven curtains of goats’ hair, each 30 cubits in length and 4 in breadth; these were fastened (probably sewed) together, five on one part, and six on the other; and the two sheets thus formed were to be joined by loops and taches of brass. The third covering was of rams’ skins dyed red, probably a kind of morocco leather (see this art.); and the fourth was of tachash skins [TACHASH]. The dimensions of these are not given in the Bible. Josephus says that they both projected so as to protect the other coverings from rain and sunshine; but Rashi and others are of opinion that the leather and skin coverings were only for the top, and did not reach to the sides. There is some countenance given to this by the

use of the word *כֹּלְמִעֲלָה*, ver. 14; but this probably applies only to the tachash skins, and may intimate that these were used to cover the places on the top where the curtains were joined.

Such were the coverings of the Tabernacle; the question now arises, how were they adjusted? Assuming that the roof of the Tabernacle was flat, we may suppose the arrangement to have been as follows:—First, we have two large curtains of byssus, each 20 cubits by 28; with which have to be covered two sides, each 30 × 10 cubits, and a roof also 30 × 10. Suppose then one curtain stretched from the front backwards it would cover 20 cubits of the roof, and hang down over 20 cubits in length of the sides; attached to this by the loops and golden taches the other curtain would cover the remaining 10 cubits of roof and wall, leaving a space uncovered at the base to show the silver sockets. This meets one condition of the text; it brings the juncture of the two curtains exactly over the veil at the entrance of the Holy of Holies (ver. 33); but it labours under the disadvantage of representing the costly innermost covering as concealed for two-thirds of its surface between the walls of the tabernacle and the outer covering of goats-hair cloth. This objection, however, may be obviated, as Bähr suggests, by supposing that the byssus curtain was made to cover the *inside* of the boards, so as to form a sort of



tapestry. On other grounds this is probable, and there is no serious objection to it; for though it has been asked, how could the same curtain cover both a flat roof and perpendicular wall? there seems no great difficulty in conceiving an adjustment of the framework of the roof by which this might be accomplished.

The byssus curtain being thus adjusted so as to cover the wall inside, which had else been left bare, and on this account unseemly, the goats-hair curtain was placed over it, but so as to fall down outside the walls. As this curtain had 11 pieces, there were 5 cubits to spare. The covering seems to have been so placed that one half of these was to the front and the other half to the back; and whilst the part at the back hung loose down (ver. 12), the part at the front was folded back, so as to form a kind of penthouse or projecting roof (*δερώματι παραλήσιον*, Joseph.) and sides. In this way a small portico was formed; and thus we get the three parts of which Josephus says the whole consisted. It is worthy of notice that while the byssus covering was only 28 cubits in length, this of goat's hair was 30; and that the difference between these two is just the difference between the inside and the outside measurement (allowance being made in the latter for the thickness of the boards, which was one cubit). This confirms the suggestion that the one hung within and the other without the walls.

Over these two coverings the covering of rams' skins and that of tachash skins were placed, probably as already suggested. The whole would thus present the appearance (if we may use so familiar an illustration) of a large bed, with its curtains hanging down.

Such is the idea which, in the general, has hitherto been entertained of the construction of the tabernacle. Another idea, however, has of late years been suggested which deserves to be noticed. Saalschütz (*Archäol. der Hebräer*, ii. 321, ff.), represents the hangings of the tabernacle as suspended in the form of a tent. He thinks the מִשְׁכָּן was properly the space enclosed by the boards of acacia wood; and that these formed the outer wall, so to speak, *within* which the tabernacle, the

הלל properly so called, was reared in the form of a peaked tent. Of this the byssus curtains, he supposes, formed the internal drapery, while the goats-hair curtains, covered with leather and tachash skins, formed the outer covering. The whole structure would thus present the appearance externally of a peaked tent, reared within a high palisade of wood, and open at the front. This representation has the advantage of allowing the ornamental curtain, and also the gilded boards with their golden rings and silver sockets, to be fully visible. There seems, however, one fatal objection to it—viz. that it does not provide for fulfilling the condition that the joinings of the curtains shall be over the pillars that separate the holy from the most holy place—a condition of essential significance. This objection does not apply, however, to the reconstruction proposed by Mr. Fergusson (*Smith's Dict. of the Bible*, art. 'Temple'), who has worked out the idea of a tent structure with his wonted skill and ingenuity; for, according to his idea, the roof of the tent was ridged not peaked, the coverings being suspended on a pole running from the foot of the structure to the back. The reader is referred to his article for drawings and details.

Such representations undoubtedly preserve better than the older ones the idea of a *tent*. It may be suggested, however, on the other side, that as the fundamental idea of the structure was that of a *house*—God's permanent residence among his people—it is not improbable that the structure was conformed rather to the model of one of the flat-roofed houses with which the Israelites were familiar than to that of a nomad's tent.

It has been objected to the traditional reconstruction of the tabernacle that a structure of this sort would not keep the rain from sinking into the interior, and that a heavy fall of snow would lodge a weight on the roof that would soon tear its coverings through. But Josephus seems to have considered the structure as thus arranged quite sufficient to stand against any meteorological influences to which it might be exposed; and his judgment as a native of that part of the world is of weight in such a matter. Nor need we suppose that any very large amount of skill would be required to provide against rain lodging on the roof so as to sink through into the interior. As for snow, there was doubtless strength enough in the framework of the roof to enable the coverings to bear such weight of that as there was any likelihood of being deposited on them in the Desert or the south of Palestine.

Within the tabernacle thus constructed were placed the Ark of the Covenant, over which were the cherubim within the Most Holy place, and in the sanctuary the table for the shewbread on the north side, and opposite to it the golden candlestick. [See these articles.]

The tabernacle was placed within an enclosure 100 cubits long by 50 wide, formed by hangings or byssus, fastened to pillars by silver hooks and fillets. The height of the pillars was 5 cubits, and their number was 10 for the west end, and for each of the sides 20; at the east, or entrance end, there were 3 pillars on each side of the entrance for which a space of 20 cubits was thus left. In this space 4 pillars were placed, and on these hung a curtain similar to that which was over the door of the tabernacle. Within this enclosure stood also the altar near to the entrance, and between it and the tabernacle was the laver (Exod. xxvii.)

So long as Israel was in the wilderness, the tabernacle formed the central point of their encampment. Around it were grouped the tribes according to a fixed order (Num. ii. 2). From it came the indication which determined whether the host was to rest or to march. So long as the glory of the Lord rested on it, the people knew that they had to remain where they were, but when that arose from it, they knew that the signal for their removing was given (Exod. xl. 36, 37; Num. ix. 17). The tabernacle was then taken to pieces, which were borne by the three Levitic families of Kohath, Gershom, and Merari [LEVITES], whilst the Aaronic household took charge of the covered treasures of the Most Holy place (Num. iv. 6-15).

On important occasions the congregation of the people was assembled before the door of the tabernacle. One memorable instance of this is recorded (Lev. viii.), on the occasion of the consecration of Aaron and his sons to the priestly office. This has of late been brought into special prominence from its being made the ground of an objection to the authenticity of the Pentateuch. The utter



impossibility of so placing 600,000 people before the door of the tabernacle as that they should see the ceremonial of the consecration, shows, it has been alleged, that this record is unhistorical and untrustworthy. To give force to this objection it is asserted that, had this mass of people been placed before the door of the tabernacle, they would have formed a column nearly 20 miles in length (Colenso, *The Pentateuch, etc., examined*, ch. vi.) Now it must strike one that, had the writer of Leviticus gravely made a statement involving such an absurdity as this, he must not only have been a very unfaithful historian, but a man not much above the level of a fool; nor can it fail to appear strange that successive generations, Jew and Christian, should have been studying this book without detecting or suspecting an absurdity so manifest as this. But waiving this, let us see whether the statement of the historian may not be so understood as to exempt it from such an outrageous violation of common-sense as has thus been imputed to it.

Moses says that 'all the congregation' was to be convened before the door of the tabernacle. Does this necessarily mean that *every* adult male must be present there? If we look to the usage of the same expression elsewhere, we shall be led to conclude that it is not so. From a comparison of passages, it appears that commands to convene the whole congregation of Israel were regarded as fulfilled by the assembling of the elders or princes of the congregation; comp. Exod. iii. 15 and 16; xii. 3 and 28; xix. 7 and 8; xxviii. 18, 19, with Deut. v. 23, 24; Deut. xxxi. 28 and 30, etc. The admirable organisation of the host of Israel facilitated their acting by means of a representative body composed of the head men of the tribes and families; and it probably no more occurred to an ancient Jew in reading such statements as that we are considering to suppose that every adult male was present, than it occurs to an Englishman of the present day when he reads that the British nation has done this or that, to imagine that the writer asserts that all the adult males of the United Kingdom were assembled in mass, and consented to the deed recorded. There is an old maxim with which our representative system has made us all familiar, 'Quod facit per alium facit per se'; and as the Jewish people were even more perfectly represented than we are, the idea of the whole congregation being present in and acting through their chiefs would be one so perfectly familiar to them that they would at once apply it to remove any such difficulty as the statement of the historian here is supposed to present (*Historical Character of the Pentateuch Vindicated*, by a Layman, p. 108).

If this way of explaining the historian's statement be refused, there is still a possibility of showing that that statement may be taken literally without involving such consequences as Bishop Colenso has suggested. 'The tabernacle would doubtless be pitched on some spot preferable for this purpose [that of allowing the people to witness the ceremony], or in front of a gentle acclivity. The hangings in the front of the court, and part of those on each side, would be withdrawn and folded toward the pillars, so that the altar of burnt-offering would be full in view. If the people, then, were disposed in a circular section, one third of a complete circle, or as far as 60° on each side of the front line, and densely packed with four square feet to each person, we should have  $\frac{1}{3} \pi r^2 = 2,400,000$ , and  $r =$

1514, or the furthest would be 505 yards from the altar, a distance of little more than a quarter of a mile. Even allowing four times the space, the furthest would only be a thousand yards distant, and from higher ground might easily follow the outline of the ceremonial' (Birks, *The Exodus of Israel*, p. 111). Even on the assumption, then, that all the adults were assembled, there is nothing incredible in the statement that they stood in the front of the tabernacle and saw the ceremony.

During the conquest of Canaan the tabernacle, at first moved from place to place (Josh. iv. 19; viii. 30-35; ix. 6; x. 15), was finally located at Shiloh (Josh. ix. 27; xviii. 1). Here it remained during the time of the Judges till it was captured by the Philistines, who carried off the sacred ark of the covenant (1 Sam. iv. 22). From this time forward the glory of the tabernacle was gone. When the ark was recovered, it was no longer placed in the tabernacle; though the latter still seems to have been regarded with veneration by the people, and to have retained the services of the priests (comp. 1 Sam. xxi. 1-6; xxviii. 4-6; 1 Chron. xvi. 13). Even after the ark was removed to Jerusalem and placed in a new tabernacle the old structure still had its hold on the veneration of the community, and the old altar still received their offerings (1 Chron. xvi. 39; xxi. 29). It was not till the temple was built, and a fitting house thus prepared for the Lord, that the ancient tabernacle was allowed to perish and be forgotten.

II. SYMBOLICAL AND TYPICAL SIGNIFICANCY.—As the central point of a great symbolical and typical institute, the tabernacle necessarily possessed, both as a whole and in its contents, a symbolical and typical significance. On this head much fanciful and unregulated ingenuity has been indulged; but this must not induce us to neglect those conclusions to which a just application of the principles of typological interpretation conduces.

The primary idea of the tabernacle was that of a dwelling for Jehovah in the midst of his people; and this was prominently kept in view in all the arrangements concerning the construction and location of the structure. 'Let them,' said God to Moses, 'make me a sanctuary that I may dwell among them' (Exod. xxv. 8; xxix. 45); when the structure was completed it was set up in the midst of the congregation, and there it always remained whether the people rested or were on their march (Num. ii.); on it rested the cloud which indicated the Divine presence, and which by its quiescence or removal indicated the will of the Great Sovereign of Israel as to the resting or the removing of the camp (Exod. xl. 36-38); and to it the people repaired when they had sacrifice to offer to God, or counsel to ask of Him (Lev. i. 3; Num. xxvii. 2; Deut. xxxi. 14, etc.) As Judaism was strictly monotheistic it knew but *one* sacred place where Jehovah was to be found. The Holy of Holies, which the apostle calls 'the second tabernacle' (Heb. ix. 7), was the appropriate residence of Jehovah as the God of Israel. In this the principal thing was the ark, in which was placed 'the testimony' (עֵדוּת), and which was covered by

'the mercy-seat' (כַּפֹּרֶת). The testimony was the book of the law, and it was put into the ark as a witness against the people because of their sinfulness (Deut. xxxi. 26, 27). This symbolised the great truth, that the first relation into which Jeho-



vah comes with the sinner, is that of a ruler whose law testifies against the transgressor. But this testimony was *hid* by the mercy-seat, on which the blood of atonement was sprinkled by the high-priest when he entered within the veil, and on which the visible emblem of Jehovah's presence—the *shechinah* between the cherubim of glory—was enthroned; and in this there was an emblem of the fact, that the condemning and accusing power of the law was taken away by the propitiatory covering which God had appointed. By all this was indicated the grand truth, that the character in which Jehovah dwelt among his people was that of a justly offended but merciful and propitiated sovereign, who having received atonement for their sins, had put these out of his sight, and would remember them no more at all against them (comp. Philo, *de Vit. Mos.*, Bk. iii.)

In the first, or outer tabernacle, were the altar of incense, the table with the shewbread, and the golden candlestick. The first was symbolical of the necessity and the acceptableness of prayer, of which the smoke of sweet incense that was to ascend from it morning and evening appears to be the appointed Biblical symbol (comp. Ps. cxli. 2; Luke i. 10; Rev. v. 8; viii. 3, 4). The second was emblematical of the necessity of good works to accompany our devotions; the bread being the offering of the children of Israel to their Divine King (Lev. xxiv. 8), and consecrated to him by the offering of incense along with it as emblematical of prayer. The third was the symbol of the church, or people of God; the gold of which it was formed, denoting the excellence of the church, the seven lamps its completeness, and the oil by which they were fed, being the appropriate symbol of the Divine Spirit dwelling in his people, and causing them to shine (comp. Zech. iv. 2, 3; Matt. v. 14, 16; Rev. i. 12, 20).

In the fore-court of the tabernacle stood the altar of burnt-offering, on which were offered the sacrifices of the people; and the laver, in which the priests cleansed their hands and feet before entering the holy place. The symbolical significance of these is too well known to need illustration. [OFFERINGS; PURIFICATION.]

Whilst the tabernacle was thus, in its different parts, *symbolical* of several important truths, there are certain things in Christianity of which it, by itself, contained the *types*.

If we view the tabernacle as a whole it was Jehovah's dwelling in the midst of his people, and that to which it answers under the new dispensation can be no other than the human nature of our Lord. He was 'God manifest in the flesh,' 'Immanuel,' God with us, and in him 'dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily' (1 Tim. iii. 16; Matt. i. 23; Col. ii. 9.) Hence St. John (i. 14), in speaking of his incarnation, says: 'The Word became flesh and *tabernacled* (*ἐσκήνωσε*) among us,' where the language evidently points to the ancient tabernacle as the symbolical residence of Jehovah; and in the book of Revelation (xxi. 5) the same apostle, in announcing the final presence of Christ, in his glorified humanity with his church, uses the expression: 'the *tabernacle* of God is with men.' From these statements of the N. T. we may hold ourselves justified in concluding that the ancient tabernacle, viewed in its general aspect as the dwelling of Jehovah, found its antitype in the human nature of Christ, in whom God really dwelt.

Viewed more particularly in its two great divisions, the tabernacle symbolised in its inner department the reign of Jehovah in his own majesty and glory, and in its outer department the service of God by propitiation and prayer. In keeping with this the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews teaches us to regard the outer part of the tabernacle as more strictly typical of the person of Jesus Christ, and the inner of heaven, into which he has now entered. Thus he speaks of him (viii. 2) as now, in the heavenly state, 'a minister of the true [i.e. *real*, *ἀληθινῆς*, as distinguished from *symbolical*] tabernacle which the Lord pitched, and not man,' where the allusion seems to be partly to the fact that Christ is in heaven, and partly to the fact that he ministers there in human nature. Still more explicit is the language used in ch. ix. 11, where the writer, after speaking of the sacerdotal services of the ancient economy as merely figurative and outward, adds: 'But Christ having appeared as high-priest of the good things to come, by means of the greater and more perfect tabernacle not made with hands (that is, not of this creation), nor by means of blood of goats and calves, but by means of his own blood, entered once (for all) into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us.' In interpreting this passage, we would follow those who take the whole as far as the words 'his own blood,' as the subject of the sentence, and consequently join the clauses depending from *διὰ* with *παραγεγνημένος*, and not with *εἰσῆλθεν*; for it seems to be more natural to suppose that the writer should say that it was by means of a more perfect tabernacle and a holier sacrifice that Christ became the high-priest of spiritual blessings, than that it was by these means that he entered into the holy place. The objection to this construction which Dean Alford urges, that 'in that case *οὐδέ* would be left without any preceding member of the negation to follow,' is of no weight, for it burdens the construction he adopts as much as that he rejects; and is to be obviated in either case by resolving *οὐδέ* into *καὶ οὐ* (see Meyer's note on ver. 12). Assuming this to be the proper construction of the passage, it seems clearly to represent the human nature of our Lord—that in which he made his soul an offering for sin—as the antitype of the ancient tabernacle in which the high-priest offered sacrifice; whilst the heavenly world into which he has entered as a high-priest was typified by the holy place into which the Jewish high-priest entered to appear in the symbolical presence of Jehovah. For further confirmation of this may be adduced ch. x. 20, where the writer, speaking of the privilege enjoyed by believers under the new dispensation of approaching God through Christ, says, we can do it 'by a new and living way which he hath inaugurated (*ἐνεκαίνισεν*) for us through the veil (that is, his own flesh).' The allusion here is undoubtedly to the ancient tabernacle service, and the truth set forth is, that as the high-priest of old went with sacrificial blood through the veil into the Holy of Holies, so we, as made priests unto God by Jesus Christ, may approach the immediate presence of Jehovah through that path which the Saviour has inaugurated for us by his death in human nature—that path by which he himself has preceded us as our great intercessor, and which is ever fresh and living for us. There may be some rhetorical confusion in this passage, but the general idea seems plainly this, that the



body of Christ, slain for us, affords us a passage by means of sacrifice into the presence of God, just as the first tabernacle with its services afforded an entrance to the high-priest of old into the Holy of Holies (comp. Owen and Bengel on the passages; and Hofmann, *Schriftbeweis*, ii. 1. p. 405, etc.; *Weissag. u. Erfüll.* ii. 189, ff.)

We have also N. T. authority for putting a typical significance on the capporeth or mercy-seat. Regarding this, we have the testimony of the apostle, when he says that 'God hath set forth his Son to be a propitiation (or mercy-seat) through the faith in his blood.' The word here used is *ἱλαστήριον*, which is the term employed by the LXX., by Philo, and by Paul himself (Heb. ix. 5) to designate the covering of the ark in the Holy of Holies. The application of it to our Lord, therefore, in this passage, is doubtless intended to intimate the analogy between him, as the true medium of propitiation between God and the sinner, and the mercy-seat, or symbolical covering of sin under the law.

Thus far we have N. T. evidence to guide us in the symbolical and typical meaning of the ancient tabernacle and its parts, and beyond this we do not think it safe to go.

(Lund, *Die alt. Jüdisch. Heiligtümer dargestellt*, fol. 1695, best edition by Wolf, Hamb. 1738; Lamy, *De Tabernac. Fœd.* fol. Par. 1720; Witsius, 'De Tabern. Levit. Mysteris' in his *Miscell. Sac.* L. 318; Bähr, *Symbolik des Mos. Cultus*, i. 55, ff.)—W. L. A.

TABERNACLES, THE FEAST OF (חג הסוכות; Sept. *ἑορτὴ σκηνῶν*; N. T. and Josephus *σκηνοπηγία*; Philo *σκηναί*), the third of the three great annual festivals, the other two being the feasts of Passover and Pentecost, on which the whole male population were required to appear before the Lord in the national sanctuary.

1. *Name and its signification.*—This festival is called—i. חג הסוכות, *ἑορτὴ σκηνῶν*, *feria tabernaculorum*; the *Feast of Tabernacles* (Lev. xxiii. 34; Deut. xvi. 13, 16; xxxi. 10; 2 Chron. viii. 13; Ezra iii. 4; Zech. xiv. 16, 18, 19), because every Israelite was commanded to live in tabernacles during its continuance (comp. Lev. xxiii. 43). ii. חג האסיף, *ἑορτὴ συντελεσας*, the *Feast of Ingathering* (Exod. xxiii. 16; xxxiv. 22), because it was celebrated at the end of the agricultural year, when the ingathering of the fruits and the harvest were completed. And iii. It is κατ' ἐξοχὴν, denominated יהוה יהוה, the *Festival of Jehovah* (Lev. xxiii. 39), or simply יהוה, *the Festival* (1 Kings viii. 2; 2 Chron. v. 3; vii. 8, 9; *Mishna, Shekalim*, iii. 1; *Succa*, ii. 6; *Rosh Ha-Shana*, i. 2; *Megilla*, iii. 5; *Taanith*, i. 1, 2), because of its importance, and of its being the most joyful of all festivals. The assertion of Winer (*Bibl. Realwoerterbuch*, s.v. 'Laubhüttenfest'), repeated by Keil (*Archäologie*, vol. i. sect. 85, note 3) and Bähr (*Symbolik*, ii. 660), that the Rabbins call this festival יום המרובה, *dies multiplicationis*, is incorrect. The *Mishna*, which Winer quotes in corroboration of this assertion, does not denominate this festival as such, but simply speaks of the many sacrifices offered on the first day thereof. The *Mishna* in question is as follows: 'If any one vows wine [for the Temple] he must not give less than three *logs*; if oil, not less than one *log*. . . . If he says, I do not know how much I have set

apart, he must give as much as is used on the day which requires most' (*Menachoth*, xiii. 5)—i.e. as is used on the first day of the festival [of Tabernacles] when it happens to be on a Sabbath, for on such a day there are more libations used than on any other day in the year, inasmuch as 140 *logs* of wine are required for the different sacrifices. After this, it need scarcely be added that the Rabbins never called the Feast of Tabernacles by this name.

2. *The time at which this festival was celebrated.*—The time fixed for the celebration of this festival is from the 15th to the 22d of *Tishri*=September, when the season of the year is changing for winter (τρεπομένου τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ καιροῦ πρὸς τὴν χειμέριον ὥραν, Joseph. *Antiq.* iii. 10. 4). There were thus only four days intervening between this festival and the Great Day of Atonement. But though its duration strictly speaking was only seven days (Deut. xvi. 13; Ezek. xlv. 25), yet, as it was followed by a day of holy convocation, this festival is sometimes described as lasting eight days (Lev. xxiii. 36; Neh. viii. 18).

3. *The manner in which this festival was celebrated.*—As it is most essential, in describing the manner in which this festival was and still is celebrated, to distinguish between the Pentateuchal enactments and those rites, ceremonies, and practices, which gradually obtained in the course of time, we shall divide our description into three periods—viz. A. The period dating from the original institution of this festival to the Babylonish captivity. B. The period beginning with the return from Babylon, and terminating with the destruction of the Temple. And C. From the dispersion of the Jews to the present day.

A. THE PERIOD FROM THE INSTITUTION OF THIS FESTIVAL TO THE BABYLONISH CAPTIVITY.—The Mosaic enactments about the manner in which this festival is to be celebrated are as follows:—The Israelites are to live in tabernacles during the seven days of this festival, 'that your generations may know that I made the children of Israel to dwell in tabernacles when I brought them out of the land of Egypt' (Lev. xxiii. 42, 43). The first day alone, however, is to be a holy convocation (מִקְרָא קֹדֶשׁ), and a Sabbath or day of perfect cessation of business, on which no manner of secular work is to be done (Lev. xxiii. 35, 39); and all the able-bodied male members of the congregation, who are not legally precluded from it, are to appear in the place of the national sanctuary, as on Passover and Pentecost (Exod. xxiii. 14, 17; xxxiv. 23). On this day the Israelites are to take 'the fruit of goodly trees, with branches of palm trees, boughs of thick trees, and willows of the brook' (Lev. xxiii. 40), most probably to symbolise the different vegetation which grew in the different localities of their journey through the wilderness—viz. the palm-tree of the plain where the Israelites encamped, the willow at the mountain stream, from which God gave his people water to drink; and the designedly indefinite thick bush on the mountain heights over which they had to travel; whilst the fruits of the goodly trees represent the produce of the beautiful land which they ultimately obtained after their pilgrimages in the wilderness (Pressel in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie*, s. v. 'Laubhüttenfest'). As this festival, however, though symbolising by the several practices thereof the pilgrimage through the



wilderness, was nevertheless more especially designated to celebrate the completion of the harvest (למלך המצות) in the promised land, as typified by 'the fruit of the goodly trees' in contrast to the plants of the wilderness, the Israelites are enjoined 'not to appear before the Lord empty, but every one shall give as he is able, according to the blessing of the Lord thy God which he hath given thee' (Exod. xxiii. 15; Deut. xvi. 16, 17). Hence they are to offer burnt-offerings, meat-offerings, drink-offerings, and other sacrifices as follows:—On the first day, the burnt-offering is to consist of 13 bullocks, 2 rams, 14 lambs, and 1 kid of the goats for a sin-offering, with the appropriate meat and drink-offerings; the meat-offerings being  $\frac{10}{16}$  ephah of flour mingled with  $\frac{1}{2}$  hin of oil to each bullock,  $\frac{2}{10}$  ephah of flour mingled with  $\frac{1}{2}$  hin of oil to each ram, and  $\frac{1}{16}$  ephah of flour mingled with  $\frac{1}{2}$  hin of oil to each lamb; the drink-offering consisting of  $\frac{1}{2}$  hin of wine to each bullock,  $\frac{1}{2}$  hin of wine to each ram, and  $\frac{1}{2}$  hin of wine to each lamb (Num. xv. 2-11; xxviii. 12-14). The same number of rams and lambs, and one kid, are to be offered on the following days; the number of bullocks alone is to be reduced by one each day, so that on the seventh day only seven are to be offered (Num. xxix. 12-38). There are accordingly to be offered during the seven days in all 70 bullocks, 14 rams, 98 lambs, and 7 goats, with 33 $\frac{1}{2}$  ephahs of flour, 64 $\frac{1}{2}$  hins of oil, and 64 $\frac{1}{2}$  hins of wine. Moreover, the law is to be read publicly in the Sanctuary on the first day of the festival every Sabbatical year (Deut. xxxi. 10-13). The six following days—i.e. 16th-22d of *Tishri*—are to be half festivals; they were most probably devoted to social enjoyments and friendly gatherings, when every head of the family was to enjoy the feasts from the second or festival tithe with his son, daughter, man-servant, maid-servant, the Levite, the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow (Deut. xvi. 14). [TITHE.]

At the conclusion of the seventh day another festival is to be celebrated, denominated the *concluding day* (יום עצרת), the *eighth concluding day* (שמיני עצרת; Sept. ἑξῆς). Like the first day it is to be a holy convocation, and no manner of work is to be done on it. As it is not only the finishing of the Feast of Tabernacles, but the conclusion of the whole cycle of festival [FESTIVALS], the dwelling in the tabernacle is to cease on it, and the sacrifices to be offered thereon are to be distinct, and unlike those offered on the preceding days of Tabernacles. The burnt sacrifice is to consist of 1 bullock, 1 ram, and 7 lambs one year old, with the appropriate meat and drink offerings, and 1 goat for a sin-offering (Num. xxix. 36-38). The sacrifices, therefore, were to be like those of the seventh new moon and the Great Day of Atonement. Being, however, attached as an octave to the Feast of Tabernacles, the Sabbatical rest and the holy convocation, which properly belong to the seventh day of the Feast of Tabernacles, are transferred to it, and hence the two festivals are frequently joined together and spoken of as one composed of eight days. There is only one instance on record of this festival being celebrated between the entrance into the promised land and the Babylonish captivity (1 Kings viii. 2; 2 Chron. vii. 8-10 with Neh. viii. 17). No trace of any exposition of the Pentateuchal enactments

with regard to this festival is to be found till we come to the post-exile period.

#### B. THE PERIOD FROM THE RETURN FROM BABYLON TO THE DESTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE.

—In the account of the first celebration of this festival after the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity, the concise Pentateuchal injunction is expanded. Not only are the localities specified in which these booths are to be erected, but additional plants are mentioned, and the use to be made of these plants is stated. The Jews, according to the command of Ezra, made themselves booths upon the roofs of houses, in the courts of their dwellings, in the courts of the sanctuary, in the street of the water-gate, and in the street of the gate of Ephraim, from the olive-branches, the pine-branches, the myrtle-branches, the palm-branches, and the branches of the thick trees, which they were told to gather, and dwell in these booths seven days (Neh. viii. 15-18). The Sadducees of old, who are followed by the Karaites, took these boughs and the fruits to be identical with those mentioned in Lev. xxiii. 39, 40, and maintained that these were to be used for the construction and adornment of the booths or tabernacles. The Pharisees and the orthodox Jewish tradition, however, as we shall see hereafter, interpreted this precept differently.

When the Feast of Tabernacles, like all other festivals and precepts of the Mosaic law, began to be strictly and generally kept after the Babylonish captivity, under the spiritual guidance of the Great Synagogue, the Sanhedrim, and the doctors of the law—scribes, more minute definitions and more expanded applications of the concise Pentateuchal injunction were imperatively demanded, in order to secure uniformity of practice, as well as to infuse devotion and joy into the celebration thereof, both in the temple and in the booths. Hence it was ordained that the tabernacle or booth (סוכה = *Succa*) must be a detached and temporary habitation, constructed for the sole purpose of living in it during this festival, and must not be used as a permanent dwelling. The interior of it must neither be higher than twenty cubits, nor lower than ten palms; it must not have less than three walls; it must not be completely roofed in, or covered with any solid material, but must be thatched in such a manner as to admit the view of the sky and the stars; and the part open to the rays of the sun must not exceed in extent the part shaded by the cover. It must not be under a tree; neither must it be covered with a cloth, nor with anything which contracts defilement or does not derive its growth from the ground (*Mishna Succa*, i. 1-ii. 7). Every Israelite is to constitute the *Succa* his regular domicile during the whole of the seven days of the festival, whilst his house is only to be his occasional abode, and he is only to quit the booth when it rains very heavily. Even a child, as soon as he ceases to be dependent upon his mother, must dwell in the booth; and the only persons exempt from this duty are persons deputed on pious missions, invalids, nurses, women, and infants (*Mishna*, *ibid.* ii. 8, 9). The orthodox Rabbins in the time of Christ would not eat any food which exceeded in quantity the size of an egg, out of the booth (*Mishna Succa*, ii. 5).

The four species of vegetable productions to be used during prayer (Lev. xxiii. 39, 40) are the next distinctive feature of this festival to which the ancient



doctors of the law before the time of Christ devoted much attention. These are—i. 'The fruits of the goodly tree' (פרי עץ הדר). As the phrase *goodly* or *splendid tree* (עץ הדר) is too indefinite, and the fruit of such a tree may simply denote the fruit of any choice fruit-tree, thus leaving it very vague; the Hebrew canons, based upon one of the significations of הדר (*to dwell, to rest*; see Rashi on Lev. xxiii. 40), decreed that it means the *fruits which permanently rest upon the tree*—i.e. the *citron*, the *paradise-apple* (אחרוני). Hence the rendering of Onkelos, the so-called Jerusalem Targum, and the Syriac version of הדר by *Ethrog* (= κίτρον, Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 13. 5), *citron*. The *ethrog* must not be from an uncircumcised tree (Lev. xix. 23), nor from the unclean heave-offering (comp. Num. xvii. 11, 12); it must not have a stain on the crown, nor be without the crown, peeled of its rind, perforated, or defective, else it is illegal (*Mishna Succa*, iii. 5, 6). ii. 'Branches of palm-trees' (כפת תמרים). According to the Hebrew canons, it is the shoot of the palm-tree when budding, before the leaves are spread abroad, and whilst

it is yet like a rod, and this is called *Lulab* (לולב), which is the technical expression given in the Chaldee versions and in the Jewish writings for the Biblical phrase in question. The *Lulab* must at least be three hands tall, and must be tied together with its own kind (*Mishna Succa*, iii. 1, 8; Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chezaka*, *Hilchoth Lulab*, vii. 1). iii. 'The bough of a thick tree' (ענף עץ עבה). This ambiguous phrase is interpreted by the ancient canons to denote 'the myrtle-branch' (הדרם) whose leaves thickly cover the wood thereof: it must have three or more shoots around the stem on the same level of the stem, but if it has two shoots opposite each other on the same level, and the third shoot is above them, it is not thick, but is called (עבורת שוטה) a *thin myrtle* (*Succa*, 32 b; Maimonides, *ibid.* vii. 2). This explanation accounts for the rendering of the Chaldee paraphrases of this phrase by *Hadas* (הדרם) = *myrtle-branch*. If the point of this myrtle branch is broken off, or if its leaves are torn off, or if it has more berries on it than leaves, it is illegal (*Mishna Succa*, iii.

2); and *iv.* 'The willows of the brook' (ערבי נחל) = *salix helix* must be of that species the distinguishing marks of which are dark wood, and long leaves with smooth margin. If any one of these four kinds has been obtained by theft, or comes from a grove devoted to idolatry, or from a town which has been enticed to idolatry (comp. Deut. xiii. 12, etc.), it is illegal (*Mishna Succa*, iii. 1-5). Their legality having been ascertained, the palm, the myrtle, and the willow are bound up together into one bundle, denominated *Lulab* (לולב).

It has already been remarked that the Sadducees in and before the time of Christ maintained that the boughs and fruit here mentioned (viz. Lev. xxiii. 40) are to be used for the construction and adornment of the booths, and that they appeal to Neh. viii. 15, 16 in support of this view. This view has not only been espoused by the Karaite Jews, the successors of the Sadducees [SADDUCEES], but is defended by Bishop Patrick, Keil, and most modern Christian interpreters. Against this, however, is to be urged that—i. The obvious sense of the injunction (Lev. xxiii. 40) is that these boughs are to be carried as symbols during

the rejoicing, and that we should expect something more, explicit than the single and simple word ולקחתם, and ye shall take, had it been designed that these boughs should be employed for the construction of the booths. ii. The *fruit* (פרי)—as the margin of the A. V. rightly has it, and not *boughs*, as it is in the text with which this injunction commences—could surely not be among the materials for the construction of the booths. iii. The law about the booths is entirely separated from the ordering of the fruit and boughs, as may be seen from a comparison of Lev. xxiii. 40 with 42. iv. The first day of this festival, as we have seen, was a holy convocation, on which all manner of work was interdicted. It is therefore against the sanctity of the day to suppose that the command to take the fruit and the boughs on the first day (ביום הראשון) meant that the Israelites are to construct with these plants the booths on this holy day: and v. The appeal to Neh. viii. is beside the mark, inasmuch as different materials are there mentioned—*ex.gr.* olive-branches and pine-branches—which were actually used for making the booths, whilst the *Hadar* fruit and the willow specified in the Pentateuchal injunction are omitted. With the regulations about the tabernacles and the boughs or *Lulab* before us, we can now continue the description of the mode in which this festival was celebrated in the temple.

14th of Tishri was the *Preparation Day* (ערב יום טוב = παρασκευή). The pilgrims came up to Jerusalem on the day previous to the commencement of the festival, when they prepared everything necessary for its solemn observance. The priests proclaimed the approach of the holy convocation on the eve of this day by the blasts of trumpets. As on the Feasts of Passover and Pentecost, the altar of the burnt-sacrifice was cleansed in the first night-watch (*Mishna Joma*, i. 8), and the gates of the temple, as well as those of the inner court, were opened immediately after midnight for the convenience of the priests who resided in the city, and for the people who filled the court before the cock crew to have their sacrifices and offerings duly examined by the priests (*Mishna*, *ibid.* i. 8). When the first day of Tabernacles happened on the Sabbath, the people brought their palm branches or *Lulabs* on the 14th of Tishri to the synagogue on the temple mount, where the servants of the synagogue (חזנים) deposited them in a gallery, whilst the *Lulabs* of the elders of the synagogue (וקנים) were placed in a separate chamber, as it was against the Sabbatical laws to carry the palms on the Sabbath from the booths of the respective pilgrims to the temple.

15th of Tishri.—At daybreak of the first day of the festival a priest, accompanied by a jubilant procession and by a band of music, descended with a golden pitcher holding three logs to the pool of Siloam, and having filled it with water from the brook, he endeavoured to reach the temple in time to join his brother priests who carried the morning sacrifice to the altar (*Tosiphta Succa*, cap. iii.) Following in their steps, he entered from the south through the water-gate into the inner court (*Mishna Middoth*, ii. 6; *Gemara Succa*, 48 a). On reaching the water-gate, he was welcomed by three blasts of the trumpet. He then ascended the steps of the altar with another priest who carried a pitcher of wine for the drink-offering. The two priests turned to the left of the altar where two silver



basins were fixed with holes at the bottom; the basin for the water was to the west, and had a narrower hole, whilst the one for the wine was to the east, and had a wider hole, so that both might get empty at the same time. Into these respective basins they simultaneously and slowly poured the water and the wine in such a manner that both were emptied at the same time upon the base of the altar. To the priest who poured out the water the people called out, Raise thy hand! The reason for this is, that when Alexander Jannai, who officiated as priest, was charged with this duty, being a Sadducee and rejecting the ordinances of the Scribes, he poured the water over his feet and not into the basin, whereupon the people pelted him with their *ethrogs* or citrons. At this catastrophe, which nearly cost the life of the Macca-bæan king, Alexander Jannai called for the assistance of the soldiers, when nearly 6000 Jews perished in the temple, and the altar was damaged, a corner of it being broken off, in the struggle which ensued (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 13. 5; *Mishna Succa*, iv. 9; *Gemara*, *ibid.* 48 a; 51 a; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. iii. pp. 112; 473 ff. 2d ed. Leipzig 1863). [SCRIBES.] The ceremony of drawing the water was repeated every morning during the seven days of the festival.

At the same time that the priests went in procession to the pool of Siloam, another jubilant multitude of people went to a place outside Jerusalem called *Moza* (מוצה), which abounded in willows. These willows they gathered with great rejoicing, carried them into the temple amidst the blasts of trumpets, and placed them at the altar in such a manner that their tops overhung and formed a sort of canopy (*Mishna Succa*, iv. 5). The decorating process of the altar being finished, the daily morning sacrifice was first offered, *Musaph* (מוסף); then the additional or special sacrifice for this festival, prescribed in Num. xxix. 12-38, which on the first day consisted of a burnt-offering of 13 bullocks, 2 rams, and 14 lambs, with the appropriate meat and drink offering, and a goat for a sin-offering, and then the peace-offerings, the vows, and the free-will offerings, which constituted the repast of the people (*Jerusalem Succa*, v.). Whilst these sacrifices were being offered the Levites chanted the *Great Hallel*, as on the feasts of Passover and Pentecost. On this occasion, however, each of the pilgrims held in his right hand the *lulab* or palm to which were tied the twigs of myrtle and willow, as described above, and the *ethrog* or citron in his left, whilst these Psalms were being chanted, and during the chanting of Ps. cxviii. the pilgrims shook their palms three times—viz. at the singing of verses 1, 25, and 29 (*Mishna Succa*, iii. 9). When the *Musaph* chant was finished, the priests in procession went round the altar once, exclaiming: Hosanna, O Jehovah; give us help, O Jehovah, give prosperity! (Ps. cxviii. 25). Whereupon the solemn benediction was pronounced by the priests, and the people dispersed amidst the repeated exclamations: 'How beautiful art thou, O altar!' or 'To Jehovah, and thee, O altar, we give thanks!' (*Mishna Succa*, iv. 5; *Gemara*, *ibid.* 44 b, 45). Each one of the pilgrims then betook himself to his respective booth there to enjoy his repast with the Levite, the stranger, the poor, and the fatherless, who shared his hospitality. This practice explains the remarks of the evangelists (Matt. xxi. 8, 9, 15; John xii. 12, 13). It is to be remarked that on the

first day of the festival every Israelite carried about his *lulab* or palm all day; he carried it into the synagogue, held it in his hand whilst praying, and only laid it down when called to the reading of the law, as he then had to hold the scroll [SYNAGOGUE]; carried it with him when he went to visit the sick, and comfort the mourners (*Succa*, 41 a; Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chezaka*, *Hilchoth Lulab*, vii. 24).

16th-20th of Tishri.—These days were half-holy-days, they were called the middle days of the festival

(חול מועד = μεσοστής τῆς ἐορτῆς, John vii. 14), or the lesser festival (מועד קטן). Any articles of food or raiment required for immediate use were allowed to be purchased privately during these days, and work demanded by the emergencies of the public service, or required for the festival, the omission of which entailed loss or injury, was permitted to be done [PASSOVER]. On the night of the 15th, and on the five succeeding nights, the rejoicing of the drawing of water (שמחת בית השואבה) was celebrated in the court of the temple in the following manner.—The people assembled in large masses in the court of the women at night after the expiration of the first day of the festival. The women occupied the galleries, which were permanent fixtures in the court (*Mishna Middoth*, ii. 15), while the men occupied the space below. Four huge golden candelabras were placed in the centre of the court; each of these candelabras had four golden basins and four ladders, on which stood four lads from the rising youths of the priests, with jars of oil wherewith they fed the basins, whilst the cast-off garments of the priests were used as wicks. The lights of these candelabras illuminated the whole city. Around these lights pious and distinguished men danced before the people with lighted flambeaux in their hands, singing hymns and songs of praise; whilst the Levites, who were stationed on the fifteen steps which led into the women's court and corresponded to the fifteen Psalms of degrees = steps (Ps. cxx.-cxxxiv.), accompanied the songs with harps, psalteries, cymbals, and numberless musical instruments. The dancing as well as the vocal and instrumental music continued till day-break. Some of these pious men performed dexterous movements with their flambeaux whilst dancing for the amusement of the people. Thus it is related that R. Simon II. (A.D. 30-50), son of Gamaliel I., the teacher of the apostle Paul [EDUCATION], used to dance with eight torches in his hands, which he alternately threw up in the air and caught again without their touching each other or falling to the ground (*Tosiphta Succa*, cap. iv.; *Jerusalem Succa*, v. 4; *Babylon*, *ibid.* 53 a). It is supposed that it was the splendid light of this grand illumination which suggested the remark of our Saviour: 'I am the light of the world' (John viii. 12). Towards the approach of day two priests stationed themselves with trumpets in their hands, at the upper gate leading from the court of the Israelites to the court of the women, and awaited the announcement of daybreak by the crowing of the cock. As soon as the cock crew, they blew the trumpet three times, and marched out the people of the temple in such a manner that they had to descend the ten steps, where the two priests again blew the trumpets three times, and when they reached the lowest step in the outer court they for the third time blew the trumpets three times. They continued to blow as they were marching across the court till they



reached the eastern gate. Here they turned their faces westward towards the temple, and said: 'Our fathers once turned their back to the sanctuary in this place, and their faces to the east, and worshipped the sun towards the east (comp. Ezek. viii. 15, 16); but we lift up our eyes to Jehovah.' Whereupon they returned to the temple, whilst the people who were thus marched out went to their respective booths. Some however formed themselves into a procession and went with the priests to the pool of Siloam to fetch the water, whilst others returned to the temple to be present at the morning sacrifice (*Mishna Succa*, v. 2-4; Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chezaka*, *Hilchoth Succa*, viii. 12-15). The Talmud maintains that the ceremony of the drawing of water is anterior to the Babylonian captivity, and that Is. xii. 3 refers to it (*Succa*, 48 b). Indeed it is only on this supposition that the imagery in Is. xii. 3 obtains its full force and significance. As to the import of this ceremony ancient tradition furnishes two explanations of it. *i.* Since the Feast of Tabernacles was the time of the latter rain (Joel ii. 23), the drawing and pouring out of the water was regarded as symbolical of the forthcoming rain which it was ardently desired might be blessed to the people. Hence the remark that he who will not come up to the Feast of Tabernacles shall have no rain (*Succa*, 48, 51; *Rosh Ha-Shana*, 16; *Taanith*, 2 a). And *ii.* It was regarded as typical of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Hence the remark: 'It is called the house of drawing the water, because from thence the Holy Spirit is drawn in accordance with what is said (Is. xii. 3), 'with joy shall ye draw water out of the wells of salvation' (למה נקרא שמה בית שואבה שמים)

שואבים רוח הקודש על שם ושואבתם מים בששון מועדי הששון, *Jerusalem Succa*, v. 1). It is upon this explanation that our Saviour's remark is based (John vii. 37-39), in allusion to this ceremony on this last day of the festival when it was performed for the last time. The mode in which the sacrifices were offered in the middle days of the festival, the use of the palm and the citron, the procession round the altar, etc. etc., were simply a repetition of the first day of the festival, with this exception, however, that the number of animals diminished daily, according to the prescription in Num. xxix. 12-38, and that the *Lesser Hallel* was chanted by Levites instead of the *Great Hallel* [HALLEL]. A peculiarity connected with the sacrificial service of this festival must here be noticed. On all other festivals only those of the twenty-four orders of the priests officiated upon whom the lot fell (comp. 1 Chron. xxiv. 7-19), but on the seven days of Tabernacles the whole of the twenty-four orders officiated. On the first day the thirteen bullocks, two rams, and one goat were offered by sixteen orders, whilst the fourteen sheep were offered by the other eight. As there was one bullock less offered each of the seven days, one order of priests left each day the sixteen orders, who offered these bullocks and joined those who offered the fourteen lambs. Hence 'on the first day six of these orders offered two lambs each, and the other two orders one lamb each. On the second day five orders of the priests offered two lambs each, and the other four orders one lamb each. On the third day four orders offered two lambs each, and six orders one lamb each. On the fourth day three orders offered two lambs each, and eight orders one lamb each. On the fifth day

two orders offered two lambs each, and ten orders one lamb each. On the sixth day one order offered two lambs each, and twelve orders one lamb each; whilst on the seventh day, when the orders of priests who sacrificed the bullocks had diminished to eight, fourteen orders offered one lamb each' (*Mishna Succa*, v. 6).

*21st of Tishri.*—The seventh day, which was designated the last day of the Feast of Tabernacles (יום טוב האחרון של חג, *Mishna Succa*, iv. 8), was especially distinguished in the following manner from the other six days:—After the *Musaph* or special festival sacrifice of the day, the priests in procession made seven circuits round the altar (*Mishna Succa*, iv. 5), whereas on the preceding days of the festival only one circuit was made. The willows (ערבה) which surrounded the altar were then so thoroughly shaken by the people that the leaves lay thickly on the ground. The people also fetched palm branches and beat them to pieces at the side of the altar (*Mishna*, *ibid.* iv. 6). It is from this fact that the last day of the festival obtained the names of the Day of Willow (יום ערבה, *Mishna Succa*, iv. 1), the Great Hosanna Day (יום הושענה נא רבה), and the Branch-thrashing Day (יום הכות חריות), *Mishna*, *ibid.* iv. 6). Herzfeld suggests that the thrashing of the willows and palms may have been to symbolise that after the last verdure of the year had served for the adornment of the altar the trees might now go on to cast off their leaves (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. 125). As soon as the thrashing process was over, the children who were present, and who also carried about the festive nosegays, threw away their palms and ate up their *ethrogs* or citrons (*Mishna Succa*, iv. 7); whilst the pilgrims, 'in the afternoon of this day, began to remove the furniture from the Tabernacles in honour of the last day of the festival' (*Mishna*, *ibid.* iv. 8), as the obligation to live or eat in the booths ceased in the afternoon of the seventh day, inasmuch as the Feast of Tabernacles itself had now terminated. Mr. Clark, the writer of the article 'Tabernacles, Feast of,' in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, is therefore mistaken when he says that 'the Hebrews left their huts and dismantled them on the morning of the eighth day.' Besides, the eighth day, as we shall presently see, was a holy convocation, whereon no manner of work was allowed to be done, and the Hebrews could no more dismantle their huts on this day without desecrating it than on the Sabbath. It must also be remarked that this last day of the festival, this Great Hosanna day, was regarded as one of the four days whereon God judges the world (*Mishna Rosh Ha-Shana*, i. 2; *Gemara*, *ibid.*). There can, therefore, be but little doubt that when St. John records the memorable words uttered by Christ (ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ μετὰ τῆς ἑορτῆς) in the last great day of the festival (John vii. 37) he meant this distinguished day.

*22d of Tishri.*—The eighth day—which, as we have seen, was a separate festival—was a day of holy convocation whereon no manner of work was allowed to be done. After the daily morning sacrifice and the private offerings of the people, the sacrifices prescribed in Num. xxix. 36-38 were offered, during which the great Hallel was chanted by the Levites. At the sacrifices, however, the twenty-four orders of priests were no longer present, but lots were cast as on other festivals, and that



order upon whom the lot fell, offered the sacrifices (*Mishna Succa*, v. 6). The Israelites dwelt no longer in the booths on this day, the joyful procession for the drawing of water was discontinued, the grand illumination in the court of the women ceased, and the palms and willows were not used any more.

It only remains to be added that when the Feast of Tabernacles fell on a Sabbatical year, the reading of portions of the law (Deut. xxxi. 10-13) was afterwards confined to one book of the Pentateuch. [SABBATICAL YEAR.] This arose from the multiplication of synagogues in which the law was read every week, thus rendering it less needful to read extensive portions in the temple during this festival, inasmuch as the people had now ample opportunities of listening in their respective places of worship to the reading of the law and the prophets. Hence also the reading of the law, which in olden days took place in the last hours of the forenoon of every day of this festival, was afterwards restricted to one day. It was at last assigned to the high priest, and ultimately to the king [SABBATICAL YEAR].

C. FROM THE DISPERSION OF THE JEWS TO THE PRESENT TIME.—Excepting the ordinances which were local and belonged to the temple and its sacrificial service, and bating the exposition and more rigid explanation of some of the rites so as to adapt them to the altered condition of the nation, the Jews to the present day continue to celebrate the Feast of Tabernacles as in the days of the second temple. As soon as the Day of Atonement is over every orthodox Israelite, according to the ancient canons, begins to erect his booth in which he and his family take up their temporary abode during this festival. Each paterfamilias also provides himself with a *lulab*=palm, and *etrog*=citron, as defined by the ancient canons. On the eve of the 14th of *Tishri* (which in this year, 1865, is October 4), or of the Preparation Day (ערב סוכות), the festival commences. All the Jews, attired in their festive garments, resort to the synagogue, where, after the evening prayer (מעריב) appointed in the liturgy for this occasion, the hallowed nature of the festival is proclaimed by the cantor (חזן) in the blessing pronounced over the cup of wine (קידוש). After the evening service every family resorts to its respective booth, which is illuminated and adorned with foliage and diverse fruit, and in which the first festive meal is taken. Before, however, anything is eaten, the head of the family pronounces the sanctity of the festival over a cup of wine. This sanctification or *Kiddush* (קידוש) was ordained by the men of the Great Synagogue [SYNAGOGUE, THE GREAT], and as there is no doubt that our Saviour and his apostles recited it we shall give it in English. It is as follows:—‘Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hast created the fruit of the vine! Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hast chosen us from among all nations, hast exalted us above all tongues, and hast sanctified us with thy commandments. In love, O Lord, thou hast given us appointed times for joy, festivals, and seasons for rejoicing; and this Feast of Tabernacles, this time of our gladness, the holy convocation, in memory of the exodus from Egypt; for thou hast chosen us, and hast sanctified us above all nations, and hast caused us to inherit thy holy festivals with joy and rejoicing. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hast sanctified Israel and the

seasons! Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hast sanctified us with thy commandments, and hast enjoined us to dwell in booths! Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hast preserved us alive, sustained us, and brought us to the beginning of this season!’ Whereupon each member of the family washes his hands, pronouncing the prescribed benediction whilst drying them, and all enjoy the repast. The orthodox Jews sleep in the booths all night. The following morning, which is the first day of the festival, they again resort to the synagogue, holding the palms and citrons in their hands. They lay them down during the former part of the prayer, but take them up after the eighteen benedictions [SYNAGOGUE, THE GREAT], when they are about to recite the *Hallel* [HALLEL]. Holding the palm in the right hand and the citron in the left, they recite the following prayer: ‘Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hast sanctified us with thy commandments, and hast enjoined us to take the palm-branch!’ Whereupon each one turns his citron upside-down and waves his palm-branch three times towards the east, three times towards the west, three times towards the south, and three times towards the north. The legate of the congregation [SYNAGOGUE] pronounces the following benediction: ‘Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hast sanctified us with thy commandments, and hast enjoined us to recite the *Hallel*!’ and the *Hallel* is chanted; when they come to Ps. cxviii. the waving of the palm-branch is repeated at the first, tenth, and twenty-fifth verses, just as it was done in the temple. Two scrolls of the law are then taken out of the ark (ארון) and brought on the platform (במה), when the lessons for the first day of the festival are read out from the law: Lev. xxii. 26–xxiii. 44; and Num. xxix. 12–16, as *Maphthir*; and from the prophets Zech. xiv. 1–21; in the manner described in the article HAPHTARA in this Cyclopædia. After this the *Musaph* prayer is recited, which corresponds to the *Musaph* or additional sacrifices in the temple for this special festival. When the legate of the congregation, in reciting the *Musaph*, comes to the passage where the expression *priests* (כוהנים) occurs, the Aaronites and the Levites arise, and after the latter have washed the hands of the former, the priests with uplifted hands pronounce the sacerdotal benediction (Num. vi. 24–27) upon the congregation, who have their faces veiled with the *Talith* [FRINGED GARMENT]. The ark of the Lord is then placed in the centre of the synagogue, when the elders form themselves into a procession headed by the legate, who carries the scroll of the law, and all the rest carry the palm branches in their hands and walk round the ark once repeating the *Hosanna*, and waving the palms in commemoration of the procession round the altar in the temple (Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chezaka*, *Hilchoth Lulab*, vii. 23). When the morning service is concluded the people betake themselves to their respective booths to partake of the festive repast with the poor and the stranger. In the afternoon, about five or six o’clock, they again resort to the synagogue to recite the *Mincha* (מונחה) prayer, answering to the daily evening sacrifice in the temple. As soon as darkness sets in or the stars appear, the second day of the festival commences, the Jews having doubled the days of holy convocation [FESTIVAL]. The evening prayer,



as well as the practices for this evening, resemble those of the first evening.

The ritual for the second day in the morning, as well as the rites, with very few variations, are like that of the first day. The lesson, however, from the prophets is different, for on this day 1 Kings viii. 2-21 is read. After the afternoon service of this day the middle days of the festival begin, which last four days, when the ritual is like that of ordinary days, only that a few prayers bearing on this festival are occasionally inserted in the regular formulæ, lessons from the law are read on each day as specified in the article HAPHTARA, and the above-named procession goes round the ark. The seventh day, which is *the Great Hosanna* (הוֹשַׁעְנָה רַבָּה), is celebrated with peculiar solemnity, inasmuch as it is believed that on this day God decrees the weather or rather the rain for the future harvest (*Mishna Rosh Ha-Shana*, i. 2; *Gemara*, *ibid.*) On the evening preceding this day every Israelite prepares for himself a small bunch of willows tied up with the bark of the palm; some of the pious Jews assemble either in the synagogue or in the booths to read the book of Deuteronomy, the Psalms, the Mishna, etc., all night, and are immersed before the morning prayer. When the time of morning service arrives, numerous candles are lighted in the synagogue, and after the *Shachrit* (שַׁחֲרִית) = morning prayers, which is similar to that of the previous day, seven scrolls of the law are taken out of the ark, and from one of them the lesson is read. The *Musaph* or additional prayers are then recited; thereupon a procession is formed headed by the Rabbi and the legate with the palms in their hands, and followed by those who carry the seven scrolls of the law. This procession goes seven times round the ark which is placed in the middle of the synagogue, or round the reading-desk, reciting the Hosannas, in accordance with the seven circuits around the altar which were performed in the temple on this day, and waving their palms at certain expressions. The palms are then laid down, and every one takes up his bunch of willows, and beats off its leaves at a certain part of the liturgy, in accordance with the beating off the leaves from the willows around the altar in the temple, which took place on this day. On the evening of the seventh day the festival commences which concludes the whole cycle of festival (יְשִׁמְיֵי עֲצֵרֶת). It is a day of holy convocation, on which no manner of work is done, and is introduced by the *Kiddush* (קִידּוּשׁ) = proclamation of its sanctity, given in the former part of this article. On the following morning the Jews resort to the synagogue, recite the morning prayer (שַׁחֲרִית), as in the first two days of the feast of Tabernacles, inserting however some prayers appropriate for this occasion. Whereupon the special lesson for the day is read [HAPHTARA], the *Musaph* (מוֹסַף) or additional prayer is offered, and the priests pronounce the benediction in the manner already described. The people no longer take their meals in the booths on this day. On the evening of this day again another festival commences, called *the Rejoicings of the Law* (שִׂמְחַת תּוֹרָה). After the reciting of the Eighteen Benedictions, all the scrolls of the law are taken out of the ark, into which a lighted candle is placed. A procession is then formed of the distinguished members, who are headed by the legate; they hold the scrolls in their hands, and go around the reading-desk; the scrolls are then put back into the ark,

and only one is placed upon the desk, out of which is read the last chapter of Deuteronomy, and to the reading of which all persons present in the synagogue are called, including children. When the evening service is over the children leave the synagogue in procession, carrying banners with sundry Hebrew inscriptions. On the following morning the Jews again resort to the synagogue, recite the Hallel after the Eighteen Benedictions, empty the ark of all its scrolls, put a lighted candle into it, form themselves into a procession, and with the scrolls in their hands, and amid jubilant songs, go round the reading-desk. This being over, the scrolls of the law are put back into the ark, and from one of the two which are retained is read Deut. xxxiii., whereunto four persons are at first called, then all the little children are called as on the previous evening, and then again several grown-up people are called. The first of these is called *the Bridegroom of the Law* (חַתָּן תּוֹרָה), and after the cantor who calls him up has addressed him in a somewhat lengthy Hebrew formula, the last verses of the Pentateuch are read; and when the reading of the law is thus finished all the people exclaim הוֹזֵק, *be strong!* which expression is printed at the end of every book in the Hebrew Bible, as well as of every non-inspired Hebrew work. After reading the last chapter of the law, the beginning of Genesis (i. 1-ii. 3) is read, to which another one is called who is denominated *the Bridegroom of Genesis* (חַתָּן בְּרֵאשִׁית), and to whom again the cantor delivers a somewhat lengthy Hebrew formula; the *Maphtir*, consisting of Num. xxix. 35-xxx. 1, is then read from another scroll; and with the recitation of the *Musaph*, or additional special prayer for the festival, the service is concluded. The rest of the day is spent in rejoicing and feasting. The design of this festival is to celebrate the annual completion of the perusal of the Pentateuch, inasmuch as on this day the last section of the law is read. Hence the name of the festival, '*the Rejoicing of finishing the Law*' [HAPHTARA].

4. *Origin and import of this Festival.*—Like Pentecost, the Feast of Tabernacles owes its origin to the harvest, which terminated at this time, and which the Jews in common with other nations of antiquity celebrated as a season of joy and thankfulness for the kindly fruit of the earth. This is undoubtedly implied in its very name, *the Feast of Ingathering*, and is distinctly declared in Exod. xxiii. 16: 'Thou shalt keep . . . the feast of ingathering in the end of the year when thou hast gathered in thy labours out of the field' (comp. also Lev. xxiii. 39; Deut. xvi. 13). With this agricultural origin, however, is associated a great historical event, which the Jews are enjoined to remember during the celebration of this festival, and which imparted a second name to this feast—viz. 'Ye shall dwell in booths seven days . . . that your generations may know that I made the children of Israel to dwell in booths when I brought them out of the land of Egypt' (Lev. xxiii. 42, 43), whence its name '*the Feast of Booths or Tabernacles*.' The Feast of Tabernacles, therefore, like Passover, has a twofold significance—viz. it has a reference both to the annual course of nature and to a great national event. As to the reason for connecting this pre-eminently joyous festival of ingathering with the homeless dwelling of the Israelites in booths in the wilderness, we prefer the one given by the ancient Jews to theories advanced by modern commen-



tators. In the midst of their great joy—when their houses are full of corn, new wine, oil, and all good things, and their hearts overflow with rejoicing—the Israelites might forget the Lord their God, and say that it is their power and the strength of their arm which have gotten them this prosperity (Deut. viii. 12, etc.) To guard against this the Hebrews were commanded to quit their permanent and sheltered house and sojourn in booths at the time of harvest and in the midst of general abundance, to be reminded thereby that they were once homeless and wanderers in the wilderness, and that they are now in the enjoyment of blessings through the goodness and faithfulness of their heavenly Father, who fulfilled the promises made to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. This idea was still more developed after the Babylonish captivity, when the canons about the building of the booths were enacted. The booths, as we have seen, were to be covered in such a manner as to admit the view of the sky and the stars, in order that the sojourners therein might be reminded of their Creator, and remember that, however great and prosperous the harvest, the things of earth are perishable and vanity of vanities. This is the reason why the Scribes also ordained that the Book of Ecclesiastes should be read on this joyous festival [ECCLESIASTES].

5. *Literature*.—The *Mishna Tractate Succa*; the *Jerusalem and Babylonian Gemaras* on this *Mishna*; Dachs, a learned Swiss orientalist, published a Latin version of the *Babylon Gemara on Succa*, with erudite annotations and extracts from the Jewish Rabbins on this festival, Utrecht 1726; Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chezaka, Hilchoth Lulab*; Meyer, *De Temp. et Festis Diebus Hebræorum*, p. 317, etc., Utrecht 1755; Bähr, *Symbolik des Mosaischen Cultus*, vol. ii. pp. 624 ff., 652 ff., Heidelberg 1839; Herzfeld, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. ii. pp. 120 ff., 177 ff., Nordhausen, 1857; *The Jewish Ritual* entitled *Derech Ha-Chajim*, pp. 214 b ff., 295 ff., Vienna 1859; Keil, *Handbuch der biblischen Archäologie*, p. 412 ff., 2d ed., Frankfort-on-the-Maine 1859.—C. D. G.

TABITHA (Ταβιθά, טַבִּיטָּה = Heb. צִבְיָה, *gazelle*), the Aramæan name of a Christian female, called in Greek Dorcas (Δορκάς), resident at Joppa, whose benevolent and liberal conduct, especially in providing the poor with clothing, so endeared her to the church in that place that on her death they sent for Peter, then six miles off at Lydda, imploring him to come to them. Why they sent is not stated. It is probable that they desired his presence to comfort and sustain them in their affliction. That they expected he would raise her from the dead is less likely, as the apostles had not yet performed such a miracle, and as even Stephen had not been restored to life. But the apostle, after fervent prayer to God in the chamber of death, bade the corpse arise; on which Tabitha 'opened her eyes, and when she saw Peter she sat up.' This great miracle was not only an act of benevolence, but tended to give authority to the teaching of the apostles, and to secure attention for the doctrines which they promulgated (see Acts ix. 36-42).—J. K.

TABOR (תְּבוֹר; Ταβόρ; Θαβώρ; Ἰραβύριον).

1. A mountain on the confines of Zebulun and Naphtali, standing out in the north-east border of

the plain of Esdraelon, the name of which appears among Greek and Roman writers in the forms of Itabyrion and Atabyrion, and which is now known by the name of جبل طور, *Jebel Tur*. It is men-

tioned in Josh. xix. 22; Judg. iv. 6; viii. 18; Ps. lxxxix. 12; Jer. xli. 18; Hos. v. 1). Mount Tabor stands out alone and eminent above the plain, with all its fine proportions from base to summit displayed at one view. It lies at the distance of two hours and a quarter south of Nazareth. According to the barometrical measurements of Schubert, the height of Tabor above the level of the sea is 1748 Paris feet, and 1310 Paris feet above the level of the plain at its base. Seen from the south-west, it presents a semi-globular appearance; but from the north-west it more resembles a truncated cone. By an ancient path, which winds considerably, one may *ride* to the summit, where is a small oblong plain, with the foundations of ancient buildings. The view of the country from this place is very beautiful and extensive. The mountain is of limestone, which is the general rock of Palestine. The sides of the mountain are mostly covered with bushes, and woods of oak trees (*illex* and *agilops*), with occasionally pistachio trees, presenting a beautiful appearance, and affording a fine shade. There are various tracks up its sides, often crossing one another. The ascent usually occupies an hour, though it has been done in less time. The crest of the mountain is table-land, of some six or seven hundred yards in height from north to south, and about half as much across; and a flat field of about an acre occurs at a level of some twenty or twenty-five feet lower than the eastern brow. There are remains of several small ruined tanks on the crest, which still catches the rain-water dripping through the crevices of the rock, and preserves it cool and pure, it is said, throughout the year. The view from the summit, though one edge or the other of the table-land, wherever one stands, always intervenes to make a small break in the distant horizon, is declared by Lord Nugent to be the most splendid he could recollect having ever seen from any natural height. This writer cites an observation made many years ago, in his hearing, by Mr. Riddle, that he had never been on any *natural* hill, or rock, or mountain, from which could be seen an unbroken circumference with a radius of three miles in every part. This, his lordship says, has been verified in all his own experience, and it was so at Mount Tabor, although there are many abrupt points of vantage ground on the summit (*Lands Classical and Sacred*, ii. 204, 205).

This mountain is several times mentioned in the O. T. (Josh. xix. 12, 22; Judg. iv. 6, 12, 14); but not in the New. Its summit has however been usually regarded as the 'high mountain apart,' where our Lord was transfigured before Peter, James, and John. But the probability of this is opposed by circumstances which cannot be gainsaid. It is manifest that the Transfiguration took place in a solitary place, not only from the word 'apart,' but from the circumstance that Peter in his bewilderment proposed to build 'three tabernacles' on the spot (Matt. xvii. 1-8; Luke ix. 28-36). But we know that a fortified town occupied the top of Tabor for at least 220 years before and 60 years after the birth of Christ, and probably much before and long after (Polybius, v. 70. 6;



Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 6. 3; *De Bell. Jud.* i. 8. 7; ii. 20. 6; iv. 1. 8; *Vita*, sec. 37); and the tradition itself cannot be traced back earlier than towards the end of the 4th century, previously to which we have in the *Onomasticon* notices of Mount Tabor, without any allusion to its being regarded as the site of the Transfiguration. It may further be remarked that this part of Galilee abounds with 'high mountains apart,' so that in removing the scene of this great event from Tabor there is no difficulty in providing other suitable sites for it (Robinson, *Bibl. Researches*, iii. 210-227; Lord Nugent, *u.s.* ii. 198-204; Schabert, *Morgenland*, iii. 174-180; Burckhardt, *Syria*, pp. 332-336; Stephens, ii. 317-319; Elliot, ii. 364).—J. K.

2. The name of a grove of oaks in the vicinity of Benjamin, in 1 Sam. x. 3, the topography of which chapter is usually much embarrassed by the groundless notion that Mount Tabor is meant. [PLAINS.]

3. A Levitical city in Zebulun, situated upon Mount Tabor (1 Chron. vi. 77).

TABRET. [MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.]

TABRET. [WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.]

TACHASH (תַּחַשׁ), a word of uncertain meaning, but which is generally believed to be the name of an animal the skins of which were used to cover the tabernacle (Exod. xxv. 5; xxvi. 14; Num. iv. 6, 8, etc.), and shoes or sandals made of which were worn by women (Ezek. xvi. 10). The ancient versions understand it of a colour (LXX. *ὡκεῖνθωα*; Aq. and Symm. *lávθwa*; Chal. and Syr. *סַפְּנֹנָה*, *saegona*, red; Arab. *Julūd dārish*, a black skin). Bochart follows this view, giving *hysginus*, dark red, as the rendering (*Hieroz.* iii. 30). But this view hardly any in more recent times have adopted; the common opinion being that the Tachash was an animal. It is not agreed, however, what animal was thus designated. According to the Talmud it was an animal resembling the *marten*; according to Rashi it was the *badger*, the *seal*, or the *dolphin*. Luther and the A. V. follow Rashi in making it the badger, and this Gesenius defends. It seems, however, a fatal objection to this that the badger is not found in Asia so far south as Palestine or Arabia, and therefore could not be familiar to the Israelites so as to supply them with coverings for the tabernacle. It is doubtful also whether the skin of an unclean animal would have been employed to cover the dwelling of Jehovah. The latter objection applies also to the seal, though in other respects there is much in favour of the opinion that this was the tachash. From the fact that the Arabs call a species of dolphin *tahas*, an argument may be drawn in favour of Rashi's last suggestion; but it may be doubted whether the skin of the dolphin could be conveniently used to cover a tent. We think there is much probability in the suggestion thrown out by Colonel Hamilton Smith in the former edition of this work, that as animals of the antelope tribe, and bearing the names of *pacasse*, *tacasse*, and *tachmitze*, abound in eastern Africa, it may be one of them which was known as the tachash to the Hebrews.—W. L. A.

TACHMAS (תַּחֲמָס, Lev. xi. 16; Deut. xiv. 15) is mentioned as one of the unclean birds in the Pentateuch, but so little characterised that no decided opinion can be expressed as to what species

is really intended. In the A. V. it is translated *owl*, but we rather incline to identify the Tachmas with the night-hawk of Europe (*Caprimulgus Europæus*), which, or a species very nearly allied to it, is an inhabitant of Syria, and belongs to a genus closely connected with superstitions in all countries. The night-hawk is a migratory bird, inferior in size to a thrush, and has very weak talons and bill; but the gape or mouth is wide; it makes now and then a plaintive cry, and preys on the wing; it flies with the velocity and action of a swallow, the two genera being nearly allied. Like those of most night birds, the eyes are large and remarkable, and the plumage a mixture of colours and dots, with a prevailing gray effect; it is finely webbed, and entirely noiseless in its passage through the air. Thus the bright eyes, wide mouth, sudden and inaudible flight in the dusk, are the original causes of the superstitious fear these birds have excited; and as there are in southern climates other species of this genus, much larger in size, with peculiarly contrasted colours, strangely disposed feathers on the head, or paddle-shaped single plumes, one at each shoulder, projecting in the form of two additional wings, and with plaintive loud voices often uttered in the night, all the species contribute to the general awe they have inspired in every country and in all ages.—C. H. S.

TACHMONITE. [HACHMONITE; JASHO-BEAM.]

TADMOR (תַּדְמוֹר; Sept. *Θερμόρ, Θοεδμόρ*) or TAMAR (תָּמָר), a town built by King Solomon (1 Kings ix. 18; 2 Chron. viii. 4). The name Tamar signifies a palm-tree, and hence the Greek and Roman designation of PALMYRA, 'city of palms'; but this name never superseded the other among the natives, who even to this day give it the name of Thadmor. The form Tamar seems more ancient than that of Tadmor. It is found in the text (*kethib*) of 1 Kings ix. 18, while the latter stands in the margin (*keri*); but in the later historical book 'Tadmor,' having become the usual designation, stands in the text without any various reading. Palm trees are still found in the gardens around the town, but not in such numbers as would warrant, as they once did, the imposition of the name. Tadmor was situated between the Euphrates and Hamath, to the south-east of that city, in a fertile tract or oasis of the desert. It was built by Solomon probably with the view of securing an interest in and command over the great caravan traffic from the east, similar to that which he had established in respect of the trade between Syria and Egypt. See this idea developed in the *Pictorial Bible*, note on 2 Chron. viii. 4; where it is shown at some length that the presence of water in this small oasis must early have made this a station for the caravans coming west through the desert; and this circumstance probably dictated to Solomon the importance of founding here a garrison town, which would entitle him—in return for the protection he could give from the depredations of the Arabs, and for offering an intermediate station where the factors of the west might meet the merchants of the east—to a certain regulating power, and perhaps to some dues, to which they would find it more convenient to submit than to change the line of route. It is even possible that the Phœnicians, who took much interest in this important trade, pointed out to



Solomon the advantage which he and his subjects might derive from the regulation and protection of it, by building a fortified town in the quarter where it was exposed to the greatest danger. A most important indication in favour of these conjectures is found in the fact that all our information concerning Palmyra from heathen writers describes it as a city of merchants, who sold to the western natives the products of India and Arabia, and who were so enriched by the traffic that the place became proverbial for luxury and wealth, and for the expensive habits of its citizens.

We do not again read of Tadmor in Scripture, nor is it likely that the Hebrews retained possession of it long after the death of Solomon. No other source acquaints us with the subsequent history of the place, till it reappears in the account of Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* v. 24) as a considerable town, which, along with its territory, formed an inde-

pendent state between the Roman and Parthian empires. In the time of Trajan, however, it was lying waste; but it was rebuilt by his successor Adrian, and from him took the name of Adriano-polis. From Caracalla it received the privileges of a Roman colony. During the weak administration of the emperors Gallienus and Valerian, in the 3d century, while independent governments were rising in several provinces of the Roman empire, Odenatus became master of Palmyra and the whole of Mesopotamia, and assuming the regal title himself, also bestowed it upon his consort Zenobia, and his eldest son Herod. After his death, Zenobia, styling herself Queen of the East, ruled over most of the eastern provinces of the Roman empire, as well as over her own territories, with so much firmness and policy, that Aurelian, who vanquished her and led her in triumph to Rome, could not withhold his admiration. On the revolt of Palmyra



495. Palmyra.

shortly after, Aurelian, having recovered possession of it, caused it to be levelled with the ground, and the greater part of the inhabitants to be put to death. He, however, ordered the temple of the sun to be restored, placed a garrison in the town, and appointed a deputy over the district attached to it. Diocletian adorned the city with additional buildings; and under the emperor Honorius it still had a garrison, and was the seat of a bishop. Justinian strengthened the fortifications, and also constructed a very costly aqueduct, the remains of which still exist. When the successors of Mohammed extended their conquests beyond the confines of Arabia, Palmyra was one of the first places which became subject to the khalifs. In the year 659, a battle was here fought between the khalifs Ali and Moawiyah, and won by the former. In 744 it was still so strongly fortified that it took the

khalif Merwan seven months to reduce it, the rebel Solyman having shut himself up in it. From this period it seems to have gradually fallen into decay. Benjamin of Tudela, who was there towards the end of the 12th century, speaks of it as 'Thadmor in the desert, built by Solomon of equally large stones (with Baalbec). This city is surrounded by a wall, and stands in the desert, far from any inhabited place. It is four days' journey from Baalath (Baalbec), and contains 2000 warlike Jews, who are at war with the Christians and with the Arabian subjects of Nouredin, and aid their neighbours the Mohammedans.' In connection with this statement, it may be remarked that the existing inscriptions of Palmyra attest the presence of Jews there in its most flourishing period, and that they, in common with its other citizens, shared in the general trade, and were even objects of public



honour. One inscription intimates the erection of a statue to Julius Schalmalat, a Jew, for having at his own expense conducted a caravan to Palmyra. This was in A.D. 258, not long before the time of Zenobia, who, according to some writers, was of Jewish extraction. Irby and Mangles (*Travels*, p. 273) also noticed a Hebrew inscription on the architrave of the great colonnade, but give no copy of it, nor say what it expressed. The latest historical notice of Tadmor which we have been able to find is, that it was plundered in 1400 by the army of Timur Beg (Tamerlane), when 200,000 sheep were taken (Rankin, *Wars of the Mongols*). And Abulfeda, at the beginning of the 14th century (*Arab. Descript.* p. 98), speaks of Tadmor as merely a village, but celebrated for its ruins of old and magnificent edifices. These relics of ancient art and magnificence were scarcely known in Europe till towards the close of the 17th century. In the year 1678, some English merchants at Aleppo resolved to verify, by actual inspection, the reports concerning these ruins which existed in that place. The expedition was unfortunate; for they were plundered of everything by the Arabs, and returned with their object unaccomplished. A second expedition, in 1691, had better success; but the accounts which were brought back received little credit: as it seemed unlikely that a city which, according to their report, must have been so magnificent, should have been erected in the midst of deserts. When, however, in the year 1753, Robert Wood published the views and plans, which had been taken with great accuracy on the spot two years before, by Dawkins, the truth of the earlier accounts could no longer be doubted; and it appeared that neither Greece nor Italy could exhibit antiquities which in point of splendour could rival those of Palmyra. The examinations of these travellers show that the ruins are of two kinds. The one class must have originated in very remote times, and consists of rude, unshapen hillocks of ruin and rubbish, covered with soil and herbage, such as now alone mark the site of the most ancient cities of Mesopotamia and Babylonia, and among which it would be reasonable to seek any traces of the more ancient city of Solomon. The other, to which the most gorgeous monuments belong, bears the impress of later ages. It is clear from the style of architecture that the later buildings belong to the three centuries preceding Diocletian, in which the Corinthian order of pillars was preferred to any other.

The ruins cover a sandy plain stretching along the bases of a range of mountains called Jebel Belaes, running nearly north and south, dividing the great desert from the desert plains extending westwards towards Damascus and the north of Syria. The lower eminences of these mountains, bordering the ruins, are covered with numerous solitary square towers, the tombs of the ancient Palmyrenes, in which are found memorials similar to those of Egypt. They are seen to a great distance, and have a striking effect in this desert solitude. Beyond the valley which leads through these hills, the ruined city first opens upon the view. The thousands of Corinthian columns of white marble, erect and fallen, and covering an extent of about a mile and a half, present an appearance which travellers compare to that of a forest. The site on which the city stands is slightly elevated above the level of the surrounding desert for a cir-

cumference of about ten miles; which the Arabs believe to coincide with the extent of the ancient city, as they find ancient remains whenever they dig within this space. There are indeed traces of an old wall, not more than three miles in circumference; but this was probably built by Justinian, at a time when Palmyra had lost its ancient importance and become a desolate place; and when it was consequently desirable to contract its bounds, so as to include only the more valuable portion. Volney well describes the general aspect which these ruins present:—'In the space covered by these ruins we sometimes find a palace, of which nothing remains but the court and walls; sometimes a temple whose peristyle is half thrown down; and now a portico, a gallery, or triumphal arch. Here stand groups of columns, whose symmetry is destroyed by the fall of many of them; there, we see them ranged in rows of such length that, similar to rows of trees, they deceive the sight and assume the appearance of continued walls. If from this striking scene we cast our eyes upon the ground, another, almost as varied, presents itself: on all sides we behold nothing but subverted shafts, some whole, others shattered to pieces, or dislocated in their joints; and on which side soever we looked, the earth is strewn with vast stones, half buried; with broken entablatures, mutilated friezes, disfigured reliefs, effaced sculptures, violated tombs, and altars defiled by dust.'

It may be right to add, that the account which has been more recently given of these ruins by Captains Irby and Mangles, is a much less glowing one than those of other travellers, English and French. They speak indeed with admiration of the general view, which exceeded anything they had ever seen. But they add: 'Great, however, was our disappointment when, on a minute examination, we found that there was not a single column, pediment, architrave, portal, frieze, or any architectural remnant worthy of admiration.' They inform us that none of the pillars exceed four feet in diameter, or forty feet in height; that the stone scarcely deserves the name of marble, though striking from its snowy whiteness; that no part of the ruins taken separately excite any interest, and are altogether much inferior to those of Baalbec; and that the plates in the magnificent work of Messrs. Wood and Dawkins do far more than justice to Palmyra. Perhaps this difference of estimate may arise from the fact that earlier travellers found more wonderful and finished works at Palmyra than their information had prepared them to expect; whereas, in the latter instance, the finished representations in the plates of Wood's great work raised the expectations so highly, that their disappointment inclined the mind to rather a detractive estimate of the claims of this ruined city—Tadmor in the wilderness. The present Tadmor consists of numbers of peasants' mud huts, clustered together around the great temple of the sun. This temple is the most remarkable and magnificent ruin of Palmyra. The court by which it was enclosed was 179 feet square, within which a double row of columns was continued all round. They were 390 in number, of which about sixty still remain standing. In the middle of the court stood the temple, an oblong quadrangular building, surrounded with columns, of which about twenty still exist, though without capitals, of which they have been plundered, probably because they were com-



posed of metal. In the interior, at the south end, is now the humble mosque of the village.

The remains of Palmyra, not being of any direct Scriptural interest, cannot here be more particularly described. Very good accounts of them may be seen in Wood and Dawkins, *Ruins of Palmyra, otherwise Tadmor in the Desert*; Irby and Mangles, *Travels*; Richter, *Wallfahrten*; Addison, *Damascus and Palmyra*. The last work contains a good history of the place; for which see also Rosenmüller's *Bib. Geog.* translated by the Rev. N. Morren; and in particular Cellarius, *Dissert. de Imp. Palmyreno*, 1693. Besides Wood's great work, excellent views of the place have been published by Cassas in his *Voyage Pittoresque de la Syrie*; and more recently by Laborde in his *Voyage en Orient*.

TAHPANHES (תַּחְפָּנֶחֶס), or TEHAPHNEHES (תַּחְפָּנֶחֶס), a city of Egypt. The former name is used by Jeremiah (ii. 16 [KETITH, TAHAPNES (תַּחְפָּנֶחֶס)]; xliii. 7-9; xlv. 1; xlv. 14), and the latter by Ezekiel (xxx. 18). The Sept. render it by *Táφνας*, *Táφναι*, the name of a goddess, *Tphnet* (Cham-pollion, pp. 121, 123). This was doubtless *Daphne*, a strong boundary city on the Pelusiac arm of the Nile (Herodot. ii. 30, 107). A mound called Tel Defenneh, nearly in a direct line between the modern Zan and Pelusium, is supposed from its name and position to mark the site of Daphne (Wilkinson, *Mod. Egypt.* i. 447). Isaiah (xxx. 4) names it in the abbreviated form Hanes. It was to this place that Johanan and his party repaired, taking Jeremiah with them, after the murder of Gedaliah. [DAPHNE.]

TAHPENES (תַּחְפָּנֶס), Sept. *Θεκεμνας*, a queen of Egypt, consort of the Pharaoh contemporary with David. Her sister was given in marriage to Hadad, the fugitive prince of Edom (1 Kings xi. 19) [HADAD].

TAHTIM-HODSHI, THE LAND OF (תַּחְתִּימֹהֶדְשִׁי), *תַּחְתִּימֹהֶדְשִׁי*; *els ḡḡr Ṭaḥṣawṣ, ḡ ḡṣṣw 'Adṣal*; Alex. *ḡḡr ṭḥawṣ ḡḡḡḡ*; *in terram inferiorem Hodsi*. This word occurs only in 2 Sam. xxiv. 6, and its exact signification is doubtful. Some make it a proper name; others translate it ('nether or low land newly inhabited'); while others, as the Vulgate, translate the first word and make Hodshi a proper name. It seems probable from the connection that the whole is a proper name, descriptive however of the physical aspect of the region to which it was given. The route taken by the king's messengers was first eastward to Moab; then northward through Gilead; then from Gilead to 'the land of Tahtim-Hodshi' to Dan-jaan and Zidon. 'The land of Tahtim-Hodshi' was thus manifestly a section of the upper valley of the Jordan, probably that now called *Ard el-Haleh*, lying deep down at the western base of Hermon.—J. L. P.

TAITAZAK or TAYTAZAK (טַיטַזַק), JOSEPH, a Jewish commentator of a very literary family, who with his father and brothers was among the 300,000 Jews that were expelled from Spain in 1492. He settled down at Salonica, where he wrote the following works:—(1.) A commentary on Ecclesiastes, entitled *The Fruitful Bough of Joseph* (פֶּרֶת יוֹסֵף), after Gen. xlix. 22, and in

allusion to his name Joseph, Venice 1599; (2.) A commentary on Daniel and the Five Megilloth—viz. the Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther—entitled *The Bread of Sacredness* (לֶחֶם סְתֵרִים), in allusion to Prov. ix. 17, Venice 1608. In its present form this work only contains fragments of Taytazak's commentaries on three books, and MSS. of the entire commentaries are still extant; and (3.) A commentary on the Psalms, excerpts of which have been published with Jedadjah Penini's commentary on the Psalms, entitled *The Tongue of Gold* (לִשָּׁן זָהָב), Venice 1599. The MS. of his complete commentary on the Psalms is to be found in the libraries of Paris and Oxford (comp. Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodliana*, col. 1533; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, iii. 412).—C. D. G.

#### TALENT. [WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.]

TALMAI (תַּלְמַי), *full of furrows*; Sept. *Θαλμῖ*.

1. One of the sons of Anak (Num. xiii. 22; Josh. xv. 14; Judg. i. 10). 2. King of Geshur, and father of David's wife Maacah, the mother of Absalom (2 Sam. iii. 3; xiii. 37; 1 Chron. iii. 1, 2) [GESHUR].

TALMUD. The Talmud (תַּלְמוּד) is the work which embodies the canonical and civil law of the Jews. It contains those rules, institutions, precepts, and interpretations, by which the Jewish people profess to be guided, in addition to the O. T. Whatever is obligatory on them, besides the law, is recorded in this work. Here duties are explained, doubts resolved, cases of conscience cleared up, and the most minute circumstances relative to the conduct of life discussed with particularity. The contents of the work are of a miscellaneous character, relating not merely to religion, but to philosophy, medicine, jurisprudence, history, and the various branches of practical duty.

The Jews have been accustomed to divide their law into written and unwritten—the former contained in the Pentateuch; the latter handed down orally, till circumstances urged them to commit it to writing. The oral law is founded upon or developed out of the written. Some Jews have assigned the same antiquity to both, alleging that Moses received them on the mount; that Joshua got the oral law from Moses, and delivered it to the seventy elders, who transmitted it to the men of the Great Synagogue, the last of whom was Simon the Just. From the men of the Great Synagogue it came into the possession of the Rabbins. This, however, is a superficial and inaccurate account of the matter. *Midrashim*, or explanations and amplifications of Biblical topics, were of gradual growth. Their commencement dates prior to the Chronicle-writer, because he refers to works of that nature. The system of interpretation which they exemplify and embody existed in the age of the so-called Sopherim, who took the place of the prophets. The men of the Great Synagogue promoted it. It prevailed from the Asmonean period till that of Hadrian—i. e. about 300 years. The midrash was naturally simple at first; but it soon grew more comprehensive and complicated, under a variety of influences, of which controversy was not the least powerful. When secret meanings, hidden wis-



dom, deep knowledge, were sought in the letter of Scripture, the midrashim shaped themselves accordingly, and a distinction in their contents could be made. Thus they have been divided into the *Halacha* and *Hagada*—i.e. the rule, and what is said. Legal prescriptions formed the halacha; free interpretations, the hagada. The one as a rule of conduct *must be attended to*; the other merely passed for *something said*. The one was permanent, and proceeded from authoritative sources, from schools, the teachers of the law, etc.; the other was the product of individual minds, consisting of ideas which had often no other object than that of being expressed at the moment.

The oldest collection of Halachoth—that is the oldest Mishna—proceeded from the school of Hillel. R. Akiba, who was slain in the Hadrianic war, is said to have composed Mishna-regulations. The school of R. Simon ben Gamaliel (A.D. 166) who was a descendant of Hillel, collected and sifted the existing materials of the oral law. The present Mishna proceeded from the hands of R. Jehuda Hanasi (219 A.D.), son and successor of R. Simon ben Gamaliel. His son, R. Simon, made many additions to the Mishna after his father's death. It must not be supposed, however, that the Mishna was reduced to writing by R. Jehuda. For several centuries it was committed to the *memories* of scholars; and to write it down was even looked upon as a religious offence. Nothing but *hagadas* were written here and there; and though singular or striking *halachas* were carried about in writing by some, it was in secret. Nor were all the midrashim, or traditional precepts and interpretations, incorporated in this official Mishna. Many others existed, which are contained in part in the Sifra or Torah Kohanim,\* in the Sifri,† the Mechilta,‡ the second or smaller Sifri,§ in the Mishnas made by individual teachers for the use of their pupils, with the additions to the official Mishna collected by R. Chiya and his contemporaries. All the halachas of this sort which were extra-Mishnaic were called *Boraitas* (בריות), Hebrew (הינות) or *Toseftas* (תוספות). The necessity for digesting and reducing them to writing became more apparent when persecutions destroyed the academies of Palestine in the 4th century, and of Babylonia in the 5th. Thus the present Talmud or written Gemara originated. The Jerusalem, or as it has been sometimes called the Palestinian Talmud, proceeded from the academy of Tiberias. It is said to have been chiefly written by R. Jochanan, rector of that academy. But this is contradicted by internal evidence; for Diocletian (284-305), Ursicinus, and Julian (361, etc.) are mentioned in it; whereas R. Jochanan died A.D. 279. Hence we must infer that it was not compiled till the end of the last half of the 4th century, which agrees very nearly with the

opinion of Maimonides. The Jerusalem Talmud has contributed to the Babylonian, there being evident traces of it in the latter. The Babylonian Talmud, called 'ours' by later Jews, was principally compiled by R. Ashe, who died in 427 A.D. The labour spent upon the mass of materials which he had to arrange, weigh, decide upon, and adjust, was immense. More than half a century was devoted to it. But Ashe did not complete it. It was left to his successors to do so—to Rabina and R. Jose, presidents of the schools of Sora and Pumpadita respectively. These, with the aid of other scholars whose names we need not give,\* brought the work to its final state of redaction. It belongs therefore to the 6th century.

The *Mishna* is divided into six orders or books (סדרים), 63 treatises (מסכתות), *massicthoth*, and 525 chapters (פרקים), *perakim*. The order of these is not exactly the same in the two Talmuds. The first *Seder* (סדר) is called זרעים, *Seder Zeraim*, the order of seeds. It treats of sowing, the productions of the earth, herbs, trees, the uses of fruits, of seeds, etc. etc.; and contains the treatises Berachoth, Peah, Demai, Cilaim, Shebiith, Zeru-moth, Maassroth, Maasser sheni, Challah, Orlah, Biccuring—i.e. 11 treatises. Only the first has a gemara in the Babylonian Talmud; whereas all have gemaras in that of Jerusalem. The order in both is the same.

The second *Seder*, called מועד, *môed*—i.e. the order of festivals—is occupied with a statement of the times when festivals should begin and terminate, with the different rites and ceremonies to be observed at such seasons. It contains twelve *massicthoth* or treatises—viz. Shabbath, erubim, pesachim, shekalim, yoma, succah, bethsal, rosh hashannah, taanith, megillah, môed katon, chagigah. Such is the arrangement in the Jerusalem Talmud. But the Babylonian Talmud has them thus: shabbath, erubim, pesachim, betzah, chagigah, môed katon, rosh hashannah, yomah, succah, taanith, shekalim, megillah. In the Babylonian Talmud shekalim alone wants a gemara; but all the *massicthoth* have one in the Jerusalem Talmud.

The third *Seder* is called נשים (נשים), and discusses the distinctive rights of men and women, marriage, divorce; the customs, inclinations, sicknesses of women, etc. etc. It contains seven *massicthoth*—viz. yebamoth, cecuboth, kiddushin, gittin, nedarim, nazir, sotah. All have gemaras in both Talmuds, and the order is the same.

The fourth *Seder* is termed נזיקין (נזיקין), consisting of ten treatises. It is occupied with the losses and injuries which one person may bring upon another, damages done by cattle, restitution, the punishment to be inflicted for such offences or losses, etc. The *massicthoth* are, baba kama, baba mezia, baba bathra, sanhedrim, maccoth, shebuoth, edayoth, horayoth, abodah sarah, pirke aboth. Such is the arrangement of the Jerusalem Talmud. But the Babylonian has the treatises thus: baba kama, baba mezia, baba bathra, abodah sarah, sanhedrim, maccoth, shebuoth, horayoth, edayoth, pirke aboth. All have gemaras in both Talmuds, except edayoth, pirke aboth, and the third chapter of maccoth.

\* A midrash on Leviticus, composed by Rab or Abba Areka, rector of the academy at Sora (219 A.D.)

† A midrash on Numbers and Deuteronomy, made by the same Rab.

‡ A midrash on a part of the book of Exodus, consisting of nine *massicthoth* or treatises. It is usually ascribed to Ismael ben Elisha, who lived in the 1st century.

§ A midrash on Numbers, of which fragments exist.

\* See them in Jost's *Geschichte des Judenthums und seiner Sekten, zweyte Abtheilung*, pp. 199, 200.



The fifth *Seder* is termed *Kodashim* (קֹדֶשִׁים), and treats of sacrifices, oblations, their different kinds, etc. etc. Its massicth are eleven—viz. zebachim, menachoth, chollin, becoroth, erachin, temurah, mēilah, cerithuth, tamid, middoth, kinnim. The Babylonian order differs somewhat, being zebachim, menachoth, becoroth, chollin, erachin, temurah, mēilah, cerithuth, kinnim, tamid, middoth. All have a gemara in the Jerusalem Talmud; but the last two have none in the Babylonian.

The sixth *Seder*, *taharoth* (טְהָרוֹת), relates to purifications, the purity and impurity of vessels, to household furniture, and other things, and the way in which they should be cleansed. The massicth are celim, sholoth, negaim, parah, taharoth, mikvaoth, niddah, macshirin, zabim, tebul yom, yadaim, okzim—i.e. twelve treatises. The Babylonian Talmud puts niddah first; but in other respects the arrangement is the same. Niddah is the only one that has a gemara in both.

Seven treatises or massicth were afterwards added to the Babylonian Talmud; and as they are a later appendix they have no mishna. They are—

1. *Masseceh sopherim*, treatise of the scribes, containing rules for the writing of MS. rolls and other sacred books. 2. *Masseceh ebal rabbathi shekorim semachoth*, relating to mourning for the dead, burial, and the way in which mourners should be comforted. 3. *Masseceh callah*, relating to a bride and marriage-customs. 4. *Masseceh derek ertz rabba vezuta*, about life in a strange land, etc. 5. *Masseceh gerim*, relative to strangers, and the laws to be observed by proselytes. 6. *Masseceh cuthim*, about Samaritans. 7. *Masseceh taitzith*, relating to fringes.

These are the מַסְכֵּתוֹת קָטְנוֹת or little treatises appended to the Talmud. The following is a summary of the massicth of each *Seder* :—

### I. סדר זרעים.

1. *Masseceh berachoth*, the treatise of blessings, containing precepts relative to prayers and thanksgivings for the fruits of the earth and other blessings given by God; instructions about the times, places, and modes in which such prayers should be offered up. This treatise contains nine perakim or chapters.

2. *Masseceh peah*, treatise of the corner. This treatise shows how corners of the harvest fields should be left to the poor at the time of reaping, and how the fruits of the field should be gathered. Here there are eight perakim or chapters.

3. *Masseceh demai*, treatise of the doubtful. This treatise refers to fruits about which some doubts may be raised whether tithes should be paid from them or not. Here are seven perakim or chapters.

4. *Masseceh cilaim*, treatise of the heterogeneous—i.e. the mixing of several kinds of seed, etc. Here are nine perakim or chapters.

5. *Masseceh shebiith*, of the seventh—i.e. the sabbatical year, in which the Jews were forbidden to sow. In this treatise are ten perakim or chapters.

6. *Masseceh terumah*, relating to the heave-offering consecrated to the use of the priesthood. This contains eleven perakim or chapters.

7. *Maasher rishon*, the first tenth or tithe, which belonged to the Levites; and with what things it should be discharged. Here are five chapters.

8. *Maasher sheni*, the second tenth, which the Levites had to pay out of their tenth to the priests. Here again are five chapters.

9. *Challah*, cake—i.e. the cake which the women were required to bring of kneaded dough to the priest, etc. This treatise has four chapters.

10. *Orlah*, prepuce. Young trees were so called; for during the first three years their fruit was reckoned impure and injurious, and was thrown away. In the fourth year it was consecrated to God. Here are three chapters.

11. *Biccurim*, first-fruits. This treatise is occupied with an examination of the things of which first-fruits were to be brought into the temple. Here are four chapters.

The entire *seder* consists of seventy-five chapters.

### II. סדר מועד.

1. *Masseceh shabbath*, of the sabbath, its privileges and its sacredness; of lights, oil used on that day; of ovens in which articles of food were warmed on the sabbath; and the dress of men and women used on the same day. This treatise has twenty-four chapters.

2. *Erubin*, combinations. The treatise contains regulations for the combining of courts, of limits, and of streets. Here are ten chapters.

3. *Pesachim*, the Passover. This treatise relates to the Passover, and all things connected with its celebration. Here again are ten chapters.

4. *Shekalim*, shekels. This treatise contains laws relating to the half-shekel which was paid for the support of public worship. It has eight chapters.

5. *Yoma*, the day of expiation or atonement, a day spent by the Jews in fasting and penitence. This treatise has also eight chapters.

6. *Succah*, the Feast of Tabernacles. This treats of the form of the tents, the mode of living in them, etc. etc. Here are five chapters.

7. *Beitzah*, egg. This treatise begins with the question, whether it be right to eat on the day of a festival or a *yom tov*, the egg which a hen has laid on the same day. It relates to everything which a person should do or omit on any feast-day except the sabbath. Here again are five chapters.

8. *Yosh hashannah*. This treatise is occupied with remarks about the new year, the beginning of the new year on the new moon of the month Tisri, and the manner in which the day should be kept. It has four chapters.

9. *taanith*, fasting. This relates to public fasts, and the manner in which they should be observed. It has also four chapters.

10. *Megillah*, roll. This treatise refers to the Feast of Purim, and is so called because the megillah of Esther is read at that time. Here are four chapters.

11. *Moed katon*. In the present treatise are discussed the minor festivals intervening between the first and last days of the passover. Here are three chapters.

12. *Chagigah*. This treatise is founded on the command contained in Exod. xxiii. 17, that all



the males should appear three times in the year before the Lord at Jerusalem. Here again are three chapters.

The entire *seder* contains eighty-eight chapters.

### III. סדר נשים.

1. **יבמות** *yebamoth*. This treatise relates to the marrying of a deceased brother's wife, who has had no children by her husband. Here are sixteen chapters.

2. **כתובות** *ketuboth*. The present treatise relates to matrimonial contracts, dowries, and writings connected with marriage. Here are thirteen chapters.

3. **נדרים** *nedarim*, *votos*, discussing what vows are binding or otherwise; who can make vows and who not. Here are eleven chapters.

4. **נזירות** *neziruth*. This treatise refers to the vows of the Nazarites, and their mode of living. It contains nine chapters.

5. **סוטה** *sotah*. This treatise regards a woman suspected of conjugal infidelity; how she must drink the bitter water that causeth the curse, etc. etc. Here again are nine chapters.

6. **גיטין** *gittin*, respecting divorce, and the writing given to the wife on that occasion, how it must be written, etc. etc. This treatise consists of nine chapters.

7. **קידושין** *kiddushin*, respecting betrothment. Here are four chapters.

The third *seder* or order, contains seventy-one chapters.

### IV. סדר נזיקין.

1. **בבא קמא** *baba kama*, the first gate, relative to the losses sustained by men and beasts from one another. This treatise consists of ten chapters.

2. **בבא מציעא** *baba metziah*, the middle gate, This treatise refers to things found or pledged, usury, etc. etc. It has also ten chapters.

3. **בבא בתרא** *baba bathra*, the last gate. This treatise relates to commercial transactions, buying and selling, inheritances, etc. etc. Here again are ten chapters.

4. **סנהדרין** *Sanhedrin*. This is a most important treatise, relating to the great tribunal, to various punishments, judges, witnesses; who of the Israelites shall have part in the future life, and who not. It consists of eleven chapters or sections.

5. **מכות** *maccoth*. This treatise relates to corporeal punishments. Here the reason is explained why the expounders of the law omitted one stripe of the forty (2 Cor. xi. 24). It contains three chapters.

6. **שבועות** *shevuoth*, respecting oaths; who can take an oath, and who not. This treatise consists of eight chapters.

7. **עיריות** *edayoth*, respecting witnesses and witness-bearing. Here again are eight chapters.

8. **אבודה זרה** *abodah zarah*, called also **עבודת זרים**

*abodath elilim*, and also **אבודת כוכבים** *abodath cocabim*, respecting idolatry, and the avoiding of communion with idolatrous Christians. This treatise is wanting in the Basel edition, because it has severe reflections upon Jesus Christ and his followers. It is printed in the Venice edition, and consists of five chapters.

9. **אבות** *aboth*, or **אבות פרקי אבות** *pirke aboth*. This treatise contains moral maxims of the fathers. It has six chapters.

10. **הוריות** *horayoth*, respecting such errors in

judgment committed by the great Sanhedrim as require a sin-offering. The present treatise contains three chapters.

The entire *seder* contains seventy-four chapters.

### V. סדר קדשים.

1. **זבחים** *zebachim*, sacrifices. This treatise has fourteen chapters.

2. **מנחות** *menachoth*, meat-offerings. This treatise has thirteen chapters.

3. **חולין** *cholin*. This treatise respects clean and unclean animals killed for profane or domestic use. Here are twelve chapters.

4. **בכורות** *becoroth*, respecting the first-born of human beings and animals. Here are nine chapters.

5. **ערכין** *eracin*. This treatise relates to the valuing and taxing of such things as are dedicated to the Lord. It consists of nine chapters.

6. **תמורה** *temurah*. This treatise refers to consecrated animals that have had others substituted for them. It consists of seven chapters.

7. **כריתות** *cerithuth*, the excision of a soul from Israel, and the sins which cause such punishment: thirty-six kinds of this excision are enumerated. Here are six chapters.

8. **מעילה** *meilah*, *trespass*, laws relating to objects that have been consecrated, and converted to profane uses. This treatise also has six chapters.

9. **תמיד** *tamid*, respecting the daily morning and evening sacrifice. Here are seven chapters.

10. **מדות** *middoth*. This treatise relates to the measuring of the temple. It consists of five chapters.

11. **קנים** *kunnim*, relating to birds for sacrifices. The treatise is divided into three chapters.

The whole *seder* has ninety-one sections.

### VI. סדר טהרות.

1. **כלים** *celim*, respecting measures, household furniture, clothes, etc., and their purification. This treatise has thirty chapters.

2. **אהלות** *oholoth*, respecting cottages or houses; how they become unclean, and how they must be purified. This treatise has eighteen chapters.

3. **נגעים** *negaim*, regarding leprosy. Here are fourteen sections.

4. **פרה** *parah*, the red heifer (Num. xix.) This treatise is divided into twelve chapters.

5. **טהרות** *taharoth*, respecting minor impurities. Here are ten chapters.

6. **מקואות** *mikvaoth*. This treatise concerns diving baths for the cleansing of persons and utensils. It is divided into ten chapters.

7. **נדה** *niddah*, respecting the uncleanness of women. This treatise has also ten chapters.

8. **מכשירין** *macshirin*, of issues and their purification. It consists of six chapters.

9. **זבים** *zabim*, of fluxes. This treatise is divided into five chapters.

10. **טבול יום** *tebul yom*, relates to purifications by ablution on the day the uncleanness has been contracted. This treatise consists of four chapters.

11. **ידים** *yadayim*, regulations for purifying the hands from uncleanness. Here again are four chapters.

12. **עוקצין** *oketzin*, relative to the stalks of fruits; and how they become unclean by touching other fruits. This treatise has three chapters.

The entire *sefer* has 126 chapters.

From this account it appears that the Talmud consists of six *sedarim* or orders, containing sixty-three *massicloth* or treatises, and five hundred twenty and five *perakim* or chapters.

The Babylonian Gemara is much more copious than that of Jerusalem, occupying about four times the space of the latter. It is preferred by the Jews to the Jerusalem one. But Christians usually reverse the process, perhaps because of the brevity and succinctness of the one compared with the diffuseness of the other, which accounts for the appearance of fewer absurdities and fables. The Jerusalem Talmud is more difficult to be understood, because of the peculiar dialect in which it is written. Obscurity, however, belongs to both. The Mishna is written in Hebrew or late Hebrew; the Gemara in Aramaean; but the Palestinian dialect of the Jerusalem Talmud approaches Syriac. The Chaldee of the Babylonian Talmud is purer and more facile, without the grammatical and lexical anomalies which often appear in the earlier work making it hard and rugged. But quotations from prior midrashic works, especially those whose contents are *halachic*, as also fragments of older gemara-collections, and even the hagadic contents in part, are in Hebrew.

'The almost unconquerable difficulty of the style,' says Lightfoot, 'the frightful roughness of the language, and the amazing emptiness and sophistry of the matters handled, do torture, vex, and tire him that reads them (the Talmudic authors). They do everywhere abound with trifles in that manner as though they had no mind to be read; with obscurities and difficulties, as though they had no mind to be understood; so that the reader hath need of patience all along to enable him to bear both trifling in sense and roughness in expression.'

The difference between the two Talmuds is obvious from these remarks. While both have the same Mishna, they differ considerably in the Gemara. It is usual to characterise the Mishna as the text, and the Gemara as the commentary upon it. Though exception might be taken to the correctness of this statement, it is sufficient perhaps to give a general idea of the relation which the two bear to one another. The Gemara follows the Mishna step by step, and sentence by sentence, explaining the sense, putting different opinions about it together, and judging of it by a majority or minority of voices. But there are frequent divergences and retrogressions. The Mishna should have properly nothing but halachas in it, since they only are authoritative. It was intended to exclude all midrashim not of this nature. But hagadas have intruded, appearing most in aboth and middoth. Thirteen treatises alone are free from the halacha; while twenty-six present it in abundance.\* The Gemara, which occupies a secondary place, consists mainly of hagadas. But it contains some halachic midrashim, more of course in the Babylonian Talmud, where the halachic and hagadic are mixed together, and the distinction between them is less definite. The oldest halachas indeed have almost disappeared from the Babylonian Gemara, in consequence of the influences under which its materials were gradu-

ally developed in the schools of Babylonia; while more such halachic matter is preserved in the Jerusalem Gemara.\* But the extinction of the most ancient can hardly be regretted on the ground of its intrinsic value, the more elastic spirit of Babylonian Judaism being probably an advantage to after ages. Hagadic literature is much more extensive than halachic, and embraces a wide range of subjects, ethical, historical, and metaphysical.

Maimuni classes the contents of the Mishna under five heads—1st, Interpretations said to have been received from Moses, which are indicated in the text of Scripture or may be inferred from it. About these there is no controversy. 2. Those decisions which are said to be 'the constitutions of Moses from Sinai.' There is no controversy about these also. 3. Such judgments as are inferred from various modes of reasoning, and which are determined by the voice of the majority. 4. Determinations which prophets and wise men designed to be a hedge and guard to the law. God ordered these to be in general terms. 5. Laws projected in the way of examination, and by their agreement with what is usual among men. Such prescriptions and rites add nothing to the law; nor do they take aught from it. This classification is scarcely sufficient, because it applies chiefly to the halachic contents of the Mishna.†

The following specimen may serve to show the position, character, and mutual relation of the two Talmudic constituents, the Mishna and Gemara:—

מתני' ר' ישמעאל אומר שלשה לפניו שלשה  
לאחריו אסור וחכ"א לפני אידיון אסור לאחר  
אידיון מותר:

גם' אמ' רב תחילפא בר אבדימי אמר שמואל יום  
נוצרי לדברי ר' ישמעאל לעולם אסורי:

*Mishna:* Rabbi Ismael says, three days before (the feasts of the Gentiles) and three days after them, it is forbidden (to transact with them things mentioned before); but the wise men decide that those things are prohibited only before their feasts, but that they are allowable after them.

*Gemara:* Rab Tachlipa, son of Abdimi, teaches from R. Samuel, that the Nazarene day (the Lord's day) is prohibited for ever, according to the words of R. Ismael.

The term *Mishna* (מִשְׁנָה) signifies *repetition*, from שָׁנָה to repeat, because it consists of a repetition of the written law, or because it is as it were a second law (δευτέρωσις). It is a word of the Soferim or scribes (see Kelim, xiii. 7). But some, as De Rossi, make a distinction between מִשְׁנָה and מִשְׁנֵה, identifying the former alone with δευτέρωσις, and giving the meaning of doctrine to the latter from שָׁנָה to read, literally what is read or to be read, nearly equivalent to תִּלְמוּד. It is unnecessary to distinguish two words. The idea of repetition lies at the basis of the term in whichever way it is pointed or pronounced. An oral repetition, as well as an explanation of written law, is in the מִשְׁנָה.

\* See Geiger's *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel*, u. s. w., pp. 156-158.

† See Maimuni's prefaces, translated by Ed. Pococke, in the first vol. of Surenhusius's *Mishna*

\* Zunz's *Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, 1832, 8vo.



The word *Gemara* (גמרא) denotes *supplement* or *complement* according to Buxtorf—i.e. this part of the Talmud, containing more extended explanations than the Mishna, and also the decisions of the rabbins, *supplements* and *completes* the Mishna. It is better, however, to take *Gemara* as synonymous with *Talmud*, doctrine, from גמור, *to learn*, equivalent to the Hebrew לָמַד.

The fact that Talmud and Gemara were often used indiscriminately, shows the correctness of this opinion. The word *Midrash*, which meant at first doctrine or study, was used synonymously with Talmud or Gemara after the oral law had a codex of its own—i.e. the Mishna.

Rabbinical Jews have always set a high value on the Talmud, often placing it above the old Mosaic law. Hence we find in the *Masseketh Soferim*, the saying: 'The Biblical text is like water, and the Mishna like wine, and the six orders like aromatic wine.' In another passage: 'The law is like salt, the Mishna like pepper, but the six orders like fine spices.' Again: 'The words of the scribes are lovely, above the words of the law; for the words of the law are weighty and light, but for the words of the scribes are all weighty.' These extravagant praises of the oral traditions agree with the Saviour's words: 'Making the word of God of none effect through your tradition, which ye have delivered' (Mark vii. 13). They are not justified by the contents of the Talmud itself. In consequence of its miscellaneous, diversified, and multitudinous contents, it is, indeed, difficult to give a fair estimate of the work in a brief compass. That it is a very valuable body of laws and decisions cannot be doubted. It has moulded the Jewish race materially, influencing their opinions, stimulating their spiritual and ecclesiastical life, promoting their intellectual activity, and regulating their conduct. As a monument of the learning, subtilty, and wisdom of their forefathers, the modern Jews may well be proud of it. The treatise *Pirke aboth* alone is a very favourable specimen of ethical philosophy. Yet it is patent to all that the *corpus theologicum et civilis juris* under consideration is marred by serious faults. It exhibits much that is unimportant and small, discussed, at the same time, in a tone of seriousness as if it were of moment. Hence the ridiculousness attaching to it. The work has also received from Persian sources or influences superstitious views and practices opposed to the genuine spirit of Judaism; such as the belief in demons or intermediate beings. It is also disfigured by unamiable and harsh utterances against other peoples and the adherents of other religions. Christians are severely and uncharitably spoken of. Yet it cannot be denied that other sentiments are directly opposed to superstition; and that a spirit of good-will to men in general is often expressed. Had the redaction of the materials been carried out, and the work of abridgment been prosecuted farther, the Talmud would have presented a better aspect. But an undue regard for the sentiments and sayings of former men was allowed to obstruct the process of rejection and condensation. Hence wisdom and folly appear side by side; the latter in considerable prominence. The fabulous, trifling, irreverent, absurd, shows itself very often. Curious questions, which should excite no curiosity, are opened up; an allegorising propensity is indulged; the miracu-

lous is believed in where it should not; and sentiments derogatory to the majesty of God are occasionally propounded. The region of the positively profane and impious, as well as that of the merely irreverent, is entered.

The following will exemplify the truth of these remarks:—For a bleeding at the nose, let a man be brought who is a priest, and whose name is Levi, and let him write the word Levi backwards. If this cannot be done, get a layman, and let him write the following words backwards:—Ana pipi shila bar sumte; or let him write these words—Taam ali bemi keseph, taam li bemi paggan; or let him take a root of grass, and the cord of an old bed, and paper and saffron, and the red part of the inside of a palm tree, and let him burn them together, and let him take some wool and twist two threads, and let him dip them in vinegar, and then roll them in the ashes, and put them into his nose; or let him look out for a small stream of water which flows from east to west, and let him go and stand with one leg on each side of it, and let him take with his right hand some mud from under his left foot, and with his left hand from under his right foot, and let him twist two threads of wool, and dip them in the mud, and put them into his nostrils; or let him be placed under a spout, and let water be brought and poured upon him, and let them say, 'As this water ceases to flow, so let the blood of M. the son of the woman N. also cease' (Gittin, fol. 69, col. 1).

Rabbah says: 'They that go down to the sea have told me that when a wave is going to overwhelm a ship, sparks of a white light are seen on its head. But if we strike it with a staff on which are graved the words, 'I am that I am, Jah, Lord of hosts, Amen, Amen, Selah,' it subsides. They that go down to the sea have told me that the distance between one wave and another is 300 miles. It happened once that we were making a voyage, and we raised a wave until we saw the resting-place of the least of all the stars. It was large enough to sow forty bushels of mustard-seed, and if we had raised it more we should have been burned by the vapour of the star. One wave raised its voice and called to its companion: 'O companion, hast thou left anything in the world that thou hast not overflowed? Come, and let us destroy it.' It replied: 'Come and see the power of thy Lord. I could not overpass the sand even a hair's-breadth, for it is written, 'Fear ye not me? saith the Lord; will ye not tremble at my presence, which have placed the sand for the limit of the sea, by a perpetual decree that it cannot pass?' (Jer. v. 22).' (Baba Bathra, fol. 73, col. 1).

Abba Saul said: When I was an interrer of the dead, I had once to pursue after a gazelle; I entered into the hollow of a hip-bone of a dead man, and ran after it three miles, and yet I reached neither the gazelle nor the end of the hip-bone; when I returned back they told me this bone belonged to Og, the king of Bashan. Abba Saul said: Once upon a time, when I had been interring the dead, a cave opened under me and I found myself standing up to my nostrils in the socket of a dead man's eye; when I returned they told me it was the eye of Absalom.' Perhaps thou wouldest say, Abba Saul was a short man; Abba Saul was the tallest in his generation (Niddah, Perek 3).

It is possible, as enlightened Jews suggest, that these and similar sayings have a meaning beneath



the letter which the ignorant do not see ; that they are parabolic, conveying a higher sense to the thoughtful than that which lies upon the surface. They are for the herd, the *vulgus* ; so it is affirmed. Or they may be the play of wit ; an expression of the humorous or ridiculous fitted to amuse those who are but children in mind. Are not these suggestions the after-thoughts of tender apologists ? Were the preservers and collectors of the Talmud conscious of a higher import which the portions in question were designed to convey to the rational or reflecting ?

The Talmud has been applied both to the criticism and interpretation of the O. T. Most of its citations, however, agree with the present Masoretic text. It has probably been conformed to the Masoretic standard by the rabbins. Criticism can, therefore, make it useful only by comparing MS. copies rather than the printed text, since the latter has been altered. The instances in which the text, even in its printed state, departs from the Hebrew original, furnish a presumption in favour of finding more of the same kind, if MSS. were carefully collated. Frommann collected thirteen variants out of the Mishna (*Opuscula*, i. 1-46) ; and Gill, who collated the Talmud for Kennicott, found about a thousand. It must be admitted, however, that many of them are trifling, not a few also being words added by the rabbins to explain others. The collation of Gill was imperfectly done.

The Talmud has also been applied to the interpretation of the O. T. ; in this country by Gill more than any other commentator. Lightfoot also used it. The former has often quoted it where it is useless. Others have done the same thing. Little advantage can be gained from the study of the Talmud for this end, even though it be employed more judiciously and sparingly than it was by Gill.

The Talmud has been used in the illustration of the N. T. also by Lightfoot, Schoettgen, Meuschen, Wetstein, Gfroerer, and others. In various instances it has thrown light on the meaning, especially where there is a reference to Jewish customs and manners. Even doctrinal opinions have been elucidated on the ground that the N. T. writers were Jews. In this department, also, its utility has been over-estimated ; by none more than by Lightfoot himself, who says, in the dedication prefixed to his Talmudical exertations : ' Christians, by their skill and industry, may render them (the Talmudic writings) most usefully serviceable to their studies, and most eminently tending to the interpretation of the N. T. '

The first complete edition of the Babylonian Talmud was published at Venice in 1520-1523, in 12 vols. folio. This is the celebrated Bomberg edition now so rare, but not accurate. All succeeding ones are taken from it, often with alterations or omissions, especially of the passages directed against Christians. The Bomberg edition contains the Tosafoth and Pirke Tosafoth, the commentaries of Rashi and Asher, with Maimuni's commentary on the Mishna. The celebrated Froben of Basel published the same work in 1578-80, fol. ; but the passages calumniating Christ were excluded by command of the Tridentine bishops. The Talmud was also published at Cracow, 1616-20? 4to ; at Lublin 1617-22, 1626-28, 1639, fol. ; at Amsterdam, 1644-48, fol. ; at

Frankfurt-on-the-Oder, 1697-99, fol. ; at Berlin and Frankfurt-on-the-Oder, 1715-21, fol. ; at Amsterdam and Frankfurt-on-the-Maine, 1714-21, fol. ; at Amsterdam, 1752-65, fol. ; at Sulzbach, 12 vols. fol. 1766 ; and at Vienna, 1841, etc. fol. Landau's editions appeared at Prague, fol. 1830-34, and 1839-45, in 8vo. The latest edition has been announced under the editorship of Lebrecht of Berlin. It is matter of regret that the edition of Pinner, of which the first volume appeared in 1842, has been discontinued, though it is not so correct as could be wished, especially in the accompanying German translation.

The Jerusalem Talmud was first published by Bomberg about 1522-23 at Venice, folio ; and subsequently at Cracow 1609, folio.

The entire Talmud has not been translated into any language. The Mishna appeared in Latin in Surenhusius's edition (Amsterdam 1698-1703, folio) ; in German by Rabe, six parts, Ansbach 1760-63, 4to ; and at Berlin by Jost, 6 vols. 4to, 1832-34,

with the original text, and the commentary *מלך נחם*. But the German version is in Hebrew letters, which detracts from its value. A Spanish version of the whole work was published at Venice in 1606 and flg., made by Abr. ben Reuben, and corrected by R. Isaac Gherson. In English eighteen treatises from the Mishna were translated by De Sola and Raphall, London 1845, 8vo ; but even these are incomplete, chapters and sections of the original being occasionally omitted.

The best lexicon to the Talmud is still that of Buxtorf, 1639, folio, Basel, though it is capable of great improvement and many additions. The Latin translation in Surenhusius's *Mishna* often supplies better explanations. To these should be added the Bondis *אור חכמה*, *Beleuchtung der in Talmud von Babylon und Jerusalem, in den Targumim und Midraschim vorkommenden fremden besonders lateinischen Wörter.*, Dessau 1812, 8vo ; Hartmann's *Supplementa*, Rostock 1813, 4to ; especially his *Thesaurus lingue Hebraicae e Mishna augenda*, in 3 parts, 1825, 1826, 4to, in which 760 Mishna-words are enumerated whose roots are Biblical, but their form modern Hebrew ; 273 Greek and Latin, with 1720 peculiar ones, are also given. Along with these should be mentioned the *Aruch* of R. Nathan ben Jehiel, as edited and improved by Landau, published at Prague in 1819-24 in 5 parts. It contains explanations of the difficult words in the two Talmuds.

The celebrated Moses ben Maimuni (+1205) made a digest of all the laws and ordinances contained in the Talmud. This excellent abridgment is sufficiently copious for most readers, since it contains the essence of the whole work. It is entitled *מִשְׁנֵת תּוֹרָה* or *מִסְפֵּר הַי"ד*—i.e. the Book of 14 (books), and was divided into four parts, and was published at Soncino, 2 vols. folio, 1490 ; republished at Venice 1524, 3 vols. folio ; and at Amsterdam 1701, folio, 4 vols. Selections from it were made in English by Bernard, entitled *The Main Principles of the Creed and Ethics of the Jews, exhibited in Selections from the Yad Hachazakah of Maimonides, with a literal English translation, copious illustrations from the Talmud, etc.*, 1832, Cambridge, 8vo ; and an entire version into English, made by several writers, under the editorship of E. Soloweyczik, was begun at London



1863, 8vo. See Surenhusius's edition of the Mishna; Buxtorf, *Recensio Operis Talmudici*, in his *Liber de Abbreviaturis Hebraicis*; Bartolucci, *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, iii.; Wolfius, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, ii.; Reimann, *Einleitung zur Historie der Theologie insgemein, und der jüdischen insbesondere*; Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*; Pinner's *Introduction to the Talmud Babli*; Pressel's article 'Thalmud' in the 15th volume of Herzog's *Encyklopädie*; *Der Geist der talmudischen Auslegung der Bibel*, von Dr. H. S. Hirschfeld, 2 parts; Geiger's *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel*; Steinschneider's article 'Jüdische Literatur' in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyklopädie*, sec. ii. 27 Theil; Steinschneider's *Catalogus librorum Hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*; Jost's *Geschichte des Judenthums und seiner Sekten*, Abtheilung ii.; Fürst's *Bibliotheca Judaica*; *Compendium des hierosolymitanischen und babylonischen Talmud*, by M. Pinner; and Geiger's *Zeitschrift*, ii. 488.—S. D.

**TAM, JACOB.** This distinguished talmudist, tosaphist, grammarian, and commentator, was the grandson of the immortal Rashi, and younger brother of the celebrated Rashbam. He was born at Remers about 1100, and obtained the appellation *Tam* (תם) in after life because of his great piety, and in allusion to Gen. xxv. 27, where his namesake Jacob is denominated *Tam*=*pious* (יעקב איש תם). As it is beyond the scope of the biographical notices in this Cyclopædia to discuss the extraordinary Talmudic learning of R. Tam and to detail his contributions to the elucidation of the traditional law, we shall simply mention his labours in the departments of Biblical exegesis and lexicography. He wrote (1.) A lengthy poem on the Hebrew accents, consisting of forty-five stanzas, five of which were first published by Luzzatto in the Hebrew Essays and Reviews, entitled *Kerem Chemed*, vol. vii. p. 38, Prague 1843, and the whole forty-five of which appeared in the following work; (2.) Grammatical and lexical animadversions, entitled *כפר ההכרעות*, designed to reconcile the differences of Danash Ibn Librat and Menachen Ibn Saruk on points of grammar and exegesis, first published by Filipowski, London 1855. He also wrote *Rules for Scribes*,

alternately entitled *ספר תורה*, *תקון ספר תורה*, and *תקון סופרים*, being a guide for transcribing MSS. of the Bible, and a grammatical commentary on the Bible (*פרושי תנ"ך*), which has not as yet come to light, but which is quoted by expositors, lexicographers, and grammarians. R. Tam died about A.D. 1171 (comp. Geiger, *Parschandatha*, p. 24 ff., Leipzig 1855; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, iii. 406, etc.; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. vi. p. 211 ff., Leipzig 1861).—C. D. G.

**TAMAR** (תָּמָר, twice תָּמַר, Judg. iv. 5; Jer. x. 5) has been universally acknowledged to denote the 'palm-tree,' sometimes called the 'date-tree.' The date-tree is remarkable for its erect and cylindrical stem, crowned with a cluster of long and feather-like leaves, and is as much esteemed for its fruit, the 'date,' as for its juice, whether fermented or not, known as 'palm-wine,' and for the numerous uses to which every part of the plant is applied. The Arabic name of the date is *tamr*; thus the tamarind is called the Indian date, *tamr hindæ*. The family of palms is characteristic of tropical countries, and but few of them extend into northern latitudes. In

the old world, the species *P. dactylifera*, genus *Phoenix*, is that found furthest north. It spreads along the course of the Euphrates and Tigris across to Palmyra and the Syrian coast of the Mediterranean.

The peculiarities of the palm-tree are such that they could not fail to attract the attention of the writers of any country where it is indigenous, and especially from its being an indication of the vicinity of water even in the midst of the most desert country. Its roots, though not penetrating very deep, or spreading very wide, yet support a stem of considerable height, which is remarkable for its uniformity of thickness throughout. The centre of this lofty stem, instead of being the hardest part, as in other trees, is soft and spongy, and the bundles of woody fibres successively produced in the interior are regularly pushed outwards, until the outer part becomes the most dense and hard, and is hence most fitted to answer the purposes of wood. The outside, though devoid of branches, is marked with a number of protuberances, which are the points of insertion of former leaves. These are from four to six and eight feet in length, ranged in a bunch round the top of the stem, the younger and softer being in the centre, and the older and outer series hanging down. They are employed for covering the roofs or sides of houses, for fences, frame-work, mats, and baskets. The tender part of the spathe of the flowers being pierced, a bland and sweet juice exudes, which being evaporated yields sugar, and is no doubt what is alluded to in some passages of Scripture; if it be fermented and distilled a strong spirit or *arak* is yielded. The fruit, however, which is yearly produced in numerous clusters and in the utmost abundance, is its chief value; for whole tribes of Arabs and Africans find their chief sustenance in the date, of which even the stony seeds, being ground down, yield nourishment to the camel of the desert.



496. 1. Cluster of dates; 2. flower; 3. a date; 4. section of the same.

The palm-tree is first mentioned in Exod. xv. 27, when the Israelites encamped at Elim, where there were twelve wells and threescore and ten palm-trees. In the present day Wady Ghorendel is found the largest of the torrent beds on the west side of the Sinai peninsula, and is a valley full of date-trees, tamarisks, etc. Jericho was called the City of Palm Trees, no doubt from the locality being favourable to their growth. Mariti and Shaw describe them as still existing there, though in diminished numbers. The palm-tree was con-



sidered characteristic of Judæa, not so much probably because it was more abundant there than in other countries, but because that was the first country where the Greeks and Romans would meet with it in proceeding southward. Hence the coins of the Roman conquerors of Judæa have inscribed on them a weeping female sitting under a palm-tree, with the inscription 'Judæa capta' (*vide* Kempfer, *Amenitates Exotice*; and Celsius, *Hierobot.* i. 444-579).—J. F. R.

TAMAR. 1. (Sept. Θάμαρ) a Canaanitish woman, espoused successively to the two sons of Judah, Er and Onan; but as they both died childless, Judah hesitated to give her his third son Shelah, as patriarchal usage required. This set her upon the contrivance described in Gen. xxxviii.; and two sons, Pharez and Zarah, thus became the fruit of her criminal intercourse with Judah himself [JUDAH].

2. (Θημάρα, Alex. Θαμάρα), daughter of David by Maacah, who was also the mother of Absalom. The unhappy consequences of the criminal passion entertained for this beautiful damsel by her half-brother Amnon, brutally gratified by him, and terribly avenged by Absalom, formed the groundwork of the family distractions which embittered the latter years of David's reign (2 Sam. xiii.) [ABSALOM; AMNON; DAVID.]

3. (Θημάρα, Alex. Θαμάρα), daughter of Absalom, wife of Uriah of Gibeah, and mother of Maachah queen of Abijah (2 Sam. xiv. 27; 1 Kings xv. 2).

TAMAR (Sept. Θαμαρ), a place on the south-eastern frontier of Judah (Ezek. xlvii. 19; xlviii. 28). The *Onomasticon* mentions a Thamara, a place lying between Hebron and Ailah (*s. v.* Hazeyon Tamar); and Ptolemy (*v.* 16. 8) mentions a Θαμαρώ, as do also the Peutinger Tables (Reland, *Pal.* 462). Robinson identifies it with Kurnûb, a place about an ordinary day's journey from El-Milh towards the pass Es-Sufâh. This, however, depends on a conjectural emendation of the *Onomasticon*, where in the clause κώμη διεστῶσα Μάψις (*v. l.* μόλις, Μάλις), ἡμέρας ὀδόν, he would read Μαλάθης for Μάψις, whereby he makes Thamara a day's journey from Malatha, which he identifies with El-Milh. Besides, as Van de Velde observes, the distance of Kurnûb from El-Milh is not a day's journey, but only four hours; nor is Kurnûb to the S.W. of the Dead Sea, where the Peutinger Tab. places Thamyro. We must still, therefore, regard the identification of Tamar as undetermined.—W. L. A.

TAMMUZ (הַתְּמוּז; Sept. ὁ Θαμμούζ), a Syrian deity, for whom the Hebrew idolatresses were accustomed to hold an annual lamentation (Ezek. viii. 14). This idol was the same with the Phœnician Adon or Adonis, and the feast itself such as they celebrated. Silvestre de Sacy thinks that the name Tammuz was of foreign origin, and probably Egyptian, as well as the god by whom it was borne. In fact, it would probably not be difficult to identify him with Osiris, from whose worship his differed only in accessories. The feast held in honour of Tammuz was solstitial, and commenced with the new moon of July, in the month also called Tammuz; it consisted of two parts, the one consecrated to lamentation, and the other to joy; in the days of grief they mourned the disappearance of the god, and in the days of gladness celebrated his discovery and return. Tammuz appears to have

been a sort of incarnation of the sun, regarded principally as in a state of passion and sufferance, in connection with the apparent vicissitudes in its celestial position, and with respect to the terrestrial metamorphoses produced, under its influence, upon vegetation in advancing to maturity. See Lucian, *De Dea Syra*, sec. vii. 19; Selden, *De Diis Syris*, ii. 31; Creuzer, *Symbolik*, iv. 3; Fickenscher, *Erklär. d. Mythus Adonis*.—J. K.

TAN (תָּן), used only in the pl. תָּנִים or תְּנִין (Lam. iv. 3, where the Q'ri has תָּנִים, a mammal (*l. c.*) dwelling in deserts (Is. xiii. 22; xxxiv. 13; xxxv. 7; xliii. 20; Ps. xlv. 20; Jer. ix. 11; x. 22; xlix. 33), and distinguished by a wailing cry like that of a child (Job xxx. 29; Mic. i. 8). The LXX. (confounding the word with תָּנִין) give δράκοντες, σειρήνες, ἐχίνου, as the equivalent term, and the Vulg. *Sirenes & dracones* (but in Lam. iv. 3, *lamia*). Bochart (*Hieroz.* ii. 429) follows this, understanding by the word *huge serpents*. Much more in accordance, however, with the usage of the word is the opinion which Gesenius and Fürst adduce from Tanchum and Bar Bahlul, that it is the *jackal* that is thus designated. Or it may be the *hyena*.—W. L. A.

TANCHUM OF JERUSALEM B. JOSEPH JOSHUA, also called *R. Tanchum Jerushalmi*. Nothing was known of this distinguished grammarian, lexicographer, and commentator, who flourished A.D. 1265-1280, till the year 1791, when Schnurrer published ch. i.-xii. of his Arabic commentary on Judges. And though the indefatigable researches of Munk, Steinschneider, Haarbrücker, etc., have as yet failed to throw any light upon the life of this eminent expositor beyond the fact that he was a native of Jerusalem, the son of a learned Jew named Joseph Joshua, and that he must have lived shortly after the devastation of Palestine by the Mongolians (A.D. 1260), yet they have succeeded in bringing before Biblical scholars the valuable labours of R. Tanchum. It is now established beyond the shadow of a doubt that he wrote a commentary in Arabic on the whole O. T., entitled כְּתָבִיב אֱלֹהִים = *the Book of Exposition*. The commentary on the Pentateuch has not as yet come to light. A MS. of (1.) The Commentary on the Earlier Prophets—*i. e.* Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings—is in the Bodleian Library, cod. Pocock. 314. In the same library are also MSS. of his (2.) Commentaries on Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Minor Prophets, cod. Pocock. 344; (3.) Commentaries on the five Megilloth (*i. e.* Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther) and Daniel, cod. Pocock.

320; (4.) כְּתָבִיב אֱלֹהִים אֶלְפִּתָּרוֹת, *the Haphtaroth, or the Lessons from the Prophets* [HAPHTARA], translated into Arabic, cod. Hunt. 607. These commentaries are preceded by elaborate introductions, treating on the general import of Holy Writ. He has also written (5.) An Arabic Lexicon to the Mishna, entitled אֶלְפִּתָּרוֹת אֱלֹהִים, *A Sufficient Guide*, treating on the relation of the language of the Mishna and of Maimonides' *Iad Ha-Chazaka*, which is written in this language to the Hebrew of the Bible—there are three different MSS. of this work in the Bodleian; and (6.) A Grammar of the O. T. Hebrew quoted by Tanchum himself, which has not as yet come to light (comp. Steinschneider, *Jewish Literature*, p. 138). The following portions of his great exegetical work have been



published:—(i.) Commentary on Joshua, edited by Haarbrücker in the *Wissenschaftliche Blätter aus der Veitel Heine Ephraimschen Lehranstalt*, Berlin 1862. (ii.) Commentary on Judges, cap. i.-xii., edited by Schnurrer, Tübingen 1791; cap. xiii.-xxi., edited by Haarbrücker, Halle 1847. (iii.) Commentary on Samuel and Kings, edited by Haarbrücker, Leipzig 1844. (iv.) Commentary on Habakkuk, edited by Munk in Cahen's Bible, vol. xii., Paris 1843; and (v.) Commentary on Lamentations, edited by Cureton, London 1843. R. Tanchum's contributions to Biblical exegesis are very important to its history. His commentaries are based upon the literal and grammatical meaning of the text. He frequently avails himself of the labours of Hai Gaon, Dunash Ibn Librat, Ibn Chajug, Ibn Ganach, Ibn Ezra, Maimonides, etc. etc.; rejects the traditional interpretations (comp. Comment. on Judg. xii. 7; xx. 28); transposes sundry portions of the sacred narratives so as to point out their chronological order (comp. Comment. on Judg. xviii. 1; xx. 28); and, like Maimonides, distinguishes different degrees and kinds of prophecy (Comment. on Judg. vi. 34; xiii. 1; xx. 28). Comp. Ewald, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Ältesten Auslegung und Sprachklärung des A. T.*, vol. i. p. 151, ff., Stuttgart 1844; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, iii. 56, etc.; Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, col. 2666-2669; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. vii. p. 156, ff., Leipzig 1863.—C. D. G.

TANCHUMA B. ABBA flourished A.D. 380, was a disciple of R. Huna b. Abin (*Midrash Rabba* on Num., cap. iii. p. 27 a), a junior contemporary of Rabba (*Rosh Ha-Shana*, 21 a), Hillel II., and Julian, and is one of the last *Amoraim* [EDUCATION; MIDRASH] whose labours are mentioned in the Jerusalem Talmud. He is the reputed author of the celebrated traditional Commentary on the Pentateuch, a description of which is given in the article MIDRASH of this Cyclopædia. Comp. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. iv. pp. 458, 558, Berlin 1853; Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, col. 2669; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, iii. 409.—C. D. G.

TANNEEN (תַּנִּינִים, pl. תַּנִּינִים), a generic name for a large animal of the serpent class. It is used for a land serpent (Exod. vii. 9, x. 12; Deut. xxxii. 33; Ps. xci. 13; Jer. li. 34), and also of some monster of the deep (Gen. i. 21; Job vii. 12; Ps. lxxiv. 13, cxlviii. 7; Is. xxvii. 1, xxi. 9; Ezek. xxix. 3; xxxiii. 2 [where תַּנִּינִים is used]). In these last passages some suppose that it designates the *crocodile*; but this is purely conjectural. The A. V. renders by *whale* or *whales* in several of these passages, and there is no reason why this may not be accepted. The word is evidently used with very wide application.

The LXX. in some of these passages give *κῆτος*, and from the application of this term to the fish (דָּג) which swallowed Jonah, a very general belief has been established that this was a whale. The Greek word, however, no more fixes the meaning to *whale* than does the Hebrew; it is simply a generic name of wide significance (comp. Hesych. *in voc.*), and may be used of the shark or any large monster of the deep. It may be observed also that 'cetaceous animals, though less frequent in the Mediterranean than in the ocean, are far from being un-

known there. Joppa, now Jaffa, the very place whence Jonah set sail, displayed for ages in one of its pagan temples huge bones of a species of whale, which the legends of the place pretended were those of the dragon monster slain by Perseus, as represented in the Arkite mythus of that hero and Andromeda; and which remained in that spot till the conquering Romans carried them in triumph to the great city. Procopius mentions a huge sea-monster in the Propontis, taken during his præfecture of Constantinople, in the 36th year of Justinian (A.D. 562), after having destroyed vessels at certain intervals for more than fifty years. Rondoletius enumerates several whales stranded or taken on the coasts of the Mediterranean: these were most likely all *orcas*, *physeters*, or *campedolios*—i.e. toothed whales, as large and more fierce than the *mysticeles*, which have balein in the mouth, and at present vary rarely make their way further south than the Bay of Biscay; though in early times it is probable they visited the Mediterranean, since the present writer has seen them within the tropics. In the Syrian seas, the Belgian pilgrim Lavaers, on his passage from Malta to Palestine, incidentally mentions a 'Tonynvisch,' which he further denominates an 'oil-fish,' longer than the vessel, leisurely swimming along, and which the seamen said prognosticated bad weather. On the island of Zerbi, close to the African coast, the late Commander Davies, R. N., found the bones of a cachalot on the beach. Shaw mentions an orca more than sixty feet in length, stranded at Algiers; and the late Admiral Ross Donnelly saw one in the Mediterranean near the island of Albarran. There are, besides, numerous sharks of the largest species in the seas of the Levant, and also in the Arabian Gulf and Red Sea, as well as cetacea, of which *balæna bitan* is the largest in those seas, and two species of *halicore* or *dugong*, which are herbivorous animals, intermediate between whales and seals.—(C. H. S.)—W. L. A.

TAPPUACH (תַּפְּחִיחַ), translated 'apple' in the A. V., has been the subject of considerable difference of opinion among authors on Biblical Botany. Most admit that *apple* is not the correct translation, for that fruit is indifferent in Palestine, being produced of good quality only on Mount Lebanon, and in Damascus. Many contend that 'quince' is the correct translation of Tappuach. Though somewhat more suitable than the apple, we think that neither the quince tree nor fruit is so superior to others as to be selected for notice in the passages of Scripture where *tappuach* occurs. The Arabs use the word *toph* or *toofa*, which closely resembles this in a generic sense, as the Greeks used *μῆλον* and the Latins *pomum* and *malum*. Thus Dioscorides gives *Mala vulgaria*, *Cotonea*, *Persica*, *Armeniaca*, and *Medica sive Citria*. The last, or citron, we think, has the best claim to be considered the *Tappuach* of Scripture, as it was esteemed by the ancients, and known to the Hebrews, and conspicuously different, both as a fruit and a tree, from the ordinary vegetation of Syria, and the only one of the orange tribe which was known to the ancients. The citron, resembling the lemon in form, but distinguished by its thick rind, was the *μῆλον Μηδικόν* of Theophrastus, the *Μηδικόν* of Dioscorides, and for which he gives as a synonym *κεδρύμηλον*. It was called *citria* and *citromela* by the Romans, though their citron wood



was produced by *Thuya articulata* [THYINE WOOD]. That the citron was well known to the Hebrews we have the assurance in the fact mentioned by Josephus, that at the Feast of Tabernacles king Alexander Jannæus was pelted with *citrons*, which the Jews had in their hands; for, as he says, 'the law required that at that feast every one should have branches of the palm-tree and *citron-tree*' (*Antiq.* xiii. 13. 5). From this and other facts we conclude that the *Etz hadar* of Lev. xxiii. 40 has reference to the citron [ETZ HADAR]. There is nothing improbable in the Hebrews having made use of boughs of the citron, as it was a native of Media, and well known to the Greeks at a very early period; and indeed on some old coins of Samaria the citron may be seen, as well as the palm-tree; and it is not an unimportant confirmation that the Jews still continue to make offerings of citrons at the Feast of Tabernacles. Citrons, accordingly, are imported in considerable quantities for this purpose, and are afterwards sold, being more highly esteemed after having been so offered.

The *tappuah*, or citron-tree, is mentioned chiefly in the Song of Solomon (ch. ii. 3, 5; vii. 8; viii. 5). It occurs also in Prov. xxv. 11. In Joel i. 12 it is enumerated with the vine, the fig-tree, the palm, and pomegranate, as among the most valuable trees of Palestine. The rich colour, fragrant odour, and handsome appearance of the tree, whether in flower or in fruit, are particularly suited to all the above passages of Scripture.—J. F. R.

TAPPUAH, OR BETH-TAPPUAH. 1. (תַּפְּחָה), a city in the tribe of Judah, not far from Hebron (*Josh.* xv. 53). Robinson identifies it with an old village, called Teffuh, which he found upon the hills north-west of Hebron (*Bib. Researches*, ii. 428). 2. Another Tappuah lay in the plain of Judah, apparently in the vicinity of Zanoah, Jarmuth, Socoh, etc. (*Josh.* xv. 34): which of these was the place conquered by Joshua is not very clear (*Josh.* xii. 17; comp. x. 6). 3. Another place of the same name called also *En Tappuah* occurs on the confines of Ephraim and Manasseh (*Josh.* xvi. 8; xvii. 18). 4. And in 1 Chron. ii. 43 a man of this name appears.

TARES. [ZIZANION.]

TARGUM (תַּרְגּוּם, תַּרְגּוּמָא, *interpretation, translation*; exposition of one language by another, from תַּרְגָּם, תַּרְגָּם, *to interpret, to translate*) is the name given to a Chaldee version or paraphrase of the O. T., of which there are several extant, all belonging to the field of Hagadic literature. The origin of these paraphrases is bound up with the fortunes of the Jews in and after the Babylonish captivity. Among the exiles at Babylon the Hebrew language began to be lost, being gradually displaced by that of the conquerors, especially and soonest among the common people; while the educated retained it longer. The latter would naturally adhere to it more than the mass of the people, not only because of their acquaintance with books, but of their stronger attachment to the usages of their fathers. The decision of the question whether Hebrew became *entirely* extinct as a living language is partially connected with the meaning of two words in the book of Nehemiah—viz. מְבָרָשׁ and יְהוּדִית (viii. 8, and xiii. 24). Gesenius and Fürst explain

the former *distinctly, faithfully, exactly*; Hengstenberg, *illustrated, explained*—i. e. by an accompanying version into Chaldee. The latter term is understood by Gesenius to mean the Hebrew language; while Hengstenberg refers it to the Aramæan, or that which the Hebrews commonly used. In both cases Gesenius is right. It is improbable that the Hebrew language ceased entirely to be spoken after the race had returned from exile. Doubtless they had forgotten it to a great extent. Tenacious though they were of national peculiarities, they became more and more accustomed to the Chaldee. The old tongue continued to be the language of books; the other constituted a part of their ordinary discourse. We see, however, from Neh. xiii. 24, that Hebrew was still the people's language in the time of Nehemiah, whose patriotism rebelled against persons speaking a newly-adopted tongue. Soon after Ezra, perhaps, a few oral explanations in Chaldee were added by a public interpreter to the Sabbath lessons from the law and prophets. The Hebrew Scriptures were accompanied by occasional glosses or paraphrases in Chaldee. The interpreter was different from the reader. After the latter had read a passage or paragraph, the former took it up and translated it for the benefit of the congregation into Aramæan; and thus the two performed their duties alternately. But possibly the reader himself may have thrown in a word or two at first before the necessity for a separate expounder was felt.

The custom of extempore paraphrase seems to have occasioned palpable abuses. Hence definite hermeneutic rules were laid down, in conformity with which the interpretation of the law was to be conducted. It is easy to see how the value of written expositions would become apparent, when the freedom of the interpreter was abridged by established rules. The nature of the exposition required called for written interpretations. Thus oral gave rise to *written* explanations; the necessity of the latter becoming more visible when the liberty taken by the extempore translator was narrowed and restricted by rules. The surest and safest method was simply to read a version written for general use.

External circumstances were favourable to the existence of written explanations. The Hellenistic Jews were already in possession of the law in their own tongue. Other Greek versions, supplementary or in opposition to the Alexandrian, also proceeded from the Jews themselves, and obtained much approbation. In the midst of so general a desire to have versions of the O. T. in current dialects, it is natural to suppose that the Aramæan-speaking Jews should wish to possess translations in their vernacular. In Palestine, however, there was an obstacle to this. Targum, like halacha, belonged to the things that were not to be written. It was understood to be prohibited. But the obstacle could not prevail long against the stream which had set in; and the felt necessity of interpretation in one form or other, hagadic or halachic, forced itself into prominence. Zunz asserts that there were written Targums of several O. T. books in the time of the Maccabees—a doubtful statement unsupported by facts. It is true that an Aramæan version of Job belonging to the first century is mentioned; and it may be argued that it was not the first book rendered into the language of the people; but we are not inclined to put implicit



credence in the casual statements of Talmudical tracts and discussions, or of Toseftas, unless they have a character of truth in themselves. It is probable, however, that older Targums did exist, as intimated in various allusions to them in Jewish literature.

*Targum of Onkelos.*—This is usually placed first, both because it is on the Pentateuch or first five books of the O. T., and because it is thought to be the oldest extant. As to the author, the notices respecting him are obscure and unsatisfactory. Indeed we shall see many reasons for denying that he was Onkelos, and for attributing it to an unknown person or persons.

1. Of *Onkelos* the proselyte (אֲנֶלְלוֹס הַגֵּר) we read that he embraced the Jewish faith and became so devoted to it that, after sharing the paternal inheritance with his brothers, he threw his portion into the Dead Sea (*Tosefta*, *Demai*, vi. 9); that he burned, at the funeral rites of Gamaliel the elder, his teacher, garments and furniture worth 70 Tyrian minæ—that is, according to Graetz, 140 thaler or £21 (*Tosefta*, *Shabbath*, 8; *Semachoth*, 8; *Aboda Zara*, 11 a); that he was the son of Calonicus, sister's son of Titus; and before embracing Judaism conjured up from the other world the spirits of Titus, Balaam, and Christ, to ask them which nation was the happiest, who all answered the Jews (*Babyl. Talm.* *Gittin*, 56); that he was the son of Kalonymus, and having become a proselyte, the emperor sent three successive Roman cohorts to capture and bring him before the Roman tribunal, but he converted them all (*Aboda Zara*, 11 a); and that he made the Targum to the Pentateuch from the mouth of R. Eliezer and R. Joshua (*Megilla*, 3 a). All these statements are from the *Tosefta* and the Babylonian Talmud. There are other unimportant notices in the former (*Mikva'oth*, 6; *Kelim*, 3. 2; and *Chagiga*, 3. 1) and in the latter (*Baba Bathra*, 99 a).

2. Many notices of one אֲכִילָס or אֶקִילָס, *Akilas*, occur in Talmudic and hagadic literature, which bear considerable likeness to those of Onkelos. Putting both side by side, they strike the reader most. Both are said to have been proselytes (*Tosefta*, *Demai*, vi. 9; *Babyl. Talm.* *Gittin*, 56; *Baba Bathra*, 99 a; אֲנֶלְלוֹס הַגֵּר, *Irenæus*, *Adv. Haeres.* iii. 24; *Euseb. Demon. Evangel.* vii. 1; *Jerome, Ep. ad Pammach. Opp.* iv. 2. 255, Ἀκύλας προσήλυτος, *Aquila proselytus*); to have been related to a Roman emperor, Onkelos being the nephew of Titus (*Gittin*, 56 a), and Aquila son of Hadrian's sister (*Chag.* 2. 1; *Tanch.* 28. 1; *Epiphanius, De Pond. et Mens.* sec. 14, πενθερίδης). Both became converts to Judaism against the emperor's will. Of Onkelos, son of Kalonymus, it is stated that 'the emperor' sent three successive Roman cohorts to capture and bring him before the Roman tribunal, but he converted each (*Aboda Zara*, 11 a); of *Akilas*, that the emperor disapproved of his conversion (*Tanch.* 28. 1; *Shem Rabba*, 146 c). Both were friends and disciples of R. Eliezer, R. Joshua, and R. Akiba (*Megilla*, 3 a; *Ber. Rabba*, 78 d; *Jerome, Epistola* 57 *ad Pammachium*). Of Onkelos we read, 'The Targum to the Pentateuch was made by Onkelos the proselyte from the mouth of R. Eliezer and R. Joshua' (*Megilla*, 3 a); and of *Akilas*, 'Akilas the proselyte made a version under the auspices of R. Eliezer and R. Joshua, and they praised him'

(*Megilla*, 1. 9). The conclusion drawn from these notices is, that Onkelos and *Akilas* are identical; else there were two persons living at the same time whose names were almost the same, both nephews of the reigning emperor, both converts to Judaism, disciples of R. Eliezer and R. Joshua, and both translators of the O. T. under the sanction of these rabbis.

3. There is abundant evidence that *Akilas* is identical with *Aquila* the Greek translator. Fourteen passages have been collected from the Talmud and other Jewish books in which he is cited, and these agree substantially with what we know of *Aquila's* Greek version by existing fragments. After the argument of Anger, to prove the identity of *Akilas* and *Aquila*, it is needless to say more on the point (*De Onkeloso Chaldaico*, particula 1, Leipzig 1845, 4to). The only obstacle to this at all plausible, and which Anger has not removed, is the fact that to the same *Akilas* from whom Greek words are cited, a Hebrew expression (*Bereshith Rabba*, cap. 21, and *Kiddushin Jer.* 1. 1) is assigned; while in *Yalkut*, ii. sec. 961, an Aramæan paraphrase of *Prov.* xxv. 11; in *Midrash-Kohleth*, 113 c, an Aramæan paraphrase of *Isaiah* v. 6; and in *Yoma Jer.* iii. 8, the half-Aramæan half-Greek *lokobel lampados*, are attributed to him. But with respect to *Isaiah* v. 6, *Akilas* is a mistake for *Jonathan*, the passage being actually found in the latter; and the word *lokobel* may belong to the narrator. The true solution is, that citations were sometimes made merely according to the sense of a phrase, which is the case here. In one instance at least the same translation, and that in Greek, of an expression in *Ezekiel* xvi. 10, which is ascribed in the *Midrash* on *Canticles* to *Akilas* (27 d), is given to Onkelos in *Midrash-Echa*, 58 c.

4. If *Akilas* and *Aquila* be one, it follows from the parallel accounts of Onkelos and *Akilas* that Onkelos and *Aquila* are the same person. It is most unlikely that the circumstances and facts narrated could have belonged to two different individuals.

5. It cannot be denied that there are points of discrepancy which militate against the identity of *Akilas* or *Aquila*, and Onkelos. One is, that *Aquila* belonged to the reign of Hadrian, about 130 A.D.; whereas Onkelos is brought into connection with *Gamaliel the elder* (*Tosefta*, *Shabbath*, 8; *Aboda Zara*, 11 a; *Semachoth*, 8). This is obviated in a summary way by Graetz, who assumes a transcriber's mistake in the word *elder*. If, as he supposes, *Gamaliel II.* be intended, the time will agree (*Geschichte der Juden*, vol. iv. p. 152). But in *Tosefta*, *Mikva'oth*, 6. 1, and *Kelim*, 3. 2, *Gamaliel* is mentioned without הַזֶּקֶן attached, implying apparently that it was *Gamaliel II.* It is not very probable, though indeed possible, that *Gamaliel I.* is meant there, though Anger inclines to that opinion (see Bartolucci, *Biblioth. Rabbin.* vol. iii. p. 266). But another discrepancy comes in the way; for Onkelos is said to have been the nephew of Titus, or, as it is in a MS. belonging to the Senate of Leipzig, grandson of the impious Titus (Anger, *De Onkeloso*, particula ii. pp. 11, 12). But the connection of Onkelos with R. Eliezer and R. Joshua favours the Hadrian chronology. It is also urged by Frankel against the identity of the two that *Akilas* and the Targum Onkelos not only differ in many places, but translate in a way oppo-



site to each other (*Ueber den Einfluss der palaestinensischen Exegese auf die alexandrinische Hermeneutik*, pp. 15, 92, 101). This objection is invalid, not only because we have no certainty of the fragments collected by Montfaucon being really Aquila's, Origen's labours having created great confusion; but because the identity of *persons* does not imply identity of *versions*. The book of Zohar also (sect. *אחרי כות* on Lev. xviii. 4) makes Onkelos a disciple of Hillel the Babylonian who flourished sixty years B.C.; but the late origin of this work renders it of little authority.

6. The connection of Onkelos with the Targum that bears his name is first mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud, where we read: 'The Targum to the Pentateuch was made by Onkelos the proselyte from the mouth of R. Eliezer and R. Joshua; the Targum to the prophets was made by Jonathan Ben Uzziel from the mouth of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. . . . But have we not been taught that the Targum existed from the time of Ezra? . . . Only that it was forgotten, and Onkelos restored it.' It is easy to see that the latter part of this passage is unhistorical—viz. that relating to the Targum of Jonathan Ben Uzziel, and the existence of Onkelos's Targum from Ezra's time. Internal evidence contradicts these statements. The fact of Onkelos's restoration of the version is very like the alleged restoration of Scripture ascribed to Ezra, and deserves the same credit. If therefore the greater part of the passage be fabulous, why should not the whole be so? This supposition is confirmed by the circumstance that the Jerusalem Talmud attributes the same thing to Akilas's Greek version, which is here assigned to that of Onkelos the proselyte. 'R. Chiya bar Abba said (as the same Rabbi said of Onkelos the proselyte), Akilas the proselyte made a version before (with the approbation of) R. Eliezer and R. Joshua, and they praised him.' Here is the origin of Akilas's version; and the same repeated in an enlarged and fabulous form is predicated of Onkelos's. In their ignorance of the author of the paraphrase, the Babylonian Jews, writing Akilas, *Onkelos*, which is only another orthography, repeat the account of the former in such a manner that it becomes a statement about a different person and a different version. The Jews of Tiberias, if we may judge from the silence of the Jerusalem Talmud, were ignorant of the existence of Onkelos's Targum. At least they never quote it or refer to its author, and therefore it is probable that it was not made in their time; or possibly, it had not attained to a definite form and character.

But how does the Babylonian Talmud refer to the Chaldee paraphrase of Onkelos? It often refers to it, and never in connection with his name. It uses the introductory *כדמרתנמינ* (as we paraphrase), *הרגנו דנן* (our Targum), or *כדמרגנו* (as the Targum has it). On the other hand, Akilas's version is always cited in the Talmud by the name

of its author *הרגנו עקילס*. Does not this throw a grave doubt on the relation of Onkelos to the Chaldee paraphrase? Had he been its author, it is natural to think that the work would have been quoted with his name.

Again, there is a wide interval between the time when the origin of the Targum is ascribed to Onkelos in the Babylonian Talmud in that unhistorical passage, and its next citation as his. In

the Pirke R. Eliezer (chap. 38), a midrash of the 8th or 9th century, the Targum is quoted as *the paraphrase of Onkelos*. It is afterwards cited in the same manner by Ibn Koreish and Menachem ben Saruk, as well as by Donash Ibn Librat. And Rashi frequently quotes the Targum of Onkelos. None of these lived later than the 12th century. We need not apply to the passage in Eliezer the terms 'ziemlich verdächtig' as Geiger does; nor is it correct to say with Levi, that for three centuries after Eliezer the version was almost always quoted without its authorship being ascribed to Onkelos, as we have just seen (Geiger's *Zeitschrift*, vol. v. pp. 185, 186). The fact, however, remains indubitable, that the paraphrase is not attributed to Onkelos till the 9th century. We conclude therefore, from all the circumstances of the case, that Onkelos, the author of the Chaldee version, is a mythical person; and that the real author is unknown.

7. In consequence of the identity of Aquila and Onkelos it may be asked, Did the Greek translator of the O. T. make a Chaldee version also? Was he the author of the Targum commonly ascribed to the son of Kalonymus? The answer must be in the negative. What then is meant by *Targum Onkelos*? Or to what is the allusion when a Chaldee, not a Greek, version is associated with the name of Aquila or Onkelos? Here we must limit our answer to the person or persons that first employed such phraseology, as far as we know them. It is a common opinion among modern Jewish critics, that *Targum Onkelos* means simply a version made after the manner of Akilas the Greek translator. Aquila's translation was a special favourite with the Jews, because it was both literal and accurate. Being highly valued, it was considered a model or type after which the new Chaldee one was named, in commendation perhaps of its like excellences. Such is the view proposed and adopted by Levi, Luzzatto, Geiger, Jost, Frankel, Graetz, Herzfeld, and other Jews. It is very ingenious, and saves the credit of the Babylonian Jews to some extent; but it is hardly probable. Whatever may have been the opinion of Jewish critics respecting the author of the Chaldee version in the 9th and following centuries (and we believe that they thought him to be Onkelos), the Babylonians, from whom the version proceeded, could scarcely have associated Onkelos's name with it for the reason now given. The passage from the Babylonian Talmud already cited is adverse to the supposition. The Babylonians knew nothing of the original translator. In their ignorance they betook themselves to the well-known name of the Greek translator, to whom they assigned a more facile appellation than *Akilas*, which was unknown to Jews not speaking Greek—viz. *Ankelos* or *Onkelos*. They may have thought that Akilas began the Chaldee also; or rather, they gave his name to the version without having other reason for it in their minds than that the name was known and in repute among the Palestinian Jews. Their motive was probably neither a definite nor a rational one; and had more of blunder in it than aught besides. When they said that Onkelos restored it, they could not have been influenced by the cause which Geiger and others assume.

If our observations be correct, Onkelos was neither the author of the Targum nor a historical person. Various circumstances render it probable



that the work was of Palestinian origin. The lexical basis belongs to Palestine. We suppose that it was Palestinian in its first stage only. There may be some truth in the passage from the *Bab. Gen. Megilla*, fol. 3 a, where the Rabbis Eliezer and Joshua are represented as the depositaries of ancient tradition, which they communicated orally to another, who made it public. Perhaps something more is intended by the expression *כופי* than mere *approval*, as Luzzatto after R. Azaria,\* supposes (Philoxenus, prol. p. viii.) Traditional interpretations were embodied in the version, but its form was incomplete. It remained in a fluctuating, unfixed state for a considerable period in Palestine. Even to the 2d century, if not the 3d, its readings were indefinite. But when it passed out of Palestine, it underwent much alteration in the hands of the Babylonian Jews. From them it received midrashic additions, and got that definite form which it has retained ever since. It has been supposed, not without reason, that R. Joseph and his contemporaries brought it to its final redaction (Levi in Geiger's *Zeitschrift*, v.); but it is now impossible to trace the various stages of improvement through which it passed, till it appeared complete about the end of the 3d century. The language certainly bespeaks a Babylonian rather than a Jewish locality; its grammatical and dialectic complexion savouring of Babylon. The dialect strongly resembles that of the Babylonian Talmud, though it is purer—very much purer than the dialect of Palestine. Levi has rightly called attention to the facts that *the Euphrates* is always *the river*, *נהר*, showing that the version is preeminently Babylonian; and that Persian words are found in it, as was natural in Babylon. Thus both Eichhorn and Winer are right, though neither exclusively so; the version being neither entirely Babylonian nor entirely Palestinian.

Let us now consider the work itself.

It is literal, adhering to the Hebrew text closely, and giving the sense intelligibly and rightly in the majority of instances. It is a faithful version on the whole, the Aramaean dialect employed being pure, and approaching in character to that of Daniel and Ezra. The original is followed word for word, with occasional paraphrastic interpolations. All the grammatical peculiarities which appear in Daniel and Ezra are observable in Onkelos; such as a *Haphel* for an *Aphd*; *yod* to denote the third person masculine future not *nun*; the syllable *ilh* not *mith*, before infinitives passive, etc. etc. Abridgments of words which appear in other Targums, are absent, as in Daniel and Ezra—*ex.gr.* *אָנָשׁ*, Onkelos i. 26; vi. 4; vii. 27; Dan. ii. 10; Ezra iv. 11; not *נָשׁ*, *תַּרְתִּי עֲשִׂי*, Gen. v. 8: whereas we find *תַּרְתִּי עֲשִׂי* in the Jerus. Targ. Gen. xiv. 4; *חִמֵּשׁ עֲשִׂי*, Gen. v. 10; whereas in Jon. Lev. xii. 5 *חִמִּיִּר*: *אֲוֹתָן*, Gen. iv. 25, but *הוֹן* Lev. xviii. 9 Jon. : *יָהֵב*, Gen. iv. 25, not *יָב*, as in the Jerusalem dialect.

Notwithstanding the usual literalness and exactness of Onkelos, his rendering is sometimes less faithful than one could desire. In Gen. xlviii. 22

\* כהסכמם כי ראוהו ויהללוהו, according to their approval, because they saw and approved it (*Meor Enayim*, p. 145).

the translator renders *וְאֵנִי נָתַתִּי לְךָ שֵׁכֶם אֶחָד* by *וְהִבֵּית לְךָ חֵד חוֹלֶק*, and *I give thee one part*, and *וְאֵלֶּה לְקַבֵּל אֶפְדָּךְ* in xlix. 4 by *פָּחוּ בְּמִים*, *thou hast been carried away by thine anger*. In Gen. iii. 15 he renders, *הוּא יְהִי דְכִיר לְךָ מִה דְעֵבְרְתָ לִיה*, *he shall remember to thee what thou hast done to him from the beginning; and thou shalt watch him unto the end*. In Gen. xvi. 13 the Hebrew words *וְהָלַם רְאִיתִי* *אָף אֲנִי* are perhaps rightly rendered *אָף אֲנִי*, *I have even remained seeing after he has been revealed to me*. Though the interrogative *הָ* is omitted, the sense is the same. But probably the *וְהָלַם רְאִיתִי* of Buxtorf should be pointed *וְהָלַם רְאִיתִי*, *I have begun*, and so the translation would be, *Have I indeed begun here to see after him who has been revealed to me?* In Gen. iv. 23, Onkelos translates *לֹא נִבְרָא קְטָלִית דְּבִרְלִיָּה אֲנָא סָבֵל חֻבִּין וְאָף זֶרְעִי*—i.e. *I have not slain a man for whose sake I might bear guilt; nor have I slain a young man for whose sake my seed might be destroyed*. He has taken *כִּי* interrogatively, and rendered the affirmative interrogation by a negative. In Deut. xxxii. 2, *יַעֲרֹךְ בְּמִטָּר* is represented by *יִבְסֵם*, *will be sweet*. In Gen. xiv. 14, the version has *וְהָיוּ יָת עֲלָמוֹהִי*, *he armed his young men*. In Gen. vi. 3 it has *לֹא יִתְקַיֵּם דְּרָא*, *they shall not exist before me for ever, because they are flesh, and because their works are evil*. Onkelos is not happy here.

2. The translator is least satisfactory in the explanation of difficult words and passages. Here he is not unfrequently incorrect, as in Gen. xx. 16, where the words *וְאֵת כָּל וְנוֹכַחַת* are paraphrased *וְעַל כָּל מַה דְּאִמְרַת אֲתוֹכַחַת*, *and with respect to all things which she said she was reproved*. In Gen. xlix. 10, the passage is referred to the Messiah, and *שִׁילָה* explained as = *שָׁלֹן*, *'whose is the rule.'* *בֶּר פֶּרֶנְסָא*, Gen. xv. 2, is rendered *בֶּר פֶּרֶנְסָא*, *son of government or governor*, which is contrary to the true sense of the words. The difficult passage Gen. iv. 7 is thus rendered, *וְאֵם תּוֹמִיב עוֹבְדָךְ לְיוֹם דִּינָא*, *shall not pardon be given thee if thou doest well; but if thou doest not well, thy sin shall be preserved till the day of judgment*, etc. Here *שָׂאָת* is taken from *נִשָּׂא*, and referred to the *taking away of sin*, not to the *lifting up of the countenance*. In Gen. xlix. 5, Onkelos, reading *כָּל* for *כָּלִי*, with the Samaritan, renders *בְּמִכְתִּיהֶם* by *בְּאֶרֶץ תּוֹתְבוֹתָהוֹן*, *in the land of their habitation*. In Gen. xxii. 14 there is the paraphrastic render-







12. In employing Onkelos as a source of emendation the Hebrew text great caution is needed—far more than Cappellus and his disciples have been disposed to exercise. Very rarely can we claim to be used in this capacity. Here it is easy to fall into error, and attribute to the text from which he translated what is owing to his ignorance, carelessness, or fancy. Thus we might suppose that Onkelos read  $\text{לֵךְ} \text{לְפָנַי}$  in Lev. vii. 25, because he has  $\text{לֵךְ} \text{לְפָנַי}$  there, especially as the latter reading is found in some MSS. But this is improbable, because  $\text{לֵךְ} \text{לְפָנַי}$  is his usual rendering of  $\text{לֶחֱבֹד}$ . See Exod. xxix. 18, 25; 41; Lev. i. 9. In Lev. vii. 21, Onkelos may also have had  $\text{לֵךְ} \text{לְפָנַי}$ , a *vulgate*, for the present Hebrew  $\text{לֵךְ} \text{לְפָנַי}$ ; with which agree various MSS. of Kennicott and De Rossi, and the Samaritan, Syriac, and Arabic versions. But we doubt if the term  $\text{לֵךְ} \text{לְפָנַי}$  be the authentic and primitive word. In Gen. xlix. 24, where  $\text{לֵךְ} \text{לְפָנַי}$  is joined with Israel, Cappellus thinks that the reading found by the Targumist was  $\text{לֵךְ} \text{לְפָנַי}$ , being caused he translates, *the strong God of Jacob who nourished by his sword* (or by himself) *fathers and sons* ( $\text{אֲבוֹתָם בְּסִיף}$ ). But Onkelos has merely indulged a play of fancy (*Cynthia Savar*, ed. Schaffenburg, ii. p. 792). Again, De Rossi supposes that Onkelos read  $\text{לֵךְ} \text{לְפָנַי}$  instead of  $\text{לֵךְ} \text{לְפָנַי}$  in Exod. xxiv. 7, because he renders  $\text{לֵךְ} \text{לְפָנַי}$  (*Variæ lectiones Vet. Testamenti*, vol. i. p. 68); but this is incorrect, since  $\text{לֵךְ} \text{לְפָנַי}$  is usually rendered in the same manner, as in Gen. xx. 8. It is possible that the text of the Chaldee has been tampered with, and adapted to the Hebrew by additions or alterations. The temptation to do this was very strong in the case of those early copies of the Pentateuch who placed the Hebrew and Chaldee in parallel columns. As an example of a late addition, we may instance  $\text{לֵךְ} \text{לְפָנַי}$  along with  $\text{לֵךְ} \text{לְפָנַי}$ , where the first word has been inserted out of Jonathan's Targum. In not a few cases its text can be emended by the help of Jonathan's, which was based upon it. Thus in Gen. xxii. 13, where there are two translations, one of the reading  $\text{לֵךְ} \text{לְפָנַי}$  (viz.  $\text{לֵךְ} \text{לְפָנַי}$ ), and another of  $\text{לֵךְ} \text{לְפָנַי}$  (viz.  $\text{לֵךְ} \text{לְפָנַי}$ ), Jonathan has only  $\text{לֵךְ} \text{לְפָנַי}$ . Hence one is a gloss—a *glossula*. Hence one is a gloss— $\text{לֵךְ} \text{לְפָנַי}$ . Luzzatto has failed to see this (Philoxenus, p. 39). In other cases the text may be corrected by collating various editions, especially the oldest ones. Thus in Gen. xviii. 21, Buxtorf's reading, which is that of the Amsterdam edition (1681), the Complutensian, and an edition published in 1517, all differ. The second of these is defended by Luzzatto, but unsuccessfully; for there is little doubt that the third has the original—viz.  $\text{לֵךְ} \text{לְפָנַי}$ .

We must not however go so far as Frankel appears to do, in assuming that wherever a double translation occurs, one is a gloss, and did not proceed from the translator himself. The gradual growth of the version accounts for the existence of these twofold readings, even after the work was finally redacted (see Frankel's *Monatschrift* for 1861, p. 77, et seq.)



Etheridge; Genesis and Exodus in 1862; Leviticus and Numbers, 1865. This translation, however, is inaccurate.\*

See Smith, *Diatriba de Chaldaicis paraphrastis*, 12mo, 1662; Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, vols. ii. and iii.; Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, 1832, 8vo; Levi in Geiger's *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift*, vol. v.; Luzzatto in the same; Winer, *de Onkeloso ejusque paraphrasi Chaldaica*, 1820, 4to; Anger, *de Onkeloso Chaldaico*, 1845, 1846, 4to; Herzfeld, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. iii.; and Geiger, *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel*, 1857. Luzzatto's *אורח נר* sive *Philoxenus*, etc. distributes the deviations from the Hebrew into thirty-two classes, and endeavours to emend the text from MSS.; but the genius of the version is not well described in it. Isaiah Berlin's *ספר מיני* 1831, throws little light on the paraphrase; and Berkowitz's treatise, principally on the hermeneutics of Onkelos, *עוטה אור*, 1843, 8vo, is of no great importance.

*Jonathan Ben Uzziel on the Prophets*—i.e. Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor prophets.—Little is known of the reputed author of this Targum. The Talmud says of him, that 'he was the greatest of the eighty disciples of Hillel . . . and when he sat at work upon the law every bird flying over him was burnt (*Baba Bathra*, 134 a; *Succa*, 28 a). He wrote the paraphrase of the prophets from the mouth of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. Then was the land of Israel shaken three hundred parangs. The Bath-Kol went forth and said, Who has revealed my secrets to the sons of men? Jonathan ben Uzziel stood upon his feet and said, It is I who have revealed thy secrets to the sons of men, etc.' (*Megilla*, 3 a).

Both internal and external evidence is opposed to this early authorship. The passage itself is sufficiently fabulous to prevent any one attaching authority to it; and the paraphrase was not quoted as Jonathan's till a comparatively late period. The Babylonian Talmud and other authorities of the same country adduce it as 'ours,' or associate it with the name of Joseph ben Chama in the 4th century, who appears to have occupied himself much with its elaboration. Even Hai Gaon (A.D. 969-1038), quotes it as the Targum of R. Joseph (*Comment. on Tohoroth* [Kelim], c. 17, 29, 30; *Oholoth*, c. 1, 8, 9, 18). It is only the later Rabbis who call it 'the Targum of Jonathan.' A comparison of this Targum with that of Onkelos will show that it is not so old. The language is less pure, and its nature haggadic to a very considerable degree. It is pretty largely sprinkled with fables, allegories, legends, superstitions, fancies, and references to later occurrences. It is true that several of the latter may be subsequent interpolations; a supposition confirmed by the fact that some of them are absent from the text in the Antwerp Polyglott; but the general tone betrays a

later time. Besides, Jonathan cites the words of Onkelos (Judg. v. 26, comp. Deut. xxii. 5; 2 Kings xiv. 6, comp. Deut. xxiv. 16; Jer. xlviii. 45, 46, comp. Num. xxi. 28, 29). Herzfeld's explanation of this identity cannot be admitted—viz. that Aramaean glosses on the Pentateuch existed before the time of Jonathan, which passed into later paraphrases, so that the coincidence of the passages is accidental (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. ii. p. 64). That the dialect is substantially the same as that of Onkelos, and only less pure to a small extent, is apparent. It is therefore highly probable that a similar origin belongs to both, as well as a similar redaction. Palestine was the birth-place of the present Targum as it was of Onkelos's. But it did not come to maturity there. It only commenced in exegetical glosses, perhaps in the 2d century. We do not suppose that Jonathan ben Uzziel, if such a person ever existed, had aught to do with it. In its incipient state it arose out of the readings of the prophets in the synagogues. When Jewish literature sank in Palestine, and Babylon became its centre, much attention was given to Targumic exposition; and the existing bases of written paraphrases were enlarged, elaborated, and completed. Successive stages of development brought both Onkelos and Jonathan to their present condition. We shall not be far wrong in placing about a century between the final redaction of the two; that on the prophets being a continuation of the other, and completed at the end of the 4th century. The same persons were probably concerned with both—viz. R. Joseph and his companions or disciples. If it be probable that this celebrated president of the academy at Pumpadita was busied with the Targum on the law, it is more likely that he took part in the redacting and perfecting of that on the prophets, because in the Babylonian Talmud and later authorities the latter is expressly referred to him. If this view of the Targum be correct, the question discussed by Eichhorn, Bertholdt, and Hävernick, respecting one author or more, ceases to be of importance. None of these critics is right; though the first two are nearer the truth than the last. Hävernick's argument in favour of one author is singularly unfortunate, because the uniformity he seems to perceive does not exist. The mode of translating in the historical and prophetic books is somewhat different. Many contributed to the work, some in Palestine, more in Babylon.

It is difficult to tell whether Jonathan be a mythical person or not. He may have been conjured up for the purpose of authorship to the Targum before us. The only passages in the Talmud that speak of him are pitched in a high key of laudation. Had the Talmud associated the passages it quotes from the Targum with his name as author, we should have been more inclined to believe in his existence; but that is not the case. There R. Joseph the blind receives the credit of having made the version. Without denying the existence of Jonathan we hesitate to believe that he had any share in the Targum commonly ascribed to him. The putting of the gate Pickum for Hananeel in Jer. xxxi. 38; Zech. xiv. 10; and of the pool Eglā for Goath (Jer. xxxi. 39), do not prove, as Herzfeld supposes, that Jerusalem was still standing when Jonathan made the version; for the names may have been handed down by tradition (*Geschichte*, ii. p. 61). It is absurd to suppose that

\* Thus in Deut. i. 7 he translates *מְגִירוֹתָי* 'its habitable places,' whereas it should be *חִס* or *חִסְתָּי* 'its neighbours.' In Deut. xxxiv. 9 he renders 'the Lord God commanded (by) Moses;' whereas the Chaldee can only mean, *commanded Moses*. The sign of the accusative *מִן* precedes the name Moses. Instances showing that the translator is but slightly acquainted with the language might be multiplied.



it was made 'from the mouth of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi,' as is alleged; or that veritable traditional interpretations belonging to those prophets were written down for the first time by Jonathan. The Babylonians were ignorant of the origin of the version, and associated it in their Talmud, in a single passage, with an individual of whom they knew but the name. That name, however, they surrounded with a halo of wonders to ennoble the commencement of the work.

Luzzatto (in Geiger's *Zeitschrift*, v. p. 124, etc.) and Geiger (*Urschrift*, pp. 163, 164) suppose that as *Jonathan* is the same with the Greek *Theodotion*, the Babylonians gave this name to the paraphrase—especially as they were acquainted with that of Jonathan ben Uzziel—to indicate that the Targum was *after the manner* of Theodotion, like the reputed origin of the name *Onkelos* in connection with the Greek *Akilas* or *Aquila*. The conjecture has no support or probability. Why should the Babylonians attribute the original composition of the Targum to Jonathan son of Uzziel in one place of the Talmud, and also quote it repeatedly as R. Joseph's, if they believed that it was merely made *after the manner* of Theodotion's Greek translation? They must have been ignorant to think that the genius of the two versions was alike. So far from their being similar they are the reverse. Theodotion was a skilful and competent translator, the other not. It is needless to allude to the oldest form of this hypothesis—viz. that Jonathan the Chaldee translator, and Theodotion the Greek one, were one and the same person. Drusus refuted that notion by a reference to their respective times; and Schickard showed that it proved too much, because Jonathan might be identified with Theodosius for the same reason.

In the historical books the exegesis is simple and tolerably literal. A few words are added occasionally, which have no representatives in the original, but they are not many. The interpretation is good, giving the sense fully and fairly. But in the prophetic books the text is more freely handled. Here it is often paraphrastic and haggadic. Allegorical senses are introduced, and the fancy is indulged. The obscurity and difficulty of the prophets may serve to account for this. The translators could not be very literal and intelligible at the same time; at least they did not try to combine the two. Amid the poetical pictures of Israel's future and the ideal hopes of the prophets, the temptation to paraphrase and amplify was natural. The introduction of haggadic elements detracts from the merits of the version; and although it is historically interesting to note the theological views of the time that are interwoven with the text, they lessen the real value. Extraneous additions, legendary ideas, and distortions of the true sense, cannot be other than blemishes.

1. In order to amplify the meaning a few words are inserted. Thus in 1 Sam. ix. 7, after *נִיחַל* are put *וְאִם מְקַבֵּיל מוֹמֹן*, and if he take money. In ix. 16, instead of 'For I have looked upon my people because their cry is come unto me,' the paraphrase has *אֲרִי גִלִּי קִרְדִּי וְהִתְקַא דַּעְמִי אֲרִי עֲלַי*, *אֲרִי גִלִּי קִרְדִּי וְהִתְקַא דַּעְמִי אֲרִי עֲלַי*, *קִבְּלִיתָהוֹן לְקִרְדִּי*, for the affliction of my people is revealed to me because their cry has come up before me. In 1 Sam. vi. 19, where the Hebrew runs,

'And he smote the men of Beth-shemesh because they had looked into the ark of the Lord, even he smote of the people fifty thousand and three-score and ten men,' the Chaldee has *וְקָטַל בְּנֵי בֵּית שֶׁמֶשׁ עַל דְּחִירָא דְּחִיזוּ אֲרֹנָא דִּי בְּדִ גִּלִּי וְקָטַל בְּכֶרֶי עֲמָא שְׁבַעִין אֲנָרָא וּבְקִהְלָא חֲמִשִּׁין*, and he slew of the men of Beth-shemesh because they rejoiced at their seeing the ark of the Lord when it appeared, and he slew of the old men of the people seventy men, and of the multitude fifty thousand men, etc. In Is. vi. 3, the cry of the seraphim, 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord of hosts' is enlarged thus, *קִדִּישׁ בִּשְׁמַי מְרוֹמָא עֲלֵאָה בֵּית שְׁכִנְתָּיה קִדִּישׁ עַל אֲרַעָא עוֹבֵד*.

—i.e. *הַבְּהִרְתִּיהָ קִדִּישׁ לְעֵלְמָא וּלְעֵלְמִי יִי צְבָאוֹת*, holy in the lofty heavens, most high, the house of his glory; holy on earth, the work of his power; holy for ever, and to ages of ages, the Lord of hosts.

2. Figures of speech are freely resolved and converted into prose. Thus in Is. ii. 13, etc., the *cedars* and *oaks* are converted into *princes*; the *towers* and *fenced walls* are changed into the *inhabitants* of towers and fortresses; and the *ships* are rendered *rich, sea-faring merchants*. In Is. v. 1-6, the whole parable disappears before a lengthy explanation (comp. also xxii. 23, 24).

3. Haggadic and inflated paraphrase is not infrequent in the prophetic portion. Thus in Is. lxii. 10 we have: 'The prophet said, Pass and return through the gates; turn the heart of the people to the right way; announce good news and consolations to the righteous, who have taken away the thoughts of lust, which was as a stone of stumbling; lift up a standard to the people.' In Is. xxviii. 10 we find: 'As it was commanded them to keep the law, they would not do what was commanded them. The prophets prophesied to them that if they turned, their sins should be forgiven them; but they did not adopt the words of the prophets, but walked after the lust of their souls, and had no desire to do the law. They waited that idolatry might be confirmed in them, and did not wait upon the service of my holy temple. Little esteemed in their eyes was my sanctuary that they should worship there. Little esteemed in their eyes was my habitation there.'

4. The meaning is changed and distorted. Thus in 1 Sam. vii. 2, where we read: 'And all the house of Israel lamented after the Lord,' *וְאִתְנַהֲיָא כָּל בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּתַר פּוֹלְחָנָא דִּי*, and all the house of Israel were assembled after the worship of Jehovah. In 1 Kings iii. 19 we read the words: 'and we were together; there was no stranger with us in the house;' but the Chaldee has *וְאִתְנַהֲנָא בְּחֻדָּא וְזָבָאִין*, and we were together innocent, and there was no stranger, etc.

5. In various instances the original is entirely forsaken, and what is foreign put in its place. Thus in Is. vii. 3, for the name of the prophet's son *Shear-jashub* we have in the paraphrase, *שְׂאֵר תְּלִמְיָדָה דְּלֵא חֲטוּ*, the remnant of thy disciples who have not sinned.

6. Anthropopathic expressions, and others of a like nature applied to God, are generally removed from the text. Thus in Is. i. 18, where the Lord says 'let us reason together,' the Chaldee puts *חֲבַעֲוֵן מִן קִרְדִּי*, ask of me.



7. A number of Greek words appear in the version. Thus in Judg. i. 11 it has אַרְכִּי (ἀρχία), archives; Is. ix. 14, הֶיְמוֹן (ἡμεών). קְרוֹנָה 1 Kings vii. 16, 17, 20, is probably the Latin *corona*, though Hävernicks thinks otherwise.

8. The following places in the Talmud adduce this version, all with the name of R. Joseph:—Moed Katon, 26 a, 2 Kings ii. 12; Pesachim, 68 a, Is. v. 17; Sanhedrin, 94 b, Is. viii. 6; Menachoth, 110 a, Is. xix. 18; Yoma, 77 b, Is. xxxiii. 21; Aboda Zara, 44 a, Is. xli. 16; Yoma, 32 b, Jer. xlv. 20; Kiddushin, 13 a, Hosea iv. 2; Nedarim, 38 a, Amos vi. 7; Baba Kama, 3 b, Obad. vi.; Berachoth, 28 a, Zeph. iii. 18; Kiddushin, 72 b, Zech. ix. 6; Moed Katon, 28 b, and Megilla, 3 a, Zech. xii. 11.

9. Many passages are referred to the Messiah, even such as do not rightly belong to him; so that no polemical tendency against Christians appears in the version. The following is a list of them:—1 Sam. ii. 10; xxiii. 3; 1 Kings iv. 33; Isaiah iv. 2; ix. 6; x. 27; xi. 1, 6; xv. 2; xvi. 1-5; xxviii. 5; xlii. 1; xliii. 10; xlv. 1; lii. 13; liii. 10; Jer. xxiii. 5; xxx. 21; xxxiii. 13, 15; Hosea iii. 5; xiv. 8; Micah iv. 8; v. 2, 18; Zech. iii. 8; iv. 7; vi. 12; x. 4. We do not find in the explanation of Isaiah, 53d chapter, the doctrine of a suffering and atoning Messiah, as Hengstenberg does. Indeed the chapter generally refers to the Jewish people, especially all that is said about the humiliation of the 'servant of Jehovah.' Allusions to the Jewish theology of the times when the version was made occur in Isaiah xxii. 14, where the second death is mentioned (comp. Rev. ii. 11, etc.) which the wicked should die in the next world or kingdom of the Messiah; in xxx. 33, where *Gehenna* is spoken of; and in Is. xl. 22; lvii. 15, etc., where the *Shechinah* occurs. In various places the notices respecting the Messiah's offices, character, and conduct, the effects of his advent and personal influence, harmonise with those of the N. T. writers (Gesenius, *Commentar ueber den Isaia*, vol. i. p. 76, *et seq.*)

10. There is little doubt that the text has received several interpolations. To this head Zunz refers all that is hostile to Rome—*ex. gr.* 1 Sam. ii. 5; Is. xxxiv. 9; Exod. xxxix. 16. So too *Armillus* in Is. xi. 14; but Herzfeld, who supposes Jonathan to have actually made a version in Judæa, dissents. To these may be added perhaps *Germania*, from Gomer, in Ezek. xxxviii. 6; the superstitious legend inserted in Is. x. 32, relative to the army and camp of Sennacherib; and the peculiar story about Sisera, Judg. v. 8. Even Rashi speaks of falsifications of the text in his day (on Ezek. xlvii. 19). If these be so explained, the chief arguments of John Morin and Isaac Voss in favour of a very late origin of the Targum fall away.

11. In the criticism of the Hebrew text, the version of Jonathan can only be of limited use. It would be hazardous to rely on it alone as an evidence for restoring a primitive reading supposed to be displaced. It has been employed indeed to indicate various readings, but often without reason; as is evident from Cappellus's *Critica Sacra* and De Rossi's *Annotations*. But though its independent authority be insufficient to correct the original, it may be a valuable auxiliary to other critical sources. Thus, in 1 Kings i. 4, where we read of

Abishag לְמִלְכָּה סִכְנֶת, Cappellus supposes that the Targumists read שִׁכְנֶת, *dwelling* or *abiding*, because they have for it קְרִיבָה. But the Hebrew word may be so translated as to correspond to the Chaldee one with sufficient nearness. There is no good reason to suppose that the Hebrew was ever different from what it now is. In Hosea vi. 5, where the version has וְרִיבִי כְּנְהוֹר נֶפֶק for the Hebrew וְרִיבִי אֹרֶךְ, it is evident that the reading was וְרִיבִי כְּנְהוֹר, *and my judgment shall go forth as the light*; which is corroborated by the other ancient versions, except the Vulgate. Again, in Amos viii. 8, we have now in the Hebrew כִּפְאָר, 'it shall rise up like light,' whereas the Targum reads כִּפְאָר, *like a flood*, since it renders נְהַרָה, 'like the waters of a river.' So too the Septuagint and Vulgate.

12. The paraphrase on the historical books only was printed for the first time at Leiria 1494, fol., accompanied by the Hebrew text and Kimchi's as well as Levi ben Gerson's commentaries. It was afterwards printed complete in Bomberg's Rabbinical Bibles, in Buxtorf's; and in the Antwerp, Paris, and London Polyglotts. I was translated into Latin by Alphonso de Zamora for the Complutensian Polyglott, but was excluded from it. Having been corrected by Arias Montanus, it was put into the Antwerp Polyglott 1572. The twelve minor Prophets were translated into Latin by John Mercer, 1559, 4to, accompanied by the original.

In החלון *oder wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen* for 1852, pp. 109-111 (Lemberg), there is a list of readings from this Targum, which is only a meagre instalment of what might be done in the same department.

Part of the literature belonging to Onkelos relates to Jonathan. We may mention here, in addition, Gesenius's *Commentary on Isaiah*, vol. i.

*Pseudo-Jonathan on the Pentateuch*.—This paraphrase is falsely ascribed to Jonathan ben Uzziel. No author in the middle ages associated his name with it. The way in which it came to be regarded as his is supposed to have been the mistake of a copyist who made out of תַּרְגֻּמוֹ—i. e. *Targum Jerushalmi*—תַּרְגֻּמוֹ יוֹנָתָן, *Targum Jonathan* (see Zunz's *Gottesdienstl. Vortr.* p. 71). Proof is not needed at the present day to show that the Jonathan of the Prophets is not the Jonathan of the Pentateuch. If it be, we refer to the convincing arguments of Smith (*Diatriba de Chaldaicis Paraphrastis*, p. 70, *et seq.*) The work of the pseudo-Jonathan is not a version. It is rather a paraphrase, though by no means exclusively so. Neither is it a haggadic commentary. Version and paraphrase are interwoven throughout, the author seldom confining himself to simple explanation, but proceeding to large midrashim.

Halacha and hagada are richly embedded in the work; the latter especially. His legends are rich and copious. His hagada is not historical; it is ethical, religious, metaphysical, lyrical, and parabolic. It has been well observed that he is only the interpreter of the ideas prevailing in his time—the narrator of traditions, religious and national, not their inventor, because most of them are found in preceding literature, such as the Talmud, Mechilta, etc. (see Zunz, p. 72, note



b). But though he represents the spirit of his time in this respect, we believe that Zunz and Seligsohn lay too much stress on the point, in their anxiety to oppose Winer and Petermann. What good reason can there be for denying him some power of imagination, and confining him to the mere task of a retailer? Fancy played its part in the creation of the legends and fables mingled with early Jewish literature; why was *his* fancy altogether idle? Some are peculiar to him, such as that in Deut. xxi. 8, which may have been derived from the popular belief of the day: but it may not.

It is curious to observe how events and characters are dressed out hyperbolically in Jonathan's midrashim; not only the Biblical heroes, as was natural, but even the enemies of the Jewish nation. Thus Og carries on his head a piece of rock sufficient to bury all the camp of Israel beneath its weight, Num. xxi. 35, which is taken from the Talmud (Berachoth, chap. 9). A mountain possessed of divine virtues is suspended in the air over the children of Israel, Exod. xix. 17—from the Aboda Sara (chap. 1); but see Petermann, p. 30, *et seq.* Perhaps the ethical hagada is the best part of the work. Here the exegete becomes didactic. Thus in Genesis, 40th chapter, it is said that Joseph suffered two additional years of imprisonment because he built on man's rather than God's help. Comp. also Levit. xxii. 28.

We are not surprised to find that Jonathan treads the region of the supernatural very freely. His angelology is marvellous. He has the names of many angels outside the circle of the Bible (Gen. xxviii. 12).

As an example of a lyrical hymn or paraphrase, we refer to that on Moses's death, Deut. xxxiv. 6.

Like Onkelos and others, he avoids anthropomorphic ideas, and is averse to attribute superhuman attributes to heathen gods.

His halacha, which is also frequent, is principally derived from the Mechilta, Sifri, and Sifra. Examples of it pervade Exodus, chapters xxi. and xxii. The paraphrast shows himself in Gen. i. 3,

where he says that light was created לְאִנְהָרָא עֲלֵהָא,  
*for the upper illumination.* In xxi. 12, he gives as a reason for Abraham obeying Sarah דִּבְנֵי יִצְחָק הֵיא,  
*because she was a prophetess.* Compare also the addition in Gen. xv. 6. Sometimes he seeks, by explanatory additions from the Midrash, to remove the difficulty of a Biblical passage, as in Gen. xlv. 27, justifying the number seventy; and in Exod. xii. 41, where the four hundred years in Egypt are accounted for.

The language of this Targum shows it to be of Palestinian origin, as it is in what is called the Jerusalem dialect, like that of the Jerusalem Talmud, but with many peculiarities. It is far from being pure, because the Syriac had deeply affected it. Foreign elements enter into it largely.

A few historical notices enable us to fix the date of the work pretty closely. In Exod. xxvi. 9 the six orders of the Mishna are mentioned; in Num. xxiv. 19-24, Constantinople is alluded to; and a wish is expressed for the downfall of the west-Roman empire, Num. xxiv. 19-24. The Jewish calendar was fixed, as we learn from Gen. i. 14. The names of two of Mohammed's wives, Fatima and Khadijah, are also given (Gen. xxi. 21). Thus

the paraphrase was not prior to the middle of the 7th century. This late date leads us to expect a strong mixture of foreign words in the work, Greek, Latin, and Persian. These had been imported into the Palestinian dialect of the time through the vicissitudes of the people and their country; and no language could have withstood the influences from without to which it was subject. Its individuality was lost. A collection of exotic expressions, tolerably full, may be found in Petermann (*De indole Paraphraseos quæ Jonathanis esse dicitur*, etc., p. 66, *et seq.*)

A very slight comparison of Jonathan with Onkelos will show that he had the latter before him. Many places attach themselves almost verbally to Onkelos, as Gen. xx. 1-15. Indeed one object which the pseudo-Jonathan had in view, was to give a criticism upon Onkelos. He corrects and alters him more or less. Where Onkelos paraphrases, Jonathan enlarges the paraphrase. The same attention to the work of his predecessor is shown in his halachic as in his hagadic interpretation; as also in the avoidance of anthropomorphisms and anthropopathisms. The divergences from Onkelos are sometimes slight, only such as dialectic difference required—sometimes important. And they are often superior to Onkelos; but sometimes the reverse. As his object was different, his production presents a great contrast on the whole; because he wished to act the part of an interpreter, not a translator. And there was another cause for divergence from Onkelos; he did not base his work *primarily* on the latter, but upon another paraphrase. In other words he worked upon Onkelos indirectly in the first instance, because his whole production rests on the basis of the Jerusalem Targum. Let us speak of the Jerusalem Targum before completing our observations on the pseudo-Jonathan.

*Jerusalem Targum on the Pentateuch.*—This is a fragmentary Targum, written in the same dialect substantially as that of the pseudo-Jonathan. It contains interpretations of select passages only, and generally agrees with the pseudo-Jonathan. Whole chapters are occasionally omitted, or a series of successive explanations is attached to a single expression. The principal question to be considered is, if it were at first a complete Targum. There is no proof that it was, because there is method in its present state. Nowhere does it break off so as to disturb and interrupt the sense. If it became fragmentary in the course of time, we should expect sudden stops. There is also a plan in it. It is mainly on the historical parts of the Pentateuch, or in other words, the most important. According to the proportions given by Zunz, Genesis alone has a third of it, Deuteronomy a fourth, Numbers a fifth; Exodus has four independent pieces, making about three-twentieths of the whole; and Leviticus has but one-fourteenth, because it is mainly halachic. Besides, the larger midrashim have a rounded and complete form, without interrupting the connection, thus evincing design in their compass. It should also be observed that passages where the poetical diction makes the meaning difficult or obscure are treated to a copious and connected paraphrase, while the easy ones are commonly omitted, as in Gen. v. 1-32; Exod. vi. 14-26. Hence we infer that it is now in its primitive state. If so, it cannot be a fragmentary recension of Jonathan. Yet their similarity is striking.



The hagada of the one regularly appears in the other, and has usually a more concise form in the Jerusalem Targum. Indeed, there is often a verbal agreement or nearly so between them, so that one might at first be inclined to assume their original identity; if not, that they are fundamentally the same work—the Jerusalem containing variations to the other, or being a fragmentary recension of it. To the latter opinion Zunz has given the sanction of his great name. Against it are many phenomena, especially the fact that the work is complete and rounded off in many parts. And though the similarity of Jonathan and the Jerusalem is considerable, there is so much divergence as to prove diversity of authorship. The dialect of both, though Palestinian, is not identical—that of the Jerusalem Targum being older, and reminding one of the Mishna, while that of Jonathan is liker the Talmud. Those common words in the

Mishna, *לָקַט* and *פָּרַט*, which the Jerusalem Targum leaves as they are, are Aramæised by Jonathan *לִקְטָא*, or translated *נִתְרָא* (Lev. xix. 9, 10).

And the Jerusalem has many Hebrew expressions, for which Jonathan has Aramæan ones, as in Gen. xxxiii. 4; Exod. xxiv. 8, etc. Again, the Jerusalem Talmud often cites the Biblical text unaltered, whilst Jonathan translates it into Aramæan even where he has the introductory formula *דִּבְרֵי כְפֻרְשֵׁי*. Thus in Gen. xv. 12, where the Jerusalem Targum leaves several words untranslated, Jonathan has the same Chaldaised. Besides, pseudo-Jonathan and the Jerusalem Targum differ in their angelology. The mystic and later element of the former's system is wanting in that of the latter (Gen. v. 24). The former has the names of angels belonging to a later and cabalistic time, such as those said to be present at the death of Moses (Deut. xxxiv. 6); the angelology of the latter is confined to a few traditional ideas about the functions of such spiritual beings (Gen. xviii. 1; xxxii. 27; Deut. xxxii. 3); and he knows only the Biblical name of one of them, Michael (Gen. xxxviii. 25). Again, while Jonathan has both hagadic and halachic matter in profusion, the Jerusalem Targum has its hagadas mostly as digressions and consciously, unlike the former; and its halacha is sparing. Comp. Gen. i. 55, and the illustrations of Frankel (*Zeitschrift für die religiöse Interessen des Judenthums* for 1846, pp. 116, 117).

It is also perceptible that the reverence of Onkelos for the name of God, shown in substituting the *Memra* or something intermediate, is not so excessive in Jonathan as in the Jerusalem Targum (Frankel in *Zeitschrift*, pp. 119, 120).

If such be the diversity of Jonathan and the Jerusalem Targum, they are not one work fundamentally; nor is the one a recension, now in fragments, of the other. How, then, is their resemblance to be explained? By the fact that both have relation to Onkelos. The author of the Jerusalem Targum worked upon that of Onkelos, his object being to correct it according to certain principles, and to insert in it a selection of hagadas current among the people. The pseudo-Jonathan afterwards resumed the same office, and completed what his predecessor had begun. The Jerusalem Targum formed the basis of Jonathan; and its own basis was that of Onkelos. Jonathan used

both his predecessors' paraphrases; the author of the Jerusalem Targum that of Onkelos alone.

We believe then that the small glossarial passages of the Jerusalem Targum are a critical commentary upon Onkelos. Here the author proceeds freely in using his predecessor. He rejects his acceptations of words, and gives closer acceptations for his freer ones. In many places where Onkelos's scrupulosity about removing anthropomorphisms from the text had obscured the sense, the Jerusalem Targum restores the original meaning by some addition or change. Thus in Gen. vi. 6, where Onkelos omits the name Jehovah and paraphrases, the Jerusalem Targum comes near the original text. Sometimes, where Onkelos Aramæises a Hebrew word, the Jerusalem Targum substitutes a genuine Aramæan one, as in Gen. viii. 22, where the *קִטָּא* of Onkelos is displaced for *שׁוּרְבָא*. So in Gen. xxxiv. 12, where Onkelos

has *מוֹהֲרִין וּמוֹתְנִין*, the Jerusalem Targum puts

*פּוֹרֵן וּכְתוּבָתָא*. *Vice versa*, the Jerusalem Targum often prefers a Hebrew word to Onkelos's Aramæan one, perhaps because the latter was better known in Palestine, as in Gen. xxii. 24. There is indeed no uniformity between Onkelos and Jerusalem in the use of Aramæan words, while consistent divergences may be readily traced.

The general object of the author of the Jerusalem Targum will be discerned from the preceding sketch. It was to correct and explain Onkelos, to adapt it to a later time and different country by enriching it with the hagadic matter which had accumulated, so that its deficiencies might be removed. From being a version, he wished to supplement it in various parts, so that it should be a paraphrase there. It is superfluous to remark that he has made many mistakes, and in not a few cases departed from Onkelos for the worse. Thus in Gen. vi. 3, where he departs from Onkelos, the explanation is altogether unsuitable, because he did not fully understand that of his predecessor. It is very strange that he should have confounded the Hebrew *אֱלֹהִים* with the Greek *ἄλλος*, and interpreted it *אֲוֹרֵן* (Gen. xxxv. 8). But we need not enumerate his errors, since Petermann has brought many of them together (p. 60, *et seq.*)

It is this fragmentary Jerusalem Targum to which Jonathan had regard in the first instance. He uses the larger paraphrases and hagadic parts of it as well as the smaller variations from Onkelos, always with discretion. Nowhere does he simply copy, but contracts, enlarges, elucidates. More commonly is the hagada of the Jerusalem Targum abridged. Thus in Gen. ii. 15 he omits the superfluous *וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה* of the Jerusalem Targum.

Comp. also Num. xii. 12. *מֹשֶׁה* is rendered *פֶּסֶק* by the Jerusalem Targum, but Jonathan follows Onkelos in giving it *עָרִי* (Exod. xiii. 22). *וְהָיָה* for the Hebrew *וְשָׁב* is frequent in Jonathan and Onkelos, but never occurs in the Jerusalem Targum, which has always *חָזַר* (Gen. xxvii. 45; Exod. xiv. 2, 27).

Nor does Jonathan follow Onkelos implicitly, but often diverges. If he does not adhere consistently to the Jerusalem Targum, we need not expect to see him copying Onkelos. Thus in Gen.



vii. 11, xxii. 24, he leaves Onkelos for the Jerusalem Targum. It should be observed, however, that Jonathan relies upon Onkelos much more than the Jerusalem Targum, which is freer and more independent. Thus the former follows Onkelos, and the latter departs from him, in Gen. xi. 30; xii. 6, 15; xiii. 6; xiv. 5, 21; xvi. 7, 15; xix. 31; xx. 18, etc. etc. The interval of time between the Jerusalem Targum and Jonathan cannot be determined exactly, but it must have been a century.

From these observations it will no longer be uncertain 'if the Targum of Jerusalem hath been a continued Targum, or only the notes of some learned Jew upon the margin of the Pentateuch, or an abridgment of Onkelos' (Allix's *Judgment of the Ancient Jewish Church*, etc., p. 88). All the guesses are incorrect.

The only objection to the hypothesis we have set forth, is the statement of Zunz, that as many citations made by older authors from the two Targums in question are now missing, an older and complete Jerusalem Targum is lost. But when we

consider the probable chances of passages being lost in the course of transcription, and of others being interpolated, as also the fact of variations in the editions, it need not be assumed in the face of internal evidence that they are *very* different now from what they were at first. Many of the passages cited by authors and now wanting, which Zunz has brought together, need such sifting and correction as Seligsohn has shown (in Frankel's *Monatschrift* for 1857, p. 113).

The view of the relation now given between Onkelos, the Jerusalem Targum, and pseudo-Jonathan, was briefly advocated by Frankel in his *Zeitschrift* for 1846 (p. 111, *et seq.*) with ability and success; and was afterwards satisfactorily established by Seligsohn and Traub in a prize-essay printed in Frankel's *Monatschrift* for 1857. We regret the premature death of Seligsohn, who had begun to work in this department with so much acuteness. The Jerusalem Targum may thus be called in a loose way the *first* recension of Onkelos, and Jonathan the *second*. We subjoin a specimen of the three in parallel columns.

# GENESIS, CHAPTER XXII. 10-19.

## ONKELOS.

And Abraham stretched forth his hand, and took the knife to immolate his son. And the angel of the Lord called him from the heavens and said, Abraham, Abraham; and he said, Here am I. And he said, Stretch not forth thy hand to the youth, nor do ought to him, for now I know that thou fearest God, and hast not spared thine only son for my sake. And Abraham lifted up his eyes after these [words] and looked, and behold a ram caught in a tree by his horns. And Abraham went and brought the ram, and offered him for a burnt-offering instead of his son. And Abraham worshipped and prayed in that place, saying before the Lord, Here generations shall worship; wherefore it shall be said on that day, On this mountain Abraham worshipped before the Lord. And the angel of the Lord called Abraham a second time from the heavens and said, By my word I have sworn, saith the Lord, because thou hast done this thing, and hast not spared thine only son, therefore with blessing I will bless thee, and multiplying I will multiply thy sons as the stars of heaven, and as the sand which is on the shore of the sea; and thy sons shall inherit the cities of their enemies. And all the peoples of the earth shall be blessed because of thy son, since thou hast obeyed my word. And Abraham returned to his young men, and they arose

## TARG. JERUS.

And Abraham stretched out his hand, and took the knife to slay his son Isaac. Isaac answered and said to Abraham his father, My father, bind my hands properly, lest in the hour of my affliction I tremble and confuse thee, and thy offering be found profane, and thou cast into the pit of destruction in the world to come. The eyes of Abraham reached to the eyes of Isaac; but the eyes of Isaac reached to the angels on high. Isaac beheld them; but Abraham saw them not. In that hour the angels on high came forth and said one to the other, Come, behold two righteous ones alone in the midst of the world; the one slayeth, the other is slain. He that slayeth does not defer, and he who is to be slain stretches out his neck.

And he said, Abraham, Abraham. Abraham answered, in the language of the sanctuary, and said, Here am I. And Abraham worshipped and prayed in the name of the word of the Lord and said, Thou art the Lord who seest and art not seen. I pray for mercies before thee, O Lord. It is wholly manifest and known before thee that there was no division in my heart at the time thou saidst to me to offer Isaac my son, and to make him dust and ashes before thee; but that immediately I rose up in the morning and performed thy word there with joy, and fulfilled thy word. And now I pray for mercies be-

## PSEUDO-JONATHAN.

And Abraham stretched out his hand and took the knife to slay his son. And Isaac answered and said to his father, Bind me properly, lest I should tremble through the affliction of my soul, and be cast into the pit of destruction, for profaneness shall be found in thy offering. The eyes of Abraham were intent upon the eyes of Isaac; and the eyes of Isaac were intent upon the angels on high. Isaac beheld them, but Abraham saw them not. The angels on high answered, Come, behold how these are alone in the world; the one slays the other; he who slays delays not; he that is slain, reaches forth his neck. And the angel of the Lord called him from the heavens, and said to him, Abraham, Abraham; and he said, Here am I. Then he said, Stretch not out thy hand to the young man, nor do him any harm, for now it is manifest before me that thou fearest the Lord, and hast not withheld thy son, thy only begotten, from me. Then Abraham lifted up his eyes and looked, and behold, a ram which had been created between the evenings of the foundation of the world was caught in the entanglement of a tree by his horns. So Abraham went and took him, and offered him for a burnt-offering instead of his son. And Abraham gave thanks, and prayed there in that place, and said, I pray through the mercies that are

## ONKELOS.

and went together to Beersheba ; and Abraham dwelt in Beersheba.

## TARG. JERUS.

fore thee, O Lord God, that when the children of Isaac offer in the hour of necessity, thou wouldest remember the binding of Isaac their father to them, and remit and pardon their sins, and deliver them from all necessity. That the generations to follow may say, In the mountain of the house of the sanctuary of the Lord did Abraham offer Isaac his son ; and upon this mountain, which is the house of the sanctuary, the glory of the Shechinah of the Lord was manifested to him.

## PSEUDO-JONATHAN.

before thee, O Lord ; it is manifested before thee that it was not deepness in my heart to turn away from doing thy decree with joy. Now when the children of Isaac my son shall offer in the hour of affliction, be thou mindful of them, and hear them, and deliver them ; and let all generations to come say, In this mountain Abraham bound Isaac his son, and the Shechinah of the Lord was revealed to him there.

And the angel of the Lord called to Abraham a second time from the heavens, and said, By my word have I sworn, saith the Lord, as thou hast done this thing and hast not withheld thy son, thine only begotten, that in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy sons as the stars of the heavens, and they shall be as the sand which is on the shore of the sea, and thy sons shall inherit the cities before their enemies. And all the people of the earth shall be blessed through the righteousness of thy son, because thou hast obeyed my word. And the angels on high took Isaac and brought him into the school of the great Shem ; and he abode there three years. And on the same day Abraham returned to his young men ; and they arose and went together to Beersheba, and Abraham dwelt in Beersheba.

A commentary was written upon the pseudo-Jonathan and Jerusalem Targums by R. David ben Jacob, Prague 1609, 4to ; and another by R. Pheibel ben David, Hanau 1614, 4to. The latter is only an exposition of the more difficult words, including those in Onkelos also. R. Mardochai ben Naphtali is the author of another commentary on Jonathan and the Targ. Jerus., Amsterdam 1671, fol. The Targ. Jerusalem was first printed at Venice by Bomberg, 1518, in his Rabbinical Bible. It was repeated in the following Rabbinical Bibles of Bomberg, and in the great Polyglotts. Since its publication by Walton in 1657, it has also appeared at Wilna 1852, and Vienna 1859. A Latin version of it, by Francis Tayler, appeared at London 1649, 4to ; and a more correct one, by Antony Chevalier, in Walton's Polyglott, 1657. An English translation was made by Etheridge, with his translation of Onkelos and the pseudo-Jonathan, London 1862, 1865, 12mo.

The Targ. pseudo-Jonathan was first published at Venice in 1591. It is in the London Polyglott. It was published with the Pentateuch at Hanau 1614, Amsterdam 1640, Prague 1646, Amsterdam 1671 and 1703, Berlin 1705 ; all these, as well as the editio princeps, having Onkelos and the Jerus. Targ. It is also in the Wilna (1852) and Vienna editions (1859). A Latin version was made by

Antony Chevalier, in Walton (vol. iv.) Etheridge has put it into English.

Zunz supposes that the Jerusalem Targum, or rather, as it should be called, the Palestinian one, extended to the prophetic books also ; and justifies his opinion by the following particulars, which we give in his order :—Abudraham cites such a Targum on one passage in the book of Samuel (1 Sam. ix. 13) ; and D. Kimchi has preserved fragments

of a תרגום של תוספתא, or simply תוספתא, to Judges xi. 1 (47 words) ; 1 Sam. xvii. 8 (106 words) ; 1 Kings xxii. 21 (68 words) ; 2 Kings iv. 1 (174 words) ; iv. 6 (55 words) ; iv. 7 (72 words) ; xiii. 21 (9 words). But Luzzatto doubts whether these passages belonged to a *Jerusalem* Targum, because they agree in dialect with the Babylonian Talmud ; and thinks them of Babylonian origin. Passages from a Jerusalem Talmud are quoted by Rashi (on Isaiah lxvi.), Abudraham (Isaiah liv. 11), and Farissol (Isaiah lxvi.) ; which agree, in part, with a fragment in a Vatican MS. (Cod. Urbin. No. 1), about 130 words. A Jerusalem Targum on Jeremiah is quoted by D. Kimchi ; one on Ezekiel by R. Simeon, R. Nathan, and D. Kimchi. Rashi was acquainted with a Jerusalem Targum on Micah ; and a fragment belonging to such a Targum on Zechariah is contained in Cod. Kennicott.



No. 154, written 1106, first published by Bruns. Rashi speaks of a Targum on the prayer of Habakkuk (iii. 1). De Rossi, too, knew of a Targum on the 3d chapter of Hab., which differed entirely from that of Jonathan (Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vortr.* pp. 77, 78). We fear that this cannot be supplemented by contributions from a MS. which Luzzatto procured from Africa, written on paper in 1487, and containing a Targum on the Prophets and Psalms, Job and Samuel; because, though it contains passages marked Tosefta (additional Targum), the *Targum of Jerusalem* upon it was put by some copyist. The fragments of this *additional* Targum relate to 1 Sam. xviii. 19; 2 Sam. xii. 12; 1 Kings v. 9, 11, 13; x. 18, 20; xiv. 13; Hosea i. 1; Obadiah 21; and are all printed by Luzzatto (see Geiger's *Zeitschrift*, vol. v. p. 132, *et seq.*) Zunz, after referring to the natural conjecture that the Jerusalem Targum on the Prophets embraced nothing more than the Haphtaroth or lessons, remarks that the idea is untenable, because the expressions of the authors who allude to it go to show that they had seen Targums upon entire books. This may be so. But the existence of an entire Targum of Palestine on all the prophets is problematical. Some books may have received such a paraphrase; on others, and those the great majority of the prophetic books, there is reason to doubt its existence. It is more probable that *portions* were treated paraphrastically in the spirit of the later hagada; portions selected on no definite principle, but adopted by the fancy or liking of paraphrasts.

The *Targums on the Hagiographa* are usually divided into three groups, viz.—1. Job, Psalms, Proverbs; 2. The five Megilloth; 3. Daniel, Chronicles, and Ezra. Of these, the first is the oldest, and possesses the same linguistic character, so that its different parts must have been nearly contemporaneous. Zunz supposes that its birth-place was Syria. The second was probably later, and was made in a different locality. The tradition that R. Joseph the Blind was the author of this Targum, is already contradicted by writers of the 13th century. Internal evidence shows that all were considerably later than the 4th century. The earliest could scarcely have existed before the 6th century; the latest may belong to the 8th or 9th. Indeed all range themselves in the cycle of that comprehensive Palestinian Targum spoken of by Jewish writers under the appellation of 'Targum Jerushalmi,' which was made in portions at different times, and appeared perhaps in more than one recension. That it was post-Talmudic is apparent from Targ. on Canticles i. 2.

The *Targum on the Book of Job* is of late date and hagadical. Mention is made of a paraphrase on this part of Scripture as early as the middle of the 1st century. The book presented a peculiar temptation to Chaldee expositors, not only from its difficulty, but its adaptation to allegorising fancies. The first thing that strikes the reader is the existence of a double Targum here, at least in many places. After one interpretation, which is always free in character, another still more paraphrastic is annexed with the introductory תרגום אחר, *another Targum* (comp. xxviii. 7, 8, 18). The extraneous insertions are very numerous, uncertain, fabulous, and incorrect. Thus at ii. 1 we read: 'And the three friends of Job heard of all the evil that had come upon him when they had

seen the trees of his garden burnt up, and the bread of his food changed into living flesh, and the wine of his drink into blood; and they came each one from his place, and for this service they were delivered from the place appointed them in Gehenna.' In i. 15 the words of the original ותפל נופלת בהכף לילית מומלת שבה are rendered זמרנר, *and the Queen of Samarcand (?) suddenly rushed in.* If Samarcand be really mentioned here, the date is late. One thing is certain, that the phrase עקירת יצחק, 'the binding of Isaac,' to denote Abraham's time, is recent. The word

אנגלי (angel) is used in xv. 15; xx. 27; xxxv. 10, which cannot be of early fabrication. The work is a growth belonging to various times and writers, of which the beginning and end cannot be precisely determined. The best separate edition of the Targum on Job is that of John Terentius, professor at Franeker, 1663, 4to. The chief value of this edition is not in the text, which is taken from Buxtorf, nor in the Latin translation, which is that of the Polyglotts as corrected by Arias Montanus, but in the notes, pp. 125-312, consisting of various readings and explanations of Chaldee words. John Mercier also published the Latin version of Alphonso de Zamora, with notes, at Franeker 1663, 4to; and Victorius Scialac translated it into Latin, Rome 1618, 8vo.

The *Targum on the Psalms* is not so hagadic or diffuse as that of Job. Sometimes it follows the original with a tolerable degree of closeness, as in Ps. i. iii. v. vi. etc. In more cases, however, it indulges in prolix digressions, absurd fables, and commonplace remarks. Two or three different versions of the same text occasionally follow one another without remark, though the introductory notice תרגום אחר sometimes precedes (comp. Ps. cx. 1). The additions to the text are often inappropriate, the sense distorted, the titles wrongly paraphrased, and fables are abundant. Thus in Ps. cx. 1 the paraphrase has: 'The Lord said in his word that he would appoint me lord of all Israel; but he said to me again, Wait for Saul, who is of the tribe of Benjamin, till he die, because he does not agree in the kingdom with an associate; and afterwards I will make thine enemies thy footstool;' to which is subjoined תרגום אחר thus—'The Lord said in his word that he would give me the dominion because I was intent upon the doctrine of the law of his right hand: wait till I make thine enemy the footstool of thy feet.' In the second Psalm the words נשקני בר are rendered קבילי אולפנא, *receive instruction.* Of fables we have one about David hid in the cave (lvii. 3); that God created a spider which spread its web over the mouth of the cave, so that Saul concluded none had entered or was concealed in it. We have also the Talmudic legends about the wonderful ox that grazes upon a thousand mountains every day (l. 10); the miraculous bird, whose feet reach to the bottom of the sea, while its body floats on the surface and its head touches heaven (l. 11); as well as leviathan, whom the Messiah, after subduing the kings of the earth, gives to the Jews to feast upon (civ. 26). אודיתא (vii. 1) seems to be the Greek ὀδῆ (vii. 1); and אנגלי, *angels of*, occurs in Ps. l. 4; lxviii. 18; lxxvi. 8, as in Job. On



the whole, the general language and style resemble the Jerusalem Targum on the Pentateuch (comp. cxxi. 5, and many others). This paraphrase was printed in Justiniani's Polyglott Psalter (Genoa 1516, folio); and in the Hexaglott edition of the Psalter published at Rostock 1643, folio. Arias Montanus's Latin version is contained in the Antwerp and following Polyglotts (1572, 1645, 1657). Like the Targum on Job, this one is an accumulation of expositions extending over centuries.

The Targum on Proverbs presents more of the character of a version than a paraphrase, for it adheres more closely to the original text than that of the Psalms, and is not hagadic. Nor does it seem to contain fragments of a second recension, if xxv. 20 be not an example. Departures from the Hebrew are few and of small extent, as in xi. 15, where it has, 'The wicked man acts badly against the righteous man, in that he stands surety for a stranger, and hates those who place their hope in God.' Occasionally the original is misunderstood, unless perhaps another reading was followed, as in xi. 4, where הוֹן *riches*, is rendered נִשְׁקָרָה *falsehood*; and in x. 20, where כְּמַעַט is represented by מַחֲתָה *contrition*.

It has been frequently noticed that this Targum has a remarkable agreement with the Syriac version. So close is the likeness, that the very choice and position of the words in both is often the same. Take the following as an example, in which we give the Syriac and Chaldee in succession, after the manner of Eichhorn, who has the first five verses of the first chapter in a similar form.

סִבְיָה וְנִסְמָלָה וְנִסְמָלָה וְנִסְמָלָה  
סִבְיָה וְנִסְמָלָה וְנִסְמָלָה וְנִסְמָלָה  
לְכָל מַחֲתָה לְכָל מַחֲתָה לְכָל מַחֲתָה  
לְכָל מַחֲתָה

הִירִין תִּתְּבִין צִדְקָתָה וְדִינָה וְתִרְצוּתָה דְּכָל שְׂבָלִי  
שְׂפִירִי : אֲרִי תַעֲלֵה חֲכָמָתָה לְלִבִּי וְיִדְעָתָה לְנִפְשִׁי  
יִבְרָם : (ii. 9. 10.)

It is also observable, that where the one departs from the Masoretic text, the other does the same. Thus for פֶּקַעְסָם, Prov. vii. 22, both read with the

Septuagint כְּכֶלֶב *like a dog* (ὡς περ κύνων). Many other examples are given by Dathe, such as xxvi. 10; xxvii. 16; xxx. 13, etc.

In xxii. 16 the Chaldee and Syriac agree in the various reading, 'He who injures a poor man multiplies evil to himself'; and he who gives to the rich, poverty will be to him'—i.e. דַּעֲשֵׂק לְמִסְכֵּנָה מִסֵּי : לֵיהּ בִּישְׁתָּה

In x. 3, for הוֹן both read הוֹן, contrary however to the LXX. (Dathe, *De ratione consensus versionis Chaldaicae et Syriacae Proverbiorum Solomonis*, p. vi.) The same paraphrastic additions appear in both, as in Prov. xiv. 14; xxviii. 1, 4.

How is this similarity to be accounted for? Dathe supposes that the Chaldee interpreter was dependent on the Syriac, and endeavours to prove his position by many pertinent arguments, such as that the Syriac explains Aramaean departures from

the Hebrew most naturally, and that many Syriasm in words, forms, and orthography appear in the version, which are otherwise unknown to Chaldee, or at least are very rare. Eichhorn takes the same view. But Hävernicks denies the use of the one by the other, endeavouring to account for their similarity by the cognate dialects in which both are written, the identity of country in which they had their origin, and their literality. The latter opinion is much less probable than the former, because it does not account for so many phenomena. Thus in Prov. xxix. 5 the Syriac renders קְרִיָּה, *a city*, כְּבִרְבָּה, but the Targumist has כְּבִרְבָּה *falsehood*, apparently because he mistook the Syriac for כְּבִרְבָּה. The Syriasm which have been adduced, such as אֶלְיָן for הוֹיָה, xxv. 20; אֶלְיָן for אֶלְיָן

כִּי־נָּ in the third person of the future of the verb for יִ; the pure Syriac adverb מִסְרִיבָּהִית for אֲרִי, etc. (Dathe, p. xvi.);

are not a valid argument, because the birthplace of the version will explain them. We are more inclined to believe that, the Targum having been made in Syria, the Syriac as well as the Hebrew was consulted, or rather the Greek, through the medium of the Syriac. While the Hebrew was the basis, the Syriac was freely used.

The Syriac and Chaldee often disagree. Sometimes the latter coincides with the Hebrew against the former, as in ii. 12; viii. 7; xi. 20, etc. etc. Sometimes again it forsakes both and follows a way of its own, as in xi. 19; xviii. 1; xxi. 14, etc. etc. Hence a uniform dependence of the Aramaean upon the Syriac cannot be sustained; and the only probable assumption is that several sources were used by the paraphrasts.

The text is very corrupt. It abounds with countless errors, as Luzzatto has shown (*Philoxenus*, p. 132). The Targum on Proverbs was translated into Latin by John Mercier, and published at Paris 1561, 4to.

The Chaldee paraphrases of Job, Psalms, and Proverbs, together with that of the five Megilloth, are in the Rabbinical Bible of Venice, 1518 and those that followed it, whence they passed into Buxtorf's, and into the Polyglotts. Alphonso de Zamora's Latin version of Job and Proverbs, revised by Arias Montanus, was printed in the Antwerp and following Polyglotts.

The three Targums on Job, Psalms, and Proverbs, are usually put together; and Hävernicks goes so far as to contend that they were made by one and the same person. But that view is certainly incorrect, notwithstanding the particular phenomena quoted in favour of it, such as the kindred *usus loquendi* in the three; *ex. gr.* *nun* appended in the 3d plural preterite of peal (Prov. ix. 11); the infinitive with *נ* prefixed; קִיאָם (Prov. xxiv. 16) with the signification of Kal; נָּ = נָּ to commit

adultery (Prov. vi. 29, 32), גִּיּוּר, adulterer (xxx. 22, and Targum on Job xxxvi. 20); נִימוּס, *vñmos*, Syriac נִימוּסָה, for תּוֹרָה; יוֹמָנָה, *daily*, to expect (Hävernicks, *Einleit.* i. 2, p. 87, note). Surely identity of place, period, and prevailing dialect is a sufficient explanation of these peculiarities. So far from the same person having



made them all, it is tolerably clear that none of them proceeded from a single individual in its present state. Even that which is the most literal and free from hagadic matter bears the traces of various hands. Zunz supposes that the three belong to the cycle of the comprehensive Jerusalem Talmud on the Pentateuch, which embraced not only the Mosaic books, but the hagiographa, and probably the prophets also. They were a Palestinian production, and made gradually. Some parts we possess complete; others only in fragments. It is impossible to tell the times when the different books were translated into Chaldee; but one thing is certain, that they are all pretty late. As far as Job, Psalms, and Proverbs, are concerned, the last is older than the first two. The view of Zunz is confirmed by the fact that a Jerusalem Targum on the Psalms, Job, Proverbs, and the Song of Solomon is actually mentioned by Nachmanides, or cited by him, and in the Aruch, the quotation agreeing with the present paraphrases (Zunz, *Gottes Vor.* pp. 80, 81).

*The Targum on the five Megilloth*—i.e. on Ruth, Esther, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, and the Lamentations—was probably made by different persons, as internal evidence appears to show. But Zunz thinks otherwise. The whole work is a midrashic paraphrase, exceedingly free and loose in character, containing legends, fables, allusions to Jewish history, and many fanciful additions. The whole bears the impress of a date considerably posterior to the Talmudic time, and is written in an intermediate dialect between the west Aramæan of Job, Psalms, and Proverbs, and the east Aramæan of the Babylonian Talmud. The least hagadic is Ruth; the most rhapsodical that of Canticles. As a specimen of *Ruth* take ii. 10, 11: 'Why have I found pity in thine eyes to know me, and I of a strange people, of the daughters of Moab, and of a people who are not clean to enter into the church of the Lord? And Boaz answered and said to her, In telling it has been told me by the saying of the wise men, which, when the Lord decreed, he did not decree respecting women, but men; and it was said to me in prophecy that kings and prophets are about to spring from thee on account of the good thou hast done, etc.' Among the fables we may specify that in iv. 22: 'And Obed begat Jesse, who was called Nachash, because iniquity and corruption were not found in him, that he should be delivered into the hands of the angel of death to recover his soul from him; and he lived many days, till the counsel was remembered before the Lord which the serpent gave to Eve the wife of Adam to eat of the tree, inasmuch as those eating of its fruit are wise to distinguish between good and evil; and by this counsel all the inhabitants of the earth were liable to death, and in this iniquity Jesse the righteous fell.' In various instances the sense is perverted, as in i. 2 and iv. 7, 8. This Targum was published separately with a Latin translation and scholia by John Mercier, Paris 1564, 4to.

*The paraphrase on Lamentations* is more midrashic than that on Ruth, but of the same type, being copiously interwoven with pieces of history, allegories, fables, reflections, etc. Among the absurd stories we may instance that in v. 3. 'Upon the joining of our necks we were burthened when we went into captivity. Nebuchadnezzar the wicked saw the prefects of the children of Israel who went

empty, and he commanded that they should sew together the books of the law and make wallets of them; and they filled them with stones which were on the bank of the Euphrates, and loaded them upon their necks; and at that time we were labouring, there was no rest for us.' Wolfius says that he remembers reading of the Targum on Lamentations being published, with the text and commentaries of Rashi and Ibn Ezra, at London 1651; but we cannot discover a trace of such an edition.

*The Targum on Ecclesiastes* is more midrashic than that of Lamentations, the author having given a free rein to his imagination, and made copious insertions. Thus we read in i. 2: 'When Solomon king of Israel saw by the prophetic spirit that the kingdom of Rehoboam his son would be divided with Jeroboam the son of Nebat; and that Jerusalem and the house of the sanctuary would be destroyed, and that the people of the children of Israel would go into captivity; he said by his word: Vanity of vanities is this world; vanity of vanities is all that I and my father David have toiled for; it is altogether vanity.' The sense is frequently distorted, as in iv. 9, 10; vii. 5; xii. 11; and fables occur like that in x. 20, about Raziel the angel crying daily from heaven upon Mount Horeb with a voice reaching through the whole world; and Elijah the high-priest flying in the air like a winged eagle and telling the things done in secret to all the inhabitants of the earth. The Targum on Ecclesiastes was published along with that on Canticles, and both translated also into Latin by Schreckenfuchs, at Basel 1553, 8vo; also by John Mercier, Paris 1562, 4to. The Latin translations of Peter Costi (Lyons 1554, 4to) and Alphonso de Zamora were printed in Pineda's *Commentary* 1619, fol. It has been translated into English by Ginsburg in his *Commentary on Ecclesiastes*; but we are far from thinking with him that its importance to historical exegesis is incalculable.

*The Targum on Canticles* is the most hagadic of all, and hardly deserves the name of a paraphrase, because the words of the original are completely covered by extravagant and inflated expressions which refer to another subject. The paraphrast has indulged in the greatest licence, and allowed his imagination to run riot in a multiplicity of ways. He has composed a panegyric on his people, whose history and praises are held up to general admiration. God having loved Israel more than the seventy nations of the world, is highly pleased with his choice; for according to viii. 13, 'The Lord of the world shall say to the congregation of Israel, in the end of days: O thou congregation of Israel, like to a garden, the least among the nations and dwelling in the house of learning with the companions of the Sanhedrim, and the rest of the people who hearken to the voice of the head of the school and learn his words from his mouth; cause me to hear the law, the voice of thy words when thou sittest to justify and condemn, and I will consent to all that thou wilt do.'

He has the fable respecting two Messiahs, one the son of David, the other the son of Ephraim (iv. 5); and expects wonderful things from the Messiah when he shall have set his people free and led them back to Palestine. Thus we read in viii. 1, 2: 'When the King the Messiah shall be revealed to the congregation of Israel, the children of Israel shall say unto him: Be thou with us for a brother and let us go up to Jerusalem, and let us



suck with thee sentences of the law as a sucking-child sucks the breasts of its mother, etc. etc. . . . I will lead thee, O King the Messiah, and introduce thee into the house of my sanctuary, and thou shalt teach me to fear before the Lord, and to walk in his ways; and there we will keep the feast of Leviathan and drink old wine which has been hidden in its grapes since the day the world was created, and eat of the pomegranates which are prepared for the righteous in the garden of Eden.'

His ignorance is seen in confounding Alexander the Great with Antiochus Epiphanes (vi. 8); and in mistaking Ezekiel's vision for real history, since the prophet is said to have raised the dead in the plain of Dura (vii. 9). There is also a fair proportion of Rabbinic fables (comp. iv. 1, 12). After these specimens few will agree with the learned Broughton, that the paraphrase 'is worth our study, both for delight and profit;' or with the preposterous praise of Delitzsch, who does not hesitate to say that 'the Jerusalem Targum in its two recensions, and the *Targums of the five Megilloth*, are the most beautiful natural works of art, penetrated by the golden thread of Scripture, etc.' (*Zur Geschichte der jüdische Poesie*, 1836, 8vo, p. 135).

The Targum on Canticles was published, along with that on Ecclesiastes, and accompanied by a Latin translation made by Schreckenfuchs, at Basel 1553, 8vo. It was afterwards printed by itself at Amsterdam 1660, 8vo; with the Pirke Aboth at the end. Other editions appeared in 1619, 4to, Venice; 1683, Amsterdam, 4to; 1672, Venice, 8vo. It was translated into Latin by Schreckenfuchs, as already stated; and into English by Gill, at the end of his commentary on the Song.

There is a *triple Targum on Esther*, or to speak more correctly, a double one—a first and second. The so-called *second* Targum, in addition to the first or usual one, was published in the Rabbinical Bibles of Bomberg 1518, 1525-1526, 1547-1549; and in those of Venice, dated 1568, 1617 respectively. The first and second were likewise published together in 1590, Venice, 8vo; 1614, Hanau; 1640, Amsterdam, 4to; 1646, 8vo, same place; 1607, Basel; 1718, Frankfurt-on-the-Maine. The first was inserted in the third vol. of the Antwerp Polyglott. The London Polyglott has the second, after the example of Buxtorf, who has it alone in his Rabbinical Bible. The first is only an abridgment of the second; and they may be properly called one. Persons unacquainted with Chaldee may see the proportions between them by comparing the Latin version in Walton with that of Arias Montanus in the Antwerp Polyglott, because the former has the small portion corresponding to the latter's Targum in a different type. The correspondence indeed is not exact; but it is nearly so. The third Targum (second properly) was first published by Tayler in Latin, 1655, 4to. The editor gave no account of the MS. from which his version was made. The first is naturally concise in character. It is free from digressions and fables, adhering closely to the text itself. The second has perpetual digressions from the original, endless fables, absurd and trifling circumstances. It is wholly midrashic. The third is the most prolix of all. Here the little book has swelled out into a volume of useless matter. The third is of later origin than the second, made by some one who set about his task with larger ideas of extent than the

compiler of the second, but who evidently became weary as he proceeded, for he is less diffuse towards the end. A single specimen of the second must suffice.

In the second we read thus at the beginning, ch. i. 2: 'In those days when king Ahasuerus sought to sit on the throne of king Solomon, which was taken away from Jerusalem by the hands of Shishak king of Egypt, and was withdrawn from Egypt by the hands of Sennacherib, but had been taken from the hands of Sennacherib and brought back to Jerusalem; but was again taken by the hands of Pharaoh, the lame king of Egypt, and from Egypt carried away by the hands of Nebuchadnezzar and brought to Babylon; but when Cyrus was desolating the province of Babel, he carried it away to Elam; and afterwards when Ahasuerus reigned and sought to sit upon it, he could not. He sent therefore, and brought workmen from Alexandria to make one like it, but they could not. They made, however, one inferior to it, in the fabrication of which they were employed two years; and then at length, in the third year of his reign, he sat upon the throne of his kingdom, which the workmen made for him in Shushan, the metropolis.' This same fable is repeated and amplified in the third Targum, ch. i. 2. Compare also in the last Targum the order and mode in which Haman and his sons were hanged, ch. ix. 9. Absurd explanations of other Scriptures are not unfrequent—*ex. gr.* ch. i. 4, from Haggai ii. 9.

The Targum on the five Megilloth was published at Venice 1524, fol., along with the Hebrew text and Rashi's commentary. In addition to the Targum on the other hagiographa, it is in the Rabbinical Bible of Venice 1518, and the rest that followed it; in Buxtorf's, and the Polyglotts of Antwerp, Paris, and London. The best edition of all together is in the London Polyglott. There was also an edition, the same as the fol. one of 1524, with a German translation of the more difficult words by R. Jacob Kappel or Ben Samuel ben Boner, published by Froben without a date. R. Meir and R. Mordechai ben Jeichiel wrote Hebrew commentaries on it, the first published in 1614; the second in 1580.

A *Targum on Chronicles* was long unknown. In the 17th century, M. F. Beck found the MS. of one in the library of Erfurt; and published it at Augsburg in 1680-1683, 2 vols. 4to. The MS. has many chasms, especially in the first fourteen chapters. Such as it is, it was well edited; the editor accompanying the text with a Latin version, and with learned annotations in which Chaldee expressions are illustrated and the version compared not only with the Hebrew original but with other ancient translations. The same Targum was afterwards published by Wilkins at Amsterdam 1715, 4to, from a MS. in the University of Cambridge, formerly belonging to Erpenius. Here the text is complete, so that the lacunæ in Beck's edition are filled up. Like its predecessor, it has also a Latin version; but there are no notes. It speaks badly for the editor's knowledge that he has put on the title-page R. Joseph as the author (though Beck was of the same opinion); and that he has made him rector of the academy in Syria instead of Sora in Babylonia. Language, style, and manner, show that the Targum is of late and Palestinian origin. It is full of hagadic paraphrasing. Zunz remarks that it sometimes tran-



scribes the Jerusalem Targum on the Pentateuch verbally, as in the genealogical table of the first chapter (comp. ver. 51 with the Jer. Targ. on Gen. xxxvi. 39). So also in the Psalm-passages in 1 Chron. xvi., its words often coincide with the Targum on Psalms 105 and 96. In 1 Chron. v. 10, the name of Hungary appears, which was not known till after the 4th century; and the late fable of the Jews about 'the mountains of darkness' is alluded to in 1 Chron. v. 26. The origin of it cannot be put higher than the 8th century. We need hardly state that it abounds with fables, especially in the explanation of proper names (comp. i. 20); that it inserts many incorrect expositions, such as that Laban the Syrian was the same with Balaam, and was slain by Phinehas in the wilderness, etc. etc. (i. 44, 45); and that it has many Greek words (comp. i. 20; ii. 53, etc.) Both editions must be used by the critic; the first, for the learned notes; the second, for the more correct and complete text, as Eichhorn pertinently remarks.

The existence of a *Targum on Daniel* was first noticed by Munk, who thinks that he found it in a MS. in the Imperial Library at Paris (No. 45 du fonds de St. Germain-des-Près). The MS., however, contains only a Persian Targum, giving an apocryphal account of Daniel. According to the

learned writer this קצת דניאל, or *History of Daniel*, was taken from a Targum on Daniel in Chaldee. The first words are certainly written in Chaldee. They are then repeated in Persian, and the history continues in the latter language. After several legends known to the other Targums a long prophecy of Daniel follows, proving that the book was written after the first crusade. Not only are Mohammed and his successors spoken of, but also a king who shall come from Europe and go as far as Damascus. The critic concludes that the Persian treatise was written in the 12th century while the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem was still in existence; and proposes to publish the whole with a translation, which he has not yet done (*Notice sur Rabbi Saadia Gaon et sa version Arabe d'Isaïe*, p. 87). We must express our doubts about such a Chaldee paraphrase on Daniel, in the absence of all proof that the Persian was made from the Chaldee; for a few Chaldee words at the beginning are no argument in favour of it. All that Munk communicates—i.e. part of a page—is insufficient to warrant us in accepting the fact. Yet Steinschneider has referred to 'a Targum on Daniel' simply on the authority of Munk's notice (*Catalogus librorum Hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*). No Targum upon Daniel is extant as far as we yet know; and it is very doubtful whether one was ever made. The reason assigned in the Talmud for not rendering the book into Chaldee is that it reveals the precise time of Messiah's advent. A good part of the book is already in Chaldee. Nor is there any Targum, as far as is known, upon Ezra and Nehemiah. Part of Ezra is already Chaldee; and Nehemiah was counted with it as one book.

To the Roman edition of the LXX. of Daniel, published in 1772, a Chaldee version is added of the apocryphal pieces in *Esther*. This has been printed by De Rossi, accompanied by a Latin version, remarks, and dissertations (*Specimen variarum lectionum sacri textus et Chaldaica Estheris addita-menta*, etc., Tübing. 1783, 8vo).

It is probable that the Targums were written at first without vowels. When the vocalisation of the Hebrew Bible was enlarged and completed by the Masoretes, a similar degree of attention was not given to the Targums. Subsequently their editors endeavoured to punctuate them. None laboured so much as Buxtorf to correct the punctuation and bring it as near as possible to the standard of that in Daniel and Ezra; for which some censured him, though we believe unjustly. It is no reproach to his memory to say that he did not perfect their vocalisation.

In the present uncritical state of their text, the Targums can hardly be employed with much advantage in the criticism of the Hebrew original. They show the substantial integrity of the Masoretic text. Though they have been without doubt conformed to it occasionally, it is improbable that such corruption was practised to any great extent, or uniformly.

We form a very moderate opinion of their utility in the province of interpretation. The time has gone by when it was supposed that they were important in proving certain Christian doctrines. Though scholars like Walton, Wolf, and Carpov were of this opinion, and Allix exaggerated it in one point with polemical rancour; it will not be thought by any who are well acquainted with the Hebrew Bible that their application to justify Christian doctrine is dogmatically correct.

Perhaps most Jews attach too much value to these national works. However interesting historically, their intrinsic value is small at the present day; but they flatter the national pride, and abound with fables of the same tendency. On the other hand, Christians have despised them too much, from the days of John Morin downwards. Though Morin was a real scholar, and generally knew the subjects about which he wrote as well as most persons of his time, he should not have dwelt so much on the fables and absurdities of the Targums. It is the ignorant and indiscriminate abuse of these writers that demands rebuke. The words of Father Simon, to whom criticism owes so much, equally judicious and correct, deserve to be quoted here, especially as they express our own view. *Omnes istæ Paraphrases, præter illam Onkelosi et Jonathanis, non magnæ mihi utilitatis esse videntur, nec forsân multum e re fecit, illas curiosæ quæsiisse. Non quanta tamen multis existimatur, illarum utilitas: ex adverso Judæi ex illis arma adversus Christianos depromunt, sibi fingentes, nobis ipsorum superstitiones aniles et absurdas probari, quasi veteribus versionibus quibus conjunguntur a nobis equiparentur. Præterea videntur Judaici ritus et cerimonie iis magis quam fides Christiana confirmari: incerta itaque et anceps ex illis ducta contra Judæos victoria. Quid quod quæ nostræ fidei juvenia credimus, pleraque veræ sunt allegoriæ, quas non operosum verbis alio convertere; neque enim religio allegoriis probatur.* (*Hist. Crit. Vet. T. lib. ii. cap. 18.*)

Besides the general introductions to the O. T. of Eichhorn, Hävernick, De Wette, and Bleek, the reader may consult Davidson's *Treatise on Biblical Criticism*, vol. i.; Wolf's *Bibliotheca*, vol. ii.; Walton's *Prolegomena*, ed. Dathe; Smith's *Dialectica de Chaldaicis Paraphrasis*; Schickard's *Bechinath Happerushim*; Azaria De Rossi's *Meor Enayim*; Morin's *Exercitationes Ecclesiasticæ et Biblicæ*; Simon's *Historia Critica Veteris Testa-*



menti; Carpzov's *Critica Sacra*; Herzfeld's *Geschichte*, etc. etc. But the works written prior to Zunz's *Gottesdienstl. Vorträge*, published in 1832, are comparatively obsolete, except they be confined to a single Targum. Since that epoch-making book, we have Frankel in his *Zeitschrift* and *Monatschrift*; Geiger's *Urschrift*; Levi in Geiger's *Zeitschrift*, vol. v.; Seligsohn and Traub in Frankel's *Monatschrift* for 1857; which are most valuable. Other treatises have been already mentioned. The literature is still unexplored in various parts; and a thoroughly critical edition, based on an extensive and accurate collation of the best known MSS., is a desideratum. Buxtorf's *Lexicon* is still the best, though published upwards of two hundred years ago. Dr. Levy, however, has undertaken a new dictionary, the first *Lieferung* of which has just appeared—*Chaldaisches Wörterbuch ueber die Targumim u. s. w.*, Leipzig 1866. This is a welcome book to Hebrew scholars. These *Lexicons* may be supplemented by the Aruch, which needs itself to be re-edited. Grammars and Chrestomathies of the Targumic Chaldee are not wanting.—S. D.

TARNOV, JOHANN, born at Grevismühlen in Mecklenburg 19th April 1586, was professor of theology at Rostock, where he died 22d January 1629. He was the author of *Exercit. Biblicarum Libri IV. in quibus verus et genuinus sensus locorum mult. inquiritur ac defenditur*, 4to Rost. 1619, 1624, 1627, 8vo Lips. 1640; *In Threnos Jer. Comment.*, 4to, Hamb. 1704; *In Proph. Minores Comment.*, 4to, Franc. et Lips. 1688, 1706; *Comment. in Epp. Pauli ad Ephes. Philipp. Coloss. et Thess.*, 4to, Rost. 1636.—W. L. A.

TARNOV, PAUL, also professor at Rostock, previously rector of the burgh school there, was born at Grevismühlen 29th April 1562, and died 6th March 1633. He wrote a work of some value *De sacrosanto Ministerio*, Rost. 1623, and another *De conjugio*, ib. 1614; but he is known chiefly by his *Comment. in Johan. Evangel.*, 4to, Rost. 1629; of which Orme says that, though not so elaborate as the work of Lampe, it is scarcely less valuable (*Biblioth. Bib.* p. 427).—W. L. A.

TARPELITES (טַרְפְּלִיטִין; Sept. *Ταρφαλαῖτοι*), a people of Assyria whom Asnapper sent to colonise Samaria (Ezra iv. 9). The name may be regarded as a Gentile from *Turpel*, the name of some place in Assyria, which, however, has not been identified. The *Τάρπουροι*, or, as one MS. has it, *Ταρπούροι*, whom Ptolemy places in the east of Elymais (vi. 2. 6); and the *Τάρπητες*, whom Strabo (p. 757) places near the Mæotic marsh, have been suggested as probably the people in question. But to these conjectures no weight can be attached.—W. L. A.

TARSHISH (תַּרְשִׁישׁ), a celebrated part of the ancient world, about the exact position of which opinions are much divided. In this case, however, as in many other Scriptural difficulties, that is clear which is important, while the doubtful or the hidden is of comparatively little moment. We may, or we may not, be able to fix with certainty the exact spot where Tarshish lay; but the particulars which Scripture supplies respecting it are too numerous and too definite to allow any doubt as

to what was the character and condition of the place itself. Tarshish may be described, and, therefore, may be known, though we still remain in uncertainty on what point in the map the name should be inscribed. And while the exact locality is of small concern, the important details which the Bible presents may, nevertheless, render us aid in attempting to determine where Tarshish lay.

We will first give a summary of the notices which the Scriptures afford respecting Tarshish. In the great genealogical table (Gen. x. 4, 5) it is placed among the sons of Javan; 'Elishah and Tarshish, Kittim and Dodanim. By these were the islands of the Gentiles divided.' This refers the mind at once to the north-western parts of the Mediterranean. To a similar conclusion does other Scriptural language lead. In Ps. lxxii. 10 it is said, 'The kings of Tarshish and of the isles shall bring presents;' and in 2 Chron. ix. 21, we read, 'The king's (Solomon) ships went to Tarshish with the servants of Hiram; every three years once came the ships of Tarshish bringing gold and silver, ivory, and apes, and peacocks.' Now Hiram's city, Tyre, lay on the Mediterranean coast, and it is easy to see how Solomon's vessels might be associated with his in a voyage towards the west to fetch merchandise. In Is. lxvi. 19, we find Tarshish mentioned in a way which confirms this view: 'And I will set a sign among them, and I will send those that escape of them unto the nations (or Gentiles); to Tarshish, Pul, and Lud, that draw the bow, to Tubal and Javan, to the isles afar off.' These passages make it clear that Tarshish lay at a distance from Judæa, and that that distance was in a north-westerly direction; and the mention of such names as Lud, Javan, and the isles, carries the mind to the extreme north-west, and suggests Spain as the place for Tarshish. But Tarshish must have been on the sea-coast, for it was famous for its ships. 'The ships of Tarshish' were celebrated under that designation, which may have been used in that wide sense in which we speak of an East Indiaman, reference being made rather to the place whither the vessel traded, than to that where it was built; or the phrase may have come to denote a particular kind of vessel—i.e. trading or merchant ships, from the celebrity of Tarshish as a commercial port (1 Kings x. 22; Ps. xlviii. 7; Is. ii. 16; xxiii. 1-14; lx. 9; Ezek. xxvii. 25). Some six times do we meet with the phrase, ships or navy of Tarshish; which of itself shows how noted a seaport we have under consideration, if it does not prove also that in process of time the terms had come to describe vessels according to their occupation rather than their country, as we say 'a slaver,' denoting a ship engaged in the slave-trade (comp. Horat. 'sævis Liburnis,' *Carm.* i. 27; 'Bithyna carina,' i. 35; 'trabe Cypria,' i. 1). In Ezek. xxvii. 12-25, the place is described by its pursuits and its merchandise:—'Tarshish (here again in connection with a western country, Javan, ver. 13) was thy (Tyre) merchant, in all riches; with silver, iron, tin, and lead, they traded in thy fairs. The ships of Tarshish did sing of thee in thy market, and thou wast replenished and made very glorious in the midst of the seas.' The last words are admirably descriptive of the south-western coast of Spain. How could a Hebrew poet better describe the locality where the songs of the sailors of Tarshish made the name of Tyre



glorious? Let the reader turn to the map, and cast his eye on the embouchure of the Guadalquivir, and say if this spot is not pre-eminently, when viewed from Palestine, 'in the midst of the seas.' There is a propriety too in the words found in Ps. xlviii. 7 (comp. Ezek. xxviii. 26), 'Thou breakest the ships of Tarshish with an east wind,' if we suppose merchant vessels working eastwardly up the Mediterranean towards Tyre, encountering an east or rather north-east gale, which is a very violent and destructive wind to this day. Jeremiah (x. 9) tells us that 'silver spread into plates' was brought from Tarshish; and from the connection the silver appears to have been elaborately wrought; whence we infer that at one period there was in Tarshish the never-failing connection found between commerce, wealth, and art. An important testimony occurs in Ezek. xxxviii. 13: 'Sheba and Dedan, and the merchants of Tarshish, with all the young lions thereof, shall say unto thee, Art thou come to take a spoil? to carry away silver and gold? to take away cattle and goods, to take a great spoil?' whence it is clear that Tarshish was an opulent place, abounding in cattle and goods, in silver and gold. We are not sure that the words, 'the young lions thereof,' are intended to be taken literally. They may refer to the lion-hearted chiefs of the nation; but if they are understood as implying that lions were literally found in Tarshish, they only concur with other parts of Scripture in showing that the name is to be taken in a wide acceptance, as denoting, besides modern Andalusia, those parts of Africa which lay near and opposite to Spain. Nor is it impossible that a part of the trade of Tarshish lay in these and in other animals; for we certainly know that Solomon's ships brought that prince apes and peacocks: the lions may have been caught in Africa, and conveyed in ships of Tarshish to Tyre. Sheba and Dedan, however, are mentioned here in connection with Tarshish, and they were certainly eastern countries, lying probably on the western side of the Persian Gulf in Arabia. But the object of the writer may have been to mention the countries placed at the extremities of the then known world—Tarshish on the west, Sheba and Dedan on the east. In Is. xliii. 1-14, we read, as a part of the burden of Tyre, that the ships of Tarshish are called on to howl at her destruction, because Tyre afforded them no longer a commercial port and a haven; words which entirely agree with the hypothesis which makes Tarshish a city on the sea-board of Spain, trading up the Mediterranean to Tyre. Nor are the words found in the 6th verse discordant: 'Pass ye over to Tarshish; howl, ye inhabitants of the isles.' Let us now turn to the book of Jonah (i. 1-3; iv. 2). The prophet was commanded to go and prophesy against Nineveh on the Tigris. For this he should, on quitting Jerusalem, have gone in an easterly direction; but he shunned the duty and fled. Of course he naturally fled in a direction the opposite of that in which the avoided object lay: he proceeded, in fact, to Tarshish. Tarshish then must have been to the west, and not to the east, of Jerusalem. In order to reach Tarshish he went to Joppa, and took ship for the place of his destination, thus still keeping in a westerly course, and showing that Tarshish lay to the west. In Tarshish, indeed, placed in the extreme north-west, he might well expect to be distant enough from Nineveh. It is also worthy of

notice that, when he arrived at Joppa on the coast of Palestine, 'he found a ship going to Tarshish;' which fact we can well understand if Tarshish lay to the west, but by no means if it lay on the Red Sea.

Thus far all the passages cited agree, with more or less of evidence, in fixing Tarshish somewhere in or near Spain. But in 2 Chron. xx. 36 it is recorded that Jehoshaphat king of Judah joined himself with Ahaziah king of Israel, 'to make ships to go to Tarshish, and they made the ships in Ezion-geber,' that is, on the Elanitic gulf on the eastern arm of the Red Sea. If then these vessels, built at Ezion-geber, were to go to Tarshish, that place must lie on the eastern side of Palestine instead of the western; for we cannot suppose they circumnavigated Africa; not because such a voyage was impossible, but because it was long and tedious, and not likely to be taken when a nearer and safer way to Tarshish lay from the ports of the Palestinian coast. But in the parallel passage, found in 1 Kings xxii. 48, these vessels are described as 'ships of Tarshish' (merchant vessels), which were intended to go to *Ophir*, not to Tarshish. This removes the difficulty at once, for Ophir was in the east, and accounts for the fact that the fleet was built on the Red Sea, since it was an eastern not a western voyage which was intended. The reference appears to be to the same eastern trade of which mention is made in 1 Kings x. 22, where we find Hiram and Solomon importing from the East in ships of Tarshish, or merchantmen, gold and silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks. We have not space to enter into the critical questions which this contrariety between the books of Kings and Chronicles suggests for consideration; but we may remark that in a case in which a diversity appears in the statements of these two authorities, no competently-informed theologian could hesitate to give the preference to the former.

It appears then clear from this minute review of the Scriptural accounts and allusions, that Tarshish was an old, celebrated, opulent, cultivated, commercial city, which carried on trade in the Mediterranean, and with the seaports of Syria, especially Tyre and Joppa, and that it most probably lay on the extreme west of that sea. Was there then in ancient times any city in these parts which corresponded with these clearly ascertained facts? There was. Such was Tartessus in Spain, said to have been a Phœnician colony (Arrian, *Alex.* iii. 86), a fact which of itself would account for its intimate connection with Palestine and the Biblical narratives. As to the exact spot where Tartessus (so written originally) lay, authorities are not agreed, as the city had ceased to exist when geography began to receive attention; but it was not far from the Straits of Gibraltar, and near the mouth of the Guadalquivir, consequently at no great distance from the famous Granada of later days. The reader, however, must enlarge his notion beyond that of a mere city, which, how great soever, would scarcely correspond with the ideas of magnitude, affluence, and power that the Scriptures suggest. The name, which is of Phœnician origin, seems to denote the district of south-western Spain, comprising the several colonies which Tyre planted in that country, and so being equivalent to what we might designate Phœnician Spain. We are not however convinced that the opposite coast of Africa was not included, so that the word would



denote to an inhabitant of Palestine the extreme western parts of the world. We seem, however, authorised by considerations, besides those which have been already elicited, in identifying the Hebrew Tarshish with the Spanish Tartessus, whatever may have been the extent of the neighbouring country over which the latter held dominion, or possessed immediate influence. Among these considerations we mention—1st, That the two names are similar, if they are not the same; the Greek *Ταρτησσός*, with the Aramaic pronunciation, would be תרתיש, a fact which would of itself seem to settle the question, in the absence of conflicting evidence and claims; 2d, Spain was one of the chief seats of Phœnician colonisation; and if we unite therewith the north-west of Africa, we shall have some idea of the greatness of the power of Tyre in these parts, for Tyre is reported to have founded not fewer than three hundred cities on the western coast of Africa, and two hundred in south-western Spain (Strabo, ii. 82). Here, then, was found the chief object of the Phœnician sea trade. These countries were to Tyre what Peru was to Spain. Confining our remarks to Spain, we learn from Heeren that the Phœnician colonies on the European side of the sea were situated in the south of the present Andalusia. Here, with other important places, lay Tartessus, a name which is borne by a river, an island, a town, and a region. Heeren distinctly says that to Orientalists the word indicated the farthest west generally, comprising, of course, many places. In the commercial geography of the Phœnicians, he adds, the word obviously meant the entire of their colonial dependencies in southern Spain. In the same general way we use the term West Indies; and thus arose the river, the town, the district of Tartessus, since the country included them all (Heeren, *Ideen*, ii. 44, seq.) 3d, It does much to confirm our view that all the articles reported in Jeremiah and Ezekiel to have been brought from Tarshish, might have come from south-western Spain. Here there were mines of gold and silver, and Tartessus is expressly named as affording the latter mineral (Strabo, iii. p. 147; Diod. Sic. v. 35). Tin was brought by the Phœnicians from Britain into Spain, and thence carried to the Oriental markets. According to Diodorus Siculus (v. 38) tin was procured in Spain also, as well as lead, according to Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* iii. 4). Pliny's words are forcible: 'Nearly all Spain abounds in the metals—lead, iron, copper, silver, gold.'

The view which has been taken in these observations was suggested to our mind by Winer's excellent article on the subject (*Real-wörterb.* ii. 700), and on his authority some of our statements rest; but we should not do justice to it did we not add, that though suggested by Winer, it is the unprejudiced result of our own investigation of the several Scriptural passages which bear on the subject. We add one or two corroborations. Heeren (*Ideen*, ii. 64) translates Ezek. xxvii. 25, 'The ships of Tarshish,' etc., by 'Spanish ships were the chief object of thy merchandise; thou (Tyre) wast a full city, and wast honoured on the seas.' The Phœnicians were as eager in their quest of gold and gold countries as were the alchemists and the Europeans of the 16th century. The lust for gold urged them over the deserts of Arabia, and the cliffs of the Red Sea, as far as Yemen and Ethiopia; and the same passion carried them

westwardly to the coasts of Spain and the Pillars of Hercules. 'Spain,' says Heeren, 'was once the richest land in the world for silver; gold was found there in great abundance, and the baser metals as well. The silver mountains were in those parts which the Phœnicians comprised under the general name of Tartessus or Tarshish. The immeasurable affluence of precious metals which on their first arrival they found here, so astounded them, and the sight thereof so wrought on the imagination of the people, that fact called fable to its aid, and the story gained currency that the first Phœnician colonists not only filled their ships with gold, but made thereof their various implements, anchors not excepted.'—J. R. B.

TARSHISH, a precious stone, so called as brought from Tarshish, as Ophir is also put for the gold brought from thence (Exod. xxviii. 20; xxxix. 13; Ezek. i. 16; x. 9; xxviii. 13; Cant. v. 14; Dan. x. 6). The Septuagint, followed by Josephus, makes it the 'chrysolite'—*i. e.* the topaz of the moderns, which is still found in Spain: so Braun, *De Vestitu Sacerd.* ii. 17. Others suppose it to be 'amber;' but this does not agree with the passages in Exodus, which make the Tarshish to have been one of the engraved stones of the high-priest's breast-plate. The word is translated 'beryl' in the A. V.—J. K.

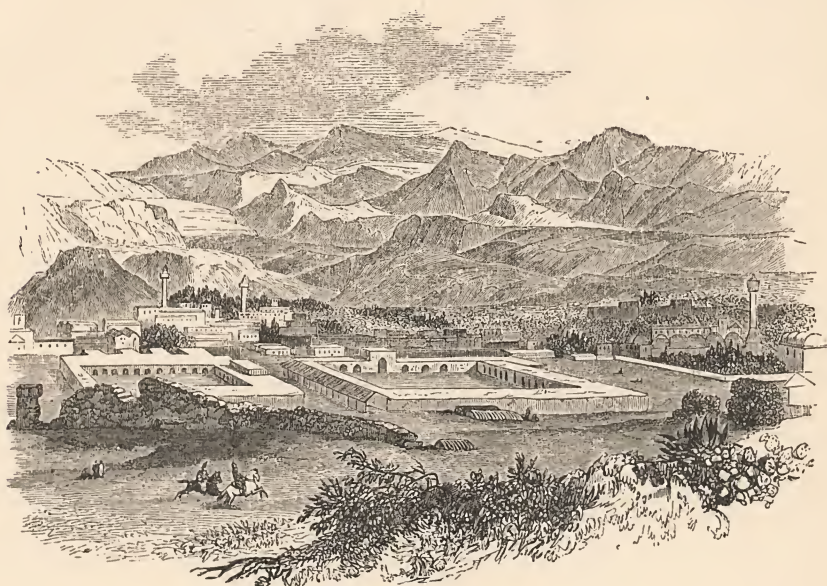
TARSHISH, the name of—(1.) One of the sons of Jediael (1 Chron. vii. 10); (2.) A Persian prince (Esther i. 14). As a Persian name the word stands in relation with *Teresh* (Esther ii. 21; vi. 2), and with *Tirshatha*; all probably from the root *תרש*, *torsh*, *severe* (Gesen. *Thes.*)

TARSUS (*Τάρσος*), a celebrated city, the metropolis of Cilicia, in Asia Minor, on the banks of the river Cydnus, which flowed through it, and divided it into two parts. Hence it is sometimes by Greek writers called *Tapsool* in the plural, perhaps not without some reference to a fancied resemblance in the form of the two divisions of the city to the wings of a bird. Tarsus was a distinguished seat of Greek philosophy and literature, and from the number of its schools and learned men was ranked by the side of Athens and Alexandria (Strabo, xiv. pp. 673, 674). Augustus made Tarsus free (Appian, *Bell. Civ.* v. 7). This seems to have implied the privilege of being governed by its own laws and magistrates, with freedom from tribute; but did not confer the *jus coloniarum*, nor the *jus civitatis*: and it was not therefore, as usually supposed, on this account that Paul enjoyed the privilege of Roman citizenship. [PAUL.] Tarsus, indeed, eventually did become a Roman colony, which gave to the inhabitants this privilege; but this was not till long after the time of Paul (Deyling, *Observat. Sacr.* iii. 391, seq.; comp. CITIZENSHIP; COLONY). We thus find that the Roman tribune at Jerusalem ordered Paul to be scourged, though he knew that he was a native of Tarsus, but desisted on learning that he was a Roman citizen (Acts ix. 11; xxi. 39; xxii. 24, 27). In the time of Abulfeda, that is towards the end of the 13th and beginning of the 14th century, Tarsus was still large, and surrounded by a double wall, and in the occupation of Armenian Christians (*Tab. Syriae*, p. 133). It is now a poor and decayed town, inhabited by Turks; but



it is not so much fallen as many other anciently great towns of the same quarter, the population being estimated at 30,000. There are some considerable remains of the ancient city (Heumann, *De Claris Tarsensib.*, Gott. 1748; Altmann,

*Exerc. de Tarso*, Bern. 1731; Mannert, ii. 97, *seq*; Rosenmüller, *Bib. Geog.* iii. 38; Beaufort, *Karamania*; Irby and Mangles, *Travels*, pp. 502-506; see also the articles CITIZENSHIP and COLONY.—J. K.



497. Tarsus.

TARTAK (תַּרְתַּק; Sept. *Θαρτάκ*), an idol of the Avites, introduced by them into Samaria (2 Kings xvii. 31). In Pehlevi *Tur-thakh* might mean 'deep darkness' or 'hero of darkness.' Gesenius thinks that under this name some malign planet (Saturn or Mars) was worshipped (*Comment. in Jes.* ii. 348); but we are too little acquainted with the Assyrian superstitions to be able to identify this idol with certainty.—J. K.

TARTAN (תַּרְתָּן; Sept. *Θαρτάν* and *Taváθav*), an Assyrian general whom Sennacherib sent, accompanied by Rabsaris and Rabshakeh, to Jerusalem (2 Kings xviii. 17). It is not known whether this is the same officer who in a preceding reign besieged and took Ashdod for his master (Is. xx. 1). [Rawlinson thinks Tartan not a proper name, but a title of office = *general* (Smith, *Bible Dict.* s. v.)]

T'ASHSHUR (תַּאֲשֻׁר) occurs in two places in Scripture, but great uncertainty has always existed respecting its true meaning (Cels. *Hierobot.* ii. 153); though it is now generally acknowledged to denote the box-tree. There is no philological proof of this conclusion, but yet there is nothing in the tree indicated unsuitable to the several contexts (Is. lx. 13; xli. 19). Further, in Ezek. xxvii. 6, in the account of the arts and commerce of Tyre, we read: 'Of the oaks of Bashan have they made thine oars, and the benches of the rowers are made of *ashur-wood*, inlaid with ivory,' as it is now usually interpreted. The ashur-wood, moreover, is said to

have been brought from the isles of Chittim, that is, of Greece.



498. *Buxus sempervirens*.

The box (*buxus sempervirens*) is a native of most



parts of Europe, and is widely diffused over Asia. Being a native of mountainous regions, it was peculiarly adapted to the calcareous formations of Mount Lebanon, and therefore likely to be brought from thence with the coniferous woods for the building of the temple, and was as well suited as the fir and the pine trees for changing the face of the desert.—J. F. R.

TATNAI (תַּתְנַי; Pers. perhaps *gift*; Sept. *Θαυθαυαί*), a Persian governor who succeeded Rehum in the rule of Samaria, and probably of other provinces north of Judæa. He appears to have been a more just person, and more friendly to the Jews, than his predecessor. An adverse report of their proceedings at Jerusalem reached him; but he resolved to suspend his judgment till he had examined into the matter on the spot. He accordingly repaired thither, accompanied by another great officer, named Shethar-boznai, and their colleagues, and finding that the Jews alleged the authority of a royal decree for their proceedings, he sent to the supreme government a temperate and fair report, founded on the information he had obtained, suggesting that the statement made by the Jews as to the decree of Cyrus and other matters should be verified by reference to the archives at Babylon. Then, without one word to influence the decision or to prejudice the claim advanced, Tatnai concludes with intimating that he awaits the royal orders. This official letter of the Persian governor is quite a model of exactness, moderation, and truth, and gives a very favourable idea of the administrative part of the Persian government. This took place in the second year of Darius, B.C. 519. The rescript being favourable to the claim of the Jews, whose statement had been verified by the discovery of the original decree of Cyrus, Tatnai and his colleagues applied themselves with vigour to the execution of the royal commands (Ezra v. and vi.)—J. K.

TAVERNS, THE THREE (Τρεῖς Ταβέρναι; Vulg. *Tres Tabernæ*). The name of a small place on the Appian Way, mentioned Acts xxviii. 15. The word *ταβέρνα* is plainly the Latin *taberna* in Greek letters, and denotes a house made with boards or planks, quasi *trabena*. Wooden houses, huts, etc., are called *tabernæ* (Hor. *Carm.* i. 4, 13). Hence the word also means shops, as distinguished from dwelling-houses. Horace uses it for a bookseller's shop (*Sat.* i. 4. 71), and for a wine shop (*Ep.* i. 14. 24). The shops at Pompeii are booths, connected in almost every case with dwellings behind, as they were in London three centuries ago. When eatables or drinkables were sold in a Roman shop, it was called *taberna*, tavern, victualing-house. The place or village called 'Three Taverns' probably therefore derived its name from three large inns, or eating-houses, for the refreshment of travellers passing to and from Rome. Zosimus calls it *τριά καπηλεια* (ii. 10). Appii Forum appears to have been such another place. Horace mentions the latter in describing his journey from Rome to Brundisium, as 'differtum nautis, cauponibus atque malignis' (*Sat.* i. 5. 3). That the 'Three Taverns' was nearer Rome than Appii Forum, appears from the conclusion of one of Cicero's letters to Atticus (ii. 10), which, when he is travelling south-eastwards from Antium to his seat near Formiæ, he dates 'Ab Appii Foro, hora quarta'

—from Appii Forum, at the fourth hour; and adds, 'Dederam aliam paulo ante, Tribus Tabernis'—I wrote you another, a little while ago, from the Three Taverns. Grotius observes that there were many places in the Roman empire at this time which had the names of Forum and Tabernæ, the former from having *markets* of all kinds of commodities, the latter from furnishing wine and eatables. The Itinerary of Antoninus places Appii Forum at forty-three Roman miles from Rome, and the Three Taverns at thirty-three. The place still remains, and is called Tre Tavernæ. The Roman Christians went in token of respect to meet St. Paul at these places, having been probably apprised of his approach by letters or express from Puteoli (Acts xxviii. 13-15)—one party of them resting at the Three Taverns, and the other going on to Appii Forum. When the apostle saw this unequivocal token of respect and zeal, he took fresh courage. In the 4th century there was a bishop of Three Taverns, named Felix (Optatus, lib. i.)—J. F. D.

TAWOS, JACOB. [TUSI.]

TAXES of some kind must have been coeval with the origin of civilised society. The idea of the one is involved in that of the other; since society, as every organisation, implies expense, which must be raised by the abstraction of property from the individuals of which it consists, either by occasional or periodical, by self-imposed or compulsory, exactions.

Accordingly we find a provision of income made at the very commencement of the Mosaic polity. Taxes, like all other things in that polity, had a religious origin and import. As a ransom for his soul unto the Lord, every Israelite was to pay half a shekel yearly, from twenty years old and upward, the rich not giving more, the poor not giving less, for the service of the tabernacle (Exod. xxx. 12, *seq.*; 2 Chron. xxiv. 6). From the latter passage it appears that the law appointing this payment was in force in the days of Joash (B.C. 878). This half-shekel was the tribute which our Lord was asked if he paid (Matt. xvii. 24). It is called in the Greek τὰ δίδραχμα, and was in value about fifteen pence. The way in which it is spoken of shows that it was an established and well-known payment—'they that received the didrachm'—in rendering which by 'tribute' our translators have failed to give the force of the original (comp. Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* vii. 6. 6). This offering was obligatory on Jews who lived in foreign countries no less than on those who lived at home, though frequently the native princes tried to divert the didrachm from the temple treasury to their own, in which effort they were more than once arrested by the Romans (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 9. 1). From the Talmudical Tract Shekalim (*Mishna*, ii. 4), the time of payment appears to have been between the 15th and the 25th of the month Adar, that is in March. After the destruction of the temple, this didrachm was ordered by Vespasian to be paid into the capitol, as, says Josephus, 'they used to pay the same to the temple at Jerusalem' (*De Bell. Jud.* vii. 6. 6). A special provision seems to have been made, under peculiar circumstances, of one-third of a shekel yearly, 'for the service of the house of our God' (Neh. x. 32). The Jews, at times, found the taxes they had to pay very oppressive. The ten tribes complained that they had found David's yoke heavy, and entreated Re-



hoboam that he would lighten it. And the stoning to death of Adoram, who 'was over the tribute,' shows to what an extent the question of taxes entered into the causes of the revolt of the ten tribes (1 Kings xii. 4, 18). When the Romans became masters of Palestine, the unhappy Jews had a double yoke to bear; while it appears from Josephus that the yoke of the native princes was anything but light. The income of Herod the Great seems to have been about 1600 talents, which has been estimated at £680,000 sterling (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 11. 4, note in Whiston's Translation). Agrippa II. had revenues which amounted to twelve millions of drachmæ, which may have equalled nearly half a million of our money. Nor was the recently-removed house-tax an exclusive English imposition; for Herod Agrippa is recorded to have 'released the Jews from the tax upon houses, every one of whom paid it before' (Joseph. *Antiq.* xix. 6. 3; 8. 2).

Besides the regular half-shekel, there was a considerable income derived to the temple from tithes, firstlings, etc. (2 Kings xii. 4). Considering the fertility of the land, we cannot account these religious imposts as heavy. If we turn to the civil constitution, we find taxes first instituted at the time of the introduction of regal power, whose exactions are forcibly described by Samuel (1 Sam. viii. 10, *seq.*) They consisted partly in personal service, partly in tithe in kind. Occasionally a heavy poll-tax was imposed—'of all the mighty men of wealth, of each man fifty shekels of silver' (2 Kings xv. 20). On other occasions an assessment was made, and a tax raised from the people of the land generally (2 Kings xxiii. 35). Both these last cases, however, were provisions for a special need. Presents constituted a source of abundant income, and can hardly be regarded in any other light than as a sort of self-imposed tax (1 Sam. x. 27; xvi. 20; 1 Kings x. 25; 2 Chron. xvii. 5). Royal demesnes supplied resources (1 Kings iv. 22, *seq.*) There was also a transit-tax 'of the merchantmen, and of the traffic of the spice-merchants, and of all the kings of Arabia, and of the governors of the country' (1 Kings x. 15). Ships and other public property belonged to the king (1 Kings x. 28; ix. 26; xxii. 49): the weight of gold that came to Solomon in one year (independently of several sources) was 666 talents (1 Kings x. 14).—J. R. B.

TAXING, THE. [CYRENIUS; JESUS CHRIST.]

TAYISH (תַּיִשׁ), the he-goat (Gen. xxx. 35; xxxii. 14; 2 Chron. xvii. 11; Prov. xxx. 31); so called either from his butting (from תָּוֹשׁ, *to butt*) or from his strength (from תָּוִשׁ = אוֹשׁ, *to be strong*); comp. Lat. *Aries* = the excellent or strong one (Pott, *Etymol. Forsch.* i. 223).—W. L. A.

TAYLOR, JOHN, D.D., was a native of Lancashire, where he was born in 1694. He was educated at Whitehaven; and became pastor, first of a congregation at Kirkstead in Lincolnshire, and then of one at Norwich. He subsequently became tutor of the Dissenting Academy at Warrington. He was a man of considerable learning and acuteness, but wanted the power and grasp of mind adequate to some of the works in which he embarked. His most valuable work is his *Hebrew Concordance adapted to the English Bible, disposed after the manner of Buxtorf*, 2 vols. fol., London 1754. He

wrote also a *Paraphrase with Notes on the Epistle to the Romans, to which is prefixed a key to the Apostolic writings, etc.* 4to, London 1745, 1747. This work made much noise at the time of its publication, chiefly on account of the adroitness with which its author makes the apostle speak according to the doctrines of the Arian and Arminian school. The author's principles of interpretations, however, are wholly unsound, so that his exegesis rests upon a false basis, and leads only to erroneous results. Bishop Watson has given to the key a place among his *Theological Tracts*; but Doddridge, with a juster appreciation of its merits, said that Dr. Taylor had broken his key in trying to force the lock of St. Paul's reasoning. Taylor wrote also a treatise on *The Scripture Doctrine of Original Sin*, which Jonathan Edwards criticised in his work on the same subject; *A Scheme of Scripture Divinity formed on the Plan of the Divine Dispensations*; and many smaller tracts. He died in 1761.—W. L. A.

TEBEN (תֵּבֶן, ἄχυρον), translated *straw*, and once (Jer. xxiii. 28) *chaff*, in the A. V., the dried stalk of cereal grasses, derived by Gesenius from a supposed root תֵּבַן, *to divide*, by Fürst from the unused תֵּבַן, allied to אֵבַן, *to be dry or hard*. The Hebrews used the straw of wheat and barley as provender for cattle and beasts of burden (Gen. xxiv. 25, 32; Judg. xix. 19; 1 Kings v. 8; Jer. xi. 7; lxx. 25); the straw was chopped small and mixed with barley. The Egyptians mixed straw chopped small with clay in the making of bricks; the whole process is depicted on a tomb at Thebes (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* ii. 156), and specimens of brick so made still remain. When the taskmasters withheld the supply of straw from the Israelites they could procure only the stubble left in the fields; and as this was very short, for the Egyptians cut the straw close to the ground, their labour in order to furnish the full tale of bricks was immensely increased thereby (Wilkinson, ii. 49).—W. L. A.

TEBETH (טֵבֶת), the tenth month (Esth. ii. 16) of the sacred year of the Hebrews, commenced with the new moon in December, and terminated at the new moon in January. The Egyptians called it Τυβή or Τωβή, and it was their fifth month. Hieronymus has the following comment upon Ezek. xxix. 1: 'Decimus mensis, qui Hebræis appellatur Tebeth, et apud Aegyptios Τυβή, apud Romanos Januarius.' In Arabic it is called تَوْبَحَة, in Greek Τυβή or Τήβ, and in Sanscrit TAPAS.—C. H. F. B.

T'ENAH (תֵּנָה) is universally translated *fig* and *fig-tree* in both ancient and modern versions, and, no doubt, correctly so. It has from the earliest times been a highly-esteemed fruit in the East; and its present, as well as ancient Arabic name, is *teen*. The fig-tree, though now successfully cultivated in a great part of Europe, even as far north as the southern parts of England, is yet a native of the East, and probably of the Persian region, where it is most extensively cultivated.

The fig is first noticed in Gen. iii. 7, where Adam and Eve are described as sewing fig-leaves together, to make themselves aprons. The common fig-leaf is not so well suited, from its lobed nature, for this purpose; but the practice of sewing or

pinning leaves together is very common in the East even in the present day, and baskets, dishes, and umbrellas are made of leaves so pinned or sewn together. The fig-tree is enumerated (Deut. viii. 8) as one of the valuable products of Palestine. The spies, who were sent from the wilderness of Paran, brought back from the brook of Eshcol clusters of grapes, pomegranates, and figs. The fig-tree is referred to as one of the signs of prosperity (1 Kings iv. 25), and its failure is noted as a sign of affliction (Ps. cv. 33). The very frequent references which are made in the O. T. to the fig



499. *Ficus carica*.

and other fruit trees, are in consequence of fruits forming a much more important article of diet in the warm and dry countries of the East than they can ever do in the cold and moist regions of the North. Figs are also used medicinally; and we have a notice in 2 Kings xx. 7 of their employment as a poultice. The fig-tree is, moreover, mentioned in the N. T. by its Greek name *συκή* by all the Evangelists. The passages have been fully illustrated by the several commentators.—J. F. R.

TEIL TREE is the linden tree, or *Tilia Euro-  
pa* of botanists. It is mentioned in the A. V., in Is. vi. 13, 'as a teil tree, and as an oak;' but as in the Hebrew the word *alah*, or turpentine tree, is used, there is no reason for giving it a different signification in this from what it has in other passages [ALAH].—J. F. R.

TEKEL. [MENE, etc.]

TEKOA (תְּקוֹעַ; Sept. *Θεκω*), a city south of Bethlehem, on the borders of the desert to which it gave name, and noted as the residence of 'the wise woman' who interceded for Absalom; as one of the towns fortified by Rehoboam; and as the birthplace of the prophet Amos (2 Sam. xiv. 2; 1 Chron. ii. 24; 2 Chron. xx. 20; Jer. vi. 1; Amos i. 1). The site has long been known; it still bears the name of *Tekū'a*, and lies six miles south of Bethlehem, on an elevated hill, not steep, but broad at the top, and covered with ruins to the extent of four or five acres. These consist chiefly

of the foundations of houses built of squared stones, some of which are bevelled. The middle of the space is occupied by the ruins of a Greek church. The site commands extensive prospects, and towards the east is bounded only by the level mountains of Moab. Before and during the Crusades Tekoa was well inhabited by Christians; but in A.D. 1138 it was sacked by a party of Turks from beyond the Jordan, and nothing further is known of it till the 17th century, when it lay desolate, as it has ever since done (Robinson, *Bib. Researches*, ii. 182-184; Raumer, *Palästina*, p. 219; Turner, *Tour*, ii. 240; Irby and Mangles, p. 344).

TEL ABIB (תֵּל־אֲבִיב), the residence of Ezekiel in Chaldaea (Ezek. iii. 15). [CHEBAR.]

TELAIM (טֵּלַיִם, *young lambs*, from טָלַי; *ev* Γαλγδλούς; *quasi agnos*). Saul when proceeding on his expedition against Amalek 'gathered the people together, and numbered them in Telaim' (1 Sam. xv. 4). The name occurs nowhere else. And there is no clue to its site farther than the fact that Saul was going southwards, and it may be inferred that the gathering-place was toward the southern border of Judah. It is strange that both the Septuagint version and Josephus read Gilgal (*Antiq.* vi. 7. 2), which was in the valley of the Jordan near Jericho, and certainly not a fitting place to marshal an army to war with the Amalekites, seeing it would have to march through the wild passes of the wilderness of Judah (cf. Ewald, *Geschichte*, iii. 50). A more probable theory is that it is identical with Telem [TELEM].—J. L. P.

TELASSAR (תֵּלֶסָר, *Θεασθέν, Θεεμδθ*), or THELASAR (תֵּלֶאֶסָר, *Θεασθέν; Alex. Θαλάσσορ*), a city inhabited by 'the children of Eden,' and conquered by the Assyrians (2 Kings xix. 12; Is. xxxvii. 12). As it is enumerated with Gozan (*Gauzanitis*), Haran (*Kāḥḥai*, now *Harrah*), and Rezep (in the *Resapha* of Ptolemy, west of the Euphrates), it lay doubtless in northern Mesopotamia. Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 301, note 3) identifies it with a heap of ruins called *Telada*, south-west from Racca. It is in favour of this that in that case the places mentioned along with it in the passages cited stand in the order in which they would naturally be attacked by a force invading the territory from the east, as would the Assyrians (Thenius, *Exeg. Hdb.* in loc.)—W. L. A.

TELEM (טֵּלֶם; *Τέλεμ; Telem*), one of the cities which are described as 'the uttermost of the tribe of Judah toward the coast of Edom southward' (Josh. xv. 24). It is not again mentioned except we regard it as identical with Telaim—a theory which seems highly probable (Reland, *Pal.* p. 1029). Telem is mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome as a city of Judah, but they appear to have been ignorant of its site (*Onomast.* s. v. *Talem*); nor have the researches of recent travellers and geographers been successful in discovering it. The opinion of Mr. Wilton, that a trace of the ancient

Telem is found in the Arab tribe Dhullâm (ذولام), which gives its name to a district lying south-east of Beersheba, is not altogether improbable, especially as the Arabic and Hebrew words are cognate



(see *The Negeb*, p. 87; and cf. Robinson, *B. R.* i. p. 102).—J. L. P.

TEMA (תִּמָּא = the Arabic تيماء 'a desert'; it is written תִּמָּא in Job vi. 19; Θαμὰν; *Thema*, and in Is. *Auster*), a name given to a son of Ishmael (Gen. xxv. 15; 1 Chron. i. 30), to the tribe or nation which sprang from him (Job vi. 19), and to the country they inhabited (Is. xxi. 14).

The Temanites were among the most influential of the tribes of Arabia. Job speaks of 'the troops of Tema' and 'the companies of Sheba,' as well known in his remote age. When the prophet Isaiah recorded 'the burden upon Arabia,' the 'travelling companions of Dedanim, and the inhabitants of the land of Tema' were mentioned as representatives of the whole country (xxi. 14). Jeremiah also speaks of Tema as one of the noted principalities of Arabia (xxv. 23).

The name and the tribe appear to have been known to classic writers. Ptolemy mentions the city of *Themme* (Θέμμη) among those of Arabia Deserta, and apparently in the centre of the country (*Geogr.* v. 19). Pliny states that 'to the Nabatei the ancients joined the *Thimanei*' (*Hist. Nat.* vi. 32). It may be questioned, however, whether he refers to the Biblical *Teman* or *Tema*.

There can be little doubt that the Themme of Ptolemy is identical with the modern *Teima*, an Arab town of some five hundred inhabitants, situated on the western border of the province of Nejd. Wallin, who visited it in 1848, thus describes it:—'Teima stands on a mass of crystalline limestone, very slightly raised above the surrounding level. Patches of sand, which have encroached upon the rock, are the only spots which can be cultivated. The inhabitants, however, have considerable date plantations, which yield a great variety of the fruit, of which one kind is esteemed the best flavoured in all Arabia. Grain is also cultivated, especially oats of a remarkably good quality, but the produce is never sufficient for the wants of the inhabitants. The greater portion of the gardens are watered from a copious well in the middle of the village. The hydraulic contrivance by which water is raised for distribution through channels among the plantations is the same as is used through Mesopotamia as well as in Nejd—viz. a bucket of camel-skin hung to the end of a long lever, moving upon an upright pole fixed in the ground' (*Journal R. G. S.* xx. p. 332).

Arab writers state of Teima that 'it is a town in the Syrian desert, and that the castle of Ablak, the son of Adiya, stood here.' Wallin says no remains of the castle now exist, nor does even the name 'live in the memory of the present inhabitants. A small ruined building, constructed of hewn stone, and half buried in sand and rubbish, appeared to me to be too inconsiderable to admit of its being identified with the celebrated old castle' (*ib.* p. 333).

It seems probable that the ancient Arab tribe of *Beni Teim*, of whom Abulfeda speaks (*Hist. Antislam.* ed. Fleischer, p. 198), were connected with this place, and were the more recent representatives of the children of Tema. Forster would further identify the tribe of Tema with the *Beni Temim*, who had their chief stations on the shores of the Persian Gulf; but his proof does not seem

satisfactory (see, however, *Geogr. of Arabia*, i. pp. 289, *seq.*).

It is interesting to find memorials of the nation founded by this son of Ishmael, not merely referred to by classic and Arab geographers, but existing to the present day, in the very region where we naturally look for them (see D'Anville, *Geogr. Ancienne*, ii. p. 250; Abulfeda, *Descript. Arab.* pp. 6, *seq.*) Like other Arab tribes the children of Tema had probably a nucleus at the town of Teima, while their pasture-grounds extended westward to the borders of Edom, and eastward to the Euphrates, just as those of the Beni Shummar do at the present time.—J. L. P.

TEMAN (תִּמָּן, on the right = תָּמַן, also the southern quarter; Θαμὰν; *Theman*; *Meridies*; *Auster*; Gent. noun, תִּמָּן; Θαμανίτης; *Themanites*), the name of a people and country taking their appellation from the oldest son of Eliphaz the son of Esau (Gen. xxxvi. 11). It would appear that Teman was the first duke or prince (מֶלֶךְ) of the Edomites (v. 15); and that, having founded a tribe, he gave his name to the region in which it settled (v. 34). The country of the Temanites formed in after ages the chief stronghold of Idumæan power; so that, when the Lord by the mouth of Ezekiel pronounced the doom of Edom, he said: 'I will make it desolate from Teman' (xxv. 13). The Temanites were celebrated for their courage; hence the force and point of Obadiah's judgment: 'Thy mighty men, O Teman, shall be dismayed' (ver. 9). They were also famous for wisdom; in allusion to which characteristic, and perhaps with special reference to Job's friend Eliphaz the Temanite, Jeremiah mournfully asks: 'Is wisdom no more in Teman? is counsel perished from the prudent? is their wisdom vanished?' (Jer. xlix. 7; Job ii. 11; cf. Baruch iii. 22. See Pusey on *Obadiah*, 8).

The geographical position of 'the land of Teman,' or more literally, the 'land of the Temanite,' as it is called in Gen. xxxvi. 34 (מִדְבַּר הַתִּמָּן; ἐκ τῆς γῆς Θαμανών), is nowhere defined in Scripture; but there are several incidental notices which tend to fix it with considerable certainty. 1. It is intimately connected with Edom, and manifestly either formed a province of it, or lay upon its border (Jer. xlix. 7, 20). In one passage it is included in the same curse with Bozrah the capital of Edom: 'I will send a fire upon Teman, which shall devour the palaces of Bozrah' (Amos i. 12). 2. Habakkuk joins Teman in parallelism with Mount Paran (iii. 3); and this might probably indicate that the portion of Edom lying over against Kadesh, beside which rose Mount Paran, was called Teman [PARAN, MOUNT]. Perhaps, as the northern section of Edom was called Gebal, the southern section may have got the name Teman. 3. Ezekiel groups Teman in such a way with Edom and Dedan as would lead to the conclusion that it lay between them, and therefore on the south and south-east of the former (Ezek. xxv. 13; DEDAN). On the whole, it would appear that Teman was the name given by Esau's distinguished grandson to his possessions in the southern part of the mountains of Edom. As the tribe increased in strength and wealth, they spread out over the region extending southward along the shore of the Gulf of



Akabah, and eastward into Arabia. This view is confirmed by a passage in the book of Joshua, hitherto considered obscure and difficult, but which the advances recently made in Biblical geography tend to elucidate. The sacred writer commences his description of the territory of Judah in these words: 'This then was the lot of the children of Judah; even to the border of Edom the wilderness of Zin southward was the uttermost part of the south coast' (xv. 1). Besides being unintelligible, this is not a literal translation of the Hebrew; and the renderings of the Septuagint and Vulgate are still worse. The Hebrew may be translated as follows: 'Upon (or *along*, אֵל) the border of Edom, the wilderness of Zin to the Negeb (נֶגֶב) from the extremity of Teman' (מִקְצֵה תִּמָּן).

The writer is describing the south-eastern section of the territory. It extended along the border of Edom, including the wilderness of Zin from the extreme (north-western) corner of Teman to the Negeb. Teman is unquestionably a proper name, as is shown by the word מִקְצֵה being placed before it. So also is Negeb. The wilderness of Zin extended up as far as Kadesh, and a part of it was thus allotted to Judah. Teman included the mountains of Edom as far north as Mount Hor, opposite Kadesh; and thus the territory of Judah reached to its extreme north-western corner. The Negeb included the downs along the southern base of the Judæan hills, and lay between them and the wilderness of Zin. The above translation is found in part in the Arabic version, and is adopted by Houbigant.

The accounts given by Eusebius and Jerome of Teman are not consistent. They describe it as a region of the rulers of Edom in the land of *Gabalitis*; and they further state that there is a village of that name fifteen (Jerome has *five*) miles from Petra. But in another notice they appear to distinguish this Teman from one in Arabia (*Onomast.* s. v. 'Theman'). On the map in Burckhardt's *Travels in Syria*, Theman is identified with the modern village of *Maan*, east of Petra; but for this there seems to be no authority (Winer, *B. W.* s. v. 'Theman'; See *Handbook for S. and P.* p. 58).—J. L. P.

TEMANITE, one belonging to the tribe or country of Teman (Job ii. 11; xxi. 1).

TEMPLE תֵּיבֵל קֹדֶשׁ יְהוָה, בֵּית־דָּאָל, or הַהֵיכָל (בֵּית אֱלֹהִים, בֵּית יְהוָה). The word הֵיכָל is a participial noun from the root הָכַל, *capere, excipere*, and reminds us strongly of the Roman *templum*, from *τῆμενος, τέμνω, locus liberatus et effatus*. The Septuagint translation usually renders הֵיכָל by *oikos* or *naós*, but in the Apocrypha and the N. T. it is generally called *τὸ ἱερόν*. Rabbinical appellations are בֵּית הַמִּקְדָּשׁ, *the house of sanctuary*, בֵּית הַבְּחִירָה, *the chosen house*, בֵּית הָעֵלְמִים, *the house of ages*, because the ark was not transferred from it, as it was from Gilgal after 24, from Shiloh after 369, from Nob after 13, and from Gibeon after 50 years. It is also called מְעוֹן. After the Israelites had exchanged their nomadic life for a life in permanent habitations, it was becoming that they should exchange also their movable sanctuary

or tabernacle for a temple. There elapsed, however, after the conquest of Palestine, several centuries during which the sanctuary continued movable, although the nation became more and more stationary. It appears that the first who planned the erection of a stone-built sanctuary was David, who, when he was inhabiting his house of cedar, and God had given him rest from all his enemies, meditated the design of building a temple in which the ark of God might be placed, instead of being deposited 'within curtains,' or in a tent, as hitherto. This design was at first encouraged by the prophet Nathan; but he was afterwards instructed to tell David that such a work was less appropriate for him, who had been a warrior from his youth, and had shed much blood, than for his son, who should enjoy in prosperity and peace the rewards of his father's victories. Nevertheless, the design itself was highly approved as a token of proper feelings towards the Divine King (2 Sam. vii. 1-12; 1 Chron. xvii. 1-14; xxviii.). We learn, moreover, from 1 Kings v. and 1 Chron. xxii. that David had collected materials which were afterwards employed in the erection of the temple, which was commenced four years after his death, about B.C. 1012, in the second month, that is the month of Siv (comp. 1 Kings vi. 1; 2 Chron. iii. 2), 480 years after the Exodus from Egypt. We thus learn that the Israelitish sanctuary had remained movable more than four centuries subsequent to the conquest of Caanan. 'In the fourth year of Solomon's reign was the foundation of the house of the Lord laid, in the month Siv: and in the eleventh year, in the month Bul, which is the eighth month, was the house finished throughout all the parts thereof, and according to all the fashion of it. So was he seven years in building it.'

The site of the temple is clearly stated in 2 Chron. iii. 1: 'Then Solomon began to build the house of the Lord at Jerusalem in Mount Moriah, where the Lord appeared unto David his father, in the place that David had prepared in the threshing-floor of Ornan (or Araunah) the Jebusite.' In south-eastern countries the site of the threshing-floors is selected according to the same principles which might guide us in the selection of the site of windmills. We find them usually on the tops of hills, which are on all sides exposed to the winds, the current of which is required in order to separate the grain from the chaff. It seems that the summit of Moriah, although large enough for the agricultural purposes of the house, had no level sufficient for the plans of Solomon. According to Josephus (*De Bell. Jud.* v. 5), the foundations of the temple were laid on a steep eminence, the summit of which was at first insufficient for the temple and altar. As it was surrounded by precipices it became necessary to build up walls and buttresses in order to gain more ground by filling up the interval with earth. The hill was also fortified by a three-fold wall, the lowest tier of which was in some places more than 300 cubits high; and the depth of the foundation was not visible, because it had been necessary in some parts to dig deep into the ground in order to obtain sufficient support. The dimensions of the stones of which the walls were composed were enormous; Josephus mentions a length of 40 cubits. It is, however, likely that some parts of the fortifications of Moriah were added at a later period. The characteristics of the site of the Solomonic temple have undergone so



many changes that it is at present scarcely possible to discern them. Niebuhr gave an accurate description of what he found, illustrated by a map, in the *Deutsches Museum*, 1784, vol. i. p. 448, *seq.*; ii. 137, *seq.*; and also in the third volume of his travels (comp. also Mishna, *Middoth*, ii. 4).

The workmen and the materials employed in the erection of the temple were chiefly procured by Solomon from Hiram, king of Tyre, who was rewarded by a liberal importation of wheat. Josephus states that duplicates of the letters which passed between Solomon and king Hiram were still extant in his time, both at Jerusalem and among the Tyrian records. He informs us that the persons employed in collecting and arranging the materials for the temple were ordered to search out the largest stones for the foundation, and to prepare them for use on the mountains where they were procured, and then convey them to Jerusalem. In this part of the business Hiram's men were ordered to assist.

Josephus adds that the foundation was sunk to an astonishing depth, and composed of stones of singular magnitude, and very durable. Being closely mortised into the rock with great ingenuity, they formed a basis adequate to the support of the intended structure. Josephus gives to the temple the same length and breadth as are given in 1 Kings, but mentions 60 cubits as the height. He says that the walls were composed entirely of white stone; that the walls and ceilings were wainscotted with cedar, which was covered with the purest gold; that the stones were put together with such ingenuity that the smallest interstices were not perceptible, and that the timbers were joined with iron cramps.

The temple itself and its utensils are described in 1 Kings vi. and vii. and 2 Chron. iii. and iv.

Many attempts have been made to represent the architectural proportions of the temple. According to the account in 1 Kings it was 60 cubits long, 20 wide, and 30 high. Josephus, however (*Antiq.* viii. 3. 2), says: 'The temple was 60 cubits high and 60 cubits in length; and the breadth was 20 cubits; above this was another stage of equal dimensions, so that the height of the whole structure was 120 cubits.' It is difficult to reconcile this statement with that given in 1 Kings, unless we suppose that the words *isos τοῖς μέτροις*, *equal in measures*, do not signify an equality in all dimensions, but only as much as equal in the number of cubits; so that the porch formed a kind of steeple, which projected as much above the roof of the temple as the roof itself was elevated above its foundations. As the Chronicles agree with Josephus in asserting that the summit of the porch was 120 cubits high, there remains still another apparent contradiction to be solved—viz. how Josephus could assert that the temple itself was 60 cubits high, while we read in 1 Kings that its height was only 30 cubits. We suppose that in the book of Kings the internal elevation of the sanctuary is stated, and that Josephus describes its external elevation, which, including the basement and an upper storey (which may have existed, consisting of rooms for the accommodation of priests, containing also vestries and treasures), might be double the internal height of the sanctuary. The internal dimensions of the 'holy,' which was called in preference *היכל*, was 40 cubits long, 20 cubits wide, and 30 cubits high. The holy was separated

from the 'holy of holies' (*קדש הקדש*) by a partition, a large opening in which was closed by a suspended curtain. The holy of holies was on the western extremity of the entire building, and its internal dimensions formed a cube of 20 cubits. [These measurements are exactly double those of the corresponding places in the tabernacle, excepting the height of the sanctuary, which was three times that of the tabernacle—perhaps because the one had an elevated roof and the other was flat. This falls in with what is said in Wisd. ix. 8, that the temple of Solomon was 'a resemblance (*μίμημα*, *imitation*) of the holy tabernacle.'] On the eastern extremity of the building stood the porch,

*אולם, πρόναος*. At the entrance of this pronaos stood the two columns called Jachin and Boaz, which were 23 cubits high.

The temple was also surrounded by three *גליות*, *storeys of chambers*, each of which storeys was five cubits high, so that there remained above ample space for introducing the windows, requisite more for ventilation than for the admission of light into the sanctuary. Now, the statement of Josephus, who says that each of these storeys of chambers (*גליות*) was 20 cubits high, cannot be reconciled with the Biblical statements, and may prove that he was no very close reader of his authorities. Perhaps he had a vague kind of information that the chambers reached half-way up the height of the building, and taking the maximum height of 120 cubits instead of the internal height of the holy, he made each storey four times too high. The windows, which are mentioned in 1 Kings vi. 4, consisted probably of lattice-work.

The lowest storey of the chambers was five cubits, the middle six, and the third seven cubits wide. This difference of the width arose from the circumstance that the external walls of the temple were so thick that they were made to recede one cubit after an elevation of five feet, so that the scarcement in the wall of the temple gave a firm support to the beams which supported the second storey, without being inserted into the wall of the sanctuary; which insertion was perhaps avoided not merely for architectural reasons, but also because it appeared to be irreverent. The third storey was supported likewise by a similar scarcement, which afforded a still wider space for the chamber of the third storey. These observations will render intelligible the following Biblical statements:—'And against the wall of the house he built storeys round about, both of the temple and of the oracle: and he made chambers round about: the nethermost storey was five cubits broad, and the middle was six cubits broad, and the third was seven cubits broad: for without in the wall of the house he made narrowed rests (*מנרעות*, narrowings or rebatements) round about, so that the beams should not be fastened in the walls of the house. The house, when it was in building, was built of stone made ready before it was brought thither: so that there was neither hammer, nor axe, nor any tool of iron heard in the house while it was in building. The door of the middle storey was in the right side of the house: and they went up with winding stairs into the middle storey, and out of the middle into the third. So he built the house, and finished it; and covered the house with beams and boards of cedar. And



then he built chambers against all the house, five cubits high : and they rested on the house with timber of cedar' (1 Kings vi. 7).

From this description it may be inferred that the entrance to these storeys was from without ; but some architects have supposed that it was from within ; which arrangement seems to be against the general aim of impressing the Israelitish worshippers with sacred awe by the seclusion of their sanctuary.

In reference to the windows, it should be observed that they served chiefly for ventilation, since the light within the temple was obtained from the sacred candlesticks. It seems from the descriptions of the temple to be certain that the *דבר*, *oracle*, or holy of holies, was an *adytum* without windows. To this fact Solomon seems to refer when he spake, 'The Lord said that he would dwell in the thick darkness' (1 Kings viii. 12).

The *דבר*, *oracle*, had perhaps no other opening besides the entrance, which was, as we may infer from the prophetic visions of Ezekiel (which probably correspond with the historic temple of Solomon) six cubits wide.

From 1 Kings vii. 10 we learn that the private dwellings of Solomon were built of massive stone. We hence infer that the framework of the temple also consisted of the same material. The temple was, however, wainscotted with cedar wood, which was covered with gold. The boards within the temple were ornamented by beautiful carvings representing cherubim, palms, and flowers. The ceiling of the temple was supported by beams of cedar wood (comp. ERES ; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xvi. 69). The wall which separated the holy from the holy of holies probably consisted not of stone, but of beams of cedar. It seems, further, that the partitions partly consisted of an *opus reticulatum* ; so that the incense could spread from the holy to the most holy. This we infer from 1 Kings vi. 21 : 'So Solomon overlaid the house within with pure gold : and he made a partition by the chains of gold before the oracle ; and he overlaid it with gold.'

The floor of the temple was throughout of cedar, but boarded over with planks of fir (1 Kings vi. 15). The doors of the oracle were composed of olive-tree ; but the doors of the outer temple had posts of olive-tree and leaves of fir (1 Kings vi. 31, *seq.*) Both doors, as well that which led into the temple as that which led from the holy to the holy of holies, had folding leaves, which, however, seem to have been usually kept open, the aperture being closed by a suspended curtain—a contrivance still seen at the church-doors in Italy, where the church-doors usually stand open, but the doorways can be passed only by moving aside a heavy curtain. From 2 Chron. iii. 5 it appears that the greater house was also ceiled with fir. It is stated in ver. 9, 'that the weight of the nails employed in the temple was fifty shekels of gold.' And also that Solomon 'overlaid the upper chambers with gold.'

The lintel and side posts of the oracle seem to have circumscribed a space which contained one-fifth of the whole area of the partition ; and the posts of the door of the temple one-fourth of the area of the wall in which they were placed. Thus we understand the passage 1 Kings vi. 31-35, which also states that the door was covered with carved work overlaid with gold.

Within the holy of holies stood only the ark of

the covenant ; but within the holy were ten golden candlesticks and the altar of incense (comp. the separate articles).

The temple was surrounded by an inner court, which in Chronicles is called the Court of the Priests, and in Jeremiah the Upper Court. This again was surrounded by a wall consisting of cedar beams placed on a stone foundation (1 Kings vi. 36) : 'And he built the inner court with three rows of hewed stone, and a row of cedar beams.' This inclosure, according to Josephus (*Antiq.* viii. 3. 9), was three cubits high. Besides this inner court, there is mentioned a Great Court (2 Chron. iv. 9) : 'Furthermore he made the court of the priests, and the great court, and doors for the court, and overlaid the doors of them with brass.' It seems that this was called the Outward Court (comp. Ezek. xiv. 17). This court was also more especially called the court of the Lord's house (Jer. xix. 12 ; xxvi. 2). These courts were surrounded by spacious buildings, which, however, according to Josephus (*De Bell. Jud.* v. 5. 1), seem to have been partly added at a period later than that of Solomon. For instance (2 Kings xv. 35), Jotham is said to have built the higher gate of the house of the Lord. In Jer. xxvi. 10, and xxxvi. 10, there is mentioned a New gate (comp. also Ezek. xl. 5-47 ; xlii. 1-14). But this prophetic vision is not strictly historical, although it may serve to illustrate history (comp. also Joseph. *Antiq.* viii. 3. 9). The third entry into the house of the Lord, mentioned in Jer. xxxviii. 14, does not seem to indicate that there were three courts, but appears to mean that the entry into the outer court was called the first, that into the inner court the second, and the door of the sanctuary the third. It is likely that these courts were quadrilateral. In the divisions of Ezekiel they form a square of four hundred cubits. The inner court contained towards the east the altar of burnt-offering, the brazen sea, and ten brazen lavers ; and it seems that the sanctuary did not stand in the centre of the inner court, but more towards the west. From these descriptions we learn that the temple of Solomon was not distinguished by magnitude, but by good architectural proportions, beauty of workmanship, and costliness of materials. Many of our churches have an external form not unlike that of the temple of Solomon. In fact, this temple seems to have been the pattern of our church buildings, to which the chief addition has been the Gothic arch. Among others, the Roman Catholic church at Dresden is supposed to bear much resemblance to the temple of Solomon.

It is remarkable that after the temple was finished it was not consecrated by the high-priest, but by a layman, by the king in person, by means of extempore prayers and sacrifices. The temple remained the centre of public worship for all the Israelites only till the death of Solomon, after which ten tribes forsook this sanctuary. But even in the kingdom of Judah it was from time to time desecrated by altars erected to idols. For instance, 'Manasseh built altars for all the host of heaven in the two courts of the house of the Lord. And he caused his son to pass through the fire, and observed times, and used enchantments, and dealt with familiar spirits and wizards : he wrought much wickedness in the sight of the Lord to provoke him to anger. And he set a graven image of the grove that he had made in the house,' etc. Thus we find



also that king Josiah commanded Hilkiah the high-priest, and the priests of the second order, to remove the idols of Baal and Asherah from the house of the Lord (2 Kings xxiii. 4, 13) : 'And the altars that were on the top of the upper chamber of Ahaz, which the kings of Judah had made, and the altars which Manasseh had made in the two courts of the house of the Lord, did the king beat down and brake them down from thence, and cast the dust of them into the brook Kidron.' In fact, we are informed that in spite of the better means of public devotion which the sanctuary undoubtedly afforded, the national morals declined so much that the chosen nation became worse than the idolaters whom the Lord destroyed before the children of Israel (2 Kings xxi. 9)—a clear proof that the possession of external means is not a guarantee for their right use. It appears also that, during the times when it was fashionable at court to worship Baal, the temple stood desolate, and that its repairs were neglected (see 2 Kings xii. 6, 7). We further learn that the cost of the repairs was defrayed chiefly by voluntary contribution, by offerings, and by redemption money (2 Kings xii. 4, 5). The original cost of the temple seems to have been defrayed by royal bounty, and in great measure by treasures collected by David for that purpose.

There was a treasury in the temple, in which much precious metal was collected for the maintenance of public worship. The gold and silver of the temple was, however, frequently applied to political purposes (1 Kings xv. 18, *seq.* ; 2 Kings xii. 18 ; xvi. 8 ; xviii. 15). The treasury of the temple was repeatedly plundered by foreign invaders. For instance, by Shishak (1 Kings xiv. 26) ; by Jehoash, king of Israel (2 Kings xiv. 14) ; by Nebuchadnezzar (2 Kings xxiv. 13) ; and lastly, again by Nebuchadnezzar, who, having removed the valuable contents, caused the temple to be burned down (2 Kings xxv. 9, *seq.*), B.C. 588. The building had stood since its completion 417 or 418 years (Josephus has 470, and Rufinus 370 years). Thus terminated what the later Jews called *בית הראשון*, *the first house*.

In many writers on the temple the Biblical statements concerning the first, or Solomon's temple, are confounded not merely with the temple in the prophetic visions of Ezekiel, but also with descriptions of the temple erected by Zerubbabel, and even with the later structures of Herod. This confusion we have endeavoured to avoid in the foregoing statements.

II. THE SECOND TEMPLE.—In the year B.C. 536 the Jews obtained permission from Cyrus to colonise their native land. Cyrus commanded also that the sacred utensils which had been pillaged from the first temple should be restored, and that for the restoration of the temple assistance should be granted (Ezra i. and vi. ; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, *seq.*) The first colony which returned under Zerubbabel and Joshua having collected the necessary means, and having also obtained the assistance of Phœnician workmen, commenced, in the second year after their return, B.C. 534, the rebuilding of the temple. The Sidonians brought rafts of cedar trees from Lebanon to Joppa. The Jews refused the co-operation of the Samaritans, who being thereby offended, induced the king Artasashta (probably Smerdis) to prohibit the building. And it was only in the second year of Darius Hystaspis, B.C. 520, that the building was resumed. It was

completed in the sixth year of this king, B.C. 516, (comp. Ezra v. and vi. ; and Haggai i. 15). According to Josephus (*Antiq.* xi. 4. 7) the temple was completed in the ninth year of the reign of Darius.

This second temple was erected on the site of the former, and probably after the same plan. According to the plan of Cyrus the new temple was sixty cubits high and sixty cubits wide. It appears from Josephus, that the height is to be understood of the porch, for we learn from the speech of Herod which he records, that the second temple was sixty cubits lower than the first, whose porch was 120 cubits high (comp. Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 11. 1). The old men who had seen the first temple were moved to tears on beholding the second, which appeared like nothing in comparison with the first (Ezra iii. 12 ; Haggai ii. 3, *seq.*) It seems, therefore, that it was not so much in dimensions that the second temple was inferior to the first, as in splendour, and in being deprived of the ark of the covenant, which had been burned with the temple of Solomon. The temple of Zerubbabel had several courts (*αὐλάι*) and cloisters or cells (*πρόθυρα*). Josephus distinguishes an internal and external *ἱερὸν*, and mentions cloisters in the courts. This temple was connected with the town by means of a bridge (*Antiq.* xiv. 4). During the wars from B.C. 175 to B.C. 163, it was pillaged and desecrated by Antiochus Epiphanes, who introduced into it idolatrous rites (2 Maccab. vi. 2, 5), dedicating the temple to Jupiter Olympius, and the temple on Mount Gerizim, in allusion to the foreign origin of its worshippers, to Jupiter *Æνός*. The temple became so desolate that it was overgrown with vegetation (1 Maccab. iv. 38 ; 2 Maccab. vi. 4). Judas Maccabæus expelled the Syrians and restored the sanctuary, B.C. 165. He repaired the building, furnished new utensils, and erected fortifications against future attacks (1 Maccab. iv. 43-60 ; vi. 7 ; xiii. 52 ; 2 Maccab. i. 18 ; x. 3). Alexander Jannæus, about B.C. 106, separated the court of the priests from the external court by a wooden railing (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 5). During the contentions among the later Maccabees, Pompey attacked the temple from the north side, caused a great massacre in its courts, but abstained from plundering the treasury, although he even entered the holy of holies, B.C. 63 (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 4). Herod the Great, with the assistance of Roman troops, stormed the temple, B.C. 37 ; on which occasion some of the surrounding halls were destroyed or damaged.

III. TEMPLE OF HEROD.—Herod, wishing to ingratiate himself with the church and state party, and being fond of architectural display, undertook not merely to repair the second temple, but to raise a perfectly new structure. As, however, the temple of Zerubbabel was not actually destroyed, but only removed after the preparations for the new temple were completed, there has arisen some debate whether the temple of Herod could properly be called the third temple.

The reason why the temple of Zerubbabel was not at once taken down, in order to make room for the more splendid structure of Herod, is explained by Josephus as follows (Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 11. 2). The Jews were afraid that Herod would pull down the whole edifice, and not be able to carry his intentions as to its rebuilding into effect ; and this danger appeared to them to be very great, and the vastness of the undertaking to be such as could



hardly be accomplished. But while they were in this disposition, the king encouraged them, and told them he would not pull down their temple till all things were gotten ready for building it up entirely.

And as Herod promised them this beforehand, so he did not break his word with them, but got ready a thousand waggons, that were to bring stones for this building, and chose out ten thousand of the most skilful workmen, and bought a thousand sacerdotal garments for as many of the priests, and had some of them taught the arts of stone-cutters, and others of carpenters, and then began to build; but this not till everything was well prepared for the work.

The work was commenced in the eighteenth year of the reign of Herod; that is, about the year 734-735 from the building of Rome, or about twenty or twenty-one years before the Christian era. Priests and Levites finished the temple itself in one year and a half. The out-buildings and courts required eight years. However, some building operations were constantly in progress under the successors of Herod, and it is in reference to this we are informed that the temple was finished only under Albinus, the last procurator but one, not long before the commencement of the Jewish war in which the temple was again destroyed. It is in reference also to these protracted building operations that the Jews said to Jesus, 'Forty and six years was this temple in building' (John ii. 20). The temple is described by Josephus (*Antiq.* xv. 11, and *De Bell. Jud.* v. 5). With this should be compared the Talmudic tract *Middoth* (Mishna, v. 10), which has been edited and commented upon by C. l'Empereur de Opyck, Lugduni Bat. 1630, 4to. Comp. also vols. viii. and ix. of *Antiquitates Hebraicae*, by Ugolino, which contains, in addition to other dissertations, Mosis Maimonidis *Constitutiones de domo electa*; Abraham ben David, *De Templo*. Comp. also E. A. Schulze, *De variis Judaeorum erroribus in descriptione templi secundi*, prefixed to his edition of Ireland, *De spoliis templi Hierosolymitani*.

The whole of the structures belonging to the temple were a stadium square, and consequently four stadia (or half a Roman mile) in circumference. The temple was situated on the highest point, not quite in the centre, but rather to the north-western corner of this square, and was surrounded by various courts, the innermost of which was higher than the next outward, which descended in terraces. The temple, consequently, was visible from the town, notwithstanding its various high enclosures. The outer court was called *הר הבית*, the *mountain of the house*, *τὸ ὄρος τοῦ ἱεροῦ* (1 Maccab. xiii. 52). According to *Middoth* (i. 3) this mountain of the house had five gates, two towards the south and one towards each of the other quarters. The principal gate was that towards the east: it was called the gate Susan, and a representation of the town of Susa, sculptured in relief, was affixed to it. This had been preserved from the days of Zerubbabel, when the Jews were anxious to express by all means their loyal submission to the Persian power. Most interpreters consider it the same which in Acts iii. 2 and 10 is called *πύλη ὡραία*, the *beautiful gate*. It seems, however, that besides these five principal gates there were some other entrances, because Josephus speaks of four gates on the west and several on the south. Annexed to the outer wall were halls which surrounded the

temple, and were thirty cubits wide, except on the south side, where the *βασιλικὴ στοά*, the *royal hall*, seems to have been threefold, or three times wider than the other halls. The roofs of these halls were of cedar-wood, and were supported by marble columns twenty-five cubits high. The Levites resided in these halls. There was also a synagogue where the Talmudic doctors might be asked questions, and where their decisions might be heard (Luke ii. 46). These halls seemed likewise to have formed a kind of lounge for religionists; they appear to have been spacious enough to afford opportunities for religious teachers to address knots of hearers. Thus we find that Jesus had there various opportunities for addressing the people and refuting cavillers.

Here also the first Christians could daily assemble with one accord (Acts ii. 46). Within this outer court money-changers and cattle-dealers transacted a profitable business, especially during the time of Passover. The priests took only shekels of full weight—that is, shekels of the sanctuary—even after the general currency had been deteriorated: hence the frequent opportunity of money-changers to accommodate for agio the worshippers, most of whom arrived from abroad unprovided with the right coin. The profaneness to which this money-changing and cattle-dealing gave rise caused the indignation of our Lord, who suddenly expelled all these sharks from their stronghold of business (Matt. xxi. 12, *seq.*; Mark xi. 15-17; Luke xix. 45, 46; John ii. 13-17).

The surface of this outer court was paved with stones of various colours. A stone balustrade, *סורג*, which according to some statements was three cubits high, and according to *Middoth* ten hands high, was several steps higher up the mountain than this outer court, and prevented the too near approach of the heathens to the next court. For this purpose there were also erected columns at certain distances within this balustrade, on which there were Greek and Latin inscriptions, interdicting all heathens, under penalty of death, to advance farther (Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* vi. 2. 4; Philo, *Opera*, ii. 577). Comp. Acts xxi. 28, where Paul is accused of having brought Greeks into the temple, and thus polluting the holy place.

Higher up than this balustrade was a wall of the court called *חיל*. This wall was from its foundation forty cubits high, but from within the court it appeared to be only twenty-five cubits high. To this higher court led a staircase and gate on the eastern side of the square. This staircase first led into the *עזרת נשים*, *γυναικωνίτις*, *τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν περὶτεῖχοςμα*, the *court of the women*, which was 135 cubits square. Again, fifteen steps higher up was the principal entrance to the *עזרת ישראל*, the *court of the Israelites*—i.e. the men—on the eastern side of the temple. On the other sides only five steps led up from the court of the women to that of the men. But the fifteen steps, each of which was lower than each of the five steps, seem to have terminated in the same level. Over the gates were structures more than forty cubits high, in which were rooms. Each of the gates was adorned with two columns, which were twelve cubits in circumference. In these gates were folding-doors, each of which was thirty cubits high and fifteen wide: they were plated with gold and silver. The gate towards the east, being the principal one, was of Corinthian



brass, and was higher, larger, and more adorned with precious metal than the rest. Within the walls of this court were halls supported by beautiful columns. The court of the priests was separated from that of the Israelites by a low stone balustrade one cubit high. The whole space which was occupied by the court of the Israelites and that of the priests, together with the temple, was from east to west 187 cubits, and from north to south 135 cubits. Each of these courts was eleven cubits wide, in which measurement that of the halls seems not to have been included (comp. *Middoth*, ii. 6). The court of the priests surrounded the whole temple. On the northern and southern sides were magazines of salt, wood, water, etc., and on the south side also was the place of meeting for the Sanhedrin. Towards the east, with entrances from the court of the women, were two rooms in which the musical instruments were deposited; towards the north-west were four rooms in which the lambs for the daily sacrifices were kept, the shewbread baked, etc. (comp. 1 Chron. ix. 31, 32). In the four corners of the court of the women were lazarettos and quarantine establishments for the reception of persons suspected of leprosy and other infectious diseases; there was also a physician appointed to treat the priests who were unwell. There were several alms-boxes within the various courts, which had the shape of trumpets, and which sometimes are called *γαζοφυλάκια*, or also collectively *τὸ γαζοφυλάκιον*. All the courts were paved with flat stones. From the various statements concerning the court of the women, it is evident that this appellation did not mean a place exclusively devoted to the women, but rather a place to which even women were admitted, together with other persons who were not allowed to advance farther. The temple itself (*ὁ ναός*) was fifteen steps higher than the court of the Israelites, and stood, not in the middle, but rather towards the north-western corner of the court of the priests. In the usual plans of the temple the passage in *Middoth* (ii. 1) has been disregarded. This passage clearly states that the temple was not in the centre: 'The greatest space was from the south, the next greatest from the east, the third from the north, and the least from the west. The foundations of the temple consisted of blocks of white marble, some of which were forty-five cubits long, six cubits wide, and five cubits high. The porch measured externally a hundred cubits in width; the remaining part of the building sixty or seventy cubits.' Thus it appears that the porch projected on each side from fifteen to twenty cubits. The difference of measurement between Josephus and the Talmud may be accounted for by the difference of internal and external width. The projections of the porch were like shoulders (*ὥσπερ ὦμοι*). The whole building was a hundred or a hundred and ten cubits long, and a hundred cubits high. The internal measurement of the porch was fifty cubits by twenty, and ninety cubits in height. The holy was forty cubits by twenty, and sixty cubits high; the holy of holies was twenty cubits square and sixty cubits high. According to *Middoth* the porch was only eleven cubits, the holy forty cubits, the holy of holies twenty cubits, and behind this last there was a vestry of six cubits. The remaining twenty-three cubits were distributed among the diameters of the several walls, so that the whole was a hundred cubits long. In the eastern front, which was a

hundred cubits square, was a proportionate gate, seventy cubits high and twenty-five cubits wide. Above the holy and holy of holies were upper rooms. On the summit of the temple (*κατὰ κορυφὴν*) were spikes (*δρελοῖ*), which resembled our conductors in shape, and were intended to prevent birds from settling on the temple. *Middoth* (iv. 6)

calls these spikes, which were one cubit long, *כּוֹלָח עוֹרֵב*, *scare-crows*, or literally *scare-ravens*. It seems that the roof was flat, and surrounded by a balustrade three cubits high. On the north and south side of the temple were three storeys of chambers, which were much higher than those of the Solomonian temple, but did not entirely conceal the temple itself, because it projected above them. The spaces on the north and south side of the porch contained the apparatus for slaughtering the sacrifices, and were called *בֵּית הַחֵילָפוֹת*, *the house of knives*.

The holy of holies was entirely empty, *ἐκεῖτο οὐδὲν ὅλως ἐν αὐτῷ* (Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* v. 5. 5); however, there was a stone in the place of the ark of the covenant, called *שֹׁהַן שְׁמִי*, on which the high-priest placed the censer. Before the entrance of the holy of holies was suspended a curtain, which was torn by the earthquake that followed after the crucifixion. The rabbis talk of two curtains, between which was a space of one cubit, suspended before the holy of holies. The folding doors between the porch and the holy were twenty cubits high and ten cubits wide; but the entrance itself, with its mouldings, was fifty-five cubits high and sixteen cubits wide. These doors stood open; there were, however, behind them some other doors which were shut, and before which a splendid Babylonian byssus curtain was suspended, in colours and workmanship similar to that of the Solomonian temple. The entrance to the porch was externally seventy cubits high and twenty-five cubits wide, with folding doors of forty cubits high and twenty cubits wide. These doors were usually kept open. This entrance to the porch was adorned

by a colossal golden vine, *נָפַל שָׁל זֶהָב*, whose grapes were as big as men (Jani, *De vite aurea templi Hierosolymitani*, in Ugolino, tom. ix.) This vine was a symbolical representation of the 'noble vine' (Jer. ii. 21; Ezek. xix. 10; Joel i. 7), and of the vineyard (Is. v.), under which the prophets represent their nation. It is very likely that this vine also gave an opportunity to the parable of the vine (John xv.), and to the strange misconception of pagan scribblers that the Jews worshipped Bacchus. (Comp. Lakemacheri *Observat. Philolog.* i. 17, seq.; Rosenmüller's *Exegetisches Repertorium*, i. 166, seq.)

Within the porch were a golden and a marble table, on which the priest who entered the sanctuary daily deposited the old and the new shewbread. Before the porch, towards the south, were the *בֵּינִי*, brazier or fire-pan, and the altar for burnt-offerings; towards the north were six rows of rings attached to the pavement, to which the sacrifices to be killed were fastened; also eight low columns overlaid with cedar beams, from which the beasts that had been killed were suspended in order to be skinned. Between these columns stood *שְׁלֹחֹת* *שֵׁשׁ*, *marble tables*, on which the flesh and entrails were deposited. On the western side of the altar stood a marble table, on which the fat was



deposited, and a silver table, on which the various utensils were placed.

The temple was situated upon the south-eastern corner of Mount Moriah, which is separated to the east by a precipitous ravine and the Kidron from the Mount of Olives: the Mount of Olives is much higher than Moriah. On the south, the temple was bounded by the ravine which separates Moriah from Zion, or the lower city from the upper city. Opposite to the temple, at the foot of Zion, were formerly the king's gardens, and higher up, in a south-westerly direction, the stronghold of Zion or the city of David, on a higher level than the temple. The temple was in ancient warfare almost impregnable, from the ravines at the precipitous edge of which it stood; but it required more artificial fortifications on its western and northern sides, which were surrounded by the city of Jerusalem; for this reason there was erected at its north-western corner the tower of Antonia, which although standing on a lower level than the temple itself, was so high as to overlook the sacred buildings with which it was connected, partly by a large staircase, partly by a subterraneous communication. This tower protected the temple from sudden incursions from the city of Jerusalem, and from dangerous commotions among the thousands who were frequently assembled within the precincts of the courts; which also were sometimes used for popular meetings. Under the sons of Herod, the temple remained apparently in good order, and Herod Agrippa, who was appointed by the emperor Claudius its guardian, even planned the repair of the eastern part, which had probably been destroyed during one of the conflicts between the Jews and Romans, of which the temple was repeatedly the scene (*Antiq.* xvii. 10). Many savants have adopted a style as if they possessed much information about the archives of the temple; there are a few indications from which we learn that important documents were deposited in the tabernacle and temple. Even in Deut. xxxi. 26 we find that the book of the law was deposited in the ark of the covenant. 2 Kings xxii. 8, Hilkiah rediscovered the book of the law in the house of Jehovah. In 2 Maccab. ii. 13, we find a βιβλίον-θήκη mentioned, apparently consisting chiefly of the canonical books, and probably deposited in the temple. In Josephus (*De Bell. Jud.* v. 5) it is mentioned that a book of the law was found in the temple. It appears that the sacred writings were kept in the temple (*Antiq.* v. i. 17). Copies of political documents seem to have been deposited in the treasury of the temple (1 Maccab. xiv. 49).

This treasury, ὁ ἱερός θησαυρός, was managed by an inspector, γασφύλαξ, גַּזְזָר, and it contained the great sums which were annually paid in by the Israelites, each of whom paid a half shekel, and many of whom sent donations in money, and precious vessels, ἀνθήματα. Such costly presents were especially transmitted by rich proselytes, and even sometimes by pagan princes (2 Maccab. iii. 3; Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 16. 4; xviii. 3. 5; xix. 6. 1; *De Bell. Jud.* ii. 17. 3; v. 13. 6; *c. Apion.* ii. 5; Philo, *Opp.* ii. 59, seq.; 569). It is said especially that Ptol. Philadelphus was very liberal to the temple, in order to prove his gratitude for having been permitted to procure the Septuagint translation (Aristeas, *De Translat. LXX.* 109, seq.) The gifts exhibited in the temple are mentioned in Luke xxi. 5; we find even that the rents of the whole town of Ptolemais were given to the temple (1

Maccab. x. 39). There were also preserved historical curiosities (2 Kings xi. 10), especially the arms of celebrated heroes (Joseph. *Antiq.* xix. 6. 1): this was also the case in the tabernacle.

The temple was of so much political importance that it had its own guards (φύλακες τοῦ ἱεροῦ), which were commanded by a στρατηγός.

Twenty men were required for opening and shutting the eastern gate (Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* vi. 5. 3; *c. Apion.* ii. 9; *Antiq.* vi. 5. 3; xvii. 2. 2). The στρατηγός had his own secretary (*Antiq.* xx. 6. 2; 9. 3), and had to maintain the police in the courts (comp. Acts iv. 1 and v. 24). He appears to have been of sufficient dignity to be mentioned together with the chief priests. It seems that his Hebrew title was אִישׁ הַר הַבַּיִת, *the man of the mountain of the house*.

The priests themselves kept watch on three different posts, and the Levites on twenty-one posts.

It was the duty of the police of the temple to prevent women from entering the inner court, and to take care that no person who was Levitically unclean should enter within the sacred precincts. Gentiles were permitted to pass the first enclosure, which was therefore called the Court of the Gentiles; but persons who were on any account Levitically unclean were even not permitted to advance thus far. Some sorts of uncleanness—for instance that arising from the touch of a corpse—excluded only from the court of the men. If an unclean person had entered by mistake, he was required to offer sacrifices of purification. The high-priest himself was forbidden to enter the holy of holies under penalty of death on any other day but the day of atonement (Philo, *Opp.* ii. 591). Nobody was admitted within the precincts of the temple who carried a stick or a basket, and who wanted to pass merely to shorten his way, or who had dusty shoes (*Middoth*, ii. 2).

The various office-bearers in the temple were called στρατηγοὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, *captains or officers of the temple* (Luke xxii. 52), while their chief was simply designated στρατηγός.

During the final struggle of the Jews against the Romans, A.D. 70, the temple was the last scene of the tug of war. The Romans rushed from the tower Antonia into the sacred precincts, the halls of which were set on fire by the Jews themselves. It was against the will of Titus that a Roman soldier threw a firebrand into the northern out-buildings of the temple, which caused the conflagration of the whole structure, although Titus himself endeavoured to extinguish the fire (Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* vi. 4). 'One cannot but wonder at the accuracy of this period thereto relating; for the same month and day were now observed, as I said before, wherein the holy house was burnt formerly by the Babylonians. Now, the number of years that passed from its first foundation, which was laid by King Solomon, till this its destruction, which happened in the second year of the reign of Vespasian, are collected to be one thousand one hundred and thirty, besides seven months and fifteen days; and from the second building of it, which was done by Haggai, in the second year of Cyrus the king, till its destruction under Vespasian, there were six hundred and thirty-nine years and forty-five days.'

The sacred utensils, the golden table of the shewbread, the book of the law, and the golden candlestick, were displayed in the triumph at Rome.



Representations of them are still to be seen sculptured in relief on the triumphal arch of Titus (comp. Fleck's *Wissenschaftliche Reise*, i. 1, plate i.-iv.; and Reland, *De spoliis Templi Hierosolymitani in arcu Titiano*, edit. E. A. Schulze, Traject. ad Rh. 1775. The place where the temple had stood seemed to be a dangerous centre for the rebellious population, until, in A.D. 136, the emperor Hadrian founded a Roman colony, under the name *Ælia Capitolina*, on the ruins of Jerusalem, and dedicated a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus on the ruins of the temple of Jehovah. Henceforth no Jew was permitted to approach the site of the ancient temple, although the worshippers of Jehovah were in derision compelled to pay a tax for the maintenance of the temple of Jupiter. Comp. Dion Cassius (Xiphil.) lxix. 12; Hieron. *ad Jes.* ii. 9; vi. 11, *seq.*; Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* iv. 6; *Demonstratio Evangelica*, viii. 18. Under the reign of Constantine the Great some Jews were severely punished for having attempted to restore the temple (comp. Fabricii *Lux Evangelii*, p. 124).

The emperor Julian undertook, A.D. 363, to rebuild the temple; but after considerable preparations and much expense, he was compelled to desist by flames which burst forth from the foundations (comp. Ammianus Marcellinus, xxiii. 1; Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.* iii. 20; Sozomen, v. 22; Theodoretus, iii. 15; Schröckh, *Kirchen Geschichte*, vi. 385, *seq.*) Repeated attempts have been made to account for these igneous explosions by natural causes; for instance, by the ignition of gases which had long been pent up in subterranean vaults (comp. Michaelis, *Zerst. kl. Schrift.* iii. 453, *seq.*) A similar event is mentioned by Josephus (*Antiq.* xvi. 7. 1), where we are informed that Herod, while plundering the tombs of David and Solomon, was suddenly frightened by flames which burst out and killed two of his soldiers. Bishop Warburton contends for the miraculousness of the event in his discourse *Concerning the Earthquake and Fiery Eruption which defeated Julian's Attempt to rebuild the Temple of Jerusalem*. Comp. also J. G. Lotter, *Historia Instaurationis Templi Hierosolymitani sub Juliano*, Lips. 1728, 4to; J. G. Michaelis (F. Holzfuß) *Diss. de Templi Hierosolymitani Juliani mandato per Judeos frustra tentata restitutione*, Hal. 1751, 4to; Lardner's *Collection of Ancient Jewish and Heathen Testimonies*, iv. p. 57, *seq.*; Ernesti, *Theol. Bibl.* ix. 604, *seq.* R. Tourlet's French Translation of the works of Julian, Paris 1821, tom. ii. p. 435, *seq.*, contains an examination of the evidence concerning this remarkable event. See also Jost's *Geschichte der Israeliten*, iv. p. 211 and 254, *seq.*; and Jost's *Allgemeine Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes*, vol. ii. p. 158.

A splendid mosque now stands on the site of the temple. This mosque was erected by the caliph Omar after the conquest of Jerusalem by the Saracens, A.D. 636. It seems that Omar changed a Christian church, that stood on the ground of the temple, into this mosque, which is called *El Aksa*, the outer, or northern, because it is the third of the most celebrated mosques, two of which—viz. those of Mecca and Medina—are in a more southern latitude.

Compare on the whole subject Ugolino, tom. viii. 9; Lightfoot, *Descriptio Templi Hierosolymitani*, Opp. i. p. 533, *seq.*; J. Bapt. Villalpando et Pradi, in *Ezechiel*; J. Jud. Leonis, libri quatuor, *De Templo Hieros. tam priori quam poster. ex Hebr.*

*Lat. vers.* a J. Saubert, Helmst. 1665, 4to; L. Capelli, *Τριπλῶνον, sive Triplex Templi delineatio*, Amst. 1643, 4to—this is also inserted in the *Critici Anglicani*, tom. viii., and in the first vol. of Walton's *Polyglott*; Lightfoot, *Descr. Templi Hierosol.* in Opp. i. p. 553, ed. 1686; Harenberg, in *d. Brem. u. Verdisch. Biblioth.* iv. 1, *seq.*; 573, *seq.*; 879, *seq.*; Bh. Lamy, *De tabern. foed. urbe Hieros. et de Templo*, Par. 1720, *seq.*; Hirt, *Der Tempel Salomons*, Berl. 1809, 4to m. 3 Kpfm.; Stieglitz, *Gesch. der Baukunst*, Nürmb. 1827, p. 125, *seq.*; Less, *Beiträge zur Geschich. d. Ausbild. Baukunst*, Leipz. 1834, i. 63, *seq.*; V. Meyer, *Der Tempel Salom.* Berl. 1830; inserted also in *Blätter f. höhere Wahrheit Folge*, i.; Grüneisen, in *Kunstblatt z. Morgenbl.* 1831, No. 73-75, 77-80; Bähr, *D. Salomon. Tempel*, 1848; Thienius, *Die B. B. der Könige erkl.* Anh. p. 25. Some other works are mentioned by Meusel, *Biblioth. Histor.* i. ii. 113, *seq.* The best works on the antiquities and history of the Jews contain also chapters illustrative of the temple; see also Winer's *Real-Wörterb. sub* 'Tempel'; and the art. 'Tempel zu Jerusalem,' by Merz in Herzog, *Real-Encycl.*—C. H. F. B.

TEMPTATION OF OUR LORD (Matt. iv. 1-11; Mark i. 12, 13; Luke iv. 1-12). The popular view of this undoubted portion of our Saviour's history is, that it is a narrative of outward transactions; that our Saviour immediately after his baptism was conducted by the Spirit into the wilderness—either the desolate and mountainous region now called Quarantania by the people of Palestine (Kitto's *Physical History*, pp. 39, 40), or the great desert of Arabia, mentioned in Deut. xxxii. 10; viii. 15; Hos. xiii. 5; Jer. ii. 6, etc.—where the devil tempted him in person, appeared to him in a visible form, spoke to him in an audible voice, removed him to the summit 'of an exceeding high mountain,' and to the top of 'a pinnacle of the temple at Jerusalem;' whereas the view taken by many learned commentators, ancient and modern, is, that it is the narrative of a *vision*, which was designed to 'supply that ideal experience of temptation or trial, which it was provided in the divine counsels for our Lord to receive, previously to entering upon the actual trials and difficulties of his ministry' (Bishop Maltby, *Sermons*, vol. ii. Lond. 1822, p. 276). Farmer also considers it a 'divine vision,' and endeavours with much learning and ingenuity, to 'illustrate the wise and benevolent intention of its various scenes, as symbolical predictions and representations of the principal trials attending Christ's public ministry' (*Inquiry into the Nature and Design of Christ's Temptation*, 8vo, London, Preface). On behalf of the popular interpretation, it is urged that the accounts given by the evangelists convey no intimation that they refer to a vision; that the feeling of hunger could not have been merely ideal; that a vision of forty days' continuance is incredible; that Moses, who was a type of Christ, saw no 'visions,' and that hence it may be concluded Christ did not; that it is highly probable there would be a personal conflict between Christ and Satan, when the former entered on his ministry. Satan had ruined the first Adam, and might hope to prevail with the second (Trollope's *Analecta*, vol. i. Lond. 1830, p. 46). Why too, say others, was our Lord taken up into a mountain to see a vision? As reasonably might St. Paul

have taken the Corinthians into a mountain to 'show them the more excellent way of charity' (1 Cor. xii. 31). On the contrary side, it is rejoined, that the evangelists do really describe the temptation as a vision. St. Matthew says, ἀνέχθη εἰς τὴν ἔρημον ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος; St. Mark, τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτὸν ἐκβάλλει; and St. Luke, ἤγετο ἐν τῷ πνεύματι. Do these phrases mean no more than that Jesus went by the guidance or impulse of the Spirit to a particular locality? Do they not rather import that Christ was brought into the wilderness under the full influence of the prophetic Spirit making suitable revelations to his mind? With regard to the hunger, the prophets are represented as experiencing bodily sensations in their visions (Ezek. iii. 3; Rev. x. 10). Further arguments, derived from an unauthorised application of types, are precarious—that the first Adam really had no personal encounter with Satan; that all the purposes of our Lord's temptation might be answered by a vision, for whatever might be the mode, the effect was intended to be produced upon his mind and moral feelings, like St. Peter's vision concerning Cornelius, etc. (Acts x. 11-17); that commentators least given to speculate allow that the temptation during the first forty days was carried on by mental suggestion only, and that the visible part of the temptation began 'when the tempter came to him' (Matt. iv. 3; Luke iv. 3; Scott, *in loc.*); that, with regard to Christ's being 'taken up into an exceeding high mountain,' Ezekiel says (xl. 2): 'In the visions of God, brought he me into the land of Israel, and set me upon a very high mountain,' etc.; and that St. John says: 'He carried me away in the spirit to a great and high mountain, and showed me that great city the holy Jerusalem' (Rev. xxi. 10). But certain direct arguments are also urged on the same side. Thus, is it consistent with the sagacity and policy of the evil spirit, to suppose that he appeared in his own proper person to our Lord, uttering solicitations to evil? Was not this the readiest mode to frustrate his own intentions? Archbishop Secker says: 'Certainly he did not appear what he was, for that would have entirely frustrated his intent' (*Sermons*, vol. ii. p. 114). Chandler says: 'The devil appeared not as himself, for that would have frustrated the effect of his temptation' (*Serm.* vol. iii. p. 178). Secker supposes that 'Satan transformed himself into an angel of light;' but was it likely that he would put on this form in order to tempt our Lord to idolatry? (Matt. iv. 9.) Chandler thinks he appeared as 'a good man;' but would it have served his purpose to appear as a good man promising universal dominion? The supposition that the devil disguised himself in any form might indeed constitute the temptation a trial of our Lord's understanding, but not of his heart. Besides, Christ is represented as addressing him as 'Satan' (ver. 10). It is further urged that the literal interpretation does but little honour to the Saviour, whom it represents as carried or conducted, 'by the devil at his will,' and therefore as accessory to his own temptation and danger; nor does it promote the consolation of his followers, none of whom could ever be similarly tempted. Our Lord indeed submitted to all the liabilities of the human condition; but do these involve the dominion of Satan over the body, to the extent thus represented? The literal interpretation also attributes miraculous powers to the devil, who, though a spiritual being,

is represented as becoming visible at pleasure, speaking in an audible voice, and conveying mankind where he pleases—miracles not inferior to what our Lord's preservation would have been, had he cast himself headlong from the temple. Suppose we even give up the old notion, that 'the devil hurried Christ through the air, and carried him from the wilderness to the temple' (Benson's *Life of Christ*, p. 35); and say with Doddridge and others, that 'the devil took our Lord about with him as one person takes another to different places;' yet how without a miracle shall we account for our Saviour's admission to the exterior of the temple, unless he first, indeed, obtained permission of the authorities, which is not recorded? (Comp. Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 11, sec. 3, 5, and *De Bell. Jud.* v. 5.) The difficulty is solved by the supposition simply of a change in our Lord's perceptions. And how can we further understand, except by the aid of a vision or a miracle, that the devil 'showed our Lord all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them in a moment of time' (ἐν στιγμή χρόνου), a phrase referring to the mathematical point, and meaning the most minute and indivisible portion of duration—that is, instantaneously; yet in this space of time, according to the literal interpretation, 'the devil showed our Lord all the kingdoms of the world and all the glory of them'—*i.e.* whatever relates to their magnificence, as imperial robes, crowns, thrones, palaces, courts, guards, armies, etc. Scott and Doddridge resort to the supposition of 'an illusory show;' but it may be asked, if one of the temptations was conducted by such means, why not the other two? Macknight endeavours to explain 'all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them' as relating only to the land of promise (*Harmony of the Gospels*, Lond. 1822, p. 350, note). Farmer conceives that no mountain in Palestine commands so extensive a prospect. It is a further difficulty attending the literal interpretation, that Satan represents all the kingdoms of the world and their glory to be at his disposal; an assertion not denied by our Lord, who simply rejects the offer. It may readily be conceived that it would answer all purposes that Jesus should seem to have the proposal in question made to him. It is next observed, that many things are spoken of in Scripture as being done, which were only done in vision. See the numerous instances collected by Bishop Law (*Considerations of the Theory of Religion*, Lond. 1820, pp. 85, 86). The reader may refer to Gen. xxxii. 30; Hos. i. iii.; Jer. xiii. xxv. xxvii.; Ezek. iii. iv. v. St. Paul calls his being 'caught up into the third heaven and into Paradise' a vision and revelation of the Lord (2 Cor. xii. 1-4). It is plain, from this instance in the case of Paul, and from that of St. Peter (Acts xii. 7-9), who had already experienced visions (x. 10, etc.), that neither of the apostles could at first distinguish visions from impressions made on the senses. In further illustration it is urged that the prophets are often said to be carried about in visions (Ezek. viii. 1-10; xi. 24, 25; xxxvii. 1; xl. 1, 2). The phrases 'by the spirit,' etc., are equivalent to 'the hand of God,' etc., among the prophets (1 Kings xviii. 46; 2 Kings iii. 15; Ezek. i. 3). A comparison of the parallel phrases in the Sept. of Ezekiel, and the evangelists, in regard to Christ's temptation, casts much light upon the subject. The phrase, 'the devil leaveth him,' is equivalent to the phrase, 'the



vision I had seen went up from me' (Ezek. xi. 24). Farmer's theory respecting the intention of this prophetic vision may be thus summarily stated. The spirit of God was its sole author, making suitable revelations to the mind of Jesus, with a view to his future trials. It is called a temptation of the devil, because couched under the figure of Satan coming to him and offering him temptations. The first scene was probationary, serving to try the present turn and temper of the Saviour's mind; and also prophetic, having reference to his future ministry, through the whole course of which he was pressed with the same kind of temptations, and resisted them upon the same principles. This part of the vision conveyed this general instruction, that Christ, though the Son of God, was to struggle with hunger and thirst, and all other evils incidental to the lowest of the sons of men, and that he was never to exert his miraculous power for his own personal relief, but with resignation and faith wait for the interposition of God in his favour. The second scene, in which he was tempted to cast himself from the temple, though dazzling as a proposal to demonstrate his Messiahship by a mode corresponding to the notions of the Jewish people, was intended to teach him not to prescribe to God in what instances he shall exert his power, nor rush into danger uncalled in dependence upon divine aid, nor to dictate to divine wisdom what miracles shall be wrought for men's conviction. Upon these principles he resisted this suggestion, and accordingly we find him ever after exemplifying the same principles. He never needlessly exposed himself to danger in reliance upon miraculous interposition; he cautiously declined hazards, avoided whatever might exasperate his enemies, enjoined silence with regard to his miracles when the publication of them might have excited envy or commotion; he opened his commission in Galilee, not in Jerusalem, courted privacy, avoided the great, conversed with the common people, etc. The third scene presignified the temptation to which he would be subject during the whole course of his ministry, to prostitute all his miraculous endowments to the service of Satan, for the sake of worldly honours, or for gratifying the mistaken apprehensions of the Jewish people. It is pleaded that this explanation obviates all difficulties, justifies the wisdom of God in this dispensation, and confirms our confidence in Christ's divine mission and character, since we thus learn that he was made acquainted with all he had to suffer, and nevertheless persevered, and with final success; and further, that through the various exercises thus afforded to his moral principles he learned 'to succour those that are tempted.' Farmer's inquiry throughout is recommended to the careful perusal of the student. For a comparison of the circumstances of the temptation and of the crucifixion, see *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, vol. x. p. 604; for the coincidence between the petitions of the Lord's prayer and the temptation, p. 605, note; and for the analogy between the temptation of our Lord in the wilderness and of Adam in Paradise, see Townsend's *Chronological Arrangement*, Lond. 1828, vol. i. p. 92.—J. F. D.

## TEN COMMANDMENTS. [DECALOGUE.]

TENT (אֹהֶל, מִשְׁכָּן, σκηνή; קֶהָל, קֶהָל, κάμινος).

The patriarchal fathers of the Israelites were dwellers in tents, and their descendants proceeded at

once from tents to houses. We therefore read but little of *huts* among them; and never as the fixed habitations of any people with whom they were conversant. By huts we understand small dwellings made of the green or dry branches of trees intertwined, and sometimes plastered with mud. In Scripture they are called *booths*. Such were made by Jacob to shelter his cattle during the first winter of his return from Mesopotamia (Gen. xxxiii. 17). In after times we more frequently read of them as being erected in vineyards and orchards, to shelter the man who guarded the ripened produce (Job xxvii. 18; Is. i. 8; xxiv. 20). It was one of the Mosaical institutions that, during the Feast of Tabernacles, the people should live for a week in huts made of green boughs (Lev. xxiii. 42).



500.

The Scriptures make us more familiar with tents than with huts. They were invented before the Deluge, and appear from the first to have been associated with the pastoral life, to which a movable habitation was necessary (Gen. iv. 20). The practice of the pastoral fathers was to pitch their tents near wells of water, and, if possible, under some shady tree (Gen. xviii. 4; Judg. iv. 5). The first tents were undoubtedly covered with skins, of which there are traces in the Pentateuch (Exod. xxvi. 14); but nearly all the tents mentioned in Scripture were, doubtless, of goats' hair, spun and woven by the women (Exod. xxxv. 26; xxxvi. 14); such as are now, in Western Asia, used by all who dwell in tents; hence their black colour (Sol. Song, i. 5). Tents of linen were, and still are, only used occasionally, for holiday or travelling purposes, by those who do not habitually live in them. The patriarchal tents were probably such as we now see in Arabia, of an oblong shape, and eight or ten feet high in the middle. They vary in size, and have, accordingly, a greater or less number of poles to support them—from three to nine. An encampment is generally arranged circularly, forming an enclosure, within which the cattle are driven at night, and the centre of which is occupied by the tent or tents of the Emir or Sheikh. If he is a person of much consequence, he may have three or four tents, for himself, his wives, his servants, and strangers, respectively. The two first are of the most importance, and we know that Abraham's wife had a separate tent (Gen. xxiv. 67). It is more usual, however, for one very large tent to be divided into two or more apartments by curtains. The Holy Tabernacle was on this model (Exod. xxvi. 31-37).—J. K.

TE'O (תֵּאוֹ) or To (תֵּאוֹ; Sept. θρυξ), Deut.

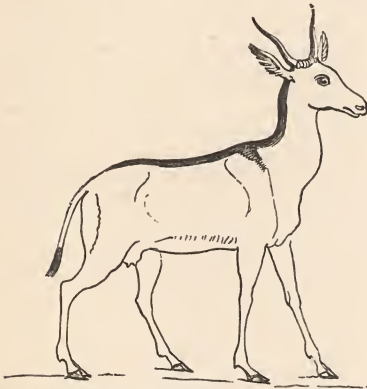
xiv. 5; Is. li. 20 (*Oryx tao*, the Nubian oryx, Ham. Smith), is either a species or a distinct variety of leucoryx. The male, being nearly four feet high

at the shoulder, is taller than that of the leucoryx; the horns are longer, the body comparatively lighter, and every limb indicative of vigour and elasticity: on the forehead there is a white spot, distinctly marked by the particular direction of the hair turning downwards before the inner angle of the eye to near the mouth, leaving the nose rufous,



501. *Oryx tao*, or Nubian oryx.

and forming a kind of letter A. Under the eye, towards the cheek, there is a darkish spot, not very distinct; the limbs, belly, and tail are white; the body mixed white and red, most reddish about the neck and lower hams. This species resides chiefly in the desert west of the Nile, but is most likely not unknown in Arabia; certain it is, that both are figured on Egyptian monuments, the leucoryx being distinguished by horns less curved, and by some indication of black on the face. The Targums



502. *Antelope defassa* of Wilkinson. *Acronotus defassa*.

identify it with the *Bos sylvestris*, or wild ox; and there is a species of wild bove referable to the antilopidæ, though not an oryx, but most likely belonging to the genus damalis and the acronotine group of Griffith's Cuvier. It is the *Antelope defassa* of Sir J. Wilkinson, which we would place by the side of *Acronotus bubalis*, if it be not the

same, as might be inferred from the figures at Beni Hassan,\* in which the elevated withers are very conspicuous, where it is represented actually caught by the noose or lazzo. This last species would answer completely to the description of wild bull, while there can be no doubt that, in the dialects of some provinces of that country, the oryges of Arabia may still be denominated *reem*, even when bearing both horns; and all are sufficiently vicious, energetic, and capable of mischief, to justify the characters assigned to them in poetical phraseology, agreeably to the amplifying spirit of Aramæan nations.—C. H. S.

TERAH (תֶּרַח, Sept. Θάρρα), son of Nahor and father of Abraham, who, with his family, quitted Ur of the Chaldees to go to the land which God should show him, 'but tarried at Haran in Mesopotamia, and there died at the age of 205 years' (Gen. xi. 24-32; Acts vii. 2-4). From the latter text it appears that the first call which prompted them to leave Ur was addressed to Abraham, not to Terah, as well as the second, which, after the death of his father, induced him to proceed from Haran to Canaan [ABRAHAM]. The order to Abraham to proceed to Canaan immediately after Terah's death seems to indicate that the pause at Haran was on his account. Whether he declined to proceed any further, or his advanced age rendered him unequal to the fatigues of the journey, can only be conjectured. It appears, however, from Josh. xxiv. 2, 14, that Terah was given to idolatry, or rather, perhaps, to certain idolatrous superstitions retained together with the acknowledgment and worship of Jehovah, such as existed in the family in the time of his great-grandson Laban (Gen. xxxi. 30). This may suggest that it was not in the divine wisdom deemed proper that one who had grown old in such practices should enter the land in which his descendants were destined to exemplify a pure faith.—J. K.

TERAPHIM (תְּרָפִים). This word is in the A. V. always rendered either by '*teraphim*,' or by '*images*' with '*teraphim*' in the margin, except in 1 Sam. xv. 23; Zech. x. 2, where it is represented by '*idolatry*,' '*idols*.' The singular of the word does not occur, though in 1 Sam. xix. 13, 16, it appears that only *one* image is referred to. Possibly, as in the case of the Roman Penates (which word also has no singular), these representative images were always two or three in number. Strange to say, in the LXX. they are represented by a *different* rendering in nearly every book where the word occurs; in Gen. xxxi. by εἰδωλα, in Judg. xvii. xviii. by θεράφιν or τὸ θεράφειν, in 1 Sam. xix. by κεντάφια, in Ezek. xxi. 21 by γλυπτὰ, in Hos. iii. 4 by δῆλοι, and in Zech. x. 2 by ἀποσθεγῆσθαι. In the Vulg. we find nearly the same variations between *theraphim*, *statua*, *idola*, *simulacra*, *figure*, *idolorum*, *idololatritia*. In the Tar-

\* Wilkinson's *Anc. Egyptians*, vol. iii. p. 18, cut 327. In cut 328, No. 3 appears to be *A. Bubalis*, and No. 4 *defassa*, distinguished by lunate, cow-like horns, and a black cross on the shoulders and spine. *A. Bubalis* still comes occasionally to the Nile, and all the ruminants of the wilderness are at times liable to migrate from famine caused by drought or locusts.



gums the word is rendered by תַּלְמוּנִי, 'images,' and in Hos. iii. 4 by מְנַבִּי, 'announcers'; Aquila used *μορφώματα* and l. c. *φωτισμούς*; Symmachus *εἰδωλα*.

The references to teraphim in the Bible open so curious a question, and are of such high importance to elucidate the mental growth and history of the Jews, that we must pass them briefly in review; a process by which we are far more likely to arrive at a reasonable conclusion than if we recorded the vagrant guesses and baseless theories of learned commentators, at the least extravagant of which we shall merely glance.

1. Teraphim are first mentioned in Gen. xxxi. 19, where we are told that Rachel stole the teraphim of her father Laban, and successfully concealed them from his search under the *hīran* or coarse carpet which is used to cover the wicker-work pack-saddle of the camel. Aben Ezra says that she stole them in order that her father might not by means of their oracles discover the direction\* of Jacob's flight; Josephus says that she carried off these *τύπους τῶν θεῶν* that they might serve as a material protection to her if overtaken, although she herself disbelieved in them (*καταφρονεῖν μὲν τῆς τοιαύτης τιμῆς τῶν θεῶν διδάξαντος αὐτὴν τοῦ Ἰακώβου*, Joseph. *Antiq.* i. 19. 8); and lastly, some suppose that she was tempted by the precious metals of which they were made. It is far more probable that, like her father, Rachel, whose mind was evidently tainted with superstition (Gen. xxx. 14), regarded the teraphim as tutelary 'gods' (xxx. 30). Laban's eagerness to recover them shows the importance in which they were held, and it is important to observe that, although a believer in Elohim (xxx. 53), he openly paid to these teraphim, which were probably ancestral divinities of his family (xxx. 53), an idolatrous worship. Jurieu (*Hist. des Dogmes et des Cultes*, ii. 3, p. 456), after elaborately entering into the question, thinks that they may have been images of Shem and Noah.

2. It is extremely probable that these household deities were among the 'strange gods' and talismanic earrings which Jacob required his family to give up, and which were buried by him under the boughs of *Allon-Meonenim* 'the sorcerer's oak' (Judg. ix. 37). But an isolated act would naturally be ineffectual to abolish a cult which had probably existed for centuries in the Aramæan home of the Semites, and consequently in the time of the Judges we find the worship of teraphim existing in full vigour. The 17th and 18th chapters of Judges are entirely occupied with the story of Micah, an Ephraimite, who in those wild and ignorant times had fancied that he could honour Jehovah (xvii. 13) by establishing a worship in his own house. To the ephod and teraphim which he already possessed (ver. 5) his mother added a Pesel and Massékâh (possibly 'a graven and a molten image') made out of the gold which she had consecrated to Jehovah, and which he had stolen. When Jonathan, the grandson of Moses,† arrived at the house in his

accidental wanderings, Micah engaged him as a regular priest, and anticipated in consequence the special blessing of Jehovah. The five Danite spies consulted these oracular Penates of Micah through the intervention of Jonathan (xviii. 5), and informed the Danites on their way to Laish of the images which the house contained. The Danite warriors, with the most unscrupulous indifference, violently carried off the whole apparatus of this private cult, including the priest himself, to their new city; and we are informed that it continued to be celebrated till 'the day of the captivity of the land,' which, as we see from the next verse, may *perhaps*\* mean till the capture of Shiloh by the Philistines. What is most remarkable in this narrative is the fact that both Micah, who was a worshipper of Jehovah, and the Danites, who acknowledged Elohim (xviii. 5, 10), and Jonathan, the grandson of Moses himself, should, in spite of the distinctest prohibitions of the law, have regarded the adoration of teraphim and other images as harmless, if not as laudable; and that this form of idolatry, without any political motive to palliate it as in the case of Jeroboam, should have been adopted and maintained without surprise or hesitation, nay even with eager enthusiasm, by an entire tribe of Israel.

3. The next very distinct notice of teraphim which we find is in 1 Sam. xix. 13-16, where Michal, to give David more time to escape, deceives the messengers of Saul by putting 'the teraphim' in his bed 'with a pillow of goat's hair for his bolster.' The use of the article shows that 'the teraphim' was something perfectly well known (Thenius, *ad loc.*), and the fact that we thus find it (or them) in the house of a man so pious as David, entirely confirms our inference as to the prevalence of these images. The suggestions of Michaelis that Michal may have worshipped them unknown to David,† and that barren women were especially devoted to them, are wholly without foundation. We may legitimately infer from the passage that they had some rude resemblance to the human shape, being perhaps something like the *Hermæ*; hence Aquila in this place renders the word by *προτομαί*. The LXX. rendering *κενοτάφια* very probably points to the belief that the teraphim were images of deceased ancestors (*κενοτάφια τῶν ἡσαν ἐλισσόμενα ὡς τύπος νεκροῦ*. Suid. *vid.* Bochart, *Hieroz.* I. lib. ii. c. 51); and the rendering of 'put a pillow of goat's hair for his bolster' by *καὶ ἤπαρ τῶν αὐγῶν ἔθετο πρὸς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ*, 'she placed the goat's liver at his head,' shows that they read כֶּבֶר, 'liver,' for כְּבִיר, 'matress.' Now, if this ancient reading were correct, it brings the passage into remarkable parallel with Ezek. xxi. 21, where Nebuchadnezzar is said to have decided his course by *belomantia*, together with *consultation of teraphim and looking into the liver* (extispicium). From a combination of the two passages, Mr. R. S. Poole (Smith's *Dict. of*

the untenable, and we fear dishonest Jewish corruption of 'Moses' into 'Manasseh.'

\* Yet a comparison of Hos. iii. 3 would point the other way; *vid. infra*.

† הַתְּרָפִים. The article explodes the arguments of Michaelis (*De Theraphis. Comment. Soc. Gott.* 1763), Bochart (*Hieroz.* i. p. 623), etc., that the teraphim in this instance was a mere hastily-made doll of rags, in fact a sort of malkin.

\* That Laban adopted this or some other mode of augury is clear from his use of the word *nichashkithi*, 'I have augured,' Gen. xxx. 27. [See LABAN; the author's initials, F. W. F., have been accidentally omitted at the end of that article.]

† It is unfortunate that the A. V. should retain



*Bible*, art. 'Magic') has ingeniously conjectured that Michal may have been divining by means of a sacrifice to the teraphim when Saul's messenger arrived, and that she put the yet palpitating liver on the bed, with the image, which in a small dark narrow recess might well enough pass for a human being. Josephus, with his usual want of honesty, *omits all mention of the teraphim*, and only says that she put the *liver* under the bed-clothes, hoping that its motion would make the men more easily believe that David was\* gasping! (*Antiq.* vi. II. 4).

4. The next passage of importance about the teraphim is Hos. iii. 4, which is encompassed by difficulties. The prophet, purchasing Gomer to himself, bids her be chaste for many days, 'for the children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, and without a sacrifice, and without an image (*matzēbāh*), and without an ephod, and *without teraphim*.' Here it would certainly be the *primā facie* impression of every unbiassed reader that the *matzēbāh* and the teraphim are mentioned *without blame* as ordinary parts of religious worship. Without, however, entering into the question (which perhaps cannot be decided), whether Hosea did, or did not, mean to commend or tolerate these material adjuncts to a monotheistic worship, it is certainly not surprising that the reverence paid to the teraphim should have continued in Israel side by side with that paid to the *calves*, which beyond all doubt were intended to be mere elohistic symbols; and this is the less surprising when we remember that *one* of these cherubic emblems was set up *in the very city* (Dan) *to which the teraphim of Micah had been carried*; and probably indeed because of the existence there of the irregular worship established by Moses' grandson. But here again the LXX. version is curious and perplexing; for it uses the word *δῆλοι* (sc. *λίθοι*, bright gems), a word which, like *δῆλωσις*, it uses elsewhere of the *Urim and Thummim* (Num. xxvii. 21; 1 Sam. xxviii. 6); and Aquila seems to have had the same notion in adopting the word *φωτισμοῦς*, and it is even countenanced by St. Jerome, who in this passage includes the teraphim among the '*instrumenta sacerdotalis habitūs*.' This is one starting-point for the theory, supported with such a mass of splendid but unconvincing learning by Spencer (*De Legg. Hebr.* lib. iii. dissert. vii. pp. 920-1038), that the teraphim and urim were identical. He argues not only from this rendering *δῆλοι*, but also (i.) from the frequent union of *ephod* with teraphim; (ii.) from the supposition that urim means 'fires,' and that teraphim means the same, being a mere Aramaic equivalent for *seraphim*, 'the burning ones;'<sup>†</sup> (iii.) from the constant use of teraphim for oracular purposes. He concludes therefore that they were small images, permitted as a kind of necessary concession to deeply-rooted idolatry, placed in the folds of the ephod, and believed to emit predictions of the divine will. How ill the theory accords with the data before us will be obvious at once.

5. On the other hand, if, in the above passages, we have convincing proof that the use of teraphim was common, if not universal, among the early

Hebrews, there are other passages which show that it was condemned, and that strongly, by the stricter Jehovists. Thus in 1 Sam. xv. 23, we find teraphim classed by Samuel with iniquity and witchcraft; and in 2 Kings xxiii. 24 Josiah puts away the teraphim with wizards, idols, and other abominations; in Ezra xxi. 21, the use of them\* is attributed to the pagan Nebuchadnezzar; and in Zech. x. 2 they are mentioned as sources of deceit. Yet this last passage also proves that so thoroughly were they a part of the national tradition that they continued in use even after the captivity.

The main and certain results of this review are that the teraphim were rude human images; that the use of them was an antique Aramaic custom; that there is reason to suppose them to have been images of deceased ancestors; that they were consulted oracularly; that they were not confined to Jews; that their use continued down to the latest period of Jewish history; and lastly, that although the more enlightened prophets and strictest later kings regarded them as idolatrous, the priests were much less averse to such images, and their cult was not considered in any way repugnant to the pious worship of Elohim, nay even to the worship of him 'under the awful title of Jehovah.'<sup>†</sup> In fact they involved a *monotheistic idolatry very different indeed from polytheism*; and the tolerance of them by priests, as compared with the denunciation of them by the keener insight and more vivid inspiration of the prophets, offers a close analogy to the views of the Roman Catholics respecting pictures and images as compared with the views of Protestants. It was against this use of idolatrous symbols and emblems in a monotheistic worship, that the *second* commandment was directed, whereas the first is aimed against the graver sin of direct polytheism. But the whole history of Israel shows how early and how utterly the law must have fallen into desuetude. The worship of the golden calf, and of the calves at Dan and Bethel, against which, so far as we know, neither Elijah nor Elisha said a single word; the tolerance of high places, teraphim and *bætytia*; the offering of incense for centuries to the brazen serpent destroyed by Hezekiah; the occasional glimpses of the most startling irregularities, sanctioned apparently even in the temple-worship itself; prove most decisively that a pure monotheism, and an independence of symbols, was the result of a slow and painful course of God's disciplinary dealings among the noblest thinkers of a single nation, and not, as is so constantly and erroneously urged, the instinct of the whole Semitic race; in other words, one single branch of the Semites was under God's providence *educated* into pure monotheism only by centuries of misfortune and series of inspired men.

After the time of Zechariah we hear no more of teraphim, but our treatment of the subject would be incomplete if we did not very briefly allude to the vast mass of theory respecting them. Besides Spencer's theory, to which we have already alluded, we may mention four others, utterly valueless indeed, yet curious as bearing on the history of the

\* But in this passage Hävernick thinks that the word is merely used by general analogy for 'idols.'

† As in the case of Aaron, Jonathan, Uria, etc. See some acute remarks on this subject in Michel Nicolas, *Etudes Crit. sur la Bible*, pp. 129-135.

\* τῷ πηδηματι τοῦ ἡπατος σαλευόντος τὸ ἐπιβά-  
λαιον πιστωσάμεν τὸ κατακείμενον τὸν Δαυὶδ ὁ δὲ  
μαλὲν (Joseph. l. c.) Theodoret (*Quæst.* 49, in  
1 Reg.) repeats this preposterous notion.



question. 1. It has been a very general belief derived from Rabbi Eleazar, that a teraph was the head of a first-born infant torn from its shoulders and placed against the wall with a gold plate under it, on which was written the name of an unclean spirit, by means of which the head uttered oracles. This notion has been adopted by Southey in his *Thalaba* (canto ii.) 2. Others believe that *teraphim* were astrological figures made of metal under certain planetary aspects; amulets, in fact, like the *tilsemath* of the Sabæans, and the *telefin* of modern Persians. 3. Michaelis, Lengerke, etc., adopted the vaguer etymological fable that they were Sileni or Satyrs, because Pausanias (vi. 24) says ἐν γὰρ τῇ Ἐβραίων χώρα Σιληίου μῆμα, and this tomb of Silenus may allude to the teraphim buried by Jacob; and because the devils (שְׁעִירִים, 'hairy ones') of Lev. xvii. 7\* must allude to teraphim, which word may be derived from an Arabic root of the same meaning as the verb *trufdaw*, *I live delicately*!

No satisfactory derivation of the word has ever been offered. The one just mentioned, from the Arabic tarapha, 'to abound,' is perhaps as tenable as any, and is adopted by Schultens, Eichhorn, Gesenius, etc. If it be correct, Teraphim would mean 'givers of abundance.' Castelli suggests a Syriac verb 'to inquire'; Hofmann, Spencer, etc., connect it with *Scraphim*; Meier with an Ethiopic root meaning 'relics'; τράγος, θέραπες, turpis, etc., have all been pressed into the service of despairing etymologists.

The literature of the subject is very copious. Among the chief authorities (nearly all of which I have consulted), are Michaelis, *De Theraphis* (ubi supr.); Ugolini, *Thes.* xxiii. 7; Buxtorf, *Lex. Talm.* pp. 2660-2664; Pfeiffer, *Exerc. Bibl.* pp. 1-28; Hottinger, *Hist. Orient.* p. 296; Selden, *De Dis Syr. Syntagm.* i. 2; Spencer, *De Legg. Hebr.* pp. 920-1038; Bochart, *Hieroz.* i. p. 623; Carpzov, *Appar. Crit.* 537-546; Jurieu, *Hist. Crit. des Dogmes*, ii. 3; Gesenius, *Thes.* ii. Besides these nearly every commentator of importance has some dissertation on them; and in general it may be said *quot viri, tot sententiae*. But there is no real ground for this wide diversity of opinion.—F. W. F.

TERTIUS. We learn from Rom. xvi. 22 that the apostle Paul dictated that epistle to Tertius. Tertius was probably a Roman Christian well known to those to whom the epistle was addressed. Some writers say that he was bishop of Iconium (see Fabricii *Lux Evangelii*, p. 117). F. Burmann and Lightfoot conjectured that Tertius and Silas were one and the same person; but this conjecture rests on an exceedingly feeble foundation—namely, the similarity merely of the consonants in the Hebrew numeral שלש, *three*, to the consonants in the name Silas, while Tertius signifies in Latin the *third*. The scantiness of our information about Tertius has been a fruitful source of learned trifling and idle conjecture. See the article Tertius in Winer's *Real-Wört.*—C. H. F. B.

TERTULLUS (Τέρτυλλος), the Roman orator or advocate employed by the Sanhedrim to sustain

their accusation against Paul before the Roman governor (Acts xxiv. 1-8). The Jews, as well as the other peoples subject to the Romans, in their accusations and processes before the Roman magistrates, were obliged to follow the forms of the Roman law, of which they knew little. The different provinces, and particularly the principal cities, consequently abounded with persons who, at the same time advocates and orators, were equally ready to plead in civil actions or to harangue on public affairs. This they did either in Greek or Latin, as the place or occasion required.—J. K.

TESTAMENT, OLD AND NEW. When the books written by the apostles of Jesus Christ, or by apostolic men, came to be placed alongside the sacred books of the Hebrews, as comprising the entire Scriptural canon, it became necessary to distinguish the two divisions by appropriate designations. A usage which already prevailed furnished the designations required. The gracious engagements into which God was pleased to enter with individuals and communities bear in the O. T. the name of בְּרִית or *covenant* [COVENANT], and to this corresponds the Greek διαθήκη in the LXX. and N. T. Of these covenants two stand out from all the rest as of pre-eminent importance—God's covenant with Israel mediated by Moses, and that covenant which He promised to establish through the Messiah. In the Jewish Scriptures this latter is designated בְּרִית הַדְּשָׁה, הַכַּנִּיחַ, הַכַּנִּיחַ, הַכַּנִּיחַ (Jer. xxxi.

31), and this, adopted by our Lord (Matt. xxvi. 28), and familiarly used by the apostles (2 Cor. iii. 6; Heb. ix. 15, etc.), would naturally suggest the application of the phrase ἡ παλαιὰ διαθήκη to the former. Among the Jews such expressions as

לוחות הברית, *plakets της διαθήκης*, for the tablets on which the law was inscribed (Deut. ix. 9); סֵפֶר

הברית, *βιβλιον της διαθήκης* (Exod. xxiv. 7; 2 Kings

xxiii. 21; 1 Maccab. i. 57), *βιβλος διαθήκης* (Ecclus. xxiv. 23), were in common use. From these it is an easy transition to such an expression as that of the apostle (2 Cor. iii. 14), ἡ ἀνάγνωσις τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης, where the name appropriate to the thing contained is used of that which contains it. There thus arose in the Greek church the usage of the phrases ἡ παλαιὰ διαθήκη and ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη as designations of the Jewish and Christian sacred writings respectively. In the Latin church the usage prevailed of calling these *Vetus et Novum Testamentum*. Why the word *Testamentum* was selected to represent διαθήκη rather than *Fœdus* or *Pactum* may be explained by the fact that the former rather than the latter is the proper equivalent of the Greek word. Hence in the old Italia made from the LXX. it is always used where the Greek has διαθήκη; and in the Vulgate it is used similarly in those books that remain in the old version, whereas in those which Jerome translated from the Hebrew בְּרִית is represented by *fœdus* or *pactum*. That this usage was an early one in the Latin church is evident from the words of Tertullian (*Adv. Marc.* iv. 1): Duos Deos dividens (Marcion) alterum alterius Instrumenti vel, quod magis usu est dicere, Testamenti. The use of *Testamentum*, however, does not seem to have been universally accepted till a much later period. In the passage quoted Tertullian evidently gives

\* Creuzer, partially adopting this view, thinks that it may have led to the old almanny that the Jews worshipped the head of an ass (Tac. *Hist.* v. 4; Rutilius, l. 387).



the preference to the word *instrumentum*, a term used technically to denote a writing by which anything is to be attested or proved (comp. Quintil. *Inst. Orat.* xii. 8. 12); and this is the word he generally uses (comp. *Adv. Marc.* iv. 2; *De Pudic.* c. 12, etc.). Rufinus also has 'novum et vetus instrumentum' (*Expos. Symb. Apostol.*); and Augustine uses both *instrumentum* and *testamentum* in the same context (*De Civ. Dei*, xx. 4). Lactantius, however, freely uses *testamentum* as a well-accredited term when he wrote (*Inst. Div.* iv. 20).

From the Vulgate and the usage of the Latin fathers, Luther adopted *Testament* in his translation, and this has continued to be the usage in Germany, though some scholars there prefer the term *Bund*, the proper rendering of בְּרִית and of διαθήκη as used by the sacred writers. In this country *Testament* has so established itself in common usage and the reverent feelings of the community, that all attempts to displace it would be futile and unwise.

The Jews divided the O. T. into three portions—the Torah or Law (comprising the Pentateuch), the Nebiim or Prophets (with the subdivision into Earlier and Later), and the Chethubim or Hagiographa. [CANON.] From an early period the books of the N. T. were divided into two portions, the one embracing the four gospels, the other the remaining books, and called respectively τὰ εὐαγγέλιον or τὰ εὐαγγελικά, and τὰ ἀποστολικά or οἱ ἀπόστολοι (Iren. i. 3. 6; iii. 11. 8; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. p. 561; vi. p. 659). Tertullian has 'Instrumentum Evangelicum,—apostolicum' (*Adv. Marc.* iv. 2); and he speaks also of the 'Evangelicæ, apostolicæ literæ' (*De Præscr.* c. 36). It is often stated that the latter division is sometimes called ἀπόστολος by the fathers, but this is more than doubtful; at any rate the two passages usually adduced in proof do not fully bear it out; for in the one (Tertull. *De Bapt.* c. 15) certainly, and in the other (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. p. 706) probably, 'Apostle' means the writer not the writing. In one passage Clement seems to use εὐαγγέλιον as comprehending the Epistles as well as the Gospels (*Strom.* iv. p. 475). The division now generally adopted is into three classes—the *Historical*, including the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles; the *Epistolary*, and the *Apocalyptic*.

On the *canonicity* of the different books, see CANON; ANTILEGOMENA; APOCRYPHA; INSPIRATION; and the articles on the separate books.

On the *text* of the O. and N. T., see CRITICISM, BIBLICAL; and MANUSCRIPTS.

On the *Interpretation* of the O. and N. T., see INTERPRETATION; COMMENTARY; HARMONIES; and the notices of the different commentators.

The *Versions* of the O. and N. T. will be found under their proper heads.

See also BIBLE; HAPHTHARA; QUOTATIONS; SYNAGOGUE, GREAT, etc.—W. L. A.

**TETRARCH** (τετράρχης; *tetrarcha*). This word, as its etymology indicates, originally signified the ruler of the fourth part of a country (τετράρχια or τετραδαρχία). Such were the four ancient divisions of Thessaly (Eurip. *Alcest.* 1154; Phot. *in voc.*; Strabo, ix. 5), revived by Philip (Dem. *Phil.* iii. p. 117; Thirlwall, *Hist. Gr.* vi. 13, 14, ed. 1), each of which had its own governor subordinate to the Tagus. The same division existed in Galatia, where there were as many as twelve tetrarchies, each of the three tribes being

divided into four, each with its own tetrarch (Strab. 566; Plut. *De V. M.* vol. ii. Wytt), ultimately fused into one ἐπαρχία under Deiotarus, c. 54 B.C.

In the later days of the Roman republic, and during the empire, the etymological meaning was almost entirely lost sight of, and it was applied, like 'ethnarch' and 'phylarch,' to the petty tributaries, 'the creatures of a proconsul's breath, and the puppets of his caprice' (Merivale, *Hist. of Rom.* iv. 167), whose importance did not warrant their receiving the title of 'king.' It is in this secondary sense that, in all probability, the word is used in the N. T. of the tetrarchs of Syria, the heirs and successors of Herod the Great. Niebuhr (*Hist. of Rom.* ii. 135) compares them to the zemindars of Bengal, after their recognition by Lord Cornwallis, 1791-93, as proprietors of the soil, and enjoying some amount of sovereign rights within the limits of their zemindary. The title of tetrarch was certainly given by Antony to Herod the Great in the early part of his career, B.C. 41, and his brother Phasael (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 13. 1), without reference to territorial divisions; and though it appears that the tetrarchs Antipas and Philip did actually receive a fourth part of their father's dominions, while Archelaus as 'ethnarch' inherited half (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 11. 4; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 6. 3), this correspondence of the name and the share may be considered accidental. The three rulers to whom τετράρχης or τετραρχῶν is applied in the N. T. are—(1.) Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, Matt. xiv. 1; Luke iii. 1, 19; ix. 7; Acts xiii. 1; also styled by courtesy βασιλεύς, Mark vi. 14, etc.; Matt. xiv. 9. (2.) Philip, tetrarch of Trachonitis, Auranitis and Batanea, Luke iii. 1. (3.) Lysanias of Abilene, Luke iii. 1.

For these persons, the limits of their tetrarchies, and the chronological difficulties connected with Lysanias, see Wieseler, *Chron. Synops. of Gospels*, translation 159-167; Hug. *Gutachten*; Noldius, *De Reb. Herod.* [HERODIAN FAMILY; LYSANIAS.]—E. V.

**THADDÆUS** (Θαδδαῖος), a surname of the apostle Jude, who was also called Lebbaeus (Matt. x. 3; Mark iii. 18; comp. Luke vi. 16.) [JUDE.]

**THANK-OFFERING.** [OFFERING.]

**THEATRE.** Although theatres and amphitheatres were erected by the Herods in Jerusalem and other towns of Syria (Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 8. 1; xvi. 5. 1; xix. 7. 5; *Bell. Jud.* i. 21. 8), in which magnificent spectacles were exhibited, principally in honour of the Roman emperors, there is no reference to them in the Gospels or Acts. Even in narrating the death of Herod Agrippa (Acts xii. 21, 22), whose fatal seizure, according to the Jewish historian, took place in the theatre at Cæsarea (*Antiq.* xix. 8. 2), the word does not occur. The only mention of a theatre in the O. or N. T. is in the account of the outbreak of popular fanaticism at Ephesus (Acts xix. 29-31). The theatre of that city is stated to have been the scene of the infuriated assembly called together by the inflammatory speech of Demetrius, which for two hours rang with the cry, 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians.' The shell of this theatre remains unmistakably to be recognised on Mount Priar, though the marble seats have been removed. Its ruins are described by Fellows (*As. Min.* p. 274) as 'a wreck of immense grandeur,' and it is said to be the



largest of any that have come down to us from ancient days (Howson's *Life and Letters of St. Paul*, ii. 67). Laborde gives a view of it, copied in Smith's *Dictionary*.

The First Epistle to the Corinthians contains two probable references to theatrical representations, neither of which are very apparent in our version. The word translated 'spectacle' (1 Cor. iv. 9) is *θέατρον*, and the whole passage seems to refer to 'the band of gladiators brought out at last for death, the vast range of an amphitheatre under the open sky well representing the magnificent vision of all created beings, from men up to angels, gazing on the dreadful death-struggle; and then the contrast of the selfish Corinthians sitting by unmoved at the awful spectacle' (Stanley, *Corinthians*, 73). Again, in vii. 31, 'the fashion of this world passeth away,' *τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου παράγει*, many have seen an allusion to the drama, drawn either from the shifting of the scenes, or the passing across the stage of the gorgeous processions then so common.—E. V.

THEBES, THEBÆ, or DIOSPOLIS MAGNA, a city of Egypt, and its capital during the empire, called in the Bible No-Amon or No (נֹחַ אֲמֹן; LXX. *μερὶς Ἀμμὼν*; Nahum iii. 8, *Ν*; LXX. *Διόσπολις*; Jer. xli. 25; Ezek. xxx. 14, 15, 16).

The ancient Egyptian names of Thebes are as usual two, a civil and a sacred, to which all foreign names may be traced, either as transcriptions, at least in origin, or translations. The civil name, perhaps the more ancient of the two, is AP-T, AP-TU, (Brugsch, *Geographische Inschriften*, i. p. 177, pl. xxxvi. Nos. 781-784). Hence the Coptic *ⲧⲁⲛⲉ*, which shows that the fem. article *t* was in this case transferred in pronunciation, and explains the origin of the classical forms *Θήβη*, *Θήβαι*, Thebe, Thebæ (cf. Wilkinson, *Modern Egypt and Thebes*, ii. pp. 136, 137). The sacred name has two forms, PA-AMEN or perhaps PAR-AMEN (Brugsch, *G. I. p.* 177, No. 780), the 'house of Amen,' or Jupiter Ammon, preserved in the Coptic *ⲡⲁⲗⲉⲟⲩⲛ*, where the word *pa* or *par* has been changed into the masc. article (cf. *ⲑⲃⲁⲕⲓ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲗⲉⲟⲩⲛ*), and translated in the Greek *Διόσπολις*; and NU-AMEN, the 'city of Amen,' the sound of the first part of which has been discovered by M. Chabas, who reads NO-AMUN (*Recherches sur le nom Ég. de Thèbes*, p. 5). The latter form of the sacred name is transcribed in the Hebrew No-Amon, and it is easy to understand the use of its first part *Nu*, 'the city,' instead of the whole, at a time when Thebes was still the most important city of Egypt.

The situation of Thebes with reference to the rest of Egypt well suited it to be the capital of the country. Though further from the Mediterranean and Syria than Memphis, it was more secure from invasion, and if it was far from the northern trade it commanded the chief line of commerce from the Red Sea. The actual site is perhaps the best of any ancient town of Upper Egypt. Here the valley, usually straitened by the mountains on one side if not on both, opens out into a plain which is comparatively spacious. On the west bank the mountains leave a broad band of cultivable land, on the east they recede in a semicircle. On the former side they rise to a fine peak about 1200 feet high,

unlike the level cliff-like form of the opposite range, a form seldom varied on either bank throughout the whole valley. The plain between is about two miles long, and has an extreme breadth of about four miles, no large space for a great capital except in Egypt. The monuments do not arrest the attention of the traveller as he sails up the river as do the pyramids of Memphis. On the east the massive fort-like winged portal of El-Karnak, and the colonnade of El-Uksur, and on the west the hills honeycombed with sepulchral grottoes, are the most remarkable objects to be seen, but being far apart they are singly seen from the river. If viewed from the western mountain, the many monuments of Thebes give an idea of the grandeur of this ancient city, the greatest in the world for magnificence if not for size from the days of the Judges to those of the Kings, and in Homer's age notorious even in remote Greece as the ideal of a wealthy and powerful capital.

The old city, Thebes proper, lay on the eastern bank; opposite was the western suburb, known in the time of the Greek and Roman rule as the Memnonia: the whole in ancient Egyptian was called TAM, the *περὶ Θήβας* of the Greeks. Of the houses of the city there are no traces, but they must have been near the temple of El-Karnak. The western suburb has similarly disappeared, though we know by the monuments where was its principal street.

The oldest royal names found at Thebes are those of kings of the Nantef line, who are known to have been there buried, and who are variously assigned to the 9th and the 11th dynasties, but undoubtedly reigned not long before the 12th. The 12th dynasty began about 2000 or 2100 years B.C., and the 11th, which probably ruled about half a century, was, like it, of Theban kings, according to Manetho, the Egyptian historian. The rise of the city to importance may therefore be dated with the beginning of the first Theban dynasty, about the earliest date to which Abraham's journey into Palestine is assigned by chronologers. With the 12th dynasty it became the capital of Egypt, and continued so for the 200 years of the rule of that line. Of this powerful dynasty the chief monument there is only part of the ancient sanctuary of the great temple of Amen-ra, now called that of El-Karnak. The 12th dynasty was succeeded by the 13th, which appears after a time to have lost the rule of all Egypt by the establishment of a foreign Shepherd dynasty, the 15th. Theban kings of the 13th and probably another dynasty, the 17th, continued to govern a limited kingdom, tributary to the Shepherds, until an insurrection arose which led to the conquest of the foreigners and the capture of their capital Zoan by Aahmes, the head of the 18th dynasty, and founder of the Egyptian empire, which was ruled by this and the 19th and 20th dynasties, all of Theban kings, for about 450 years from B.C. *cir.* 1525. During this period Thebes was the capital of the kingdom, and of an empire of which the northern limit was Mesopotamia, and the southern a territory upon the Upper Nile; and then, especially by the kings of the 18th and 19th dynasties, those great monuments which make Thebes the most wonderful site in Egypt were founded or excavated. The kings who have left the finest works are Thothmes III. and Amenoph III. of the 18th dynasty, Setee I. and Rameses II. of the 19th, and Rameses III. of the 20th; but



throughout the period of the empire the capital was constantly beautified. At the close of the 20th dynasty the high-priests of Amen-ra gained the sovereign power, perhaps corresponding to Manetho's 21st dynasty, which he calls of Tanites, and which must in this case be considered as of Thebans. They continued to add to the monuments of the capital, though, like the later kings of the empire, their constructions were not of remarkable size. The 22d dynasty, headed by Sheshenk I., the Shishak of the Bible, seems still to have treated Thebes as the capital, although they embellished their native city Bubastis, in the Delta. Under them and the kings of the 23d, who were evidently of the same line, some additions were made to its temples, but no great independent structures seem to have been raised. The most interesting of these additions is Shishak's list of the countries, cities, and tribes conquered or ruled by him, including the names of those captured from Rehoboam, sculptured in the great temple of El-Karnak. Under the 23d dynasty a period of dissension began, and lasted for some years until the Ethiopian conquest, and establishment of an Ethiopian dynasty, the 25th, about B.C. 714 (see M. de Rougé's interesting paper *Inscr. Hist. du roi Pianchi-Mériamoun*, Rev. Arch. N.S. viii. pp. 94, *seqq.*) At this time the importance of Thebes must have greatly fallen, but it is probable that the Ethiopians made it their Egyptian capital, for their sculptures found there show that they were careful to add their records to those of the long series of sovereigns who reigned at Thebes. It is at the time of the 25th dynasty, to which we may reasonably assign a duration of fifty years, that Thebes is first mentioned in Scripture, and from this period to that of the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, it is spoken of as one of the chief cities of Egypt, or as No, 'the city.' Under the Ethiopians it was no more than a provincial capital; immediately after their rule, it was taken twice at least by the Assyrians. Asshur-bani-pal, son and successor of Esarhaddon, Asshur-akh-iddana, who came to the throne about B.C. 667-66, in a first expedition defeated the troops of Tirhakah, and captured the city of Nî'a: a second time he invaded the country, which had revolted, and again captured Nî'a. The exact time of these events has not been fixed, but it is evident that they occurred either at the close of the rule of the Ethiopian dynasty, or early in that of the Saïte 26th, when Egypt was governed by the Dodecarchy. Tirhakah and Nîku, evidently Necho I., the father of Psammetichus I., are mentioned almost as late as the time of the second expedition. Psammetichus I. came to the throne B.C. 664, and therefore it is probable that these events took place not long before, and about the time of, or a little after, his accession. These dates are especially important, as it is probable that the prophet Nahum refers to the first capture when warning Nineveh by the fate of her great rival. But this reference may be to a still earlier capture by the Assyrians, for Esarhaddon conquered Egypt and Ethiopia, though it is not distinctly stated that he captured Thebes (see Sir H. C. Rawlinson's *Illustrations of Egyptian History, etc., from the Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Trans. R. S. Lit., 2d ser. vol. vii. pp. 137, *seqq.*) The Saïte kings of the 26th dynasty continued to embellish Thebes, which does not seem to have suffered in its monuments from the Assyrians; but when their rule came to an end with the

Persian conquest by Cambyses, it evidently endured a far severer blow. Later Egyptian kings still added to its edifices, and the earlier Greek sovereigns followed their example. The revolt against Ptolemy X. Lathurus, in which Thebes stood a siege of three years, was the final blow to its prosperity. In Strabo's time its population dwelt in small villages, and Thebes no longer existed as a city, and this has been the case ever since; no one of these villages, or those that have succeeded them—for the same sites do not appear in all cases to have been occupied—having risen to the importance of a city. At the present time there are two villages on the eastern bank, El-Karnak and El-Uksur; the former, which is inconsiderable, near the oldest part of ancient Thebes; the latter, which is large and the most important place on the site, so as to deserve to be called a small town, lying some distance to the south on the river's bank. Opposite El-Karnak is the ruined village of El-Kurneh, of which the population mainly inhabit sepulchral grottoes, and opposite El-Uksur, the village of El-Ba'eerat, which indeed is almost beyond the circuit of the monuments of Thebes.

As Memphis is remarkable for its vast necropolis, Thebes surpasses the other cities of Egypt in its temples. The primæval kings of Egypt who ruled at the northern capital were tomb-builders, those who preferred the southern capital were rather temple-builders; and as the works of the former give us the best insight into the characteristics of the national mind, those of the latter tell us the history of the country under its most powerful kings. Thebes is the most thoroughly historical site in Egypt. The temples are not only covered with the sculptured representations and histories of the chief campaigns of the conquering kings and the similar records of their presents to the shrines, and many other details of historical interest, but they have the advantage of showing in the case of the most important temple, or rather collection of temples what was added under each dynasty, almost each reign, from the 16th century B.C. to the Roman dominion, and thus they indicate the wealth, the power, and the state of art, during the chief part of the period for which Thebes was either the capital or an important city of Egypt. The following is the plan of an Egyptian temple of the age of the empire:—An avenue of sphinxes, with at intervals pairs of colossal statues of a king, usually seated, led up to its entrance. The gate was flanked by lofty and broad wings, extending along the whole front of the temple, the long horizontal lines of which were relieved by tapering obelisks. The first hall was usually hypæthral, unless perhaps it had a wooden roof, and was surrounded by colonnades. The second, but sometimes the third, was filled with columns in avenues, the central avenue being loftier than the rest, and supporting a raised portion of the roof. Beyond were the naos and various chambers, all smaller than the court or courts and the hall. This plan was not greatly varied in the Theban temples of which the remains are sufficient for us to form an opinion. The great temple of El-Karnak, dedicated to Amen-ra, the chief god of Thebes, was founded at least as early as the time of the 12th dynasty (B.C. 2100 or 2000?), but is mainly of the age of the 18th and 19th. The first winged portal, which is more than 360 ft. wide, forms the front of a court 329



ft. wide and 275 long. Outside the eastern portion of the south wall of this court is sculptured the famous list of the dominions and conquests of Sheshenk I., the Shishak of Scripture, which has been already mentioned. The great hall of columns is immediately beyond the court, and is of the same width, but 170 ft. long: it was supported by 134 columns, the loftiest of which, forming the central avenue, are nearly 70 ft. high, and about 12 in diameter, the rest more than 40 ft. high, and about 9 in diameter. This forest of columns produces a singularly grand effect. The external sculptures commemorate the wars of Setee I. and his son Rameses II., mainly in Syria. Beyond the great hall are many ruined chambers, and two great obelisks standing in their places amidst a heap of ruins. More than a mile to the south-west of the temple of El-Karnak is that of El-Uksur, a smaller but still gigantic edifice of the same character and age, on the bank of the Nile, and having within and partly around it the houses of the modern village. On the western bank are three temples of importance, a small one of Setee I., the beautiful Rameseum of Rameses II., commonly called the Memnonium, and the stately temple of Rameses III., the Rameseum of Medeenet-Haboo, extending in this order towards the south. Between the Rameseum of Rameses II. and that of Rameses III. was a temple raised by Amenoph III., of which scarcely any remains are now standing, except the two great colossi, the Vocal Memnon and its fellow, monoliths about 47 ft. high, exclusive of the pedestals, which have a height of about 12 ft. They represented Amenoph, and were part of the dromos which led to his temple. Besides these temples of western Thebes, the desert tract beneath the mountain bordering the cultivable land and the lower elevations of the mountain, in addition to almost countless mummy-pits, are covered with built tombs, and honeycombed with sepulchral grottoes, which, in their beautiful paintings, tell us the lives of the former occupants, or represent the mystical subjects of the soul's existence after death. The latter are almost exclusively the decorations of the Tombs of the Kings, which are excavated in two remote valleys behind the mountain. These tombs are generally very deep galleries, and are remarkable for the extreme delicacy of their paintings, which, like most of the historical records of Thebes, have suffered more at the hands of civilised barbarians in this century than from the effects of time.

The most remarkable of the notices of Thebes in the Bible is that in Nahum, where the prophet warns Nineveh by her rival's overthrow. 'Art thou better than No-Amon, that was situate among the rivers, [that had] the waters round about it, whose rampart [was] the sea, [and] her wall [was] from the sea?' Notwithstanding her natural as well as political strength, Thebes had been sacked and the people carried captive (iii. 8-10). The description of the city applies remarkably to Thebes, which alone of all the cities of Egypt was built on both sides of the river, here twice called, as now by the modern inhabitants, the sea. The prophecy that it should 'be rent asunder' (Ezek. xxx. 16), probably primarily refers to its breaking-up or capture, but the traveller can scarcely doubt a second and more literal sense when he looks upon its vast torn and heaped-up ruins. The other

notices are in Ezek. (xiv. 15) and in Jer. (xlv. 25). —R. S. P.

THEBEZ (תִּבְעִי; properly *Tebz*, 'brightness,' from תִּבְיָ; Θήβης; Θάμσι; *Thebes*). This city is only mentioned in connection with one episode in Scripture history, the death of the cruel usurper Abimelech. After the terrible *auto-da-fé* at Shechem, in which a thousand persons, men and women, were burned alive, Abimelech went to Thebez. The rumour of his inhuman barbarity had doubtless preceded him. The people, when their city fell, took refuge in a strong tower. Abimelech approached the door to burn it, but a woman from the top threw down a piece of a millstone upon his head and killed him (Judg. ix. 50; 2 Sam. xi. 21). The geographical position of Thebez is not stated; but the narrative leaves the impression that it was not far distant from Shechem. Eusebius defines its position with his usual minuteness. He says, 'It is in the borders of Neapolis, . . . at the thirteenth mile on the road to Scythopolis' (*Onomast.* s. v. 'Thebes'). Just about the distance indicated, on the line of the old Roman highway, is the modern village of *Tubas*, in which it is not difficult to recognise the Thebez of Scripture. It stands on a hill-side at the northern end of a plain surrounded by rocky mountains. The hill is skirted by fine olive groves, and the whole environs bear the marks of industry and prosperity (Robinson, *B. R.* iii. p. 305). Some large hewn stones in the walls of the modern houses, and a number of deep wells and cisterns in and around the village, are the only traces of antiquity now remaining (Van de Velde, *Travels*, ii. p. 335; *Handbook*, p. 348). —J. L. P.

THEODORETUS (Θεοδόρητος) was born at Antioch towards the end of the 4th century; in A.D. 386 according to some, in 393 according to others. His early education was received in a monastery near his native city; and there he remained until he was called, in 420 or 423, to become bishop of Cyrus, a small town near the Euphrates. The teacher to whom he owed the most was Theodore of Mopsuestia. He was much involved in the theological and ecclesiastical controversies of his time; and in 449 was deposed by a synod convened by Dioscurus, patriarch of Alexandria, as a partisan of Nestorius. From this unjust sentence he was relieved by the council of Chalcedon in 451. The rest of his life he spent peacefully in his diocese, occupied chiefly in literary pursuits. He died in 457 or 458. His writings comprise several controversial treatises, a *History of the Church*, in 5 books, an apologetic treatise entitled Ἑλληνικὸν θεραπευτικὴ παρηγοριὰ, various orations and homilies, and some minor tractates, besides his exegetical works, which are the most valuable of his productions. He has left commentaries on the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Psalms, Canticles, the Prophets, and on the epistles of St. Paul. His method is partly expository, partly apologetic and controversial. On the historical books of the O. T. he rather discusses difficult passages than presents a continuous commentary. He indulges very sparingly in allegorical explanations, and follows for the most part the grammatical meaning. There are two good editions of his whole works, that by Garnier and Sirmond in 5 vols. fol., Par. 1642-1684; and that



by Schulze and Noesselt, 5 vols. 8vo, in 10 parts, Hal. Sax. 1769-1774.—W. L. A.

THEODORUS (Θεόδωρος), bishop of Mopsuestia, was born at Antioch about the middle of the 4th century. He studied along with Chrysostom under Libanius and Andragathus, the former of whom taught them rhetoric, the latter philosophy. His theological studies were prosecuted under the direction of Flavianus of Antioch, Diodorus of Tarsus, and Craterius. From Antioch he removed to Tarsus, and in A.D. 394 became bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia. This post he held till his death in 429. His writings were very numerous. His fame rests principally on those which he wrote on the Scriptures. Unfortunately they are extant only in portions. Fragments are preserved in the Acts of the fifth œcumenical council (A.D. 553), at which his writings were condemned as favouring Nestorianism. His commentaries on Jonah, Obadiah, Nahum, and the introductions to those on Hosea, Amos, Zachariah, and Haggai, have been published by Mai in his *Script. vet. nova Collectio*, i. 2, p. 41, ff. Fragments of his commentaries on the N. T. are found in the *Catena*; but the fullest collection is that by Fritzsche, *Theod. Mops. in N. T. Comment.* Turici 1847. As an interpreter Theodore set himself against the allegorising method, and sought to bring out the literal historical sense. He somewhat inclined to rationalistic modes of interpretation, and held free views about the Canon, making distinctions in the degree of inspiration possessed by different writers, and casting doubt on the authority of some of the books.—W. L. A.

THEOPHILUS (Θεόφιλος), a person of distinction, to whom St. Luke inscribed his Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles (Luke i. 3; Acts i. 1). The word means 'lover of God;' whence some have fancied that it is to be taken as a general name for any or every lover of God (Origen, *Hom. i. in Luc.*; Epiphanius, *Haer.* li. p. 429; Hammond *in loc.*) But there seems no foundation for this opinion, as the circumstance and style of address point to a particular person of honourable station, with whom Luke was acquainted. The title—*κρίνιστος*, translated 'most excellent,' is the same which is given to governors of provinces, as Felix and Festus (Acts xxiii. 26; xxvi. 25); whence he is conceived by some to have been a civil magistrate in some high office. Theophylact (*Argument. in Luc.*) supposes that he was of the senatorian order, and perhaps a nobleman or prince. Many conjectures have been advanced regarding him; but all that can be asserted with any probability is that he was a convert to Christianity and a gentile of rank resident at Rome.

THEOPHYLACTUS (Θεοφύλακτος), archbishop of Bulgaria, flourished in the 11th century. He is believed to have been a native of Eubœa, to have been appointed to the see of Bulgaria between A.D. 1070 and 1077, and to have lived down to 1107 or later. He has left commentaries on the Gospels, the Acts, and the Epistles of Paul, and on the minor prophets; in which he chiefly follows Chrysostom. His exegesis, however, is so direct, precise, and textual, and his remarks are often so felicitous and to the point, that his commentaries have always been highly prized. Many editions of portions of his commentaries have been published;

his collected works have been issued in 4 vols. fol., Venet. 1754-63, edited by J. F. B. de Rossi and Bonif. Finetti.—W. L. A.

THESSALONIANS, EPISTLES TO THE.—FIRST EPISTLE.—The authenticity and canonical authority of this epistle have been from the earliest ages admitted; nor have these points ever been called in question, either in ancient or modern times, by those who have received any of St. Paul's epistles. Besides two probable quotations from it by Polycarp (Lardner, ii. 96, 8vo ed.), it is certainly cited, and cited as the production of the apostle Paul, by Irenæus (v. 6, sec. 1), by Clement of Alexandria (*Pæd.* i. sec. 19, p. 109, ed. Potter), by Tertullian (*De Resur. Carnis*, c. 24), by Caius (ap. Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* vi. 20), by Origen (*Cont. Cels.* lib. iii.), and by others of the ecclesiastical writers (Lardner, ii. *pl. loc.*)

This epistle has generally been regarded as the first written by St. Paul of those now extant. In the Acts of the Apostles (xvii. 5, *seq.*) we are told that the apostle, after preaching the gospel with success at Thessalonica, had to flee from that city in consequence of the malice of the Jews; that he thence betook himself to Berea, in company with Silas; that, driven by the same influence from Berea, he journeyed to Athens, leaving Silas and Timothy (the latter of whom had probably preceded him to Berea) behind him; and that, after remaining in that city for some time, he went to Corinth, where he was joined by Timothy and Silas. It appears also from this epistle (iii. 1, 2, 5), that whilst at Athens he had commissioned Timothy to visit the infant church at Thessalonica; and from Acts xvii. 15, 16, we learn that he expected to be joined by Timothy and Silas in that city. Whether this expected meeting ever took place there, is a matter involved in much uncertainty. Michaelis, Eichhorn, De Wette, Koppe, Pelt, and others, are of opinion that, at least as respects Timothy, it did take place; and they infer that St. Paul again remanded him to Thessalonica, and that he made a second journey along with Silas to join the apostle at Corinth. Hug, on the other hand, supposes only one journey—viz. from Thessalonica to Corinth; and understands the apostle, in 1 Thess. iii. 1, 2, as intimating, not that he had sent Timothy from Athens to Thessalonica, but that he had prevented his coming to Athens by sending him from Berea to Thessalonica. Between these two opinions there is nothing to enable us to judge with certainty, unless we attach weight to the expression of Luke, that St. Paul had desired the presence of Timothy and Silas in Athens *ὡς τάχιστα*, 'as speedily as possible.' His desiring them to follow him thus, without loss of time, favours the conclusion that they did rejoin him in Athens, and were thence sent to Thessalonica.

But whatever view we adopt on this point, it seems indisputable that this epistle was not written until the apostle met Timothy and Silas at Corinth. The ancient subscription, indeed, testifies that it was written at Athens; but that this could not be the case is clear from the epistle itself. 1. In ch. i. 7, 8, Paul says that the Thessalonians had become 'ensamples to all that believe in Macedonia and Achaia: for from you (says he) sounded out the word of the Lord not only in Macedonia and Achaia, but also in every place your faith to Godward is spread abroad.' Now, for such an exten-



sive diffusion of the fame of the Thessalonian Christians, and of the gospel by them, a much longer period of time must have elapsed than is allowed by the supposition that St. Paul wrote this epistle whilst at Athens; and besides, his reference particularly to Achaia seems prompted by the circumstance of his being, at the time he wrote, in Achaia, of which Corinth was the chief city. 2. His language in ch. iii. 1, 2, favours the opinion that it was not from Athens, but after he had left Athens, that he wrote this epistle; it is hardly the turn which one living at Athens at the time would have given his words. 3. Is it likely that, during the short time St. Paul was in Athens, before writing this epistle (supposing him to have written it there), he should have '*over and again*' purposed to revisit the Thessalonians, but have been hindered? And yet such purposes he had entertained before writing this epistle, as we learn from ch. ii. 18; and this greatly favours the later date. 4. Before the apostle wrote this epistle, Timothy had come to him from Thessalonica with good tidings concerning the faith and charity of the Christians there (iii. 6). But had Timothy followed St. Paul to Athens from Berea, what tidings could he have brought the apostle from Thessalonica, except such hearsay reports as would inform the apostle of nothing he did not already know? From these considerations, it follows that this epistle was not written from Athens. It must, however, have been written very soon after his arrival at Corinth; for, at the time of his writing, Timothy had just arrived from Thessalonica (*ἀπὸ ἐλθόντος Τιμοθέου*, iii. 6), and St. Paul had not been long in Corinth before Timothy and Silas joined him there (Acts xvii. 1-5). Michaelis contends for a later date, but his arguments are destitute of weight. Before the apostle could learn that the fame of the Thessalonian church had spread through Achaia, and far beyond, it was not necessary, as Michaelis supposes, that he should have made several extensive journeys from Corinth; for as that city, from its mercantile importance, was the resort of persons from all parts of the commercial world, the apostle had abundant means of gathering this information even during a brief residence there. As little is it necessary to resort to the supposition that when St. Paul says that over and again Satan had hindered him from fulfilling his intention of visiting Thessalonica, he must refer to shipwrecks or some such misfortunes (as Michaelis suggests); for Satan has many ways of hindering men from such purposes, besides accidents in travelling.

The design of this epistle is to comfort the Thessalonians under trial, and to encourage them to the patient and consistent profession of Christianity. The epistle may be conveniently divided into two parts. The former of these, which comprises the first three chapters, is occupied with statements chiefly of a retrospective character: it details the apostle's experience among the Thessalonians, his confidence in them, his deep regard for them, and his efforts and prayers on their behalf. The latter part of the epistle (iv. v.) is, for the most part, of a hortatory character: it contains the apostle's admonitions to the Thessalonians to walk according to their profession; to avoid sensuality, dishonesty, and pride; to cultivate brotherly love, to attend diligently to the duties of life, to take the comfort which the prospect of Christ's second coming was calculated to convey, but not to allow that to seduce them into indolence or idle speculations; to render

due respect to their spiritual superiors; and, by attention to a number of duties which the apostle specifies, to prove themselves worthy of the good opinion he entertained of them. He concludes the epistle by offering fervent supplication on their behalf, and the usual apostolic benediction.

SECOND EPISTLE.—The apostle's allusion in his former epistle to the second coming of Christ, and especially his statement in ch. iv. 15-18, appear to have been misunderstood by the Thessalonians, or wilfully perverted by some among them, so as to favour the notion that that event was near at hand. This notion some inculcated as a truth specially confirmed to them by the Spirit; others advocated it as part of the apostolic doctrine; and some claimed for it the specific support of St. Paul in a letter (ii. 2). Whether the letter here referred to is the apostle's former epistle to the Thessalonians, or one forged in his name by some keen and unscrupulous advocates of the notion above referred to, is uncertain. The latter opinion has been very generally adopted from the time of Chrysostom downwards, and is certainly somewhat countenanced by the apostle's statement in the close of the epistle as to his autograph salutation being the mark of a genuine letter from him (iii. 17). At the same time, it must be admitted that the probability of such a thing being done by any one at Thessalonica, is, under all the circumstances of the case, not very strong.

On receiving intelligence of the trouble into which the Thessalonians had been plunged, in consequence of the prevalence among them of the notion (from whatever source derived) that the second coming of Christ was nigh at hand, Paul wrote to them this second epistle, in which he beseechingly adjures them, by the very fact that Christ is to come a second time, not to be shaken in mind or troubled, as if that event were near at hand. He informs them that much was to happen before that should take place, and especially predicts a great apostasy from the purity and simplicity of the Christian faith (ii. 5-12). He then exhorts them to hold fast by the traditions they had received, whether by word or epistle, and commends them to the consoling and sustaining grace of God (ver. 15-17). The rest of the epistle consists of expressions of affection to the Thessalonians, and of confidence in them; of prayers on their behalf, and of exhortations and directions suited to the circumstances in which they were placed. As regards the disposition and arrangement of these materials, the epistle naturally divides itself into three parts. In the first (i. 1-12), the apostle mingles commendations of the faith and piety of the Thessalonians with prayers on their behalf. In the second (ii. 1-17), he dilates upon the subject of the trouble which had been occasioned to the Thessalonians by the anticipation of the near approach of the day of the Lord. And in the third (iii. 1-16), he accumulates exhortations, encouragements, and directions, to the Thessalonians, respecting chiefly the peaceable, quiet, and orderly conduct of their lives, which he follows up with a prayer on their behalf to the God of peace. The epistle concludes with a salutation from the apostle's own hand, and the usual benediction (ver. 17, 18).

There is the strongest reason for believing that this second epistle was written very soon after the first, and at the same place—viz. Corinth. The circumstances of the apostle, while writing the one



seem very much the same as they were whilst writing the other; nor do those of the Thessalonians present any greater difference than such as the influences referred to in the second epistle may be supposed in a very short time to have produced. What seems almost to decide the question is, that whilst writing the second epistle, the apostle had Timothy and Silas still with him. Now, after he left Corinth, it was not for a long time that either of these individuals was found again in his company (Acts xviii. 18, compared with xix. 22); and with regard to one of them, Silas, there is no evidence that he and St. Paul were ever together at any subsequent period. At what period, however, of the apostle's abode at Corinth this epistle was written, we are not in circumstances accurately to determine.

'The genuineness of this epistle,' remarks Eichhorn, 'follows from its contents. Its design is to correct the erroneous use which had been made of some things in the first epistle; and who but the writer of that first epistle would have set himself thus to such a task? It however appears that the author of the first must also be the author of the second; and as the former is the production of Paul, we must ascribe the latter also to him. It was essential to the apostle's reputation that the erroneous consequences which had been deduced from his words should be refuted. Had he refrained from noticing the expectation built upon his words, of the speedy return of Christ, his silence would have confirmed the conclusion that this was one of his peculiar doctrines; as such it would have passed to the succeeding generation; and when they perceived that in this Paul had been mistaken, what confidence could they have had in other parts of his teaching? The weight of this, as an evidence of the genuineness of this Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, acquires new strength from the fact, that of all the other expressions in the epistle, not one is opposed to any point either in the history or the doctrine of the apostle' (*Einleit. ins N. T.* iii. 69).

The external evidence in favour of the genuineness of this epistle is equally strong with that which attests the first. Polycarp (*Ep. ad Philip.* sec. 11) appears to allude to ch. iii. 15. Justin Martyr, in his *Dialogue with Trypho* (p. 193, 32, ed. Sylburg. 1593), speaks of the reigning of the man of sin (τὸν τῆς ἀνομίας ἀνθρώπου), which seems to be an evident allusion to ch. ii. 3; and in a passage, quoted by Lardner (vol. ii. p. 125), he uses the phrase ὁ τῆς ἀποστασίας ἄνθρωπος. The eighth verse of this second chapter is formally cited by Irenæus (iii. c. 7, sec. 2) as from the pen of an apostle; Clement of Alexandria specially adduces ch. iii. 2, as the words of Paul (*Strom.* lib. v. p. 554, ed. Sylb.), and Tertullian also quotes this epistle as one of Paul's (*De Resurrec. Carnis*, c. 24).

Notwithstanding these evidences in its favour, the genuineness of this epistle has been called into doubt by some of the German critics. The way here was led by John Ernest Chr. Schmidt, who, in 1801, published in his *Bibliothek für Kritik und Exegese*, a tract entitled *Vermuthungen über die Beiden Briefe an die Thessalonicher*, in which he impugned the genuineness of the first twelve verses of the second chapter. He afterwards, in his *Einleitung*, p. 256, enlarged his objections, and applied them to the whole epistle. De Wette took the same side, and in the earlier editions of

his *Einleitung*, has adduced a number of reasons in support of his opinion, drawn from the epistle itself. His objections are of little weight, and have been most fully replied to by Guericke (*Beiträge zur Hist. Krit. Einl. ins N. T.* s. 92-99, Halle 1828), by Reiche (*Authentie Post. ad Thess. Epist. Vindicie*, Gött. 1829), and by Pelt in the *Prolegomena* to his *Commentary on the Epistles to the Thessalonians* (p. xxvii.) In his later editions, De Wette admits that the objections he adduced are not sufficient, and that the style is Pauline; and in his *Exegel. Handbuch* he defends the genuineness of the epistle against the cavils of Kern in the *Tübinger Zeitschr.* for 1839. Baur has also objected to this epistle on several grounds, but none of them are of importance; see Davidson, *Introd.* ii. p. 455; Bleek, *Einl.* p. 387.

Jewell, *An Exposition*, Lond. 1583 12mo, 1811 8vo; W. Sclater, *Exposition and Notes*, Lond. 1619, 1629, 4to; J. Alph. Turretin, *Commentarius*, Basil 1739, 8vo; Platt, *Vorlesungen*, Tüb. 1829; Lud. Pelt, *Commentarius*, Gryphiswald 1830, 8vo; Jowett, 2d ed. 1859; Ellicott, 2d ed. 1862; and the commentaries of Olshausen, De Wette, and Meyer.—W. L. A.

THESSALONICA (Θεσσαλονίκη), now Salonichi, is still a city of about sixty or seventy thousand inhabitants, situated on the present gulf of Salonichi, which was formerly called Sinus Thermaicus, at the mouth of the river Echedorus. It was the residence of a *præses*, the principal city of the second part of Macedonia, and was by later writers even styled *metropolis* (Liv. xlv. 29, *seq.*; Cic. *Pro Planc.* 41). Under the Romans it became great, populous, and wealthy (Strabo, vii. p. 323; Lucian, *Osir.* c. 46; Appian, *Bell. Civ.* iv. 118; Mannert, *Geographie*, vii. 471, *seq.*) It had its name from Thessalonice, wife of Cassander, who built the city on the site of the ancient Therna, after which town the Sinus Thermaicus was called (Strabo, vii. p. 330; Herod. vii. 121; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* iv. 17; *Schol. Thuc.* i. 61; comp. Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Thessalonica'). Thessalonica was 267 Roman miles east of Apollonia and Dyrrachium, 66 miles from Amphipolis, 89 from Philippi, 433 west from Byzantium, and 150 south of Sophia. A great number of Jews were living at Thessalonica in the time of the apostle Paul, and also many Christian converts, most of whom seem to have been either Jews by birth or proselytes before they embraced Christianity by the preaching of Paul. Paul visited Thessalonica on his second missionary tour in company with Silas and Timothy. His preaching in a short time brought many converts. The present town stands on the acclivity of a steep hill, rising at the north-eastern extremity of the bay. It presents an imposing appearance from the sea, with which the interior by no means corresponds. The principal antiquities are the propylæa of the hippodrome, the rotunda, and the triumphal arches of Augustus and Constantine.—C. H. F. B.

THEUDAS (Θευδᾶς, Theodas), the leader of a popular tumult towards the close of the reign of Herod the Great, mentioned by Gamaliel in his temperate and conciliatory speech to the Sanhedrim (Acts v. 36). From the terms in which he is spoken of he appears to have been a religious impostor of high pretensions (λέγων εἶναι τινὰ ἐαυτὸν), to whom a small body of adherents (ἀνδρῶν ἀριθμὸς



ὡς τετρακοσίων) closely attached themselves (προσεκολληθή, rec. προσεκλήθη, A.B.), but who was ultimately slain (ἀνέρεθη), and his party annihilated (ἐγένοντο εἰς οὐδέν). On comparing the scriptural narrative with the civil history of the time, as given by Josephus, a chronological difficulty arises, which has been pressed to the utmost by a school of critics with whom it appears to be a first principle that wherever a discrepancy of statement exists the error must be on the side of the sacred writer, and who, in this instance, do not scruple to charge St. Luke with a gross historical error. The facts are these:—No insurgent of the name of Theudas is mentioned by Josephus at the period to which Gamaliel must refer, but a religious impostor (γόης τις ἀνὴρ) is described by him as having raised a somewhat similar commotion in the reign of Claudius, when Cuspius Fadus was procurator of Judæa—i.e. some ten or twelve years after the delivery of this speech, and therefore more than forty years later than the date fixed by the words of Gamaliel. Josephus's account of the matter (*Antiq.* xx. 5. 1) is, that this fanatic, laying claim to prophetic powers, persuaded a very large body (τὸν πλείστον ὄχλον) to follow him to the Jordan with the assurance that the waters would divide before him as they had done before Elijah and Elisha in the days of old; but being unexpectedly attacked by a squadron of cavalry sent out after him by Fadus, his followers were killed or taken prisoners, and the leader himself being taken was beheaded.

Now, if we are to regard it as certain that there was only one Jewish insurgent named Theudas, it follows that either St. Luke or Josephus must be guilty of a chronological blunder. The hypothesis that Josephus has misplaced Theudas, though not impossible, and maintained by Michaelis (*Einkl. in N. T.* i. 63) and Jahn (*Archæol.* ii. 2), is a way of cutting the knot which no unbiassed critic would desire to resort to. That the error is St. Luke's, though taken for granted by most modern German critics (Eichhorn, De Wette, Credner, Meyer, Baur, etc.), is even more improbable when we take into account the great historical accuracy of his narrative, which closer researches are continually placing in a stronger light, and the date of the publication of the Acts. Few things are less credible than that a careful author like St. Luke, writing within a few years of the event, should have been betrayed into such a glaring historical mistake as antedating the insurrection of Theudas by nearly half a century. That he should have done this by an intentional *prolepsis*, as is supposed by some (Vales. *ad Euscb. H. E.* ii. 11), is as completely at variance with the simplicity and unartistic character of his narrative.

But without resorting to either of these violent methods, the difficulty may be solved with perfect satisfaction by the simple hypothesis of there having been two insurgents of the same name. This, which has commended itself to such critics as Beza, Scaliger, Casaubon, and Bengel, in earlier times, and Olshausen, Winer, and Ebrard, in later days, is ably supported by Lardner (*Credibility*, vol. i. pp. 405-414), who remarks that 'it is not at all strange that there should be two impostors in Judæa of the same name in the compass of forty years, and that they should come to the same end; on the contrary, it is strange that any learned man should find this hard to believe.' The name Theudas was one of no unfrequent occurrence

(Winer, *R. W. B. s. v.*), while the fact that there were as many as three impostors of the name of Simon besides Simon Magus, and as many Judases, mentioned by Josephus in the space of about ten years, increases the probability that there may have been two named Theudas in the space of forty years. Moreover, the period to which Theudas is assigned by Gamaliel, the close of the reign of Herod—the insurrection of Judas the Galilæan, *before* which he appeared, being fixed A.D. 6 or 7—was one fertile in popular commotions (ἔτερα μυρία θορύβων ἐχόμενα τὴν Ἰουδαίαν κατελάμβανε, Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 12. 4); the whole of which, with a few exceptions, are passed over by Josephus without particularising their leaders, so that it need create little surprise that one in which so small a number were concerned (Gamaliel's 400 can be hardly made to tally with Josephus's πλείστος ὄχλος) should have been omitted by him, or spoken of in equally general terms. The preceding remarks will prepare us to acquiesce in the verdict of Jost (*Gesch. der Isr.* ii. *Anhang*, p. 76), that 'scholars might well have spared the labour of seeking to identify two men, one of whom preceded the other by half a century.'

Well-meant but not very successful attempts have been made to identify Theudas with one or other of the insurgents named by Josephus: such as that of—(1.) Sonntag (*Stud. u. Krit.* 1837, p. 662), who seeks to prove that he was Herod's slave Simon, who set himself up for a king, and plundered and burnt the royal palaces (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 10. 6; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 4. 2); or (2.) Wieseler (*Chron. Synops. of Gospels*, transl. pp. 90-92), who considers him to have been the same with Matthias the son of Margaloth (Matthias=מתיאס being the Hebrew form of Θεόδοτος=Θεὸδᾶς), who hewed down the Roman eagle over the temple gate; or those of Usher (*Ann.* p. 797) or Zuschlag, who identify him with—(3.) Judas the robber (*Antiq.* xvii. 10. 5); or (4.) Theudion (*Ibid.* 4. 2). Such attempts arise from an unwillingness to acquiesce in the fragmentary character of the annals of the period, and are simply curious as efforts of ingenuity.—E. V.

THIEF, PENITENT, ON THE CROSS (Luke xxiii. 39-43). It has been assumed that this man had been very wicked; that he continued so till he was nailed to the cross; that he joined the other malefactor in insulting the Saviour; and that then, by a miracle of grace, he was transformed into a penitent Christian. But this view of the case seems to involve some misconception of the facts, which it may not be inexpedient to indicate. Whitby says, 'Almost all interpreters that I have read here say that this thief began his repentance on the cross.' With regard to his moral character, he is indeed styled by the Evangelist one of the 'malefactors (κακοῦργοι) who were led with Jesus to be put to death' (ver. 32); but the word is evidently used δοξαστικῶς—i.e. malefactors as they were considered. St. Matthew (xxvii. 44) and St. Mark (xv. 27) call them λῃσταί; but this word denotes not only robbers, etc., but also brigands, rebels, or any who carry on unauthorised hostilities, *insurgents* (Thucyd. iv. 53). Bishop Malby observes, in his sermon on the subject, that 'these κακοῦργοι were not thieves who robbed all for profit, but men who had taken up arms on a principle of resistance to the Roman oppression, and to what they thought an unlawful burden, the



tribute money; who made no scruple to rob all the Romans, and when engaged in these unlawful causes, made less difference between Jews and Romans than they at first meant to do' (*Sermons*, 1819-22, vol. i.) Insurrection was a crime, but it was a crime a person might have committed who had good qualities, and had maintained a respectable character. Again, this man's punishment was crucifixion, which was not in use among the Jews, and inflicted by the Romans not on mere thieves, but rebels. Barabbas had been one of these; and though he 'lay bound with them that had made insurrection with him, who had committed murder in the insurrection,' Mark (xv. 27) has the same word, *ληστής*, 'robber,' which is applied to him by St John (xviii. 40). It is most probable that these 'malefactors' were two of his companions. Our Lord was condemned under the same charge of insurrection (Luke xxiii. 2); and the man whose case we are considering says to his fellow-sufferer, 'Thou art under the same sentence,' *ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κρίματι*, and admits that they both were guilty of the charge, while our Lord was innocent of it (Luke xxiii. 40, 41). It is impossible then to determine the degree of his criminality, without knowing what provocations he had received under the despotic and arbitrary rule of a Roman governor such as Pilate, how far he had been active, or only mixed up with the sedition, etc. The notion that he was suddenly and instantaneously converted on the cross is grounded entirely upon the general statement of Matthew: 'The thieves also which were crucified with him cast the same in his teeth' (xxvii. 44); whereas St. Luke, in his relation of the incident, is more exact. Instances of St. Matthew's style of speaking, which is called *amplification*, abound in the Gospels, and in all writers. Thus, 'the soldiers brought him vinegar' (Luke xxiii. 36; John xix. 29); 'one of them did so' (Matt. xxvii. 48; Mark xv. 36). 'The disciples had indignation' (Matt. xxvi. 8); 'some of them' (Mark xiv. 4); 'one of them' (John xii. 4). So in Mark xvi. 5, Matt. xxviii. 2, there is mention of one angel only; but in Luke xxiv. 4, John xx. 12, there is mention of two. It is also far from certain that either his faith or repentance was the fruit of this particular season. He must have known something of the Saviour, otherwise he could not have said *οὐδὲν ἄτοπον ἔπραξε*, 'he hath done nothing amiss.' He may have been acquainted with the miracles and preaching of Jesus before he was cast into prison; he may have even conversed with him there. He was convinced of our Lord's Messiahship: 'Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom.' His crime possibly consisted of only one act of insubordination, and he might have been both a sincere believer, and, with this one exception, a practical follower of Christ. Koecher (ap. Bloomfield, *Recen. Synop.*) tells us that it is a very ancient tradition that the thief was not converted at the cross, but was previously imbued with a knowledge of the gospel. See Kuinoel, Mack-night, etc.—J. F. D.

THIGH, the part of the body from the legs to the trunk, of men, quadrupeds, etc. (Heb. *רֵגל*; Sept. *μηρός*; Vulg. *femur*). It occurs in Gen. xxxii. 25, 31, 32; Judg. iii. 16, 21; Ps. xlv. 3; Cant. iii. 8. *Putting the hand under the thigh* appears to have been a very ancient custom, upon occasion of taking an oath to any one. [OATH.]

Our translation states that 'the hollow of Jacob's thigh' was out of joint by the touch of the angel who wrestled with him' (Gen. xxxii. 25). Some, however, prefer to render *ὑπὸ*, was *sprained*, or *wrenched*, and adduce Jer. vi. 8; Ezek. xxiii. 17, 18. The Sept. renders it *καὶ ἐνάρκησε τὸ πλάτος τοῦ μηροῦ*; the Vulg. *tetigit nervum femoris ejus, et statim emarcuit*. Some such sense better suits ver. 31, where we find Jacob *limping* on his thigh; see Gesenius on *ὑπὸ*. The custom of Jacob's descendants, founded upon this incident, is recorded in ver. 32, which has been thus translated: 'Therefore the children of Yisrael eat not of the nerve Nashé, which is upon the hollow of the thigh, unto this day: because he struck the hollow of Yaacob's thigh, on the nerve Nashé' (Sept. *τὸ νεῖρον*, Vulg. *nervus*). The true derivation of the word *נֶשֶׂה* is considered by Dr. Fürst, in his *Concordance*, to be still a secret; but, along with Gesenius, he understands the nerve itself to be the *ischiatric nerve*, which proceeds from the hip to the ankle. This nerve is still extracted from the hinder limbs by the Jews in England, and in other countries, where properly qualified persons are appointed to remove it (*New Translation*, etc., by the Rev. D. A. De Sola, p. 333). The phrase '*hip and thigh*' occurs in Judg. xv. 8, in the account of Samson's slaughter of the Philistines. Gesenius translates *לֵךְ* in this passage *with*, and understands it as a proverbial expression for 'he smote them all.' The Chaldee paraphrast interprets it, 'He smote both footmen and horsemen, the one resting on their legs (as the word *לֵךְ* should be rendered), the other on their thighs, as they sat on their horses.' Others understand that he smote them both on the legs and thighs. Some give another interpretation. *Smiting on the thigh* denotes penitence (Jer. xxxi. 19), grief, and mourning (Ezek. xxi. 12). A few mistranslations occur. The word 'thigh' should have been translated 'leg' in Is. xlvii. 2, *לֵךְ*, *κνήμης*, *crura*. In Cant. vii. 1, 'the joints of thy thighs,' etc., the true meaning is, 'the *cincture of thy loins* (i.e. the drawers, trousers) is like jewellery.' Lady Wortley Montagu describes this article of female attire as 'composed of thin rose-coloured damask, brocaded with silver flowers' (*Letters*, iii. 12; see Harmer, *On Solomon's Song*, p. 110). Cocceius, Buxtorf, Mercerus, and Junius, all adopt this explanation. In Rev. xix. 16, it is said 'the Word of God (ver. 13) hath on his vesture and on his thigh a name written, King of kings and Lord of lords.' Schleusner thinks the name was not written upon the thigh, but upon the sword. Montfaucon gives an account of several images of warriors having inscriptions on the thighs (*Antiquité Expliquée*, vol. iii. part ii. pp. 268-9; Grupe, iii. 1489; and see Zornii *Opuscula S.S.* ii. 759).—J. F. D.

THISTLE. [CHOACH; DARDAR; TRIBOLOS.]

THOMAS (Θωμάς). The word *תומא* is equivalent to the Greek *Διδυμος*, *twinn*. This name occurs also on Phœnician inscriptions, in a form which reminds us of the colloquial English abbreviation—viz. *תומא* and *תומא* (Gesenii *Monumenta Phœnicia*, p. 356).

The apostle Thomas (Matt. x. 3; Mark iii. 18; Luke vi. 15; Acts i. 13) has been considered a native of Galilee, like most of the other apostles (John xxi. 2); but according to tradition he was a



native of Antiochia, and had a twin-sister called Lysia (*Patres Apost.* ed. Cotel. pp. 272, 501). According to Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* i. 13) the real name of Thomas was Judas; and he occurs under this name also in the *Acta Thomæ*. This Judas was deemed the same as Judas the brother of Jesus (Matt. xiii. 55). It would seem even that the surname *Δίδυμος* was understood to mean that Thomas was a twin-brother of Jesus (Philo, *ad Acta Thomæ*, p. 94, *seq.*)

In the character of Thomas was combined great readiness to act upon his convictions, to be faithful to his faith even unto death, so that he even exhorted his fellow-disciples, on his last journey to Jerusalem, 'Let us also go, that we may die with him' (John xi. 16), together with that careful examination of evidence which will be found in all persons who are resolved really to obey the dictates of their faith. Whosoever is minded, like most religionists who complain of the scepticism of Thomas, to follow in the common transactions of life the dictates of vulgar prudence, may easily abstain from putting his hands into the marks of the nails and into the side of the Lord (John xx. 25); but whosoever is ready to die with the Lord will be inclined to avail himself of extraordinary evidence for extraordinary facts, since nobody likes to suffer martyrdom by mistake. These remarks are directed against Winer and others, who find in the character of Thomas what they consider contradictory traits—viz. inconsiderate faith, and a turn for exacting the most rigorous evidence. We find that a resolute and lively faith is always necessarily combined with a sense of its importance, and with a desire to keep its objects unalloyed and free from error and superstition. Christ himself did not blame Thomas for availing himself of all possible evidence, but only pronounced those blessed who would be open to conviction even if some external form of evidence should not be within their reach (comp. Niemeyer's *Akademische Predigten und Reden*, p. 321, *seq.*)

Thomas preached the gospel in Parthia (Origen, apud Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* iii. 1; Socrat. i. 19; Clement, *Recogn.* ix. 29), and, according to Jerome, in Persia; and was buried at Edessa (Rufin. *Hist. Eccles.* ii. 5). According to a later tradition Thomas went to India, and suffered martyrdom there (Gregor. Naz. *Orat.* xxv. *ad Arian.* p. 438, ed. Par.; Ambrose, in *Ps.* xlv. 10; Hieron. *Ep.* 148 (59) *ad Marcell.*; Niceph. *Hist. Eccles.* ii. 40; *Acta Thomæ*, c. i. *seq.*; Abdia *Hist. Apost.* c. ix.; Paulin. A. S. Bartholomæo, *India Orient. Christiana*, Rom. 1794). This tradition has been attacked by Von Bohlen (*Indien*, i. 375, *seq.*) The ancient congregations of Christians in India who belong to the Syrian church, are called Thomas-Christians, and consider the apostle Thomas to be their founder (Fabricii *Lux Evangelii*, p. 626, *seq.*; Assemani, *Biblioth. Orient.* iii. 2, 435, *seq.*; Ritter's *Erdkunde*, v. i. 601, *seq.*) Against this tradition Thilo wrote in his edition of the *Acta Thomæ*, p. 107, *seq.* (comp. Augusti, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, iii. 219, *seq.*)

The fathers frequently quote an *Evangelium secundum Thomam*, and *Acta Thomæ*, the fragments of which have been carefully edited by J. C. Thilo, in his *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, i. 275; and the *Acta Thomæ* separately, L. 1823; and see Winer's *Real-Wörterbuch*, under 'Thomas.'—C. H. F. B.

THORNS. [AKANTHA; ATAD; BARQANIM; KOTS; NAAZUZ; SALLON; SIRAH; SHAIT; SHAMIR; SIKKIM; SIRIM; SIRPAD; ZINNIM.] Other of the plants mentioned in the Bible were probably thorny. Rabbinical writers enumerate not fewer than twenty-five words, which they say denote prickly shrubs or trees; but many of these are probably so called because unknown. One not noticed in its proper place may find a place here.

CHEDEK (חֶדֶק) occurs twice in Scripture; in Prov. xv. 19: 'The way of the slothful is as a hedge of thorns' (*chedek*); and in Micah vii. 4: 'The best of them is as a brier' (*chedek*), and the most upright like a thorn-hedge.' *Chedek* is generally supposed to be as little known as the other thorny and prickly plants, but there is an Arabic word, حِذَق *chadaq* or *hudag*, which is

applied in the East to a species of *solanum*. This is supposed by Rosenmüller and others not to be suitable to the above passages; but some species of *solanum* grow to a considerable size; others are among the most prickly plants of the East, and very common in dry arid situations. *S. sanctum*, the *S. spinosum* of others, is found in Palestine. Dr. Harris is of opinion that *chedek* is the *colutea spinosa* of Forskal, which is called *heddad* in Arabic, and of which there is an engraving in Russell's *Nat. Hist. of Aleppo*, tab. 5.—J. F. R.

THREE. [NUMBER.]

THREE TAVERNS. [TAVERNS, THREE.]

THRESHING. [AGRICULTURE.]

THRONE. The Hebrew word כִּסֵּא or כִּסֵּה is generally thought to have for its root-meaning the idea of covering; hence it denotes a covered seat or throne. Fürst takes it as for כִּסְרָא, from כִּסַּר, and holds it to convey the notion of an arched or curved body, and so to have come to signify a seat of dignity, having the elegance given to it which curved lines can easily impart. Whatever the original import of the term may have been, כִּסֵּא, or rather כִּסְלִי, denoted the ornamented seat on which royal personages gave audience on state occasions among the Hebrews (I Kings ii. 19; xxii. 10; comp. Esth. v. 1). It was originally a decorated arm-chair, higher than an ordinary seat, so as to require a foot-stool (הֶדְרִים) to support the feet. Sometimes the throne was placed on a platform ascended by steps (Is. vi. 1). Solomon made a throne of ivory overlaid with gold, which had six steps, with six lions on each side (1 Kings x. 18). Archelaus addressed the multitude from 'an elevated seat and a throne of gold' (Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* ii. 1. 1). A throne became the emblem of regal power (Gen. xli. 40); whence the phrases, 'to sit on the throne of his kingdom' (Deut. xvii. 18), that is, to rule as a monarch; and 'to sit on the throne of a person' (1 Kings i. 13; 2 Kings x. 30), which signifies, to be his successor.—J. R. B.

THUKIYIM (תֻּכִּיִּים and תֻּכִּיִּים). It is a question, perhaps, more of geographical and historical than of Biblical interest to decide whether *thukiyim* (1 Kings x. 22; 2 Chron. ix. 21) denote peacocks strictly so called, or some other species of animal or bird; for on the solution of the question in the affirmative depends the real direction of



Solomon's fleet; that is, whether, after passing the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, it proceeded along the east coast of Africa towards Sofala, or whether it turned eastward, ranging along the Arabian and Persian shores to the Peninsula of India, and perhaps went onwards to Ceylon, and penetrated to the great Australian, or even to the Spice Islands. Bochart, unable to discover a Hebrew root in תִּכְיִים, rather arbitrarily proposes a transposition of letters, by which he converts the word into *Cuthiyim*, denoting, as he supposes, the country of the *Cuthei*, which, in an extended sense, is applied, in conformity with various writers of antiquity, to Media and Persia; and Greek authorities are cited to show that peacocks abounded in Babylonia, etc. This mode of proceeding to determine the species and the native country of the bird is altogether inadmissible, since Greek writers speak of Persian peacocks at a much later period than the age of Solomon; and it is well known that they were successively carried westward till they passed from the Greek islands into Europe, and that, as Juno's birds, the Romans gradually spread them to Gaul and Spain, where, however, they were not common until after the 10th century. But even if peacocks had been numerous in Media and northern Persia at the time in question, how were they to be furnished to a fleet which was navigating the Indian Ocean, many degrees to the south of the colder region of High Asia? and as for the land of the *Cuthei*, or of *Cush*, when it serves their purpose, writers remove it to Africa along with the migrations of the Cushites. The *Thukiyim* have been presumed to derive their appellation from an exotic word implying 'tufted' or 'crested,' which, though true of the peacock, is not so obvious a character as that afforded by its splendid tail; and therefore a crested parrot has been supposed to be meant. Parrots, though many species are indigenous in Africa, do not appear on the monuments of Egypt; they were unknown till the time of Alexander, and then both Greeks and Romans were acquainted only with species from Ceylon, destitute of crests, such as *Psittacus Alexandri*; and the Romans for a long time received these only by way of Alexandria, though in the time of Pliny others became known. Again, the pheasant has been proposed as the bird intended; but *Phas. Colchicus*, the only species known in antiquity, is likewise without a prominent crest, and is a bird of the colder regions of the central range of Asiatic mountains. Following a line of latitude, it gradually reached westward to High Armenia and Colchis, whence it was first brought to Europe by Greek merchants, who frequented the early emporium on the Phasis. The centre of existence of the genus, rich in splendid species, is in the woody region beneath the snowy peaks of the Himalayas, reaching also eastward to northern China, where the common pheasant is abundant; but not, we believe, anywhere naturally in a low latitude. Thus it appears that pheasants were not the birds intended by the Hebrew *Thukiyim*, although all versions and comments agree that after the apes (probably *Cercopithecus Entellus*, one of the sacred species of India) some kind of remarkable bird is meant; and none are more obviously entitled to the application of the name than the peacock, since it is abundant in the jungles of India, and would be met with, both wild and domesticated, by naviga-

tors to the coasts from Camboge to Ceylon, and would better than any of the others bear a long sea voyage in the crowded ships of antiquity. Moreover, we find it still denominated *Togei* in the Malabaric dialects of the country, which may be the source of *Thuki*, as well as of the Arabic *Turvas*, and Armenian *Taus*. With regard to the objection, that the long ocellated feathers of the rump, and not those of the tail, as is commonly believed, are the most conspicuous object offered by this bird, it may be answered, that if the name *Togei* be the original, it may not refer to a tuft, or may express both the erectile feathers on the head of a bird and those about the rump or the tail; and that those of the peacock have at all times been sought to form artificial crests for human ornaments. One other point remains to be considered; namely, whether the fleet went to the East, or proceeded southward along the African shore? No doubt, had the Phœnician trade guided the Hebrews in the last-mentioned direction, gold and apes might have been obtained on the east coast of Africa, and even some kinds of spices in the ports of Abyssinia; for all that region, as far as the Strait of Madagascar, was at that early period in a state of comparative affluence and civilisation. But in that case a great part of the commercial produce would have been obtained within the borders of the Red Sea, and beyond the Straits; the distance to be traversed, therefore, being but partially affected by the monsoons, never could have required a period of three years for its accomplishment; and a prolonged voyage round the Cape to the Guinea and Gold Coast is an assumption so wild, that it does not merit serious consideration; but intending to proceed to India, the fleet had to reach the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb in time to take advantage of the western monsoon; be in port, perhaps, at or near Bombay, before the change; and after the storms accompanying the change, it had to proceed during the eastern monsoon under the lee of the land to Coodramalli, or the port of Palesimundus in Taprobana, on the east coast of Ceylon; thence to the Coromandel shore, perhaps to the site of the present ruins of Mahabalipuram; while the return voyage would again occupy one year and a half. The ports of India and Ceylon could furnish gold, precious stones, eastern spices, and even Chinese wares; for the last fact is fully established by discoveries in very ancient Egyptian tombs. Silks, which are first mentioned in Proverbs xxxi. 22, could not have come from Africa, and many articles of advanced and refined social life, not the produce of Egypt, could alone have been derived from India [OPHIR].

Though in this short abstract of the arguments respecting the direction of Solomon's fleet there may be errors, none, we believe, are of sufficient weight to impugn the general conclusion, which supports the usual rendering of *Thukiyim* by 'peacocks,' although the increase of species in the west does not appear to have been remarkable till some ages after the reign of the great Hebrew monarch, when the bird was dedicated to Juno, and reared at first in her temple at Samos. There are only two species of true peacocks—viz. that under consideration, which is the *Pavo cristatus* of Linn.; and another, *Pavo Muticus*, more recently discovered, which differs in some particulars, and originally belongs to Japan and China. Peacocks bear the cold of the Himalayas: they run with



great swiftness, and where they are serpents do not abound, as they devour the young with great avidity, and, it is said, attack with spirit even the *Cobra di Capello* when grown to considerable size, arresting its progress and confusing it by the rapidity and variety of their evolutions around it, till exhausted with fatigue it is struck on the head and dispatched.

A detailed description of a species so well known we deem superfluous.—C. H. S.

#### THUMMIM. [URIM AND THUMMIM.]

THUNDER (רעם); Sept. *Βροντή*, passim; also *קול, φωνή*. This sublimest of all the extraordinary phenomena of nature is poetically represented as the voice of God (Ps. civ. 7; comp. Exod. ix. 28 (Hebrew, or margin); Job xxxvii. 4, 5; xl. 9; Ps. xviii. 13; and especially Ps. xxix., which contains a magnificent description of a thunder-storm). Thunder is also introduced into the poetical allusion to the passage of the Red Sea in Ps. lxxvii. 18. The plague of hail on the land of Egypt is very naturally represented as accompanied with 'mighty thunderings,' which would be literally incidental to the immense agency of the electric fluid on that occasion (Exod. ix. 22-29, 33, 34). It accompanied the lightnings at the giving of the law (xix. 16; xx. 18). See also Ps. lxxxi. 7, which probably refers to the same occasion: 'I answered thee in the secret place of thunder,' literally, 'in the covering of thunder,' *בסתר רעם*—i.e. the thunder-clouds. It was also one of the grandeurs attending the divine interposition described in 2 Sam. xxii. 14; comp. Ps. xviii. 13. The enemies of Jehovah are threatened with destruction by thunder; perhaps, however, lightning is included in the mention of the more impressive phenomenon (1 Sam. ii. 10). Such means are represented as used in the destruction of Sennacherib's army (Is. xxix. 5-7; comp. xxx. 30-33). Bishop Lowth would understand the description as metaphorical, and intended, under a variety of expressive and sublime images, to illustrate the greatness, the suddenness, the horror of the event, rather than the manner by which it was effected (New Translation, and notes *in loc.*) Violent thunder was employed by Jehovah as a means of intimidating the Philistines, in their attack upon the Israelites, while Samuel was offering the burnt-offering (1 Sam. vii. 10; Ecclus. xli. 17). Thunder was miraculously sent at the request of Samuel (1 Sam. xii. 17, 18). It is referred to as a natural phenomenon subject to laws originally appointed by the Creator (Job xxviii. 26; xxxviii. 25; Ecclus. xliii. 17); and introduced in *visions* (Rev. iv. 5, vi. 1, viii. 5, xi. 19, xiv. 2, xvi. 18, xix. 6; Esther (Apoc.) xi. 5). In Rev. x. 3, 4, 'seven thunders.' It is adopted as a *comparison*. Thus 'as lightning is seen before the thunder is heard, so modesty in a person before he speaks recommends him to the favour of the auditors' (Ecclus. xxxii. 10; Rev. xix. 6, etc.). The sudden ruin of the unjust man is compared to the transitory noise of thunder (Ecclus. xl. 13); but see Amald, *in loc.* One of the sublimest metaphors in the Scriptures occurs in Job xxvi. 14: 'Lo, these are parts of his ways; but how little a portion is heard of him (שׁמַיִם, a mere whisper); but the thunder of his power who can understand?' Here the whisper and the thunder are admirably opposed to each other. If the

former be so wonderful and overwhelming, how immeasurably more so the latter? In the sublime description of the war-horse (Job xxxix.) he is said to perceive the battle afar off 'by the thunder of the captains, and the shouting' (ver. 25). That part of the description, however (ver. 19), 'hast thou clothed his neck with thunder?' appears to be a mistranslation. The word רעמה from רעם, 'to be agitated,' 'tremble,' refers rather to the mane: 'Canst thou clothe his neck with the trembling mane?' To the class of mistranslations must be referred every instance of the word 'thunderbolts' in our version, a word which corresponds to no reality in nature. Thus 'hot thunderbolts' (Ps. lxxviii. 48, רעמים) means 'lightnings,' *τῶ πυρὶ, igni*. 'Then shall the right-aiming thunderbolts go abroad' (Wisd. v. 21), *βολίδες ἀστραπῶν*, 'flashes' or 'strokes of lightning.' 'Threw stones like thunderbolts' (2 Maccab. i. 16), *συνεκεραύνωσαν*. The word conveys an allusion to the mode in which lightning strikes the earth. Thunders enter into the appellative or surname given by our Lord to James and John—Boanerges; *ὁ ἔστω, υἱὸς βροντῆς*, says St. Mark, 'sons of thunder' (iii. 17). The word קול, simply 'voice,' is often used for thunder, as in Exod. ix. 23; Ps. xxix. 3; lxxvii. 18; Jer. x. 13. In the last of these passages the production of rain by lightning is referred to: 'When he uttereth his voice, there is a multitude of waters in the heavens, he maketh lightnings with (or for) rain.' It is related (John xii. 28) that Jesus said, 'Father, glorify thy name. Then came there a voice from heaven, saying, I have both glorified it, and will glorify it again.' Some of the people that stood by, but had not heard the words distinctly, said it had 'thundered,' for the voice came from heaven; others who had caught the words, supposed that God had spoken to Jesus by an angel, conformably to the Jewish opinion that God had never spoken but by the ministry of angels. Perhaps, however, thunder attended the voice, either a little before or after; comp. Exod. xix. 16, 19; Rev. iv. 5, vi. 1 [BATH KOL].—J. F. D.

THYATIRA (Θυάτεια, *rd*), a city on the northern border of Lydia, about twenty-seven miles from Sardis, the seat of one of the seven Apocalyptic churches (Rev. i. 11; ii. 18). Its modern name is Ak-hissar, or *the white castle*. According to Pliny, it was known in earlier times by the names Pelopia and Euhippa (*Hist. Nat.* v. 29). Strabo asserts that it was a Macedonian colony (xiii. p. 928). The Roman road from Pergamus to Sardis passed through it. It was noted for the art of dyeing, as appears from Acts xvi. 14. Luke's account has been confirmed by the discovery of an inscription in honour of Antonius Claudius Alphenus by the corporation of dyers, which concludes with the words *οἱ βαφείς*. It still maintains its reputation for this manufacture, and large quantities of scarlet cloth are sent weekly to Smyrna. The town consists of about two thousand houses, for which taxes are paid to the government, besides two or three hundred small huts; of the former 300 are inhabited by Greeks, 30 by Armenians, and the rest by Turks. The common language of all classes is the Turkish; but in writing it, the Greeks use the Greek, and the Armenians the Armenian characters. There are nine mosques and one Greek church.—J. E. R.

THYINE WOOD (ξύλον θυώνον) is mentioned as one of the articles of merchandise which would cease to be purchased in consequence of the fall of Babylon (Rev. xviii. 12). This wood was in considerable demand by the Romans, being much employed by them in the ornamental wood-work of their villas, and also for tables, bowls, and vessels of different kinds. It is noticed by most ancient authors, from the time of Theophrastus. It was the *citrus* or citron-wood of the Romans (Cels. *Hierobot.* vol. ii. p. 25). It was produced only in Africa, in the neighbourhood of Mount Atlas, and in Granada (Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xiii. 15).



503. *Callitris quadrivalvis*.

This cedar or citron-wood was most likely produced by *Callitris quadrivalvis*, the *Thuja articulata* of Linnæus, which is a native of Mount Atlas, and of other uncultivated hills on the coast of Africa. In the kingdom of Morocco, according to Broussouel, this tree produces the Sandarach resin of commerce. Capt. S. E. Cook, in his *Sketches in Spain* (vol. ii.), brought to light the fact that the wood-work of the roof of the celebrated mosque, now the cathedral of Cordova, built in the 9th century, is of this wood; it had previously been thought to be that of the larch, from the resemblance of the Spanish word *alerce*, which is applied to the wood of *Callitris quadrivalvis* in Spain and Barbary, to the Latin word *larix* (Loudon's *Arboret.* iv. 2463). This, no doubt, was also the citron or thyme-wood of the ancients, and therefore that of the above-cited passage of the Revelation. —J. F. R.

TIBERIAS (Τιβεριδς; Talm. טבריא) is a small town situated about the middle of the western bank of the lake of Gennesareth. Tiberias was chiefly built by the tetrarch Herod Antipas, and called by him after the emperor Tiberias (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 3). According to Josephus (*Vit.* sec. 65), Tiberias was 30 stadia from Hippo, 60 from Gadara, and 120 from Scythopolis; according to the Tal-

mud it was 13 Roman miles from Sepphoris; and Joliffe, in his *Travels*, states that it is nearly 20 English miles from Nazareth, and 90 miles from Jerusalem. Others find it above two days' journey from Ptolemais.

From the time of Herod Antipas to the commencement of the reign of Herod Agrippa II., Tiberias was the principal city of the province (see Joseph. *Vit.* sec. 9). Justus, son of Pistus, when addressing the inhabitants of Tiberias, stated that 'the city Tiberias had ever been a city of Galilee; and that in the days of Herod the tetrarch, who had built it, it had obtained the principal place; and that he had ordered that the city Sepphoris should be subordinate to the city Tiberias; that they had not lost this pre-eminence even under Agrippa, the father, but had retained it until Felix was procurator of Judæa; but he told them that now they had been so unfortunate as to be made a present of by Nero to Agrippa; and that upon Sepphoris's submission of itself to the Romans, that city was become the capital of Galilee, and that the royal treasury and the archives were now removed from them.' Tiberias was one of the four cities which Nero added to the kingdom of Agrippa (Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 8. 4). Sepphoris and Tiberias were the largest cities of Galilee (Joseph. *Vit.* sec. 65). In the last Jewish war the fortifications of Tiberias were an important military station (*De Bell. Jud.* ii. 20. 6; iii. 10. 1; *Vit.* sec. 8, seq.)

According to Josephus (*Vit.* sec. 12), the inhabitants of Tiberias derived their maintenance chiefly from the navigation of the lake of Gennesareth, and from its fisheries. After the destruction of Jerusalem Tiberias was celebrated during several centuries for its famous Rabbinical academy (see Lightfoot's *Horæ Heb.* p. 140, seq.)

Not far from Tiberias, in the immediate neighbourhood of the town of Emmaus, were warm mineral springs, whose celebrated baths are sometimes spoken of as belonging to Tiberias itself (Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* ii. 21. 6; *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 3; *Vit.* sec. 16; Mishna, *Sabb.* iii. 4; and other Talmudical passages in Lightfoot's *Horæ Heb.* p. 133, seq. Compare also Wichmannshausen, 'De Thermis Tiberiensibus,' in Ugolini *Thesaur.* tom. vii.) These springs contain sulphur, salt, and iron, and were employed for medicinal purposes. Compare the *Travels* of Volney and Scholz.

There is a tradition that Tiberias was built on the site of the town כנרת *Kinnereth* (*Onomasticon*, sub voce 'Chennereth'). Against this tradition it has been urged that, according to Joshua xix. 35, Chinnereth belonged to the tribe of Naphthali. Compare Reland (*Palæstina*, p. 161). It has also been said that this tradition is contradicted by the following statement of Josephus (*Antiq.* xviii. 2. 3):—'Herod the tetrarch, who was in great favour with Tiberius, built a city of the same name with him, and called it Tiberias. He built it in the best part of Galilee, at the lake of Gennesareth. There are warm baths at a little distance from it, in a village named Emmaus.'

Others have identified Tiberias with Chamath; but it also belonged to the tribe of Naphthali, and the graves mentioned by Josephus militate against it as much as against Chinnereth. According to the Rabbins, Tiberias was situated on the site of Rakath (*Ilievros. Megil.* fol. 701). Comp. Otho. *Lex. Rabb.* p. 755; but it too was in the territory of Naphthali, and if the graves mentioned by Jose-



phus are any objection they must militate against this assumption likewise (Lightfoot, *Chorog. Cent.* cap. 72-74).

According to Joliffe (*Travels*, pp. 48, 49, *seq.*), the modern *Tibbarich* has about four thousand inhabitants, a considerable part of whom are Jews. The hot springs are about thirty-five minutes from Tabaria, and about twenty paces from the lake. Comp. the *Travels* of Mariti, Hasselquist, Buckingham, Burckhardt, and Richter. The site of the

present town does not fill the area of the ancient Tiberias, of which there are still some insignificant vestiges. *Tibbarich* suffered greatly by an earthquake on New Year's Day, 1837. Almost every building, with the exception of the walls and some part of the castle, was levelled to the ground. The inhabitants were obliged to live for some time in wooden booths (Schubert, in *d. Münchn. Gelehrte. Anzeig.* 1837, No. 191, p. 505; Winer's *Real-Wörterb.*)—C. H. F. B.



504. Tiberias.

#### TIBERIAS, SEA OF. [SEA.]

TIBERIUS (*Tιβέριος*), the third emperor of Rome. He is mentioned by name only by St. Luke, who fixes in the 15th year of his reign the commencement of the ministry of John the Baptist, and of Christ (Luke iii. 1). The other passages in which he is mentioned under the title of Cæsar, offer no points of personal allusion, and refer to

him simply as the emperor (Matt. xxii. 17, *seq.*; Mark xii. 14, *seq.*; Luke xx. 22, *seq.*; xxiii. 2, *seq.*; John xix. 12, *seq.*)—J. K.

TIBNI (*תִּבְנִי*; Sept. *Θαυνί*), one of those factious men who took a prominent part in the troubles which followed the violent death of Elah. He disputed the throne of Israel with Omri, and the civil war which was thus kindled between the two



factions lasted about three years with varying success, till the death of Tibni left his adversary master of the crown, B.C. 929 (1 Kings xvi. 21-23).—J. K.

**TIDAL** (תִּדְעָל; Sept. *Θαργῶλ*), one of the allies who with Chedorlaomer invaded Palestine in the time of Abraham (Gen. xiv. 1). Tidal bears the somewhat singular title of 'king of nations' or 'Gentiles' (גוֹיִם, *goyim*). Some make it almost a proper name here, as in Josh. xii. 23, where we read of a 'king of the Gentiles (*goyim*) of Gilgal.' Le Clerc and others take it for Galilee, because in Is. viii. 23 we meet with 'Galilee of the nations.' But there were reasons for its having then acquired that name, which did not exist in the time of Abraham, when all Palestine and the neighbouring countries were as much Gentile as Galilee. In fact, we cannot tell who these Goyim were over whom Tidal ruled; but it seems probable that he was a chief of several confederated tribes, whose military force he contributed to the expedition of Chedorlaomer.—J. K.

**TIDHAR** (תִּדְחָר) is twice mentioned in Scripture (Is. xli. 19, and lx. 13), in both of which places it is enumerated along with the *BEROSHI* and *T'ASHSHUR*, or cypress and box-tree, and is translated *pine-tree* in the A. V. But it has been variously interpreted, and even by the same translator in the two passages. Thus it is rendered *elm* in one passage, and *box* or *pine* in the other. In the Chaldee paraphrase, the word *murneyan*, commonly thought to mean the elm, is used as the synonym of *tidhar*. But no similar name having been discovered in any of the cognate languages, no proofs can be adduced in favour of one more than another. The name *tidhara*, meaning 'three-cornered,' is applied in India to a species of Euphorbia (*E. antiquorum*); but this is not likely to be the plant alluded to in Scripture. Gesenius is of opinion that *tidhar* signifies a durable tree, or one that yields durable wood. It is difficult, therefore, to select from among the trees of Lebanon that which is specially intended.—J. F. R.

**TIGLATH-PILESER**, the Assyrian king who subjected the kingdom of Israel in B.C. 747. [See ASSYRIA; ISRAEL; MERODACH-BALADAN.]

**TIGRIS**. [HIDDEKEL.]

**TIMBREL**. [MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.]

**TIMNA** (תִּמְנָה, *restraint*; Sept. *Θαμνά*). 1. A concubine of Eliphaz, the son of Esau (Gen. xxxvi. 12-22; 1 Chron. i. 36). 2. The chief of an Edomitic tribe (Gen. xxxvi. 40; 1 Chron. i. 51).

**TIMNAH** (תִּמְנָה; Sept. *Θαμνά*). 1. One of the landmarks on the northern boundary of the district allotted to Judah (Josh. xv. 10). This is probably the same place which is called Timnath (Josh. xix. 43), and which belonged to the tribe of Dan. It is supposed to be represented by the modern *Tibneh*, a village about two miles to the west of *Ain Shems* (Bethshemesh), now deserted (Robinson, *B. R.* ii. 16). 2. (*Θαμνάθα*) A town in the mountain district of Judah (Josh. xv. 57). It is not mentioned elsewhere. By some it has been confounded with the Timnath of Gen. xxxviii. 12 (von Raumer, *Paläst.* p. 221); but this is doubtful (Keil, *in loc.*)—W. L. A.

**TIMNATH**, prop. **TIMNATHA** (תִּמְנָתָה; Sept. *Θαμνά* and *Θαμνάθα*). 1. The place to which Judah was going up when he was met by his daughter-in-law Tamar (Gen. xxxviii. 13, ff.) Whether this is identical with the Timnah of Josh. xv. 10 remains uncertain, though the probability is that it is so. 2. The residence of Samson's wife (Josh. xiv. 1, 2, 5).—W. L. A.

**TIMNATH-HERES**. [TIMNATH-SERAH.]

**TIMNATH-SERAH** (תִּמְנַת־סֶרַח, *portion of abundance*—i.e. *remaining portion*; Sept. *Θαμνα-σπαράχ*), a town in the mountains of Ephraim, which was assigned to Joshua, and became the place of his residence and burial (Josh. xix. 50; xxiv. 30). In Judg. ii. 9, it is called Timnath heres (*portion of the sun*); but the former is probably the correct reading, since a possession thus given to Joshua after the rest of the land was distributed (Josh. xix. 49) would strictly be a portion remaining. This was probably the same with the Timnah (*Θαμνά*) of Josephus (*Antiq.* v. 1. 29; *De Bell. Jud.* iii. 3. 5), the head of a toparchy lying between those of Gophna and Lydda; which seems to be recognised in a place called Tibneh, lying north-west of Gophna on the Roman road to Antipatris (*Bibliotheca Sacra*, i. 483). The choice of Joshua was certainly not in the best of the land. Jerome relates that Paula, when travelling in these parts, marvelled that the distributor of the possessions of the children of Israel should have chosen for himself a situation so rough and mountainous (*Epitaph. Paulæ*, fol. 99).—J. K.

**TIMON** (Τίμων), one of the seven chosen to distribute to the poorer brethren the alms of the church at Jerusalem (Acts vi. 1-6). From his name he was probably of Gentile birth. Tradition makes him one of the seventy-two disciples, and bishop of Bostra, where he suffered martyrdom.—W. L. A.

**TIMOTHY** (Τιμόθεος), a young Christian of Derbe, grandson of Lois, and son of Eunice, a Jewess, by a Greek father, who was probably a proselyte (Acts xvi. 1; xx. 4). He seems to have been brought up with great care in his family, and to have profited well by the example of the 'unfeigned faith' which dwelt in the excellent women named in 2 Tim. i. 5; iii. 15. The testimonials which Paul received in Lycaonia in favour of this young disciple induced the apostle to make him the companion of his journeys and labours in preaching the gospel (Acts xvi. 2, 3; 1 Tim. iv. 12). He became his most faithful and attached colleague; and is frequently named by Paul with truly paternal tenderness and regard. He calls him 'son Timothy' (1 Tim. i. 18); 'my own son in the faith' (1 Tim. i. 2); 'my beloved son' (1 Cor. iv. 17); 'my workfellow' (Rom. xvi. 21); 'my brother' (which is probably the sense of *Τιμόθεος ὁ ἀδελφός* in 2 Cor. i. 1). Timothy appears to have been with the apostle at Rome, and to have been, like him, a prisoner there, though liberated before him (Heb. xiii. 23). His subsequent history is, however, unknown. It appears from 1 Tim. i. 3, that when Paul went into Macedonia he left Timothy in charge of the church at Ephesus, and there are indications that he was still at Ephesus when the apostle was (as usually understood) a second time captive at Rome, and without hope of deliverance (1 Tim. iii. 14). The tradition is, that



Timothy retained the charge of the church at Ephesus till his death, and eventually suffered martyrdom in that city.—J. K.

**TIMOTHY, EPISTLES TO.** The common authorship of these two epistles has seldom been denied; nor, if denied, could the denial be successfully maintained, so marked and so numerous are the points of resemblance between the two, except upon the assumption that the one has been made up from the other. When, however, we proceed to inquire, *By whom* were they written? the question is one which has occasioned in more recent times no small controversy.

If we defer to the testimony of the early ecclesiastical writers, no doubt will remain upon the point. For the high antiquity of these epistles the allusions to passages in them by Barnabas, Clement of Rome, Polycarp, and Ignatius, sufficiently vouch (Lardner, ii. 20, 38, 79, 96). That they are also to be regarded as genuine productions of the apostle whose name they bear, is attested by Irenæus (*Adv. Hær.* lib. i. *sub init.* iii. 3. 3); by Theophilus of Antioch, who quotes 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2, along with Rom. xiii. 7, 8, as part of 'the divine word' (*Ad Autol.* iii. 14); by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* ii. 383; *ibid.* p. 448); by Tertullian (*De Præscr. Hæret.* c. 25); by Caius (ap. Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* vi. 20); by Origen, etc. (comp. Lardner, vol. ii.) To this weighty mass of external evidence there is nothing to oppose of the same kind, for the omission of these epistles by Marcion from his *Apostolicon*, is a fact, to which, from the well-known caprice and prejudice of that heretic, no weight can be attached. Unless, therefore, difficulties of an insurmountable nature are presented by the epistles themselves to our regarding them as the productions of Paul, we must hold their claim to rank as his to be unimpeachable.

That such difficulties are presented by these epistles has been confidently maintained by Eichhorn (*Einleit.* iii. 317, ff.), De Wette (*Einleit.* s. 283, ff.), and other scholars of note. The learned and acute Schleiermacher assailed the genuineness of the first epistle in his *Kritisches Sendschreiben an J. C. Gass* (Berlin 1807); but that of the second he admitted, and not only so, but was wont to censure the attempts of those who rejected it and that to Titus, as 'removing the occasion and the means for the criticism of the first' (Lücke, *Theol. Stud. und Krit.* 1834, s. 766). To examine all the cavils which these eminent men, in the exercise of that micrologistic criticism in which it seems characteristic of their nation to delight, would be a task altogether incompatible with the limits within which we are confined. A succinct survey of the more weighty of their objections we shall, however, attempt to supply; beginning with those which are common to both epistles, and proceeding to such as are peculiar to each.

1. It is objected that the general style of these epistles is not Pauline. 'Has Paul's language in general,' asks Eichhorn, 'the clearness and ease of expression which we find in these pastoral epistles? Is it not much more unpolished, careless, and allied to a prose which has been thrown together, rather than carefully elaborated?' etc. 'The force of such an objection,' Eichhorn adds, 'it is very difficult to make apparent to those who have not the natural gift of discerning modes of writing.' A most convenient difficulty! enabling the critic to

retort the charge of incapacity upon all who do not see the characteristics of Paul's style in exactly the same light as they are viewed by him. We shelter ourselves behind the ample authority of Hug, who says of the latter part of the objection, that it 'is absolutely false,' and who replies to the former by asserting for a letter, written by the apostle to a friend so intimate as Timothy, the right to exhibit a more free and flowing style than would be proper in a letter addressed to a church (*Introd.* Fosdick's transl. p. 569).

2. Much stress is laid by all who have impugned the Pauline origin of these epistles on the occurrence in them of *ἀπαξ λεγόμενα*, and forms of expression not elsewhere usual with St. Paul. But to this it may be replied that the same objection might be offered against many of the unquestioned writings of the apostle, such, *ex. gr.*, as the Epistle to the Galatians, in which 57 *ἀπαξ λεγόμενα* occur, and the Epistle to the Philippians, in which we find 54, etc.; from which it appears but fair to infer that the occurrence of such is, so far as it can prove anything, an evidence for rather than against the Pauline origin of these epistles. All such reasonings, however, appear to rest upon too precarious a basis to be allowed much weight. When it is remembered how much the style of a writer is affected by his subject, by his design, by the state of his mind at the time of writing, by the circumstances of the parties for whom his composition is intended, as well as how much in the course of a few years the style of even a very careful writer alters, we shall cease to be much moved by the occurrence in the epistles of such a writer as St. Paul, of unexpected varieties and peculiarities of expression. The only valid argument that can be urged against the genuineness of a writing from such facts is, when it can be shown that the writer has used phrases or words, which it is historically impossible that the party to whom the writing is ascribed could have employed; as has been done so successfully in several instances by Bentley, in his work on the Epistles ascribed to Phalaris. No attempt of this sort, however, is made by those who have impugned the authenticity of the Epistles to Timothy; 'not one word has been adduced which can be shown to be foreign to the age of Paul; not a single phrase has been pointed out, of which either the outward form, or the conception on which it is based, belongs to a later age' (Planck, *Bemerkungen, u. s. w.* s. 17). So far from this, Eichhorn himself admits 'that they have in their language much that is Pauline,' and that the allusion to the apostle's persecuting zeal before his conversion (1 Tim. i. 13), the principles asserted respecting both the substance and the form of Christianity, and the proofs adduced, are highly Pauline (p. 318). (See for details Davidson's *Introduc.* iii. 100, ff., and Alford's *Gr. V. T.* iii. Prolegg. sec. 29, ff.)

3. It is objected that the writer of these epistles utters sentiments in favour of the law which are not Pauline, and teaches the efficacy of good works in such a way as to be incompatible with St. Paul's doctrine of salvation by grace. This assertion we may safely meet with a pointed denial. The doctrine of this epistle concerning the law is, that it is good if it be used *volutas*, as a law, for the purposes which a moral law is designed to serve; and what is this but the doctrine of the epistles to the Romans and Galatians, where the apostle maintains that in itself and for its own

ends the divine law is holy, just, and good, and becomes evil only when put out of its proper place, and used for purposes it was never designed to serve? (Rom. vii. 7-12; Gal. iii. 21, etc.) What the writer here teaches concerning good works is also in full harmony with the apostle Paul's teaching in his acknowledged epistles (comp. Rom. xii., Eph. v. and vi., etc.); and if in this epistle there is no formal exposition of the gospel scheme, but rather a dwelling upon practical duties, the reason may easily be found in the peculiar character of this as a pastoral epistle—an epistle of official counsels and exhortations to a minister of Christianity.

4. It is objected that in these epistles certain heretical opinions are denounced which belong to a later age than that of the apostle Paul. Baur does not hesitate to pronounce the opinions in question to be those of Marcionite Gnosticism. But a careful examination of the passages adduced (1 Ep. i. 3, 4, 6, 7, 19; iv. 1-7; vi. 3 ff., 20; 2 Ep. ii. 16-23; iii. 6-9, 13; iv. 4) will suffice to refute this assertion. From these passages it is evident that the heretics in question had embraced Judaistic notions (comp. Tit. i. 10, 14), and those of a kind to which Gnosticism always was more or less antagonistic, and that of Marcion strongly. On the other hand, the character of the Judaizing here condemned is not exactly the same as that which we find censured in the earlier Pauline epistles; it is more antinomian (1 Tim. i. 7) and more distinctly immoral (1 Tim. i. 19; iv. 2; vi. 5, comp. Tit. i. 11; 2 Tim. ii. 17; iii. 6, etc., comp. Tit. i. 15, 16). We probably see in it the more advanced form of the earlier tendency, according to that natural progress by which 'wicked men and seducers wax worse and worse' (2 Tim. iii. 13). Such an advance may well have taken place within the life-time of the apostle.

5. It is alleged that in these epistles and in that to Titus, the hierarchical system appears more complete, and the hierarchical spirit more manifest, than it was in the days of the apostle Paul. This is founded on the recognition in these epistles of *ἐπισκοποι*, *πρεσβύτεροι*, and *διάκονοι*. This, however, of itself obviously proves nothing, for these official names occur in earlier epistles and in the Acts, and must have been contemporary with the church institute itself. To make the objection of any weight it would require to be shown that the three orders of the ministry are presented in these epistles in that relation to each other which we find at a later age, and which alone can be properly called the hierarchical system. That bishops or presbyters, and deacons, have been from the first officers in the church, and that it is a duty of the members to revere and respect them, are points on which all are agreed; and there does not appear to be anything said of or to such in these epistles which might not have been uttered in the earliest of Paul's writings.

Besides these objections, which apply to both epistles alike, there are some which affect each epistle separately.

To the first epistle it is objected: 1. That it presents Timothy in a light in which it is inconsistent with other notices of him in Paul's epistles to regard him. Here he appears as little better than a novice, needing instruction as to the simplest affairs of ecclesiastical order; whereas, in the first epistle to the Corinthians, written earlier than this,

we find him (iv. 17) described by Paul as 'My beloved son, and faithful in the Lord, who shall bring you into remembrance of my ways which be in Christ, as I teach everywhere in every church;' and in 1 Thess. i. 1-3, we are told that the apostle had sent him to Thessalonica to establish the believers there, and to comfort them concerning their faith. If Timothy was so well able to regulate the churches at Corinth and Thessalonica, how, it is asked, can it be supposed that a short while afterwards he should require such minute instructions for his conduct as this epistle contains? To this it may be replied, (1) that in visiting Corinth and Thessalonica Timothy acted as the apostle's delegate, and had, doubtless, received from him minute instructions as to how he should proceed among those to whom he was sent; so that the alleged difference in the circumstances of Timothy when sent to Corinth, and when left in Ephesus, disappears; (2) that it does not necessarily follow, from the injunctions given to Timothy in this epistle, that the writer regarded him as a novice; for they rather respect the application of general principles to peculiar local circumstances, than set forth instructions such as a novice would require; and (3) it is not to be forgotten that the apostle designed through Timothy to present to the church at large a body of instruction which should be useful to it in all ages of its existence.

2. It is objected that after the church at Ephesus had enjoyed the apostle's instructions and presidency for three years, it could not have been, at the time this epistle is supposed to have been written by Paul, in such ignorance of ecclesiastical arrangements as the injunctions here given would lead us to suppose. But what is there in the epistle that necessitates such a supposition? It contains many directions to Timothy how he should conduct himself in a church, some of which are certainly of an elementary character, but there is nothing that leads to the conclusion that they were *all* intended for the benefit of the church at Ephesus, or that the state of that church was such as to require that injunctions of this kind should be given for its sake alone. Timothy's sphere of evangelistic effort extended greatly beyond Ephesus; and this epistle was designed at once to guide him as to what he was to do in the churches which he might be called to regulate, and to supply him authority for so doing. Besides, does it not naturally occur that such minute injunctions are just such as a person forging this epistle at a later period in Paul's name would be most likely to avoid?

3. The absence of allusions to events in Timothy's history has been alleged against the Pauline origin of this epistle. A strange objection!—and as untenable as strange. This may be seen by a reference to the following passages: i. 18; iv. 14; v. 23; vi. 12.

4. It is alleged that the writer of this epistle has made such a mistake as Paul could not have made when he classes Alexander with Hymenæus (1 Tim. i. 20) as a false Christian, whereas we know from 2 Tim. iv. 14 that he was not a Christian at all. But where is the shadow of evidence that the Alexander mentioned in 1 Tim. i. 20 is the same person with the Alexander mentioned in 2 Tim. iv. 14? Was this name so uncommon in Ephesus that we must needs suppose a blunder, where a writer speaks of one so called as a heretic, simply because in other passages



mention is made of one so called who was not a heretic? Nothing can be more obvious than that there were two Alexanders, just as there might have been twenty, known to the apostle and Timothy; and that of these two one was a heretic and troubler of the church at Ephesus, and the other probably a heathen and an enemy of the apostle.

5. In 1 Tim. i. 20, mention is made of Hymenæus as a heretic, whom the writer makes Paul say he had excommunicated; but this is a mistake, for in 2 Tim. ii. 17, we find Hymenæus still a member of the church at Ephesus, and such a mistake could not have been made by Paul. Here, however, it is assumed without proof, (1) that the Hymenæus of the one epistle is the same as the Hymenæus of the other; (2) that being the same, he was still a member of the same church; and (3) that it was impossible for him, though excommunicated, to have returned as a penitent to the church, and again to have become a plague to it. Here are three hypotheses on which we may account for the fact referred to, and until they be all excluded it will not follow that any blunder is chargeable upon the writer of this epistle.

6. In 1 Tim. vi. 13, the writer refers to our Lord's good confession before Pontius Pilate. Now of this we have a record in John's Gospel; but as this was not written in Paul's time, it is urged that this epistle must be ascribed to a later writer. It is easy to obviate any force that may appear to be in this remark by the consideration that all the prominent facts of our Lord's life, and especially the circumstances of his death, were familiarly known by oral communication to all the Christians before the Gospels were written. Though, then, John's Gospel was not extant in Paul's time, the facts recorded by John were well known, and might therefore be very naturally referred to in an epistle from one Christian to another. Of our Lord's confession before Pilate we may readily suppose that Paul, the great advocate of the spirituality of the Messiah's kingdom, was especially fond of making use.

7. It is alleged that 1 Tim. iii. 16 bears marks of being a quotation from a confession or symbol of the church, of which there were none in Paul's day. But what marks of this does the passage present? The answer is, the use of the word *δοκουμενως*, a technical word, and the word used by the ecclesiastical writers to designate something in accordance with orthodox doctrine. This is true; but as technical words are first used in their proper sense, and as the proper sense of *δοκουμενως* perfectly suits the passage in question, there is no reason for supposing any such later usage as De Wette suggests. Besides, his argument tells both ways, for one may as well assert that the ecclesiastical usage arose from the terms of this passage, as affirm that the terms of this passage were borrowed from ecclesiastical usage.

8. The writer of this epistle quotes as a part of Scripture a passage which occurs only in Luke x. 7; but as Luke had not written his Gospel at the time Paul is supposed to have written this epistle, and as it is not the habit of the N. T. writers to quote from each other in the way they quote from the O. T., we are bound to suppose that this epistle is the production of a later writer. But does this writer quote Luke x. 7, in the manner alleged? The passage referred to is in ch. v. 18, where we have first a citation from Deut. xxv. 4, introduced

by the usual formula, 'The Scripture saith;' and then the writer adds, as further confirmatory of his position, the saying of our Lord, which is supposed to be quoted from Luke's Gospel. Now we are not bound to conclude that this latter was adduced by the writer as a part of Scripture. It may be regarded as a remark of his own, or as some proverbial expression, or as a well-known saying of Christ's, by which he confirms the doctrine he is establishing. We are under no necessity to extend the formula with which the verse is commenced so as to include in it *all* that the verse contains. The *καί* by itself will not justify this; indeed we may go further, and affirm that the use of *καί* alone rather leads to an opposite conclusion, for had the writer intended the latter clause to be regarded as a quotation from Scripture as well as the former, he would probably have used some such formula as *καί παλιν* (comp. Heb. ii. 13).

9. It is alleged that the ordinance concerning widows (v. 9, ff.) betrays a later date than the time of St. Paul. But in order to make this good, those who adduce the objection have to assume that these widows were deaconesses, an order not recognised in the apostolic age. This may be [DEACONESSES]; but the assumption that these widows were deaconesses is wholly gratuitous. They were persons received into a class, either as fit objects for relief, or as fit agents of some work; but there is no evidence that they held any office in the church, or were in any sense an *institution*.

10. De Wette maintains that the injunction in ch. v. 23 is so much beneath the dignity of an apostle, that we cannot suppose it to have proceeded from such a writer as Paul. But what is there in such an injunction less dignified than in many injunctions of an equally familiar nature scattered through Paul's epistles? And in what is it incompatible with the apostolic character that one sustaining it should enjoin upon a young, zealous, and active preacher, whom he esteemed as his own son, a careful regard to his health; the more especially when, by acting as is here enjoined, he would vindicate Christian liberty from those ascetic restraints by which the false teachers sought to bind it.

Such are the principal objections which have of late been urged against the Pauline authorship of the First Epistle to Timothy. Let us now turn to glance with equal brevity at those which have been urged against the Second. Of these the most weighty are founded on the assumption that this epistle must be viewed as written during the apostle's first imprisonment at Rome; and as, for reasons to be subsequently stated, we do not regard this assumption as tenable, it will not be necessary to occupy space with any remarks upon them. We may leave unnoticed also those objections to this epistle which are mere repetitions of those urged against the first, and which admit of similar replies.

1. In ch. iii. 11 the writer enumerates a series of persecutions and afflictions which befel him at Antioch, Iconium, and Lystra, of which he says Timothy knew. Would Paul, it is asked, in making such an enumeration, have committed the mistake of referring to persecutions which he had endured *before* his connection with Timothy, and have said nothing of those which he endured *subsequently*, and of which Timothy *must* have known, whilst of the former he *might* be ignorant?



But there is no mistake in the matter. Paul has occasion to refer to the knowledge Timothy had of his sufferings for the gospel. Of these some had occurred before Timothy's connection with him, whilst others had occurred while Timothy was his companion and fellow-sufferer. Of the latter, therefore, Paul makes no specific mention, feeling that to be unnecessary; but of the former, of which Timothy could know only by hearsay, but of which he no doubt did know, for we cannot conceive that any interesting point in Paul's previous history would be unknown to his 'dear son in the faith,' he makes specific enumeration. This fully accounts for his stopping short at the point where Timothy's personal experience could amply supply the remainder.

2. The declaration in ch. iv. 7, etc., is incompatible with what Paul says of himself in Phil. iii. 12, etc. But respect must be had to the very different circumstances in which the apostle was when he wrote these two passages. In the one case he viewed himself as still engaged in active work, and having the prospect of service before him; in the other he regards himself as very near to death, and shortly about to enter into the presence of his Master. Surely the same individual might in the former of these cases speak of work yet to do, and in the latter of his work as done, without any contradiction.

3. In ch. i. 6, and ii. 2, there are allusions to ecclesiastical ceremonies which betray a later age than that of Paul. This is said without reason. The laying on of hands in the conferring of a *χρίσμα* was altogether an apostolic usage; and the hearing of Paul's doctrines was what Timothy, as his companion in travel, could easily enjoy, without our needing to suppose that the apostle is here represented as acting the part of professor in a school of theology.

A survey of these objections will show that no insuperable objection lies in the way of our yielding full assent to the claims of these two epistles to Timothy to rank among the productions of the apostle Paul. On the other side, the entire spirit, tone, character, and contents of these epistles are so truly Pauline, that they carry the evidence of their authenticity with them.

(Comp. the *Introductions* of Michaelis, Eichhorn, Hug, De Wette, Bertholdt, Guericke, Schott, Davidson, Bleek, Reuss, etc.; Schleiermacher, *Ueb. den sogenannten ersten Brief des Paulus an den Timotheos*, Berlin 1807, 12mo; Planck, *Bemerkungen über d. ersten Paulin. Brief an d. Tim.* Gött. 1808, 8vo; Beckhaus, *De vocabulis ἀπαξ λεγόμενις in I. ad Tim. Ep. Paulina obviis, authenticia ejus nihil detrahentibus*, Linge 1810, 8vo; Curtius, *De tempore quo prior Pauli ad Tim. Epist. exarata sit*, Berol. 1828, 8vo, etc.; Otto, *Die Geschichtl. verhältnisse der Past. Briefe*, Leipz. 1860).

Assuming that these epistles were written by St. Paul, the question next to be considered respects the time when each of them was composed.

With regard to the first, it is clear that it was written not long after Paul had left Ephesus for Macedonia (ch. i. 3). Now from Acts xx. 1 we learn that Paul left Ephesus after the uproar caused by Demetrius, and went into Macedonia. Shall we suppose, then, that it was at this time this epistle was written? Many excellent critics reply in the affirmative; and upon the whole we think this opinion the one to be preferred. It is not, however, without difficulties; the chief of which

lies in the fact that Timothy, to whom this epistle is addressed, appears to have been with Paul in Macedonia at this time (comp. 2 Cor. i. 1). To obviate this objection, it has been suggested that Paul might have written this epistle immediately after leaving Ephesus, and the second to the Corinthians not before the concluding period of his stay in Macedonia; so that Timothy might have visited him in the interval. This appears to remove the difficulty, but it does so by suggesting a new one; for how on this supposition are we to account for the apostle's delaying so long to write to the Corinthians after the arrival of Titus, by whose intelligence concerning the state of the Corinthian church Paul was led to address them? [SECOND EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.] It may be asked also if it be likely that Timothy, after receiving such a charge as Paul gives him in this epistle, would so soon have left Ephesus and followed the apostle. Pressed by these difficulties, many critics of note have resorted to the hypothesis that this epistle must have been written at a later period, subsequent to the apostle's first imprisonment at Rome, and upon a journey undertaken by him during the interval between that and his final imprisonment. But this hypothesis seems to assume the possibility of churches remaining in and around Ephesus in a state of defective arrangement and order for a greater length of time than we can believe to have been the case. It is opposed also by what Paul says, ch. iv. 12, from which we learn that at the time this epistle was written Timothy was in danger of being despised as a youth; but this could hardly be said of him *after* St. Paul's first imprisonment, when he must on the lowest computation have been upwards of thirty years of age. To weaken this objection it has been said that even at that age Timothy was young enough to exercise authority over bishops who might be older than himself. But it is not in this connection that the allusion occurs, but in connection with work to be done in driving heresies out of the community of the faithful. And, finally, this hypothesis is directly opposed to the solemn declaration of Paul to the elders of the church at Ephesus when he met them at Miletus: 'I know that ye all shall see my face no more' (Acts xx. 25), for it assumes that he did see them again and preached to them. These difficulties in the way of the hypothesis of a later date for this epistle seem to us weightier than those which attach to the other supposition. An attempt has been made by C. W. Otto (*Die Gesch. Verhält.* p. 23, ff.) to avoid the difficulty in this passage by translating it thus: 'As I in Ephesus exhorted thee to stand fast, so do thou, as thou goest to Macedonia, enjoin on some not to adhere to strange doctrines, etc.' The passage is thus made to refer to Timothy's going to Macedonia, not to the apostle's, and the occasion of his going is referred to the journey mentioned Acts xix. 21, 22, with which the visit to Corinth mentioned 1 Cor. iv. 17, xvi. 10, is made to synchronise. The date of 1 Tim. is thus placed *before* that of 1 Cor. All this, however, rests on a rendering of 1 Tim. i. 3 which, in spite of much learned disquisition, the writer has failed to vindicate.

With regard to the second epistle, it is certain that it was written at Rome, and whilst the apostle was a prisoner there (i. 8, 16; ii. 9; i. 17; iv. 21); but the question arises, was it during his first or his second imprisonment that this took place?



In favour of the first, the most weighty consideration arises out of the fact that the apostle appears to have had the same individuals as his companions when he wrote this epistle, as he had when he wrote the epistles to the Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians, and that to Philemon, which we know were written during his first imprisonment at Rome. 'At the beginning of the imprisonment,' says Hug, who has very forcibly stated this argument in favour of the earlier hypothesis, 'when the Epistle to the Ephesians was written, Timothy, who was not one of Paul's companions on the voyage to Italy (Acts xxvii. 2), was not with him at Rome; for Paul does not add his name in the address with which the epistle commences, as he always did when Timothy was at his side. Timothy afterwards arrived; and accordingly, at the outset of the epistles to the Colossians and Philemon, his name appears with the apostle's (Col. i. 1; Phil. 1); secondly, Luke was in Paul's company (Col. iv. 10; Phil. 24); thirdly, Mark was likewise with him (Col. iv. 10; Phil. 24); fourthly, Tychicus was then Paul's *διδάκων* and letter-bearer, and, in particular, was sent to Asia (Eph. vi. 21; Col. iv. 7, 8). All these circumstances are presented to view in the second epistle to Timothy. Timothy was not with Paul at first, but was summoned to his side (2 Tim. iv. 9, 21); secondly, Luke was with him (iv. 11); thirdly, he wishes Mark to come with Timothy, so that he must have been with him in the course of his imprisonment (iv. 11); fourthly, Tychicus was with him in the capacity of letter-bearer, and, in particular, was sent to Asia (iv. 12). Now, in order to suppose that Paul wrote this epistle to Timothy during the second imprisonment at Rome, we must assume that the circumstances of both were exactly the same, etc. We must also assume that Paul at both times, even in the latter part of Nero's reign, was permitted to receive friends during his confinement, to write letters, despatch messengers, and, in general, to have free intercourse with everybody' (*Introduction*, p. 556, etc., Fosdick's transl.)

The case, as here stated, it must be admitted, is strongly in favour of our assigning the composition of this epistle to the time of St. Paul's first imprisonment at Rome. On the other hand, the difficulties lying in the way of this seem insuperable. Hug's reasoning assumes that the epistle must have been written in the *early* part of the apostle's imprisonment, else Timothy could not have been absent at the time of its composition. But that this is utterly inadmissible the following considerations show:—

1. When St. Paul wrote to the Colossians, the Philippians, and Philemon, Demas was with him; when he wrote this epistle to Timothy, Demas had forsaken him, having loved this present world and gone to Thessalonica (iv. 10).
2. When St. Paul wrote to the Ephesians, Colossians, Philippians, and Philemon, he was in good hopes of a speedy liberation from his imprisonment; when he wrote this epistle to Timothy he had lost all these hopes, and was anticipating death as near at hand (iv. 6-8).
3. At the time this epistle was written St. Paul had been, if not oftener, at least once before the bar of the emperor, when he had offered his apology (iv. 16).
4. Tychicus, the bearer of the letters to the Colossians, had been despatched from Rome *before* this epistle to Timothy was written (iv. 12).
5. At the time the epistles to the Colossians and Philemon

were written, Aristarchus was with St. Paul; by the time this was written Aristarchus had left him (iv. 11). All these circumstances forbid our supposing that this Second Epistle to Timothy was written before the epistles above named, that is, in the early part of St. Paul's first imprisonment at Rome. Shall we then assign the epistle to a later period of that same imprisonment? Against this also lie difficulties. Before we can admit it we must suppose that Timothy and Mark, who did not accompany St. Paul to Rome, had shortly after followed him thither, and, after remaining awhile, left the apostle, and were again requested by him in this epistle to return; that during the interval of their absence from Rome, St. Paul's first trial had occurred; and that, yet even before he had so much as appeared before his judges, he had written to his friends in terms intimating his full confidence of a speedy release (Phil. i. 25; ii. 24; Philem. 22). These circumstances may perhaps admit of explanation; but there are others which seem to present insuperable difficulties in the way of the supposition that this epistle was written at any period of Paul's first imprisonment at Rome.

1. St. Paul's imprisonment of which we have an account in the Acts, was of a much milder kind than that in which he was at the time he wrote this epistle. In the former case he was permitted to lodge in his own hired house, and to receive all who came to him, being guarded only by a single soldier; in the latter he was in such close confinement that Onesiphorus had no small difficulty in finding him; he was chained, he suffered evil even unto bonds as a malefactor, his friends had mostly deserted him, and he had narrowly escaped destruction from the Roman tyrant (i. 16-18; ii. 9; iv. 6, 7, 8, 18).
2. In ch. iv. 13 he requests Timothy to bring with him from Troas some books, parchments, etc., which he had left at that place. If we suppose the visit here referred to the same as that mentioned in Acts xx. 5-7, we must conclude that these documents had been allowed by the apostle to lie at Troas for a space of seven or eight years, as that length of time elapsed between the visit to Troas, mentioned by Luke, and St. Paul's first imprisonment at Rome. This is surely very unlikely, as the documents were plainly of value to the apostle; and if by *φαλδύνης*, in this passage, he meant a *cloak* or *mantle*, the leaving of it for so long a time unused when it might have been of service, and the sending so anxiously for it when it could be of little or none, as the apostle's time of departure was at hand, must be allowed to be not a little improbable.
3. In ch. iv. 20 St. Paul speaks of having left Trophimus sick at Miletus. Now this could not have been on the occasion referred to in Acts xx. 15; for subsequent to that Trophimus was with the apostle at Jerusalem (Acts xxi. 29). It follows that St. Paul must have visited Miletus at a subsequent period; but he did not visit it on his way from Jerusalem to Rome on the occasion of his first imprisonment; and this, therefore, strongly favours the hypothesis of a journey subsequent to that event, and immediately antecedent to the writing of this epistle. The attempt to enfeeble the force of this by translating *ἀπέλειπον*, 'they left,' etc., and understanding it of messengers from Ephesus coming to visit Paul, is ingenious, but can hardly be admitted, as no sound interpreter would forcibly supply a subject to a verb where the context itself naturally supplies one.
4. In ch. iv. 20 the apostle says, 'Erastus abode in

Corinth.' Such language implies that shortly before writing this epistle the apostle had been at Corinth, where he left Erastus. But before his first imprisonment St. Paul had not been at Corinth for several years, and during the interval Timothy had been with him, so that he did not need to write to him at a later period about that visit (Acts xx. 4). Hug contends that *ἐνευ* simply expresses the fact that Erastus was then residing at Corinth, without necessarily implying that St. Paul had left him there; but would the apostle in this case have used the aorist?

On these grounds the hypothesis has been adopted, that St. Paul, after his first imprisonment, was set at liberty, resumed his missionary labours, was again apprehended, and wrote this epistle during his second imprisonment. Whichever hypothesis we adopt we shall encounter difficulties; but the latter seems, upon the whole, the preferable (comp. the *Introductions* of Horne, Hug, Michaelis, Eichhorn; Hensen's *Leben Pauli*; Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*, etc.)

The design of the first epistle is partly to instruct Timothy in the duties of that office with which he had been intrusted, partly to supply him with credentials to the churches which he might visit, and partly to furnish through him guidance to the churches themselves. It may be divided into *three* parts, exclusive of the introduction (i. 1, 2), and the conclusion (vi. 20, 21). In the *first* of these parts (i. 3-20) the apostle reminds Timothy generally of his functions, and especially of the duties he had to discharge in reference to certain false teachers, who were anxious to bring the believers under the yoke of the law. In the *second* (ii.-vi. 2) he gives Timothy particular instructions concerning the orderly conducting of divine worship, the qualifications of bishops and deacons, and the proper mode of behaving himself in a church. In the *third* (vi. 3-19) the apostle discourses against some vices to which the Christians at Ephesus seem to have been prone.

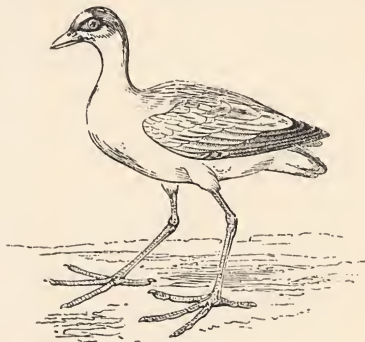
The design of the second epistle is partly to inform Timothy of the apostle's trying circumstances at Rome, and partly to utter a last warning voice against the errors and delusions which were corrupting and disturbing the churches. It consists of an inscription (i. 1-5); of a series of exhortations to Timothy, to be faithful in his zeal for sound doctrine, patient under affliction and persecution, careful to maintain a deportment becoming his office, and diligent in his endeavours to counteract the unhallowed efforts of the false teachers (i. 6; iv. 8); and a conclusion in which Paul requests Timothy to visit him, and sends the salutations of certain Christians at Rome to Timothy, and those of the apostle himself to some believers in Asia Minor.

*Commentaries*: Mosheim, *Erklärung*, Hamb. 1755, 4to; Zachariae, *Paraphrast. Erklär.* 1775. Wegscheider, *Der I. Br. des Ap. P. an d. Tim. übersetzt und erklärt*. Gott. 1810, 8vo; Heydenreich, *Die Pastoralbriefe Pauli erläutert*. Hadamar. 1826-1828, 2 vols. 8vo; Mack, *Comment. iib. d. Pastoralbr.* Tüb. 1841, 8vo; Matthies, *Erklär. d. Pastoralbr.* Griefswald 1840; Leo, *Pauli Epist. prima ad Tim. Græca cum Comment. perpetuo*, Lips. 1838, 8vo, *Alter. ib.* 1850.—W. L. A.

TIN. [BEDIL.]

TINSHEMETH (תִּנְשֶׁמֶת). This name has already been referred to the 'chamæleon,' but there

is no doubt that it also denotes a bird; for it occurs in the enumeration of unclean species which the law forbade to be eaten, and we are not at liberty to presume that a lizard could be meant, where all the others are positively flying creatures (Lev. xi. 18; Deut. xiv. 16). Bochart, with his usual learning, endeavours to prove it to be a species of owl; but in that case not less than three species of owls would be enumerated in the series, while many other birds that cannot well be assumed to be clean would be omitted. The Sept. and the Vulgate understand a water-fowl to be meant, the first rendering it *πορφυριων*, and the second, not comprehending the meaning of this designation, rendering it 'swan.' Giggeius wavered between these two; and Dr. Mason Harris, seemingly not better informed, and confounding the American red species with the white one of Africa, guessed that *porphyriion* must mean the 'flamingo.' The swan, for which some recent scholars contend, asserting that it was held sacred in Egypt, does not occur, so far as we have ascertained, in any Egyptian ancient picture, and is not a bird which, in migrating to the south, even during the coldest seasons, appears to proceed further than France or Spain, though no doubt individuals may be blown onwards in hard gales to the African shore. We recollect only two instances of swans being noticed so far to the south as the sea between Candia and Rhodes: one where a traveller mentions his passing through a flock reposing on the sea during the night; the other recorded by Hasselquist, who saw one on the coast of Egypt; but we conjecture that they mistook pelicans for swans, particularly as the last mentioned are fresh-water birds, and do not readily



505. The Porphyrio

take to the true salt sea. We prefer the rendering of the Sept., because the porphyrio, or purple gallinula, cannot have been unknown to the Alexandrian temples, and was then, as it is now, seen both in Egypt and Palestine. The circumstance of the same name being given to the chamæleon may have arisen from both having the faculty of changing colours, or being iridescent; the first when angry becoming green, blue, and purple—colours which likewise play constantly on the glossy parts of the second's plumage. The porphyrio is superior in bulk to our water-hen or gallinula, has a hard crimson shield on the forehead, and flesh-coloured legs; the head, neck, and sides are of a beautiful turquoise blue, the upper and back parts of a dark but brilliant indigo.



The porphyryion is a remarkable bird, abounding in the southern and eastern parts of Europe and Western Asia, feeding itself standing on one leg, and holding its food in the claws of the other. It was anciently kept tame in the precincts of pagan temples, and therefore perhaps was marked unclean, as most, if not all, the sacred animals of the heathens were. We subjoin a figure of *porphyrio hyacinthinus*, the species most common in Europe, although there are several others in Asia and Africa; *porphyrio erythropus*, abundant on the south-east coast of Africa, appears to be that which the pagan priests most cherished.—C. H. S.

TIPSAH (תִּפְסָח; Sept. *Θεσπᾶ*, *Θάψα*), a large and opulent city on the western bank of the Euphrates. It is doubtless the same as the Thapsacus of the Greeks and Romans. The name means 'ford'; and the town was, in fact, situated at the lowest fording-place of the Euphrates; whence it became the point of trading-communication between the natives east and west of the river. On this account, and as commanding the ford, the possession of the place was deemed of great importance by the ruling powers of the day (Xenoph. *Anab.* i. 4, 11; Arrian, ii. 13; iii. 7; Strabo, xvi. p. 1082; Q. Curtius, x. 1-9). This circumstance explains the contentions of the kings of Syria and Egypt respecting Carchemish, which was a strong place a little lower down the river, at the junction of the Chaboras. Solomon obtained possession of Tiphseh (1 Kings iv. 24), probably in connection with the series of operations (of which the building or fortification of Tadmor was one) adopted by him for the purpose of drawing the Eastern trade into his own dominions [SOLOMON; TADMOR]. Nothing remains of Tiphseh at the present day except the name; but the site is supposed to be marked by the village of Ed-Deyr. The Tiphseh of 2 Kings xv. 16 is usually identified with the above by Jewish writers; but it seems rather to have been in the land of Israel, and not far from Tirzah.—J. K.

TIRAS. [NATIONS, DISPERSION OF.]

TIRHAKAH, king of Cush (Ethiopia in the Common Version), who in the days of Hezekiah came out against Sennacherib when he was making war on Judah (2 Kings xix. 9; Is. xxxvii. 9). He is the *Ταρακός* of Manetho, the third king of the twenty-fifth dynasty, and the *Τερακών* of Strabo (xv. 687), with whom the twenty-fifth Ethiopic dynasty came to an end. According to Strabo, he made his way victoriously as far as the Pillars of Hercules. The length of his reign is fixed by Syncellus at eighteen, and by Eusebius at twenty years. According to the first statement, the period of his reign falls in the years 714-696 B.C. His successful opposition to the power of Assyria is recorded on the walls of a Theban temple, for at Medinet Habu are the figure and the name of this king and the captives he took. That Tirhakah ruled at Napata, now Gebel Berkel, and in the Thebaid at the same period, is proved by the additions he made to the temples of Thebes, and by the monuments he built in Ethiopia. That he was a very potent monarch is evident from his defeat of Sennacherib, as well as from the monuments he has left both in Egypt and Ethiopia, and his maintenance of the Egyptian possessions in Asia; and although Strabo may have exaggerated his power when he affirms that he extended his conquests like

Sesostris into Europe, yet his authority is of use, as it leads to the conclusion that Tirhakah ruled Lower as well as Upper Egypt [SENNACHERIB].—J. R. B.

TIRSHATHA (תִּרְשָׁתָא), always with the art.; Sept. *Ῥερσασθά*, a title borne by Zerubbabel and Nehemiah as Persian governors of Judaea (Ezra ii. 63; Neh. vii. 65, 70; viii. 9; x. 2). It seems to come from the Persic *ترش*, *torsh*, 'severe,' and, in that case, would be equivalent to 'your severity;' comp. 'dread sovereign,' and the German 'gestrenger Herr,' a title formerly borne by the magistrates of the free and imperial German states.

TIRZAH (תִּרְצָח) is mentioned only once in Scripture, namely in Is. xlv. 14. 'He (that is, the carpenter, ver. 13) heweth him down cedars, and taketh the cypress' (*tirzah*) for the purpose of making an idol. There is no doubt but the wood must have been of a texture fit to be worked, as well as to retain the shape given to it. Though translated 'cypress,' we have no proof that this tree was intended, but it is well suited for the purpose indicated. [BEROSH.] The Greek translators, Aquila and Theodotion, have employed a word which denotes the wild or forest oak (*ἀγριοδάλανος*). The oldest Latin version renders the Hebrew word by *ilex*, 'the evergreen oak' (Rosenmüller, p. 317). As the wood of this species is well fitted for being worked into images, and was so employed by the ancients, it is possible that it may be that intended, though we have no satisfactory proof of its being so.—J. F. R.

TIRZAH (תִּרְצָח, 'pleasantness'; *Θερσά*; *Θαρσά*; Alex. *Θερμά*; *Θερσά*; *Thersa*), an ancient royal city of the Canaanites, captured by Joshua (Josh. xii. 24). After its conquest it is not again mentioned in history till the time of Jeroboam, who appears to have chosen it as his principal residence. He was at least living there when his son Abijah died (1 Kings xiv. 17). From this period till the founding of Samaria by Omri (some fifty years) it continued to be the capital of the northern kingdom (xv. 21, 33). It was the scene of Elah's murder (xvi. 8), and there too Zimri the murderer, to escape the avenging sword of Omri, 'burnt the king's house over him with fire, and died' (ver. 18). The last notice of it in Scripture history is in connection with Menahem, who went from Tirzah to Samaria, 'and smote Shallum, and reigned in his stead' (2 Kings xv. 14).

The geographical position of Tirzah has not been given by any ancient geographer. Eusebius and Jerome simply mention it as a city captured by Joshua (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Thersa*). Brocardus, a writer of the 13th century, appears to have been the first to identify it. He says: 'From Samaria it is three leagues eastward to the city of *Thersa*, which is situated on a high mountain' (*Descriptio Ter. San.* vii.) From that time until the visit of Dr. Robinson it remained unknown; but that acute geographer discovered it in the modern *Tell-tzah*. 'The change of *r* into *l* is very common, the harder letter being softened, especially in the later Hebrew books and the kindred dialects. The place lies in a slightly and commanding position. . . . It is surrounded by immense groves of olive trees, planted on all sides around;

mostly young and thrifty trees. . . . The town is of some size, and tolerably well built. We saw no remains of antiquity, except a few sepulchral excavations and some cisterns' (*B. R.* iii. 302, 303). When compared with other sites in Palestine, the appropriateness of Solomon's figure will be perceived: 'Thou art beautiful, O my love, as Tirzah' (*Cant.* vi. 4).—J. L. P.

**TISHBITE** (תִּשְׁבִּי; Sept. *Θεσβίτης*), the Gentile name of Elijah—'Elijah the Tishbite' (1 Kings xvii. 1, 2; xxi. 17)—derived from a town called Tishbi in the tribe of Naphtali, the name of which occurs only in Tob. i. 2, *Θεσβη* (see Reland, *Palästina*, p. 1035).

**TISRI** (תִּשְׂרִי, from a root which denotes to begin) was the first month of the civil, and the seventh month of the ecclesiastical year, in which fell the Festival of Atonement and that of Tabernacles. In 1 Kings viii. 2 it is termed the month of Ethanim, that is, the month of streaming rivers, which are filled during this month by the autumnal rains. It corresponds with our September-October. Tisri is one of the six names of months found in Palmyrene inscriptions; which, with other evidence, renders it very probable that the Jewish names of months form a member in a great series of names of months, which were extensively in use in the eastern parts of the world (see *Über die Monatsnamen einiger alter Völker* von T. Benfey und M. A. Stern, Berlin 1836).—J. R. B.

**TITHE** (מַעֲשֵׂר, *dekátē*, *δέκατον*, *ἐπιδέκατον*, *decima*, Targum מַעֲשֵׂרָא, מַעֲשֵׂרָא כֶּן עֲשָׂרָא), the tenth part both of the produce of the land and of the increase of the flock, enjoined in the Mosaic law to be devoted by every Israelite to the servants of the sanctuary, and to the hospitable meals provided on the festivals for the poor and needy (*Lev.* xxvii. 30-33; *Num.* xviii. 21-32; *Deut.* xii. 5-18; xiv. 22-29; xxvi. 12-14).

1. *The Mosaic law respecting Tithes.*—The first enactment respecting tithes ordains that the tenth of all produce and of all animals is to be devoted to the Lord; that the predial or vegetable tithe may be redeemed if one-fifth is added to its value; and that the mixed or animal tithe, which is unredeemable, is to be taken as it comes, without any selection, and without attempting to effect any change, else the original animal and the one substituted for it are both forfeited to the sanctuary (*Lev.* xxvii. 30-33). In the second mention of the tithe, it is enacted that it is to be given to the Levites of the respective districts as a remuneration for their services in the sanctuary, since they were excluded from sharing in the division of the land of Canaan, that they are allowed to consume the tithe wherever they please (*בכל מקום*), and that from the tithe thus received they are to give a tenth to the Aaronites or priests (*Num.* xviii. 21-32). In the third legislation on this point, it is further commanded that the Israelites are to tithe the produce of the soil every year; that this vegetable tithe, together with the firstlings of the flock and herd, is to constitute the social and festive repast in the place of the sanctuary; that in case the sanctuary is too far off, the tithal produce is to be converted into money, which is to be taken to the metropolis, and there laid out in food for this entertainment, and that the Levite is to share with

the family in this social meal. It is, moreover, ordained that at the end of every third year this vegetable tithe (מַעֲשֵׂר תְּבוּאָה) is not to be taken to the metropolis, but is to constitute hospitable and charitable meals at home, to which the Levite, the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow are to be invited (*Deut.* xii. 5-7, 17; xiv. 22-29). The triennial conversion of the second or vegetable tithe into entertainments for the poor is again enjoined in *Deut.* xxvi. 12-15, where it is also ordered that every Israelite shall make an exculpatory declaration that he has conscientiously performed the tithal command.

It will be seen that the book of Deuteronomy only mentions the second or vegetable tithe as well as its triennial conversion into the poor tithe, omitting altogether the first or Levitical tithe; whilst the books of Leviticus and Numbers, which discuss the Levitical tithe, pass over in silence the second or feast tithe. This has given rise to various theories among modern critics. Thus Ewald will have it that the Deuteronomist writing during the period of the Jewish monarchy, when the Levitical tithe, as enacted in *Lev.* and *Num.*, could no longer be continued as a regular rate in consequence of the new taxes imposed by the sovereigns, endeavoured to bring the tithe back to its original form of a voluntary offering (*Die Alterthümer des Volkes Israel*, p. 346). Knobel (*Comment. on Lev.* pp. 419, 590) regards *Deut.* xii. 6, 11; xiv. 22-29; xxvi. 12, as proceeding from the later Jehovistic legislator who lived towards the end of the kingdom of Judah, and who substituted for the older Elohist's annual vegetable and animal tithe, which was no longer practicable, the triennial vegetable tithe which was to be devoted to the hospitable meals whereunto the Levites, together with the stranger, widow, orphans, and poor, were to be invited. Whilst Bishop Colenso (*The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua critically examined*, iii. 476), who also regards the enactments in *Lev.*, *Num.*, and *Deut.* as referring to one and the same tithe, finds 'the most complete contradiction between the two sets of laws.' Against these theories, however, is to be urged that—*i.* The tithal enactment in *Deut.* has nothing whatever to do with the one in *Lev.* and *Num.*, and is therefore neither intended to contravene nor supersede it. *ii.* The Deuteronomist presupposes the existence and force of the Levitical tithe as the fixed income of the ministers of the sanctuary, and designs the second tithe to be in force by its side. This is evident from the fact that the book of Deuteronomy (x. 9; xii. 19; xiv. 27, 29), like the books of *Lev.* and *Num.*, legislates upon the basis of Levitical poverty, and frequently refers to the care to be taken of the Levites. Now if, according to the above-named hypothesis, we are to regard the triennial tithe as substituted in the place of the original Levitical tithe, we are shut up to the preposterous conclusion that the only provision made by the Deuteronomist for the Levites is an ample meal once in three years. *iii.* The mention of the second tithe by the Deuteronomist alone is owing to the fact that it is connected with the fixing of the central sanctuary, the rites and regulations of which he alone discusses. And *iv.* The post-exile practice of the Jews shows, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that the nation for whom these tithal laws were passed understood the enactment in Deuteronomy to mean a second tithe to be in force side by side with the first or Levitical tithe



enjoined in Lev. and Num. (Tobit i. 7; Joseph. *Antiq.* iv. 8. 8, 22; *Mishna, Maaser Sheni*). This also sets aside the objection urged by some that a double tithe would be too heavy and unbearable a tax. For if the Jews did not find it so in later times, when under the rule of foreign sovereigns, and paying heavy rates to them, surely they could not have found the double tithe too grinding an oppression during the independence of the state, especially when it is remembered that the second tithe was devoted to festival repasts of the respective families at which the Levites, the strangers, the widows, orphans, etc., were simply guests.

2. *Classification of and later Legislation upon the Tithes.*—It will be seen from the above description that the tithes are divisible into four classes—viz. *i.* The Levitical or first tithe. *ii.* The priestly tithe paid by the Levites from their tithes. *iii.* The festival or second tithe. And *iv.* The triennial tithe. As the anxiety to pay them properly called forth more minute definitions and further expansions of the Pentateuchal enactments, we shall give the most important practices which obtained during the second temple in connection with each of these four classes of tithes.

*i. The Levitical or first tithe (מעשר ראשון) (בבורים).* This tithe was paid after both the first fruit (תרומה) and the priestly heave-offering (תרומה) had been separated, the amount of which, though not fixed in the Mosaic law, was generally  $\frac{1}{10}$  of the produce (comp. Exod. xxiii. 19, Deut. xxvi. 1, etc., with *Mishna Bikkurim*; Num. xviii. 8, Deut. xviii. 4, with *Mishna Teruma*, iii. 7, iv. 3, Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chezaka, Hilchoth Mathanuth Anjim*, vi. 2). As the Mosaic law does not define what things are subject to this tithe, but simply says that it is to consist of both vegetables and animals (Lev. xxvii. 30, etc.), the Jewish canons enacted that as to the produce of the land, 'whatsoever is esculent though still kept in the field, and derives its growth from the soil, is tithable; or whatsoever may be eaten from the commencement to the completion of its growth, though left in the field to increase in size, is tithable, whether small or great; and whatsoever cannot be eaten at the beginning, but can only be eaten at the end of its growth, is not tithable till it is ripe for food' (*Mishna, Maaseroth*, i. 1). It will be seen that this definition embraces even the smallest kitchen herbs and aromatic plants; and that it explains the remark of our Saviour that tithe was paid of mint, dill, and cummin, which he however did not condemn, but on the contrary said, 'these ought ye to have done' (Matt. xxiii. 23; Luke xi. 42; with *Mishna, Maaseroth*, i. 2-8). The animals subject to this Levitical tithe are still more indefinitely described in the Pentateuchal statute, which simply says, 'as to all the tithe of herds and flocks, whatsoever passeth under the rod, the tenth shall be holy unto the Lord' (Lev. xxvii. 32). It will be seen that this law does not say whether the tenth is to be paid of the newly-born animals, whether it includes those newly purchased or exchanged, whether it is payable if a man has less than ten cattle, or at what age of the animals the tithe becomes due. The spiritual heads of the people had therefore most minutely to define these points, so as to make the tithal law practicable. Hence the following canons obtained. All animals are tithable except those which are born of heterogeneous copulation (comp. Deut. xxii. 9), which are damaged, which have come into the world irregu-

larly, or which are bereaved of their mother, which have been purchased or received as presents. They are only tithable when there are ten newly born of the same kind, so that the offspring of oxen and small cattle must not be put together to make up the requisite number, nor are even those to be put together which are born in different years, though they belong to the same kind. Sheep and goats may be tithed together provided they have all been born in the same season (*Mishna, Bechoroth*, ix. 3, 4). The tithing is to take place three times in the year, about fifteen days before each of the three great festivals—viz. *i.* On the first of *Nisan*, being fifteen days before Passover; *ii.* On the first of *Sivan*, being only five days before Pentecost, because the small number of animals born between these two festivals could not suffice for the celebration of Pentecost if the second tithe term were to be fifteen days before this festival; and *iii.* On the twenty-ninth of *Elul* instead of the first of *Tishri*, which is properly speaking fifteen days before Tabernacles, because the first of *Tishri* is the Feast of Trumpets or New Year [FESTIVALS]. Those which were born in the month of *Elul* were tithed by themselves (*Mishna, Rosh Ha-Shana*, i. 1, with *Bechoroth*, ix. 5, 6). On each of the three occasions the herd of every owner extending over a pasture-ground not exceeding sixteen Roman miles were collected together into one fold, whilst those beyond the prescribed limits formed a separate lot. In the pen wherein the herd was thus gathered, a small door was made which only admitted of one animal going out at a time, and the owner placed himself at this narrow opening, holding a rod or staff in his hand, wherewith he counted each animal as it made its exit from the fold till he came to the tenth, which he marked with red colour, saying, 'This is the tithe!' (*Mishna, Bechoroth*, x. 7). The command 'whatsoever passeth under the rod' (Lev. xxvii. 32) was thus literally carried out.

*ii. The priestly tithe*, also called *tithe of the tithe* (מעשר מן המעשר, מעשר המעשר, Num. xviii. 26); *the heave-offering of the tithe* (תרומת מעשר), ἀπαρχὴ ἀπαρχῆς (Philo, *De nom. mul.*), or δευτεροδεκάται (St. Jerome on Ezek. xlv.) This tithe had to be separated by the Levite from the tenth he had received from the Israelite. It had to be given to the priests in Jerusalem (Neh. x. 38), before the Levite could use the rate paid to him. It had moreover to be a tenth part of the very tithe which the Levites received, and was therefore subject to the same laws and regulations to which the Levitical tithe was subject. After the Babylonish captivity, when the Levitical tithe was divided [SCRIBES] (see below), this so-called *tithe of tithes* necessarily ceased. Hence the priests, instead of receiving a tenth of the Levitical tithe as heretofore, took their share directly from the people (Heb. vii. 5).

*iii. The second tithe (מעשר שני, δευτεροδεκάτη).* This festival tithe could not be sold nor given or received as a pledge, nor used as weight, nor exchanged, but might be given away as a present (*Mishna, Maaser Sheni*, i. 1). If the distance to the national sanctuary was so great as to preclude the possibility of conveying it in kind, it might be converted into specie and the money could only be expended in the metropolis in ordinary articles of food, drink, and ointment for the festival meals or festival sacrifices which were eaten at these social



repasts (זבחי שלמים), *Mishna*, *ibid.* i. 7; iii. 2; *Chagiga*, i. 3). There were store-houses (לשכות, אוצרות) in one part of the temple under the superintendence of priests and Levites, in which the tithe was kept (2 Chron. xxxi. 11-14; Neh. x. 38, 39; xii. 44; xiii. 12; Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 8, 8).

iv. *The triennial or poor tithe* (מועשר עני, πτω-  
χοδεκάτρη), also called *the third tithe* (מועשר שלישי, ἡ τρίτη δεκάτρη, Tobit i. 7; Joseph. *Antiq.* iv. 8, 22), and the *second tithe* (δεύτερον ἐπιδέκατον, Sept. Deut. xxvi. 12), because it was properly the second tithe converted into the poor tithe, to be given to and consumed by the poor at home, instead of conveying it to the metropolis and eaten by the owner. As every seventh year was a fallow year not yielding a regular harvest, it was enacted that the second tithe should be eaten in Jerusalem by the owner thereof and his guests, in the first, second, fourth, and fifth years of the septennial cycle, and be given to the poor in the third and seventh year. It will thus be seen that the whole series of taxes reached its completion at the end of every third and seventh year, or on the eve of Passover of the fourth and seventh year. Hence it is that the third year is denominated *the year of tithe* (שנת המועשר)—i.e. when all the tithes had taken

their rounds (כי תכלה לעשר את כל מועשר תבואתך, Deut. xxvi. 12), and not because, as some critics will have it, the annual tithe of the earlier legislator was afterwards changed by the Deuteronomist into a triennial tithe. Hence, too, the spiritual heads of the Jewish people in and before the time of Christ constituted and denominated the Preparation day of Passover of the fourth and seventh year a day of searching and removal (בעור) in accordance with Deut. xxvi. 12 (*Mishna*, *Maaser Sheni*, v. 6), when every Israelite had to separate all the tithes which he ought to have paid in the course of the three years, but which, either through negligence or through some untoward circumstances, he had failed to do. At the evening sacrifice on the last day of Passover every pilgrim before preparing to return home had to offer a prayer of confession, in accordance with Deut. xxvi. 13. As this confession (ודוי) is an expansion and traditional exposition of Deut. xxvi. 13-15, which accounts for the Chaldee and other versions of the passage in question, we shall give it entire:—‘I have removed the hallowed things from the house’—i.e. the second tithe and the quadrennial fruit [Lev. xix. 23, etc.]; ‘have given it to the Levite’—i.e. the Levitical tithe; ‘and also given it’—i.e. the priestly offering (תרומה) and the priestly tithe (תרומת מועשר)—‘to the stranger, to the fatherless, and to the widow’—i.e. the poor tithe . . . ‘from the house’—i.e. from the dough [comp. Num. xv. 17, etc.], ‘according to all thy commandments which thou hast commanded me’—i.e. not given the second tithe before the first. ‘I have not transgressed thy commandments’—i.e. not paid one kind for the other, the cut for the standing, the standing for the cut, the new for the old, nor the old for the new. ‘I have not forgotten’—i.e. to thank thee and to remember thy name thereby. ‘I have not eaten thereof in my mourning . . . I have not given thereof to the dead’—i.e. for coffins, shrouds, or mourners. ‘I have hearkened to the voice of the Lord my God’—i.e. have taken it to the chosen sanctuary. ‘I have done all that thou hast commanded me’—i.e. have

rejoiced and caused others to rejoice therewith, etc. (*Mishna*, *Maaser Sheni*, v. 10-13). In the two years of the septennial cycle, when the second tithe was converted into the poor tithe, there was no additional second tithe, inasmuch as the poor tithe took its place (Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chezaka*, *Hilchoth Mathanuth Anjim*, vi. 4). The poor could go into a field where the poor tithe was lying and demand of the owner to satisfy their wants. The minimum quantity to be given to them was defined as follows:—If the tithe be of wheat,  $\frac{1}{4}$  cabus; barley, 1 cabus; spelt, 1 cabus; lenten-figs, 1 cabus; cake-figs, the weight of 25 sicli; wine,  $\frac{1}{4}$  log; oil,  $\frac{1}{4}$  log; rice,  $\frac{1}{4}$  cabus; olives, 1 pound; pulse, 3 cabi; nuts, 10 nuts; peaches, 5 peaches; pomegranates, 2; citrons, 1; and if of any other fruit, it shall not be less than may be sold for such a sum as will buy food sufficient for two meals. If the owner's means are slender, and the poor so numerous that he is unable to give to each the specified measure, he is to produce the whole tithe, and place it before them, so that they may divide it among themselves. The owner may only give one-half of the tithe to his own poor relatives, and the other he must distribute among the poor generally. If a man and woman apply together, the woman is to be satisfied first. No debts are allowed to be paid out of the poor tithe, nor a recompense to be made for benefits, nor captives redeemed, nor is it to be devoted to nuptial feasts or alms, nor is it to be taken out of Palestine into a foreign land (Maimonides, *ibid.* vi. 7-17). Though no tithes were paid in Palestine in the Sabbatical year, when all was in common [SABBATICAL YEAR], yet the land of Egypt, Ammon, and Moab had to pay them for the support of the poor of Israel, because the Sabbath of the soil was not observed in these countries, whilst the Babylonians had to pay the second tithe (*Mishna*, *Tadajim*, iv. 3; Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chezaka*, *Hilchoth Mathanuth Anjim*, vi. 5).

3. *Origin and observance of the tithal law.*—The practice of paying tithes obtained among different nations from the remotest antiquity. Thus the ancient Phœnicians and the Carthaginians sent tithes annually to the Tyrian Hercules (Diodorus Siculus, xx. 14; Justin, xviii. 7); the southern Arabians could not dispose of their incense before paying a tenth thereof to the priests at Sabota, in honour of their god Sabis (Pliny, *Hist. Natur.* xii. 32); the ancient Pelasgians paid a tithe of the produce of the soil and the increase of their herds to their deities (Dionys. Halic. i. 19, 23, etc.). Whilst the Hellenes consecrated to their deities a tenth of their annual produce of the soil (Xenoph. *Anab.* v. 3, 9), of their business profits (Herod. iv. 152), of confiscated estates (Xenophon, *Hellen.* i. 7, 10), of their spoils (Herod. v. 77; ix. 81; Xenoph. *Anab.* v. 3, 4; *Hellen.* iv. 3, 21; Diod. xi. 33; Pausan. iii. 18, 5; v. 10, 4; x. 10, 1; τὰς δεκάτας τῶν περιγινόμενων τοῖς θεοῖς καθιερούειν; Harpocration, s.v. ‘δεκατέθειν’; and Knobel, *Comment. on Lev.* xxvii. 30). Indeed, the Bible itself tells us that Abraham paid a tithe to Melchizedek (Gen. xiv. 20; Heb. vii. 2, 6), and that Jacob vowed a tenth of his possessions to the Lord in case he should return home in safety (Gen. xxviii. 20-22). There can therefore be no doubt that, like many other Pentateuchal ordinances, the inspired legislator adopted the tithal law into the divine code because he found that, with some modifications,



this primarily voluntary tax was a proper stipend for the servants of the sanctuary, and that it would at the same time be a means of promoting pilgrimage to the national sanctuary on the great festivals, and social intercourse between the rich and the poor. During the monarchy, the payment of tithes was neglected, and it seems that the kings claimed them for themselves (1 Sam. viii. 14, 15, 17, with 1 Maccab. ii. 35). It was, however, re-established at the restoration of religion by the pious Hezekiah (2 Chron. xxxi. 5, 6, 12), and after the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity (Neh. x. 38; xii. 44; xiii. 5, 12), when material alterations and modifications were made in the tithal law, owing to the altered state of the commonwealth, and to the disproportion of the Levites and laymen. Only 341 or 360 Levites returned at first from the Babylonish captivity, with about 37,319 laymen, whilst with Ezra only 38 Levites came back, with 1496 laymen, and there can be but little doubt that the same disproportion continued among those who returned afterwards, as well as in the gradual and natural increase of the nation. There were thus 97 laymen to 1 Levite, whilst the tithe of 9 laymen amounted to as much as was left for each private family; and if we take 10 laymen to 1 Levite, as the latter had to pay a tenth to the priest, the tithe when duly paid by all the people yielded 10 times as much as the Levites required. On the other hand there were in Judæa after the return from Babylon a disproportionately large number of priests, since, exclusive of those who had no register (Ezra ii. 62), 4289 of them came with Zerubbabel—i.e. 12 or 13 times more than Levites—and two whole families, besides separate individuals, came with Ezra. These could not possibly have subsisted upon the *legal dues* (Neh. x. 36-39). In addition to the miserably provided priests there were the 612 *Nethinim* who came back with Zerubbabel and Ezra (Ezra ii. 58; viii. 20; Neh. vii. 60), for whom no provision whatever existed. Ezra had therefore to take the superabundant tithe from the Levites for the support of the priests and the *Nethinim*. Hence Josephus distinctly tells us that the priests received tithes in later times (*Vita*, 15; *Antiq.* xi. 5. 8; xx. 8. 8, 9. 2; *Contra Apion.* i. 22). It is this distribution of the Levitical tithe between the priests and the Levites which is evidently alluded to when the Talmud says that Ezra transferred the tithes from the Levites to the priests as a punishment for their tardiness in returning from exile (*Kethuboth*, 26 a; *Chulin*, 131 b; *Jebamoth*, 86 b; *Sota*, 47 b), for it could not possibly mean that he took the *whole* tithe away from the Levites, since it would be at variance with other records (comp. Ezra x. 38, 39; Neh. xiii. 10, 13; Tobit i. 7, with *Tosephtoth on Kethuboth*, 26 a), leave the Levites wholly unprovided for, and visit the good Levites who did return with the punishment deserved by those who remained behind. It is, moreover, owing to this distribution of the Levitical tithe effected by Ezra, that the tithe was afterwards divided into three portions, one of which was given by the owner to his friends the priests and Levites, the other was taken to the temple storehouse, and the third portion was distributed in Jerusalem among the poor and the needy *Chaberim* (חברים) = doctors of the law (*Jerusalem Sota*, ix. 11; *Jerusalem Maaser Sheni*, v. 15; *Babylon Jebamoth*, 86 b).

The board appointed to watch over the tithes,

as well as the storehouses (אוצרות, לשכות), which already existed in the time of Hezekiah for the reception of the tithes (2 Chron. xxxi. 11-14), were now better organised than ever. To achieve the purpose intended by Ezra in the new division of the tithe it was absolutely necessary that the collecting and the distribution thereof should take place under the careful superintendence of a body consisting of both priests and Levites. Such a board was therefore duly appointed, and it was ordained that at least one portion of the tithes should be taken to Jerusalem for the support of the ministering Levites.

During the period of sacerdotal degeneracy and Grecian ascendancy in Palestine, the tithes were again discontinued; but at the rise of the Pharisees the strict payment of a tenth was made one of the two essential conditions exacted from every individual who desired to become a *chaber* (חבר) = member of this association. The reason for this is given in the article PHARISEES in this Cyclopædia.

4. *Literature*.—*Mishna*, *Tractates Maaseroth*, *Maaser Sheni*, and *Bechoroth*, ix. 1-8; and the *Gemaras* on these *Mishnas*; Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chesaka*, *Hilchoth Mathemus Anjim*, vi. 1-17; *Hilchoth Maaser*, and *Maaser Sheni*; Selden, *The History of Tithes*, 1618; Spencer, *De Legibus Hebræorum*, lib. iii. cap. x. vol. ii. p. 720, etc., Cantabrigiæ 1727; Michaelis, *Commentaries on the Laws of Moses*, article cxcii. vol. iii. p. 141, etc., E. T., London 1814; Herzfeld, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, i. 62 ff, 138 ff., Nordhausen 1855.—C. D. G.

TITTMANN, JOH. AUG. HEINR., was born at Langensalza 1st August 1773. He studied at Wittenberg and Leipzig; and in 1796 became one of the theological professors in the latter of these universities. His writings are numerous, and belong to various departments of sacred science. The following only fall to be specified here: *Theolog. Encyklopædie* 1798; *De Synonymis N. T.* 1829, the second part of which was edited after his death by Becher, 1832; the whole, with some appended dissertations, translated into English by E. Craig, 2 vols. of the Edin. Bib. Cabinet 1833-37; and his edition of the Greek N. T., 'ad fidem optimorum librorum recens,' 1820, 1824. His polemical writings, in which he labours to reconcile theology with philosophy, and to defend evangelical truth against rationalism, are the most valuable productions of his pen. He died 30th December 1831.—W. L. A.

TITTMANN, KARL CHRIST., father of the preceding, was born at Grossbardau near Grimma 20th August 1744, and died at Dresden 6th December 1820. He was successively deacon at Langensalza, professor of theology, and provost, afterwards general superintendent at Wittenberg, and kirchenrath and superintendent at Dresden. He was a man of a cultured and elegant rather than powerful mind, and was deeply imbued with pious feeling and evangelical sentiment. These characteristics are apparent in his *Meletemata Sacra sive Comment. Exegetico-Crit. Dogmaticus in Evang. Joannis*, Lips. 1816, a work full of good thoughts, good sense, and genuine piety, but deficient in critical acumen and exegetical ability. It has been translated into English, and forms 2 vols. of the Edin. Bib. Cabinet. In his *Opuscula Theologica* 1803, are some dissertations of an exegetical charac-



ter. Perhaps his best work is his *Tractatus de Vestigiis Gnosticorum in N. T. frustra quesitis*, Lips. 1773.—W. L. A.

TITUS (*Títos*), a Christian teacher, and companion and fellow-labourer of St. Paul. He was of Greek origin, but was converted by the apostle, who therefore calls him his own son in the faith (Gal. ii. 3; Tit. i. 4). He was one of the persons sent by the church of Antioch to Jerusalem to consult the apostles, and it was not judged necessary that he should receive circumcision (Acts xv. 2; Gal. ii. 1). After a time we find him in company with St. Paul at Ephesus, whence he was sent to Corinth (2 Cor. xii. 18), where he was well received, discharged with discretion the task confided to him, and declined to suffer the church to defray his expenses (2 Cor. viii. 13, *seq.*; xii. 18). He then proceeded to Macedonia, and at Philippi rejoined his master, who had vainly been expecting him at Troas (2 Cor. vii. 6; ii. 12, 13). He was then employed by Paul in preparing the collection for the poor saints in Judæa, and, as an incident of this mission, became the bearer of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians (2 Cor. viii. 16, 17, 23). On a subsequent journey Titus was left by the apostle in Crete, to establish and regulate the churches in that island (Tit. i. 5), and he was still there when he received the epistle from St. Paul which bears his name (Tit. iii. 12). He is therein desired to join the apostle at Nicopolis; and it is presumed that he did so, and afterwards accompanied him in his last journey to Rome, whence he was sent into Dalmatia (2 Tim. iv. 10). Tradition states that Titus eventually returned to Crete, and died there at an advanced age.—J. K.

TITUS, EPISTLE TO. The genuineness of this epistle is attested by a large body of evidence, and seems never to have been questioned except by the heretic Marcion, and that upon the most frivolous grounds (Tertullian, *Adv. Marcion.* v. 21), until, in recent times, it was attacked by Eichhorn and De Wette. It is manifestly quoted by Clement of Rome (*Ep. ad Cor.* cap. 2); and it is referred to as the production of St. Paul by Irenæus (iii. 3. sec. 4); as part of the divine word by Theophilus (*Ad. Antol.* iii. sec. 14); as St. Paul's, by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* lib. i. p. 299, and in many other places); by Tertullian (*De Præser. Her.* c. 6); and by Origen, in many places (Lardner, *Works*, vol. ii. 8vo). The objections of the German critics are founded chiefly upon the difficulty of ascertaining the proper date of this epistle, and upon minute peculiarities in its style and sentiments. The latter class of objections is so much identical with those already considered in reference to the epistles to Timothy, that it is unnecessary to enter upon any examination of them here; in fact, none who have admitted the genuineness of the one have questioned that of the other, and *vice versa*. To the former the best reply will be furnished by ascertaining, if possible, when and where the epistle was written; but even should we fail in this, it would be strange were we to relinquish our conviction of the authenticity of an ancient writing, simply because, possessing very imperfect information as to many parts of the alleged author's history, we were unable to say with certainty when he was in circumstances to compose it.

It is evident from the epistle itself, that at the time it was written the writer had recently visited

Crete (ch. i. 5); that he was about to spend the winter in Nicopolis (ch. iii. 12); and that Apollos was about to visit Crete, on his way to some other place (ch. iii. 13). These points may serve, in some measure, if not as indices to the exact time when this epistle was written, at least as criteria by which to test the truth of any hypothesis that may be suggested on this subject.

We learn from the Acts of the Apostles that Paul visited Crete on his voyage to Rome (ch. xxvii. 7); but the shortness of his visit at that time, the circumstances under which it was made, and the improbability of his expecting to spend the ensuing winter at Nicopolis, place it out of the question to suppose that it was to this visit he refers in this epistle. As this is, however, the only visit recorded by Luke, in rejecting it we are forced to suppose another visit, and to find some period in the apostle's life when it was probable that such a visit was paid.

It has been suggested by Hug that the period referred to in Acts xviii. 18, 19, admits of our placing this visit to Crete within it. The apostle, at that time, was on his journey from Corinth to Palestine, but on some account or other landed at Ephesus. This leads to the suggestion that the apostle must either voluntarily have departed from the usual course in order to visit some place lying between Corinth and Ephesus; or that he must have been driven by stress of weather from the course he meant to pursue. In either case the probability of his visiting Crete at that time is strong. We find, from the mention made by Paul in this epistle of Apollos, that he, on his way from Ephesus to Corinth (Acts xviii. 24; xix. 1), was to touch at Crete; which renders it not improbable that it was customary for ships sailing between these two ports to call at Crete by the way; and Paul may have availed himself of this practice in order to visit Crete before going to Palestine. Or he may have sailed in a ship bound directly from Corinth to Palestine, and have been driven out of his course, shipwrecked on Crete, and obliged to sail thence to Ephesus as his only remaining method of getting to his original destination—a supposition which will not appear very improbable when we remember that St. Paul must have suffered several shipwrecks of which Luke gives no account (2 Cor. xi. 25, 26); and that his getting to Ephesus on his way from Corinth to Palestine is a fact for which, in some way or other, we are bound to account.

It was whilst staying on this occasion at Ephesus that Hug supposes Paul to have written this epistle. As confirmatory of this may be adduced the two other facts above referred to as mentioned in the epistle itself—viz. the visit of Apollos to Crete, and Paul's intention to winter at Nicopolis. From Acts xix. 1 we learn that during the time Apollos was residing at Corinth, whence he had gone from Ephesus, Paul was engaged in a tour through the upper coasts (viz. Phrygia and Galatia; comp. Acts xviii. 23), which ended in his return to Ephesus. This tour was commenced after the apostle had been at Jerusalem and Antioch (ch. xviii. 22). It appears, therefore, that Paul left Antioch much about the same time that Apollos reached Corinth. But Apollos went to Corinth from Ephesus, Paul went to Jerusalem from Ephesus. At this city, therefore, they must have met; and before leaving it St. Paul probably wrote this epistle,



and gave it to Apollos to deliver to Titus at Crete, on his way to Corinth.

Further, Paul went up to Jerusalem to keep the feast; after which he visited Antioch, and then travelled for some considerable time in Upper Asia. He, therefore, probably spent the winter somewhere in Asia Minor. Now there was a town named Nicopolis, between Antioch and Tarsus, near to which, if not through which, Paul must pass on his way from Antioch to Galatia (Strabo, lib. xiv. p. 465, ed. Casaubon, fol. 1587). May not this have been the very place referred to in Tit. iii. 12? In such a locality it was quite natural for Paul to desire to spend the winter; and as Titus was a native of Asia it would be well known to him, especially if he knew what route the apostle designed to pursue. All this supports the hypothesis that Paul wrote this epistle before leaving Ephesus to go to Syria.

Another circumstance in favour of this hypothesis is the close resemblance in sentiment and phraseology between this epistle and the First Epistle to Timothy. This resemblance is so close, and in some particulars so peculiar, that we are naturally led to conclude that both must have been written whilst the same leading ideas and forms of expression were occupying the apostle's mind. Now the First Epistle to Timothy was most probably written after Paul had left Ephesus the second time to go into Macedonia [TIMOTHY, EPISTLES TO]—that is, about two years and a half after the period when Hug supposes the Epistle to Titus to have been written. To some this may appear too long a time to justify any stress being laid upon the similarity of the two epistles in this question of their respective dates; but when it is remembered that during the interval Paul had been dealing at Ephesus with very much the same class of persons, to whom a great part of both epistles refer, and that both are addressed to persons holding the same peculiar office, the force of this objection will be weakened.

Such is Hug's hypothesis. To us it appears worthy of all respect. If it be rejected, we must either suppose some visit to Crete during the apostle's long subsequent residence at Ephesus (Acts xix. 8, 10; xxi. 31), or we must refer this epistle, with the Second Epistle to Timothy, to the interval between the first and a second imprisonment of St. Paul at Rome. This last opinion is adopted by Benson, Pearson, Paley, and others. If it be adopted, we must adopt along with it the hypothesis that the First Epistle to Timothy belongs to the same date; for the affinities of the two are such that we are constrained to believe they must have been written at nearly the same time. To this date, however, for the First Epistle to Timothy, we have seen there are grave objections. If Hug's hypothesis be not untenable, it must on this account claim the preference.

The task which Paul had committed to Titus, when he left him in Crete, was one of no small difficulty. The character of the people was unsteady, insincere, and quarrelsome; they were given to greediness, licentiousness, falsehood, and drunkenness, in no ordinary degree; and the Jews who had settled among them appear to have even gone beyond the natives in immorality. Among such a people it was no easy office which Titus had to sustain when commissioned to carry forward the work Paul had begun, and to set in order the affairs of the churches which had arisen there, especially

as heretical teachers had already crept in among them. Hence Paul addressed to him this epistle, the main design of which is to direct him how to discharge with success the duties to which he had been appointed. For this purpose the apostle dilates upon the qualifications of elders, and points out the vices from which such should be free (ch. i.) He then describes the virtues most becoming in aged persons, in the female sex, in the young, in servants, and in Christians generally (ch. ii.) From this he proceeds to enjoin obedience to civil rulers, moderation, gentleness, and the avoidance of all idle and unprofitable speculations (iii. 1-11). He then invites Titus to join him at Nicopolis, commends to him certain brethren who were about to visit Crete, and concludes with the apostolic benediction (ver. 12-15).

*Commentaries.*—Most of those who have written commentaries on the Epistles to Timothy have written also on that to Titus. The following works are on Titus alone: Taylor, *Commentary on the Epistle of St. Paul written to Titus*, Cambridge, 4to, 1612, fol. 1658; P. von Haven, *Commentatio Analyt. in Ep. Pauli ad Titum*, Hamb. 4to, 1742.—W. L. A.

TOB (טוב), Sept. *Tób*, a region or district beyond the Jordan into which Jephthah withdrew when expelled from Gilead (Judg. xi. 5). As the name occurs nowhere else, some doubt has arisen in determining its position. *Tob* signifies 'good,' and the Targum and Abarbanel render what we translate 'land of Tob' by 'good land;' while Kimchi and Ben Gerson look upon *Tob* as the name of the lord or owner of the land. It is, however, more usually regarded as the name of a city or country, and some conjecture it to be the same with Ish-tob, which was not far from the land of the Ammonites, seeing that they sent thither for assistance (2 Sam. x. 6). Jerome makes it a country, but says nothing of its situation. Junius places it on the border of Arabia Deserta; which is likely, if *Tob* be the same with the *Τούβιον* or *Τάβιον* of 1 Maccab. v. 13.—J. K.

TOBIAH, a base Samaritan, who, having raised himself from a state of slavery to be a trusted favourite of Sanballat, did his utmost to gratify his master by resisting the proceedings of Nehemiah in rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem. With an affectation of scorn, he, after the manner of Remus in the Roman legend, looked on the constructions of the now hopeful and thriving Jews, and contemptuously said: 'Even if a fox go up he will break down their stone wall' (Neh. iv. 3). This insult was the more disgraceful to Tobiah, because his own conduct quickly exposed the insincerity which lay at the bottom of it, for he took a prominent and active part with Sanballat in his unworthy courses against Nehemiah. In these treachery had its share; which Tobiah was enabled to carry on the more easily because he had allied himself with the chief men of Judah, having married the daughter of Shechaniah, the son of Arah, while his son Johanan had taken to wife the daughter of Meshullam, the son of Berechiah (Neh. vi. 17, *seq.*; comp. xiii. 4). These dishonest practices and the use of threats alike proved nugatory. Nehemiah, however, was obliged to leave Jerusalem. By this absence Tobiah profited, in order, with the aid of his relative Eliashib the priest, to get himself comfortably and splendidly



established in 'a great chamber in the house of God' (ch. xiii. 4). But his glory was short-lived. Nehemiah returned and caused him and his household-stuff to be ignominiously cast out of the temple. This is the last that we know of this member of that vile class who are ready and unscrupulous tools in the hands of their superiors for any dishonourable undertaking.—J. R. B.

TOBIAH B. ELIEZER flourished at Mayence circa A.D. 1107, and was a distinguished commentator of the Germano-French school of interpreters. In the midst of the first Crusade, and despite the extraordinary sufferings and deprivations to which he was subjected, together with his Jewish co-religionists, R. Tobiah devoted nearly twenty years of his life (1088-1108) to a commentary on the Pentateuch and the Five Megilloth—i.e. the Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther. This commentary, the proper title of which is *Lekach Tob* (לקח טוב)—in allusion to his name, as is evident from the quotations thereof by Ibn Ezra, Rashbam—but which is erroneously called פסקתא וזמרתא or פסקתא, consists both of excerpts from the ancient expository works, such as Siphra, Siphre, Tanchumia, etc. [MIDRASHI], and of an attempt at a grammatical explanation of the text. A portion of it, embracing the commentaries on Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, was first published at Venice 1546. It has been republished with a Latin translation in Ugolino's *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Sac.*, vols. xv. and xvi., Venice 1766. Excerpts of the commentaries on the Five Megilloth have been published by the erudite and indefatigable scholar Adolph Jellinek, Leipzig 1855-1858. The whole MS. is in the Bodleian at Oxford, Cod. Uri. 124. Comp. Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, iii. 427.—C. D. G.

TOBIT, BOOK OF, one of the deutero-canonical books, detailing the wonderful dealings of God with a pious man of this name.

i. *Title of the Book.*—The book is called—i. βιβλος λεγειν Τωβιτ, from the words with which it begins, and which are an abbreviation of the superscription (Tobit i. 1, 2). ii. *Liber Tobiae*, or simply Τωβιτ, *Tobias*, because Tobit is the principal character in it. iii. *Tobit et Tobias*, because Tobias the son plays an equally important part in the narrative with Tobit the father; and iv. *Liber utriusque Tobiae*, because the Vulgate and the Hebrew Version, edited by Paul Fagius, denominate both the father and the son *Tobias*=טוביה.

2. *Design and contents of the Book.*—The design of this book is to show that God in his mysterious providence permits sore calamities to befall the most pious and God-fearing in the very act of, and apparently for, obeying his commandments, but that he at the same time exercises a special care over them in the midst of their sufferings, vouchsafes unto them a happy issue out of all their trials, and holds them up to the world at large as patterns of patience under tribulations, as such who have been deemed worthy of being tried and purified, and who have demonstrated that the effectual and fervent prayer of a 'righteous man availeth much.' The method adopted by the writer for working out this design will be seen from the following brief analysis of the contents of the book.

Tobit, a pious Jew of the tribe of Naphtali, was carried away with his wife Anna by Shalmaneser into captivity to Assyria, where he continued religiously to observe the law, though all his brethren departed from it (i. 1-12). Through the special favour of God he was made officer at court, and in this position he not only saved ten talents of silver, which he deposited with his countryman Gabael of Rages, in Media, but aided his poor brethren with money, and secretly performed the last rites to those of his co-religionists whom the king had put to death. For these acts of humanity he had to flee from Nineveh with his wife and his son Tobias, and his property was confiscated, but was allowed to return after the accession of Esarhaddon, through the intercession of his nephew Achiacharus (13-22), when he continued to walk in the ways of the Lord in spite of the taunts of his neighbours, who reminded him of the sufferings which his pious conduct had already drawn upon him (ii. 1-8). In the very act of thus fulfilling the law which necessitated his sleeping by the wall of his courtyard, 'sparrows muted warm dung into his eyes,' which blinded him, and he became dependent upon the earnings of his wife, who, like the wife of suffering Job, taunted him with the miserable issue of his pious deeds (9-14). Deeply grieved at it, he prayed to God to relieve him from his sufferings by death (iii. 1-6).

It so happened that on the self-same day his pious kinswoman Sara, the only daughter of Raguel in Ecbatane, also prayed for death as a release from her sufferings, because she was falsely accused of having strangled her seven husbands, whom the evil spirit Asmodeus [ASMODEUS] successively killed in the night of their marriage (7-15). God graciously heard their prayer and sent his angel Raphael to deliver the two sufferers from their sorrow (16, 17). Tobit, however, prepared himself for death as he had prayed, and before quitting this life he wished his son to obtain the ten talents of silver which he had deposited with Gabael. After charging him with the care of his mother, admonishing him sacredly to observe the commandments of the Lord (iv. 1-21), and giving him the order for the money, the angel Raphael, in the guise of a kinsman, Azarias, offered to accompany Tobias on his journey to Media just as they were in quest of a guide (v. 1-22). On their way, whilst sojourning at the river Tigris, Tobias, according to the command of his angel guide, caught a fish which had leaped out of the water, took out its heart, liver, and gall, wherewith he was told evil spirits could be controlled and blindness cured (vi. 1-8); the angel having told him that he would marry Sara and expel the demon (9-17). When they arrived at Ecbatane they were lodged in the house of Raguel, and Sara was given in marriage to Tobias, who, according to the instructions of Raphael, smoked the heart and liver of the fish and thereby drove Asmodeus 'to the utmost parts of Egypt,' where 'the angel bound him' (vii. 1-viii. 3), which called forth two beautiful prayers from Tobias and Raguel (4-17), and after which the wedding feast was kept (18-21). After Raphael had recovered the money from Gabael (ix. 1-6), and Raguel had given them half his goods as well as his parental blessing (x. 1-12), Tobias, accompanied by his wife, the angel, and the dog, returned home to Nineveh (xi. 1-4). Tobit, on hearing of the approach of his son, went out to meet him, and was



at once cured of his blindness by the application of the fish's gall to his eyes (5-19). When they offered handsomely to remunerate the guide, he admonished them to pray and give alms, told them that he was Raphael, and was sent to them in answer to prayer, and disappeared (xii. 1-22). Whereupon Tobit expresses his gratitude in a beautiful psalm (xiii. 1-18), lived for many years in the fear of the Lord (xiv. 1, 2), admonished his son before his death to go to Media, as Nineveh is to be overthrown according to the prophecy of Jonas the prophet, and to live in the fear and obedience of the Lord (3-11), which Tobias strictly obeyed after the death of Tobit, and he actually heard of the destruction of Nineveh (12-15).

3. *Historical and religious character of the Book.*—There are three theories about the historical character of this book. *a.* That it records *actual history*; *b.* That it is *pure fiction*; and *c.* That it is a *mixture of history and fiction*.

*a.* The opinion that this book records proper history was universally held by the Christian church up to the time of the Reformation, and has even since been maintained by Bishop Gray (*A Key to the O. T.* 620, etc., ed. 1857), Welte (*Einleitung*, 84, ff.), Scholz (*Einleitung*, ii. 594, ff.), and most Roman Catholic writers. In support of this opinion it is urged—*i.* The minute account which it gives of Tobit's tribe, his pedigree, place of birth, the time in which he lived, his family, his condition and employment, his captivity, poverty, blindness, recovery, age, death, and place of burial (i. 1, 13, 20, 21; ii. 10; xi. 13; xiv. 11-13); *ii.* The exactness of the historical remarks about the Assyrian kings (i. 2, 13, 15, 21), without deriving the names 'Eveḥšarpos (= Shalmaneser) and Σαχερδονός from the O. T., as well as the correctness of the geographical points (i. 14; ii. 21; iii. 7; vi. 1, 11); and *iii.* The impossibility of tracing the main features of the narrative to any O. T. prototype, and of explaining them on the hypothesis of fiction. The obscure place Thisbe is given as Tobit's place of birth (i. 2), and many minute particulars of his life are described which have in themselves nothing whatever to do with the plot, and which can only be accounted for on the reality of the events.

*b.* The opinion that it is a moral fiction was first thrown out by Luther (*Vorrede aufs Buch Tobia*—Bible, ed. 1534), and has since been maintained by Rainold (*Censur*. i. 726), J. A. Fabricius, Buddeus (*Hist. Eccl.* ii. 489), Paul Fagius, Eichhorn (*Einleitung*, 401, ff.), Bertholdt (*Einleitung*, v. 2477, ff.), De Wette (*Einleitung*, sec. 309), Gutmann (*Die Apokryphen*, 143), Ewald (*Geschichte d. V. J.* iv. 233, ff.), Fritzsche (*Kurzgef. exeget. Handb. z. d. Apokryphen*, ii. 14, ff.), Davidson (*The Text of the O. T. considered*, 1001), Vaihinger (*Herzog's Real-Encyclopædie*, s. v. 'Tobias'), Graetz (*Geschichte der Juden*, iv. 180, 2d ed. 1866), etc. In support of this opinion it is urged—*i.* The narrative is completely isolated, and though the events pretend to have occurred before and shortly after the fall of Nineveh (B.C. 606), no other document written at a later period refers to them. *ii.* The name Tobit does not occur in the O. T., and belongs to a later age. *iii.* The form, spirit, and tone of the narrative show that it belongs to a very late period. The doctrine of good and evil spirits (iii. 8; vi. 14; viii. 3; xii. 15); the ascription of human lusts to spiritual beings (vi. 14); the notion of the seven

presence-angels bringing the prayers of the pious before the divine throne (xii. 12, 15); the marriage instrument (בְּתוּבָה) and the legal benediction pronounced over the wedded pair (vii. 13, 14), are of post-Babylonian origin. And *iv.* The stories of the angel Raphael in a human form giving a false account of himself as being a kinsman of Tobit (v. 12), of Tobit becoming blind on both eyes by the falling of some dung of sparrows (ii. 10), and of the marvellous fish (vi. 2-5), are beyond all matter of fact.

*c.* The view that the narrative is based upon a real occurrence preserved by tradition, but poetically embellished to suit the spirit of the time in which it was written, is maintained by Arnald, Dereser, Ilgen, Keil, etc. This theory escapes the arguments urged by the defenders of the preceding two extreme views, and is in harmony with the other Deutero-canonical documents which, as has been shown elsewhere in this Cyclopædia, have always a certain amount of truth for a basis of the embellishments called forth by the peculiar circumstances of the time to convey a certain moral lesson [JUDITH]. Moreover, the fact that there are different recensions and embellishments of the story, and that the *Midrash Tanchuma* (Pericope, תנחומין [TANCHUMA; MIDRASH]) gives an independent version of it, shows that it was traditionally handed down from the time when the occurrence took place.

The religious character of the book is one of its most important and interesting features, inasmuch as it shows the phases of faith which obtained prior to the advent of Christ, and explains many points in the N. T. The doctrine of good and evil spirits is more fully developed than in the O. T. Seven angels are described as presenting the prayers of the saints before God (xii. 15 with Rev. i. 4; iv. 5; viii. 2). Carnal lusts are ascribed to the angelic beings (vi. 14 with Gen. vi. 2; Jude 6, 7). The greatest stress is laid on alms-giving (i. 16, 17; iv. 7-11), and the power of deliverance from death and expiation for sin are ascribed to it (xii. 9; xiv. 10 with Eccus. iii. 20; 1 Pet. iv. 8). The temple is 'consecrated and built for all ages' (i. 4; xiii. 8), and the feasts are an 'everlasting decree' (i. 8). No trace is to be found in it of the belief in a Messiah, in a future state of reward and punishment, or in the survival of the soul after the death of the body.

4. *Original language, versions, condition of the text, etc.*—The whole complexion of the book shows that it is of Palestinian origin, and there can be but little doubt that the languages in which the traditional story was first written down were Hebrew and Aramaic. Indeed St. Jerome tells us that he made his Latin version from the Aramaic in one day, with the assistance of a Jew, who being skilled in both Hebrew and Chaldean, dictated to him the import thereof in Hebrew ('Exigitis, ut librum Chaldaeorum sermone conscriptum ad Latinum styllum traham, librum utique Tobiae quem Hebraei de catalogo divinarum Scripturarum secantes huius Hagiographa [Apocrypha] memorant, manciparunt. Feci satis desiderio vestro, non tamen meo studio. . . . Et quia vicina est Chaldaeorum lingua sermoni Hebraico, utriusque linguae pertissimum loquacem reperiens unius diei laborem arripui, et quidquid illi mihi Hebraicis verbis expressit, hoc ego accito notario sermonibus Latinis exposui'—*Praef. in Tob.*) This is moreover corroborated by the fact that some of the inexplicable difficulties in the



Greek text can only be removed satisfactorily on the supposition of a Hebrew original. Thus ἐκχεον τοὺς ἄρτους σου ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον τῶν δικαίων (iv. 17), which has no sense, is manifestly a mistranslation of

שֶׁלַח לַחֲמוֹךְ בַּקָּרֶב הַצְדִּיקִים; the translator, by a transposition of the last two letters, having read

בִּקְרֶב instead of בַּקָּרֶב, and שֶׁלַח instead of שֶׁפַח, as is evident from the antithetical clause, 'and give it not to the wicked,' in harmony with the traditional

injunction להחזיק יד עוברי עברה *it is not lawful to strengthen the hands of the transgressor*. So also καὶ εὐλόγησε Τωβίας τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ (ix. 6), can only be accounted for on the supposition that it is a mistranslation of the Hebrew יוֹבֵרַךְ טוֹבִיָּה. The correct rendering of it requires that either Gabael should be taken as the subject—*i.e.* 'and he (*i.e.* Gabael) saluted Tobias with his wife'—or that both Tobias and his wife should be the subject—*i.e.* 'and Tobias and his wife saluted them,' *i.e.* the two comers, Azarias and the servant. Comp. also v. 11, 12, 18; vi. 9, and for the Hebraising style i. 1, 13; iii. 5; v. 14; xiv. 19; De Wette, *Einleitung*, sec. 310; Graetz, *Geschichte*, iv. 466, 2d ed.

There are extant different Greek, Latin, Syriac, and Hebrew texts of this book, differing more or less from one another in the details of the narrative. Besides the Greek text of the Sept. which was adopted into this version because it was that of the Greek Church, there is a recension, one fragment of which (i. 1-ii. 2), is contained in the Cod. Sinaiticus or Cod. Frid. Augustanus, ed. Tischendorf, Leipzig 1846, and another (cap. vi. 9-xiii.) in the three last MSS. (44, 106, 107), of Holmes and Parsons. Of Latin translations we have the ante-Hieronymian version, which was first published by Sabatier (*Bibliorum Sacrorum Latina versiones Antiquae*, 1743), from two MSS. of the 8th century, and which, according to the investigations of Fritzsche (p. 10, ff.), is mostly made from the recension of the Greek text, but partly (vi. 15-17; vii. 15-18; viii. 14-17; xii. 6-9; 11-22; xiii. 6-18), also from the common text, whilst cap. x. 1-xi. 19 is from a mixture of both texts. In this edition of the *Vetus Latina*, Sabatier also published in the form of notes and as various readings two other Codd., one being of the same age as the MSS. of the ante-Hieronymian version, belonging to the library of St. Germanus (No. 15), and concluding, cap. xiii. 12, with 'Explicit Tobī justus,' and the other belonging to the Vatican (No. 7). The text of the latter differs so materially from the other MSS. that it is regarded as an independent version though emanating from the same Greek source. It is less barbarous and more fluent in style, as well as more explicit in its renderings, and it is to be regretted that it has survived as a fragment, containing only i. 1-vi. 12 (*Bibl. Lat.* ii. 706). There also existed another Latin version, as is evident from the quotations of this book contained in the *Speculum* of Augustine, which Angelo Mai has published (*Spicilegium Romanorum*, ix. 21-23). As to the Vulgate Latin version, Jerome tells us that he made it in one day from the Syro-Chaldaic. It differs very materially from the Greek, and is evidently derived from a different form which this traditional story assumed in a different part of the country. The Syriac version is made from the two different recensions of the Greek; cap. i. 1-vii. 9,

being a translation of the common Greek text of the Sept., whilst vii. 10, etc., is from the above-named three MSS. (44, 106, 107) of Holmes and Parsons, according to the marginal annotations in Ussher's MS. There are four Hebrew versions of this book, the one first published in Constantinople 1517, then with a Latin translation by Paul Fagius, and adopted in Walton's *Polyglott*, vol. iv. London 1657. It is a free translation of the common Greek text, made by a learned Jew in the 12th century. The second is that first published with a Latin translation by Sebastian Munster, Basle 1542, then again in 1549, 1556, 1563, and has also been inserted in Walton's *Polyglott*. This Hebrew version is more in harmony with the *Vetus Latina*; and the author of it, who was a Jew, is supposed to have flourished in the 5th century. The third Hebrew version was made from the common Greek text by J. S. Fränkel, Leipzig 1830; and the fourth is by J. Siebenberger—it was published in Warsaw 1840, with a Judaio-German translation, a Hebrew commentary, and an elaborate Hebrew introduction.

As to the versions of the Reformation, Luther made his translation from the Vulgate; the Swiss-Zurich Bible (1531) is also from the Vulgate. Coverdale (1535) as usual followed the Zurich version [COVERDALE]; and he again was followed by Matthew's Bible (1537), Lord Cromwell's Bible (1539), Cranmer's Bible (1540), and the Bishops' Bible (1568). The Genevan version (1560) is the first made from the Greek, and our present A. V. (1611), as in most cases, followed the Genevan version, though this was interdicted by James I.

5. *Author and date.*—As cap. xii. 20 tells us that Raphael, before his disappearance, commanded Tobit and his son Tobias to record the events of their lives; and, moreover, since Tobit in the first three chapters speaks in the first person, whilst (cap. xiii.) his prayer is introduced by the statement καὶ Τωβὶτ ἔγραψε προσευχὴν εἰς ἀγαλλίαν καὶ εἶπεν; the church universal up to the time of the Reformation believed that Tobit himself wrote this book (*circa* 600 B.C.), as far as cap. xiv. ; that cap. xiv. 1-11 was written by his son Tobias; and that cap. xii. 12-15 was added by the editor of this document immediately after the death of Tobias. This opinion is shared by Bishop Gray, Prideaux, and others, who modify it by submitting that it was compiled from the memoirs of Tobit and Tobias; whilst Ilgen maintains that cap. i. 1-iii. 7; xiii. 1-8, was written by Tobit in Assyria, B.C. 689; cap. iii. 8-xii. 2-22; xiv. 1-15, was written in Palestine *circa* 280 B.C., and that from these two Hebrew documents the Chaldee version was made *circa* 120 B.C., which St. Jerome translated into Latin. Modern critics however conclude, from the whole complexion of the book, its angelology, theology, etc., that it is a post-Babylonian production, and that it was written by a Palestinian Jew. But these critics differ very materially about the precise date when the book was compiled, as will be seen from the following table:—

The Catholic Church—		} circa B. C. 689-600
Bishop Gray, Ilgen . . . . .		
Ewald . . . . .	. . . . .	350
Herzfeld . . . . .	. . . . .	300
Bertholdt . . . . .	. . . . .	250-200
Eichhorn . . . . .	. . . . .	A.D. 10
Fabricius . . . . .	. . . . .	100
Graetz . . . . .	. . . . .	130



But though internal evidence leaves it beyond the shadow of a doubt that the book was compiled after the Babylonian captivity, yet the arguments adduced by Graetz (*Geschichte*, iii. 466, 2d ed.) to prove that it was written after the destruction of the temple, and during the persecutions of Hadrian, are inconclusive. The reference to the destruction of the temple (xiii. 10, 16; xiv. 4) is designed to refer to what took place in the reign of Zedekiah, when Nebuchadnezzar took Jerusalem and burned the sanctuary (2 Kings xxv.) The anachronism involved in this reference is in perfect harmony with the anachronisms which are to be met with in the other deuterio-canonical books. The other remark of this learned historian—viz. that the bread of heathens (*ἄπρος τῶν ἔθνων* = פת נכרים), of which Tobit speaks (i. 10), was first interdicted shortly before the destruction of the temple by Titus—is based upon restricting the term *ἄπρος* to actual bread, whereas it signifies food generally, and this was prohibited long before the Christian era (comp. Dan. i. 5). Indeed the book is singularly devoid of the stringent Halachic expansions of the Mosaic enactments which obtained in later times, it contains no allusion whatever to the rewards in a future life, and has no reference to the party-strifes which were so rampant at the time of Christ, traces of which might naturally be expected in it if it had been written in or after the time of Christ. It is therefore most probable that the book was written circa 250-200 B.C.

6. *Canonicity and authority.*—Like the other deuterio-canonical books, Tobit was never included in the canon by the synagogue. This is established beyond the shadow of doubt, not only from the list of the Hebrew Scriptures given by the Jews themselves in the Talmud (*Baba Bathra*, 14); but from the oldest catalogues of the canon furnished by Christian fathers, such as Melito, Origen, etc. Indeed Origen distinctly states that neither Tobit nor Judith was ever received by the Jews as Sacred Scripture (Ἐβραῖοι τῷ Τωβίτι οὐ χρώσονται—*Ep. ad. Afric.* sec. 13). It was, however, different in the Greek church, where the text of the Sept. was received as canonical. Forming part of the contents of this version, Clement of Alexandria quotes Tobit iv. 15; xii. 8, as taken from ἡ γραφή, *Scripture* (*Strom.* ii. 23, sec. 139). But though Origen himself also quoted it as *Scripture*, yet in consequence of his remark that the Jews had it not in their canon, that it is ranked by Christians among such as were read to the catechumens, and that it contains a plainer and less elevated doctrine (*In Numb. Homil.* xx.), the Greek fathers put it among the Apocrypha, and classed it among those books which are 'to be read by beginners who are desirous to be instructed in the word of piety' (οὐ κανονιζόμενα μὲν τετυπωμένα δὲ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἀναγνώσκεσθαι τοῖς ἀρτι προσερχομένοις καὶ βουλομένοις κατηχεῖσθαι τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγον—Athanasius, *Ep. Fest.* ii. 39, ed. Colon.) This distinction, however, between *canonical* and *apocryphal* afterwards disappeared to a great extent in the Greek Church, as is seen from the fact that Bar-Hebraeus places Tobit among the sacred books in his *Nomocanon* of the Antiochian church (Mai, *Script. vet. nova collectio*, x. 53; comp. Fritzche, p. 18). In the Latin church Tobit was regarded with greater sacredness. Cyprian often quotes it as *Holy Writ* (*De Opere et Eleemosynis liber*). St. Hilary cites it to prove the intercession of angels (*In Ps.* cxxix.),

and tells us that some Christians added both Tobit and Judith to the other two-and-twenty canonical books to make up their canon of four-and-twenty books (*Prol. in Ps.*) St. Augustine includes it with the other Apocrypha of the Sept. among 'the books which the Christian church received' (*De Doctr. Christ.* ii. 8). Hence the third council of Carthage (A.D. 397), Innocent I. (A.D. 405), and the councils of Florence (1439) and Trent (1546), declared it canonical. Indeed, in the old Roman Missal and in the Missal of Sarum, there is a proper Mass of Raphael the archangel, and it is ordered in the prefatory rubric that the office be celebrated for pilgrims, travellers, sick persons, and demoniacs. This is followed by two short prayers, one addressed to God and the other to Raphael (comp. Arnald's *Dissertation on Asmodeus*). As to the Reformed Church, though Luther was the first who separated the deuterio-canonical from the canonical books, yet he entertained the highest opinion of the book of Tobit. 'If it is history,' says this great Reformer, 'it is fine holy history; but if fiction, it is indeed right beautiful, wholesome, profitable fiction, and play of an ingenious poet. . . . It is, therefore, profitable and good for us Christians to read this book as the production of an excellent Hebrew poet, who treats not on frivolous but solid matters' (*Vorrede aufs Buch Tobia*, in his translation of the Bible, ed. 1534). In the Anglican Church, the book of Tobit is looked upon with still greater favour—cap. iv. 7-16 is quoted in the *Homilies* as the counsel of the holy father Toby (*On Alms-deeds*, part i.); cap. iv. 10 is cited as a lesson taught by 'the Holy Ghost in Scripture' (*ibid.* part ii.); and cap. xii. 8 is adduced to show that the angel Raphael told Tobias that 'fasting used with prayer is of great efficacy' (*Of Fasting*, part ii.) Passages of Tobit are also incorporated in the liturgy. Cap. iv. 7-9 is among the passages used at the Offertory; cap. iii. 3, according to the Latin Vulgate, is introduced into the Litany; cap. vi. 17, according to the Vulgate, is alluded to in the preface to the marriage service; whilst in the prayer following immediately after the versicles and responses in the same service in the First Book of Prayer of Edward VI., the following sentence is used—'And as thou didst send the angel Raphael to Thobie and Sara, the daughter of Raguel, to their great comfort, so vouchsafe to send thy blessing upon these thy servants' (p. 131, Parker Society's ed.)

7. *Literature.*—Arnald, *The Book of Tobit*, in Patrick, Lowth, Whitby, and Lowman's *Critical Commentary*; Ilgen, *Die Geschichte Tobit's nach drei verschiedenen Originalen*, Jena 1800; Eichhorn, Bertholdt, De Wette, and Keil's *Einleitungen*; Gutmann, *Die Apokryphen des Alten Testaments*, p. 141, etc., Altona 1841; Fritzche, *Die Bücher Tobit und Judith; Kurzgefasstes exeget. Handbuch zu den Apokryphen*, vol. ii. Leipzig 1853; Davidson, *The Text of the O. T. Considered*, p. 996, etc., London 1856; Sengelmann, *Das Buch Tobit erklärt*, Hamburg 1857; Reusch, *Das Buch Tobias übersetzt und erklärt*, Freiburg 1857; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. iv. pp. 180, ff.; 466, ff., 2d ed. Leipzig 1866.—C. D. G.

TOGARMAH (תוגרמא, תוגרמה, or in some codices transposed תרגומה) is the Hebrew name of Armenia, which in the Septuagint translation is called Θογαρμά, Θοργαμά, Θεργαμά, and



Θουργαβδά. According to Moses Chorenensis, the Armenians consider themselves to be descended from Gomer, through Torgom, and therefore they call themselves the *house of Torgom*. The sons of Gomer were Ashkenaz, Riphath, and Togarmah (Gen. x. 3; 1 Chron. i. 6). The name תוגרמה, for *Türk* and *Turkoman*, reminds us of תורמא.

Armenia was, according to Strabo (xi. 13. 9, p. 529), distinguished by the production of good horses (comp. Xenoph. *Anab.* iv. 5. 24; Herod. vii. 40). This account harmonises with the statement that the house of Togarmah traded in the fairs of Tyre in horses, and horsemen, and mules (Ezek. xxvii. 14). The situation of Togarmah was north of Palestine: 'Gomer and all his bands; the house of Togarmah of the north-quarters' (Ezek. xxxviii. 6). The countries of אררט and מני (Muvds), and also חוּל, were contiguous to Togarmah (Joseph. *Antiq.* i. 6. 1; compare the articles ARARAT, ARMENIA; see also Moses Chorenensis, *Historie Armen.* lib. iii. *Armen. edidit, lat. vert. notisque illustr.* W. et G. Whistonii, Lond. 1736; Heeren, *Ideen*, i. 1, 305; D. Michaelis, *Spicilegium Geographicum*, tom. i. 67-78; Klapproth's *Travels*, ii. 64).—C. H. F. B.

#### TOMB. [BURIAL.]

TONGUE (לָשׁוֹן; Sept. γλῶσσα, φωνή; Vulg. *lingua*, os) is used—1. *literally*, for the human tongue: 'Every one that lappeth the water with his tongue, as a dog lappeth' (Judg. vii. 5; Job xxvii. 4; Ps. xxxv. 28; xxxix. 1, 3; li. 14; lxi. 17; Prov. xv. 2; Zech. xiv. 12; Mark vii. 33, 35; Luke i. 64; xvi. 24; Rom. iii. 13; 1 Cor. xiv. 9; James i. 26; iii. 5, 6, 8; 1 Pet. iii. 10; Rev. xvi. 10; Eccclus. xvii. 6; Wisd. x. 21; 2 Maccab. vii. 4; for the tongue of the dog, Ps. lxxviii. 23; of the viper, Job xx. 16; of idols, Baruch vi. 8; the tongues of the seven brethren cut out, 2 Maccab. vii. 4, 10; comp. Prov. x. 20). Various explanations have been offered, why Gideon's three hundred followers should have been selected because they lapped water out of their hands, standing or perhaps moving onward, while they who stayed and 'bowed down to drink' were rejected. Josephus says, that the former thereby showed their timorousness and fear of being overtaken by the enemy, and that these poor-spirited men were chosen on purpose to illustrate the power of God in the victory (*Antiq.* v. 6. 3). On Mark vii. 33, 35, Dr. A. Clarke offers the interpretation, that it was the deaf and stammering man himself who put his own fingers into his ears to intimate his deafness; spat or emptied his mouth, that the Saviour might look at his tongue; touched his own tongue to intimate that he could not speak; looked up to heaven as imploring divine aid; and groaned to denote his distress under his affliction; and that our Saviour simply said 'Be opened' (*Commentary*). This explanation certainly clears the passage of some obscurities. James iii. 8, Dr. Macknight translates, 'But the tongue of men no one can subdue'—that is, the tongue of other men, for the apostle is exhorting the Christian to subdue his own (comp. ver. 13). He observes that Ecumenius read the passage interrogatively, as much as to say, Wild beasts, birds, serpents, marine animals, have been tamed by man, and can no man tame the tongue? 2. It is *personified*. 'Unto me every tongue shall swear'—that is, every man (Is. xlv. 23;

comp. Rom. xiv. 11; Phil. ii. 11; Is. liv. 17). The tongue is said to rejoice (Acts ii. 26); to meditate (Ps. lii. 2); to hate (Prov. xxvi. 28); to be bridled (James i. 26); to be tamed (James iii. 8; comp. Eccclus. xxviii. 18, etc.). It is apostrophised (Ps. cxx. 3). 3. It is used by *metonymy* for speech generally. 'Let us not love in tongue only' (1 John iii. 18; comp. γλῶσση φίλος, Theogn. lxxiii. 13; Job vi. 30; xv. 5; Prov. vi. 24); 'a soft tongue'—i.e. soothing language (xxv. 15). 'Accuse not a servant to his master, literally 'hurt not with thy tongue' (Prov. xxx. 10); 'the law of kindness is in her tongue'—i.e. speech (xxxi. 26; Is. iii. 8; l. 4; Wisd. i. 6). 4. For a *particular language* or dialect, spoken by any particular people. 'Every one after his tongue' (Gen. x. 5, 20, 31; Deut. xxviii. 49; Esth. i. 22; Dan. i. 4; John v. 2; Acts i. 19; ii. 4, 8, 11; xxvi. 14; 1 Cor. xii. 10; xiii. 1; xiv. 2; Rev. xvi. 16). 5. For the *people* speaking a language (Is. lxvi. 18; Dan. iii. 4, 7, etc.; Rev. v. 9; vii. 9; x. 11; xi. 9; xiv. 6; xvii. 15). 6. It is used *figuratively* for anything resembling a tongue in shape. Thus, 'a wedge of gold,' literally a 'tongue' (Josh. vii. 21, 24; γλῶσσα μίλα χρυσῆ; Vulg. *regula aurea*). The French still say *un lingot d'or*, 'a little tongue of gold,' whence, by corruption, our word 'ingot.' 'The bay that looketh southward,' literally 'tongue' (xv. 2; xviii. 19); 'a tongue of fire' (Is. v. 24; comp. Acts ii. 3; Is. xi. 15). 7. Some of the Hebrew *idioms, phrases*, etc., formed of this word are highly expressive. Thus, 'an evil speaker' (Ps. cxl. 11; לָשׁוֹן אִישׁ, literally 'a man of tongue'; comp. Eccclus. viii. 3, and see Eccles. x. 11, Hebrew or margin); 'a froward,' or rather 'false tongue' (Prov. x. 31; לָשׁוֹן תְּהַפּוּכֹת, 'a tongue of revolvings'); 'a wholesome tongue' (Prov. xv. 4; מְרַפֵּא

לָשׁוֹן, literally 'the healing of the tongue,' reconciliation, etc.; Sept. ταῖς γλῶσσαις, *lingua placabilis*); 'a backbiting tongue' (Prov. xxv. 23; סוֹתֵר, 'secret'; 'slow of speech' (Exod. iv. 10; כְּבֵד

לָשׁוֹן, literally 'heavy of tongue,' unfit to be an orator; βαρύνῃ γλῶσσος; contrast Eccclus. iv. 29); 'the tongue of the stammerer' (Is. xxiii. 4)—i.e. rude, illiterate (comp. xxxv. 6; on Is. xxviii. 11, see Lowth). In xxxiii. 19 it means a foreign language, which seems gibberish to those who do not understand it (comp. Ezek. iii. 5); 'the tongue of the learned' (Is. l. 4)—i.e. of the instructor. The lexicons will point out many other instances. 8. Some *metaphorical* expressions are highly significant. Thus, Hos. vii. 16, 'the rage of the tongue'—i.e. verbal abuse; 'strife of tongues' (Ps. xxxi. 20); 'scourge of the tongue' (Job v. 21 [EXECRATION]; comp. Eccclus. xxvi. 6; xxviii. 17); 'snare of the slanderous tongue' (li. 2); on the phrase 'strange tongue' (Is. xxviii. 11), see Lowth, notes on ver. 9-12, and afterwards the vivid rendering of the Vulg.; 'to slip with the tongue' (Eccclus. xx. 18; xxv. 8)—i.e. use inadvertent or unguarded speech; 'they bend their tongues, their bows, for lies' (Jer. ix. 3)—i.e. tell determined and malicious falsehoods; 'they sharpen their tongues' (Ps. cxl. 3)—i.e. prepare cutting speeches (comp. lvii. 4); 'to smoothe the tongue' (Jer. xxiii. 31), employ flattering language; 'to smite with the tongue' (Jer. xviii. 18)—i.e. to traduce—if it should not be rendered, 'on the tongue,' alluding to a punishment for false witness; 'to lie in wait with the tongue'



(Ecclus. v. 14) ; 'to stick out the tongue' (Is. lvii. 4)—*i.e.* to mock ; 'against any of the children of Israel shall not a dog move his tongue' (Exod. xi. 7)—*i.e.* none shall hurt them ; but both Sept. and Vulg. have, 'not a dog belonging to the children of Israel shall howl,' which, as opposed to the 'great cry' in Egypt over the firstborn, means, not one of the children of Israel shall have cause to wail (Josh. x. 21 ; Judith xi. 9). 'To hide under the tongue,' means, to have in the mouth, whether spoken of hidden wickedness (Job xx. 12 ; comp. Ps. x. 7), or delicious language (Cant. iv. 11) ; 'the word of God in the tongue,' denotes inspiration (2 Sam. xxiii. 2) ; 'to divide the tongues of the wicked,' is to raise up dissensions among them (Ps. lv. 9 ; comp. 2 Sam. xv. 34 ; xvii. 14. 15). 'The tongue cleaving to the palate,' signifies profound attention (Job xxix. 10), or excessive thirst (Lam. iv. 4 ; comp. xxii. 16) ; 'to cause the tongue to cleave to the palate,' is to inflict supernatural dumbness (Ezek. iii. 26 ; Ps. cxxxvii. 6). 9. Some beautiful *comparisons* occur. 'An evil tongue is a sharp sword' (Ps. lvii. 4) ; 'the tongue of the wise is health' (Prov. xii. 18) ; 'like choice silver' (x. 20)—*i.e.* his words are solid, valuable, sincere. 10. The *vices* of the tongue are specified in great variety ; flattery (Ps. v. 9 ; Prov. xxviii. 33 ; backbiting (Ps. xv. 3), literally, 'run about with the tongue' (Prov. xxviii. 23) ; deceit (Ps. l. 19) ; unrestrained speech (lxxiii. 9) ; lying (cix. 2) ; 'a lying tongue hateth those that are afflicted by it' (Prov. xxvi. 28) ; comp. Tac. (*Agg.* 42), *Proprium humani ingenii est, odisse, quem læseris*. 'They have taught their tongue to speak lies, and weary themselves to commit iniquity' (Jer. ix. 5)—words which beautifully illustrate the fact, that falsehood and vice are not natural, but are a restraint and compulsion upon nature : 'double-tongued' (1 Tim. iii. 8), *διδυμος*, saying one thing to this man and another to that (comp. Ecclus. v. 9, 14 ; xxviii. 13). The retribution of evil speakers brought on themselves (Ps. lxiv. 8). 11. The *virtuous* uses of the tongue are specified : 'keeping the tongue' (Ps. xxxiv. 13 ; 1 Pet. iii. 10 ; Prov. xxi. 23) ; 'ruling the tongue' (Ecclus. xix. 6 ; James i. 26) ; the origin of the right and wrong use of the tongue traced to the heart (Matt. xii. 34). 12. *Mistranslations* : as 'holding the tongue' ; the Hebrews had no such idiom (Ps. xxxix. 2 ; comp. the Bible and prayer-book version of Habak. i. 13). In Ezra iv. 7, 'the Syrian tongue,' literally, 'in Syriac' (Esth. vii. 4 ; Ecclus. xx. i. 7). Our mistranslation of Prov. xvi. 1, has misled many : 'The preparations of the heart in man, and the answer of the tongue, is from the Lord ;' literally, 'Of man are the dispositions of the heart, but a hearing of the tongue is of the Lord.'—J. F. D. [On the miraculous *gift of tongues*, see SPIRITUAL GIFTS.]

**TONGUES, CONFUSION OF.** The Biblical narrative of the Dispersion of Nations has been already examined [NATIONS, DISPERSION OF], with the exception of an important detail, the Confusion of Tongues, which has only been touched upon, its full discussion having been reserved for the present article. This subject is one that requires to be treated in such a manner as that information bearing on the narrative may be stated, before we attempt to discuss the general questions it suggests. The following order will meet this necessity :—The event ; the relation of the languages of the dis-

persed nations ; and the possibility of tracing all existing languages to one source. To inquire into the date of this part of Genesis would lead us into a long discussion : it may be sufficient to express an opinion that the indications of x. 12 perhaps (strangely ignored by most writers), and 18 certainly, seem to point to an age much before that of Moses.

1. *The event.*—The part of the narrative of the dispersion relating to the present subject thus commences : 'And the whole earth [or 'land,' אֶרֶץ] was of one language [or 'lip,' שָׁפָה], and of one speech [or 'words,' דְּבָרִים].' The journey and building of the tower is then related, and the divine determination to 'confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech.' The scattering of the builders and discontinuance of the building of the city having been narrated, it is added :—'Therefore is the name of it called Babel ; because the Lord did there confound the language of all the earth ; and [or 'for'] from thence did the Lord scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth' (xi. 1-9). The author of the *Genesis of the Earth*, etc., in accordance with the rendering 'for' instead of 'and,' which he proposes, suggests that 'the confusion was the consequence, not in any manner the cause, of the dispersion . . . ; designed to prevent the descendants of Noah from reuniting' (2d ed. p. 246). The ordinary explanation seems simpler, yet this one is by no means to be disregarded. It has also been supposed that the meaning is tropical, and that oneness of speech indicates agreement of policy, but this idea is not critically sound.

2. *The relation of the languages of the dispersed nations.*—The narrative of the dispersion and confusion immediately follows the list of Noah's descendants. It is therefore important to examine in the present place all the philological evidence of that list. Do the languages of the nations there indicated show traces of a common origin and also of a violent separation ? The philological data derived from the list have been already stated : we shall here briefly sum up the results then obtained. The languages which can be distinctly connected with the names of the list are of three classes—Barbaric, Iranian, and Semitic. To the first class belong the one identification of Hamites of Africa, and a possible second ; to the second class the only identifications of Japhethites ; to the third, those of two groups, the first comprising all the Canaanite nations, that is the Hamites of Palestine and Syria, and the second all the Shemite nations of which the language can be traced, ten in number, to which no doubt others might be reasonably added. It would seem at first sight that we have here three classes, corresponding to the descendants of the three sons of Noah, but on further examination this conjecture must be abandoned. Its stability depends upon a satisfactory reason for the adoption by the Canaanites of Semitic languages, but there is no evidence that they were preceded by Shemites, and therefore it appears that their own speech was Semitic and that they did not adopt it from Semitic predecessors. Let us look a little further at the connection of these languages. The Semitic languages are all closely allied, and even their remote branches have not to this time lost the strong characteristics that make all rather like dialects of one language

than distinct languages sprung from a single marked stock. The occurrence of these languages among Hamite nations is therefore very significant. The Iranian languages, on the other hand, have only been traced to a common origin by the researches of acute philologists. They form a not less marked family, but one in the remoter members of which the family likeness is far less readily discerned. The only Barbaric language traced with certainty, the Egyptian, is extremely peculiar, as it connects its class with the Semitic by the presence of strong Semitic elements. It has a monosyllabic Barbaric vocabulary, with an amalgamate Semitic grammar. The connection of the Semitic and Iranian languages, though not yet convincingly proved, is a problem that the best comparative philologists consider merely to require a certain amount of laborious examination. The connection of the Semitic family and the Egyptian language is established. The former connection is expected to prove common origin, the latter has been asserted to do so by some but denied by others. This question is of so much importance that it will be well here to state the main data for its solution. Egyptian is either a bridge between the Semitic family and the Barbaric class, or it is a trench separating them. The main characteristics of the language, equally found in the oldest form written in hieroglyphics and hieratic, in the later dialect of the demotic papyri and inscriptions, and in the Coptic language, may be briefly laid down. The roots are all monosyllabic. In the whole of the Egyptian vocabulary there are very few words which are not obviously monosyllabic roots, or derivatives readily reducible to such roots. In Coptic there is a departure from monosyllabism, but it is so obvious that it should occasion no difficulty. An intelligent student, if he examine Peyron's excellent Lexicon, which is arranged not alphabetically but under the roots, will at once see that Coptic is essentially monosyllabic. Egyptian monosyllabism is either biliteral or triliteral, the more common form being probably biliteral. The Egyptian formative syllables and formative words are immediately recognised as strikingly similar to the Semitic. The personal pronouns in their separate and enclitic forms, and the latter as used for the purpose of inflecting verbs and adding the possessive idea to nouns, are almost identical—facts now universally admitted. The most common form of the substantive verb is the same as the Hebrew. The prepositions and adverbs are important as possessing the forms, and in their use as nouns the significations, of the primitive nouns from which they originated, thus warning us not to place the earliest-known Egyptian very far from the first condition of the language; an important matter in the present inquiry, as it is repugnant to any theory that would place a Semitic language as the parent of Egyptian. The derivatives are framed in many different ways, and have not yet been proved to follow any fixed system. There is one very common form of the verb with *s* prefixed, which has a causative sense; there is a reduplicated form with a frequentative or augmentative sense; and traces of three other forms, respectively with *t*, *h*, and *n* prefixed. These forms are all Semitic; the first corresponds to the causative conjugation *Shaphel*, known in but one instance in Hebrew, but frequent in Syriac; the second to the frequentative *Pilpel*, and the kindred in form and use, *Pealal*; the third perhaps to

*Tipheh*; the fourth to *Hiphil-Hophal*; the fifth to *Niphal*: though the correspondence of sense is not yet certain in the last three cases, and the correspondence of form in the case of the *Tipheh* conjugation may be accidental. The compounds are mere agglutinations of two words, never more, as *HAS-SBA* 'a flute-player,' from *HAS* 'to play,' and *SBA* 'a flute.' The amalgamate stage of compounds is never reached.

The distinction of the non-Semitic and Semitic elements of the Egyptian language may probably be carried further. The different character of the radical and formative elements suggests that the former are due to a barbarous original, and the latter to a civilised later race. We might therefore expect to find among the roots traces of Semitism wherever the level was above that of a barbarous nation. The late Baron Bunsen has given a list of Egyptian roots corresponding to Semitic. In this list we find the following to be the only identifications that can be considered satisfactory or probable:—

- |   |            |
|---|------------|
| 1. <i>bah</i> , to swell, to overflow . . .                 | בעה        |
| 2. <i>hat</i> , to frighten . . .                           | חתת        |
| 3. <i>heben</i> , ebony, honey . . .                        | הבני       |
| 4. ? <i>hbs</i> , to clothe . . .                           | לבש        |
| 5. ? <i>hrs</i> , stool; <i>hes</i> , in name of Isis . . . | כסא        |
| 6. ? <i>kam</i> , black . . .                               | חכם        |
| 7. ? <i>kar</i> , to fight, deceive, circle . . .           | גלל, כפר   |
| 8. <i>man</i> , ell . . .                                   | אמה        |
| 9. <i>mak</i> , to rule . . .                               | מלך        |
| 10. <i>mna</i> , nurse . . .                                | אמן        |
| 11. <i>mrh</i> , salt . . .                                 | מלח        |
| 12. <i>nfr</i> , good . . .                                 | nablum נבל |
| 13. ? <i>nif</i> , breath . . .                             | נוף        |
| 14. <i>ptah</i> , to open . . .                             | פתח        |
| 15. ? <i>ran</i> , to please . . .                          | רנן        |
| 16. ? <i>sak</i> (= <i>sk</i> ), to bind, subdue . . .      | שכב        |
| 17. ? <i>sft</i> , to slay . . .                            | שחת        |
| 18. ? <i>sna</i> , elbow, knee, sisters . . .               | שנים       |
| 19. <i>spt</i> , lip . . .                                  | שפה        |
| 20. <i>ss-mut</i> , mare . . .                              | כוס        |
| 21. <i>sxb</i> , to strike oxen . . .                       | skab Aram. |
| 22. <i>ibh</i> , measure, weight, signet-ring . . .         | טבע        |
| 23. <i>tha</i> , to plunder, to be drunk . . .              | חנה        |

(comp. *Egypt's Place*, vol. iv. pp. 133, 134).

Obviously this list is not sufficiently large for us to form an induction. Some probable inferences may, however, be drawn from it. Classing the Egyptian words as civilised and barbarous, those that may be of the latter class are 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23. Of these, however, 3, 11, 20, are words that would be borrowed by neighbours, or taken from neighbours, as names of objects of trade. 20, the horse was introduced into Egypt probably between B.C. 1500 and 1800. 10 is an onomatopoeic word, if onomatopœia is to be at all admitted. It is contrary to sound philology to admit 4, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, for either the form



or sense is not sufficiently near. There remain, therefore, 1, 2, 6, 7, 9, 10, 19, 21, 23, which must be carefully examined:—1. *bah*, to swell, to overflow. 2. *hat*, to frighten; there is another root (*hr*) with the same sense. 6. *kam*, black; if *kam* be black in the sense of darkness there are other wholly different roots with the same or a similar sense. 7. *kar*, to fight, is a like case. So 9. *mah*, to rule; and 14. *plah*, to open. 19. *spt*, seems distinctly an instance of exact correspondence. It is, however, remarkable that in Coptic two words are found with the sense 'lip'; this one  $\epsilon\pi\omicron\tau\omicron\upsilon$

( $\epsilon\phi\omicron\tau\omicron\upsilon$ ) and  $\epsilon\pi\rho\omicron$  ( $\chi\epsilon\pi\rho\omicron$ ); the latter suggests a compound word from  $\rho\omicron$  ( $\rho\omega$ ),

the mouth, Eg. *ra*. 21, if, as originally supposed by Bunsen, of the *s*-conjugation, is not to be compared to the Aramaic *skab*. 23. *tha*, in its sense 'to plunder,' can be replaced by a different root; in its sense 'to be drunk,' it cannot be considered a barbarous word. It is thus evident that the original identity of any part of the radical element of Egyptian with Semitic rests upon a very slender basis until better evidence is brought forward. In saying this, however, we do not mean to deny the identity of some of these Egyptian roots with Semitic; the question is one of original identity. We shall recur to these and like roots in endeavouring to determine whether Egyptian be the earlier stage of Semitic: whether they can possibly mark the transition from Egyptian to Semitic, *conceding the possibility that they are of Egyptian origin*.

It is important to notice that there are two statements in later places of the book of Genesis that bear upon the languages of the dispersed nations. Laban and Jacob called the pile of witness differently, the former giving it the Aramaic name Jegar-sahadutha, the latter the Hebrew, Gal-ed (xxxii. 47). The almost irresistible inference from this is that the descendants of Abraham in Canaan spoke the language of the country. In Egypt Joseph spoke with his brethren through an interpreter, and they supposed that their speech together in Hebrew was not understood by him (xlii. 23). These facts show that the early existence of distinct Semitic dialects, or even languages, and the radical difference of Hebrew and Egyptian, were well known to the writer or writers of these portions of Genesis.

The results of the inquiry thus far may be briefly stated. The languages that we can assign to the nations of the dispersion are of three groups, Barbaric, Iranian, and Semitic. The Barbaric class belongs to Hamites in Africa, not to Hamites in Asia. The Iranian and Semitic families may probably be connected and traced to a common source; the single example of Barbaric is certainly connected with Semitic, but appears also to contain a well defined non-Semitic element. The last subject, the relation of Egyptian and Semitic, will be further discussed in the examination of the next question. It seems evident that the condition of languages after the dispersion cannot on any probable theory be supposed to have been one in which the various languages differed more than do the branches of the Semitic family. As the Hamites in Palestine and the Shemites in Syria both used Semitic forms of speech, we thus obtain what may be fairly considered a measure of difference. As to the character of the separation, whether it

were violent or not, the philological evidence is as yet uncertain. The narrative appears to state the former, which certainly seems to have been the character of the dispersion.

3. *The possibility of tracing all existing languages to one source*.—The first step towards the solution of this problem is an accurate classification of languages. Languages may be classified according to what it is convenient to call their degree of development, or according to their relations. The former method gives us the following result:—

1. Monosyllabic.
2. Agglutinate.
3. Amalgamate.

The first class comprises the primitive Chinese, and probably the originals of several of the second. Of the second class, the Nigritian and Turanian, using the latter term in the restricted sense to be soon mentioned, are instances. To the third class belong the great Semitic and Iranian families. Although it is perfectly evident that the monosyllabic and agglutinate classes belong to barbarism or semi-barbarous civilisation, and the amalgamate to high civilisation, this distinction may be illusory as bearing upon the supposed development of language, for the difference of race is far more distinct than that of civilisation. The speakers of Nigritian sometimes approach, and those of Turanian often far surpass, the civilisation in which nations speaking pure Iranian languages have remained for centuries.

The classification according to relations is now usually held to divide languages into three great groups—Semitic, Iranian, and Turanian. The relation of the Semitic and Iranian languages is unquestionable, that of the so-called Turanian is far less clearly established. The first and second groups are constructed by positive evidence, the third by negative. All that is not Semitic or Iranian is held to be Turanian, although the evidence of relation is very slender. Instead of the strong family likeness that is seen both in the general form and in the minute characteristics of every member of the Semitic group, and in the general form, though not as markedly in details, in every member of the more widely-spread Iranian group, the only point at which the discordant Turanian groups—the Turanian proper for instance, and the Malaic—are connected together so as to form a family, is in their common characteristic of agglutination. As reasonable would it be to hold the Semitic and Iranian to be a single family because their languages are unlike all others in being strictly amalgamate. We prefer, therefore, to range the families which Bunsen and Prof. Max Müller, with many other distinguished philologists, call Turanian under one great class, the Barbaric, reserving all opinion as to their relation.

Having thus established the existence of three great groups of languages—the Semitic, Iranian, and Barbaric—two families, and either a third, or, as we prefer to consider it, a class containing several families; it is possible to ask whether these groups grew up and lived side by side, or whether the seemingly less developed languages are really ancestors of those which have the aspect of the greatest development? The Egyptian language has been regarded as offering the means of solving this problem. It is found in remote antiquity, with characteristics partly Barbaric partly Semitic, seeming to some to bridge across the otherwise impassable chasm between those

different kingdoms of human speech. But it may be that, as on the confines of the solar system the radical difference we certainly find may be the beginning of another set of laws, so here in Egyptian we may see, not the suddenly arrested development of primæval Semitism, but the phenomenon of a mixed language existing on the boundary-line of Shemites and Nigritians, and so presenting a union of their linguistic peculiarities. The connection of Egyptian and Semitic must be thoroughly studied. Bunsen is no doubt right in unflinchingly facing the problem. The likeness of the two is far too marked not to indicate a step in the progress of development, if Semitic grew out of a monosyllabic stage. If we place primitive Chinese or any pure monosyllabic language at one end of the scale, and Hebrew at the other, we must give Egyptian an intermediate place; its Semitic machinery is too complete to be ignored.

The theory that Semitic had a monosyllabic stage has been studied and supported with much ingenuity, independently of the theory that it grew out of Egyptian. Semitic roots are mainly trilateral, of three principal letters besides vowels: many of these trilateral roots are, however, as now pointed, monosyllabic, and it is quite as reasonable, *prima facie*, to suppose that all may have been monosyllabic as that the latter are formed by a coalescence of vowel sounds and consonants. Those who hold that all languages must have gone through a long course of growth argue for the former theory. Fürst and Delitzsch, by a supposed philosophical law of language, derive all the Semitic trilateral roots from bilaterals with prefixes or suffixes, but they do not explain how these formations lost their power after their first use. Hupfeld supposes that the trilateral stage was developed from the biliteral. Dietrich and Boetticher hold that this process was analogous to that by which derivatives are formed from the trilateral roots, and this theory certainly has some strong internal evidence of correctness. But it may be a question whether these theories do not depend upon the strength of certain radicals and the weakness of others, rather than upon any fixed system of development. It is obvious, when we see how easily the weak letters, such as the gutturals, are eliminated, and how difficult it is to reduce a root consisting of three strong letters, that there may be a confusion in such theories between change and development; what is taken for development may be a mere euphonic change. The Hebrew *yasad*, 'he placed,' may be reasonably compared with the Sanskrit *sad*, our 'sit,' as the 'y' is a weak letter; but is this loss of such a letter, supposing the roots to be the same, enough to prove that the Hebrew form was originally without that letter?

But supposing, for the sake of argument, that the Semitic languages can be reduced to a primitive monosyllabism of biliteral roots, is this the same as Egyptian monosyllabism? Is Egyptian, in fact, an example of Semitic in a state of arrested development before it had reached the historical condition?

The Egyptian monosyllables are not always biliteral; and even if we consider the expressed vowels not to be equivalent (though they are essentially) to certain of the Hebrew gutturals, we have still trilateral roots of three consonants.

We have already remarked that there is but slender evidence of the original identity of any part of the radical element of Egyptian with Semitic,

the roots identical with Semitic ones being apparently borrowed, but in doing so we did not mean to deny the occurrence of identical roots in the two languages as known to us. Among these identical roots some are of two consonants and a vowel, others are trilaterals of three consonants. The following lists show examples of both classes, and they are unquestionably true Egyptian words, not those which were borrowed at the time of the Rameses family by Semiticising scribes. Here, therefore, we can put the theory of the growth of Semitic from Egyptian to the test.

I.				
<i>bah</i>	.	.	.	בַּהַ
<i>hat</i>	.	.	.	חַתַּ
<i>kam</i>	.	.	.	כַּמַּ
<i>kar</i>	.	.	.	כַּרַּ
<i>kna</i> , }	to bend		.	כְּנַעַ
<i>sna</i> , }			.	כְּנַעַ
<i>sab</i> , jackal	.	.	.	זַבַּ
<i>tha</i> , a chest	.	.	.	חַבַּ
<i>tha</i>	.	.	.	חַבַּ
II.				
<i>aru</i> , river	.	.	.	יַאֲרַ
<i>mrh</i>	.	.	.	מַרְחַ
<i>ptah</i>	.	.	.	פַּתַּח
<i>spt</i>	.	.	.	שַׁפַּח
<i>tth</i>	.	.	.	טַבַּח
<i>khtm</i> , to shut	.	.	.	חַתַּם

Some of the examples in the first list might seem to countenance the idea that the Hebrew trilateral roots were developed from biliteral; *hat*, *kam*, *kar* might seem to indicate that the corresponding Hebrew roots developed the third radical by repeating the sound. Unfortunately, however, for this theory we find *karr* in Egyptian in one of the senses of *kar*, and it is quite possible that there may be a triconsonantal form of the other two roots.

In the second list we find in *aru*, *mrh*, *ptah*, *spt*, *tth*, *khtm*, undoubted monosyllabic trilaterals, which present the same or corresponding radicals to those of the equivalent Hebrew roots, whereas, according to the theory of development, being monosyllables, they should have been biliterals. The cases of *ptah* and *khtm* are especially remarkable. Their relation to the Hebrew roots פַּתַּח, etc., and חַתַּם, is beyond question, for not only are they of corresponding radicals, but if the case of one could be a chance agreement it would be contrary to all criticism to imagine this of two words of like signification. The great antiquity of the first in Egyptian is also beyond question. Yet here, if anywhere, we should expect to find biliterals, were Egyptian an earlier stage of Semitic; for these two Hebrew roots seem especially to offer themselves to the operation of reduction. In פַּתַּח, the final letter is weak, and accordingly it is twice changed without a change of meaning in Hebrew itself (פַּתַּח, פַּתַּח, and פַּתַּח unused); so that Fürst unhesitatingly reduces it to a root פַּת, with a suffix ה. חַתַּם is still more easily reduced; it begins and ends with a weak letter, but the guttural was the most likely to be additional, and therefore Fürst



makes the root  $\text{קח}$ , with a prefix  $\text{ק}$ . Both these ingenious chemical operations become very doubtful when we find the words as monosyllables with all their radicals. This by the way however; our present object is to show that Egyptian monosyllabism is not the parent of Semitic trilateralism. The correspondences in Egyptian to Semitic do not indicate any earlier stage of Semitic than that in which we know it. Egyptian therefore is not the parent of Semitic. How then can we account for the occurrence of Semitic elements in this Barbaric language? We are now in a position to define the character and importance of this Semitic part of Egyptian. In the radical portion of the language it is traceable; but instead of our finding a multitude of ancestors of Semitic roots, we find a few roots either of the same generation or a little earlier, though not showing such an archaic type as Methusael and Methuselah. Whether the common roots are derived from one source, or are borrowed either from Hebrew by Egyptian, or the converse, cannot yet be determined. It may be of service to this inquiry to suggest that the roots common to Semitic and Iranian should be carefully compared with Egyptian. Should many such roots be found in Egyptian a step will be gained. We may instance  $\text{קח}$ , circa, *kar*;  $\text{מח}$ , Sansk. *math*, etc.;

mors (t) *mu*. But there are many Egyptian roots that may be common to Iranian and are not traceable in Semitic; *mr*, to love, amare; *mn*, to place, establish, *μένω*; *mt*, to hate, *μισος*. In the formative portion we are in many cases on Semitic ground. It would scarcely be incorrect to describe the Egyptian pronouns as Semitic; and the better we know this part of the language the fuller will be the evidence of its Semitic origin.

Two theories have been proposed for the explanation of this singular case, based respectively on the theories that all languages sprang from one, and the theory that they had two sources, one civilised the other barbarous. The former theory has been put forward by the late Baron Bunsen and supported by Prof. Max Müller, and the many learned men who are content with his view of comparative philology. We cannot do better than give Bunsen's views in his own words, from the last published volume of his *Egypt's Place*.

'Khamism [the Egyptian language in its pre-historical and historical state] stands in the same relation to West-Asiatic Semism that Turanism does to Arism [Iranism]; the former [in each case] is the western, the latter the eastern pole of the coinage of a language of concrete particles into a language consisting of parts of speech.'

'Khamism is the historical proof of the original unity of those two great languages of the world which took at a later period the form of Semitic and Arian; and therefore also of that of the language of those Turanians who lived on the borders of Iran, if not indeed of all the known languages of Asia and Europe, which are neither Semitic nor Arian.'

'Khamism is as different in kind from Semism as it is from Arism and Turanism.'

'A much vaster period must have intervened between the first western formation, the deposit of which we possess in Khamism, and the second, the Semitic of historical Asia, than is admitted by the ordinary rabbinical [not rabbinical technically so called] chronology.'

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'We must not exaggerate the time required. The secondary formation of Egypt runs contemporaneously by the side of the uninterrupted course of the linguistic formation which we possess in Chaldee (Babylonio-Assyrian), in Kanaanitish (Phœnician), in Hebrew and Arabic, as well as Ethiopian. We must therefore, in making our calculation, take into account this contemporaneous development. But the earlier stage of formation is separated by so vast an interval from the Semitic, that we find ourselves in a totally new world when we pass on from the examination of the Khamitic structure to that of the Semitic. In Egyptian the conscious organically creating mind begins, as it were, for the first time, and as if timidly trying its wings. The concrete meaning inherent still in all words is in direct opposition to the system of forms, and is distinguished by a rigid inflexibility. In the Semitic, on the contrary, the stem is already a root, the particle has become a part of speech, the noun and verb are distinct; the older forms have already become unintelligible, and are only under the command of mind in order to mark the relations of things to each other, and their own proper action' (*Egypt's Place*, iv. pp. 142-144).

It is to be regretted that we are still without the concluding volume of Bunsen's work, much of which, and especially the part which formed the basis of these arguments, was already composed at the author's death, for it is unsatisfactory to criticise results without having a statement of bases; yet it may be said without hesitation that only the Iranian side of the question will be aided by the publication of this long-delayed volume. The theory, as here stated, is that Egyptian and Turanism, here used in a sense little if at all wider than the application for which we have argued, are in the same position as ancestors of the more developed Semitic and Iranian. In the connection that Bunsen believed to exist between Egyptian and Arian (Iranian), he finds conclusive evidence of the unity of the two ancestors, Egyptian and Turanian, and the two descendants, Semitic and Arian, if not of the unity of all the languages of Asia and Europe. The difference between Egyptian and Semitic requires a vast period of time, elsewhere stated at at least 4000 years, from B.C. 14,000 to after B.C. 10,000. The whole theory of the growth of language will indeed be made clearer by an abstract of the chronological views from which we obtain these data.

Creation of man in Northern Asia, set at . . . . .	B.C. 20,000
Great disturbance in the globe, and Flood in the primitive country . . . . .	10,000
I. Formation of Sinism [primitive Chinese] . . . . .	20,000 to 15,000
II. Formation of Old Turanism . . . . .	15,000 to 12,000
III. Formation of Khamism Emigration to Egypt The Flood . . . . .	12,000 to 11,000 10,000
IV. 1. Formation of Semism. The Turanian kingdom (Nimrod) . . . . .	10,000 to 7250
V. 2. Formation of Iranism . . . . .	7250 to 4000
VI. 3. Chaldeeism in Babylonia . . . . .	4000

(*Egypt's Place*, iv. p. 480.)



Speculative as Bunsen was, it may be doubted whether any theory of the growth of all languages from one source would allow these vast periods to be greatly curtailed.

The answer to this theory may be thus briefly stated. The Egyptian language is not considered by the best Semitic scholars to stand in the relation here suggested to the Semitic group; it has yet to be proved that its radical element has strong Semitic affinities. If Egyptian migrated from Asia into Egypt, why are there no traces of its monosyllabic element in western Asia, of its Semitic element in Nigritia? in other words, why is a language of two elements found between languages on either hand consisting of one of these two, if it be the parent of one group and the sister of the other? To this difficulty we owe the supposition of an antediluvian emigration to Egypt, and a post-diluvian emigration from Egypt to Asia. Does not the demand for a vast period of time amount to a concession that there is no historical evidence of the supposed change, that without a new scale we cannot imagine the growth of pre-historical Chinese into pre-historical Egyptian, and of pre-historical Egyptian into pre-historical Semitic? If the contemporary records of Egyptian during the more than 3000 years of its vitality give us no ratio—and the like is the case with the contemporary records of Semitic during some 3500 years—is anything gained by the suggestion of vast cycles which bewilder the judgment by the popular fallacy of magnitude, to which Bunsen certainly would never have knowingly appealed for assistance?

The opposite view, which supposes two or more sources, has been more supported by negative than positive arguments. Among the former we may instance the conviction of Semitic scholars that the Semitic languages did not grow out of Egyptian, and the general belief among those who hold that language cannot have been developed from the rudest beginnings, that there must have been always a civilised stock, and the opinion of some of them that a barbarous stock may have been always contemporary with it. It is curious to observe how the theory of two sources of language is virtually conceded in Bunsen's tabular view. He can only unite the ancestors of Turanism and Khamism, which appear in his view in a kind of double relation, Turanism being the ancestor of Khamism, and yet the opposite pole of language, by the supposition of a still ruder primitive stock—Sinism—not far, if at all, removed from the inarticulate languages assigned to some of the lowest savage races. The theory of two sources has been very clearly stated in a work edited by the writer (*The Genesis of the Earth and of Man*, 2d ed., Williams and Norgate), from which the following statement is derived, which may be compared with Bunsen's view previously stated. There it is argued that the Semitic stock was in no way derived from a primæval language, though it may have received many so-called Turanian roots, and that Egyptian was from the first collateral to Semitic, and not, as Bunsen represents it, ante-historical Semitism (pp. 200, 201). The phenomena of Egyptian are explained as evidence, not of a condition of transition from so-called Turanian to Semitic, but of the mixture in Egypt of two languages, as of two races and two pagan religions, according to the view already given in this article.

If, however, we are to infer that the languages

of the dispersion cannot reasonably be supposed, as far as our present evidence takes us, to comprise the class to which Egyptian belongs; in other words, if we are unable with our present information to bring all languages within the limits which the 10th of Genesis would seem to fix; we must admit as a hypothetical consequence the possibility of a more than single origin of the human race. It is now very generally admitted by those who have studied this subject, that the difficulties the Biblical data bearing upon the origin of the races of man present, are rather doctrinal than historical. The idea of two races seems rather agreeable than the reverse to the narrative of Genesis, and many other passages in the Hebrew Scriptures. The strong argument of those who maintain the single origin is founded on the passages of St. Paul's Epistles, in which the apostle speaks of the entrance of sin into the world by Adam (Rom. v. 12), and contrasts Adam and Christ (1 Cor. xv. 21, 22). The force of these passages as proving that Adam was the federal head of mankind depends upon the definition of the doctrine of original sin. It is to be remarked that the tendency of theologians is gradually to desert the position of the fathers and the reformers, from an inability to reconcile with a strong sense of God's justice the idea that Adam's sin involved his whole posterity in the sense that these commentators assumed. A view which seems more consistent with the general tenor of Scripture is that which, while it acknowledges man to be born in sin, recognises his loss or gain of eternal life as, on his side, a matter of free-will. Manifestly a less stringent interpretation than that which has been usual in the case of these passages would lighten the difficulty that surrounds the question of another race than Adam's. It is not well in a work which is intended to represent the current views of scholars to insist upon any view not held by the majority; but the writer feels very strongly the importance of a candid consideration of the results of philological, ethnological, and historical inquiry, and is at the same time convinced that the view here touched upon affords the true solution of a question that has led many far away from the sacred records in which he thinks the problem does not appear without the means of solving it, as critics might have earlier agreed in seeing had not the strength of dogmatic theology and a praiseworthy sentiment of humanity combined to make them prejudice a controversy that is now transferred to the, alas! hostile court of scientific inquiry.

Those who have regarded this subject of the Confusion of Tongues rather from a metaphysical than a philological point of view, have indulged in curious speculations that we have here not ventured to consider. The possible essential unity of all languages has nothing to do with the subject, however interesting as a matter of inquiry. Nor is it a wise course in the present stage of the controversy to lay down precisely what the sacred historian 'meant' as to unity of language as connected with unity of race. It is better to labour to determine the exact sense of the words used before we endeavour, if indeed at any time this is right, to convert them into a philosophical system.—R. S. P.

TOOTH, TEETH (𐤔𐤕; Sept. *ὀδοὺς*, quasi *ἐδούς*, from *ἐδω*, 'to eat'; Vulg. *dens*, quasi edens, 'eating'). The Hebrew word is usually derived from *שׁנה*, 'to change' or 'repeat' because the



teeth are changed, or replaced by others. It occurs, first, with reference to the literal member itself in man, the loss of which, by violence, is specified by Moses, in illustration of his law concerning taliones, 'tooth for tooth' (Exod. xxi. 24). This outrage occurring between freemen (or between an Israelite and a foreigner, Lev. xxiv. 22) admitted, like other cases of maiming, most probably of a pecuniary compensation, and under private arrangement, unless the injured party proved exorbitant in his demand, when the case was referred to the judge, who seems addressed in Deut. xix. 21. The Targum of Jonathan renders the words, 'the price of a tooth for a tooth,' in Exod. xxi. 24; Lev. xxiv. 20; and Deut. xix. 21 (comp. Joseph. *Antiq.* iv. 8. 35, and the article PUNISHMENT in this work); but if a master inflicted this irreparable damage upon a servant—i.e. slave—of either sex, he was punished by the absolute loss of his slave's services (Exod. xxi. 27). The same law applied if the slave was a Gentile, notwithstanding the national glosses of the Jewish doctors (Selden, *De Jure Nat. et Gent.* iv. 1, p. 468). Our Lord's comment upon the law (Matt. v. 38), which was much abused in his time (Horne's *Introd.* vol. ii. p. 377, 6th ed.), prohibits no more than *retaliation* upon the *injurer* (τῷ πονηρῷ), not such a defence of our innocence as may consist in words, but *private revenge*, and especially with such a disposition as actuated the aggressor with impetuous rage or hatred. His exhortations relate rather to those injuries which cannot be redressed by the magistrate, or by course of law: these we should bear rather than resort to revenge (see Rosenmüller, Grotius, and Whitby, *in loc.*) Indeed the hermeneutics of our Lord's precepts in his sermon on the mount require much knowledge, care, and discrimination, in order to avoid a *prima facie* interpretation of them, which has often been given, at variance with his intention, subversive of the principles of natural justice, and productive of false ideas of Christian duty.

In Ps. iii. 7 we have שְׁנֵי לֶחֶי, for the human jaw-bone; for that of an ass, Judg. xv. 15-17, σιαγόνα, 'maxillam—i.e. mandibulam' (which becomes מַכְתָּשׁ in ver. 19, τὸν λάκκον τὸν ἐν τῇ σιαγόνῃ, 'molarem dentem in maxilla asini' [SAMSON]; and for that of leviathan, Job xl. 14, τὸ χεῖλος, *maxillam*. A 'broken (or rather 'bad,' רָעָה—that is, decayed—Vulg. *dens putridus*) tooth,' is referred to in Prov. xxv. 19 as furnishing an apt similitude of 'confidence in an unfaithful man in the time of trouble.' 'The teeth of beasts,' or rather 'tooth,' שֵׁן, is a phrase expressive of devastation by wild animals: thus, 'I will send the tooth of beasts upon them' (Deut. xxxii. 24), שֵׁן בְּהֵמָה, ὀδόντας θηρίων, *dentes bestiarum* (comp. 2 Kings xvii. 25). The word is sometimes metaphorically used for a sharp cliff or summit of a rock (Job xxxix. 28): thus, 'The eagle dwelleth and abideth upon the tooth of the rock,' עַל-שֵׁן-סֹלֶס, ἐπ' ἑξοχῇ πέτρας, *inaccessis rupibus*. So also (1 Sam. xiv. 4): 'a sharp rock on the one side and a sharp rock on the other side,' שֵׁן-סֹלֶס, ὀδοὺς πέτρας, *quasi in modum dentium scopuli*: these eminences were named Bozez and Seneh.

TEETH, שְׁנֵים, ὀδόντες, *dentes*, is found in the dual number only, referring to the two rows, yet used for the plural (1 Sam. ii. 13). The word

occurs first with reference to the literal organs in man (Gen. xlix. 12): 'His teeth shall be white with milk,' which the Sept. and Vulg. understand to mean 'whiteness greater than milk,' ἡ γάλα, *lacte candidiores* (Num. xi. 33; Prov. x. 26; Cant. iv. 3; vi. 6). Although שְׁנֵים is the general word for teeth, yet the Hebrews had a distinct term for the molares or jaw-teeth, especially of the larger animals; thus מַחְלָעוֹת, Job xxix. 17; Ps. lvii. 4; Prov. xxx. 14; Joel i. 6; and by transposition

מַלְחָעוֹת, Ps. lviii. 6, μῦλαι, *mole* and *molars*. The *apparent* teeth of the leviathan, *gyrus dentium*, are however called שְׁנֵים (Job xli. 14). Ivory, 'elephants' teeth,' 1 Kings x. 22, is simply שְׁנֵים; in Sept. *deest*; Vulg. *dentes elephantorum*; *dens* in Latin is sometimes so used. In 2 Chron. ix. 21 the word is שְׁנֵהֵם, ὀδόντες ἐλεφάντων, *edur*, where שֵׁן evidently denotes a tooth; but the signification of the latter part, הַבֵּים, is unknown, and Gesenius thinks that the form of the word may be so corrupted as to disguise its original meaning. May it not be of foreign origin, imported with the material from Ophir? [IVORY]. In other passages the reference to teeth is metaphorical; thus, 'a flesh-hook with three teeth,' that is, prongs (1 Sam. ii. 13) [HOOKS]. 'The teeth of lions' is a symbol of the cruelty and rapacity of the wicked (Job iv. 10). 'To take one's flesh into one's teeth,' signifies to gnaw it with anguish (Job xiii. 14; comp. Rev. xvi. 10). 'The skin of his teeth,' with which Job says he had 'escaped' in his affliction, is understood by the Vulgate, of the lips—'derelicta sunt tantummodo labia circa dentes meos'; but Gesenius understands it as a proverbial expression, meaning, I have scarcely a sound spot in my body. 'To smite upon the jaw-bone,' and 'to break the teeth,' mean to disgrace, and to disable (Ps. iii. 7; comp. Mic. vi. 13; 1 Kings xx. 35; Lam. iii. 30). The teeth of calumniators, etc., are compared to 'spears and arrows' (Ps. lvii. 4; comp. 1 Sam. xxiv. 9). To break the teeth of such persons means to disable them (Ps. lviii. 6). To escape the malice of enemies, is called an 'escape from their teeth' (Ps. cxiv. 6; Zech. ix. 7). Oppression is compared to 'jaw-teeth like swords, and grinders like knives' (Prov. xxx. 14). Beautiful teeth are compared to 'sheep newly shorn and washed,' in Cant. iv. 2; vi. 6; but the remaining part of the comparison, 'whereof every one beareth twins, and none is barren among them,' is much better rendered by Le Clerc, 'all of them twins, and none hath lost his fellow.' To 'break the teeth with gravel stones,' is a most hyperbolic metaphor for inflicting the harshest disappointment (Lam. iii. 16). 'Iron teeth' are the symbol of destructive power (Dan. vii. 7, 19). A nation having the teeth of lions, and the cheek-teeth of a great lion, denotes one which devours with irresistible force (Joel i. 6; comp. Eccles. xxi. 2; Rev. ix. 8). 'Prophets who bite with their teeth, and cry Peace,' are greedy and hypocritical prophets (Mic. iii. 5). 'To take away blood out of the mouth, and abominations from between the teeth,' means, to rescue the intended victims of cruelty (Zech. ix. 7). 'Cleanness of teeth,' is a periphrasis for hunger, famine (Amos iv. 6); Sept. γομφιασμόν ὀδόντων; Symmachus and Theodotion, καθαρισμὸν. *Gnashing of teeth* means properly grinding the teeth with rage or despair. The Hebrew word so rendered is חָרַק (Job xvi. 9; Lam. ii. 16; Ps. xxxv.



16; xxxvii. 12; cxii. 10); it is invariably rendered in the Sept. βρῦχω, and in the Vulg. infremo, fremo, frendo (see also Acts vii. 54; Eccclus. li. 2). In the N. T. it is said of the epileptic child (Mark ix. 18), τρίζει τοὺς ὀδόντας, *stridet dentibus*. The phrase, ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων, is in the Vulg. 'stridor dentium' (Matt. viii. 12; xiii. 42, 50; xxii. 13; xxiv. 51; xxv. 30; Luke xiii. 28). Suidas defines βρυγμός, τρισμός ὀδόντων. Galen. ὁ ἀπό τῶν ὀδόντων συγκρουομένων ψόφος. The phrase 'lest thou gnash thy teeth' (Eccclus. xxx. 10), is γομφιάσεις τοὺς ὀδόντας σου. 'To cast in the teeth,' is an old English phrase (for the Hebrew has no such idiom) signifying to *reproach*; thus 'the thieves who were crucified with Jesus cast the same in his teeth,' ὠλεδίζον αὐτόν (Matt. xxvii. 44); Vulg. *improperabant ei*; comp. also the Bible and Prayer Book version of Ps. xlii. 11. פִּיפִית, 'a sharp threshing instrument having teeth,' literally 'edges' (Is. xli. 15). The action of acids on the teeth is referred to in the proverb, 'the fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge' (Ezek. xviii. 2); ἐγομφίασαν, *obstupuerunt* (Prov. x. 26).—J. F. D.

TOPARCHY (τοπαρχία). This word is used in 1 Maccab. xi. 28 to describe the three subordinate governments of Aphœrema, Lydda, and Ramachem, which Josephus (*Antiq.* xiii. 4. 9) calls *νομοί*. Pliny (v. 14) mentions ten toparchies in Judæa, and so does Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* iii. 3. 5). The word τοπαρχης, *aga*, or *lord*, is used in the LXX. to represent מֶלֶךְ שָׂרָפָנִי, or *satrap*, Dan. iii. 3; פָּחָד, or 'captain,' 2 Kings xviii. 24; and פָּקִיד, or *overseer*, Gen. xli. 34.—F. W. F.

TOPAZ. [ΠΙΤΔΑΗ.]

TOPHET (תֹּפֶת; Sept. Ταφέθ; Vulg. *Topheth*), a place very near to Jerusalem, on the south-east, in the valley of the children of Hinnom, where the ancient Canaanites, and afterwards the apostate Israelites, made their children to pass through the fire to Moloch (comp. Ps. cvi. 38; Jer. vii. 31). It is first mentioned, in the order of time, by Isaiah, who alludes to it as deep and large, and having an abundance of fuel (ch. xxx. 33). He here evidently calls the place where Sennacherib's army was destroyed (B.C. 710) Tophet, by a metonymy; for it was probably overthrown at a greater distance from Jerusalem, and quite on the opposite side of it, since Nob is mentioned as the last station from which the king of Assyria should threaten Jerusalem (ch. x. 32), where the prophet seems to have given a very exact chorographical description of his march in order to attack the city (Lowth's Translation, Notes on xxx. 33). In the reformation of religion by king Josiah (B.C. 624), he caused Topheth to be defiled in order to suppress idolatry (2 Kings xxiii. 10). The means he adopted for this purpose are not specified, whether by throwing all manner of filth into it, as well as by overthrowing the altars, etc., as the Syriac and Arabic versions seem to understand it. The prophet Jeremiah was ordered by God to announce from this spot (ch. xix. 14) the approaching captivity, and the destruction, both by the siege of the city and by famine, of so many of the people, whose carcasses should be here buried, as that it should 'no more be called Tophet, nor the valley of the son of Hinnom, but the valley of slaughter' (ch. vii. 31, 32; xix. 6, 11-14). The

name of this place is generally derived from תֹּף, 'a drum,' because, it is said, the rites of Moloch were accompanied with the sound of that instrument; but, in the absence of any other evidence, this assertion must be considered a mere Rabbinical conjecture, derived from the etymon. Some, with more probability, derive the word from Chald. תוּף, 'to spit out,' or 'vomit,' hence תֹּפֶת, 'that which causes loathing or abhorrence' (comp. Job xvii. 16, Hebrew). Others derive it from the *fire-stove* (תֹּפֶת) in which the children were burnt to Moloch (2 Chron. xxviii. 3). The place might be called, even by the idolaters themselves, תֹּפֶת, 'the place of burning.' With regard to its locality, Jerome, on Jer. vii. 31, remarks: 'Tophet signifies that place which is watered by the streams of Siloam; it is pleasant and woody, affording horticultural pleasures.' Eusebius, in his *Onomasticon*, under the word 'Θαφέθ,' says: 'In the suburbs of Ailah is still shown the place so called, to which is adjacent the fuller's pool and the potter's field, or the parcel of ground Acheldamach.' For an account of the modern aspect of the place, see Kitto's *Physical History of Palestine* (pp. 122, 123). After the return from the captivity, the Jews resumed the ancient name for the whole valley—viz. the valley of Hinnom—called in our Lord's time by the Greek name Ge Hinnom, by corruption Γέεννα [GEHENNA]; and in order to perpetuate the disgrace of idolatry, they made it the common receptacle of the filth, etc., of the city, in which 'fires' were continually kept burning, to consume the carcasses of animals, executed criminals, etc., the unconsumed portions of which, as well as the offscourings in general, became the nidus of insects, whose larvæ, or 'worms,' revelled in the corruption. These circumstances furnished the most apt representation to the Jewish mind of future punishment (comp. Judith xvi. 17; Eccclus. vii. 17; see also

Chaldee Par. on Is. xxxiii. 14, where מוקדי עולם, 'everlasting burnings,' is rendered 'the Gehenna of everlasting fire'). Some writers, however, restrict our Lord's allusions to Gehenna (Matt. v. 22) entirely to temporal punishments. Thus, 'who-soever is *angry* with his brother without a cause'—i.e. captious, peevish, arbitrary, irascible—'shall be in danger of the judgment;' that is, by indulging such an unreasonable disposition shall be in danger of committing some act for which he shall be cited before ἡ κρίσις, 'the judgment,' an inferior court, consisting of seven presidents—taken before the magistrates for an assault, as we should say: 'and whosoever shall *say* to his brother Raca'—i.e. worthless, dissolute!—'shall be in danger of the council,' or Sanhedrim—shall render himself liable, by the indulgence of such a rancorous disposition, and by the use of such injurious language, to be called to trial for slander—cited before the spiritual court, as we should say, for defamation: 'but whosoever shall say, Moreh,' 'thou atheistic wretch!' ἔνοχος ἔσται εἰς τὴν γένεσιν τοῦ πυρός, will betray a likelihood of incurring capital punishment—come to the gallows, as we say—through violence of disposition, and of his body being cast into Gehenna, and exposed to its 'fire' and 'worm.' Our Lord's object in the use of these several figures is simply to *exemplify* the danger of unrestrained anger. So also his *illustration* of the evil of unrestrained concupiscence, etc. (Matt. v. 27-31), is to be understood. The prin-



ciple on which he reasons is no doubt applicable to future punishment; namely, that self-denial, at any cost, is preferable to the evils incurred by the neglect of it.—J. F. D.

TOR (תור, *ṭur*; *Turtur*) occurs in Gen. xv. 9; Lev. i. 14; v. 7, 11, etc.; Luke ii. 24.

The birds of this subgenus are invariably smaller than pigeons properly so called; they are mostly marked with a patch of peculiarly coloured scutellated feathers on the neck, or with a collar of black, and have often other markings on the smaller wing-coverts. The species *Columba Turtur*, with several varieties merely of colour, extends from the west of Europe through the north of Africa to the islands south of China. The turtle-dove of Pales-



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time is specifically the same; but there is also a second, we believe local: both migrate further south in winter, but return very early; when their cooing voice in the woods announces the spring. In the rites of the Hebrew law, full-grown or old turtle-doves might be offered in pairs, but only

גוזל (*gozal*) the young of pigeons not full grown. They were the usual offering of the poor, a circumstance, Bochart remarks, indicating the humble station of the Virgin Mary, since at her purification she offered a pair of turtle-doves instead of a lamb. This, however, was the usual practice on that and sundry other occasions: indeed, so constantly was either one or other species wanted, that dealers in doves and turtle-doves abounded within the precincts of the temple, and had an overseer appointed to superintend what concerned them.—C. H. S.

#### TORTOISE. [TSAB.]

TOWN. We use the term in its general signification, so as to embrace any assemblage of inhabited human dwellings of larger size than a hamlet or a village, the only way in which we can speak with correctness and advantage.

Towns are a natural result of the aggregative principle in human nature. Necessity led the early races of men to build their towns on lofty spots, where, with the aid of the natural advantages of the ground, they could easily protect themselves against beasts of prey and human foes. A town, and a stronghold or fort, would thus be originally identical. As population increased and agriculture spread, so some degree of security came, which permitted the inhabitants of the castle to diffuse themselves over the hill-side, and take up their abode in the valley, and by the side of the stream that lay nearest their acropolis; still the inhabitants kept at no great distance from the centre of strength, in order not to be deprived of its protection. The town, however, would thus be enlarged,

and as the necessity for self-defence still existed, so would the place soon be surrounded with walls. Thus would there be outer and inner bulwarks, and in some sort two species of community—the townspeople, who tilled the ground and carried on trade, and the soldiers, whose business it was to afford protection: these two, however, in the earliest stages of civilisation were one, the peasant and tradesman taking arms when the town was put in danger. How early towns were formed cannot be determined by any general principle: they were obviously a work of time. The primary tendency in population was to diffuse itself. Aggregation on particular spots would take place at a later period. When then Cain is said to have built a city (Gen. iv. 17), the first city (Enoch, so called after Cain's son), we have evidence which concurs with other intimations to show that it is only a partial history of the first ages that we possess in the records of the book of Genesis. In the time of the Patriarchs we find towns existing in Palestine which were originally surrounded with fortifications, so as to make them 'fenced cities.' In these dwelt the agricultural population, who by means of these places of strength defended themselves and their property from the nomad tribes of the neighbouring desert, who then, as they do now, lived by plunder. Nor were works of any great strength necessary. In Palestine at the present day, while walls are in most parts an indispensable protection, and agriculture can be advantageously prosecuted only so far as sheltered by a fortified town, erections of a very slight nature are found sufficient for the purpose, the rather because the most favourable localities offer themselves on all sides, owing to the natural inequality of the ground. The ensuing extract (*Travels in Egypt and the Holy Land*, etc., by Rev. S. Olin, New York 1843, vol. ii. 423, 424) throws light on the subject:—'Continuing our route over a well-wooded limestone ridge, we came in sight of a large village which occupied a hill directly before us, while farther to the right, and upon a still loftier summit, was a ruinous castle of great extent, and, from its commanding position, of very imposing appearance. The intervening region and that to the right of the castle, was undulating, fertile, and cultivated. We were nearly an hour in reaching the base of the isolated mount, which we passed to the right through a deep ravine that divides it from another lofty hill on the east, which is also surmounted with what appeared to be a ruined fortress. We passed round the acropolis to the north side, where we obtained a good view of this ancient stronghold. It embraces the entire summit of the mountain within a massive wall, which, as well as the several towers by which it was strengthened, is in a very dilapidated state. A little further west another summit is occupied by ruinous bulwarks and towers. The large village, called from the castle Tibinin, or Chibinin, lies in a valley between these two fortified hills. East of the principal works is another elevation surmounted with ruins, and farther in the same direction, beyond the narrow valley we had just traversed, is a fourth summit, the one I have already referred to as having ruins upon its top.' From this striking passage an illustration may be gathered of the force of our Lord's language when he describes his disciples as a city set on a hill, that cannot be hid (Matt. v. 14). Jesus has been thought to refer in this description to some par-



tical city, and the modern Safet has been fixed on and is still traditionally regarded as the place which he had in view. This town, now in a ruinous state—one of the four cities, Hebron, Tiberias, Jerusalem, Safet, regarded as especially holy—occupies the summit of the highest mountain in Galilee, and one of the highest in the Jewish territories. It is conspicuously seen from a great distance in all directions but the north. The town does not occupy the precise summit of the rounded mountain, but rather the sloping ground immediately below it, a military castle or citadel having been erected upon the highest point. The hilly position of towns sometimes caused the dwellings to be curiously placed relatively to each other. Thus, in Safet, the traveller, as he sits on his horse in the midst of the town, finds the smoke of a kitchen rise from the earth near him, and by a little survey ascertains that the smoke issues from the mouth of a chimney standing a few inches above the ground at his horse's feet; that he and his animal are in reality on the flat roof of a house; and that, as the hill-side is nearly perpendicular, the inhabitants have judged it the easiest mode of building to place the houses one upon another.

Of the ancient method of building in towns and cities we have no accurate knowledge, any farther than we may gather information from the ruins which still lie on the soil of Palestine. But these ruins can afford only general notions, as, though they are numerous, and show that the Land of Promise was thickly peopled and highly flourishing in its better days, the actual remains of ancient towns are to be ascribed to different and very distant periods of history. The crusades left many strongholds which are now in a state of dilapidation; but the crusades are of modern days compared with the times of the Saviour, which themselves are remote from the proper antiquity of the nation. The law of sameness, however, which prevails so rigidly in Eastern countries, gives us an assurance that a modern town in Palestine may be roughly taken as a type of its ancient predecessors.

At the gates of the town, which were frequented as the court of justice, the town's market, the rendezvous for loungers, newsmongers, pleasure-seekers, there were wide open places of greater or less dimensions, where on important occasions the entire population assembled for consultation or for action (Neh. viii. 1, 16; 2 Chron. xxxii. 6; 2 Sam. xxi. 12; Job xxix. 7; 2 Kings vii. 1). The streets were, it has been supposed, not so narrow as streets generally are in modern Oriental towns; [but this rests almost entirely on the use of the term רחוב *rehôb*, from רחב *rahab*, to be wide, for streets, and on this nothing can be built, because this term properly denotes an open space, and is applied to a street simply as open and free]. Their names were sometimes taken from the wares or goods that were sold in them: thus in Jer. xxxvii. 21, we read of 'the bakers' street.' The present bazaars seem to be a continuation of this ancient custom. The streets of Jerusalem at least were paved (Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 9. 7); but the streets of most cities of Palestine would not need paving, in consequence of the rocky nature of the foundations on which they lay. Herod the Great laid an open road in Antioch with polished stone (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvi. 5. 3; comp. 1 Kings xx. 34). In regard to the earlier periods, we find only a notice to the

effect that Solomon caused the fore-court of the temple to be laid with flags. Besides paved streets, Jerusalem before the exile had an extensive system of watercourses or aqueducts, which seems to have been rendered necessary by the natural supply having been limited to one or two spots in the immediate vicinity. This subject has been handled by Robinson, and more fully by Olin (ii. 139, *seq.*: see Is. vii. 3; xxii. 9; 2 Kings xx. 20; Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 3. 2). Other cities were contented with the fountains whose existence had probably led to their formation at the first.

Palestine underwent constant changes in regard to its towns, from the earliest ages; one consequence of which is, that there are names of towns that belong exclusively to certain eras. The period of the Roman domination gave existence, as to structures of great splendour, so to many towns and fortified places. Galilee was especially rich in towns and villages, which, according to Josephus (*Vita*, sec. 45), amounted in all to the number of 204. The names of the Palestinian cities, for the most part, have meaning, reference being made to the nature of the locality, as Rama, Ain, Jericho, Bethlehem, Gibeon, Mizpah. Many are compounds formed with the aid of one of the following words, בית (house), עיר or קריה (city),

חצר (court), עמק (valley), אבל (a grass plot), באר (well), עין (fountain), כפר (hamlet). To distinguish cities that bore the same name, the name of the tribe was added. In 'the latter days,' especially under the Herods, it was the fashion to give to ancient towns new Greek names, as Diospolis, Neapolis, Sebaste, Cæsarea, Tiberias. Jerusalem, at a later period, was denominated Ælia Capitolina. These innovations indicated the slavish disposition of the age, and were tokens of the bondage in which the nation was held; as much

as the incorporation of the name בעל (Baal) at a much earlier era pointed out the Canaanitish origin of a place, and gave reason to think that it was originally addicted to idolatrous worship. The population of towns cannot now be ascertained with any degree of accuracy, for the materials are not only scanty and disconnected, but in a measure uncertain. Respecting the government of towns, we have no detailed information relating to the ante-exilian periods, though it was probably in the hands of the elders; and in Deut. xvi. 18 Moses commands, 'Judges (Hengstenberg translates the word 'scribe' or 'writer,' *Authentic des Pent.* i. 450) and officers shalt thou make thee in all thy gates, and they shall judge the people with just judgment.' In the post-exilian era magistrates occur under the name of Council (Joseph. *Vita*, sec. 14, 34, 61, 68), at whose head was a president or mayor (Joseph. *Vita*, sec. 27; *De Bell. Jud.* ii. 21. 3).—J. R. B.

TOWN-CLERK (γραμματεὺς, *scriba*). This word occurs only in the narrative of the popular commotion aroused at Ephesus by the inflammatory harangue of Demetrius the silversmith (Acts xix. 35). For the functions and authority of the γραμματεὺς in the Grecian critics, the ordinary works on classical antiquities may be consulted. The office at Ephesus, as in Asia generally after its subjugation by the Romans, appears to have been one of greater authority, and its holders to have occupied a higher and more public position than in



Greece. The title is found on several coins (see Wetstein, *N. T.* ii. 586; Akermann, *Numis. Illustrat.* p. 53), and in some inscriptions preserved by Boeckh, from which it appears that the *γραμματεὺς* was sometimes identical with the 'asiarch' for the time being. He would seem to have given his name to the year, like the 'Archon Eponymus' at Athens. 'No magistrate,' remarks Dr. Howson, 'was more before the public at Ephesus, no one more likely to be able to calm and disperse an angry and excited multitude.' His speech, to which the preservation of the apostle and his companions from personal violence, and perhaps death, was chiefly due, is a pattern of candid argument and judicious tact. Winer, *R. W. B. s.v.* 'Kanzler'; Greswell, *Dissertat.* iv. 152; Schwartz, *Dissertat. de γραμματεῦσι*; Van Dale, *Dissertat.* v. 425.—E. V.

TOWNSON, THOMAS, D.D., was born at Much Lees in Essex in 1715; was educated at Oxford, where he took his degree of M.A. in 1739; was ordained priest in 1742; became vicar of Hatfield Peverel in 1746, senior proctor of the University in 1749, and rector of Malpas in 1749, where the rest of his life was spent. In 1779 the degree of D.D. was conferred on him by the University of Oxford in recognition of his literary merits; in 1781 he was made Archdeacon of Richmond; and 1783 was offered the professorship of Divinity at Oxford, which he declined. He died 15th April 1792. His most important work is his *Discourses on the Four Gospels chiefly with regard to the peculiar Design of each, and the order and places in which they were written*, published in 1778, and which has passed through three editions; and his *Discourse on the Evangelical History from the Interment to the Resurrection of our Lord*, 1792. His collected works were issued in 2 vols. 8vo, Lond. 1810, edited by Ralph Churton, M.A.—W. L. A.

TRACHONITIS (Τραχωνίτις). The only mention of this place in the Scriptures is in describing the political divisions of Palestine at the time of John the Baptist's first public appearance:—'Philip was then tetrarch of Iturea and the region (χώρας) of Trachonitis' (Luke iii. 1). Although Trachonitis was a distinct and well-defined province, yet it appears that in this passage the phrase 'region of Trachonitis' is used in a wider sense, and included two or three other adjoining provinces. As considerable misapprehension has existed among geographers regarding Trachonitis, and as its exact position and boundaries were first clearly ascertained by the researches of the present writer, it may be well in this place to give a brief resumé of the ancient notices of the province, and then to show how they can be applied in setting aside modern errors and establishing correct views.

Josephus states that Uz the son of Aram founded Trachonitis and Damascus, which 'lay between Palestine and Coele Syria' (*Antiq.* i. 6. 4). From various other incidental remarks and descriptions in his writings, the position of Trachonitis in relation to the other Transjordanic provinces may be ascertained. It lay on the east of Gaulonitis, while it bordered on both Auranitis and Batanæa (*Bell. Jud.* iv. 1. 1; i. 20. 4). It extended farther north than Gaulonitis, reaching to the territory of Damascus (*Antiq.* xv. 10. 3, and 10. 1; *Bell. Jud.* iii. 10. 7). Ptolemy locates the Trachonite Arabs along the base of Mount Alsadamus, which he includes in the

province of Batanæa, of which Saccæa was a chief town (*Geogr.* v. 15). Strabo groups Damascus and Trachon together, and states that the latter country is rugged and wild, and the people daring robbers (*Geogr.* xvi. 11). Speaking of Kenath Jerome calls it a city of Trachonitis near Bozrah (*Onomast.* s. v. 'Canath'); and the writers of the Talmud extend Trachon as far as Bozrah (Lightfoot, *Opp.* ii. 473; cf. *Onomast.* s. v. 'Iturea'; Reland, *Pal.* pp. 109, seq.)

From these statements compared with the results of modern research the exact position and boundaries of this ancient province can be determined. It extended from the southern confines of Damascus, near the bank of the river Awaj (Pharpar), on the north, to Busrah (*Bostra* and *Bozrah*), on the south. Bozrah was the capital of Auranitis, and consequently that province lay along the southern end of Trachon. The province of Gaulanitis (now *Jaulân*) was its western boundary. Batanæa has been identified with Ard el-Bathanyeh, which embraces the whole ridge of Jebel Haurân, at whose western base lie the splendid ruins of Kenath, one of the ancient cities of Trachon (*Onomast.* s. v. 'Canath, Kenath'). Consequently the ridge of Jebel Haurân formed the eastern boundary of Trachon, which extended southward to Busrah in the plain, near the south-western extremity of the range (Porter, *Damascus*, ii. pp. 259, seq.; also in *Journal of Sac. Lit.* for July 1854). The region thus marked out embraces the modern district of *Lejah*, which may be considered the nucleus of Trachonitis; also the smooth plain extending from its northern border to the ranges of Khiyârah and Mânia. The rocky strip of land running along the western base of Jebel Haurân, and separating the mountain-range from the smooth expanse of Auranitis, was likewise included in Trachonitis. In the ruins of Musmeih on the northern edge of Lejah, Burckhardt discovered a Greek inscription which proves that that city was *Pheno* the ancient metropolis of Trachon (*Travels in Syria*, p. 117; see also *Preface*, p. xi.)

At first sight it might appear as if *Trachon*, or *Trachonitis* (Τραχών, or Τραχωνίτις), were only a Greek name applied to one of the subdivisions of the ancient kingdom of Bashan; yet there is evidence to show that it is a translation of a more ancient Shemitic appellation, descriptive of the physical nature of the region. Τραχών signifies rough and rugged; and Τραχωνίτις is 'a rugged region' (τραχὺς καὶ πετρώδης τόπος), and peculiarly applicable to the district under notice. The Hebrew equivalent is *Argob* (אַרְגֹּב, 'a heap of stones'; from אֶרֶב = רֶגֶב), which was the ancient name of an important part of Og's kingdom in Bashan. The identity of Trachon and Argob cannot now be questioned. It was admitted by the Jewish Rabbins, for the Targums read תְּרַחֲנָה (*Trachona*) instead of אַרְגֹּב (*Argob*) in Deut. iii. 14 and 1 Kings iv. 13 (Lightfoot, *Opp.* ii. p. 473); and it is confirmed by the fact that *Kenath*, one of the threescore great cities of Argob (1 Chron. ii. 23), was also, as has been seen, a city of Trachon. Eusebius, led doubtless by similarity of names, confounded Argob with the castle of *Erga* or *Ragaba*, near the confluence of the Jordan and Jabbok. In this he has been followed by Reland (*Pal.* p. 959, 201), Ritter (*Pal. and Syr.* ii. 1041), and even Robinson (*B. R. App.* p. 166, 1st ed. Nothing can be more clear however than that



Argob, a large province of Bashan containing sixty great cities, was quite distinct from Ragaba an obscure castle in Gilead (Porter, *Damascus*, ii. 271). Eusebius also confounded Trachonitis and Iturea (*Onomast.* s. v. 'Iturea'); a manifest error.

The province of *Lejah* (Arab. اللجاء, 'the Retreat') comprises the principal part of the Hebrew Argob and Greek Trachon. It is oval in form, about twenty-two miles long by fourteen wide. Its physical features are unparalleled in Western Asia. It is a plain; but its surface is elevated above the surrounding plain to an average height of 30 ft. or more. It is entirely composed of a thick stratum of black basalt, which appears to have been emitted from pores in the earth in a liquid state, and to have flowed out on every side until the surface of the plain was covered. Before completely cooling, it seems to have been agitated as by a tempest, and then rent and shattered by internal convulsions. The cup-like cavities from which the liquid mass was projected are still seen; and likewise the wavy surface a thick liquid generally assumes which cools while flowing. There are deep fissures and yawning gulfs with rugged broken edges; and there are jagged mounds that seem not to have been sufficiently heated to flow, but which were forced up by some mighty agency, and then rent and shattered to their centres. The rock is filled with air bubbles, and is almost as hard as iron. 'In the interior parts of the Lejah,' says Burckhardt, 'the rocks are in many places cleft asunder, so that the whole hill appears shivered and in the act of falling down; the layers are generally horizontal, from 6 to 8 ft. or more in thickness, sometimes covering the hills, and inclining to their curve, as appears from the fissures which traverse the rock from top to bottom' (*Travels in Syria*, p. 112).

It is worthy of note how minutely this description accords with that of Josephus, who says of the inhabitants of Trachon, that it was extremely difficult to conquer them or check their depredations, 'as they had neither towns nor fields, but dwelt in caves that served as a refuge both for themselves and their flocks. They had, besides, cisterns of water and well-stored granaries, and were thus able to remain long in obscurity and to defy their enemies. The doors of their caves are so narrow that but one man can enter at a time, while within they are incredibly large and spacious. The ground above is almost a plain, but it is covered with rugged rocks, and is difficult of access, except when a guide points out the paths. These paths do not run in a straight course, but have many windings and turns' (*Antiq.* xv. 10. 1).

The character of the inhabitants remains unchanged as the features of their country. They are wild lawless robbers, and they afford a ready asylum to murderers, rebels, and outlaws from every part of Syria. It seems to have been so in O. T. times; for when Absalom murdered his brother he fled to his mother's kindred in Geshur (a part of Trachon: GESHUR), 'and was there three years' (2 Sam. xv. 37, 38).

It is a remarkable fact that the great cities of Argob, famed at the time of the Exodus for their strength, exist still. The houses in many of them are perfect. The massive city walls are standing; and the streets, though long silent and deserted, are in some places complete as those of a modern

town. The city gates, and the doors and roofs of the houses, are all of stone, bearing the marks of the most remote antiquity. It is not too much to say that, in an antiquarian point of view, Trachon is one of the most interesting provinces in Palestine (Porter, *Bashan's Giant Cities*; Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria*; C. Graham, *Journal of R. G. S.*, vol. xxviii.; and *Camb. Essays*, 1858; Wetzstein, *Reisebericht über Hauran und die Trachonen*. Such as desire to compare with the above account the views previously set forth by geographers, may consult Lightfoot, *l. c.*; Reland, *Pal.* pp. 108, seq.; Cellarius, *Geogr. Ant.* ii. pp. 617, seq.)—J. L. P.

TRANCE (תְּרַחֲמָה; Sept. ἔκστασις, Vulg. *sopor*; Gen. ii. 21, etc.), a supernatural state of body and mind, the nature of which has been well conjectured by Doddridge, who defines it—'Such a rapture of mind as gives the person who falls into it a look of astonishment, and renders him insensible of the external objects around him, while in the meantime his imagination is agitated in an extraordinary manner with some striking scenes which pass before it and take up all the attention.' He refers to some extraordinary instances of this kind mentioned by Gualterius in his note on Acts x. 10 (*Family Expositor*, in loc. note g.) Stockius also describes it as 'A sacred ecstasy, or rapture of the mind out of itself, when the use of the external senses being suspended, God reveals something in a peculiar manner to prophets and apostles, who are then taken or transported out of themselves.' The same idea is intimated in the English word *trance*, from the Latin '*transitus*,' the state of being carried out of oneself. The Greek word, ἔκστασις, denotes the effect of any passion by which the thoughts are wholly absorbed. In the Sept. it corresponds to שְׂמֹחַ, 'a wonderful thing' (Jer. v. 30); and תְּמִימוֹן, 'astonishment' (Deut. xxviii. 28). In the N. T. it represents the absorbing effects of admiration (Mark v. 42; Luke v. 26; Acts iii. 10); of terror, Mark xvi. 8. The Hebrew word is used to denote the prophetic ecstasy. Thus 'the deep sleep' which fell upon Adam during the creation of Eve (Gen. ii. 21), and during which, as appears from the narrative, he was made aware of the transaction, and of the purport of the attendant circumstances (21-24) [MARRIAGE]. It is applied again to the 'deep sleep' which fell upon Abraham (xv. 12, ἔκστασις, *sopor*), during which the bondage of his descendants in Egypt was revealed to him. Possibly all the accounts recorded in that chapter occurred in 'vision' (1-12), which ultimately deepened into the trance (12-21). Compare verses 5, 12, where he is said to have seen the stars, though the sun was not gone down. The apparent objection, that Abraham was 'brought forth abroad' to see the stars, is only of the same nature with others explained in the ART. TEMPTATION OF OUR LORD. Some, perhaps many things recorded in Scripture, belong to this supernatural state of trance, which are not expressly referred to it. See the long list of such supposed instances in Bishop Law's *Consideration of the Theory of Religion* (pp. 85, 86, Lond. 1820). Elsner includes in this list the star seen by the wise men (*Comment. on Matt.* ii. 9, 10, etc.) In the narrative which Balaam gives of himself our translators have rightly added the words 'into a trance' after the word 'falling.' The incident of the ass speaking to him, etc., is



also understood by many learned Jews and Christians to have occurred in a vision (Bishop Law, *u. s.*) To the same mode of divine communication must be referred the magnificent description in Job iv. 13-21. Persons receiving it often fall to the earth. 'Abraham fell on his face, and God talked with him' (Gen. xvii. 3, etc.; 1 Sam. xix. 24, Hebrew, or margin; Ezek. i. 28; Dan. viii. 18; x. 15, 16; Rev. i. 10, 17). It is important to observe that in all these cases the visions beheld are also related. Hence such cases are distinguished from a mere deliquium animi. We find cases of prophetic trance in the N. T., as that of St. Peter: 'he fell into a trance' (or rather a 'trance fell upon him,' ἐπέπεσεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔκστασις), during which he 'saw a vision,' which is therefore distinguished from the trance (Acts x. 10; comp. St. Paul's trance, xxii. 17; 2 Cor. xii. 2, etc.) The reality of the vision is established by the correspondence of the *event*. The nearest approach we can make to such a state is that in which our mind is so occupied in the contemplation of an object as to lose entirely the consciousness of the body—a state in which the highest order of ideas, whether belonging to the judgment or imagination, is undoubtedly attained. Hence we can readily conceive that such a state might be supernaturally induced for the higher purpose of revelation, etc. The *alleged* phenomena of the Mesmeric trance and clairvoyance, if they serve no higher purpose, may assist our conceptions of it.—J. F. D.

TRANI, ISAAH DA, the elder, so called after his native place Trani, a seaport town of Naples. This distinguished Talmudist and commentator, who is also denominated *Rid* = ריד, formed from the initials ישיעה דטראני, *R. Isaiiah da Trani*, and who may be regarded as the founder of the school of Talmudical and traditional exegesis in Italy, flourished *circa* A.D. 1232-1270. Passing over his numerous annotations on the Talmud, and his theological decisions (פסקים) connected with the traditional law, as foreign to the scope of the Bibliographical notices in this Cyclopædia, we have only to specify Trani's contributions to Biblical exegesis, which are as follows:—(1.) A commentary on the Pentateuch, entitled *החומש נמוקי*, *Annotations on the Five Books of Moses*, Leghorn 1792; (2.) Annotations on Joshua (פרוש יהושע), published with a Latin translation by J. G. Abicht, under the title *Esaiæ Comment. in Josuam, quem in Cod. MS. Biblioth. Senat. Lips. descriptum et versione ac notis illustratum*, Leipzig 1712; and (3.) Annotations on Judges and Samuel, printed in the Rabbinical Bibles [RABBINICAL BIBLES]. Besides these published commentaries, there are the following annotations of Trani in MS.:—A commentary on Ezra, Cod. Opp.; a commentary on the Five Megilloth and Daniel, in the Angelica at Rome; commentaries on the Minor Prophets, Psalms, and Job, the MS. of which is to be found in several European libraries. Comp. Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, col. 1389-1392; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, iii. 438-440.—C. D. G.

TREMELLIUS, EMMANUEL, was born at Ferrara in 1510. By birth a Jew, he was educated in the Jewish faith; but he was converted to Christianity by the teaching, it is said, of Cardinal Pole and M. A. Flaminio. Through the influence of Peter Martyr he soon after joined the Reforma-

tion party, and became an active propagator of their views. Having left Italy he visited Germany and England, and for some time supported himself by teaching Hebrew at Cambridge. On the death of Edward VI. he returned to Germany, where he remained till he was invited to occupy the Hebrew chair at Sedan. He died in 1580. His works are: *Rudimenta Ling. Heb.* Wittenb. 1541; חנוך בהירי יה, *Initiatio doctorum Domini* (a catechism in Hebrew), Par. 1552, Strass. 1554, Leyd. 1591, Par. 1551; *Gram. Chald. et Syra.*, prefixed to *Interpretatio Syr. N. T. Hebraicis typis descripta*, Par. 1569; *Biblia Sacra, sive Libb. canon. Latini recens ex Heb. facti*, Francof. 1579, Lond. 1580 [LATIN VERSIONS].—W. L. A.

TRESPASS-OFFERING. [OFFERING.]

TRIAL. [PUNISHMENT.]

TRIBES (שְׁבִיטִים, *שבטים*; φυλαί, *tribus*) is the name of the great groups of families into which the Israelitish nation, like other Oriental races, was divided. The modern Arabs, the Bedouins, and the Berbers, and also the Moors on the northern shores of Africa, are still divided into tribes. The clans in Scotland are also analogous to the tribes of the ancient Israelites. The division of a nation into tribes differs from a division into castes, since one is a division merely according to descent, and the other superadds a necessity of similar occupations being prevalent among persons connected by consanguinity. There occurs, however, among the Israelites a caste also—viz. that of the Levites. In Gen. xlix. the tribes are enumerated according to their progenitors—viz. 1. REUBEN, the first-born; 2. SIMEON, and 3. LEVI, instruments of cruelty; 4. JUDAH, whom his brethren shall praise; 5. ZABULON, dwelling at the haven of the sea; 6. ISSACHAR, the strong; 7. DAN, the judge; 8. GAD, whom a troop shall overcome, but who shall vanquish at last; 9. ASHER, whose bread shall be fat; 10. NAPHTALI, giving goodly words; 11. JOSEPH, the fruitful bough; 12. BENJAMIN, the wolf—all these were originally the twelve tribes of Israel. In this enumeration it is remarkable that the subsequent division of the tribe of Joseph into the two branches of Ephraim and Manasseh is not yet alluded to. After this later division of the very numerous tribe of Joseph into the two branches of Ephraim and Manasseh had taken place, there were, strictly speaking, thirteen tribes. It was, however, usual to view them as comprehended under the number twelve, which was the more natural, since one of them—viz. the caste of the Levites—did not live within such exclusive geographical limits as were assigned to the others after they exchanged their nomadic migrations for settled habitations, but dwelt in towns scattered through all the other twelve tribes. It is also remarkable that the Ishmaelites as well as the Israelites were divided into twelve tribes; and that the Persians also, according to Xenophon (*Cyropædia*, i. 2, 4, *seq.*), were similarly divided. Among other nations also occur ethnological and geographical divisions, according to the number twelve. From this we infer that the number twelve was held in so much favour that, when possible, doubtful cases were adapted to it. An analogous case we find even at a later period, when the spiritual progenitors of the Christian *ἁδελφολογ*, or the apostles, who were, after the death of Judas, the elec-

tion of Matthias, and the vocation of Paul, really thirteen in number, but were nevertheless habitually viewed as twelve; so that wherever, during the middle ages, any division was made with reference to the apostles, the number twelve, and not thirteen, was adopted, whether applied to the halls of theological libraries, or to the great barrels of costly wines in the cellar of the civic authorities at Bremen. Concerning the arrangement of these tribes on their march through the wilderness, in their encampments around the ark, and in their occupation of the land of Canaan, see the cognate articles, such as EXODUS, ENCAMPMENT, GENEALOGIES, LEVITES, WANDERING, and the names of the several tribes. We confine ourselves here to a few words about that inexhaustible source of theologico-historical charlatanism, the LOST TRIBES, on which there have been written so many volumes that it would be difficult to condense the contradictory opinions advanced in them within the limits of a moderate article. Suffice it to say, that there is scarcely any human race so abject, forlorn, and dwindling, located anywhere between the Chinese and the American Indians, who have not been stated to be the ten tribes which disappeared from history during and after the Babylonian captivity.

The truth of the matter seems rather to be as follows. After the division of the Israelites under Jeroboam and Rehoboam into the two kingdoms of Judah and Israel, the believers in whom the feelings of ancient theocratic legitimacy and nationality predominated, and especially the priests and Levites, who were connected by many ties with the sanctuary at Jerusalem, had a tendency to migrate towards the visible centre of their devotions; whilst those members of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin who had an individual hankering after the foreign fashions adopted in Samaria, and the whole kingdom of Israel, had a tendency externally to unite themselves to a state of things corresponding with their individuality. After the political fall of both kingdoms, when all the principal families connected with the possession of the soil had been compelled to emigrate, most Israelites, who had previously little feeling for theocratic nationality, gradually amalgamated by marriages and other connections with the nations by which they were surrounded; while the former inhabitants of the kingdom of Judah felt their nationality revived by the very deprivation of public worship which they suffered in foreign lands. Many of the pious members of those tribes which had formerly constituted the kingdom of Israel undoubtedly joined the returning colonies which proceeded by the permission of the Persian monarchs to the land of their fathers. However, these former members of the other tribes formed so decidedly a minority among the members of the tribe of Judah that henceforth all believers and worshippers of Jehovah were called יְהוּדִים, 'Ioudaioi, JUDÆI, Jews. Thus it came to pass that the best, although smaller, portion of the ten tribes amalgamated with the Jews, some of whom preserved their genealogies till after the destruction of Jerusalem; while the larger proportion of the ten tribes amalgamated with the Gentiles of Central Asia, to whom they probably imparted some of their notions and customs, which again were, in a state more or less pure, propagated to distant regions by the great national migrations proceeding from Central Asia. We are glad to find that this

our historical conviction has also been adopted by the most learned among the Jews themselves. We may refer to *Allgemeine Geschichte des Israelitischen Volkes*, by Dr. J. M. Jost, Berlin 1832, vol. i. p. 407 seq., 416 seq.

That the name of THE JEWS became general for all Israelites who were anxious to preserve their theocratic nationality was the more natural, since the political independence of the ten tribes was destroyed long before that of the kingdom of Judah. —C. H. F. B.

TRIBOLOS or TRIBULUS (*τριβόλος*) is found in Matt. vii. 16: 'Do men gather figs of thistles?' (*τριβόλων*); and again, in Heb. vi. 8, 'But that which beareth thorns and briers (*τριβόλοι*) is rejected.' The name was applied by the Greeks to two or three plants; one of which was, no doubt, aquatic, *Trapa natans*; of the others *Tribulus terrestris* is undoubtedly one, and *Fagonia critica* is supposed to be the other. Both, or nearly allied species, are found in dry and barren places in the



507. *Tribulus terrestris*.

East; and as both are prickly and spread over the surface of the ground, they are extremely hurtful to tread upon. The word *τριβόλος* is further interesting to us as being employed in the Septuagint as the translation of *dardar*. The presence of species of *Tribulus* and of *Fagonia* indicates a dry and barren uncultivated soil, covered with prickly or thorny plants. —J. F. R.

TRIBUTE (מַס mas, from masas, 'to melt' or 'liquefy'; Gr. *φῶρος*), a tax which one prince or state agrees, or is compelled, to pay to another, as the purchase of peace, or in token of dependence.

The Hebrews acknowledged no other sovereign than God; and in Exod. xxx. 12, 15, we find they were required to pay tribute unto the Lord, to give an offering of half a shekel to 'make an atonement for their souls.' The native kings and judges of the Hebrews did not exact tribute. Solomon, indeed, at the beginning of his reign levied tribute from the Canaanites and others who remained in the land and were not of Israel, and compelled them to hard servitude (1 Kings ix. 21-23; 2 Chron. viii. 9); but the children of Israel were ex-



empted from that impost, and employed in the more honourable departments and offices of his kingdom. Towards the end of his reign, however, he appears to have imposed tribute upon the Jews also, and to have compelled them to work upon the public buildings (1 Kings v. 13, 14; ix. 15; xi. 27). This had the effect of gradually alienating their minds, and of producing that discontent which afterwards resulted in open revolt under Jeroboam, son of Nebat. 'Thy father made our yoke grievous,' said the Israelites to Rehoboam; 'now, therefore, make thou the grievous service of thy father and his heavy yoke which he put upon us lighter, and we will serve thee' (1 Kings xii. 4).

The Israelites were at various times subjected to heavy taxes and tributes by their foreign conquerors. After Judæa was reduced to a Roman province, a new poll of the people and an estimate of their substance were taken by command of Augustus, in order that he might more correctly regulate the tribute to be exacted (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. i. 1). This was a capitation-tax levied at so much a-head, and imposed upon all males from 14, and all females from 12 up to 65 years of age (Ulpian, *Digest.* de *Censib.* lib. iii.; Fischer, *De Numism. Census*).

To oppose the levying of this tribute Judas the Gaulonite raised an insurrection of the Jews, asserting that it was not lawful to pay tribute to a foreigner, that it was a token of servitude, and that the Jews were not allowed to acknowledge any for their master who did not worship the Lord. They boasted of being a free nation, and of never having been in bondage to any man (John viii. 33). These sentiments were extensively promulgated, but all their efforts were of no avail in restraining or mitigating the exactions of their conquerors.

The Pharisees who sought to entangle Jesus in his talk, sent unto him demanding whether it was lawful to give tribute unto Cæsar or not; but knowing their wicked designs he replied, 'Why tempt ye me, ye hypocrites? Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's.'

The apostles Peter and Paul severally recommended submission to the ruling powers, and inculcated the duty of paying tribute, 'tribute to whom tribute is due' (Rom. xiii. 1-8; 1 Peter ii. 13).—G. M. B.

**TRIBUTE-MONEY.** The money collected by the Romans in payment of the taxes imposed upon the Jews. The phrase may apply to money of any description, coined or uncoined. The piece shown to our Saviour at his own request was a Roman coin, bearing the image of one of the Cæsars, and must have been at that time current in Judæa, and received in payment of the tribute in common with other descriptions of money. There is no reason to suppose that the tribute was collected exclusively in Roman coins, or that the tribute-money was a description of coin different from that which was in general circulation [MONEY].—G. M. B.

**TROAS** (*Τρωάς*), more fully Alexandria-Troas, a city of northern or Lesser Mysia, in Asia Minor, situated on the coast at some distance southward from the site of Troy upon an eminence opposite the island of Tenedos (Strabo, xiii. p. 593; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* v. 33). Paul was twice at this place (Acts xvi. 8, 9; xx. 6; 2 Cor. ii. 12; 2 Tim. iv.

13). The name Troas, or Troad, strictly belonged to the whole district around Troy. Alexandria-Troas is represented by the present Eski-Stamboul, and its ruins are now concealed in the heart of a thick wood of oaks, with which the country abounds (Pococke, pt. iii. 153; Richter, *Wallfahrten*, p. 462).—J. K.

**TROGYLLIUM** (*Τρωγύλλιον*), a town and promontory on the western coast of Asia Minor, opposite Samos, at the foot of Mount Mycale (Strabo, xiv. p. 636). It is mentioned in Acts xx. 15.

**TROKI, ISAAC B. ABRAHAM**, who derived his name from his native-place Troki, a town of Russia-Poland, near Wilna, was born in 1533. Being Karaite Jews [SADDUCEES] his parents placed him under the tuition of R. Zephaniah b. Mordecai, a distinguished Karaite writer at Troki. Under the guidance of this scholarly and liberal-minded teacher, Troki not only became a most accomplished Hebrew scholar, but acquired a thorough knowledge of Latin and Polish, in order to be enabled to study the controversies which were then vehemently raging in Poland between the Roman Catholics and the newly-risen Protestants, as well as between the different sects to which the Reformation gave rise, especially the Lutherans, the Calvinists, and the Unitarians—the latter, as is well known, having founded at that time an asylum in Poland. He carefully studied the Catholic Polish version of the Bible made by Leonard from the Vulgate, which appeared in Cracow 1561, and again in 1575 and in 1577; the Calvinistic Polish version called the Radzivil Bible, made by an anonymous translator from the original texts at the expense of Prince Radzivil, which appeared at Brzesc in 1563; and the Socinian version, made also from the original texts by the celebrated Simon Budny, which was published at Nieswiez in Lithuania 1570; as well as the writings of Nicholas Paruta, Martin Czechowicz, and Simon Budny, the heads of Unitarianism in Poland. As all these sects, who differed from each other on almost every other point, agreed in their attack upon the Jews and their faith, the learned Troki determined to publish a defence of his ancestral religion. To this end he put together in 1593, when sixty years of age, the various conversations which he had with his Christian friends of the different denominations, about the questions at issue between Judaism and Christianity, and thus arose the celebrated polemical work entitled *Faith Strengthened* (*חִזּוּק אֱמוּנָה*). This work of world-wide celebrity is divided into two parts. The first part, which is devoted to an examination of the objections raised by Christians against Judaism, and which is subdivided into fifty chapters, discusses very minutely the interpretation of the Messianic passages of the O. T., and their application to Christ as the predicted Messiah; whilst the second part is taken up with a critical examination of the statements made in the sundry books of the N. T. Troki died in 1594, just when he had completed the general introduction and the table of contents to the first part. Joseph b. Mordecai Malinowski, his pupil and townsman, completed the table of contents to the second part, wrote a preface to it, and had it circulated in MS. among the Jews. The *Chizuk Emuna* = *Faith Strengthened*, though not printed, was greatly multiplied in copies, and was rapidly circulated among the Jews of almost every country on earth. As its



author was a Karaite Jew, a Rabbi of the Rabbinic Jews who copied the *Chizuk Emuna* in 1615 thought it his duty to introduce into it arbitrary and ignorant alterations, as well as to conceal its real author, his native place, his date, religious and philosophical views. It is a copy of this vitiated text which the celebrated Wagenseil obtained from a Jew in Africa, and which was published for the first time with other Jewish texts of a similar import, and with a Latin translation in his collection entitled 'The Fiery Darts of Satan,' *Tela Ignea Satane*, Altorf 1681. A reprint of this vitiated text without the Latin translation appeared in Amsterdam 1717, and in Jerusalem 1845. But though Christian Gottlieb Unger made a most thorough collation of the vitiated printed text with a correct MS. in his possession which was published by Wolf (*Bibliotheca Hebræa*, iv. 648), and though Geiger has shown most conclusively the very corrupt state of the printed text, yet the new edition of the *Chizuk Emuna*, edited by J. Fischl, Leipzig 1857, is simply a reprint of this corrupted text. From this corrupted text was made the English translation by Moses Mocatta, which was 'printed but not published' 1851. Elaborate refutations of this work have been written by J. Muller, *Confutatio libri Chissuk Emuna*, comprised in his *Judaismus ex Rabbino scriptis detectus*, etc. etc., *refutatus*, Hamburg 1644; J. Gousset, *Ternio controversæ adversus Judeos, oppositæ R. Isaac Chissuk Emuna*, Dordrecht 1688; B. H. Gebhard, *Centum loca N. T. vindicata adversus Chissuk Emuna*, Greifswalde 1699; J. P. Storr, *Evangelische Glaubenskraft. Gegen das Werk Chissuk Emuna*, Tübingen 1703; and by our own learned Bishop Kidder in his *Demonstration of the Messiah*, 2d ed. London 1726. Comp. Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebræa*, iv. 639, etc.; Geiger, *Isaac Troki*, Breslau 1853; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, ii. 138, etc.; iii. 448; Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, col. 1074, etc.—C. D. G.

TROMM, ABRAHAM, successively pastor at Harlem and Gröningen, was born 23d August 1633, and died 29th May 1719. Besides his invaluable *Concordantie Græc. Versionis vulgo dictæ LXX. interpretum*, 2 vols. fol. Utr. 1718, he published a Concordance of the O. and N. T. for the Flemish translation, Amst. 1685-1692.—W. L. A.

TROPHIMUS (Τρόφιμος), a disciple of Ephesus, who accompanied St. Paul into Judæa, and was the innocent cause of the dangers which the apostle there encountered; for having been recognised by some Jews of Asia Minor, and seen in company with Paul, they took occasion to accuse Paul of having brought Greeks into the temple (Acts xx. 4; xxi. 29). His name does not again occur till after, seemingly, the first imprisonment of Paul. In one of the ensuing journeys he remained behind at Miletus (2 Tim. iv. 20). This circumstance is regarded as furnishing a strong fact to show that Paul was twice imprisoned at Rome; for Trophimus, in the first passage to Miletus (Acts xx. 15), was not left behind, but proceeded to Judæa; after which we do not lose sight of Paul for one day, and know that he was not again at Miletus before his first imprisonment at Rome.—J. K.

TRUMPET. [MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.]

TRUMPETS, FEAST OF. [NEW YEAR.]

TRYPHENA and TRYPHOSA (Τρύφαινα καὶ Τρυφῶσα), female disciples at Rome, who laboured to extend the gospel and to succour the faithful (Rom. xvi. 12). Their history is unknown; but, from their names, they were probably sisters.—J. K.

TRYPHON (Τρύφων), an usurper of the Syrian throne. His proper name was Diodotus (Strabo, xiv. p. 668; Liv. Epit. lii. lv.), and the name Tryphon (Reveller) was either given to him (Strabo, xvi. p. 752) or assumed by him (Appian, *Syr.* 68) at a later period. A native of Kaziana in Apamene, he was educated at Apamene of Syria, and became of the party of Alexander Balas and his σπάρτηγος (1 Maccab. xi. 39). He took advantage of the unpopularity of Demetrius II. to secure the crown for Antiochus VI., but afterwards turned against him, and having slain him usurped the supreme power to himself (1 Maccab. xii. 39, ff., viii. 31, 32). In spite of the efforts of Demetrius Tryphon retained the throne till Antiochus VII. drove him from Syria (1 Maccab. xiv. 1-3; xv. 10-14, 37-39); soon after which he committed suicide, or as others report, was put to death by Antiochus (Strabo, xiv. p. 668; Appian, *Syr.* 68). According to Strabo (xiv. p. 668), it was at his suggestion the Cilicians formed companies of pirates.—W. L. A.

TSAB (צב), occurs Lev. xi. 29 as the name of an unclean animal. The LXX. call it the *ὁ κροκόδειλος ὁ χερσαῖος*, and the Vulg. *crocodilus*. The A. V. has followed Elias Levita, who makes it the *tortoise*. It is however, more probably the same as

צב, *Dab* of the Arabs, a species of lizard, as Bochart has largely shown (*Hieroz.* Bk. iv. ch. 1). It is probably the *Ouaran el hard* of the modern Arabs, a species of Scincus, or monitor (*Varanus arenarius* of Dumeril).—W. L. A.

TSAPHTSAPHA (צפצפה) occurs only in Ezek. xvii. 5, and is usually translated 'willow-tree.' 'He took also of the seed of the land, and planted it in a fruitful field; he placed it by great waters, and set it as a willow-tree.' Celsius, however, thinks that the word means *locus planus, planities*, although he at the same time gives all the evidence for the former meaning. First, the Rabbins consider it to mean a tree, 'et quidem *salix*;' R. Ben Melech says it is 'species salicis, Arabibus *Tsiftsaph* dicta;' while 'Avicenna hoc tit. dicit *Tsiftsaph* esse *Chilaf*.' Travellers, also, give us similar information. Thus Paul Lucas: 'Les Arabes le nomment *safsaf*, qui signifie en Arabe *saule*.' Rauwolf (*Travels*, i. ch. 9), speaking of the plants he found near Aleppo, remarks, 'There is also a peculiar sort of willow-trees, called *safsaf*, etc.; the stems and twigs are long, thin, weak, and of a pale-yellow colour; on their twigs here and there are shoots of a span long, like unto the Cypriotish wild fig-trees, which put forth in the spring tender and woolly flowers, like unto the blossoms of the poplar-tree, only they are of a more drying quality, of a pale colour, and a fragrant smell. The inhabitants pull of these great quantities, and distil a very precious and sweet water out of them.' This practice is still continued in Eastern countries as far as Northern India, and was, and probably still is, well known in Egypt. The species which is called *chilaf* by the Arabs is called *Salix Aegyptiaca* by botanists;



and it is probable that it is also found in Syria, and may be the above *safsaf*. Indeed, it was found by



508. *Salix Ægyptiaca*.

Hasselquist on his journey from Acre to Sidon, as he mentions it as *S. Ægyptiaca*, v. *Safsaf* [OREBIM].—J. F. R.

TSAR'AH (צָרַח, Exod. xxiii. 28; Deut. vii. 20: Sept. τὰς σφήκας; Vulg. *crabrones*; Josh. xxiv. 12, τὴν σφήκαν, *crabronem*; Wisd. Sol. xii. 8, σφήκας, *vespas*, 'wasps'). The Greek words ἀνθρήνη and σφήξ are given in the lexicons as signifying both 'hornet' and 'wasp,' especially the former of them (Stephens, *Scapula*, s. v.); and the Latin *vespa* as denoting the 'wasp,' and *crabro* the 'hornet' (Faccioliati, *Lex* s. v.). But Harduin contends that that which is *vespa* with the Latins is properly with the Greeks ἀνθρήνη (Gallicè, *une guêpe*), and not σφήξ, as was thought by Gaza and Scaliger; and urges that on this point so learned a Latin author as Pliny ought to be considered sufficient evidence; that he ascribes to the *vespæ* those things which Aristotle (*Hist. Anim.* v. 19, 617; ix. 65, 66) ascribes to the ἀνθρήναι; and, further, that he also ascribes to the *crabrones* those things which Aristotle ascribes to the σφήκες (comp. Arist. *ut supra*; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xi. 24, ed. Harduin, ii. p. 1741). The word *crabrones* Harduin accordingly explains, 'Græcis, σφήκες; Gallis, *des frelons*, hornets.' If this criticism be just, it vindicates both Jerome's translation of the first three words, and the English also. Our confidence in the definiteness of the Sept. rendering becomes increased when it is remembered that the Pentateuch, the most accurate portion of the whole version, was translated probably within fifty years after the death of Aristotle. Certainly the known characteristics of the hornet agree with the descriptions given of the σφήξ by Aristotle, and of the *crabro* by Pliny. 'The ἀνθρήναι do not live by the nutriment collected from flowers, as the bees, but prey

upon many kinds of flesh; whence also they frequent manure, for they pursue the great flies, and when they have caught them, having removed the head, they fly away, carrying the rest of the body' (*Hist. Anim.* ix.) Again:—αἱ μὲν ἀνθρήναι, ἐπὶ μετεώρων τινὲς οἱ δὲ σφήκες, ἐν τρώγλῃ (ποιούσιν κηρία): 'The ἀνθρήναι build their nests in some elevated place, but the σφήκες in a hole or cavity' (v. 19). The description of Pliny is nearly a translation of the above:—'Vespæ in sublimi nidos faciunt, crabrones in cavernis, aut sub terra;' on which Cuvier remarks, 'Sæpe sub tectis, aliquando sub terra vespæ; in *cavis arboribus* crabrones, ædificant' (Plin. *Libri de Animal.* curante J. B. Fr. S. Ajasson De Grandsagne, cum notis a Cuvier, Paris 1838, p. 424, n. 2).

Still it must be noticed that, as Harduin remarks with wonder, Pliny, when speaking of the *ichneumon*, a lesser species of hornet, calls them *vespæ*, while Aristotle, in the corresponding description, calls them σφήκες (*N.* 10). It would hence seem probable that the word *vespa* was sometimes used in an analogical and more comprehensive sense by Pliny; which may account for a similar variation in Jerome's rendering, 'vespas' (*Wisdom* xii. 8). Even the Greek word had already undergone great abuse, for Hesychius, 150 years before Jerome, explains ἀνθρήνη by εἶδος μελισσῆς, 'a species of bee;' and Suidas, in the 11th century, explains it as a species of wasp, and observes that the poets misapplied the word to the *bee* (see also Hom. *Il.* xiii. 167). It being upon the whole most probable, therefore, that 'the hornet' is the true rendering in these passages of Scripture, the only further question which remains is, whether the word is to be taken as literally meaning this well-known and terrific insect, or whether it is to be understood in a metaphorical and figurative sense for diseases, supernatural terror, etc., by which Jehovah 'drove out the Hivites, Canaanites, and Hittites, from before Israel.' Among the moderns, Michaelis has defended the figurative sense. In addition to other reasons for it, he doubts whether the expulsion of the Canaanites *could* be effected by swarms of σφήκαι, and proposes to derive the Hebrew from a root signifying 'scourges,' 'plagues,' *scutica*, *plagæ*, etc. (*Suppl. ad Lexic. Hebr.* vi. 2154); but his reasons are ably refuted by Rosenmüller, apud Bochart (*Hieroz.* Lips. 1796, iii. ch. 13, p. 402, etc.). In favour of the possibility of such an event it is observed, that Ælian relates that the Phaselitæ were actually driven from their locality by such means (Φασηλίτας δὲ σφήκες, κ. τ. λ. *Hist. Anim.* ix. 28), and Bochart has shown that those Phaselitæ were a Phœnician people (*ut supra*, p. 412). Even Rosenmüller himself adopts the figurative sense in his *Scholia* on Exod. xxiii. 28; but on Josh. xxiv. 12 he retracts that opinion, and amply refutes it. His reasonings and refutations have been adopted by numerous writers (among others, see Paxton's *Illustrations of Scripture*, i. 303, etc., Edin. 1819). Michaelis's doubt of the abstract possibility seems very unreasonable, when the irresistible power of bees and wasps, etc., attested by numerous modern occurrences, and the thin and partial clothing of the Canaanites, are considered. It is observable that the event is represented by the author of the book of Wisdom as a merciful dispensation, by which the Almighty, he says, 'spared as men, the old inhabitants of his holy land,' and 'gave them place for repentance.'

If the hornet, considered as a *fly*, was in any way connected with their idolatry, the visitation would convey a practical refutation of their error [see Baalzebub, under BAAL]. It may be remarked, that the hornet, no less than the whole species of wasps, renders an essential service in checking the multiplication of flies and other insects, which would otherwise become intolerable to man; and that in regard to their architecture, and especially their *instincts* and *habits*, they do not yield to their more popular congener, the bee, but even in several respects greatly excel it (Kirby and Spence, *Introduction to Entomology*, 8vo, Lond. 1828, i. 273, 274; Réaumur, *Mémoire pour servir à l'Histoire des Insectes*, vol. vi. Mem. 6, *pour des Guespes*, 4to, Par. 1734-42).—J. F. D.

TS'BI (צִבִּי; δορκάς). This may be regarded as a designation applying to a whole group or sub-genus of the antelope family, that of the gazelles; of which at least one species, if not more, may still be found in the deserts and uplands of Egypt, Arabia, and the eastern and southern borders of Palestine. The term *dorcas* was apparently generalised so as to include the roebuck of Europe, which was certainly not, as in our translation, the *ts'bi* of Scripture. It appears from Hermolaus that neither Aristotle nor Dioscorides confounded such distinct genera, and that they used the term *dorcas*



509. Ts'bi or Dorcas. Ariel or Gazella Arabica.

for the species with persistent horns, and *dorcas* for the roebuck, whose horns are annually renewed. This confusion, created by the classical grammarians of antiquity, was further increased by schoolmen and sportsmen constantly confounding fallowdeer with roebuck till within the 17th century, as is plainly perceptible in the writings of Gesner, that mine of zoological lore, not sufficiently consulted by Scriptural commentators. The Biblical species clearly included in the section gazella are *Antilope dorcas*, Linn.; *Ariel* or *A. Arabica*, Licht.; more remotely, *A. kevelia*, *A. corinna*, auctor.; and for eastern Arabia, *A. cora*, Ham. Smith; while *A. subgutturosa*, Guldenst., may be claimed for the north-eastern countries, where the species exists both in Asia Minor and Armenia, and therefore on the borders of Syria. All these species are nearly allied, the largest not measuring more than two feet in height at the shoulder, and

the least, the corinna, not more than about twenty inches. They are graceful and elegant in form, with limbs exceedingly slender, and have large and soft eyes, lyrate horns, black, wrinkled, and striated—most robust in *subgutturosa* and *kevelia*, most slender in *corinna*, and smallest in *cora*. Their livery is more or less buff and dun, white beneath, with small tufts of hair or brushes on the fore-knees: they have all a dark streak passing from each ear through the eyes to the nostrils, and a band of the same colour from the elbow of the fore-leg along the sides to the flank, excepting the corinna, whose markings are more rufous and general colours lighter. Most, if not all, have a feeble bleating voice, seldom uttered, are unsurpassed in graceful timidity, gregarious in habit, and residents on the open deserts, where they are unceasingly watchful, and prepared to flee with such speed, that greyhounds are liable to be killed by over-exertion in the chase. Of the species here enumerated, all, but more especially *A. Arabica*, *A. dorcas*, and *A. cora*, must have been designated by the terms *dorcas* and *ts'bi*, and the Arabic *tsabi*; generically, *Gazal*. The Chaldee *tabitha*, and Persic *zabegat*, may refer more immediately to *A. subgutturosa*, the *ahu* of Kämpfer, *tseiran* of modern Persia, and *jairou* of the Turks.

One or other of these, according to geographical localities, occurs in the A. V. under the name of *roe* or *roebuck*; in Deut. xii. 15, 22; xiv. 5; xv. 22; 1 Kings iv. 23; 1 Chron. xii. 8; 2 Sam. ii. 18; Prov. vi. 5; Cant. vii. 3; viii. 14; Is. xiii. 14; *dorcas*, Eccles. xxvii. 20.—C. H. S.

TSEPHA (צִפְּהָ) and TSIPH'ONI (צִפְּוֹנִי), a species of serpent; LXX. *ἐργονα ἀσπίδων, ἀσπίς, κέραστος, ὄφης*; Vulg. *basiliscus, regulus*; Targ. *viper*; A. V. *cockatrice, marg. adder* (Is. xi. 8; xiv. 29; lix. 5; Prov. xxiii. 32; Jer. viii. 17). The name is derived from צִפְּהָ, *to hiss*. The reptile denoted is most probably the *basilisk*, a small serpent exceedingly venomous, and which, from its hissing, is called also *sibilus* (Isidor. *Orig.* xii. 4).—W. L. A.

TSIMMAON (צִמְמוֹן) is rendered in the Vulg. by *Dipsas* (Deut. viii. 15); and is supposed by some to designate some species of serpent the bite of which causes severe thirst. The usage of the word, however, elsewhere (Ps. cvii. 33; Is. xxxv. 7) is against this; nor do any other of the versions favour such a rendering here. The LXX., it is true, has been thought to do so by its rendering *διψα*, but *διψα* means *thirst* merely, and may be used here in its proper sense. The proper rendering of צִמְמוֹן seems to be *thirsty, arid, or barren place*. (See Bochart, *Hieroz.* P. II. B. iii. ch. 8).—W. L. A.

TSIPH'ONI. [TSEPHA.]

TSIPPOR (צִפּוֹר, *sparrow*) occurs in Gen. vii. 14; Lev. xiv. 4; Ps. lxxiv. 3; cii. 7; *σπορθλον*, Matt. x. 29; Luke xii. 6, 7. The word includes not only the sparrow, but also the whole family of small birds not exclusively feeding on grain, but denominated clean, or those that might be eaten according to the law: hence the same word is also, in many instances, translated 'bird,' the Hebrew name itself being evidently an imitation of the voice of small birds, synonymous with the English



'chirrup.' *Trippor* includes many insectivorous and frugivorous species, all the thrushes we have in Europe, and the rose-coloured ousel or locust-bird, rare with us, but numerous and cherished in the East, solely for the havoc it makes among locusts, and named *Smurmur* by the Arabs, in imitation of its voice. It also includes perhaps the starlings (not *Zarzir*), the nightingale, all the European larks, the wagtails, and all the tribe of finches; but not fly-catchers, nor indeed swallows, which, there is reason to believe, were reckoned, along with night-hawks or goatsuckers, and crows, among the unclean and prohibited species. In Syria the sparrow is the same vivacious familiar bird we find it in Europe, and equally frequents the residence of man.—C. H. S.

TSIYIM (צִיִּים). Bochart, who was inclined to recognise this word as a general term denoting cats, or any kind of wild beasts that frequent dry places, discovered an incongruity when it is opposed to a single species, צִיִּים *Iyini*, which he translates 'Thoes' (Is. xxxiv. 14, and Jer. l. 39). Both words are meant, it seems, to imitate the cry of animals; and if he be right in regarding the first as expressive of the mewling or screaming of wild cats, with such other animals as the ancients included in the feline tribe, and we now class among viveridæ and mustelidæ, each including several genera, more or less represented by species residing in and around Palestine; we then find the opposition of the two words strikingly just, provided that, instead of the single *Thoes* of Bochart, we make *Iyini* include also the various wild canidæ (dogs) of the same region, amounting to at least twelve species, without including two hyænas [WEASEL].—C. H. S.

TS'LATSAL (צִלְצַל), an insect mentioned Deut. xxviii. 42. The A. V. makes it a *locust*, and from the connection in which the word is used this is a probable meaning. The LXX. render by ἐπισύβη, by which a species of mildew is intended (ὁ ὡς κοινοῦτος κατασχεύμενος καὶ ἀφάνισον σῖτον, Hesych.); or they may have meant by the term some insect of the locust species, for Suidas says that the word denotes an insect destructive to fruit; in Joel ii. 25 they use it for אֲרֵבָה, which is undoubtedly a locust. The Hebrew word is onomatopoeitic, and points out some insect which gives forth a ringing or tinkling sound (from צִלְצַל, *to tinkle*, whence צִלְצַל is used to designate a *cymbal*, Ps. cl. 5). Tychsen (*Comment. de Locustis*) identifies it with the *Grylla stridulus* of Linnæus. According to Gesenius and Fürst it is the *grasshopper* or *cricket*; but this hardly agrees with the destructive character ascribed to the Ts'latsal in Deut. xxviii. 42. The word may be used of any of the locust tribe, in all of which the male utters a sharp continuous sound. To the Heb. word correspond the Syr. ܛܠܫܐ, *tsertsooro* ('genus locustæ repens, non volans; percutit radices arborum et exarescunt,' Novariæ, *Lex. Syr.* quoted by Castell, s. v.), and the Arab. صرصر, *sarsar*, 'gryllus' (*Kamoos* ap. Freytag *Lex. Arab.* s. v.)—W. L. A.

TS'PHARDE'A (צִפְרָדִּיעַ; Βάρπαχος). This name, according to Gesenius, is compounded of צִפְרָ

to leap, and רָדַע, Arab. رَدَّع, *ridd'*, a *marsh*, q. *marsh-leaper*; but Ewald and Fürst derive it from צָפַר, *to chirp, quack, or croak*, which would be the more probable etymology were there any evidence that צָפַר ever meant to *quack* or *croak*. The term is applied to the Egyptian frog (Exod. vii. 28; viii. 3-9 [A. V. viii. 2-13]; Ps. lxxviii. 45; cv. 30), and to this only. Frogs abound in Egypt, but one species is especially abundant, the *Rana punctata* or greenspeckled grey frog; and this, in all probability, is the frog of Scripture. It is small, lively,



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and, like our brown frog, given to move on land in moist weather; the toes are only webbed to half their length, which prevents its being a good swimmer. It is called by the Arabs *doſda*, and often spreads itself over the country in such multitudes as to become a nuisance. Were it not for the storks and other wading birds which feed on it, and keep down the increase, it would multiply in such numbers as to be a plague (Hasselquist, *Reise*, p. 68, 254; Seetzen, *Reise*, iii. 245, 350, 364, 490; Richardson, *Travels*).—W. L. A.

TS'RI (צִרִי), properly TSORI, translated *balm*, occurs in Gen. xxxvii. 25; xliii. 11; and in both passages is mentioned along with *lot* and *neoth*, with the addition in the second of *botnim* and *shekadim*. In Gen. xliii. 11 Jacob thus addresses his sons: 'Take of the best fruits in the land in your vessels, and carry down the man a present: a little balm (*tseri*), and a little honey (*debash*), spices (*tragacanth*) [NECOTH] and myrrh [*ladanum*; LOT], nuts [BOTNIM] and almonds' [SHEKADIM]. In the separate articles on these substances some general observations have been made, which will equally apply to *tseri*. This, therefore, like the other substances intended as presents, or forming articles of commerce, must have been a produce of Gilead, or of the northern parts of Syria, and would thus be suitable for conveying to Egypt on the occasion referred to. Balm or balsam [BASAM; BAAL-SHEMEN], we have seen, was an Arabian and Abyssinian plant cultivated in one or two places of Palestine, but at a later period than the transactions recorded in the book of Genesis. As we have before said, 'It is probable, therefore, that some other tree producing a balsamic secretion is intended in the above passages, where the word *balm* has been considered the equivalent of *tseri*.' But it is difficult to determine exactly what substance is intended: we may, however, adduce the other passages in which the word is found. Ezekiel (xxvii. 17) mentions *tseri* along with 'wheat of Minnith, and Pannag, and honey, and oil,' as merchandise which Judah brought to the market of Tyre. That



it was possessed of medicinal properties appears from Jer. viii. 22: 'Is there no *balm* in Gilead?' 'Go up into Gilead and take *balm*' (xvi. 11). 'Take *balm* for her pain, if so she may be healed' (li. 8). It has been variously translated—*cera*, *theriaca*, *cedri resina*, *stacti unguenta*, *medicamenta*, *resina*, *colophonia*. Celsius and others state that *zurroo* in Arabic signifies *mastic*, and that *tseri* therefore is this resin: in which he is followed by Sprengel. In the Arabic and English Dictionary

زري is translated the gum of an Arabian tree, which is called *kamkam*, and said to be found in the mountains of Yemen. In the writer's MS. *Materia Medica*, *khushkhush*, one of the names of the poppy, is given as the synonym of *zurroo*; but this may be a mistake of transcribers. It is curious, however, that Avicenna mentions *zurroo* as a well-known gum brought to Mecca, as being odorous, and having the power of laudanum.

زري *zuree*, moreover, means 'bleeding profusely,' as a vein, or according to Rosenmüller, 'fluid or liquid in general, which equally applies to oil of every kind.'

We are unable, however, distinctly to connect any of the above names with any product of Gilead. But there is a product which, though little known to Europeans, is highly esteemed by the Arabs, according to the testimony of several travellers. This is the oil of the *zackum* tree, sometimes called the Jericho plum-tree, also the Jerusalem willow, oleaster or wild olive-tree, or *Elaeagnus angustifolius* of Linnæus. The fruit of one species is much esteemed in Persia, and known by the name of *zinzyd*. The Syrian fruit is ovoid, but oblong, fleshy, having an olive-shaped nut with a kernel containing oil. The oil is separated by pressure and floating it on water, and a further portion by boiling. The Arabs are described by Maundrell and Mariti as holding it in high esteem, and as preferring it to the balsam of Mecca, because they found it very efficacious against contusions and wounds. 'Formerly, if not now, when the Christian caravan advanced towards Jericho it used to be met by crowds of Arab women, offering the salutary oil for sale to the pilgrims, in small leather bottles' (Kitto, *Palestine*, ccxxiii.) This is supposed by some to be Myrobalanus of Pliny and other ancient writers; but by some the fruit of *Melia azadirachta*, and by others again that of *Hyperanthera Moringa*, or *H. aptera*, are considered the true Myrobalanus of the ancients. Of the last it is said: 'Oleum, e cotyledonibus expressum, in omni oriente usitatum, ea propter prædicatur, quod non facile rancorem contrahat.' But, as we are unable to connect any of these with the *tseri* of Scripture, we need not further pursue this subject [AGRIELAI].—J. F. R.

TUBAL (תובל; Sept. Θοβελ), a son of Japheth, and a people descended from him (Gen. x. 2; Is. lxvi. 19; Ezek. xxvii. 13; xxxii. 26; xxxviii. 2, 3; xxxix. 1), supposed to have been settled in Asia Minor near the Euxine [NATIONS, DISPERSION OF].

TUBAL-CAIN (תובל קין, *scoriarum faber*; Sept. Θοβελ), son of Lamech and Zillah, to whom the invention of the art of forging metals is ascribed in Gen. iv. 22 [SMITH].

TURBAN. Though it is presumable that in a climate like that of Palestine the inhabitants did not expose themselves to the cold of winter or the heats of summer without some covering for the head, there is no certain evidence that any such was in common use. The Hebrews have several words by which articles of head-dress are designated, but they all apparently belong to coverings which were either official or merely ornamental, with the exception of those used by the military.

In the Pentateuch two kinds of head-coverings are mentioned as forming part of the priest's dress, the *מִצְנֶפֶת* of the high-priest, and the *כִּנְיָה* of the common priests; the former of which was probably a sort of tiara, whilst the latter may have been a turban, but was more probably a high cap of a flower-like shape, such as are found among Orientals in the present day (Bähr, *Symbolik des Mos. Cult.* ii. 66). As these head-coverings ('bonnets' A. V.) were expressly designed for 'glory and for beauty' (Exod. xxviii. 40), they evidently give us no idea of what was worn on the head by the people commonly. In the ceremony prescribed for the drinking of the waters of jealousy, the priest is directed to *loosen* (פרע) the woman's head—i.e. to let her hair fall down loosely (Num. v. 18); and in the law concerning the leper it is prescribed that his head shall be *loosened* (פרוע); phraseology which seems to indicate that it was customary in the Mosaic times to bind the hair with a band or fillet, such as we see represented on the Egyptian and Assyrian monuments. On the other hand, from the stress that is laid in the law concerning the Nazarite on his suffering his locks to grow, and on his hair thus abundantly grown being the crown of God on him (Lev. xiii. 45), it seems fair to infer that the cropping of the hair, and perhaps also the shaving of the head and the wearing of some covering (it may be of artificial hair, as among the Egyptians), was common among the people.

In the other books the terms which occur designating head-dress, besides those which are *regal*, such as *כִּנְיָה* [CROWN], and those which are *military* [ARMS], are the following:—

1. *צִנְיָה*. This term occurs three times in the O. T. (Job xxix. 14; Is. lxii. 3; Zech. iii. 5). In all these cases the usage of the word shows that it refers, not to an ordinary article of dress, but to one which was ornamental and for display. It was probably a turban, the word being derived from *צָנָה*, to roll round or wind. Schröder (*De Vest. Mulier. Heb.* p. 364) endeavours to prove from the Arabic that this word means a narrow strip wound round the head; but his instances only prove that the Arabic *Tsinf* and *Tsinfa* denote a small band, or the hem of a garment. In Is. iii. 22 the fem. *Tsenipha* is used of a female head-dress worn for ornament.

2. *פֶּאֶר*. This word is used of the head-dress of distinguished persons, both male and female (Is. iii. 20; lxi. 3, 10; Ezek. xxiv. 17, 23; xlv. 18). In Exod. xxxix. 28 it is used of the priest's head-dress, as also in Ezek. xlv. 18. In all the other instances it indicates an article of holiday costume. Saalschütz suggests that the *Pèr* was probably the hat or bonnet, properly so called, and the *Tsaniph*, the ornamental head-band wrapped round it.

3. *צִפְרֶיֶת*, from *צָפַר*, to circle, a circlet, or diadem (Is. xxviii. 5); or it may have been a piece of fine



muslin wound round the turban for ornament, such as the Orientals still use.

4. לִיָּה (Prov. i. 9; iv. 9). Some regard this as a species of fillet by which the head was bound; but it probably rather means a garland or wreath of flowers.

The examination of these terms has failed to convey to us any information respecting the ordinary everyday costume for the head of the Hebrew people. Probably they were wont simply to throw some part of their dress over their heads when they had occasion to expose themselves to the weather, or to fold a piece of cloth over their heads, as do the Arabs of the present day, reserving such articles as those above named for holiday or festive occasions (Jahn, *Biblische Archæologie*, I. ii. 2, p. 116; Saalschütz, *Arch. der Hebr.* ii. p. 22).—W. L. A.

#### TURPENTINE TREE. [ALAH.]

#### TURTLE DOVE. [TOR.]

TUSI or TAWUS, JACOB B. JOSEPH (יַעֲקֹב בֶּן יוֹסֵף טָאוּס). All the researches of Oriental scholars and Biblical critics have hitherto failed in discovering anything about the life of this translator of the Hebrew Scriptures into Persian. Nothing more is known about him than that he derived his name from his native-place, Tus, a celebrated city of Chorassan. Even the mere age in which he lived is matter of dispute. Thus Rosenmüller says that he must have flourished in the 9th century, because he translates *Babel* (Gen. x. 10) by *Bagdad*, which was not built till A.D. 762 (*De Versione Pentateuchi Persica Commentatio*, p. 4); Fürst says the author lived in the 13th century; whilst Munk, Zunz, and Steinschneider conclude from the terms which the editor of the Constantinople Pentateuch Polyglott uses (1546)—אִשֵּׁר

בֶּאֱרֵן לֹנוּ אִישׁ נָבֹן וְחָכָם כִּי יַעֲקֹב בֶּן יוֹסֵף טָאוּס, that he was a contemporary of the editor, and that he made this version for this edition of the Pentateuch. It may, however, be questioned whether the words, 'which he interpreted for us,' refer to the editor, or mean that Tusi made this version for us—i. e. the Jewish nation; and whether the formula נִרְוָה עֵץ=נִרְוָה, he *reposes in Paradise*, refer to Tusi's father or to Tusi himself. We incline to the latter view, and hence agree with Fürst that Tusi flourished in the 13th century. His Persian version of the Pentateuch was first published in Hebrew characters, with the Hebrew text of the Pentateuch, Onkelos' Chaldee paraphrase, Saadia's Arabic translation, and Rashi's commentary, Constantinople 1546. It was then transcribed from this edition into the Arabico-Persian character, and printed in Walton's *Polyglott*, vol. iv. Besides the Pentateuch there is a Persian version, in the Paris Library, of the Prophets and Hagiographa, as well as of the Apocrypha, which was most probably also made by Tusi. Thus Catal. imprimé, MS. Hebr. No. 34, contains the version of Genesis and Exodus, with the Hebrew original after each verse. No. 35 contains the version of Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy in a similar manner. No. 40 contains Job and Lamentations, as well as a Persian elegy for the ninth of Ab, bewailing the destruction of the temple [FASRS]. No. 44 contains Isaiah and Jeremiah in the Hebrew character. No. 45 Daniel as well as an apocryphal history of this

prophet. No. 46, written in the year 1460, also contains a version of Daniel, with various readings of older MSS.; Fond de Saint-Germain-des-Près, No. 224, contains the Book of Esther, with the Hebrew original, as well as a Rabbinical Calendar in Persian, completed in 1290, and extending to 1522. No. 236 contains a version of the Apocrypha in the Hebrew character, written in 1600; the book of Tobit is different from the common Greek text, Judith and Bel and the Dragon agree with the Vulgate, whilst the Book of Maccabees is

מִגִּלְתָּ אַנְתִּיּוֹכּוּס, [MACCABEES, THE FIRST BOOK OF], Hebrew and Persian. Tusi, whose version has been largely interpolated in later times, seems to have made use of Persian versions which existed at a very early period. Thus Chrysostom (*Homil. ii. in Joannem*) and Theodoret (*De curandis Græcorum effectibus*) mention the existence of a Persian version, whilst Maimonides assures us that the Pentateuch was translated into Persian long before Mohammed (אֲנִרְתָּ תִּימִן). Comp. Rosenmüller, *De Versione Pentateuchi persici commentatio*, Leipzig 1814; Munk, *Version persane* in Cahen's Bible, vol. ix. p. 134, etc., Paris 1834 [CAHEN], who institutes a comparison between the printed text of the Persian version and that of the MS., and gives an elaborate account of the MSS., as well as specimens of the translation of Lamentations, etc.; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, iii. 453.—C. D. G.

TWELLS, LEONARD, D.D., was educated at Jesus College, Oxford, where he took his degree of B.A. in 1704. He was vicar of St. Mary's, Marlborough; rector of St. Matthew, Friday Street, and St. Peter, Cheap, London, 1737; prebendary of St. Paul's; and one of the lecturers at St. Dunstan in the West. He died 1741 or 2. He excited notice by his *Critical Examination of the late new text and version of the N. T.* (Mace's), etc., 3 parts 8vo, Lond. 1731-32, in which he points out many mistakes and errors in that edition, and with learning and ability vindicates the true reading and interpretation of the sacred text. A lengthened vindication of the Apocalypse, in which its authenticity as the production of St. John is maintained, appears in the last part, and was translated into Latin by Wolfius for vol. 5 of the *Cura Philologica*. He wrote also a *Vindication of the Gospel of St. Matthew*, Lond. 1732, and took part in the controversy concerning the demoniacs of the N. T., maintaining that the demoniacs were really possessed by fallen angels. He published also two vols. of sermons.—W. L. A.

TYCHICUS (ΤΥΧΙΚὸς ὁ Ἀσιανός) is the name of an assistant and companion of the apostle Paul. The name has nearly the same signification which we find in the Hebrew *Gad*, and in the Latin *Felix* or *Fortunatus*. Tychicus was a native of Asia, who accompanied Paul on his third missionary journey (Acts xx. 4), and was, at a later period, the bearer of Paul's letter from Rome to the Colossians. Paul styled him a beloved brother, faithful minister, and fellow-servant in the Lord, who should declare all his state unto the Colossians, to whom he was sent that he might know their estate and comfort their hearts (Col. iv. 7, 8). For a similar purpose Tychicus was sent to the Ephesians also (Eph. vi. 21, 22; 1 Tim. iv. 12), and employed in various missionary journeys (Tit. iii. 12). According to tra-



dition, Tychicus was made bishop of Chalcedon.—C. H. F. B.

TYCHSEN, OLAUS GERHARD, born 14th December 1735 at Tondern, died 30th Dec. 1815, was successively teacher at the Orphan House, Halle, agent of the Callenberg Mission Institute for the conversion of Jews and Mohammedans, professor of Oriental languages at Rostock. He was a distinguished Oriental scholar, but was narrow and prejudiced in his views. His zeal for the integrity of the Masoretic text led him to issue his *Tentamen de variis codd. Hebb. Vet. Test. MSS. generibus*, Rostock, 1772, which brought him into collision with Kennicott; as his *Unechtheit der Jüdischen Munsen mit Hebr. und Samar. Buchstaben erwiesen*, Rost. 1779, did with Bayer. In both controversies Tychsen's great learning, together with his narrowness of view, is apparent. He was more successful in his discussion of Arabic numismatics: *Introductio in rem nummariam Muhammedanorum*, Rost. 1794, to which an *Additamentum I.* appeared in 1796. He contributed to Syriac and Arabic learning also in the following works: *Interpretatio inscript. Cuficæ in marmorea templi patriarch. S. Petri cathedra*, Rost. 1787, 1788; *Al-Makrizi Hist. Monete Arab. e Cod. Escorial.* 1797; *Tractatus de legalibus Arab. ponderibus et mensuris*, 1800; *Elementale Arab.* 1792; *Elementale Syr.* 1793; *Philologus Syrus, sive Hist. animalium 32 in SS. memoratorum Syriace*, 1795. Many other contributions to Oriental literature from his pen are enumerated and described in the work of his pupil Hartmann, entitled *O. G. Tychsen, oder Wanderungen durch die Mannichfaltigsten gebiete der biblisch-asiat. Literatur*, 4 vols. Brem. 1818-1820.—W. L. A.

TYCHSEN, THOMAS CHRISTIAN, born 8th May 1758 at Horsbyll in Schleswig, died 24th October 1834 at Göttingen, where he was professor of theology. Besides some works in classical literature and some on Oriental numismatics, he completed the concluding part of Michaelis' *Anmerkungen für Ungelernte*, and the last vol. of his *Supplementa ad Lex. Hebr.* 1792. He furnished also the 6th vol. of the *Nov. Test. Koppianum*—that containing the Epistles to the Galatians, Ephesians, and Thessalonians, 2d ed. 1791; and issued several programmes on Biblical subjects.—W. L. A.

TYNDALE, WILLIAM, was born at Hunt's Court, Nibley, Gloucestershire, of which his father was proprietor, about the year 1477. He studied at Oxford, and afterwards at Cambridge, and at both places made excellent proficiency in all the branches of study then pursued there. He obtained priest's orders in 1502, and entered the monastery at Greenwich as a friar in 1508. Some time before this he had commenced his translation of the N. T., and had probably imbibed some of the notions which were beginning to be circulated in favour of a reformation of the church. In 1520 he became tutor to the children of Sir John Walsh, in whose mansion at Little Sodbury he resided for two years. Here he came frequently into conflict with the clergy of the district, and became known as holding the new opinions. This rendered his longer residence there unsafe, and he accordingly came to London, where he was the guest of Humphrey Monmouth, a wealthy merchant, for a year. Bent on perfecting his translation of the N. T.,

Tyndale, in the early part of 1524, crossed over to the continent to Hamburg, where he remained for some time; afterwards he went to Cologne, where he put to press his translation of the N. T. Being interrupted in the printing, he retired to Worms, where greater liberty could be enjoyed; and there he not only completed what had been interrupted, the printing of his first edition in 4to, but printed another edition in 8vo, issued in 1525. A third edition was printed at Antwerp in the year following. Of the first edition only a fragment survives, and of the second only two copies, one imperfect, are known to exist. Tyndale now proceeded to the O. T., and issued his translation of the books as they were printed. He proceeded only as far as Deuteronomy in the printing; but it is believed that he translated the whole O. T., and that Coverdale profited by the use of his MSS. In 1534, he published at Antwerp a revised edition of his translation of the N. T., and with this concluded his labours in this department. The importation of his translation, and of some works which he had written, into England, had excited against him the hostility of the anti-Reformation party there; and their bitter hatred was such that the most unwearied efforts were used to destroy him. At Antwerp, where he had resided since 1530 as chaplain to the company of English merchants, he was, in 1535, seized through the treachery of an emissary of the English Chancellor, Sir Thomas More, and conveyed to Vilvorde near Brussels; where, after a protracted imprisonment, he was burnt to death in September 1536. A sacred interest attaches to his name. To him the most Bible-loving nations of the world are indebted for what still, in substance, supplies the version of the N. T. in ordinary use (Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*, vol. i. Lond. 1845; Offor's edition of Tyndale's N. T. 1836 [ENGLISH VERSIONS]).—W. L. A.

TYPE. I. *Name*.—The Greek word *τύπος*, from which our *type* is derived, denotes primarily a *blow*, then the *mark left by a blow*, then a *mark or print of any kind*, then a *figure or image*, and finally a *mould or model*; whether that be viewed as the original from which something else has taken its form, or as indicating the form which something not yet existing may assume. In the N. T. the word occurs in several of these senses, and in some passages with a shade of meaning peculiar to itself. In John xv. 25 it is used to denote the mark which the nails made in our Lord's hands and feet; in Acts vii. 43 it means a copy or image; in Acts vii. 44 and Heb. viii. 5 it signifies a model after which something is made; in Rom. vi. 17 it denotes a mould from which a form is derived; in Rom. vi. 14 it conveys the idea of one person presenting some analogy to another person; and in several places it means an example which others may follow (1 Cor. x. 6, 11; Phil. iii. 17; 1 Thess. i. 7; 2 Thess. iii. 9, etc.)

As used by theologians the word *type* has received a special technical meaning not exactly equivalent to any of these usages, though approaching to that of Rom. vi. 14, where Adam is said to be the type of Christ. As used by theologians it is rather to *σύν* as employed by the N. T. writers than to *τύπος* that the word *type* corresponds. They mean by it some object, whether office, institution, person, or action, by means of which some truth connected with Christianity was prefiguratively foretold



under preceding dispensations. Such an object the apostles call a *σκιὰ*, a shadow or adumbration of that which it indicated (comp. Heb. x. 1; Col. ii. 17). This shadow became a type because it presented the model or representation of something yet future. Sometimes also the term *παράβολή* is used with a similar meaning (Heb. ix. 9; xi. 19).

II. *Fundamental Principles*.—There are certain fundamental principles which must be assumed as lying at the basis of Typology. These are—

1. Spiritual truths, ideas, thoughts, may be represented by material symbols, whether actions, institutions, or objects. This the usage of all nations establishes. More especially was this a favourite method of communicating thought among the imaginative Orientals; in general it is found to prevail most in the earlier stages of a people's history, whilst as yet the use of objects that appeal to the senses is more effective than the use of written documents. In Scripture frequent instances occur of such symbolical methods of conveying ideas; as, for instance, the placing of the hand under the thigh for confirmation of an oath; the boring of the ear of the servant who declined to avail himself of the liberty brought by the year of jubilee; the rending of the garments in token of grief; and such acts as those of Abijah when in announcing to Jeroboam the secession of the ten tribes from the house of Solomon he tore his garment into twelve pieces and gave to Jeroboam ten (1 Kings ix. 29); that of Elisha when he indicated to the king of Israel the victories which by divine help he should obtain over the Syrians by commanding him to shoot an arrow from the window eastward after he had placed his hand on the king's hand (2 Kings xiii. 14-19); and those of Jeremiah and Ezekiel when they were signs to the people (Jer. xix. 1-11; Ezek. xii. 3-16).

2. Such symbolical representations may be employed to convey *religious* truth. This usage we find also to have prevailed among all nations, especially in the earlier stages of their history. Among the Jews it was abundantly used; not, however, according to human caprice or ingenuity, but always in obedience to the express ordinance of God. The symbolical observances of an earlier age introduced into the service of God it may be presumed were also of divine appointment, on the general principle that as God alone can declare what worship He will receive, it is only as He appoints that any service can be properly offered to Him.

3. The true religion has in all ages been essentially the same, so that the truths symbolised by the institutions of the earlier dispensations are identical with those more directly and fully made known to us under the Christian dispensation. The substantial identity of the patriarchal and Mosaic religions with the Christian must be assumed in all attempts to argue from the O. T. to the N. or *vice versa*, and will not be denied by any who receive these books as divine. From this it necessarily follows that what was taught by *symbol* under the ancient economies as part of religious truth will be found identical with what is taught in *words* under the new dispensation.

4. The religion of Jesus Christ is one resting on the facts of his personal appearance and work. Out of these all its truths flow directly or indirectly; and to these they all have respect. Hence the truths taught symbolically to the O. T. saints, being

identical with those of Christianity, must also rest on and have respect to these facts.

5. A twofold character was thus of necessity given to the religious institutions of the ancient economies. They were primarily symbolical of religious truth. They were secondarily predictive of facts in the future on which these truths rested.

III. *Nature of Types*.—Proceeding on these data we may attempt to construct a typology, the design of which shall be to show what are the types in the O. T., and the correspondence between them and their antitypes in the N. T.

The first step towards this is to determine from the preceding data what is the proper idea of a type. This we would express as follows:—A type is an institute or act appointed by God to symbolise a religious truth, and to prefigure by means of analogy or resemblance those facts in the mediatorial work of Christ on which these truths rest. Here the following things are to be noted:—

1. A type is an institute or act. We use these terms in a wide sense, understanding under the former not only formal organisations and religious offices, but times, places, implements of religious service; and under the latter not only rites and ceremonies, but special acts or series of acts determined by the proper criterion to be typical. By this definition, however, *persons* and *things* simply as such are excluded. A person *per se*, or a thing simply as such, cannot possess a symbolical character; and cannot be the *σκιὰ* or prefigurative sign of another person or thing, much less of a fact or series of facts. A person may sustain a typical office or may perform a typical act; and a thing may be used in a typical service or ceremony; but in and by itself it cannot be a type. This sets aside a whole host of types which the ingenuity of interpreters has constructed out of the historical personages of the O. T. That many of these sustained typical offices, and performed typical acts, is admitted; but that they were in themselves—in their proper individual personality—types of our Lord, we cannot believe. The assertion, indeed, is to us unintelligible except in a sense which would be profane and untrue—viz. that their personal character and conduct was a representation of the character and conduct of our blessed Lord. It is true that for this doctrine of personal types the authority of the N. T. has been pleaded. But we are unable to find a solitary instance in the N. T. of any historical character mentioned in the O. T. being brought forward as having been personally a *σκιὰ* of Christ or his work. In one passage, indeed, Adam is called a *τύπος* of Christ, but *τύπος* is not there equivalent to *σκιὰ*; and, even if it were, it would not follow that it was Adam as a *person* who was the type of Christ, for the apostle is speaking throughout that context of our first parent in his official, federal, or representative character. The words of St. Peter also (1 Ep. iii. 21) have been cited as showing that a simple historical occurrence may be the type of a Christian truth; but whatever the apostle may mean in that passage by calling salvation by baptism the *ἀντίτυπον* of Noah's salvation by the ark, he cannot certainly mean that the latter was a divinely appointed prefiguration of the former. The utmost that can be drawn from his words is, that an analogy subsists between the two, whereby the one is fitted to illustrate the other. The strongest case in favour of the opinion we are opposing is our Lord's repre-



sentation of himself as the true bread of which the manna was the prefiguration. We cannot understand this as intimating less than that the manna was a type of him. Still it was the manna, not as a natural phenomenon, but as a special and peculiar provision made by God for the feeding of the people, that was the type of Christ; and in this divine appointment we find what reduces this under the head of proper types.

2. A type is an institute or act appointed by God, and by him adapted to the end it is designed to serve. Knowing what in due time was to be exhibited to men by the mission and work of his Son, God could not only predict that in words, but also give by means of symbolical acts and institutes such representation of it as would in some measure at least bring before the minds of the ancient saints a lively idea of it. And as God could alone do this it is on his appointment that the whole must rest. 'To constitute one thing the type of another, as the term is generally understood in reference to Scripture, something more is wanted than mere resemblance. The former must not only resemble the latter, but must have been *designed* to resemble the latter. It must have been so designed *in its original institution*. It must have been designed as something *preparatory* to the latter. The type as well as the antitype must have been pre-ordained; and they must have been pre-ordained as constituent parts of the same general scheme of Divine Providence. It is this *previous design*, and this pre-ordained connection, which constitute the relation of type and antitype' (Marsh, *Lectures on the Criticism and Interpretation of the Bible*, p. 374). By the earlier typologists this condition was neglected, and resemblance was made the sole criterion of the relation between an event or person of the O. T. and a fact or doctrine of the N. T. as type and antitype. A once popular book written on this plan is that of M'Ewen *on the Types and Figures of the O. T.* But the principle has been carried out to the wildest extent in a work recently published, entitled *The Typical Testimony to the Messiah: or the Analogy of the Scriptures in relation to typical persons*, by Micahiah Hill, Lond. 1862.

3. Each act or institute designed by God to serve as typical possessed a symbolical as well as a predictive character. This follows from the position that a type is a sensible emblem, or prefigurative token of some spiritual truth, which itself rests upon certain events yet future, but of which events a certain degree of knowledge is possessed by those to whom the type is exhibited. In all such cases, a twofold impression is conveyed to the mind: in the first place, that a particular truth already known is symbolically indicated; and in the second place, that those events on which that truth depends shall certainly take place.

In the testimony of God concerning his Son there are two points—one of fact, and one of doctrine—on both of which we must be instructed before we can really believe that testimony in all its fullness. What God calls us in the Bible to believe, is, first, 'the truth;' and, secondly, that 'truth, as it is in Christ Jesus.' With regard, for instance, to the doctrine of salvation by the atonement, there is, first, the general principle, that such a mode of salvation is reasonable, practicable, and intended by God; and, secondly, the matter of fact, that such an atonement has really been presented by our Lord Jesus Christ, and accepted by the Sove-

reign and Judge of all. Now it was, of course, the same under the O. T. dispensation: there was both the *doctrine* to be announced, and the *fact* to be predicted, before a *complete* statement of saving truth could be laid before the mind; and it was only as *both* of these were apprehended, that the belief of a Jew in the truth became full and intelligent. Hence every type contained at once a symbol of the truth and a prediction of the fact. It presented to the senses of the beholder an outward sign of a great general truth, and a memorial that in due season the event on which that truth rested would take place. Thus, for instance, in the case of *sacrifice*, there was both a symbol and a prediction. The slaying of the animal, and the burning of its flesh, were emblems of the great truth, that the sinner whose substitute that animal had become deserved death and subsequent agony, as well as of the general truth that God's plan of saving men from that desert was by the substitutionary sufferings of another. All this, however, would have been of no avail to the sin-burdened Israelite, who knew well that no mere animal could make atonement for the sins of man, had not that act prefigured and predicted the great sacrifice for sin on the part of the Lamb of God. But, pointed forward to this, his faith obtained an object on which to rest, and he was enabled to rejoice in the salvation of God. So also with regard to the immediate consequences of sacrifice. When a Jew had committed a trespass against the Mosaic law, he had to offer certain sacrifices before he could enjoy his civil and political rights. Immediately, however, on presenting these, he stood *rectus in curia*; he was acquitted of the sin he had committed, and restored to his civil privileges. With this, a mere carnal and worldly Jew was content. But to the pious believer, all this was only the symbol and type of something spiritual. It reminded him that his sins against God had made him guilty, and excluded him from the Divine favour; it directed him to the need of a sacrifice for sin ere God would forgive his transgression; and it assured him, that just as by sacrifice he had been restored to his place in the Jewish state, so by the great sacrifice might he be restored to the Divine favour, and to a place in that spiritual kingdom of which the Jewish nation was the type.

4. Though resemblance to that which it is designed to prefigure does not constitute the only or even the primary condition of a type, it is obvious that this must form a very important element in the adaptation of the type to serve its designed end. Hence we may expect to find some obvious analogy not only between the symbol and that which it symbolises, but also between the divinely-appointed act or institute, and that which it was designed to prefigure. Cyril. Alex. *ὁ τύπος . . . μὴ ὁμοίωσις τῆς ἀληθείας ἐσφέρεται* (in cap. vi. Amos. p. 315).

IV. *Relation to other modes of Teaching.*—Having thus indicated the nature of a type, we would now point out the relation of this mode of teaching divine truth to other modes employed in Scripture more or less akin to it.

1. *Relation to Prophecy.*—Type stands related to prophecy as its parallel. Like it, it teaches a present truth, and announces a future fulfilment of it; like it also, it has in its capacity of a type one definite meaning and one definite fulfilment, to both of which it was intended and designed to point. The difference between a prophecy and a type lies



only in this, that the former teaches by words, the latter by things: the former, that is, by an artificial combination of signs; the latter, by a scenical representation of the whole truth at once. A word is the symbol of an idea; a type is the symbol of some principle or law, and the prediction of some great general fact in the economy of redemption.

2. *Relation to Parable.*—From the word *παράβλη* being used to designate a type, it may be inferred that the connection between the two is intimate. A type, in fact, may be viewed as a sort of *acted parable*. Let us suppose, for instance, that our Lord, instead of describing in words the conduct and circumstances of the prodigal son, had, by the help of suitable actors and scenes, made the whole to pass before the eyes and ears of his auditors, the lesson would have been conveyed to them much in the same way as the truth concerning himself was conveyed to the ancient Jews by the typical rites of the Mosaic economy. In neither case is the lesson *new*, nor fully to be understood without an elucidatory comment; the object of both being to impress vividly a truth, otherwise reasonable or familiar, upon the minds of those to whom it is presented. There is this difference, however, between such a representation and a type,—that the former being merely doctrinal would be exhausted in inculcating a present truth, whilst the latter would, with the doctrine, incorporate a prophetic reference to some great event yet to happen, on which the doctrine was based.

3. *Relation to Comparison.*—The N. T. teachers, occasionally, for the sake of illustrating their meaning, introduce a *comparison*, drawn from some well-known fact in the history of the Jewish people, between which and the point they are discussing there exists some obvious analogy. In this way our Lord makes use of the fact of Moses's erecting the brazen serpent in the wilderness for the purpose of illustrating his own character as a deliverer, who was to be 'lifted up, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life' (John iii. 14, 15). On another occasion he instituted a comparison between his own case, as about to be consigned for a season to the tomb, and that of Jonah, who had been 'three days and three nights in the belly of the fish' (Matt. xii. 40). From this it has been hastily concluded that these events, and others alluded to in the N. T. in a similar manner, were real types and prefigurations of the facts they are brought to illustrate. It is obvious, however, that there is a great difference between an historical event—whether occurring in the natural course of things or by the special interposition of the divine power, and which a subsequent writer or speaker may make use of to illustrate, by comparison, some fact or doctrine of which he is treating—and a symbolical institute expressly appointed by God to prefigure, to those among whom it was set up, certain great transactions in connection with that plan of redemption which, in the fulness of time, he was to unfold to mankind. In the two cases above referred to there is the total absence of any evidence that the events recorded possess any other than a simple historical character. In the case of the brazen serpent, indeed, we have divine appointment; but along with the appointment we have the specific mention of the *purpose* for which it was set up, which was not to teach any religious truths at all, or form any part of religious worship, but simply that it might act as an instrument of

cure to the Israelites who were bitten by the fiery flying serpents. [BRAZEN SERPENT.] It is also possible that such a thing as the brazen serpent *might* possess a symbolical character; but if any will from this argue that it really had such a character, and that it was a symbol of Christ, it will be incumbent upon him, in the first place, to show some evidence in favour of his inference, and, in the next, to explain how it should come to pass that the express symbolical antithesis of the Messiah, the *serpent*, could form part of an institute intended to prefigure his work as the Saviour of men. As to the case of Jonah, we do not find in it so much as the appearance of anything typical; and, indeed, it would have been very strange had God caused the prophet to perform an action typical of the burial and resurrection of Christ, under circumstances in which there was no human being to receive any instruction by it except himself. A type is an acted lesson—a visible representation of invisible truths. To its utility, therefore, spectators are as indispensable as actors; and where the former are not present, to say that God appoints the latter to go through their performance, is to charge him with doing something in vain.

4. *Relation to Allegory.*—'An allegory,' says Bishop Marsh, 'according to its original and proper meaning, denotes a representation of one thing which is intended to excite the representation of another thing.' Adopting this as a just explanation, it is obvious that type and allegory are closely allied. In both there is an original representation which has a meaning of its own, and there is the use of that for the purpose of calling up to the mind the conception of another thing analogous to the former. The two, however, are very distinct. They differ in two respects: the one is that the subject of an allegory is a mere historical event occurring in the ordinary course of things, whereas a type is an act or institute expressly appointed by God to teach some important truth; the other is, that the allegorical sense is a *fictional* meaning put upon a narrative for the sake of illustrating something else; whereas the explanation of a type is its *true* and *only* meaning, and is adduced solely for the sake of unfolding that meaning. Thus Paul, in order to explain the doctrine of the covenants, allegorises the anecdote of Sarai and Hagar recorded by Moses, making Sarai represent the Abrahamic or new or everlasting covenant, and Hagar the Sinaitic or old covenant (Gal. iv. 24, 25). In the same way he allegorises the fact of the water from the rock following the Israelites through the wilderness, speaking of it as representing Christ in the blessings he confers upon his church (1 Cor. x. 4). These allegorisings (*ἀλληγοροῦμενα*) are only comparisons without the form; and their use is obviously merely to explain one thing by another. The radical difference between the exposition of a type and an allegorical interpretation of history, is apparent from the use which the apostle makes of them respectively. His allegorisings are mere illustrations on which, by themselves, nothing is built; whereas his typical explanations are all brought forward as forming the basis of arguments addressed to those who, admitting the type, were thereby pledged to the admission of the truths it embodied.

V. *Interpretation of Types.*—As a general rule it may be laid down that we should always expect to find in the antitype something higher and more



glorious than in the type. Chrysost. (in *Genes. Hom.* 35) *μη πάντα ἀπαλτει ἐν τῷ τύπῳ· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν εἴη τύπος εἰ μέλλοι παντὰ ἔχειν τὰ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ συμβαίνοντα*. This follows from the nature of the case. For if the design of a type be by outward symbols to foreshadow spiritual truths, it follows that, in proportion as the thing signified is more valuable than the mere sign, and as things spiritual and eternal are more glorious than things material and transitory, the type must be inferior in value and in majesty to that which it is designed to prefigure.

More specific rules having reference especially to the Mosaic ritual are—1. The symbolical ritual, as a whole and in its individual parts, can set forth only such ideas and truths as accord with the known, and elsewhere clearly announced, principles of O. T. theology. 2. An accurate knowledge of the outward constitution of each symbol is an indispensable condition of its interpretation; for, as the sole object of the symbol is to convey spiritual truth by sensible representations, to attempt to discover the former before we understand the latter, is to endeavour to reach an end without using the means. 3. The first step in the interpretation of a symbol is the explanation of its *name*; for, as this is generally given with a direct reference to the idea symbolised, it forms of itself a sort of exponent of the symbol to which it is affixed. 4. Each symbol expresses, in general, only *one* grand idea; at the same time, of course, including all subordinate ideas that may be involved in it. Thus, in the case of sacrifices, a variety of truths are presented to the mind, but all going to make up the one grand truth which that rite symbolised. 5. Each symbol has always the same fundamental meaning, however different may be the objects with which it is combined. Thus, for instance, the act of purification has the same symbolical meaning, whether it is performed upon a person or an animal, or upon a material object. 6. In interpreting a symbol, we must throw out of view all that is merely necessitated by the laws of its physical condition, and that does not serve to help out the symbolical representation. Symbols have often accessories of two kinds: the one consisting of such as are in themselves symbolical, and which go to make up the sum total of the representation; the other, of such as are, from the nature of things, required by the material objects composing the symbol for their continued existence. Thus, in the case of the candlestick in the sanctuary, it was provided that it should have branches, and knobs, and flowers, and also that it should be supplied with snuffers and snuff dishes. Now, of those accessories, the former were not indispensable to its serving the purpose for which it was designed—that of giving light; but they, having each a symbolical meaning, added to the symbolical effect of the whole; whereas the latter were merely required in order to prevent the lights from dying out for want of cleansing. Keeping this distinction in view, we need not be afraid of going too minutely into the explanation of the Mosaic ritual. Every thing, in fact, of which it was composed was a symbol, with the single exception of such things as the earthly, physical condition of the substance or persons employed rendered indispensable. Nay, even these, from belonging to a typical institute, such as the nation of Israel was, acquired a sort of secondary typical character; just as the

ordinary events of Israelitish history have for the same reason a spiritually doctrinal character. (Michaelis, *Entwurf der Typischen Gottesgelahrtheit*, Gött. 1763; Bähr, *Symbolik des Mosaischen Cultus*, 2 vols. Heidelb. 1837; Chevallier, *Hulsean Lecture* for 1826; Fairbairn, *The Typology of Scripture*, 2 vols. Edin. 1854.)—W. L. A.

TYRANNUS (Τύραννος), a sophist or rhetorician of Ephesus, who kept one of those schools of philosophy and eloquence so common at that period. St. Paul preached for two years daily in his school after quitting the synagogue (Acts xix. 9). This proves that the school was Greek, not Jewish. It does not appear whether Tyrannus was himself a convert or not; for it may be that he let to the apostle the house or hall which he used: but it is more pleasant to suppose that he was a convert, and that the apostle was hospitably entertained by him, and obtained the use of the hall in which he himself taught.

TYRE, SŪR, SŌR (Heb. צֹר or צָר; Phoen. צָר; Arab. صور [Aram. ܥܝܪܐ]; Gr. Τύρος; Jerome,

Πέτρα, ἡ Τυρίων πόλις, Σῶρ; whence the adjective Sarranus), a city and state of ancient Phoenicia, situated in . . . It is generally supposed to have derived its name from the (double) rock on which its first foundations were laid; while Hitzig traces it (erroneously) to صور, 'Palma exigua.' The name

does not occur among the six coast tribes mentioned in Gen. x. 15-18, and it is therefore generally taken to be a subsequent colony of Sidon (צִידֹן, the metropolis; cf. Just. 18. 3), from which it was distant 200 stadia. Nor does Homer, who specially names Sidon, appear to be aware of the existence of Tyre. Notwithstanding this, however, the latter, after its sudden rise, began to dispute the claim of Sidon with respect even to the priority of age, and went to the extent of assuming on its coins the designation צִידֹן מֵאֵם, 'Mother of the Sidonians.' This boasted antiquity (comp. Is. xxiii. 7; Τύρος ὡγενή, Dion. Perig. 911, etc.), which was traced by its priests to an antediluvian date, is by Josephus fixed at about B.C. 1250, and by Justin about a century later. It succeeded, at all events, in at least dividing the honours of a venerable age with the rival city in the eyes of foreign nations, and the palm is by late classical writers accorded variously to the one or the other. Yet it would appear, notwithstanding Justin's and other writers' testimonies, that Tyre, though her paramount greatness was due to Sidon—which, beaten or destroyed by 'Ascalon,' transferred herself entirely, inhabitants, commerce, manufactures, and all, to the former—had long existed independently of her supposed mother-city. For, even setting aside the primitive myths of Astarte having been born at Tyre, and Melkart having built the city—myths to which a certain substratum of truth is not to be denied—or the existence of the Agenorium, derived from Agenor, the 'founder of the Tyrian dynasty,' still existing at the time of Alexander the Great—the fact of Astarte, the supreme goddess of Sidon, taking second rank only at Tyre, and the Baal Melkart, unknown to Sidon, being the tutelary deity of Tyre, wars against the idea of the latter being nothing but a colony of the former. The most vital condition of Phoenician colonisation was, as is well known, the accurate adherence of the daughter



cities to the worship and special deities of the mother-cities. And situated midway, as it were, between Babylonia and Egypt, the most ancient seats of human civilisation, it is but natural to assume that its age, although not to be fixed now with anything like precision, must rank high even among the oldest cities of the ancient world, and both Justin's and Josephus's dates must be taken to refer to the regeneration or second foundation of Tyre by the Sidonians after their defeat by the Philistines. With this also the mention of a 'strong city Tyre'—*i.e.* the original city—in Josh. xix. 29 agrees perfectly.

Tyre was composed of two distinct parts or towns in historical times: the one situated on the mainland or continental Tyre, and one on the island opposite, from four to thirty stadia (Pliny, Strabo) distant from each other. According to Pliny, the circumference of both was reckoned at about nineteen Roman miles, the island-town comprising about 22 stadia. The town on the shore was called Palæ-Tyros, not from its having been founded before Island-Tyros—for this, indeed, we may assume to have been the first of the two (Reland, Vitringa, Hengstenberg, etc.)—but from the circumstance of its having achieved a high renown long before its much less favourably situated island-sister. Constantly exposed to earthquakes and deluges—occupying a space naturally circumscribed, and rendered still more so by the erections necessary for the purple fisheries and manufactories—and cut off from the easy means of export and import by caravans that belonged to the opposite city, Island-Tyros was by far inferior in importance. In fact, only one (the western) part of the island had been built over up to the time of Hiram, the contemporary of Solomon—*viz.* the 'Old Town' (τὸ ἄστυ), which probably served as harbour, a place for arsenals and magazines, to Palæ-Tyros, that by this time had sent out colonies already to Tartessus and the northern coast of Lybia. The other part of the island, or rather a small island by itself, which has now completely disappeared, and which was first joined to the ἄστυ as the 'New Town' by Hiram, had till then probably been inhabited only by the priests attached to the sanctuary of Melkart. To these two there came a third town or suburb, the Eurychoros (esplanade), formed by means of substructions on the eastern side of the rock. Palæ-Tyros, extending from the river Leontes on the north to the Ras-el-Ain on the south, covered with all its outlying parts no less than about 22 stadia (Pliny), and lay in one of the most fertile and blooming plains of Phœnicia; cf. Hosea's

(ix. 13) שְׁתוּלָה בְנוּה, 'planted in a pleasant place,' or William of Tyre's 'fertilitate præcipua et amœnitatē quasi singularis, habet planitiem sibi continuam divitis glebæ et opimi soli' (xiii. 3). It was watered by several aqueducts, which carried the stream from the fountains-group situated in the plain itself (Head of the Well, Ras-al-Ayin), not only through the whole territory of the continental city, but, probably by means of subterranean pipes, also into the island-city. Without this supposition it would be hardly credible how the latter, which, up to the siege by Salmanassar (before the 8th century), had subsisted on rain-water only collected in cisterns and open canals (ὕδαργυροί) from the Ras, could have stood the long sieges by Nebuchadnezzar (13 years) and of Alexander,

who naturally stopped the overground supplies: without apparently once suffering from want of water. Possibly we may, in a certain annual rite called the 'Wedding of the land-water to the sea-water,' still kept up by the inhabitants, see a faint reminiscence of this ancient juncture. Here also stood the ancient royal palace and the first sanctuary of Heracles, though the most celebrated one lay on the island opposite. The happy mixture of land and sea scenery thus exhibited by the two cities in the time of their prosperity is thus graphically described by Nonnus, a learned Egyptian antideologist of the end of the 4th Christian century: 'The sailor furrows the sea with his oar, as the ploughman the soil, the lowing of oxen and the song of birds answer the deep roar of the main; the Hamadryad among the tall trees hears the voice of the Nereid calling to her from the waves; the breeze from Lebanon, while it cools the rustic at his mid-day labour, speeds the sailor seaward.' 'O Tyros,' exclaims the prophet (Ezek. xxvii. 3, etc.), 'thou hast said: I am of perfect beauty; thy borders are in the midst of the sea, thy builders have perfected thy beauty.' The poets call her 'a virgin bathing in the sea, a Tartessus-ship swimming upon the ocean, an island on shore, and a city in the sea withal,' etc. Above all, however, Nonnus makes his Indian hero get into ecstasies at the 'primeval fountains, especially those where the water . . . gushing out of the depths of the earth, returns every hour;' and he mentions three distinct sources or water-nymphs: 'Abarbera, the fertile; Kal-lirrhoe, the sweet; and Drosera, the rich and bridal one.'

The early history of Tyre is so completely shrouded in mythical mystery that a rational reconstruction of it is next to impossible. We hear of kings of Phœnicia whose very names mostly prove them to be mere types of deities, or special tribes, such as Agenor, Phoenix, Phalīs, Sidon, Tetramnestus, Tennes, Strato, Abdalominus (a word spelt in many different ways, the only reasonable orthography of which however can only be Abd-Alonim

[Hebr. Eljonim], עֶבֶר עֲלִיֹנִים, servant of the Highest Ones or Gods). Abibal however is called the first king of Tyre, and the predecessor of Hiram (Hierom, Suram, etc.), the Biblical Chiram, with whom indeed begins what to us is approximately the historical period of Phœnicia. We have mentioned already the calamity in consequence of which the Sidonians, hitherto the mightiest power of Phœnicia, were obliged to leave their capital and seek refuge in neighbouring Tyre. This took place about 1209 B.C., and very soon after that period Tyre assumed the hegemony. In the time of Samuel we already hear of the Princes (Suffetes) of Tyre oppressing the Israelites. Under Hiram (980-947), the great friend of Solomon, Tyre not only attained to its fullest glory and renown among its sister-states, but the capital itself, enlarged by him into three distinct towns, received its fullest share of palaces, temples, and public edifices, and its two roadsteads and two harbours probably date from this period:—Such, indeed, was the perfection which architecture and the fine arts generally must have attained at that time that Solomon borrowed Tyrian artificers for the erection of his own royal palaces and the temple of Jerusalem, whither Hiram, 'ever a lover of David,' and the first king who concluded an alliance between Phœnicia and



Judæa, had already sent cedar-trees and workmen during the lifetime of David. Whether the letters given by Josephus as having passed between Solomon and Hiram be apocryphal or not, we have no means of judging; but there can be no doubt as to the friendly relations between the two countries, and their mutual exports and imports being highly beneficial to both, more particularly perhaps to Judæa. An offer of twenty cities in Galilee, not far from Tyre, by Solomon, in exchange of Hiram's many offices of kindness towards him, is recorded

to have been declined by the latter (כבול=like nothing; whence the name Kabul). It is at this period, also, when the joint trading expeditions to 'Ophir' are recorded to have taken place, in which the Tyrians furnished the pilots and mariners. Hiram himself seems altogether to have been a very refined, pious, and peaceful monarch. Hardly any wars are recorded during his lifetime, and his reported interchange of problems with the 'wisest of mankind' points to his renown as a '*bel esprit*.' Solomon is by the unanimous testimony of three Phœnician writers said to have married his daughter, who carried him finally over to the Ashtaroth worship. This account however may arise from a confusion between him and a later king of Judæa, Ahab, who, about half a century afterwards, married Jezebel, the daughter of a Tyrian king. Hiram was followed, according to Menander (in Josephus) and Theophilus, by Balestartus, whose four sons reigned after him for short periods. First came Abdastartus, 939-931, who, in consequence of a palace-revolution, was followed on the throne for twelve years by a son of his nurse: a period of internal sedition and general lawlessness, during which, so Justin tells us, all the free citizens of Tyre were murdered by the slaves having intervened. Astartus, the eldest son of Balestartus, succeeded to the government, and ruled from 918-907, when the third brother Astarymus was made king. He was murdered nine years later by Phalettus, his youngest brother, who, after a brief reign of nine months, was put to death by Ithobaal, priest of Astarte, in whose family the kingdom henceforth became hereditary. This Ithobaal, the Ethbaal of Scripture, whose daughter was married to Ahab, is called by Josephus 'king of Tyre and Sidon,' a sign of the supremacy which Tyre had acquired in his day. The drought reported to have taken place in Judæa under Ahab seems to have also touched Phœnicia, and such was Ithobaal's piety that at his supplication thunderclaps were heard, followed by copious rains, and it was chiefly before his reign (898-866) that Tyre commenced to spread its colonies as far as Africa, Spain, etc.: owing in the first instance probably to the danger of life and uncertainty of circumstances into which the country had been plunged by the internal conflicts. But Ithobaal himself seems to have encouraged colonisation, and, in order to prevent the overcrowding of the old cities, to have built a number of new cities. Balezor, his son, succeeded in 865, and was followed by his son Mutton, the office of high-priest devolving on his second son Sicharbaal. Mutton died in 833 and left two children, Elissa (Dido) and Pygmalion, who were to share the kingdom between them, while Elissa, by her marriage with Sicharbaal, was to unite the high-priesthood with the crown. To this arrangement however, the people, averse to the supreme priestly power, demurred, and Pygmalion

was declared sole king. Elissa's husband having been killed, for the sake of his treasures, by the new king, and herself being deprived of her dominion, she is said to have entered into a conspiracy with the aristocratic party, and in the ninth year of Pygmalion's reign, assisted and followed by her brother Barca and the principal families of the land, to have reached Carthage (New Town, קרת חדשה), a colony founded some time before by the Sidonians—about 813—and to have completely rebuilt it and laid the foundation for a power which contended with mighty Rome for the empire of the world.

What Tyre had done to Sidon, Carthage did to Tyre—it gradually extinguished it. We hear nothing more of it till, in the middle of the 8th century, it is found in violent contact with the first of the three great Asiatic powers (Chaldæa, Assyria, Egypt), that, one after the other, endeavoured to make themselves masters of the Tyro-Phœnician coast, and the eastern and western trade concentrated upon it.

The political existence of Palestine, Syria, and Phœnicia, which, instead of making a joint desperate stand, kept on intriguing and plotting against each other—Phœnicia, moreover, being hated and despised by her allies for her iniquitous trade with slaves kidnapped among her neighbours, chiefly in Judæa—was doomed from that time forth. At the time of Salmanassar, king of Assyria, Elulaios (Pyas) ruled Tyre, or rather Phœnicia. The Gittites, at one time subject to that country, had, it seems, revolted and thrown off his yoke. Elulaios, seizing the opportunity of Hezekiah's defeat of the Philistines, marched upon Gath, in order to reconquer it. Whereupon Salmanassar was appealed to by the Gittites, and taking up their cause, made Elulaios desist from his plan. In consequence of this, Sidon, Arke, Palæ-Tyros, and other cities, also threw off their allegiance to Tyre, and voluntarily submitted to Salmanassar, who now tried to reduce Tyre herself. He sent a fleet against her, which was defeated and dispersed with a much smaller number of vessels. He now tried to reduce the city by land, cutting off the water-supplies. For five years, however, Tyre withstood his forces, and when, at the end of this time, the Assyrian king died, the siege was raised. But there can hardly be a doubt that Tyre, as well as the whole of Phœnicia, very soon was made tributary to Assyria, like all the neighbouring countries, and the calamities brought upon them all alike by the uninterrupted war-expeditions of the Assyrian monarchs could not but be felt also by the dependencies and colonies. These fell more or less about this time into the hands of new settlers, from whom again Carthage somewhat later wrested a part for herself.

When the iron grasp of Assyria began to relax, the Chaldæo-Egyptian contest brought still greater miseries upon that unfortunate Syro-Phœnician coast, and Phœnicia, still nominally ruled by Tyre. The Phœnicians, it would appear, had allied themselves to the Egyptians, who under Psammetichus had seized upon Philistæa, and were about to assist Pharaoh-Necho in his further conquest of the Tyro-Palestinian states. When, therefore, at Karkemish, the Egyptians had been defeated by the Chaldæans, the latter instantly followed up their victory by occupying Syria, Palestine, and Phœnicia, and selling a great number of the inhabitants of the



latter, about 605. A league having been formed between these states to throw off the foreign yoke, gave rise to a new Chaldean expedition against them under Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. xxv. 22 ; xxvii. 3 ; xlvii. 4), which ended with the destruction of Jerusalem (587) and the reduction of the sea-coast—except Tyre. For thirteen years Nebuchadnezzar besieged it by water and by land, but, it would appear, without success. The most graphic descriptions of this siege are found in Ezekiel (xxvi. 7-12 ; xxix. 18 ; xxviii. 2 ; xxvi. 17, etc.)

An apparent show of submission, but not a subjection—leaving the native sovereigns on the throne and their wealth and naval power untouched—was all Nebuchadnezzar had gained when he raised the 'wageless' siege (cf. Ezek. xxix. 17). Once more Nebuchadnezzar armed, at the end of this war, against Egypt, but Pharaoh-Apries, swiftly marching upon Phœnicia, subduing it and destroying its fleet, prevented this expedition. At this time the ancient constitution of Tyre was changed. Ithobaal had been followed by Baal, but after Baal two



511. Tyre.

judges (suffetes) took for a certain period the place of the monarch. We hear of internal commotions—natural enough in a country and city upon which calamity after calamity had fallen in so short a time ; and the existence of two parties in the commonwealth that looked respectively to Chaldaea and to Egypt could not but foster those internal dissensions. In 538, while Eiromus stood at the head of the Tyrian or Phœnician affairs, Cyrus captured Babylon, and thus became master also of Phœnicia, which had reverted to this power. At that time

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Sidon, being made the royal residence, again resumed the Hegemony. Under the successive Persian rulers Phœnicia was allowed to retain many of its national institutions, and even a certain amount of independence, in return for which it paid a comparatively small tax and placed its again powerful fleet at the disposal of the conquerors, who entirely lacked that most vital element of naval power. Together with Philistæa and Cyprus it was incorporated under Darius Hystaspis in the fifth nomos or circle of the empire,

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and up to the time of Xerxes the relations between the conquerors and the conquered were of a perfectly friendly nature. But when this king, during his Greek invasion, had managed to destroy the highly-prized Phœnician fleet almost completely, and to this calamity added galling measures and humiliations without end, the people became so exasperated that they took part, under Sidon's leadership, in the revolt of Egypt against Artaxerxes Mnemon, and Ochus, about the middle of the 4th century, which ended most disastrously for the whole country, and particularly for Sidon, which, wealth and all, was fired by its own inhabitants. Tyre afterwards (350) again resumed the sway, until, after the battle on the Issus, all the Phœnician cities except herself paid their allegiance to Alexander the Great. For seven months she sustained one of the most remarkable sieges ever recorded (332 B.C.) Palæ-Tyros having been razed to the ground, this once island-city was connected by the conqueror with the mainland by means of a mole, which, once destroyed, had to be reconstructed entirely anew. An immense fleet was collected, the ablest engineers of Phœnicia and Cyprus exercised all their skill on the construction of new battering and other machines, while the means of defence on the part of the Tyrians were as cunning as they were successful, and fearfully galling to the besiegers. At last Tyros fell under a furious double attack, and, provoked by their desperate resistance even after the town was taken already, the soldiery fired it and massacred an immense number of the inhabitants. Alexander replaced the population by new colonists, chiefly Carians, and soon again the exceptionally favourable position of the place regained for it part of its ancient prosperity, and scarcely eighteen years afterwards it was capable of sustaining a new siege, notwithstanding even the remaining mole.

Ptolemy had, after Alexander's death, annexed Phœnicia to his kingdom; but when, in 315, Antigonus returned from Babylonia, he easily expelled his garrisons from all the Phœnician cities save Tyre, which only surrendered after an eighteen months' siege. The boundaries of its territory at that period were: Sarepta to the north, the 'Tyrian Ladder' to the south, and Kedes and Baka in Galilee to the east. Beyond this nothing particular is known of it from this time forth to the time of the civil wars of Rome—with which empire Phœnicia had been incorporated together with Syria, by Pompey—when Cassius divided Syria into small provinces and sold them separately. Tyre for a short period thus became a principality again with a king of her own. Mark Antony presented it, together with the whole of Phœnicia, to Cleopatra, securing to Tyre (and Sidon), in spite of Cleopatra's entreaties, its ancient freedom; but what shadow of independence it had retained was taken from it by Augustus (A.D. 20). In the N. T. we find mention made of it (Matt. xi. 21; Luke x. 13, etc.), and at an early period a Christian community was formed there (Acts xxi. 3, 7). For a long time afterwards Tyre retained her manufactures and trade, though a mere shadow of what these once had been:—chiefly with regard to her dyeing produce Hadrian granted Tyre the title of metropolis, and it formed the principal naval station on the Tyrian coast. Once again it was fired in A.D. 193, when it took part with Septimius Severus against Pescennius Niger in their contest for the crown, and Severus

gratefully bestowed upon the place, which he peopled with his third legion, the title of colony and the Jus Italicum. And such was its elastic vitality, that at the time of Constantine it again equalled all the Eastern cities in wealth and commercial prosperity. St. Jerome, in the 4th century, calls it the noblest and most beautiful city of Phœnicia, and expresses his astonishment at the apparent nonfulfilment of the prophecy which threatened its eternal desolation. ('*Nec ædificaberis ultra*' videtur facere quæstionem, quomodo non sit ædificata? quam hodie cernimus Phœnices nobilissimam et pulcherrimam civitatem.') Notwithstanding the establishment of an imperial dyeing manufactory at Constantinople in the 7th century, when Phœnicia was taken by the Saracens, Tyre yet retained her ancient celebrity for her purple, which was imported into Lombardy at the time of Charlemagne. Under the Caliphs it enjoyed the benefits of a mild and enlightened dominion, and during the Crusades was much admired both for its natural beauty and its fine edifices, and its generally prosperous aspect. It again had at that time to sustain a long siege, but finally surrendered (1124), and was made an archbishopric, bestowed four years afterwards upon William of Tyre, the chronicler of the Crusades. In August 1192, it was fixed as the northern boundary of the Christian territories in Palestine, and continued to flourish, chiefly through the Venetian trade, as a commercial city until the conquest of Syria by Selim I. in 1516, from which time forth its decline, further aided by the discovery of the New World and the route to Asia by the Cape of Good Hope, has been rapid and complete. Nothing but ruins, and hardly any inhabitants were found by visitors from the beginning of the 16th century to the middle of the 18th, when a change for the better took place, although its general desolate aspect remains the same. There are yet, according to Mr. Porter, from about 3000 to 4000 inhabitants living among the broken ruins of its former magnificence, eking out a scanty livelihood upon insignificant exports of tobacco, cotton, wool, and wood. The place as it now stands was founded under the old name Sûr in 1766, and has suffered very considerably during the earthquake in 1837. The remains of an ancient cathedral church enclose probably the bones of the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa and of Origen. About 1½ mile distant from Tyre is the so-called tomb of Hiram, an immense sarcophagus of limestone, supposed to contain the corpse of that king. [See PHœNICIA; SIDON; HIRAM, etc.]—E. D.

## U

UCAL. [PROVERBS, BOOK OF.]

ULAI (𐤆𐤋𐤁, Sept. *Oûbal*), a river which flowed past the city of Shushan (Susa), where Daniel was (Dan. viii. 2). It can hardly be doubted that this name appears in *Euleus*, the name given by Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* vi. 31) and Arrian (*Exped. Alex.* vii. 7) to a river which flowed past Susa, and of the waters of which alone, the former says, the kings of Persia drink. But Herodotus (i. 188; v. 49, 52) says the same of a river which he calls *Choaspes*; and Strabo (xv. 728), Curtius (v. 2. 9), and others, call the river of Susa by this name. Two solutions of this discrepancy have been proposed. The one is, that as



Ptolemy says (vi. 3. 2) that the Eulæus had two sources, the one in Media and the other in Susiana, it may thus have had two names, and have received sometimes one and sometimes the other. The other solution is, that as there is reason to believe that the modern *Kerkhah*, which is identified with the *Choaspes*, bifurcated at a point some 20 miles N. W. of Susa, and sent forth thence a branch which passed by Susa and fell into the *Pasitigris* (*Kuran*), it is probable that the name Eulæus belonged properly to this branch, whilst the main stream retained that of Choaspes. Either of these hypotheses will explain and remove the discrepancy. The latter is probably to be preferred (Loftus, *Chaldea and Susiana*, p. 424, ff.; Kinneir, *Persian Empire*; Rawlinson and Layard in *Geograph. Journal*, ix. 48, ff., and xvi. 91, ff.) In this case the Ulai no longer exists.—W. L. A.

ULFILAS, the apostle of the Goths, was descended from a family which originally belonged to Sadagolthina, near the town of Parnassus in Cappadocia, whence his ancestors were carried captive by the Goths about the middle of the 3d century (Philostorg. *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 5). He was born A.D. 313; and, his mother being probably a Goth, he received a Gothic name, *Vulfila* = *wolf/kin*, from *Vulfo*, *wolf*. He grew up familiar with both the Gothic and Greek tongues. He commenced his career as a religious teacher among the West-Goths on the banks of the Danube; and in 343 he was consecrated bishop. This is the account of Auxentius, which seems preferable to that of Philostorgius, who says he was consecrated by Eusebius and other bishops on the occasion of his being sent to Constantine the Great on an embassy by the ruler of the Goths; for as Constantine died in 337, when Ulfilas was only 24 years of age, we cannot suppose that one so young would be set apart to so responsible an office. Philostorgius says he was the first bishop of the Goths; but in the list of bishops who were at the Council of Nice in 325 appears the name of an earlier Gothic bishop, Theophilus. From the first Ulfilas belonged to the Arian party, and in the synod at Constantinople in A.D. 360 acted with that party. He laboured with earnest zeal for the conversion of the heathen Goths, and with such success as to draw down on the Christians the persecution of the ruling powers. Ulfilas having obtained permission of the emperor to retire with his adherents beyond the limits of the empire, betook himself to Mœsia, where, at the foot of Mount Hæmus, near Nicopolis, a settlement was formed by those who had accompanied him in his exile. Here the rest of his life was spent, not without vicissitudes and agitations, yet in unwearied efforts for the spiritual good of the people among whom he dwelt. At what time his translation of the Bible into the Gothic tongue—the great and abiding monument of his evangelistic zeal—was executed is uncertain; but it was probably about A.D. 370 [GOTHIC VERSION]. He died in 383, overwhelmed, it is said, by finding himself ranked as a heretic by the Council of 381.—W. L. A.

UMBREIT, FRIED. WILH. KARL, was born 11th April 1795, at Sonneborn, near Gotha. At an early period he devoted himself to Oriental and Biblical literature, especially that of the O. T. In 1820 he became a professor extraordinary of philosophy and theology in the philosophical faculty at

Heidelberg; in 1823 he was made an ordinary professor; and in 1829 he conjoined with this an ordinary professorship in the theological faculty. He received from the Bavarian government in 1832 the title of Kirchenrath, and in 1844 that of Geheimen-Kirchenrath. For many years he edited, along with Dr. Ullmann, the *Theolog. Studien und Kritiken*, one of the most influential of the German theological journals. He began his publications on the O. T. with a new translation of the Song of Solomon, with æsthetic illustrations, Gott. 1820; and this was followed by his translation of Job, with notes, Heidelb. 1824 [translated into English and forming 2 vols. of the Edinburgh Biblical Cabinet]; and his translation, with notes, of the Proverbs, Heidelb. 1826. A work of higher merit than these is his *Praktischen Commentar ueber die Propheten des A. B.*, 4 Bde. Hamb. 1841-46. He published also *Christliche Erbauung aus dem Psalter*, Hamb. 1835, a translation with explanations of thirty-five Psalms, arranged under the heads of Faith, Redemption, Hope; *Grundtöne des A. T.* Hamb. 1843; *Der Knecht Gottes. Beiträge zur Christologie des A. B.* Hamb. 1840; *Die Sünde Beitr. zur Theologie des A. B.* Hamb. and Gotha 1856. His last work, and not the least valuable, was one in which he brought his O. T. learning to bear on the elucidation of the N. T., *Der Brief an die Römer aus dem Grunde des A. T. ausgelegt*, Gotha 1856. He died 26th April 1860.—W. L. A.

UMMAH (עַמְמָה; Ἀμμα; *Amma*), a city of Asher, mentioned only in Josh. xix. 30. There is nothing in the passage to indicate its exact position, farther than that it does not appear to have been one of the border cities. Eusebius and Jerome evidently knew nothing of it (*Onomast.* s. v. 'Amna'). Dr. Thomson suggested that it may be identical with the modern *Alma*, a village situated 'on the top of the Ladder of Tyre, and a little more than one hour east of its termination at the sea' (*Bibliotheca Sacra*, xii. p. 827). The Arabic name (عَلما) bears some resemblance to the Hebrew, and the situation is not unsuitable; but more than this cannot be said. The statement of Delitzsch (*Comment. on Josh.*), that '*Ummah* may perhaps have been preserved in Kefr Hammana, upon the Lebanon, to the south of Hammana,' cannot be received, for the territory of Asher reached only to Zidon on the north, and Ammeih is at least twenty miles beyond it.—J. L. P.

#### UNCLEAN MEATS. [FOOD.]

UNCLEANNES (טִמְאָה, from the adj. טָמֵא, so frequently used in the almost technical sense of Levitical defilement, and especially in the leper's wail, Lev. xiii. 45) is the term by which, in the law of Moses, is indicated that condition which caused the temporary suspension of a Hebrew man or woman from their religious and social privileges, as subjects of the Theocracy. About seventy specific cases of possible uncleanness are described, and others implied. Various modes of classifying them have been resorted to. The old Jewish writers made two classes, according to the length of the ceremonial suspension. The lighter class embraced the instances of uncleanness for the day; the heavier class, those of a longer period (*Pesietha*, in Ugolino, xv. 1148; Maimonides, *Constitutions*, in Ugol. viii. 58, where the contaminated of the

lighter class is called טבול יום, *de die lavandus*, comp. Lightfoot, *Harm. of O. T.* [Works by Pitman, ii. 122]; only he gives four classes, according to time). Other writers (see Corn-a-Lapide on Lev. xv. 22) make also two classes, only on a different principle: 'Duplex fuit immundities Hebr. Una erat peccatum, quia praecepto Dei vetita, talis erat comedere carnes immundas. Talis etiam erat pati lepram, etc. Altera non erat vetita, sed solum indicata et statuta, talis erat tangere leprosum, etc. Haec non erant peccata, sed tantum inducebant irregularitatem quandam.' Modern Jews profess to be bound only by the former of these classes. The *threefold* classification, however, which is indicated in the law of Moses itself, seems to be most convenient, and is most commonly adopted:—i. 'Every leper;' ii. 'Every one that hath an issue;' iii. 'Whoever is defiled by the dead' (see Num. v. 2). The lawgiver, no doubt, here refers to his own enactments in Leviticus, and under the three generic phrases includes all the instances of uncleanness. (1.) He begins with *Leprosy*, the gravest of all instances. A minute diagnosis of this terrible malady in its ceremonial character, and the purification which the law prescribed, are given in Lev. xiii. The reader is also referred for a full treatment of both parts of the subject to the article *LEPROSY*, especially sec. 2 (vol. ii. pp. 813, 814). (2.) Under the second head, of uncleanness from 'issues,' are included all those physical emanations or bodily discharges to which both sexes are liable. They are described in their several details in the following passages: [a.] The woman's *periodical* issues in Lev. xv. 19-24, and *irregular* issues in verses 25-27. These were alike unclean in themselves (the former for seven days, the latter during the irregularity), and communicated uncleanness during the day alike to 'whosoever touched her,' 'her bed,' or 'anything that she sat on;' from which uncleanness they escaped 'at even,' by washing their clothes and bathing. Any man, who so far forgot decency as to lie with her, and be stained with her menstrual taint, incurred an equally long defilement as the woman herself, and like her communicated uncleanness to the bed whereon he lay. On the day after the cessation of her issue (the eighth) the woman, for her purification, was to bring two turtle-doves or two young pigeons, one for a sin-offering and the other for a burnt-offering, to the priest, who was to make atonement for her before the Lord. [b.] The issues of males, two sorts of which are mentioned in Lev. xv. 3, produced uncleanness with effects precisely similar\* to

those of women (see verses 4-12). This is not the place to discuss the nature of these male fluxes; Michaelis adduces strong reasons for disputing the general opinion, which denies that the *Gonorrhoea virulenta* is referred to in the passage before us (*Laws of Moses* [Smith's trans.], art. ccxii.) [ISSUE.] The purification prescribed for men under this defilement is identical with that for women (vers. 13-15). [c.] Sexual copulation, including conjugal intercourse, caused to both man and woman uncleanness 'until the even,' from which they were to cleanse themselves and their garments by bathing and washing (vers. 16-18). [d.] The final result of the sexual act in childbirth produced a still more marked defilement (see Lev. xii.) The mother's uncleanness in this her puerperal state, on the birth of a boy, was identical in duration with that of her menstrual issues. Seven days was she unclean (ver. 2); on the eighth the child was circumcised (ver. 3); after which the mother remained in private, excluded from the sanctuary, during thirty-three days more (ver. 4). This period of forty days' defilement\* was doubled in the case of the birth of a maid child (ver. 5). The purification rites of the mother, however, were the same, whether observed at the end of the forty or of the eighty days. She brought a yearling lamb for a burnt-offering, and a young pigeon, or turtle-dove, for a sin-offering, unto the priest, that he might make atonement for her before the Lord, and she might be cleansed. In case of inability to bring the lamb, the substitution of another young pigeon or turtle-dove by the mother was allowed (vers. 6-8). Comp. the Virgin Mary's humbler offering in her 'low estate,' Luke ii. 22-24). In our general article on the LAWS OF MOSES, we had occasion to remark on the probable *substratum* of moral and religious mystery which underlies much of the ceremonial enactments. The havoc made by sin on our human race seems most strongly indicated by the fact that the *normal and inevitable conditions of our natural life are affected with uncleanness*. The gradations of pollution from conception to parturition, and its remarkable culmination in the birth of the *female child*, are wonderfully significant of the original 'transgression,' and of *woman's* first and heavier share in it (1 Tim. ii. 14, comp. with Gen. iii. 6, 16, 17). (3.) Equally noticeable, as

of man is Lord also of the Sabbath' (see Wordsworth on Lev. xv. 8). The Lord's touch of the leper and of the corpse of Jairus' daughter was, in like manner, not a mere ceremony preliminary to the miracles, but an express and formal mode of asserting his divine superiority over the law.

\* That is to say, *mutatis mutandis*; for the uncleanness of 'the saddle' is an incident peculiar to the male (ver. 9). In verse 8 another special case is mentioned, which is worthy of observation: 'If he that hath the issue *spit* upon him that is clean, then he shall wash his clothes, etc.' The spittle of the unclean man imparted also uncleanness (comp. Num. xii. 14). This fact gives peculiar interest to our Lord's use of *spittle* on three several occasions, as a means of imparting *cures and health* (Mark vii. 33; viii. 23; John ix. 6, 7). He not only thus refuted at the moment the calumny of his enemies, who reviled him as steeped in the worst of uncleanness and possessed with a devil, but vindicated his power over the law itself, as he did indeed in other particulars—*cx. gr.* when he said, 'The Son

\* The two periods in the mother's purification are, however, different in character. 'For seven days, immediately after she is brought to bed, she lies *בדמי טומאתה*, 'in the blood of her uncleanness;' but the three-and-thirty following, *בדמי טהרה*, 'in the blood of her purifying.' Although the privacy continued to the mother, she was after the seven days released from the ban of uncleanness, and did not communicate defilement to others, as in the previous period of her perfect isolation and disability. The old Jewish authorities are as usual very dogmatic on the point: 'In *Pesictha*, col. 4, it is written, *בדמי טהרה*, 'in the blood of her purifying;' *אפילו שופעת דם כנהר*, 'though she issue blood like a flood, yet טהורה,



might be expected, are the traces of this havoc, as displayed in the various uncleannesses of death—the third and last of our chapters of classification; and herein we recognise the deeper implication of our human race in the ruin, above all other living beings. ‘By the law of Moses,’ says Lightfoot, ‘nothing was unclean to be touched *while it was alive, but only man*: a man in leprosy was unclean to be touched, and a woman in her separation; but dogs, swine, worms, etc., were not unclean to be touched *till they were dead*; and there were also different degrees herein; while touching a dead beast brought uncleanness for a day, touching a dead man produced the uncleanness of a week,’ etc. (*Harm. of O. T.* as above). This gradation of defilement from contact with death is described—*i.* In Lev. xi. 8, 11, 24, 26, 27, 31-35, 39, 40; xvii. 15; *ii.* In Lev. xxii. 4-8; *iii.* In Num. xix. 11, 14, 16; *iv.* In Num. vi. 9. In the first of these four sections, the uncleanness arises from the dead bodies of animals, fishes, birds, and reptiles. It was the shortest in duration, lasting in every case only ‘until even;’ and it was to be terminated uniformly by the washing of the clothes. The last statute, Lev. xvii. 15, prescribed *ablution of the person also*, for ‘every soul that eateth that which died of itself, or that which was torn with beasts.’ In the second section, the same defilement is described as incidental to the *priests*,\* no less than to the laity, from which they must free themselves by ablution. So much for the *minor* uncleannesses from the dead. Our third and fourth sections contain the instances where the *major* disability of seven days is occasioned by contact with human dead: ‘Whosoever toucheth one that is slain with a sword in the open fields, or a dead body, or a bone of a man, or a grave, shall be unclean seven days.’ As the defilement was deeper, so was the mode of purification more elaborate and solemn. For the details of the ceremony,—the sacrifice of the red heifer without the camp; the sevenfold sprinkling of her blood before the tabernacle; the utter consumption by fire of the slain animal; the cedar-wood, hyssop, and scarlet cast into the burning mass; the gathering up of the ashes; their mixture in running water for ‘the water of separation;’ the sprinkling of this water over the unclean person, on the third and the last of the seven days; his own washing of his clothes and bathing of his person, and his final cleansing on the evening of the seventh day,—the reader will consult the 19th chapter of Numbers. Our fourth section describes the interruption of the Nazarite’s vow by any sudden death happening in his presence. This mortality ‘lost him’ all the days of his vow which had transpired, and required for its own expiation also the usual hebdomad, on the last day of which he was to shave his head, and on the morrow bring two young pigeons, or two turtles, to the priest, that he might present them as a sin-offering and a burnt-offering as an atonement for the polluted.

is she clean.’ Nor doth she defile anything by touching it, but what is holy.’—Lightfoot, *Exercit. on St. Luke* (Pitman), vol. xii. p. 37.

\* The members of the priesthood were also liable, like their lay brethren, to the disabilities arising from the pollutions of *leprosy*, and of the *running issue*, our classes *i.* and *ii.* See Lev. xxii. 4 [first clause].

Such are the cases of ceremonial uncleanness, as grouped in the threefold classification of the law itself. As, however, a few stray instances remain of a peculiar kind, we will proceed to class them in a supplementary chapter. We have then under this head, first, the cases of what may be called *official* uncleanness. (*a.*) The priest who superintended the holocaust of the red heifer was rendered unclean until evening by the part he took in the sacred rite; from this defilement he purified himself by the washing of his clothes and the ablution of his person (Num. xix. 7). This uncleanness was the more remarkable, from the precautionary character of the law, which in other cases seemed so strongly to aim at preserving the priests, as far as might be, from the incidence of ceremonial pollution (see Lev. xxi. 1-4). (*b.*) The man that burnt the heifer was involved in the same defilement as the priest, from which he was also extricated by a similar purification (Num. xix. 8). So again (*c.*), the man who gathered the ashes of the consumed heifer was unclean until evening; but from this disability he was released by the lesser ceremony of simply washing his clothes (ver. 10). Similar instances of uncleanness, arising out of official routine, occur in the ordinances of the Day of Atonement. (*d.*) The man who dismissed the scape-goat was to wash his clothes and bathe himself before returning to the camp (Lev. xvi. 26); and (*e.*), a like purification was required of him who burnt the bullock and the goat of the sin-offering (ver. 28). Under this head of *official* uncleanness, we may perhaps place the abnormal case of the Israelite soldiers who slew the Midianites at the command of Moses (Num. xxxi. 17). They were to remain outside the camp seven days; purify themselves on the third and on the seventh day; cleanse their raiment, etc., with either fire or the water of separation, as the case might require, and on the last day wash their clothes (vers. 19, 20, 23, 24). Besides these cases of *official* uncleanness, we find one instance *sui generis* occurring in Deut. xxiii. 10, 11, which, with its purification, is thus described:—‘If there be among you any man that is not clean by reason of uncleanness that chanceth him by night, then shall he go abroad out of the camp . . . but when evening cometh he shall wash himself with water, and when the sun is down, he shall come into the camp again.’ [It may be observed, that this case is not designated by the usual term *טִמְאָה*; the phrase merely denotes its accidental character, *לֹא-טִמְאָה מִקְרָה-לֵיָּלֵךְ*.]

Our enumeration, to be complete, should include the *aggregate* uncleanness of the priest and his household, and the nation (Lev. xvi.); this was expiated by the grand ritual of the GREAT DAY OF ATONEMENT, for the imposing details of which ceremony we must refer the reader to our article on that subject.

Some few historical instances of uncleanness, and more of purification, are mentioned both in the O. T. and the N. T. As being, however, applications only of some of the statutes which we have given above, we shall refrain from adducing them here, except one case, which is important because it led to the enactment of a proviso in the law. ‘There were certain men, who were defiled by the dead body of a man, that they could not keep the passover on that day.’ They stated their difficulty to Moses and Aaron, the former of whom referred

it to the Lord, and obtained from him a statute allowing a supplemental celebration of the passover for such as were incapacitated in the manner in question or on a distant journey (see PASSOVER and Num. ix. 6-12). In contrast with this relief was the inflexible penalty threatened against all wilful neglect of the various rites of purification prescribed in the law. The fullest formula of this penalty occurs in Num. xix. 20: 'The man that shall be unclean and shall not purify himself, that soul shall be cut off from among the congregation [or, as it runs in ver. 13, 'from Israel'], because he hath defiled the sanctuary of the Lord.' That this *excision* meant death is evident from Lev. xv. 31 and xx. 9 (See Michaelis, *Laws of Moses* [Smith], iv. 43, and Keil on Gen. xvii. 14). Jehovah, the theocratic king and holy God, who had his own ways of 'cutting off' the disobedient, is pleased to include in his sentence of excision the reason for its infliction; 'because he hath defiled the sanctuary of the Lord.' This is in direct accordance with the principle by which the divine legislator repeatedly sanctions his laws: 'Ye shall be holy, for I the Lord your God am holy' (Lev. xix. 2 and frequently elsewhere); and it was the recognition of these saintly duties which always characterised the pious Israelite. 'God' (says the Psalmist, Ps. lxxxix. 7) 'is greatly to be feared in the assembly of the saints' קדושים, which is likewise the word used in the formula of Leviticus—the phrase בְּקִדְּשֵׁי, also, which occurs in the 5th ver. of this Psalm,

is the frequent designation of the political organisation of the Israelites], and to be had in reverence of all them that are about him.' The Mosaic ritual on uncleanness illustrates much of the phraseology of the Psalms and the Prophets, and (what is more) many statements in the N. T.; not only in obvious comparisons, as in the Epistle to the Hebrews, but in oblique phrases, such as in Eph. v. 26, 27; where the apostle, 'speaking of Christ's washing the church, that he might present it to himself 'without spot or wrinkle,' etc., seemeth to allude to the Jews' exceeding great curiousness in their washings for purification' (Lightfoot, who quotes Maimonides in *Mikvaoth*, cap. i, vol. iii. p. 297). In conclusion, we must refer to the notices of purification which occur in the N. T. These are of three kinds—1st, The *legitimate* instances, such as that of the Virgin Mary (Luke ii. 22); the leper (Mark i. 44); the Nazarite (Acts xxi. 23, 24); all of which make express reference to the law. 2dly, The *unauthorised* cases, such as the traditional and Pharisaical washings of the hands (Matt. xv. 2), and of tables, cups, and platters (Mark vii. 4). All these the Lord condemned in strong terms as superstitious encroachments on the divine law. 3dly, The *doubtful* cases, such as the case of those who came to Jerusalem to purify themselves before the Passover (John xi. 55), and the discussion mentioned in John iii. 25. 'Their controversy,' says Lightfoot, 'was partly about the pre-eminence of the Judaical washings and the evangelical baptism—and here the Jews and John's disciples were at opposition; and partly about the pre-eminence of John's baptism and Christ's—and here the Jews would hiss them on in the contestation' (Works [Pitman], v. 67). Our object in this article has been to collect the *scriptural* laws on uncleanness and purification; we have avoided the Jewish tra-

ditional doctrines. These may be discovered by the curious on such subjects by a careful use of the indexes to the works of Lightfoot; Schoettgenii *Horæ Hebr. et Talmud*; and Surenhusii *Mishna*. Dr. Wotton, in his work on the Mishna (vol. i. 160-170), has analysed the *Seder Tahoroth* or *Order of Purifications*, which contains the authorised tradition on the subject of our article. 'In this order,' says Wotton, 'more than in any of the rest, the true Pharisaical spirit which our blessed Lord so severely reprehends in Matt. xv. and Mark vii. is plainly and fully seen.' We subjoin the names of the chief 'titles' or sections of this order:—1. *Celim*, vessels; 2. *Oholoth*, tents—treating of pollutions from the dead; 3. *Negaim*, plagues—of leprosy; 4. *Pava*, the red heifer; 5. *Tahoroth*, purifications—relating to lesser uncleannesses which last but a day; 6. *Mikvaoth*, collections of water for the cleansing baths, etc.; 7. *Nidda*, menstrual pollutions; 9. *Zabim*, men that have seminal uncleannesses; 10. *Tibul fom*, washed by day [see above]; and 11. *Jadaim*, hands—the constitutions in which title have no foundation in the written law.—P. H.

#### UNICORN. [REEM.]

UPHAZ (אֹפָז; Sept. Ὠφάξ), a country from which gold was obtained (Jer. x. 9; Dan. x. 5). It is generally supposed to be a corruption of אֹפִיר Ophir, which would require the change of only one letter, and there are other cases in which ו and ז are interchanged.

#### UPPER-ROOM. [HOUSE.]

UR OF THE CHALDEES (אֹר כַּשְׁדִּים; ἡ χώρα τῶν Χαλδαίων; *Ur Chaldeorum*; in Josephus, *Ὀρὴ τῶν Χαλδαίων*), the native place of the patriarch Abraham. The sacred historian states, that after the death of Haran, his son Terah migrated with his family from Ur of the Chaldees, 'and came unto Haran, and dwelt there' (Gen. xi. 28, 31). It is only in connection with this event that Ur is mentioned in Scripture. There is no clear indication in the Bible of its geographical position, nor is it said whether it was a city or a province. From the narrative in Genesis it appears that Terah set out from Ur with the intention of going to Canaan; but for some reason, on reaching Haran, he settled there; and it was not until after the death of Terah that Abraham continued his journey to the Land of Promise (xi. 31, 32; xii. 5). It may be inferred from another passage in Genesis that Abraham and his father originally left Ur of the Chaldees by divine command (xv. 7); and it is expressly stated by Nehemiah, the only other sacred writer who mentions Ur, that it was there the Lord first elected Abraham (ix. 7). The words of the martyr Stephen are important, not only as confirming this fact, but as tending to indicate the position of Ur. 'The God of glory appeared unto our father Abraham when he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Charran' (Acts vii. 2). This is all the information the Bible gives regarding Ur. From it, however, it is evident: first, that Ur was in the country of the Chaldeans; and second, that it was also situated in the country afterwards called Mesopotamia.

It will be observed that the Septuagint rendering of Ur is uniformly χώρα, 'region,' or 'land.' It may be that χώρα was an error, or attempted



correction of some copyist for *ûpa*. Or perhaps the word may have originally been written as a proper name, the letter *χ* being prefixed as an aspirate, or to indicate some peculiar pronunciation of the initial Hebrew *א*. It is certain that the Hebrew *אור* could never be made equivalent to the Greek *χώρα*.

Jerome translates the clause in Neh. ix. 6 *eduxisti cum de igne Chaldaeorum*: 'Thou broughtest him' (Abraham) 'out of the fire of the Chaldeans.' This rendering was doubtless suggested by the Jewish fable which is thus related in the *Targum of Jonathan* on Gen. xi. 28: 'And it came to pass when Nimrod had cast Abram into the furnace, because he would not worship his idol, and the fire had no power to burn him, that Haran's heart became doubtful, saying, If Nimrod overcome, I will be on his side; but if Abram overcome, I will be on his side. And when all the people saw that the fire had no power over Abram, they said in their hearts, Is not Haran full of divinations and charms, and has he not uttered spells over the fire, that it should not burn his brother? Immediately there fell fire from the heavens and consumed him; and Haran died in the sight of Terah his father, in the furnace of fire which the Kasdai (Chaldeans) had made for Abram his brother.'

The word *Ur* signifies 'fire' or 'light,' and may have formed the basis of this romantic legend. But the names of ancient cities were generally, indeed it may be said always, descriptive; and very often they were taken from some deity to whose worship the city was dedicated. The Chaldeans were fire-worshippers, and *Ur* appears to have contained one of their chief temples, which, at a later period, was specially dedicated to the moon, then esteemed the second great 'light' of heaven (Jerome, *Quæst. in Gen.* xi. 28; Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* ix. 7). Rufinus states that Chaldean priests were accustomed to carry their sacred fire with them from place to place to combat other gods. Idols of brass, wood, and stone, were easily consumed or melted by the action of fire, and thus the victory of their national deity was secured (*Hist. Eccles.* ii. 26). Others suppose that *אור* may be a Babylonian form of the word *עיר*, 'a city,' and thus *אור כשדים* would signify 'the city of the Chaldeans' (Bonomi, *Nineveh*, p. 41). Others again derive *Ur* from a Persian root which signifies 'a castle' (Gesenius, *Heb. Lex.* by Tregelles, s. v.).

Various opinions have been held as to the site of *Ur*. Josephus calls it 'a city of the Chaldeans' (*Antiq.* i. 6. 5); he says that Chaldæa was in Mesopotamia (i. 7. 1); and he quotes a passage from Nicolaus of Damascus to the effect that the land of the Chaldeans was 'above Babylon' (*ὑπὲρ Βαβυλῶνος*; i. 7. 2). The words of Stephen in Acts vii. 2 also show that *Ur* was in Mesopotamia. But Mesopotamia was a wide region. The name was often applied somewhat indefinitely to the whole country extending from the mountains of Armenia to the Persian Gulf.

Some have located *Ur* to the north, others to the south, of Babylonia. Among those who hold the former view, which appears to accord with the statement of Josephus, some identify *Ur* with a castle mentioned by Ammianus (*Hist.* xxv. 8), which lay to the west of Nineveh, about two days' journey south-east of Nisibis. There is some doubt, however, whether its name is *Ur* or *Adur*; and the

theory of its identity with *Ur* of the Chaldees cannot be entertained (see Bochart, *Opp.* i. 38 and 78; Cellarius, *Geogr.* ii. 760; Grotius in *Gen.* xi. 31). Another theory, now much more popular, is that which identifies *Ur* with the classic *Edessa*, and modern *Urfa*. This theory has in its favour a very ancient Jewish tradition, some local sanctuaries dedicated to Abraham, and the fact that it is not far distant from Haran (see Ritter, *Erdkunde*, vii. 320, seq.; Pococke, *Description of the East*, i. 159).

But there is one thing fatal to all these theories which would locate *Ur* in the northern part of Mesopotamia. It is everywhere distinguished in the Bible as *Ur of the Chaldeans*. It must therefore have been in Chaldæa; and that country, as has already been shown, lay south of Babylonia, along both banks of the Euphrates, near its confluence with the Tigris [CHALDÆA]. Here again there are two claimants for the honour of identity. Until within the last few years it was supposed that Orchoë (*Ὀρχὼν*), a city of southern Babylonia mentioned by Ptolemy (*Geogr.* v. 20; cf. Strab. xvi. i. 6), was identical with *Ur* of the Chaldees. This was noted by Servetus in his edition of Ptolemy, and by others since his time (Cellarius, *Geogr.* ii. 760; Bonomi, *Nineveh*, pp. 41, 399). The theory appears to have arisen from a confounding of the *Ὀρχὼν* of Ptolemy with the *Ὀὐρη* of Josephus and *Ὀὐρίη* of Eupolemus. Recent researches have shown that the great mounds of *Warka*, on the left bank of the Euphrates, mark the site of Orchoë, and of the *Erech* of the Bible. A description of these remarkable ruins, and the monumental records exhumed from them, is given by Loftus (*Chaldæa and Susiana*, pp. 159, seq. and 199 seq.), and Fraser (*Mesopotamia and Assyria*, pp. 115, seq.); and the arguments for the identity of *Warka* and *Erech* are stated by Rawlinson in his *Ancient Monarchies* (i. pp. 22, seq.).

In an extract from Eupolemus, a Greek historian who lived before the Christian era, given by Eusebius in his *Præparatio Evangelica* (ix. 17), it is said that Abraham was a native of a city of Babylonia called *Kamarine*, but by others *Ourië* (cf. Cellarius, *Geogr.* ii. 760; Michaelis, *Spicileg.* ii. 105). *Kamarine* is doubtless derived from the Arabic *Kamr*, 'the moon.' The researches of Mr. Loftus and Sir Henry Rawlinson have discovered the remains of this ancient city in the great mounds of *Mugheir*. From an inscribed brick dug up it was ascertained that the ancient name of *Mugheir* was expressed by a monogram which signifies 'the moon,' thus identifying it with *Kamarine*; and on many other bricks the name *Ur* is written. There can thus be little doubt that *Ur* of the Chaldees, the native city of Terah and Abraham, has at length been found in the desolate mounds of *Mugheir*.

*Mugheir* is situated about six miles west of the river Euphrates, opposite its junction with the Shat el-Hie, and about midway between the ruins of Babylon and the Persian Gulf. The only objection which can well be made against the identity arises from its geographical position. Why, it may be asked, setting out from this region to go to Canaan, should Abraham travel all the way round by Haran? The answer is not difficult. It was the migration of a tribe with flocks and herds, women and children, and not of an individual. To traverse the vast Arabian desert would have been impossible. The natural route—the route which any Arab tribe

under similar circumstances would take at the present day—would be northwards along the rich meadows by the river side as far as Haran, and then across the narrow grassy plain to Syria. Even caravans travelling from Baghdad to Damascus are obliged to take this route.

But it may be said, Did not Stephen locate Ur in Mesopotamia? True; the name Mesopotamia, however, was not confined to the region actually between the rivers, it embraced sections of the adjoining plains. When it is said in Josh. xxiv. 3, 'I took your father Abraham from the other side of the flood,' reference appears to be made to Haran rather than to Ur of the Chaldees. While in Haran they worshipped idols (Gen. xxxi. 19, 34). And, besides, a large portion of Chaldaea lay on the east side of the Euphrates.

The name Mugheir ('the bitumen'd, or perhaps contracted from *Um-ghir*, 'The mother of bitumen') is given to a large circuit of low mounds, half a mile in diameter, dotting a vast marshy plain, which is sometimes flooded by the Euphrates. The name Múgeyer (so written by Loftus) is, however, peculiarly given to a remarkable building, seventy feet high, which stands near the north end of the mounds, and is the only example of a Babylonian temple remaining in good preservation, not wholly covered by rubbish. It is built of large bricks, and from their being 'cemented with bitumen' originates the modern name of Múgeyer. It consists of two distinct but massive storeys, having the plain of a right-angled parallelogram, the longest sides of which are the north-east and south-west. One angle points due north, which feature, I may remark, is observable in all edifices of truly Chaldaean origin. The lower storey is supported by buttresses thirteen inches deep, and, with the exception of those at the angles, eight feet wide. The building measures 198 feet in length and 133 in breadth. The lower storey is 27 feet high, and has but one entrance, which is 8 feet wide. The outer surface is faced with 'red kiln-baked bricks,' to a thickness of 10 feet; but the whole interior is of sun-dried bricks. In each of the angles of this building, 6 feet inward, near the foundation, an inscribed cylinder was discovered, which appears to have served the same purpose as the documents at present deposited beneath the foundation-stones of our great buildings. These cylinders are now in the British Museum.

The tablets of the Chaldeans discovered at Mugheir are among the most interesting ever brought to light. On a brick from the great temple is the following inscription:—'Orchamus, king of Ur, is he who has built the temple of the Moon-god.' On another:—'The Moon-god, his lord, has caused Orchamus, king of Ur, to build a temple to him, and has caused him to build the enceinte of Ur' (Rawlinson, *Anct. Monarchies*, i. 85).

Mr. Loftus' remarks on the discoveries at Mugheir are worthy of special note:—'From his examination of the numerous brick and cylinder inscriptions at Múgeyer Sir Henry Rawlinson regards this as one of the earliest, if not the very earliest, of the sites colonised by that Ethiopic or Scythic invasion. . . . These records bear the names of a series of kings from Uruk (B.C. 2230) to Nabonidus (B.C. 540). Among others is that of Kudurmapula, or *Chedorlaomer* (Gen. xiv. 1). The temple was dedicated to *Sin*, or 'the moon,' which element was preserved by the Greeks in the name *Mesene*,

applied by them to the surrounding region; and also in that of *Camarina*, derived from the Arabic word *Kamar*, 'the moon,' assigned by Eupolemus to either Múgeyer or Warka. The most important identification, however, is that of Múgeyer with the Biblical Ur of the Chaldees, which Sir Henry Rawlinson supposes to be complete, from having read the name *Uúr* upon the cylinders. In support of this proposed identification he states that one particular parish of this place was called *Ibra*, from which he supposes Abraham to have set out on his journey to Canaan, and from whence originated the word Hebrew. . . .

The cylinder inscriptions of Múgeyer are invaluable documents in confirming the authenticity and truth of Scripture. They not only inform us that Nabonidus, last king of Babylon, repaired the great temple of the moon at Húr; but they also explain who Belshazzar was, concerning whom the early Bible critics have in vain endeavoured to reconcile conflicting statements. In the book of Daniel (v. 30) he is alluded to as the king of the Chaldees when Babylon was taken by the united armies of the Medes and Persians. The account of Berosus does not, however, agree with that of Scripture. It states that Nabonidus, after being utterly routed in the open plain by Cyrus, shut himself up in the city of Borsippa, but was soon obliged to surrender his person to the conqueror. From Daniel, therefore, we are led to conclude that Belshazzar was the last Chaldaean monarch; while Nabonidus is represented in the same capacity by Berosus. . . . Sir Henry Rawlinson's reading of the Múgeyer cylinders entirely reconciles these discrepancies. The records distinctly state that *Belshazzar was the eldest son of Nabonidus*, and that he was admitted to a share of the government' (*Chaldaea and Susiana*, pp. 128-133; cf. *Journal of Asiatic Society*, xv. pp. 260, seq.)

It appears from other inscriptions that Ur was originally a maritime city. Its ships are mentioned along with those of Ethiopia (*Journal of R. G. S.* xxvii. 185; *Anct. Monarchies*, i. 20). Probably the channel of the Euphrates was then close to the city. It was unquestionably the ancient capital of Chaldaea; and subsequent to the rise of Babylon it retained a kind of ecclesiastical supremacy as the principal seat of the national religion. It has now been desolate for long centuries. The mounds that mark the site of its great temples are bare; the whole country around it is a dismal swamp. In regard to Ur as well as to Babylon, the words of Isaiah are true: 'The beauty of the Chaldees' excellency shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah' (xiii. 19).—J. L. P.

URBANE or URBAN (*Ὀὐρβανός*), a disciple at Rome, and one of Paul's companions in labour (Rom. xvi. 9). Nothing is known of him; but his name shows him to have been a Roman.

URBINO, SALOMON B. ABRAHAM. This distinguished lexicographer, who is also called *Rashba*=רשב"א, from the initials of ר' שלמה בן אברהם, *R. Salomon b. Abraham*, flourished A.D. 1480, in which year, and not in 1500, as is stated by Wolf (*Bibliotheca Hebraea*, i. 1037, etc.), he wrote his important lexicon on the synonyms of the O. T., entitled *אוהל מועד*, *the Tabernacle of the Congregation*, in allusion to Exod. xxxiii. 7, 'because therein are congregated expressions which



differ in sound but are alike in sense' (מצד היותו) בית ועד למלון השוים בהוראה אחת ושפת מתחלפת (ובו). The synonyms are divided into groups, the alphabetical order of which is determined by its most important word. Each group commences with the fixed formula, 'the word which is put down is to teach' (המלה אשר הונחה להורות), being made up from the abbreviation of the title of the work—viz. להאזיל—and is illustrated by a few quotations from the O. T. and the corresponding passages from the Targum, as well as by quotations from Saadia Gaon's Arabic translation of the Pentateuch (892-942), the works of Dunash Ibn Librat (920-980), Hai Gaon (969-1038), Ibn Ganach (995-1050), Ibn Giath (1030-1038), Nathan b. Jehiel (1030-1106), Ibn Balaam (1050-1090), Nachmanides (1193-1270), etc. etc. The Lexicon was published in Venice 1548, and being one of the very few important works on the synonyms of the O. T., it is greatly to be regretted that it is so exceedingly rare. Even Wolf (*Hist. Lexicor. Hebr.* p. 63) was not able to obtain it, and Plantavitus only got it when he had nearly completed his *Thesaurus Synonymus* [PLANTAVITIUS]. Comp. Geiger, in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. xvii. p. 321, Leipzig 1863; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, iii. 461.—C. D. G.

URIAH (אֲרִיָּה), *flame of Jehovah*; Sept. Οὐρίας).

1. A Hittite, and therefore a descendant of the ancient inhabitants of Palestine, whose name occurs in the list of the 'worthies' or champions of king David, in whose army he was an officer. He was the husband of Bathsheba; and while he was absent with the army before Rabbah, David conceived and gratified a criminal passion for his wife. The king then directed Joab to send him to Jerusalem, but failing to make his presence instrumental in securing Bathsheba from the legal consequences of her misconduct, he sent him back with a letter directing Joab to expose him to the enemy in such a manner as to ensure his destruction. This the unscrupulous Joab accomplished; and David then took the widow into his own harem (2 Sam. xi.; xxiii. 39) [DAVID; BATHSHEBA].

2. A priest in the reign of Ahaz, summoned by Isaiah to be a witness of the prophecy concerning Maher-shalal-hash-baz (Is. viii. 2). He is probably the same as the Urijah of 2 Kings xvi. 18.

3. A priest of the family of Koz (properly Hakkoz, cf. 1 Chron. xxiv. 10) in the days of Ezra (Ezra viii. 33). In Neh. iii. 4, 21, he is called Urijah in the A. V.

URIEL (אֲרִיֵּאל; Sept. Οὐριήλ), described as of Gibeah, and as the father of Michaiah, the mother of Abijah king of Judah (2 Chron. xiii. 2). It is difficult to reconcile this with other passages in which the mother of Abijah appears as Maacah the daughter of Absalom (1 Kings xv. 2, 10, 13). The statement of Josephus (*Antiq.* viii. 10. 1) that his mother was the daughter of Tamar the daughter of Absalom, and the wife of Uriah, though not in itself improbable, is not easily reconcilable with the fact that everywhere else the name of Absalom's daughter, Abijah's mother, is Maacah. Another difficulty arises from the chronicler himself elsewhere (xi. 21, 22) calling the mother of Abijah Maacah. To meet this it has been suggested that she had two names, Maacah and Micaiah (Mica-

jahu), the latter probably a name of honour given her when she became the mother of a prince (Caspary, *Ueb. Micha d. Morasthiten*, p. 3, n. 4). But this is to cut the knot rather than to unloose it. For not only is there no evidence of this duplicity of name, but the fact that everywhere else, even after the birth of Abijah, she is called Maacah, casts doubt on it. When it is considered that Abijah's wife, the mother of his successor Asa, is called Maacah (1 Kings xv. 13; 2 Chron. xv. 16), one can hardly avoid suspecting some clerical error arising from a confounding of the mother with the wife of Abijah.

Other two persons of the name of Uriel, Kohathites, are mentioned 1 Chron. vi. 9 [24]; xv. 5, 11.—W. L. A.

URIAH (אֲרִיָּה), *flame of Jehovah*; Sept.

Οὐρίας). 1. High-priest of the Jews in the time of king Ahaz. He received from this young prince, who was then at Damascus, the model of an altar which had there engaged his attention, with orders to make one like it at Jerusalem. It was his duty to refuse compliance with this dangerous order; but he made such haste in his obedience that the altar was completed by the time Ahaz returned; and he afterwards went so far in his subservience as to offer upon this new and unauthorised altar the sacrifices prescribed by the law of Moses (2 Kings xvi. 10-12). He was probably not so fully aware as he ought to have been of the crime and danger involved in this concession to a royal caprice, being a transgression of the law which fixed the form of the Mosaic altar (Exod. xxvii. 1-8; xxxviii. 1-7): for he appears to have been in intention a good man, as he is one of the 'faithful witnesses' chosen by Isaiah (viii. 2) to attest one of his prophecies.

2. A prophet, son of Shemaiah of Kirjath-jearim in Judah, who, in the time of Jehoiakim, uttered prophecies against Judah and Jerusalem of the same tenor as those which Jeremiah was commissioned to deliver. Menaced with death by the king, Urijah sought refuge in Egypt; but Judah was at that time subject to Pharaoh-Necho, who had no interest in protecting a proscribed fugitive who foretold the conquests of the Babylonians. He was therefore delivered up on the demand of Jehoiakim, who put him to death, and ordered him to be buried dishonourably in one of the graves of the meanest of the people (Jer. xxvi. 20, 21).

3. [URIAH 3.]

URIM and THUMMIM (אֲרִיִּים וְתַמִּיִּם; Sept.

ὄφλως and ἀλήθεια, etc.; Vulg. *Doctrina et Veritas*). The Hebrew words are generally considered to be plurales excellentiæ, denoting *light* (i.e. revelation) and *truth*; and as used by a metonymy for the things or modes whereby the revelation was given and truth declared. They may, however, be *duals*. A similar view of their construction and meaning pervades the Sept. and Vulg. renderings, under some varieties of expression. There are two principal opinions respecting the Urim and Thummim. One is, that these words simply denote the four rows of precious stones in the breastplate of the high-priest, and are so called from their brilliancy and perfection; which stones, in answer to an appeal to God in difficult cases, indicated his mind and will by some supernatural appearance. Thus, as we know that upon each of

the stones was to be engraven the name of one of the sons of Jacob, it has been conjectured that the letters forming the divine response became some way or other distinguished from the other letters. It has been conjectured by others that the response was given by an audible voice to the high-priest arrayed in full pontificals, and standing in the holy place with his face turned towards the ark. The other principal opinion is, that the Urim and Thummim were two small oracular images, similar to the Teraphim, personifying *revelation* and *truth*, which were placed in the cavity or pouch formed by the folds of the breastplate, and which uttered oracles by a voice. [PRIEST, *the breastplate*; TERAPHIM.] We propose simply to lay before the reader a statement of the facts connected with this obscure but interesting subject. It is remarkable that the first time the Urim and Thummim are mentioned in Scripture, they are referred to as *things already known*. After a *minute* description of the breastplate, which, as we have shown in PRIEST, was to differ in several particulars from that worn by the Egyptian priests, it is simply added, 'And thou shalt put in the breastplate of judgment the Urim and the Thummim' (Exod. xxviii. 30). So inde-

finite, however, is the preposition  $\text{לְ}$ , here translated 'in,' that it may also mean 'on' or 'near' (Sept. reads *ἐπὶ*). The Urim and Thummim are, however, here clearly distinguished from the breastplate itself, or from the four rows of gems, unless we can imagine that the breastplate should be so called before the gems, the essential part of it, were put into their place. We observe the like distinction made in the account of Aaron's consecration (Lev. viii. 8; comp. Eccus. xlv. 10), and by Josephus (*Antiq.* viii. 3. 8), where he distinguishes the  $\text{τὸ λογιόν}$ , or oracle, from the precious stones. So does the Samaritan text, which also states the Urim and Thummim to have been *made* on the occasion. We think the distinction indicated in these passages of Scripture sufficiently clear to withstand the inference which has been derived from comparing Exod. xxviii. 29 with 30, and Exod. xxxix. 8, etc., with Lev. viii. 8; namely, that the Urim and Thummim were identical with the gems in the breastplate. In Num. xxvii. 21, the word  $\text{הַאֲדָמִים}$  alone is used in a brief recapitulatory manner, and, no doubt, including the Thummim, or else, in the general sense of divine revelations, answers, etc., by this method (Sept.  $\text{ἡ κρίσις τῶν δόλων ἐναντὶ κυρίου}$ ; comp. I Sam. xxviii. 6; Sept.  $\text{ἐν τοῖς δόλοις}$ ; Vulg. *per sacerdotes*). The usual order is reversed in Deut. xxxiii. 8, where it is Thummim and Urim. The last mention of them occurs after the return of the captivity, when 'the Tirshatha' decreed that certain claimants to the rights of the priesthood, but who could not produce their ecclesiastical pedigree, should wait 'till there stood up a priest with Urim and with Thummim,' by whom their claim might be infallibly decided (Ezra ii. 63; Sept.  $\text{τοῖς φωρίζουσι καὶ τοῖς τελείοις}$ ; Vulg. *sacerdos doctus atque perfectus*; Neh. vii. 65,  $\text{ιερεὺς φωρίσων}$ , *sacerdos doctus et eruditus*). From these obscure statements of Scripture we naturally turn to Josephus, the professed antiquarian of his nation. He says, when intending to treat of the subject, that 'God declared beforehand by those twelve stones which the high-priest bore on his breast, and which were inserted into the breastplate, when they should be victorious in battle; for so great a

splendour shone forth from them before the army began to march, that all the people were sensible of God's being present for their assistance, and that the breastplate left off shining two hundred years before he composed that book' (*Antiq.* iii. 8. 9; see Whiston's Notes *in loc.*) On the contrary, Philo, the learned contemporary of Josephus, represents the Urim and Thummim as two images of the two virtues or powers— $\text{δῆλωσιν τε καὶ ἀλήθειαν}$ . The full quotation is: 'Τὸ δὲ λογιόν (the pectoral or breastplate); τετραγώνον, διπλοῦν κατεσκευάσθη, ὡσανεὶ βάσις, ἵνα δύο ἀρετὰς ἀγαλματοφορῇ (that they might carry the image of the two powers); δῆλωσιν τε καὶ ἀλήθειαν' (*De Vita Moysis*, lib. iii. p. 152, t. 2, ed. Mangey). He also uses the following words (*De Monarch.* lib. ii. p. 824; *Orp.* vol. ii. p. 226): 'Ἐπὶ τοῦ λογιῶν διττὰ ὕψωματα καταποικίλλει, προσαγορεύων τὸ μὲν δῆλωσιν, τὸ δ' ἀλήθειαν. Of the two statements, that of Philo is best supported by certain external evidence, which will now be produced. It had been noticed by all the old commentators, that a remarkable resemblance existed between the Urim and Thummim of the Jewish high-priest, and the custom recorded by Ælian of the Egyptian archjudge, who was always a priest venerable for age, learning, and probity, and who opened judicial proceedings by suspending, by a gold chain hung round his neck (comp. Gen. xli. 42), an image made of a sapphire stone, which was called  $\text{Ἀλήθεια}$ —i.e. 'Truth,' and with which Diodorus Siculus says he touched (*προσθεῖτο*) the party who had gained the cause. Certain traces of a similar custom among the Romans had also been adverted to—viz. that among the Vestal Virgins, at least she that was called Maxima, and who sat in judgment and tried causes, as the Pontifex Maximus did, wore a similar antepectorale (Lipsius, *De Vestal. et Vestal.*; *SynAGMA Ant. ap. Plant.* 1603, cap. ult.) But these resemblances among the Egyptians were considered



512. Goddess of Truth and Justice.

to have been derived by them from the Jews, in consequence of their correspondence with them after Solomon's marriage with Pharaoh's daughter (Patrick on Exod. xxviii. 30). Subsequent discoveries, however, among the antiquities of Egypt lead to the conclusion that these resemblances belong to a much earlier period. Sir G. Wilkin-



tion says the figure of Truth which the Egyptian archjudge suspended from his neck was, in fact, a representation of the goddess who was worshipped under the *dual* or double character of Truth and Justice, and whose name, Thmei, the Egyptian or Coptic name of Justice or Truth (compare the Greek *Θέμις*), appears to have been the *origin* of the Hebrew Thummim—'a word,' he remarks, 'according to the Sept. translation, implying truth, and bearing a further analogy in its plural termination.' He also remarks that the word Thummim, being a plural or dual word, corresponds to the Egyptian notion of the 'two Truths,' or the double capacity of this goddess. 'This goddess,' he says, 'frequently occurs in the sculptures in this double capacity, represented by two figures exactly similar, as in No. 512. It is,' he adds, 'further observable that the chief-priest of the Jews, who, before the election of a king, was also the judge of the nation, was alone entitled to wear this honorary badge. Does the *touch* of the suc-



513. Goddess of Truth and Justice.

cessful litigant with the figure, by the Egyptian archjudge, afford any illustration of such passages as Is. vi. 7, Jer. i. 9, Esther v. 2, or of those numerous instances in which touching is represented as the emblem or means of miraculous virtue? Our authority for these Egyptian antiquities adds, that according to some the Urim and Thummim signify 'lights and perfections,' or 'light and truth'—which last presents a striking analogy to the two figures of Rê, the sun, and Thmei, truth, in the breastplate worn by the Egyptians (No. 514). Here



514. Breastplate.

Thmei is represented, as she is frequently, as a single figure wearing two ostrich feathers, her emblem, because all the wing-feathers of this bird were considered of equal length, and hence meant true or correct' (*Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, ii. 27, etc.; v. 28, etc., London 1842. See also other remarks on the dual offices of Thmei, in *Gallery of Antiquities*, selected from

the British Museum by F. Arundale and J. Bonomi). Upon a view of the preceding facts, we incline to Mr. Mede's opinion, that the Urim and Thummim were 'things well known to the patriarchs,' as divinely appointed means of inquiring of the Lord (Gen. xxv. 22, 23) suited to an infantine state of religion; that the originals were preserved, or the real use at least, among the Abrahamidae, and at the reformation under Moses were simply recognised; that the resemblances to them among the Egyptians were but imitations of this primeval mode of divine communication, as were the heathen auspices of similar means originally connected with the sacrifice of animals [CAIN; ABEL; LIVER]. The speculations of learned Jews and Christians connected with this subject may be seen in Winer's *Biblisches Real-Wörterbuch*, Leips. 1835, art. 'Urim und Thummim;' or in Robinson's *Theological Dictionary*, London 1816; and some of them in Cruden's *Concordance*. Dr. Prideaux maintains that the divine answer was given by an audible voice to the high-priests arrayed and standing opposite to the ark (*Connection*, i. 123, etc.); but when David consulted the oracle by Abiathar (1 Sam. xxiii. 9, 11; xxx. 7, 8), the ark was at Kirjath-jearim, whereas David was in the one case at Ziklag, and in the other in the forest of Hareth. Jahn supposes that the answer was given by the words *yes* and *no* inscribed on two stones (a third being left blank for *no answer*) which the high-priest carried on his breastplate; and consequently that the Urim and Thummim was the sacred lot referred to in Prov. xvi. 33. The lot is cast (ברית) into the *bosom*; but the whole judicial decision is of the Lord (comp. xviii. 18; *Archæol.* sec. 370). Michaelis also considers it as a lot, which was used in criminal cases to discover, not *convict* the criminal; for the confessions of the guilty are recorded in the only two instances of this kind mentioned in Scripture (Josh. vii. 14-18, and 1 Sam. xiv. 37-45). Observe the Hebrew or margin of ver. 41, in the last reference. He remarks that the discovery of an unknown murder was not left to these means (*Notes on Exod.* xxviii. 30, and *Laws of Moses*, art. 304). Braunius maintains the notion of Josephus as to the mode of the divine answer (*De Vestitu Sacer. Heb.* ii. 20). Spencer maintains that of Philo (*De Legib. Heb.* lib. iii. Diss. ult.), but is opposed by Pococke (*On Hosea*, iii. 4, p. 149). See also Buxtorf, *Historia Urim et Thummim*, in *Exercitt. ad Hist.* Basileæ 1659; Jennings, *Jewish Antiquities*, i. 233; Witsius, *Ægyptiaca*, c. 10, etc. Winer also refers to Norris's *Archæologia*, or *Miscell. Tracts relating to Antiquity*, iv. No. 19; Schroeder, *Diss. de Urim et Thymnim*, Marb. 1744; Bellarmann, *Urim u. Thummim die ältesten Gemmen*, Berl. 1824; Stiebriz, *Diss. de Variis d. Urim et Thummim Sententi.* Hal. 1753-54.—J. F. D.

USQUE, ABRAHAM (ר' אברהם אשקי), was one of the thousands of Jews who were expelled from Portugal by King Immanuel (1497), after enjoying five years of comparative rest from the terrible sufferings consequent upon the expulsion of his family and co-religionists from Spain by Isabella and Ferdinand (1492). He sought refuge at Ferrara in Italy, where his great Hebrew learning secured for him the superintendence of the celebrated Hebrew press (1552-1558). In this capacity he not only edited various rabbinical works,

which are important contributions to Jewish literature, but published, in conjunction with Duarte Pinhel of Lisbon, the celebrated Spanish translation of the Hebrew Scriptures, entitled *Biblia en Lengua Espanola, traduzida palabra por palabra de la verdad hebraica, por muyexelentes letrados. Vista y examinada por el oficio de la Ynquisicion*, which he dedicated to Hercules II. and the Donna Gracia Nasi, Ferrara 5313 = 1553. Usque and Pinhel began this version in 1543, and completed it in 1553, after ten years of diligent labour. And though the names of the translators are not given, it being simply remarked 'made by very excellent scholars' (*por muy exelentes letrados*), which has led some to believe that Usque and Pinhel edited this version, yet there can be but little doubt that they were the principal authors of it. Usque and Pinhel adopted into their version the literal translation of the five books of Moses published in the Constantinople Pentateuch Polyglott 1547 [TUSI], which was commonly used by the Jews in Spain in the middle of the 15th century, and which is most probably the early Spanish translation of the middle ages falsely attributed to David Kimchi (comp. Steinschneider, *Jewish Literature*, 132). There were two editions, published simultaneously, of this Spanish Bible; one—the cost of which was defrayed by R. Jom Tob Athias, who is erroneously taken to have been a co-translator of Usque (Bartolucci, *Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica*, i. 49)—was intended for the Jews, and the other—the expense of which was paid by Geronymo de Vargas—was designed to acquaint Spanish-speaking Christians with the O. T. New editions of the former appeared at Ferrara 1630; Amsterdam 1611; Venice 1617; and with corrections, improvements, and an introduction by Manasseh b. Israel, Amsterdam 1630; with tables of the Haphtaroth [HAPHTARA], of chapters, judges, kings, and prophets of Israel according to the *Seder Olam* (סדר עולם), as well as with an elaborate introduction by Gillis Joost, Amst. 1646-1661. Comp. De Rossi, *Typog. Hebr. Ferrariensi*, 28-46; La Long, *Biblioth. Sacra*, i. 364, 540; Steinschneider, *Catalog. Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, 195; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, iii. 463-465.—C. D. G.

USSHER, JAMES, was born at Dublin 4th January 1580, and was educated at Trinity College, of which he was one of the first three scholars matriculated. In 1601 he was ordained; in 1603 he became chancellor of St. Patrick's; and soon after professor of divinity at the University; in 1619 he was made Bishop of Meath; and in 1624 he became Archbishop of Armagh and Primate. During the troubles arising out of the war between Charles I. and the Parliament, Ussher had to leave Ireland, and was subjected to much hardship, his property being seized, and his revenues distrained. He obtained the see of Carlisle (*in commendam*), but from that but little emolument accrued to him. He afterwards became preacher at Lincoln's Inn, and was one of the six divines allowed by Parliament to confer with Charles at Carisbrook. His later years were spent in the family of Lady Peterborough at Reigate, where he died 21st March 1656. Ussher was a laborious student, and amassed vast learning. His *Annales Vet. et Novi Test.* fol. 1650-54, established his fame as a scholar and a chronologist, and fixed the Biblical chronology which has since been generally followed in this country,

and which is adopted in the A. V. He wrote also *De Græca LXX. versione Syntagma; Epistola ad L. Capellum de variis Text. Heb. lectionibus* 1652; *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*, fol. 1639, enlarged ed. 1677; and a multitude of works on the ecclesiastical controversies of the day, and on some questions in theology. His library, for which he collected books and MSS. from all quarters, was, after his death, presented to the Dublin University, where it remains. He succeeded in obtaining six copies of the Samaritan Pentateuch and several MSS. of the Syriac version. His collected works have been edited by Dr. Eltrington in 1 vols. 8vo, 1847, with a life of the author.—W. L. A.

USTERI, LEONHARD, was born at Zürich, 22d October 1799, and died at Berne 18th September 1833. His education was conducted partly in his native city, partly at Berlin, where his contact with Böckh, Hegel, and especially Schleiermacher, had a powerful effect on the development of his mind, and the direction of his pursuits and opinions. Returning to Zürich, he began to lecture in private on St. Paul's epistles, and in 1824 he succeeded Lutz as professor and director of the gymnasium at Berne. He combined exact scholarship with philosophic depth and acumen; a combination which gives especial value to his *Entwicklung des Paulinischen Lehrbegriffes mit hinsicht auf die übrigen schriften des N. T.* 1824, 6th ed. 1851; and his *Commentar ueber den Brief Pauli an die Galater*, 1833. He furnished also two short articles to the *Studien u. Kritiken*; the one on John the Baptist (1829), the other on the Baptism and Temptation of Christ (1832).—W. L. A.

USURY (נִשְׁכָּה, τóκος), a contract for the loan of money, to be returned again with exorbitant increase. By the laws of Moses the Israelites were forbidden to take usury from their brethren upon the loan of money, victuals, or anything else, not, it has been observed by Michaelis, as if he absolutely and in all cases condemned the practice, for he expressly permitted interest to be taken from strangers, but only out of favour to the poorer classes. In other words, he did not mean to represent that the taking of interest for the loan of money was in itself sinful and unjust; but as at that period the Israelites were comparatively a poor people and strangers to commerce, they borrowed, not with a view to profit, but from poverty, and in order to procure the common necessities of life. It would therefore have been a hardship to have exacted from them more than was lent. The Israelites were, however, permitted to take usury from strangers, from the Canaanites, and other people devoted to subjection. This was one of the many means they adopted for oppressing and ruining the Canaanites who remained in the land. After the return of the Jews from captivity, they were required by Nehemiah 'to leave off this usury,' and to restore to their brethren what they had exacted from them—'their lands, their vineyards, their olive-yards, and their houses; also the hundredth part of the money, and of the corn, the wine, and the oil' (Neh. v. 10, 11). Our Saviour denounced all extortion, and promulgated a new law of love and forbearance:—'Give to every man that asketh of thee, and of him that taketh away thy goods, ask them not again.' 'Love ye your enemies, and do good, and lend, hoping for nothing again' (Luke vi. 30, 35).—G. M. B.



UZ, THE LAND OF (עֶזְרָא; *Ausitis*; *Oûz*; *Hus*; *Ausitis*), is the name given in Scripture to the country of Job (Job i. 1), who is said to have been 'the greatest of all the men of the east,' or as it is in the Hebrew 'of all the Bene-Kedem' (ver. 3). The Bene-Kedem were the people who dwelt in Arabia, and more especially those parts of it which lay immediately to the east and south-east of Palestine (cf. Gen. xxix. 1; Judg. vi. 3; vii. 12; viii. 10). Hence it may be concluded that the land of Uz lay in that section of Arabia to which the name *Petræa* is usually given. It is mentioned only in two other passages of Scripture. Jeremiah in one passage (xxv. 20) groups it with Egypt, Philistia, Edom, and Moab; and in another he appears either to identify it with a portion of Edom, or to affirm that some of the Edomites in his days inhabited Uz. His words are, 'Rejoice and be glad, O daughter of Edom, that dwellest in the land of Uz' (Lam. iv. 21). These various statements show that Uz was closely connected with Edom, and most probably included a large section of the level-pasture lands which lie along the eastern side of the mountain-range, and extend northwards to Bashan. Other incidental notices of the sacred writers corroborate this view.

The name Uz was doubtless derived from the oldest son of Aram, who was founder of one of the primeval tribes, which took his name, and settled in 'the Land of Uz' (Gen. x. 23, 31). Josephus says that Uz founded Trachonitis and Damascus (*Antiq.* i. 6. 4). The former province lies in Bashan, and extends as far south as Bostra. It may have formed part of the Land of Uz. It is a singular fact that when the writer of this article was travelling through Trachonitis he heard at various places, from the lips of intelligent natives, the tradition that Jebel Haurân, which adjoins Trachonitis on the east, was the country of the patriarch Job.\* It is further worthy of note, as showing the connection between Uz and Edom, that Uz was the name of one of the descendants of Seir the Horite, whose tribe originally possessed Edom (Gen. xxxvi. 28; 1 Chron. i. 42). One of the three friends also who visited Job in his trials was Eliphaz the *Temanite*; and Teman, as has been seen, included a portion of southern Edom [TEMAN].

Jerome appears to identify Uz with Damascus and Trachonitis, following Josephus (*Quest. in Gen.* x. 25, cf. *Onomast.* s.v. 'Uz'). Bochart makes no less than three places of this name—1. The *Ghutah* of Damascus, confounding the Arabic غوطه, *Ghutah*, with the Heb. עֶזְרָא, words which are altogether dissimilar; 2. The region of *Ausitis*, named from Uz the son of Nahor (Gen. xxii. 21). The tribe of *Aesite* is mentioned by Ptolemy as residing in Arabia Deserta, near Babylon (*Geogr.* v. 19). 3. Uz of Edom, the land of the patriarch Job (*Opera*, i. 80). There seems to be no sufficient authority for this threefold division. The

country of Job was evidently a wide pastoral region; and the tribe of Uz, or *Aesite*, as Ptolemy calls them, though they had their chief seat in it, may have wandered with their flocks, as the modern Bedawîn do, away eastward to the banks of the Euphrates. Michaelis contends with great zeal and learning for the identity of Uz with the Ghûtah of Damascus. His arguments are not convincing (*Spicileg.* ii. pp. 126-135). The present writer knows the Ghûtah well, and he has no hesitation in stating that its rich alluvial soil, and the abundance of its waters, admirably adapted it for cultivation and settled life, and made it at the same time unsuitable for the vast herds of camels and immense flocks which Job possessed; while its peculiar position, almost encircled with mountains, lakes, and rivers, rendered it secure against any sudden raids of the wild tribes of the desert. The open plains of Haurân, or of the Belka, or of the region east of Edom, would be far more suitable theatres for the whole scenes and circumstances of the sacred narrative than any spot near Damascus. The exact position of Uz had become uncertain even in the days of Eusebius, for he states (*Onomast.* s.v. 'Idumæa'), that according to some 'Gabalene', the district of Idumæa around the city of Petra, is Ausitis, the country of Job; according to another Arabia was the country of Job; while others affirm that the region of Seon (ἡ χώρα τοῦ Ζηὼν) is the country of Job.

On the whole, therefore, it would appear from the statements and allusions of the sacred writers, combined with the remarks of Eusebius and Jerome, and the results of modern research, that the land of Uz was in Arabia, bordering on Edom westward, on Trachonitis northward, and extending perhaps indefinitely across the pasture-lands of Arabia towards the Euphrates. Like some of the modern Arab chiefs, Job possessed an agricultural settlement, while his flocks and herds, and droves of camels, roamed at large over the immense pasture-lands. His friends and associates, Eliphaz the *Temanite*, Bildad the *Shuhite*, Zophar the *Naamathite*, and Elihu the *Buzite*, were all Arabians; while every event, scene, and circumstance exhibits the characteristics of Arab life. Forster has argued with considerable ingenuity and learning that the land of Uz lay on the banks of the Euphrates adjoining Chaldæa. His fundamental theory, however, which extends the territory of Edom so far eastward, will not stand the test of critical investigation; and his arguments derived from the raids of the Chaldeans and Sabæans have no weight, for those intimately acquainted with the history and habits of nomad tribes know well that it is no uncommon thing for a plundering expedition from Mesopotamia or Babylonia to ravage the whole borders of Syria (see, however, Forster, *Geogr. of Arabia*, ii. 58-69; also Müller, 'De Terra Jobi' in *Thes. Vet. Test.* i. 540; Winer, *Bibl. R. W.* s.v. *Uz*; Spanheim, *Hist. Jobi*; Gesenius, *Thes.* s.v.)—J. L. P.

UZAL (עֶזְרָא; *Alzâh*; Alex. *Alzâh*; *Uzal*), a son of Joktan and descendant of Shem (Gen. x. 27; 1 Chron. i. 21). Like the other patriarchs whose names are recorded in the 10th chapter of Genesis, he was the founder of a tribe (cf. ver. 31). Except, perhaps, in an obscure passage in Ezekiel—to be noticed afterwards—Uzal is not again mentioned in the Bible, nor is it found in the geo-

\* This tradition is at least as old as the 3d century, for Eusebius in his *Onomasticon* thus writes regarding Karnaim (s.v. *Carnaim*): *ἔθδα ὡς ἐκ παραδόσεως τοῦ Ἰωβ τὸν οἶκον ἐπιδεικνύουσιν*. This Karnaim is by both Jerome and Eusebius located in Batanæa, which embraces the whole of Jebel Haurân.



graphical notices of Eusebius or Jerome. The Jewish colonists, however, who settled at a very early period in south-eastern Arabia, have preserved the name in their traditional history, and they, with Arab writers of more modern times, supply evidence amply sufficient to establish the identity of the site.

Abraham Zacuth, a learned Jewish writer, states that *Sanaa*, the metropolis of Yemen, is by the Jews called *Uzal* (Bochart, *Opera*, i. 114); and in the *Kamûs*, *Azal* (or *Uzal*) is said to be the ancient name of *Sanaa* (Goliuss, *Lex. Arab.* s. v.) This was still farther confirmed by Niebuhr, who heard, when travelling in Yemen, the same statement made by Mohammedan natives (*Description de l'Arabie*, iii. p. 252). The whole of Yemen was originally colonised by the descendants of Joktan, or *Bene-Kahltân*, as they are called by the Arabs; and consequently it is in this region that *Uzal* would naturally be looked for. When or why the name was changed to *Sanaa* does not appear, but of the fact there can be no doubt. The Hebrew name appears probably in the *Ausara* of Ptolemy (*Geogr.* vi. 7), and the *Ausaritis* of Pliny, celebrated for its myrrh (*H. N.* xii. 36).

*Sanaa* is situated in a mountainous region in the centre of Yemen, about 150 miles from Aden and 100 from the coast of the Red Sea. Its commanding position, its strong fortifications, the number of its mosques and minarets, and the size of its houses, render it one of the most imposing cities in Arabia. It is abundantly watered by mountain streams, and the gardens, orchards, and fields around it are said to rival in luxuriance and beauty the famous plain of Damascus (see Bochart, *l. c.*; Michaelis, *Spicileg.* ii. 164-175; Forster, *Geogr. of Arabia*, i. 143; and especially Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xii. 815-840). In the town of *Sanaa* there are still some 15,000 Jews, while in the various parts of Yemen their numbers are supposed to amount to 200,000.

Ezekiel, in his description of Tyre, says, as rendered in the A. V.: 'Dan and Javan going to and fro, occupied in thy fairs; bright iron, cassia, and calamus, were in thy market' (xxvii. 19). The word translated 'going to and fro' is

מֻזָּל, *Muzal*. In the Septuagint it is regarded as a proper name, with a prefix preposition, 'Ἐξ Ἀσέλ', 'from Asel.' In the Vulgate it is *Mosel*. The structure of the passage unquestionably favours the Greek rendering; and the proper translation would seem to be, 'Dan, and Javan of *Uzal*, conveyed to your markets wrought iron, cassia,' etc. There can be little doubt, therefore, that the prophet alludes to the great city of Yemen, the neighbourhood of which is known to have been famous for its spices and perfumes (Michaelis, *l. c.*; Winer, *Bib. R. W.* s. v. 'Usal'). This view is strengthened by the fact that Javan occurs in the *Kamûs*, and is said to be a town of Yemen. The expression Javan of *Uzal* is thus appropriate, for the latter was the name of the capital and of a district connected with it. The names Dedan, Arabia, Kedar, and Sheba, following immediately in the prophetic narrative, indicate the country to which the eye of the sacred writer was directed.—J. L. P.

UZZAH (עֻזָּה, *strength*; Sept. 'Ozâ), son of Abinadab, a Levite, who, with his brother Ahio, conducted the new cart on which the ark was

taken from Kirjath-jearim to Jerusalem. When the procession reached the threshing-floor of Nachon, the oxen drawing the cart became unruly, and Uzzah hastily put forth his hand to stay the ark, which was shaken by their movements. For this the anger of the Lord smote him, and he died on the spot. This judgment appeared to David so severe, or even harsh, that he was much distressed by it, and becoming afraid to take the ark any farther, left it there, in charge of Obed-edom, till three months after, when he finally took it to Jerusalem (2 Sam. vi. 1-11). The whole proceeding was very irregular, and contrary to the distinct and far from unmeaning regulations of the law, which prescribed that the ark should be carried on the shoulders of the Levites (Exod. xxv. 14), whereas here it was conveyed in a cart drawn by oxen. The ark ought to have been enveloped in its coverings, and thus wholly concealed before the Levites approached it; but it does not appear that any priest took part in the matter, and it would seem as if the ark was brought forth, exposed to the common gaze, in the same manner in which it had been brought back by the Philistines (1 Sam. vi. 13-19). It was the duty of Uzzah, as a Levite, to have been acquainted with the proper course of proceeding; he was therefore the person justly accountable for the neglect; and the judgment upon him seems to have been the most effectual course of ensuring attention to the proper course of proceeding, and of checking the growing disposition to treat the holy mysteries with undue familiarity. That it had this effect is expressly stated in 1 Chron. xv. 2, 13.—J. K.

UZZEN-SHERAH (עֻזֵּן שֶׁרָאָה; Sept. 'Ozân-Serphâ), a small city, founded by Sherah, the daughter of Ephraim or Beriah (1 Chron. vii. 24). No trace of this 'now exists, unless it be found in Beit Sira, a place to the S.E. of Beit-Ur-tahta, the Upper Bethhoron, also built by Sherah.—W. L. A.

UZZIAH (עֻזִּיָּה, sometimes עֻזִּיָּהוּ, *might of Jehovah*; Sept. 'Ozîas), otherwise called AZARIAH [as Gesenius thinks by an error of the transcriber, the resemblance between עֻזִּיָּה and עֻזִּיָּהוּ being sufficient to mislead], a king of Judah, who began to reign B.C. 809, at the age of sixteen, and reigned fifty-three years, being, with the sole exception of Manasseh's, the longest reign in the Hebrew annals. Uzziah was but five years old when his father was slain. He was sixteen before he was formally called to the throne: and it is disputed by chronologers, whether to count the fifty-two years of his reign from the beginning or from the end of the eleven intervening years. In the first half of his reign Uzziah behaved well, and was mindful of his true place as viceroy of the Divine King. He accordingly prospered in all his undertakings. His arms were successful against the Philistines, the Arabians, and the Ammonites. He restored and fortified the walls of Jerusalem, and planted on them engines for discharging arrows and great stones; he organised the military force of the nation into a kind of militia, composed of 307,500 men, under the command of 2600 chiefs, and divided into bands liable to be called out in rotation; for these he provided vast stores of all kinds of weapons and armour,—spears, shields, helmets, breastplates, bows, and slings.

Nor were the arts of peace neglected by him:



he loved and fostered agriculture; and he also dug wells, and constructed towers in the desert, for the use of the flocks. At length, when he had consolidated and extended his power, and developed the internal resources of his country, Uzziah fell. His prosperity engendered the pride which became his ruin. In the twenty-fourth year of his reign, incited probably by the example of the neighbouring kings, who united the regal and pontifical functions, Uzziah, unmindful of the fate of Dathan and Abiram, dared to attempt the exercise of one of the principal functions of the priests, by entering the holy place to burn incense at the golden altar. But, in the very act, he was smitten with leprosy, and was thrust forth by the priests. He continued a leper all the rest of his life, and lived apart as such, the public functions of the government being administered by his son Jotham, as soon as he became of sufficient age (2 Kings xv. 27, 28; 2 Chron. xxvi.)—J. K.

UZZIEL (עֲזִיָּאל; 'Ozēl; once 'Ozēthl, Exod. vi. 18, Alex.) 1. The fourth son of Kohath, and ancestor of the Uzzelites, one of the three families into which the Kohathites were divided (Exod. vi. 18, 22; Num. iii. 27).

2. One of the sons of Ishi, who, with his brothers, headed an expedition of 500 Simeonites against the remnant of the Amalekites that had been left in Mount Seir, notwithstanding the assaults of Saul, David, and Solomon on that race (1 Sam. xiv. 48; xv. 7; 2 Sam. viii. 12); and having extirpated them, took possession of their country (1 Chron. iv. 42, 43).

3. A member of the guild of the goldsmiths who presided over those of that company who laboured in repairing the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 8). Three other persons of this name are mentioned, but nothing is known of them.—W. L. A.

## V

VALCKNAER, LUDWIG CASPAR, was born at Leuwarden in 1715, and was successively conrector of the gymnasium at Kampen, Greek professor at Franeker, and professor of the languages and antiquities of Greece at Leyden, where he died 14th March 1785. Besides his contributions to classical learning, he wrote a valuable tract *De Aristobulo Judeo*, in which the Alexandrian school of interpretation is learnedly described and criticised. After his death Wassenbergh published *Selecta e scholiis L. C. Valcknarii in libros quosdam N. T.* 2 vols. 8vo, 1815. Valcknaer was so thorough and exact a scholar that even his unrevised notes are full of value.—W. L. A.

VALLEY. There are five Hebrew words rendered 'valley' in the A. V. These words are not synonymous. They were intended to convey distinct ideas; and much of the definiteness and force of Scriptural statements and illustrations is lost in consequence of their being represented in English by one term. The object of this article is to state briefly the precise meaning of the Hebrew words, and to indicate their true signification in the principal passages in which they occur. They are taken alphabetically.

1. בִּקְעָה, *Bikah*, is derived from בָּקַע, 'to cleave' or 'to divide'; and its primitive meaning is 'a valley between mountains'; but its general acceptation is 'a broad open valley,' whether shut in by mountain-chains or not. Thus the plain of Shinar is called *Bikah* (Gen. xi. 2); as also are the plains of Esdraelon (2 Chron. xxxv. 22; Zech. xii. 11), of Coelestria (Josh. xi. 17), of the Jordan (Deut. xxxiv. 3), and of Sharon (Neh. vi. 2). Palestine is described as 'a land of hills and valleys' (Deut. xi. 11), in allusion to those rich alluvial plains which constitute such a distinguishing feature of the country. The word also conveys the idea of a level surface, hence the expressive statement of Isaiah: 'The crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain' (xl. 4). Its usual rendering in the A. V. is 'valley'; but it is 'plain' in six passages. In the Sept. it is translated πεδιον or πεδεινός, except in Is. xl. 4, where the Alex. MS. has ὁδός [See PLAIN].

2. גַּי, *Gai*; by omission of the aleph גַּי, also גַּיָּא and גַּיָּא, *Ge*; pl. גַּיָּוֹת and גַּיָּוֹת. This word is of very frequent occurrence and is uniformly translated 'valley' in the A. V. In the Sept. its usual rendering is φάραγξ; but κοιλάς, νάπη, αὐλὼν, and γῆ, also occur. The root is גַּיָּ, 'to flow together' (not גַּי, which contains the strong letter פ; see, however, Stanley, *S. and P.* p. 477), and was originally applied to a valley from the water flowing together in it. A *Gai* is 'a narrow valley' or 'ravine,' as distinguished from a broad and level *Bikah*. Thus, there is the *Ge-Hinnom* at Jerusalem (Josh. xv. 8). A comparison of this 'ravine' (*gai*) with the 'plain' (*bikah*) of Megiddo or Sharon, will show how necessary it is to distinguish these words. A *gai* may be a glen running among mountains; or a deep and narrow water-course in a plain or table-land. Ezekiel speaks of the 'doves of the valleys.' The rocks and cliffs along the sides of the glens of Palestine are the favourite retreat of doves (Ezek. vii. 16). The word is frequently connected with other expletives so as to form proper names; thus *Ge-ben-Hinnom* (Jer. vii. 32); *Ge-charashim* ('valley of craftsmen,' Neh. xi. 35); *Ge-Fiphthah-el* (Josh. xix. 14); *Ge-Zeboim* (1 Sam. xiii. 18); *Ge-Zephathah* (2 Chron. xiv. 10), etc.

3. נַחַל, *Nakhal*, from נָחַל, 'to receive' (or perhaps 'to flow'), is the usual word applied to 'a torrent bed,' or a valley through which a winter-stream flows, but which is dry during summer. It corresponds to the Arabic *wady* (وَادِي) and the

Greek χειμάρρος. In the book of Job the uncertain flow of the *nakhal* is beautifully employed as an emblem of deceitful men:—'My brethren have dealt deceitfully as a brook (*nakhal*), as the stream of brooks they pass away; which are blackish by reason of the ice, wherein the snow is hid; what time they wax warm they vanish; when it is hot they are consumed out of their place' (vi. 15-17). The word is sometimes applied to the *valley*, and sometimes to the *stream* in the valley, as in 1 Kings xvii. 3 and 4, where Elijah is commanded to hide himself 'in the valley of Cherith;' and also 'to drink of the stream'—*nakhal* being used in both cases.

*Nakhal* is joined with many proper names; thus 'the brook Kedron' (1 Kings ii. 37); 'the river of Egypt' (Josh. xv. 4); 'the stream of Egypt' (Is. xxvii. 12); 'the river Jabbok' (Deut. ii. 37); 'the brooks of Arnon' (Num. xxi. 14); 'the valley of Gerar' (Gen. xxvi. 17), etc. The renderings in the Sept. are as various as those of the A. V.; thus, *φάραγξ*; *χειμάρρους*; *ποταμός*; *νομός*; and *νάπα*. [See for further information the article RIVER, 6.]

4. עֵמֶק, *Emek*, signifies 'a low tract of land,' whether plain or valley. Any level area, of whatever form, encompassed by hills, or by higher ground, might be called by this name. The word is derived from עָמַק, 'to be deep.' It is sometimes applied to a wide valley between parallel ranges of hills, as 'the valley of Jezreel,' between Gilboa and Moreh (Judg. vi. 33); sometimes to an upland plain, as 'the valley of Rephaim' (Josh. xv. 8); sometimes to a broad but sunk plain, as 'the vale of Siddim' (Gen. xiv. 3), and 'the valley of Beth-rehob' at Dan (Judg. xviii. 28); sometimes to a wide mountain glen, as 'the valley of Elah' (1 Sam. xvii. 2). In the A. V. it is universally translated 'valley' or 'vale,' except in Josh. xix. 27, where the Hebrew is retained as a proper name in 'Beth-emek.' The usual rendering of the Sept. is *κοίλας*; but *φάραγξ*, *αἰλῶν*, *πεδῖον*, *αἰλας*, and *βαθύς*, are also found. Of these the first is the most appropriate, giving the literal signification of the Hebrew word.

5. שְׁפֵלָה, *Shephelah*, 'a low plain,' from the root שָׁפַל, 'to be depressed.' With one exception this word has always the article השְׁפֵלָה, and is employed as a proper name to denote the plain of Philistia [see SHEPHELAH]. The exception is Josh. xi. 16, where 'the valley of the same' (without the article) is distinguished from 'the valley' (or the *Shephelah*, with the article). It is probable that the former means the plain of Sharon. The word is usually rendered 'vale' or 'valley' in the A. V., and *πεδῖον* or *πεδιὼν* in the Sept.; but it is 'low plains' in 1 Chron. xxvii. 28; 2 Chron. ix. 27; 'low country' in 2 Chron. xxvi. 10; xxviii. 18; and 'plain' in Jer. xvii. 26; Obad. 19; Zech. vii. 7. In the Sept. it is in four places rendered as a proper name Σέφηλα.—J. L. P.

VASHNI (וַשְׁנִי; Sept. Σαν), the eldest son of Samuel according to 1 Chron. vi. 13 [28]. But in 1 Sam. viii. 2 Samuel's first-born is called Joel, and so is he called in ver. 33 of this chapter. It has been supposed that the passage originally stood thus:—הַבְּכוֹר יֵאָל וְהַשְּׁנִי אֲבִיָּה, 'The first-born Joel, and the second Abiah,' but יֵאָל having been omitted by mistake, וְהַשְּׁנִי was changed into וַשְׁנִי, and made a proper name. The Syr. and Arab., however, are the only versions that give the passage thus; and it must be admitted that such a mistake is not very probable. But no better solution of the discrepancy has been offered.—W. L. A.

VASHTI (וַשְׁתִּי; Pers. *وشتی*, *beauty*; Sept. Ἀστὴ), the wife of Ahasuerus, king of Persia, whose refusal to present herself unveiled before the computators of the king led to her degradation, and eventually to the advancement of Esther (Esther i. 9-12). [AHASUERUS; ESTHER.]

VATER, JOHANN SEVERIN, was born 27th May 1771, at Altenburg. He commenced his career in 1794, as a privat docent, at Halle; thence he went to Jena, where he became extraordinary professor of theology in 1798; in 1800 he returned to Halle, as professor of Oriental languages; in 1809 he removed to Königsberg, where he was ordinary professor of theology; and in 1820 he returned to Halle to fill the chair of theology there. He died 16th March 1826. Vater was a great scholar and a voluminous writer. His works in Biblical literature are: *Hebr. Sprachlehre*, Leipzig 1797, 1814; *Commentar üb d. Pentateuch*, Halle 1802-5; *Comment. in Jes. xi.* Halle 1801; *Obs. in aliquot locos prophet. minorum*, Halle 1805; *Spicileg. I. et II. obs. ad usum patrum graecor. in critica N. T. pertinent.* 1810-11; *Nov. Test. Gr. denuo recog., cum adnotatione crit. et exeget.*, Halle 1824. Vater belonged to the rationalistic school, and his work on the Pentateuch is deeply tainted by rationalistic influences; but his works deserve notice for their learning.—W. L. A.

VEIL, CHARLES MARIE DE, also called *Duveil*, was born at Metz, in Lorraine, circa 1625. Being of a highly respectable Jewish family, he received from his youth an excellent Hebrew education, and he soon distinguished himself in the learning of his fathers. Through contact with learned Roman Catholics, and an examination of the O. T. prophecies, he was led to the conviction that Jesus was the Messiah promised to his fathers, and accordingly embraced the Roman Catholic faith (circa 1655). His learning and great abilities soon secured for him a high position in the Gallican church, of which he became a distinguished preacher. The University of Anjou conferred on him the diploma of Doctor of Divinity, and he was appointed public teacher of divinity in the university (1665). Whilst occupying this high position he devoted his time to the exposition of the Scriptures, and published, in Latin (1), a commentary on the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, Angers 1672; (2) a commentary on the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes, Paris 1676; and (3), a commentary on Joel, Paris 1676. De Veil so ably defended the doctrines of the Roman church in these commentaries, that he was requested to hold a controversy with the Huguenots, who were at that time the great opponents of Romanism in France. But the diligent inquiry into the points of difference between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism which he instituted in order to refute the latter, resulted in his conviction that the doctrines of Protestantism were true. He had therefore to escape to Holland, where he openly abjured Romanism (1678), and soon after came over to England, where his extraordinary endowments and great piety secured for him the friendship of Drs. Stillingfleet, Sharp, Tillotson, Patrick, Lloyd, Compton, etc., and the appointment of chaplaincy and tutorage to a noble family. He now published new editions of the commentaries on Matthew and Mark (London 1678), and the Song of Songs (London 1679), discarding therefrom and refuting therein the doctrines of the Romish church. He moreover published (4), a commentary on the Minor Prophets, London 1680. As these commentaries became the text books of the clergy at home, and the Reformed churches abroad, Dr. Compton, bishop of London, encouraged De Veil to prosecute his Biblical labours, and gave



him free access to his library at all times. It was in this library that De Veil discovered some works of the English Baptists which led him to inquire into the controversy, and which resulted in his joining the Baptist community (1682), at the loss of all his friends, with the honourable exception of Tillotson. De Veil continued his Biblical labours, and published (5), a commentary on the Acts, London 1684, in which he defended his Baptist principles. This commentary, which, like all his other works, was written in Latin, he himself translated into English, and published in London 1685. A new edition of it appeared in London 1851. De Veil's commentaries are valuable contributions to Biblical literature; they abound with extracts from the Fathers and the best Jewish writers; and his thorough acquaintance with the manners, customs, and rites of the Jews, has often enabled him to throw light upon many an obscure allusion in the N. T.—C. D. G.

**VEIL.** There are several words denoting veil in the Hebrew Scripture, showing that, as at present, there were different kinds of this essential article of an Eastern female's attire. These are essentially of two descriptions. The first, and which alone offer any resemblance to the veils used among us, are those which the Eastern women wear in-doors, and which are usually of muslin or other light texture, attached to the head-dress and falling down over the back. They are of different kinds and names, some descending only to the waist, while others reach nearly to the ground. These are not used to conceal the face.

The veils mentioned in Scripture were, no doubt, mostly analogous to the wrappers of different kinds in which the Eastern women envelop themselves



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when they quit their houses. These are of great amplitude, and, among the common people, of strong and coarse texture, like that in which Ruth carried home her corn (Ruth iii. 15). The word here is *מִטְפַּחַת*, *mitpachat*, and is rightly rendered 'veil' by our translators, although some lexicographers, not understanding Eastern veils, have considered it a mantle or cloak. The cuts will show how sufficient the out-door 'veils' of the Eastern women are for such a use. The word which indicates Ruth's ample and strong veil is that which also occurs in Is. iii. 22, and is there translated 'mantle.' In the same verse we find *רַדִּיד*, *radid*, which denotes another kind of veil,

probably of finer materials, from the manner in which it is mentioned in this text and in Cant. v. 7. The latter passage shows that it was an out-



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door veil, which the lady had cast around her when she went forth to seek her beloved. In Is. iii. 22, this word is rendered by the old English and now obsolete term 'wimple,' which means a kind of hood or veil in use at the time the translation was made, and was not a bad representative of the original. The word occurs in Spenser:—

'For she had laid her mournful stole aside,  
And widow-like sad *wimple* thrown away.'  
'But (she) the same did hide  
Under a veil that *wimpled* was full low;  
And over all a black stole she did throw,  
As one that inly mourned.'

Another kind of veil, called *צַמָּה*, *tzamah*, is named in Cant. iv. 1, 3; vi. 7, and Is. xlvii. 2, in which places the word is rendered 'locks' in the A. V.; but in these texts, according to the best critics, we should read, 'Thou hast dove's eyes within thy veil;' not 'within thy locks.' 'Thy



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temples within thy veil;' not 'within thy locks.' 'Raise thy veil;' not 'uncover thy locks.' And as these passages refer mostly to the effect of the veil as connected with the head-dress, it may per-

haps have been one of those veils, which have been already described as a part of in-door dress; although it must be admitted that the expressions are almost equally applicable to some kind of street-veil. Of this the reader can judge from the engravings.

Another veil, called תַּיִף, *tzaiph*, is mentioned in Gen. xxiv. 65; xxxviii. 14, 19, under circumstances which show that it was one of those ample wrappers which women wore out of doors. The etymology, referred to the Arabic تَعْنَف, *sub duplicavit*, suggests that it was 'doubled' over the shoulders, or folded about the body, in some peculiar manner which distinguished it from other veils. It is clear that it concealed the face, as Judah could not recognise Tamar when she had wrapped herself in a *tzaiph*.—J. K.

#### VEIL OF THE TABERNACLE AND TEMPLE. [TABERNACLE; TEMPLE.]

VENEMA, HERMANN, D.D., successively pastor at Dronryp and professor of theology and university preacher at Franeker, was born at Wildevank in 1697, and died in 1787. He was a copious writer in all departments of sacred science. His Biblical works are—*Comment. in Psalmos*, Leuward. 6 vols. 4to, 1762-67; *Comm. ad libr. Prophet. Jerem.* 2 vols. 4to, *ibid.* 1765; *Lectiones Acad. ad Ezech.* i.-xxi. ed. Verschuier 4to, *ibid.* 1790; *Dissert. ad vaticinia Daniel.* c. ii. vii. et viii. *ibid.* 1745; *Com. ad Dan.* xi. 4-xii. 3; *Sermones Acad. vice Comment. in lib. Proph. Zecharia.* 4to, *ibid.* 1789; *Comment. ad lib. Malachia.* *ibid.* 1759. These works are prolix, but those who can endure this will find them mines of learning and thought.—W. L. A.

#### VERMILION. [COLOURS.]

VERSE (פָּסָק; *στίχος*, *κόμμα*; *cæsum*, *incisum*, *versus*, *versiculus*). I. *Versicular divisions in MSS.*—The term *verse* (*versus*, from *verto*, 'to turn'), like the Greek *στίχος*, was applied by the Romans to lines in general, whether in prose or verse, but more particularly to the rhythmical divisions which generally commenced the line with a capital letter. The custom of writing poetical books in stanzas was common to the Greeks, Romans, Arabians, and Hebrews. The poetical books (*viz.* Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles), in the oldest Hebrew MSS., as the Paris, Bodleian, Cassel, and Regiomontanus, are also thus divided, and the poetical passages in the historical books are still given in this form in our printed Hebrew Bibles. The Alexandrian MS., and those of the Italic version, are equally so written, and this division is found in the Psalterium Turicense, the Verona and St. Germain Psalters, and in Martianay's edition of Jerome. Athanasius applied the term *στίχος* to the passage in Ps. cxix. 62: 'I arose at midnight to praise thee for the judgment of thy righteousness;' and Chrysostom observes, on Ps. xlii., that 'each stich (*στίχος*) suffices to afford us much philosophy.' He also uses the term *ῥῆσις* in the same sense. The poetical books are called by Epiphanius the five *στιχηρῆς*.

It is not improbable that this division may have come from the original authors, which the nature of the subject, and especially the parallelism of the sentences, seems to require (Jebb's *Sacred Litera-*

*ture*). In the Cod. Alex. are equally divided in this manner the songs of Moses and of Hannah; the prayers of Isaiah, of Jonah, of Habakkuk, Hezekiah, Manasses, and Azarias; the Benedicite; and the songs of Mary (*theotokos*), Simeon, and Zachariah, in the N. T., to which is added the Morning Hymn, or Gloria in Excelsis.

A similar metrical division is found in the Latin version. Jerome (*Ep. ad Sunn. et Fret.*) applies the term *versiculus* to the words 'grando et carbones ignis' (Ps. xviii. 13), assigning as a reason why the Greeks had not this versicle after the interposition of two verses, that it had been inserted in the Sept. from the Hebrew and Theodotion version (with an asterisk). He also observes (*Pref. to Job*) that the book of Job commences with prose, glides into verse, and again ends with a short *comma* in prose from the verse 'Idcirco me reprehendo, et ago pœnitentiam in cinere et favilla' (the form assumed also by the text of the oldest Hebrew MSS.) He adds that there were 700 or 800 verses wanting in the old Latin version of this book, and makes mention of 'three short verses' in Ezek. xxi. and Is. lxiii. That a stichometrical arrangement pervaded the whole Latin Bible is further evident from the *Speculum Scripture*, attributed to Augustine, which contains extracts from Psalms, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, Job, Hosea, Amos, Micah, Zephaniah, Malachi, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, the four Evangelists, 2 Corinthians, Philippians, Timothy, 1 John, and Hebrews. The first editors of the *Speculum* seem to have misunderstood Augustine's meaning (Simon's *Hist. Critique*), yet it is beyond a doubt that the verses in the *Speculum* (one of which was, 'Populus ejus et oves pascuæ ejus'), were of the character which we are now describing. Jerome has not followed any of the divisions of the present Hebrew text, except in those passages where he could not well have avoided it, *viz.* the alphabetical division in the book of Lamentations, and the alphabetical Psalms, but even here he differs from the present divisions (Morini *Exerc. Bibl.* pars. ii. cap. 2).

Jerome introduced a similar division into the prophetic books and the books of Chronicles. To this division he, in the prophetic books, applies the terms *cola* and *commata* (or 'stanzas' and 'hemistichs'), while in the Chronicles he only employs the colon, or longer period. 'No one,' he observes, 'when he sees the Prophets divided into verses (*versibus*), must suppose that they are bound by metrical lines, or that in this respect they resemble the Psalms and the books of Solomon; but as the works of Demosthenes and Tully are divided into colons and commas, although written in prose and not verse, we have, for the convenience of the reader, also distinguished our new version by a new species of writing.' The Chronicles, he says, he divided into members of verses (*per versuum cola*) in order to avoid an 'inextricable forest of names.'

The following specimens of Jerome's divisions are from Martianay:—

[Job iii.]

'Pereat dies in qua natus sum  
et nox in qua dictum est: Conceptus est  
homo.

Dies illa vertatur in tenebras  
non requirat eum Deus desuper  
et non illustretur lumine.'



[Isaiah xl.]

‘Vox dicentis : Clama.

Et dixi :

Quid clamabo ?

Omnes caro fœnum,

et omnis gloria ejus quasi flos agri.’

[1 Chron. xiv.]

‘Misit quoque Hiram rex Tyri nuntios ad David, et ligna cedrina, et artifices parietum, lignorumque, ut ædificarent ei domum.

Cognovitque David quod confirmasset eum Dominus in regem super Israel, et sublevatum esset regnum suum super populum ejus Israel.

Acceptit quoque David alias uxores in Jerusalem : genuitque filios, et filias.’

A division of the prophetic books into *cola*, or stichs, has been considered by some to have had its origin before the time of Jerome. Eusebius acquaints us (*Hist. Eccles.* vi. 16) that Origen, in his *Hexapla*, divided the Greek and other versions into *κῶλα*, which, however, Bishop Christopherson (in Euseb. *Eccles. Hist.*) supposes to be the columns containing the different texts into which Origen’s *Polyglott* was divided. Hesychius, who died in A.D. 433, also published his *στιχηρεῖς* of the twelve prophets, which he calls an invention of the Fathers, in imitation of David and Solomon, who had thus divided their rhythmical compositions. He observes that he had found a similar division in the apostolical books. In this case such division must have been anterior to the stichometrical edition of Euthalius, if the date assigned to his publication be correct—viz. A.D. 450. It is not improbable that the work of Hesychius was but an adaptation of Jerome’s *cola* and *commata* to the Greek text. This is also the opinion of Martianay. Epiphanius (*De Orth. Fid.* iv.) adds the two books of Wisdom to the poetical books thus arranged.

We have seen that Jerome imitates the mode of writing the works of Demosthenes and Cicero in his divisions of Chronicles. This custom of writing *κατὰ στίχους* appears to have been usual among profane writers. Josephus observes that his own *Antiquities* consisted of sixty thousand *στίχοι*, although in Ittigius’s edition there are only forty thousand and broken lines. Diogenes Laertius, in his *Lives of the Philosophers*, recounts the number of stichs which their works contained. There have, however, existed doubts as to what the *στίχοι* really were; some supposing them to be simply lines, or lines consisting of a certain number of words or letters, as in our printed books, while others have maintained them to be lines of varied length regulated by the sense, like the *cola* and *commata* of Jerome. The fact is that there are MSS. written in both kinds of verses or stichs, with the number of the stichs placed at the end of each book; and this is what is called *stichometry*, or the enumeration of lines. The introduction of lines regulated by the sense into the New Testament is supposed to have been a rude substitute for punctuation. The second mode, resembling our printed books, is also common; it is that adopted in the Charlemagne Bible, at the close of each book of which will be found the number of verses—that is, lines of equal length, but without any regard to the number of words or letters.

We are not aware at what time or by whom

stichometry was adapted to the gospels, but not long after the time of Euthalius we find it in common use. The Cod. Bezae (C) and the Clermont MS. (D) are thus written. The following is from C [John i.] :—

Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν

Καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος. οὗτος ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν

Θεόν

Πάντα δι’ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ

Ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἓν ὃ γέγονεν· ἐν αὐτῷ

Ζῶν ἦν καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἦν τὸ φῶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

The following is from Acts xiii. 16, in Greek and Latin (Kipling, p. 747) :—

Ἀναστάς δὲ ὁ Παῦλος—Cum surrexisset Paulus

Καὶ κατασεισας τῇ χειρὶ εἶπεν—Et silentium manu postulasset, dixit,

Ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται, καὶ οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν Θεόν—

Viri Istraheliti, et qui timetis Deum

Ἀκουσατε—Audite.

Ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου, κ. τ. λ.—Deus populi hujus, etc.

Afterwards, in order to save parchment, it became usual to write the stichometrical books continuously, separating the stichs by a point, but still placing their numbers at the end of each book. The following is a specimen from the Cod. Cypri. :—Ὁ δὲ ἐγερθεὶς, παρέλαβε τὸ παιδίον, καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς γῆν Ἰσραὴλ. ἀκούσας δὲ, ὅτι Ἀρχηλαὸς βασιλεῦσε ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας, ἀντὶ Ἡρώδου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, ἐφοβήθη ἐκεῖ ἀπελθεῖν.

Sometimes, instead of the point, the stichs commenced with a capital, as in the Cod. Boerner., which, however, seems to have been written by an ignorant Irish scribe, unacquainted with the languages in which the MS. was written.

ZZ. Si autem aliquid nocuit t læsit te aut debet

Εἰ δὲ .τ.ι. ἠδεικῆσεν σε ἡ. οφείλειται.

hoc mihi imputa ego paulus scripsi mea

Τούτο μοι ἐλλογα Ἐγὼ παῦλος. ἐγραψα τῇ. ἐμῇ

manu ego reddam ut non dicam tibi quod et

χειρὶ. Ἐγὼ ἀποστείω. Ἴνα μὴ λέγω σοι. ὅτι καὶ

te ipsum mihi debes ita t utique frater ego

σε αὐτον. μοι. προσοφίλεις. Ναι. Ἡαί ἀδελφε. Ἐγὼ

te fruor in dño.

σου. οναμην. ἐν. κω. [Philem. 18–20.]

The stichs were sometimes very short, as in Cod. Laud. (E), in which there is seldom above one word in each. The Clermont MS. (D) contains a list of the stichs in all the Greek books of the O. and N. T., and the *Stichometry* of Nicephorus contains a similar enumeration of the Canonical books—the Antilegomena of the O. and N. T.—and of the Apocryphal books, as Enoch, the Testaments of the Patriarchs, etc. etc.

Hug (*Introd.*) observes that the Codex Alexandrinus might be easily mistaken for the copy of a stichometrical manuscript, from the resemblance of its divisions to the *στίχοι*, as, *ἡκούσα δὲ φωνῆς λεγουσῆς μοι. ἀναστάς Πέτρε. θύσον καὶ φάγε*, but these occur only in occasional passages.

Instances occur in other MSS. in which the stanzas are numbered in the margin, as in the Song of Moses, in Greek and Latin in the Psalter of Sedulius of Ireland, who flourished in the ninth century. The song consists of forty-two commas or stichs, comprised in seven colons or stanzas, with a Roman numeral prefixed to each—all in the handwriting of Sedulius. The Latin is ante-hieronymian (Montfaucon, *Palæogr. Græc.*)

There is a Greek stichometrical manuscript of Isaiah, probably of the 9th century, in the Bibliothèque du Roi (1892), in which the stichs do not commence with the line, but there is a Greek numeral letter attached in the margin opposite each stich, the enumeration recommencing at the end of every hundred lines, in this form :—

1. The vision of Isaiah, the son of Amoz, which he saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem, in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of
2. Judah. Hear, O heavens, and
3. give ear, O earth : for the Lord hath spoken.
4. I have nourished and brought up children, and they
5. have rebelled against me. The ox knoweth
6. his owner, and the ass his master's crib :
7. but Israel doth not know, my people
8. doth not consider. O sinful nation, etc.

Hug is of opinion that the stichometrical system gave rise to the continuous and regular grammatical punctuation. Attempts at interpunction for the sake of the sense were, however, of much greater antiquity in profane authors than the era of stichometry. Grammatical points are said to have been first introduced by Aristophanes of Byzantium about two centuries before the Christian era. We have already seen that interpunction was in use in MSS. of the N. T. before Euthalius, as in the Cod. Alex. Isidore of Spain acquaints us that the only note of division in his time was a single point, which, to denote a *comma*, or short pause, was placed at the bottom ; to denote a *colon*, or larger pause, in the middle ; and to denote a full pause, or period, was placed at the top of the final letter of the sentence. Manuscripts of the N. T., as the Zurich Cod. Bas. E, have come down to us thus pointed. In others, as the Cod. Alex. and Cod. Ephrem., the point is placed indifferently at the top, bottom, or middle of the letter (Tischendorf, *Cod. Ephrem.*) Others, as L, use a cross for the purpose of marking a period, and Colb. 700 makes use of no other mark. Hupfeld, however (*Stud. u. Krit.*), doubts whether the priests in Cod. Cyprius are notes of the stichs, and denies any distinction between grammatical and other interpunction.

Originally there were no spaces between the words, but in the 8th or 9th century they began to be separated either by spaces\* or by points. About the same period the present marks of punctuation began to be gradually and imperceptibly adopted, and had become universal in the 10th century. Michaelis (*Introd.* ch. xiii.) says, 'that Jerome introduced the comma and colon ;' but this was not for the purpose of dividing sentences. Cod. V, however, in Matthæi, of the 8th century, has the comma and the point, and Cod. Vat. 351, the colon. The Greek note of interrogation came into use in the 9th century. After the invention of printing, the Aldine editions fixed the punctuation, which was, however, varied by Robert Stephens in his different editions of the Bible. It is scarcely necessary to observe that the punctuation of the Bible possesses no authority, and that no critic hesitates to dissent from it. The accents or the writing *κατὰ προσῳδῶν*, which were already in use

in the O. T., were added by Euthalius to his edition, but were not in general use before the 10th century.

The Hebrew MSS. all contain a versicular division, marked with the accent called *silluk*, and the *soph pasuk* (end of the verse). The word *pasuk*, פסוק, is found in the Talmud, where it denotes some division of this kind ; but whether the Talmudical *pesukim* are identical with those in the manuscripts, has been strongly contested. It is said in tract *Kiddushin* (30, c. 1) : 'Our rabbis assert that the law contains 5888 (or, according to Morinus, 8888) *pesukim* ;' while, according to division in our Bibles, there are 5845 verse. 'The Psalms have 8 more.' There are at present 2527. 'The Chronicles 8 less.' This division rather resembles the *στίχοι* in the Sept., of which the Psalms contain 5000. In the Mishna (*Megilla*, iv. 1) it is said : 'He who reads the law must not read less than three *pesukim*. Let not more than one be read by the interpreter, or three in the Prophets.' The passage in Is. lii. 3-5 is reckoned as three *pesukim*. In *Taan* (iv. 3) a precept is given for reading the history of the creation according to the Parashas and the verses in the law ; and in the Bab. Talmud (*Baba Bathra*, xiv. c. 2) the passage in Deut. xxxiv. 5-12 is called 'the last eight verses (*pesukim*) in the law.' It is evident, therefore, that some at least of our present verses correspond with the Talmudical. The term פסוקים *pisukim* is also applied in the Gemara, as synonymous with טעמים, to reading lessons in general, and sometimes to short passages or half verses. But no marks appear to have existed in the text to distinguish these divisions, which were doubtless preserved by oral teaching. The first notice of such signs is found in *Sopherim* (iii. 7), in these words : 'Liber legis, in quo incisum est, et in quo capita incisorum punctata sunt, ne legas in illo.' No such marks occur in the synagogue rolls. The Sept. and Vulg. differ both from the Hebrew and from each other in divisions of this character. (Ps. xliii. 11, 12 ; xc. 2 ; Lam. iii. 5 ; Jon. ii. 6 ; Obad. 9 ; Vulg. Cant. v. 5 ; Eccles. i. 5.) The *pesukim* of the Talmud, which are said there to have descended from Moses, may have been possibly separated by spaces. From a *Targum* on Cant. v. 13, it appears that the decalogue was originally written in ten lines (*tammim*). All the pointed or Masoretic MSS. contain the present verses, divided by the *soph pasuk* (†). We have already referred to the practice of the Masorites in numbering these verses, which was done at the end of each book. Thus at the end of Genesis : 'Genesis has 1534 verses,' etc. ; and at the end of the Pentateuch : 'The number of verses (*pesukim*) in the book of Deuteronomy is 955 ;' its sign דנ"ה (which represents the same number) ; the middle verse is, 'And thou shalt do according to the sentence' (xvii. 10) ; the number of parashas is 10, and of *sidarim* 27 ; and the number of verses in the entire Pentateuch is 5245 [5845 ?] . . . . The number of verses in the Psalms is 2527, the sign פסוקים ; the middle verse, 'Nevertheless they flattered thee with their mouth' [Ixxviii. 36] ; the number of *sidarim* 19 ; and the number of Psalms 150. The Venice edition of Ben Chajjim, from which these divisions are taken, omits them in Chronicles, but they are supplied by two MSS. In the Pentateuch the number of verses in the greater sections, or those marked by פ פ פ and ד ד ד, is also indicated at the end of each sec-

\* In the Cod. Alex. blank spaces are found at the end of the commas or sections, but nowhere else (Marsh's *Michaelis*).



tion, thus: 'Bereshith has 146 verses, sign מצי"ה; Noah has 153 verses, etc. The entire number of verses is 23,206.' Before the *Concordance* of Rabbi Nathan in the 15th century the Jews made their references by citing in the Pentateuch the two first words of the Sabbath lessons, making no use of the shorter *sidarim*, or of the open or shut parashas. Of these, which are confined to the Pentateuch, there are 290 open and 379 shut. Of the larger parashas, or Sabbath lessons, Genesis contains 12, Exodus 11, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, 10 each. Of the lesser *sidarim* Genesis contains 42, etc. These always commence in the Pentateuch with an open or closed section. From the time of Cardinal Hugo's *Concordance* citations began to be made by chapter and letter. All MSS. of the Vulgate after this period began to be thus marked, and we find Nicholas de Lyra in the 14th century frequently citing them in this manner. The citation of chapter and verse was a Jewish improvement of the succeeding century.

The ancient Greek MSS. which have descended to our times also contain a division into short sentences, which have been sometimes called *στιχοι* and *verses*. They are regulated by the sense, and each constitutes a full period. They are frequently double or treble the length of the verses in our present N. T., although sometimes they are identical with them. The Alexandrian, Vatican, Cambridge, Dublin, and other ancient MSS., all contain similar divisions. The following is from the Cod. Ephremi [1 Tim. iii. 14-16]:—

Ταυτα σοι γραφω ελπιζων ελθειν προς σε εν ταχει·  
εαν δε βραδυνω· ινα ειδης πως δει εν οικω θου  
αναστρεφειν· ειτις εστιν εκκλησια θου ζωντος·  
στυλος και εδραιωμα της αληθειας·

Και ομολογουμενος μεγα εστιν το της ευσεβειας  
μυστηριον· ος[?]εφανερωθη εν σαρκι· εδικαιωθεν  
πνι· ωφθη αγγελος· εκηρυχθη εν εθνεσιν· επισ-  
τευθη εν κοσμω· ανελημφθη εν δοξη·

## II. Versicular divisions in the printed Bibles.—

These, together with the numerical notation, are generally attributed to Robert Stephens, or Stephens [STEPHENS]. Their origin is, notwithstanding, involved in obscurity. Even those who attribute the invention to Stephens are not agreed as to their date (comp. Calmet, *Pref. to the Bible*; Du Pin, *Proleg.*; Simon, *Hist. Critique*; Jahn, *Introd.*) Morinus (*Exercit. Bibl.*), who is followed by Prideaux (*Connection*), attributes the verses to Vatablus, without naming a date; while Chevallier (*Hist. de l'Imprimerie*) and Maittaire (*Historia Stephanorum*) assert that Stephens divided the chapters into verses, placing a figure at each verse, in the N. T. in 1551, and in the O. T. in 1557. His son Henry tells us this was done by his father 'inter equitandum' whilst on a journey from Paris to Lyons.

But it is far from being true that Stephens, as has been commonly believed, was the first who either followed the Masorites, or divided the chapters into verses, or attached figures to each verse. This had been done, not only in regard to the Psalms, by James le Fèvre, in his *Psalterium Quin-cuplex* in 1509, but throughout the *whole Bible* by Sanctes Pagninus in 1528. The *Psalterium* was beautifully printed by Henry, father of Robert Stevens, each verse commencing the line with a red letter, and a number prefixed; and we may here observe, that the Book of Psalms was the first

portion of the Scriptures to which numbers were attached, by designating each separate Psalm by its number. Some ascribe this numeration to the Seventy; it is, we believe, first referred to by St. Hilary (*Pref.*), and is found in the MSS. of the Sept. Whether they were so numbered at the Christian era is somewhat doubtful. In Acts xiii. 33, the *second* Psalm is cited by its number, but in some of the best manuscripts the reading here is the *first* Psalm. In ver. 35 'in another' is said, without reference to its number; and Kuinoel is of opinion that the true reading in ver. 33 is simply *ἐν ψαλμῷ*—'in a psalm.'

In the year 1528 the Dominican Sanctes Pagninus of Lucca published at Lyons, in quarto, his accurate translation of the Bible into Latin from the Hebrew and Greek. This edition is divided throughout into verses marked with Arabic numerals in the margin, both in the O. and N. T. The text runs on continuously, except in the Psalms, where each verse commences the line. There was a second edition, more beautifully executed, but without the figures and divisions, published at Cologne in 1541. The versicular divisions in the O. T. are precisely the same with those now in use—viz. the Masoretic. Each verse is separated by a peculiar mark (¶).

In his preface to his French translation (Gen. 1552), Stephens asserts that the authors of the ancient (stichometrical) division reckoned by whole books, and he only professes to intimate them *in part*, as well as the Hebrew copies; which he did by making a versicular division of each chapter, and prefixing a figure to each verse (as in Nathan's *Concordance*), instead of adding the amount at the end of each book. Hug observes that it is really true that ancient MSS. of the N. T. are sometimes divided into smaller sections, which have some analogy to our verses, instancing the Alexandrine, Vatican, and others. His fac-simile contains eight of the nine first verses of St. Mark's Gospel, each of which commences the line with a capital. All but one are identical with those in Stephens.

It is, however, only in the canonical books of the O. T. that Stephens follows Pagninus. In St. Matthew's Gospel, Pagninus has 577 verses, and Stephens 1071. The number of verses in each chapter in Stephens is often double, frequently treble that in Pagninus. In John v., for instance, Pagninus has 7 and Stephens 22 verses. In the deuterocanonical books, into which no Masoretic distinction had found its way, Stephens has also a different division; thus, in Tobit he has 292 verses, while Pagninus has but 76; and the same proportion prevails throughout the other books, only Pagninus has not the third and fourth books of Esdras, the Prayer of Manasses, nor the addenda to Daniel.

It is not easy to arrive at entire satisfaction on the subject of Stephen's claims. We would, however, offer the following view as the result of our inquiries:—

Rabbi Nathan having in his *Concordance* (in 1450) commenced the practice of referring to a versicular division of each of the Latin chapters by the number of each Masoretic verse in the chapter, Arabic figures were, after the example of Le Fèvre's edition of the Psalms, affixed to each verse by Pagninus in his Latin Bible in 1528. Pagninus introduced a somewhat similar division into the N. T. and Apocryphal books. His system was



adopted by Robert Stephens in the N. T. in 1551, and in the whole Bible in 1555, with scarcely any alteration except in the deuterocanonical books and the N. T., wherein he introduced a different division. This division was partly founded on the practice of ancient manuscripts, and was partly his own. But as his object was to adapt his division to his *Concordance*, without any reference to the sense, he unfortunately introduced a much worse division than he found in any of his models. And it is to be lamented that his 'wild and indigested' system of breaking up the text into what appear to the eyes of the learned and to the minds of the unlearned as so many detached sentences (Michaelis' *Introduct.*), has had a deleterious effect on the sense of Scripture, and perhaps given rise to some heresies\* (See *Pref. to Bishop Lloyd's Greek Testament*). Michaelis supposes that the phrase 'inter equitandum' does not mean that Stephens accomplished his task whilst actually riding on horseback, but that during the intervals of his journey he amused himself by doing it at his inn. If his division was a mere modification of that of Pagninus, it might easily have been done 'inter equitandum': a phrase which, however we understand it, not inaptly represents the post-haste expedition with which his work was executed. Whether Pagninus himself adopted his division in the N. T. from manuscripts, or what his design was in introducing it, must be the result of an investigation which we cannot now enter upon. Stephens, it is true, never once refers to Pagninus' system; but we could hardly suppose that he was unacquainted with it, even had we no evidence to this effect. The evidence, however, does exist, for Stephens, in 1556, had in his possession two copies of Pagninus' Bible. The preface to his edition of 1557 contains the following words: 'In exteriori autem parte interpretationem Sanctis Pagnini (quam potissimum, at maxime fidem, omnes uno ore laudant), crassioribus litteris excusam damus: sed hanc quidem certe multis partibus ea quam in aliis editionibus habes, meliorem. *Nacti enim sumus duo ex primis illius editione exemplaria*, in quibus non solum typographica errata non pauca, nec levia, manu propria ipse author correxerat, sed multos etiam locos diligentius et accuratius quam antea examinatos, recognoverat.'

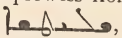
Croius (*Observat.*) states that he had seen very ancient Latin MSS. containing Stephens' division, with the first letter of each verse rubricated, but he does not designate his MSS. We believe this was a biased assertion. We have ourselves seen Latin MSS. with periods so marked; but they are not the same with Stephens' verses. There is in the British Museum also a MS. of part of the Sept. (Harl. 5021), dated in 1647, which is versiculated throughout, and marked with figures; but the verses are much longer than those of Stephens'. Latin MSS. are found divided in the same manner as the Greek, one of which is the Cod. Bezae, which was collated by Stephens for his edition of 1550. Dr. Laurence's book of Enoch is divided into verses, with numbers attached, as well as into

chapters called *Kefel*. Dr. Laurence says that these divisions into verses are arbitrary, and vary in the different Ethiopic MSS. of Enoch. The numbers, we presume, were added by the translator. By a letter from Dr. Bandinell, keeper of the Bodleian Library, we learn that that library possesses an Ethiopic MS. of the N. T. divided into sections and paragraphs entirely different from ours, not numbered, but separated by a peculiar mark. The verses in the Gospel of the Templars [GOSPELS, SPURIOUS], instead of spaces or figures, are separated by a horizontal line [—] (*Thilo Cod. Apoc.*)

The MS. of the Syriac N. T. in the British Museum (No. 7157), written at Bethkuko A.D. 768 (see Wright's *Seiler*, p. 651, note), contains a numerical division in the Gospels, with the numbers in rubric inserted by a coeval hand into the body of the text. Attached to each number is another in green, referring to a canon of parallel passages on the plan of that of Eusebius, but placed at the foot of each page. The sections, which are called *versiculi* in the catalogue, and have been mistaken for verses, are more numerous than the Ammonian, Matthew containing 426, Mark 290, Luke 402, and John 271. There is a complete capitulation also throughout all the books, the chapters being separated in the text by a peculiar ornament, with the number in the margin. Of these chapters Matthew has 22, Mark 13, Luke 22, John 20, Acts 25; of the Catholic Epistles, James 1, and [i.] John 6, and the Pauline have 54. After the first Gospel there is a double number, by which the former are recapitulated, and a treble number from the Acts to the end.

The numerical divisions into chapters and verses were first adapted to liturgical use in the Anglican Church—the chapters in Edward VI.'s first Book of Common Prayer (1549), and the verses in the Scotch Liturgy (1637), from whence they were adopted into the last revision (1662).—W. W.

VERSIONS. [See under their respective heads.]

VILLAGE. Some of the words rendered *village* in the A. V. are improperly so rendered. Thus Hab. iii. 14 the pl. פְּרוֹן is rendered 'villages.' It should be 'captains' or 'eminent men,' men separated by their rank or prowess from the mass; LXX. δυνάσται; Syr. , *she-lithona*, *princeps*, *praefectus*. In Judg. v. 7, 11, פְּרוֹן, properly *rulers*, Sept. δυνάτορ, is rendered 'villages;' and Ezek. xxxviii. 11 פְּרוֹנוֹת means *open country*. The cognate noun פְּרוֹי, however, signifying a countryman, a rustic, with כִּפְרִי prefixed, signifies a *country village*. The word חֲגֵרֶשׁ, translated 'villages' Lev. xxv. 31, is more correctly rendered at the 34th ver. 'suburbs.' The proper Heb. term for *village* is כִּפְרִי, which appears also in the forms כִּפְרִיר (Neh. vi. 2) and כִּפְרִי (1 Sam. vi. 18),

and is represented by the Arabic كَفْر, *kefr*, still so much in use; but another term, חֲצֵר, properly an enclosure, is used of farm-buildings enclosing a court, of the encampment of nomades (Gen. xxviii. 16; Deu. ii. 25, etc.), and of hamlets near towns

\* Tholuck (see Robinson's *Bibl. Sacra*, 1844, vol. i. p. 354) conceives the omission of the verses to be a defect in Lachmann's edition; but Lachmann has inserted Stephens' figures in the body of the text, and has properly discarded the use of capitals, except at the commencement of a period.



(Josh. xiii. 23, 28; xv. 32, *seq.*; 1 Chron. iv. 33; Neh. xi. 2, 5). Different from these were the **בָּנוֹת**

**הָעִיר**, *daughters of the city*, which were small towns or villages lying near to a great city, dependent on it, and included under its jurisdiction. The term **חַיָּה**, from **חָיָה**, *to breathe, to live*, qu. *place of living*, though others prefer to derive it from the Arab.

**حوی**, *chawa, convolvit, in gyrum se flexit*, whence

**حوا**, *chawaon, a tent, or a cluster of tents, an abode of nomades*, also denotes a village. The term occurs only in the plural, and only in reference to certain villages or small towns bearing the name of Havoth-Jair. These are mentioned Num. xxxii. 42; Deut. iii. 14; Josh. xiii. 30; Judg. x. 4; 1 Kings iv. 13 [HAVOTH-JAIR]. In the N. T. the term **κώμη** is used of Bethphage (Matt. xxi. 2); of Bethany (Luke x. 38; John xi. 1); of Emmaus (Luke xxiv. 13); and of Bethlehem (John vii. 42). Bethsaida of Galilee is called **κώμη** (Mark viii. 23, 26), and **πόλις** (John i. 45). Bethsaida of Gaulonitis, to which Herod-Philip II. allowed the dignity of a city (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 1), is called **πόλις**; unless these two are one and the same place (Thomson, *Land and Book*).

The Rabbins make the distinction between a city (**עיר**) and a village (**כפר**) to lie in the former having and the latter wanting the number of learned men (ten) deemed requisite to entitle a place to a synagogue (Lightfoot, *Chorograph. Matt. præmiss.* c. 98; and *Hor. Heb. in Matt.* iv. 23). This is a distinction, however, so purely arbitrary and artificial that it is worthless for any practical purpose. We know nothing distinctively characteristic of the villages of ancient Palestine except that they were not surrounded by walls. Probably in some cases they were not much better than a collection of huts with mud walls, or composed of stones rudely built together.—W. L. A.

VINE, THE (**נֶפֶץ**, *gephen*), with its fruit, the Grape, **ענב**, *anub*, or **יַיִן**, *yayin*, as well as Wine, is very frequently mentioned in Scripture, as might be expected from its being a native of the East, well known to ancient nations, and highly esteemed for its various natural and artificial products. Homer and Herodotus mention the vine: Theophrastus and Dioscorides treat of it in several chapters. But long before these times it was known to the Egyptians: representations of the careful culture of the vine, of the treading of the grapes and squeezing out its juice, and of the storing of the wine in jars, being all discovered in the paintings within their tombs. Though cultivated at such early periods, the vine was not a native of Egypt, nor probably of Syria; but both European and Asiatic writers mention it as a native of the hilly region on the southern shores of the Caspian, and in the Persian province of Ghilan. In the districts of the Caucasus, as well as in the elevated valley of Cashmere, the vine climbs to the tops of the loftiest trees, and the grapes are of fine quality and large size in many places of the intermediate country. Every part of the vine was and still continues to be highly valued. The sap was at one time used in medicine. Verjuice expressed from wild grapes is well known for its acidity. The late Sir A. Burnes mentions that in Caubul they use grape powder, obtained by drying and

powdering the unripe fruit, as a pleasant acid. When ripe, the fruit is everywhere highly esteemed, both fresh, and in its dried state as raisins. The juice of the ripe fruit, called *must*, is valued as a pleasant beverage. By fermentation, wine, alcohol, and vinegar are obtained; the lees yield tartar; an oil is sometimes expressed from the seeds; and the ashes of the twigs were formerly valued in consequence of yielding a salt, which we now know to be carbonate of potash.



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It is not surprising, therefore, that the vine is so frequently mentioned both in the O. and in the N. T., for it was one of the most valuable products of Palestine, and of particularly fine quality in some of the districts. Those of Eshcol, Sorek, Jibmah, Jazer, and Abel, were particularly distinguished. The men sent from Kadesh-barnea to explore the Promised Land brought back as a sign of its fertility—what would be sure to be appreciated by men who had been sojourning in the desert—a bunch of grapes from Eshcol, near Hebron, which they carried between them on a stick, probably to prevent its being bruised, but no doubt also on account of its great size. Modern travellers—as Dandini, Mariti, and Laborde—have described some of the grapes of Palestine as being of large size. Nau affirms that in Syria he had seen clusters ten or twelve pounds in weight; and Schulz states that he supped under a vine whose stem was about a foot and a half in diameter, its height about thirty feet, while its branches and branchlets, which had to be supported, formed a tent of upwards of thirty feet square. But this will appear nothing extraordinary to those who have seen the vine at Hampton Court, which covers a space of 2200 square feet. And we have it on record that, even in our own country, a bunch of *Syrian* grapes was produced at Welbeck, which weighed nineteen pounds, and measured in length twenty-three inches, and nineteen and a half inches in its greatest diameter. It was sent as a present from the Duke of Portland to the Marquess of Rockingham, and conveyed

a distance of twenty miles, on a staff, by four labourers, two of whom bore it in rotation, thus affording a striking illustration of the proceeding of the spies (Kitto, *Physic. Geog. of Palestine*, p. cccxxx.)

A fruitful vine is often adduced as an emblem of the Hebrew nation, and also the vine that was brought out of Egypt. A period of security and repose is figured by every one sitting under his own vine and fig-tree; and prosperity by 'Judah, a lion's whelp, binding his foal to the vine, and his ass's colt to the choice vine;' both indications of Eastern manners, where sitting in the shade is most pleasant, and tying cattle in similar situations a common practice. Of the vine there were no doubt several varieties, as of all cultivated plants, but that of Sorek is especially distinguished (Gen. xlix. 11; Jer. xi. 21). Rosenmüller supposes this to be the variety called *serik* or *sorik*, which is cultivated not only in Syria, but also in Arabia and in the north of Africa. It appears to be the variety called *kishmish*, or the Persian *bedana*, which signifies 'without seed.'

The vine must have been cultivated in very early times, as we are informed in Gen. ix. 20 that Noah planted the vine immediately after the deluge; and bread and wine are mentioned in Gen. xiv. 18. In Egypt also we have early notice of it (Gen. xl. 9, 10), as Pharaoh's chief butler saw in a dream a vine with three branches; and the Israelites complain (Num. xx. 5) that Moses and Aaron had brought them out of Egypt into that dry and barren land, where there were neither figs nor vines. The wines of Syria were in early times also highly esteemed; and though the growth of the vine has much decreased, from the diminished population and the Mohammedan rule, yet travellers still speak with enthusiasm of some of the wines, as of the vino d'oro of Lebanon. As space will not permit us to notice all the passages in which the vine, the grape, and wine are mentioned, we must refer to Celsius, *Hierobot.* vol. i. pp. 400-444; Calmet's *Dictionary*; Rosenmüller's *Biblical Bot.* p. 220; and to Kitto's *Physical History of Palestine*, p. cccxxiv., in all of which the subject is amply discussed and clearly elucidated.—J. F. R.

**VINE OF SODOM.** In Deut. xxxii. 32 it is said of the enemies of Israel that 'their vine is the vine of Sodom.' This has been supposed to refer to some natural production; and the so-called apples of Sodom have been generally regarded as the production referred to. What these were is very uncertain; but on this question we need not enter here, for it is wholly improbable that a fruit in shape and appearance resembling an *apple* should be called a *vine*. The vine of Sodom, if there was any such plant, must have been a trailing or creeping plant resembling a vine, probably one of the gourd species [PAKUOTII]. But it is more than doubtful whether any natural production is referred to in the passage quoted. It is more probable that, as in Ps. lxxx. 8, 14; Is. v. 2, 7; Hos. x. 1, the people as such are called a vine, so here the enemies of Israel represented by a vine are described as so depraved and reprobate that they are as the people of Sodom.—W. L. A.

**VINEGAR.** [WINE.]

**VIOL.** [MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.]

**VIPER** (אַפֶּסֶת). [SARAPH.]

**VIRGIN** (עַלְמָה, בתולה; Vulg. *virgo*). The word בתולה occurs fifty times in the O. T., and is translated by παρθένος in the Sept. except in two instances. It is rendered once by νεάνις (1 Kings i. 2) and once by νέμψη (Joel i. 8). See Gen. xxiv. 16; Exod. xxii. 15, 16, 17; Lev. xxi.; Deut. xxii., xxxii.; Judg. xxi., etc. עלמה occurs seven times, in four of which it is rendered νεάνις, *puella* (Exod. ii. 8; Ps. lxxviii. 25; Cant. i. 3; vi. 8); in one (Prov. xxx. 19) νεότης, and in two (Gen. xxiv. 43; Is. vii. 14) παρθένος. The same word is also rendered *virgo* in the Vulgate in these two passages; in Exod. ii. 8, *puella*; in Ps. lxxviii. 26, *juvencula*; in Cant. i. 3, and vi. 8, *adolescentula*; and in Prov. xxx. 19, *adolescentia*, after the Sept. The Syriac follows the LXX. in Is. vii. 14, but in all the other passages agrees with Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, who translate עלמה by νεάνις, not only in Ps. lxxviii. 26; Gen. xxxiv. 43; Exod. ii. 8; Prov. xxx. 19 (in which they agree with the Sept.), but also in Is. vii. 14. Justin Martyr (*Dial. c. Tryph.*) complains of the partiality of the Greek translators in rendering עלמה here by νεάνις (a term which does not necessarily include the idea of virginity), accusing these Jewish writers of wishing to neutralise the application to the Messiah of this passage, which the Jews of his time referred to Hezekiah. Gesenius (*Comm. in Isa.*) maintains, notwithstanding, that νεάνις, not παρθένος, is the correct rendering in Is. vii. 14, while he at the same time agrees with Justin that the prediction cannot possibly refer to Hezekiah, who was born nine years before its delivery. Fürst (*Concordance*) explains עלמה by *puella, virgo, nubilis illa vel nupta, tenera et florens ætate, valens ac vegeta*; but Hengstenberg (*Christology*), although admitting that עלמה does not necessarily mean a virgin (which he conceives is plain from Prov. xxx. 19), maintains that it is always applied in Scripture to an *unmarried* woman. St. Matthew (i. 23), who cites from the LXX., applies the passage (Is. vii. 14) to the miraculous birth of Jesus from the blessed Virgin. Professor Robinson (*Gr. and Eng. Lexicon*) considers παρθένος here to signify a bride, or newly-married woman, as in Homer (*Il.* ii. 514):

Ὅς τέκεν Ἀστυόχη . . . παρθένος αἰδομένη  
(‘Them bore Astyoche, a virgin pure’)

COWPER);

and considering it to refer apparently to the youthful spouse of the prophet (see Is. viii. 3, 4; vii. 3, 10, 21), holds that the sense in Matt. i. 23 would then be: Thus was fulfilled in a strict and literal sense that which the prophet spoke in a wider sense and on a different occasion. Jerome says that the Punic for *virgo* is *alma*, although the word עלמה is but twice so rendered in the Vulgate. The early Christians contended also for the *perpetual* virginity of Mary against the Jews, who objected to the use of the term *ἕως* (until, Matt. i. 25) as implying the contrary; but the Fathers triumphantly appealed against the Jewish interpretation to Scripture usage, according to which this term frequently included the notion of perpetuity (comp. Ps. cx. 1; Gen. viii. 7; Is. xlv.



## VITRINGA

4; Ps. lxi. 7; Matt. xxviii. 20; and see Suicer's *Thesaurus*, and Pearson *On the Creed*, Art. iii.) Although there is no proof from Scripture that Mary had other children [JAMES; JUDE], the Christian Fathers did not consider that there was any impiety in the supposition that she had (Suicer, *ut supra*). But, although not an article of faith, the perpetual virginity of Mary was a constant tradition of both the Eastern and Western church. The most distinguished Protestant theologians have also adopted this belief, and Dr. Lardner (*Credibility*) considered the evidence in its favour so strong as to deserve that assent which he himself yielded to it.

The word *παρθένος*, *virgin*, occurs in Matt. i., xxv.; Luke i.; Acts xxi.; 1 Cor. vii.; 2 Cor. xi. 2; and Apoc. xiv. 4. In 1 Cor. and Apoc. it is applied to both sexes, as it frequently is by the Fathers, who use it in the sense of *calcebs*. It is sometimes metaphorically used in the O. T. for a country, and in the N. T. to denote a high state of moral purity.—W. W.

VITRINGA, CAMPEGIUS, D.D., successively professor of Oriental languages and of theology at Leyden, and professor of theology at Franeker, was born at Leuwarden 16th May 1659, and died at Franeker 31st March 1722. His great work is his *Commentarius in librum Prophet. Jesaie*, 2 vols. fol., of which the first edition was published at Leuwarden in 1714-20; after his death an improved edition was carried through the press by Schultens, Basil. 1732. Besides this great work Vitringa published a commentary on Zechariah 1734, and on the Apocalypse 1705, and two volumes of *Observationes Sacrae*, of which several editions have appeared; the last in 1723, edited by Werner, has a life of the author prefixed. He wrote also *De Synagoga vetere libb. iii.* Franek. 1696, Weissenfels 1726, an abridged translation of which, by the Rev. J. L. Bernard, appeared Lond. 1842. Vitringa had previously published two relative treatises, *Archisynagogus obs. novis illust.* Franek. 1685, and *De decem viris otiosis*, Franek. 1687. Among his Biblical works may be also mentioned his *Hypotyposis Hist. et Chronol. sac. a M. C. usque ad finem sac. I.*, of which three editions have appeared. All Vitringa's writings are highly valuable. His son, whose name was also Campegius, and a professor at Franeker, has left a volume of *Dissertationes Sacrae*, Franek. 1731, which show learning and ability, and occasion regret that the author's early death prevented the harvest of which they give the promise. He was born 23d March 1693, and died 11th Jan. 1723. Another son, Horaz, who died at the age of eighteen in 1696, distinguished himself by his strictures on the treatise of Vorst, *de Hebraismis N. T.*—W. L. A.

VOW (נדר) is represented by a Hebrew word which signifies to 'promise,' and may therefore be defined as a religious undertaking, either, 1. Positive, to do or perform; 2. or Negative, to abstain from doing or performing a certain thing. The morality of vows we shall not here discuss, but merely remark that vows were quite in place in a system of religion which so largely consisted of doing or not doing certain outward acts, with a view of pleasing Jehovah and gaining his favour. The Israelite, who had been taught by performances of daily recurrence to consider particular cere-

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monies as essential to his possessing the divine favour, may easily have been led to the conviction, which existed probably in the primitive ages of the world, that voluntary oblations and self-imposed sacrifices had a special value in the sight of God. And when once this conviction had led to corresponding practice, it could not be otherwise than the highest consequence that these sacred promises, which in sanctity differed little from oaths, should be religiously and scrupulously observed. Before a vow is taken there may be strong reasons why it should not be made; but when it is once assumed, a new obligation is contracted, which has the greater force because of its voluntary nature: a new element is introduced, which strongly requires the observance of the vow, if the bonds of morality are not to be seriously relaxed. The writer may be of opinion that total abstinence is in itself not a virtue nor of general obligation, but he cannot doubt that 'breaking the pledge,' when once taken, is an act of immorality that cannot be repeated without undermining the very foundations of character: whence it obviously appears that caution should be observed, not only in keeping, but also in leading men to make pledges, vows, and promises.

Vows, which rest on a human view of religious obligations, assuming as they do that a kind of recompense is to be made to God for good enjoyed, or a consideration offered for good desiderated, or a gratuity presented to buy off an impending or threatened ill, are found in existence in the antiquities of all nations, and present themselves in the earliest Biblical periods (Gen. xxviii. 20; Judg. xi. 30; 1 Sam. i. 11; 2 Sam. xv. 8). With great propriety the performance of these voluntary undertakings was accounted a highly religious duty (Judg. xi. 35; Eccles. v. 4, 5). The words of the last vow are too emphatic, and in the present day too important, not to be cited: 'Better is it that thou shouldst not vow, than that thou shouldst vow and not pay' (comp. Ps. lxxvi. 13, *seq.*; lxxvi. 11; cxvi. 18). The views which guided the Mo- saic legislation were not dissimilar to those just expounded. Like a wise lawgiver, Moses, in this and in other particulars, did not attempt to sunder the line of continuity between the past and the present. He found vows in practice; he aimed to regulate what it would have been folly to try to root out (Deut. xxiii. 21, *seq.*). The words in the 22d verse are clearly in agreement with our remarks: 'If thou shalt forbear to vow, it shall be no sin in thee.'—J. R. B.

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## W

WAGES. The word שכר, rendered in A. V. by this term, comes from a verb which signifies to hire, to pay, or receive wages. A word rendered *wages* is פָּעֵל or פְּעֻלָּה, from *to do, to labour*. Wages, then, according to earliest usages of mankind, are a return made

3



purchaser for something of value—specifically for work performed. And thus labour is recognised as property; and wages as the price paid or obtained in exchange for such property. In this respect it is obviously nothing more than a side effect.

most important work is his *History of Israelism*, first published in 1830.

## WANDERING, WILDERNESS OF 1078 WANDERING, WILDERNESS OF

identified, and the incidents narrated, correspond most accurately with the character of the country. The scene and the record are in perfect harmony. The difficulties and doubts conjured up by some recent writers disappear entirely before a thoughtful study of the sacred narrative and a minute examination of the wilderness.

It may be well to notice here a very singular theory regarding the Wilderness of Wandering, originally propounded by Dr. Beke in his *Origines Biblicæ*, and very recently revised and expanded by a writer in Fullarton's *Cyclopædia of Biblical Geography* [EXODE]. The theory is so strange, so totally opposed to established views of geographers ancient and modern, and so inconsistent, it may be added, with the whole tenor of the Biblical narrative, that it does not require refutation. Its leading points are as follows:—1. The country of *Mitzraim* is not the modern Egypt. 'Mitzraim proper,' says Dr. Beke, 'may be correctly defined to be the portion of Arabia Petrea which lies between the two heads of the Arabian Gulf (the Red Sea of geographers), and which extends northward from thence to the Mediterranean and the confines of Palestine' (*Origines Bib.* p. 291). 2. The Red Sea which the Israelites crossed, and in which the Egyptians were destroyed, was the gulf of Akabah (*Id.* p. 180). 3. Sinai, 'the Mount of the Law,' was situated on the east side of the Arabah, and probably beside the city of Petra (*Id.* 194). 4. 'The Wilderness of Wandering' was the great desert of Arabia east of Edom.

This remarkable theory its authors endeavour to support by theories as remarkable as itself. Not only are the whole results of geographical research summarily set aside, but the whole physical conformation of northern Africa and western Asia is arbitrarily changed. It is affirmed that Lower Egypt, including the whole Delta of the Nile, was at the time of the Exodus beneath the waves of the Mediterranean. It is affirmed that the Nile emptied itself to the eastward of the meridian of Suez. It is affirmed that great rivers flowed through the desert Et-Tih, and that the peninsula of Sinai was like a well-watered garden. It is affirmed that a line of great lakes or seas ran across the whole Arabian peninsula, connecting the Red Sea (that is, the Gulf of Akabah) with the Persian Gulf. [See generally EXODE, as above, and *Origines Bib.*]

These startling affirmations are not merely set forth as possibilities, or probabilities; but, to use the oft-repeated language of the authors, 'they are established beyond the possibility of doubt.' Most geographers, however, will take the liberty of doubting them. In fact few will, or can, receive them who, free from prejudice, carefully study the descriptions given in the closing chapters of Genesis and beginning of Exodus, of the character of the soil of Mitzraim, of its river, of its wheat, barley, and flax crops, of its brick-making and brick-built cities, of its fish and vegetables, and of its horsemen and chariots. Could such descriptions by any possibility apply to the rugged mountains and dreary plains of the peninsula of Sinai, and the desert of Et-Tih? The traveller who has passed through these regions will doubtless smile at the question.

THE JOURNEY OF THE ISRAELITES may, for convenience of reference, be divided into four stages.

1. *Rameses to the Red Sea*.—This stage has already been described in the article EXODUS. A

few of the leading points, however, must here be stated. Rameses is mentioned as the place from which the Israelites set out: 'And they departed from Rameses in the first month, on the fifteenth day of the first month; on the morrow after the passover the children of Israel went out with an high hand in the sight of all the Egyptians . . . And the children of Israel removed from Rameses and pitched in Succoth' (Num. xxxiii. 3, 5). It must not be supposed, however, that the whole body of the Israelites, men, women, and children, with their flocks, herds, and movables, had been gathered to that one spot, and there arranged in compact order. The people had been long preparing for the journey. A system of communication was established by which Moses could convey his orders with great rapidity to every part of the country in which they resided. The flocks and herds were doubtless away on the open plain towards the eastern frontier of Goshen. Most of the people being shepherds, were necessarily seminomads, and had their wives and children with their flocks. Moses and the leading men of the nation, with most of those probably who had been engaged in labour by Egyptian taskmasters, had assembled at Rameses; and they marched out in order. It must strike the thoughtful reader as most remarkable that *all* the people were able to set out on such a journey on short notice. Sceptics and infidels have objected to the historic truth of the narrative on this ground. Bishop Colenso puts the objection in its most plausible form. The people, he says, amounted to two millions. These were required to start at a moment's notice. The order was conveyed to them all; the passover was observed; property to an immense amount was borrowed; the flocks and herds were collected; the sick and infirm, women in child-birth and young infants, brought in from a wide extent of country, and congregated at Rameses. He concludes—'I do not hesitate to declare this statement to be utterly incredible and impossible' (*Pent. Pt. i.* pp. 61-65). It would be incredible were the facts as the bishop represents them. But they are not so. It would seem from a careful study of the whole narrative, that the flocks, herds, and 'mixed multitude,' did not follow the same line of route as the chief men. They are not mentioned at the passage of the Dead Sea, nor at Marah, nor at Elim. They appear to have taken a more northerly course, passing round the head of the gulf and through the best pastures. This is the plan always adopted by Bedawin on the march. The chiefs and main body of men keep together, while the flocks and their attendants roam far and wide. Yet when an Arab writer gives an account of the migrations of his tribe, he confines the narrative wholly to the central group.

It will be observed also that Colenso utterly ignores any divine element in the Exodus. He judges of it as a simple case of migration, in direct opposition to what is affirmed by the sacred historian repeatedly and emphatically. The power of the Lord was directly exercised in every stage of the Exodus (Exod. xii. 23, 36, 42, 51; xiii. 14-18, *seq.*) We know not how far the direct exercise of divine power extended—how it strengthened the weak, healed the sick, or directed the movements of the whole multitude. We do know, however, that it was exercised. Without it the Exodus would have been impossible.



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## W

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purchaser for something of value—specifically for work performed. And thus labour is recognised as property; and wages as the price paid or obtained in exchange for such property. In this relation there is obviously nothing improper or humiliating on the side either of the buyer or the seller. They have each a certain thing which the other wants, and in the exchange which they in consequence make both parties are alike served. In these few words lies the theory, and also the justification of all service. The entire commerce of life is barter. In hire, then, there is nothing improper or discreditable. It is only a hireling—that is, a mercenary, a mean sordid spirit—that is wrong. So long as a human being has anything to give which another human being wants, so long has he something of value in the great market of life; and whatever that something may be, provided it does not contribute to evil passions or evil deeds, he is a truly respectable capitalist, and a useful member of the social community. The Scriptural usage in applying the term translated ‘wages’ to sacred subjects—thus the Almighty himself says to Abraham (Gen. xv. 1), ‘I am thy exceeding great reward’—tends to confirm these views, and to suggest the observance of caution in the employment of the words ‘hire’ and ‘hireling,’ which have acquired an offensive meaning by no means originally inherent in themselves, or in the Hebrew words for which they stand (Gen. xxx. 18, 32, 33).

Property, in all ages, has in practice disowned the truth, that it has its duties as well as its rights. This Jacob found in his dealings with Laban. But in the iron age of the Jewish state, injustice towards those who had no property but such as their labour supplied became very common, and conducted, with other crimes, to call down the divine wrath—‘I will be a swift witness against those that oppress the hireling in his wages’ (Mal. iii. 5).—J. R. B.

## WAGGON. [CART.]

WAHL, CHRIST. ABRAHAM, D.D., born at Dresden 1st November 1773, was successively pastor at Friesdorf, in the duchy of Mansfeld, super-pastor at Schruberg, superintendent at Oschatz, and church-councillor at Dresden. He published an *Introduction to the Bible* for schools, Leip. 1819, and also a *Bibl. Handwörterbuch* for the higher classes, Leip. 1825; but the work which gives him a claim to notice here is his admirable *Clavis Novi Test. philolog.*, the first edition of which appeared at Leipzig in 1822, an enlarged edition in 2 vols. in 1829, a third enlarged and corrected, 1 vol. 4to, 1843. An abridged edition was issued by the author in 1831. This, in the edition of 1843, is as yet the best lexicon to the N. T. we possess.—W. L. A.

## WALL. [MOURNING.]

WALL, WILLIAM, a dissenting minister for in Homerton college, born at Bath 9th May 1773, died at Uxbridge 22d Jan. 1850. He published *The Book of Psalms, a new translation with notes explanatory and critical*, Lond. 1846. *Cura Romane: Notes on the Epistle to the Romans, with a revised translation*, Lond. 1846. These are the works of an accomplished scholar and judicious critic.—W. L. A.

WALL, WILLIAM, D.D., vicar of Shoreham in Sussex, born 1645 or 1646, died 1727-28. His

most important work is his *History of Infant Baptism*, first published in 1705, 2 vols. 8vo; in 1720 appeared the third edition, accompanied by an additional volume containing *A Defence of the History against the Reflections of Mr. Gale and others*. Besides this, Wall wrote *Critical Notes on the O. T.*, 2 vols. 8vo, 1734; *Brief Critical Notes especially on var. readings of the N. T.*, 1730. Orme says these are ‘valuable works which explain many difficult passages’ (*Bibl. Bib.*).—W. L. A.

## WALLS. [FORTIFICATIONS; TOWNS.]

WALTON, BRIAN, D.D., was born in 1600 at Seamer, in the district of Cleaveland in Yorkshire; in 1616 he was admitted a sizar of Magdalen College, Cambridge, whence he removed to Peterhouse in 1618, and took his degree of M.A. in 1623. He left college for a curacy and mastership of a school in Suffolk; but was soon after removed to London, where he was first assistant in the Church of All-Hallows, Broad Street, and afterwards, in 1626, rector of St. Martins Orgar, with which he conjoined the rectory of Sandon in Essex. In 1639 he commenced D.D. at Cambridge. Soon after this he was involved in the troubles which arose from the contest of king and parliament, was deprived of his preferment, and was obliged to take refuge in Oxford. Here he formed the plan of his great work, *The London Polyglott*, and here probably he made some preparations for it. It was not, however, till he returned to London that any active steps were taken towards carrying his design into effect. A prospectus of the work was issued in 1652; the assistance of the most eminent Oriental and Biblical scholars of the day was engaged; and in the fall of 1653 the printing was begun. The first volume appeared in September 1654, and the whole work was completed before the end of 1657. Of the merits of this invaluable work it is needless here to speak [POLYGLOTT]. It remains an imperishable memorial of the learning, assiduity, and ability of the editor and his coadjutors. After the Restoration, Walton was, in 1660, made bishop of Chester, an office which he filled only for a few months, his death occurring 29th November 1661. Besides the valuable *Prolegomena* to his great work, Walton wrote *Introductio ad lectionem Linguar. Oriental.* 1654-55, part of which was republished under the title of *Dissertatio de ling. Orient.*, Daventriae 1658. He replied also to some strictures of Dr. Owen on the Polyglott in his *Considerator Considered*, etc., 1669, 1821.—W. L. A.

WANDERING, WILDERNESS OF. The object of this article is to trace the footsteps of the Israelites from Egypt to Palestine, to describe the physical geography and topography of the ‘Wilderness’ through which they passed, and to throw light, as far as it may be possible from the results of modern research, upon their mode of travel, their various routes, and the supplies of water and pasture afforded by the country for their flocks and herds.

From the time the people left Egypt until they crossed the Jordan into Palestine, forty years elapsed (Deut. i. 3; viii. 2; Josh. v. 6). During that long period they were wandering in the wilderness. They did not proceed in a direct course from Egypt to Canaan. Had they done so they might have performed the journey in ten or twelve



days, for the distance is not more than 150 miles. 'But God led them not through the way of the land of the Philistines, although that was near; for God said, Lest peradventure the people repent when they see war, and they return to Egypt; *but God led the people about through the way of the wilderness of the Red Sea*' (Exod. xiii. 17, 18). Even in this way they did not advance along one direct line of route. They were led from place to place, back and forward, by a divine guide. For thirty-eight years they were literally 'wanderers,' moving apparently from pasture to pasture, and from fountain to fountain, like one of the great nomad tribes of Arabia. The full history of these 'wanderings' is not given in the Bible. All the places through which they passed, or in which they lingered, are not mentioned. Even the few stations whose names are recorded cannot all be identified. It is consequently impossible to trace the footsteps of the Israelites in every part of their wilderness-journey. There are, however, several leading places on the route which have been unquestionably identified; and taking these as landmarks, it is not difficult to determine the general line along which they marched. These places are the following:—1. Goshen, from which the people set out. 2. That point on the western gulf of the Red Sea, near Suez, where a way was opened up for them through the waters. 3. Mount Sinai, where the law was given, and the camp was fixed for nearly a year. 4. Kadesh-Barnea, where an unsuccessful attempt was made to enter Canaan. 5. The plains of Moab, on the east side of the Jordan, to which they passed from Kadesh round the southern and eastern borders of Edom.

In order that the reader may fully understand the details of the route now about to be sketched, he is recommended to read with care the articles GOSHEN, EXODUS, SINAI, and KADESH. The present article is to some extent supplementary to these; and the conclusions arrived at rest, in part, on arguments therein developed.

I. GENERAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE WILDERNESS.—It will be seen from the foregoing remarks, that the country embraced in the 'Wilderness of Wandering' extended from the borders of Egypt and the Mediterranean on the west, to the plateau of Arabia on the east. How much of the latter it included cannot be determined, because the eastern boundary of Edom is indefinite; and even were it minutely defined, it would be impossible to ascertain how close to or how far from it the Israelites travelled. There can be little doubt that their march was never conducted, like that of a modern army, in one dense column. It bore a far closer resemblance to the migration of an Arab tribe, whose flocks, herds, shepherds, and guards, with their families, spread over the country for many miles. The writer has more than once passed through a moving tribe whose outer extremities were twenty miles apart. The southern limits of the wilderness were marked by the Red Sea and its gulfs; and the northern by Canaan, Moab, and Bashan.

This vast region is divided by the Gulf of Akabah, and the deep valley of the Arabah, into two great sections. The western section is triangular in form, the base being marked by the Mediterranean coast and the hills of Judah, and the apex by Ras Mohammed on the extreme south. The physical geography of this region is very

remarkable, and, as it formed the chief scene of the wanderings of the Israelites, it must be described with some minuteness.

From the shore of the Mediterranean a great plain extends inland. At first it is very low, and studded with mounds and ridges of drifting sand. It rises gradually, and the sand gives place to a white, flinty soil, which scantily covers the limestone strata. As the elevation increases, long reaches of rolling table-land, and broad ridges with naked crowns and long gravelly slopes, stretch away far as the eye can see, while shallow naked wadys, and bleak rocky glens, seam its surface and wind away waterless to the sea. Towards the east the table-land becomes still more uneven. The ridges rise higher and are more rugged, and the valleys are deeper and wilder. Here, however, are some smooth expanses of upland plain, and broad beds of wadys, coated with a light but rich soil. Springs and wells also become more frequent, and occasionally a streamlet may be traced for a mile or two along its tamarisk-fringed bed. At length the plateau, having attained an altitude of about 2000 feet, breaks down abruptly, in a series of irregular terraces, or wall-like cliffs, to the great valley of Arabah.

Such are the general features of the *Desert of Et-Tih*. Its name is remarkable. *Et-Tih* signifies 'The Wandering,' and is doubtless derived from the wanderings of the Israelites, the tradition of which has been handed down through a period of three thousand years. It was at the eastern border of the plateau, in the valley of Arabah, that the camp was pitched so long around the sacred fountain of Kadesh; and it was up the wild passes that lead from the Arabah to the table-land, that an infatuated and rebellious people attempted to force their way, against the divine command, into Canaan, when they were driven back with disgrace by the hardy Amalekites (Num. xiv. 40-45).

On the north the plateau of Et-Tih rises gradually to meet the swelling hills and green vales of Palestine. On the south it also rises in long, bare, gravelly slopes to Jebel et-Tih, which sweeps round like the arc of a bow, and regular as a colossal wall, from Suez to the head of the gulf of Akabah.

Et-Tih is called a 'desert;' but if by desert is meant a region of shifting sand, or of barren, gravelly, or rocky plain, it is not a desert. The Hebrew word *Midbar* (מִדְבָּר; DESERT), which is generally applied to it in the O. T., describes its physical character perfectly. It is a pastoral country; unfitted as a whole for cultivation, because of its scanty soil and scarcity of water. During the rainy season, however, it is clothed with a sparse vegetation, on which goats, sheep, and camels feed and fatten. Large sections of it were at one time under cultivation. Some of the valleys have a rich soil, which even to this day amply repays the labours of rude Arab husbandry. The remains of large towns and villages are also studded over it, strewn around fountains and ancient wells. In the torrent beds, cut deeply through the gravelly soil and calcareous rock, and in the blasted trunks of old trees which here and there linger in the valleys and on the hill-sides, we see evidences of a bygone age when rain was more abundant, and when forests covered in part at least the surface of the desert of Et-Tih. Though the hand of the improvident Bedawy has been employed for long ages in the work of destruction; though trees have



been cut down, buildings ruined, fields neglected, wells suffered to become choked up with rubbish, the traces of ancient industry and of a comparatively numerous population have not been wholly destroyed. Field enclosures are seen in many places; extensive thickets of tamarisks are found extending for miles along the moist bed of some of the deeper valleys (Stewart, *The Tent and the Khan*, pp. 185, 190). Of the district of Eboda, in the centre of Et-Tih, Mr. Drew says: 'Soon after starting this morning (from Wady Jaifeh) we came upon patches of ground under cultivation, and growing barley and oats. Further on we found extensive traces of field enclosures. At 11.30 we reached Berein ('the two wells'), and rested under the shade of the first group of trees we had seen since leaving the garden at Sinai. The whole country around Eboda was evidently under cultivation. Wide grassy swards, and ploughed fields, just before we reached this Wady Abeyad, where we are now encamped, show that this region was included in the south country' (*Scripture Lands*, p. 4). In another place he thus writes:—'As for the soil, the thin and scanty verdure, barely covering the limestone which spreads almost everywhere beneath the desert surface, sufficiently explains its nature. Here and there patches of deeper earth, and richer swards, with clumps of trees, vary these pastures of the wilderness; as again they are broken by wide areas, thickly covered with shrubs of considerable height and size. These features mark not only a sinking of the rock surface, but the abundant presence of water, which is seldom lacking in any part of this region' (*Id.* p. 7). Farther south along the upper parts of Wady el-Arish, the tamarisk, juniper (or *retm*), and other dwarf trees and shrubs, abound (Bonar, *Desert of Sinai*, pp. 268, 281). Away at the south-eastern extremity is a high plateau, the bleakest and barest in Et-Tih; and yet in the wadys which intersect it Dr. Robinson found herbs and Seyâl trees. As he advanced to the interior he says: 'The smaller wadys were now full of herbs, and gave to the plain the appearance of a tolerable vegetation' (*B. R.* i. 177). Many other places are described by him as clothed with vegetation, and capable of tillage; and he states that traces of running water were seen in some of the wadys (pp. 188, 189). Of Wady el-Ain he writes:—'We reached the deep gully which forms its watercourse, and found it bordered with grass, daisies, and other small flowers, most refreshing to the eye. Indeed, we had found to-day more vegetation in the desert than before in all the way from Egypt. . . . After crossing the watercourse we came upon a broad tract of tolerably fertile soil, capable of tillage, and apparently once tilled. Across the whole tract the remains of long ranges of low stone walls were visible, which probably once served as the divisions of cultivated fields' (p. 190).

It will thus be seen that while compared with any western land Et-Tih may be called a desert, yet it is not so in reality. No part of it is ever wholly destitute of vegetation; and it contains, notwithstanding long centuries of neglect and desolation, many tracts of fertile soil, and rich pasture, and thickets of tamarisk, juniper, and other dwarf trees and shrubs. In fact it is manifest that even at the present time the desert of Et-Tih is capable of supporting immense flocks and herds, and a considerable population. There can be no doubt that

in former ages the rainfall was greater, and vegetation and water consequently more abundant. These facts have a most important bearing on the wanderings of the Israelites. They prove that there was sufficient food for their flocks and herds in the desert independent altogether of any miraculous agency.

The south-eastern section of Et-Tih is called in Scripture 'the Wilderness of Paran' [PARAN], and the north-eastern 'the Wilderness of Zin' (Num. xiii. 21; Gen. xiv. 6, cf.).

South of Et-Tih lies the *peninsula of Sinai*, shut in, as it were, from all the world by the colossal wall of Jebel et-Tih, and the gulfs of Suez and Akabah. It is composed of a nucleus of lofty granite mountains, which rise abruptly from the bosom of the latter gulf on the east, but have a narrow border of gravelly plain along the gulf of Suez, and a wider border of sandy plateau, and broken sandstone ridges, on the north. In the very centre of this magnificent stronghold of nature stands Sinai, 'the mountain of the Lord,' with the little upland plain of Râhah spread out at its base, as if designed by Jehovah to be the scene of the proclamation of his law to his assembled people. The physical structure of this mountain-group has already been described [SINAI]; but here it may be well to give a few of its leading features, as it forms the central point of Israel's wanderings, and is in some respects the most interesting and remarkable spot on earth. The highest peaks of the peninsula—Um Shamar, Jebel Fera, and Jebel Katerîn—are grouped within a few miles of Sinai, and vary from 6000 to 9300 feet in height; while the serrated summit of Serbâl stands cut on the western confines of the sacred territory.

The nakedness and desolation of these mountains form one of their most striking characteristics. Their sharp jagged tops, their rugged sides, the wild clefts and glens which rend and separate them, are all bare granite. The scarcity of water and the burning sun of a long summer, combined with the nature of the rock and the extraordinary dryness of the atmosphere, account for the absence of vegetation. This again causes a great scarcity of animal life. Beasts and birds are almost as rare as human inhabitants. A silence as of death reigns throughout the entire peninsula. The slightest sound—the call of the shepherd, or the shout of the camel-driver—is heard to a great distance. The report of a gun, or the fall of a fragment of rock from the mountain-side, reverberates from cliff to cliff, and from valley to valley, like a thunder-peal.

Yet though so naked, stern, and desolate, the mountains of Sinai are beautiful. The gorgeous colouring of the granite rock makes up for the absence of foliage and vegetation. 'The rocks,' says Miss Martineau, 'were the most diversified I ever saw. I noted them on the spot as being black, green, crimson, lilac, maroon, yellow, golden, and white; and their form was that of a whole host of cones.' Again she writes: 'The red granite mountains we were now in the midst of are massive and awful beyond any other mountains I ever saw. The sunset lights, and the morrow's dawn, dressed them in splendour, but scarcely relieved their gloom' (*Eastern Life*, 346, 347). Sinai has been compared to 'the Alps stripped naked.' In one respect the comparison tends to convey an entirely wrong impression of the scenery. True, the dark forests, the unrivalled verdure, the leap-



ing cascades, and the glittering crowns of snow, are all wanting here; but the want is not felt as it would be in the Alps, where the granite peaks are of one uniform gray hue. In Sinai the bright, soft, varied colours, sometimes far surpass, in grandeur and beauty, even the gay clothing of the Swiss mountains.

It was here, amid nature's grandest and wildest architecture, wrapped in nature's profoundest silence and solitude, far removed from the din and distraction of the world of life and action, that the people of Israel met with their God, and witnessed manifestations of his glory, and majesty, and power, such as mortals never witnessed before and never can witness again. There, as Stanley says, 'they were brought into contact with a desolation which was forcibly contrasted with the green valley of the Nile. They were inclosed within a sanctuary of temples and pyramids not made with hands,—the more awful from its total dissimilarity to anything which they or their fathers could have remembered in Egypt or Palestine. They were wrapt in a silence which gave full effect to the morning and the evening shout with which the encampment rose and pitched, and still more to the 'thunders, and the voice exceeding loud' on the top of Horeb' (*S. and P.* p. 20). The appropriateness of these natural features to the scenes recorded in the sacred narrative cannot safely be overlooked by the modern critic and commentator. They tend to demonstrate the perfect consistency of Bible history in its minutest details.

Another characteristic of the peninsula of Sinai may be stated. Though bare and desolate it is not absolutely barren. At certain seasons of the year a thin vegetation covers every valley. There are also some spots rich in grass and foliage, where groves of dwarf palm spread their feathery branches over fountain and streamlet, where the willow droops over murmuring waters, and where shrubberies of tamarisk and acacia extend along the glen sides. A close inspection likewise discovers, that in the wildest ravines, and on the shelves of cliff and mountain side, are tufts of herbage and succulent shrubs, on which goats and sheep find ample food. Streams are few, but fountains are numerous, and wells still more so. The greatest number of 'living waters' is grouped round Sinai, high up in the adjacent clefts and glens; and this circumstance makes that region the favourite resort of the native Arab tribes. In was in that same region the Israelitish camp remained for a whole year. Still the question may be, and has been asked, How could that vast body of people, with their flocks and herds, have found the means of life amid these desolate mountains? The question can be answered. For the people themselves there was the daily supply of manna; and when water failed from natural sources, the smitten rock yielded sufficient to satisfy the wants of all. As to the flocks and herds, they were never congregated together. Scattered over the whole peninsula, among its glens and upland plains, and away out it may be over the steppes of Et-Tih, they had always enough of pasture. In the peninsula of Sinai, as on the northern plateau, there are numerous evidences that in ancient times the mountains were in part covered with forests, that the rain-fall was greater, and that consequently vegetation of all kinds was much more abundant than at present (See Burckhardt, *Travels*, p. 538; Wellsted, ii.

15; Stanley, p. 26). The acacia and tamarisk still grow in retired nooks to a considerable size. But every year is diminishing the number of the trees, and thus rendering the country more and more desolate. The Arabs cut them down for firewood; the Egyptians burn them for charcoal; and no effort is ever made to secure a young growth.

The *Arabah* is a deep wide valley, running in a straight line from the Gulf of Akabah to the Dead Sea. From the latter it rises in a series of terraces, supported by wall-like cliffs, until it attains an elevation of three or four hundred feet above the level of the ocean; then it declines gently to the shore of the Gulf of Akabah. The greater portion of it is a bare and barren desert, covered in part with a light flinty soil, and in part with loose sand. Low shrubberies of tamarisk appear here and there, and clumps of camel-thorn are met with, but these are its only products. Fountains are almost unknown in it. That of Kadesh is the only one of any note. Along its western side runs a range of bare, rugged limestone hills, from two to three thousand feet in height. The range is deeply furrowed by long dry ravines, like rents in the rocky strata; and these form the only approaches to the plateau of Et-Tih. Most of them are impassable to human feet; and as they cut far into the table-land, they effectually bar all passage along its eastern border. The Israelites therefore, in their approach to Kadesh from Sinai, must have travelled along the Arabah.

On the east side of the valley is a mountain-range of a different character. Its southern section is granite, showing the sharp peaks and deep colours of the Sinaitic group. The granite then gives place to sandstone, whose hues are still more gorgeous. This range formed the country of the Edomites, and has been already described. [IDUMÆA.]

Into the territory of Edom the Israelites never penetrated. They were compelled to turn back from Mount Hor, march down the Arabah, and pass round the southern and eastern sides of Edom. The *desert of Arabia* thus formed the scene of their last wanderings. It is a vast table-land, extending from the mountain-range of Edom eastward to the horizon, without tree or shrub, stream or fountain. The surface is either bare rock, or white gravel mixed with flints, or drifting sand. The very Bedawîn dread the passage of this 'great and terrible wilderness.' For days together the daring traveller who ventures to cross it must hasten onward, and should the supply of water which he is obliged to carry with him fail, all hope is gone. Wallin, one of the very few who traversed it, says: 'It is a tract the most desolate and sterile I ever saw. Its irregular surface is, instead of vegetation, covered with small stones, which, shining sometimes in a dark swarthy, sometimes in a bright white colour, reflect the rays of the sun in a manner most injurious to the eyes' (*Journal R. G. S.* xxiv. 135). Mr. Palgrave, who crossed it more recently, almost in the track of Wallin, also gives a frightful account of it (*Travels in Arabia*, i. p. 8, seq.). It is far more desolate, and dreary, and terrible, than any part of the region west of the Arabah.

Such then are the general features and resources of that country through which the Israelites passed from Egypt to Canaan. It will be seen that the several stages of their journey, in so far as they are indicated by the sacred historian, and can now be



identified, and the incidents narrated, correspond most accurately with the character of the country. The scene and the record are in perfect harmony. The difficulties and doubts conjured up by some recent writers disappear entirely before a thoughtful study of the sacred narrative and a minute examination of the wilderness.

It may be well to notice here a very singular theory regarding the Wilderness of Wandering, originally propounded by Dr. Beke in his *Origines Biblicæ*, and very recently revised and expanded by a writer in Fullarton's *Cyclopædia of Biblical Geography* [EXODE]. The theory is so strange, so totally opposed to established views of geographers ancient and modern, and so inconsistent, it may be added, with the whole tenor of the Biblical narrative, that it does not require refutation. Its leading points are as follows:—1. The country of *Mitzraim* is not the modern Egypt. 'Mitzraim proper,' says Dr. Beke, 'may be correctly defined to be the portion of Arabia Petrea which lies between the two heads of the Arabian Gulf (the Red Sea of geographers), and which extends northward from thence to the Mediterranean and the confines of Palestine' (*Origines Bib.* p. 291). 2. The Red Sea which the Israelites crossed, and in which the Egyptians were destroyed, was the gulf of Akabah (*Id.* p. 180). 3. Sinai, 'the Mount of the Law,' was situated on the east side of the Arabah, and probably beside the city of Petra (*Id.* 194). 4. 'The Wilderness of Wandering' was the great desert of Arabia east of Edom.

This remarkable theory its authors endeavour to support by theories as remarkable as itself. Not only are the whole results of geographical research summarily set aside, but the whole physical conformation of northern Africa and western Asia is arbitrarily changed. It is affirmed that Lower Egypt, including the whole Delta of the Nile, was at the time of the Exodus beneath the waves of the Mediterranean. It is affirmed that the Nile emptied itself to the eastward of the meridian of Suez. It is affirmed that great rivers flowed through the desert Et-Tih, and that the peninsula of Sinai was like a well-watered garden. It is affirmed that a line of great lakes or seas ran across the whole Arabian peninsula, connecting the Red Sea (that is, the Gulf of Akabah) with the Persian Gulf. [See generally EXODE, as above, and *Origines Bib.*]

These startling affirmations are not merely set forth as possibilities, or probabilities; but, to use the oft-repeated language of the authors, 'they are established beyond the possibility of doubt.' Most geographers, however, will take the liberty of doubting them. In fact few will, or can, receive them who, free from prejudice, carefully study the descriptions given in the closing chapters of Genesis and beginning of Exodus, of the character of the soil of Mitzraim, of its river, of its wheat, barley, and flax crops, of its brick-making and brick-built cities, of its fish and vegetables, and of its horsemen and chariots. Could such descriptions by any possibility apply to the rugged mountains and dreary plains of the peninsula of Sinai, and the desert of Et-Tih? The traveller who has passed through these regions will doubtless smile at the question.

THE JOURNEY OF THE ISRAELITES may, for convenience of reference, be divided into four stages.

1. *Rameses to the Red Sea.*—This stage has already been described in the article EXODUS. A

few of the leading points, however, must here be stated. Rameses is mentioned as the place from which the Israelites set out: 'And they departed from Rameses in the first month, on the fifteenth day of the first month; on the morrow after the passover the children of Israel went out with an high hand in the sight of all the Egyptians . . . And the children of Israel removed from Rameses and pitched in Succoth' (Num. xxxiii. 3, 5). It must not be supposed, however, that the whole body of the Israelites, men, women, and children, with their flocks, herds, and movables, had been gathered to that one spot, and there arranged in compact order. The people had been long preparing for the journey. A system of communication was established by which Moses could convey his orders with great rapidity to every part of the country in which they resided. The flocks and herds were doubtless away on the open plain towards the eastern frontier of Goshen. Most of the people being shepherds, were necessarily seminomads, and had their wives and children with their flocks. Moses and the leading men of the nation, with most of those probably who had been engaged in labour by Egyptian taskmasters, had assembled at Rameses; and they marched out in order. It must strike the thoughtful reader as most remarkable that *all* the people were able to set out on such a journey on short notice. Sceptics and infidels have objected to the historic truth of the narrative on this ground. Bishop Colenso puts the objection in its most plausible form. The people, he says, amounted to two millions. These were required to start at a moment's notice. The order was conveyed to them all; the passover was observed; property to an immense amount was borrowed; the flocks and herds were collected; the sick and infirm, women in child-birth and young infants, brought in from a wide extent of country, and congregated at Rameses. He concludes—'I do not hesitate to declare this statement to be utterly incredible and impossible' (*Pent.* Pt. i. pp. 61-65). It would be incredible were the facts as the bishop represents them. But they are not so. It would seem from a careful study of the whole narrative, that the flocks, herds, and 'mixed multitude,' did not follow the same line of route as the chief men. They are not mentioned at the passage of the Dead Sea, nor at Marah, nor at Elim. They appear to have taken a more northerly course, passing round the head of the gulf and through the best pastures. This is the plan always adopted by Bedawin on the march. The chiefs and main body of men keep together, while the flocks and their attendants roam far and wide. Yet when an Arab writer gives an account of the migrations of his tribe, he confines the narrative wholly to the central group.

It will be observed also that Colenso utterly ignores any divine element in the Exodus. He judges of it as a simple case of migration, in direct opposition to what is affirmed by the sacred historian repeatedly and emphatically. The power of the Lord was directly exercised in every stage of the Exodus (Exod. xii. 23, 36, 42, 51; xiii. 14-18, *seq.*) We know not how far the direct exercise of divine power extended—how it strengthened the weak, healed the sick, or directed the movements of the whole multitude. We do know, however, that it was exercised. Without it the Exodus would have been impossible.



The stations and encampments mentioned in the sacred record were those of the marshalled men under the command of Moses. The number of this marshalled body cannot be ascertained. If we take modern Arab tribes as a guide, it probably did not amount to more than one-tenth of the whole.

The site of Rameses is disputed. If, as seems most probable, it lay between the bitter lakes, on the eastern border of the Delta [RAMESSES], then the line of march must have been south-east, parallel to the ancient canal (Robinson, *B. R.* i. 54). The distance to the head of the gulf would thus be about thirty-five miles. If, however, Rameses lay near Cairo, the natural route for the people would be along the line of the railway to Suez (Beaumont, *Cairo to Sinai*, pp. 16-21). The former theory accords best with the sacred narrative. It must not be forgotten that the Israelites from first to last were under divine guidance. At first they appear to have marched 'by the way of the wilderness' to the head of the gulf; but on reaching Etham, 'in the edge of the wilderness' (Exod. xiii. 20; Num. xxxiii. 6), they turned aside. There the presence of the Lord as their leader, in 'a pillar of cloud,' is first mentioned, and there 'the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, that *they turn* (literally 'return,' וישבו, ἀποστρέψαντες) and encamp before Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, over against Baal-Zephon' (Exod. xiv. 2). In the parallel passage in Numbers (xxxiii. 7) it is said, 'They removed from Etham, and *turned again* unto Pi-hahiroth.' There was here a complete change in their route by divine command, for the purpose of entrapping the Egyptians, who, it seems, were watching their movements. At first they directed their course to the head of the gulf, as if about to pass by it into the wilderness; but at Etham they turned sharply to the right down the western shore. Pharaoh now thought they were completely in his power, and so, humanly speaking, they were; but God opened a passage for them through the sea.

The point at which they passed through the sea must be determined from the details of the Biblical narrative in connection with the physical features of the coast. The depth of the channel cannot be allowed to influence our decision; nor can the tidal rise or fall, nor any supposed effect of an ordinary storm. The passage was opened by a miracle—that is, by a direct exercise of divine power temporarily overcoming the laws of gravitation and raising up the waters on each side. The mode in which the divine power operated is stated: 'The

Lord caused the sea to go' (ויולך) by a *strong east wind* (or perhaps 'a strong vehement wind,' ברוח

קרים עזה, cf. Ps. xlviii. 8; Ezek. xxvii. 26; Job xxvii. 21) all that night, and made the sea dry, and the waters were divided, and the children of Israel went *through the sea* upon dry ground, and the waters were a *wall* (חומה) to them on the right hand and on the left' (Exod. xiv. 21, 22). With equal definiteness it is described in the song of Moses: 'With the blast of thy nostrils the waters were gathered together, the floods stood upright as an heap, and the depths were congealed in the heart of the sea' (Ex. 8).

The action of the wind cannot be fully explained. It appears to have swept *across* the gulf in a narrow track, with such tremendous violence as to cut a

way through, forcing the water back on each side. No natural tempest could have done this. It was a mighty agent in God's hand, acting as he willed, not merely clearing a passage, but keeping up 'the wall' of waters on each side during the entire night. This miraculous element must be fully admitted, or else the narrative must be rejected altogether as a fable.

The place of passage is minutely described.

They had encamped '*in front of*' (לפני) Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, in front of (לפני) Baal-Zephon.' These places, however, are now unknown. It is even uncertain whether the names are Egyptian or Hebrew, so that no argument can be based on their signification. One thing is clear; the position of the Israelites was such as to cause their enemies to say, 'They are entangled in the land, the wilderness hath shut them in' (Exod. xiv. 3). This appears to signify that, besides having the sea in front, they were so hemmed in by mountain and desert as to make escape impossible.

The head of the gulf is a channel less than a mile wide and about four miles long, running from north to south. At its southern end, on a low promontory, stands the town of Suez. South of the town the shore trends westward, and sweeping round, forms a spacious bay, bounded on the south by the low rocky promontory of Atâkah. The bay has a broad margin well adapted for a camp. It is shut in on the west by the lofty precipitous ridge of Jebel Atâkah; while on the south, beyond the promontory, is a barren desert. This bay appears to correspond in all respects to the station of the Israelites 'between Migdol (perhaps Jebel Atâkah) and the sea.' Pharaoh, following them from the north, would see the impassable heights of Atâkah on the one side, and the wilderness beyond, and might, therefore, well say, 'They are entangled in the land, the wilderness hath shut them in.'

From the low promontory of Atâkah to the opposite shore of the gulf is just seven miles. This distance could easily be traversed by the Israelites in a night; and it would leave sufficient room for the opening of the miraculous passage, and the subsequent overthrow of the horses and chariots of Pharaoh, when the waters returned in their strength. At this spot, therefore, we feel inclined to fix the passage.\*

2. *The Red Sea to Sinai.*—On reaching the Asiatic shore Moses and Miriam sang their songs of triumph. The people, turning their eyes to the sea, 'saw the Egyptians dead upon the shore'; and doubtless, according to Eastern custom, they took their spoils. They would obtain in this way a large supply of arms and armour.

Their first experience of Asia was a painful one:—'They went three days in the wilderness, and found no water' (Exod. xv. 22). It was the wilderness of Shur, which appears to have embraced the whole region from the shores of the Gulf of Suez, and the frontier of Egypt to the borders of Canaan (Gen. xvi. 7; xxv. 18). The name *Shur* ('wall') may have been derived from the wall-like

\* For the full discussion of this question the reader may consult Robinson, *B. R.* i. 56-59; Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, i. 135-159; Olin, *Travels*, i. 344-350; Stewart, *Tent and Khan*, 42-59; Sandie, *Horeb and Jerusalem*, 77-97; and article EXODUS.



ridge of Jebel et-Tîh. This same region was also called 'the Wilderness of Etham' (Exod. xv. 22; Num. xxxiii. 8); a fact which strengthens the view advocated above as to the position of Etham.

It may be objected to the foregoing view of the place of passage that 'the Fountains of Moses' (*Ayûn Mûsa*) are within two miles of the shore where the Israelites must have landed. The objection has no weight. The fountains are very small, and could not have supplied the wants of such a multitude. Besides, they may not have been seen, for the people seem to have turned immediately toward Sinai. It is worthy of note that the mountain-chain which bounds the plain in front of where the people crossed is called *Jebel Râhah*, 'the mountain of rest'; while that on the African side behind is called *Jebel Atâkah*, 'the mount of deliverance.' Can these names have arisen from the passage of the Israelites?

The plain between Jebel Râhah and the gulf is bare and waterless. The surface is undulating, and intersected by shallow wadys. The greater part has a barren flinty soil; but near the shore are mounds and ridges of drift sand. After three days' travel through this thirsty land, they came to the fountain of Marah, but its waters were 'bitter,' as the name implies. Just eighteen hours' march, or about thirty-eight English miles, from Ayûn Mûsa is the fountain of Hawârah ('destruction'). Its water is salt and 'bitter;' and there can be little doubt that this is that very Marah where the people murmured, saying, 'What shall we drink?' and where Moses was ordered to sweeten the waters by throwing a desert shrub into them (xv. 23-26).\*

Elim, the next station, was a desert paradise, with its numerous fountains (not 'wells' but 'living springs,' עֵינֹת, Exod. xv. 27) and palm groves. Five miles from Hawârah is a broad deep valley called Ghurundel, fringed with bushy palm trees, and thickets of tamarisk and acacia. It contains several copious fountains, which supply a perennial stream, one of the very few in the peninsula of Sinai. This is surely Elim.

At Ghurundel the plain ends and the mountains begin. The peaks are still distant, but their rugged roots from the right and left interlap, leaving between them wild ravines. On the right rises Jebel Hammâm, dark and desolate, deriving its name from a warm spring, or natural 'bath' at its base. Six miles from Ghurundel is Wady Useit, which some suppose to be Elim; but, though it has fountains and palm groves, it is not so well suited for a large encampment as its rival. Below the fountain it contracts into a wild ravine, 'serpentine between two towering walls of limestone, many hundred feet high, of the most dazzling whiteness, which occasionally meeting beneath, scarcely admitted a difficult passage through its terrific jaws' (Bartlett, *Forty Days in the Desert*, p. 36).

The ridge of Râhah now shuts in the path on the left, while the precipitous sides of Hammâm bar all progress along the shore. Between them lies the only path to Sinai. On advancing four hours' march from Useit, there is an open area where two glens unite and form Wady Taiyibeh,

which bends sharply to the south, and winds between dark lofty cliffs for five miles, and then opens upon a narrow plain, bordering on the Red Sea. The route of the Israelites cannot be mistaken here. We read, 'they removed from Elim and encamped by the Red Sea.' The plain at the mouth of Wady Taiyibeh must be the place of the encampment; and a wild lonely spot it is. Here the sublime scenery of the Sinai mountains burst at once upon the view of the Israelites. The glittering granite peaks, the gorgeous colouring of the nearer cliffs, the deep blue sea, and away far beyond it the pale outline of the African coast form a picture rarely equalled.

The 'wilderness of Sin' was the next station (Num. xxxiii. 11). The narrative in Exodus omits the encampment by the sea (xvi. 1). The omission is important. It shows that it was not the object of the sacred writer to mention all the stations, only the more remarkable. Nor does he intimate that the journeys were made on consecutive days. A whole month was spent between Rameses and Sin (cf. Num. xxxiii. 3; Exod. xvi. 1), though only eight stations are named, and only ten days' actual march recorded. Another circumstance is worthy of note: Not a word is yet spoken of the flocks and herds. They were doubtless scattered over the whole country, having been led to the best pastures, and most copious fountains. It has been argued indeed by Colenso and others, that if such had been the case they must have been constantly guarded by armed men. The answer is easy. We are told that the fear of the Israelites had gone before them, and spread over all Western Asia—fear inspired by the stupendous miracles of the plagues, and by the destruction of Pharaoh's host in the Red Sea. The divine promise is most emphatic:—'I will send my fear before thee, and will destroy all the people to whom thou shalt come; and I will make all thine enemies turn their backs unto thee' (Exod. xxiii. 27; cf. xv. 14; Num. xxii. 2-4; Deut. ii. 24, 25, etc.) Under such circumstances their flocks could feed in perfect security from the borders of Egypt to Canaan, over a region containing 15,000 square miles. It is because critics of the Colenso school will shut their eyes to the whole circumstances of the case, and deliberately ignore the divine element, that the Exodus and wilderness-journey appear to them incredible.

At the mouth of Wady Taiyibeh commences the plain which extends along the whole south-western side of the peninsula. At first narrow, and interrupted by low spurs from the mountains, it soon expands into an undulating, dreary waste, covered in part with a white gravelly soil, and in part with sand. This is 'the wilderness of Sin.'\* Its desolate and barren aspect appears to have produced a most depressing effect on the Israelites. Shut in on the one hand by the sea, on the other by wild mountains, exposed to the full blaze of a burning sun, on that bleak plain, the stock of provisions brought from Egypt now exhausted (Joseph. *Antiq.* iii. 1. 3), we can scarcely wonder that they said to Moses: 'Would to God we had died by the hand of the Lord in the land of Egypt, when we sat by the flesh-pots, when we did eat bread to the full;

\* There is another bitter fountain called Abu-Suweirah, near the shore, about 12 miles westward; and also one a few miles south of Hawârah; but Hawârah is in the direct route to Sinai.

\* For different views regarding the wilderness of Sin, see Lepsius, *Discoveries in Egypt*, p. 355; Beumont, *Cairo to Sinai*, 34; Stewart, *Tent and Khan*, 162.

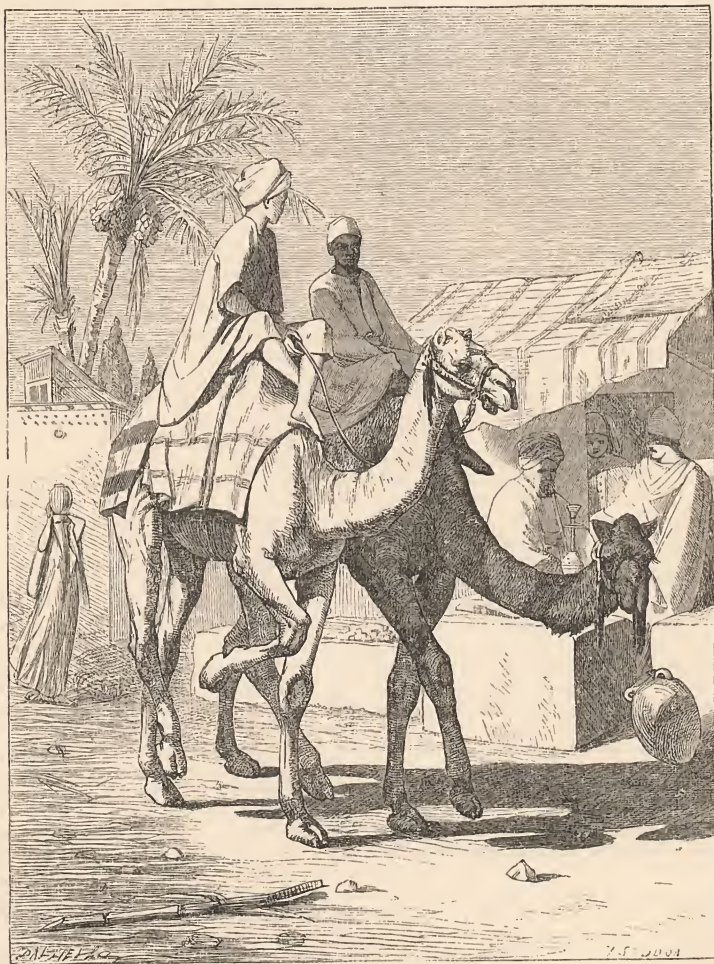


for ye have brought us forth into this wilderness, to kill this whole assembly with hunger' (Exod. xvi. 3).

It was here the quails were sent in answer to the cry of the people for flesh; and it was on the surface of this desert the heaven-given *manna* first appeared, bathed in morning dew. The site of the camp is incidentally indicated by the statement that, 'as Aaron spake unto the whole congregation of the children of Israel *they looked toward the wilderness*, and, behold, the glory of the Lord ap-

peared in a cloud.' The camp must thus have been at the upper or northern end of the plain, not far distant from Wady Taiyibeh.

The route from Sin to Rephidim cannot be traced. There are no satisfactory data. In Exodus (xvii. 1) it is simply recorded that they 'journeyed from the wilderness of Sin, after their journeys, according to the commandment of the Lord, and pitched in Rephidim.' In the book of Numbers (xxxiii. 12, 13), two intermediate stations are mentioned, Dophkah and Alush, but their sites are



519. A Desert Scene.

unknown. The various opinions regarding the position of Rephidim have already been stated, and its probable site pointed out [REPHIDIM]. Taking for granted that Rephidim was in Wady esh-Sheikh, a short march from Sinai, and consequently not far distant from the tomb or sanctuary of Sheikh Saleh (*Handbook*, p. 37; Robinson, *B. R.* i. 146 and 121), the distance from Sin would be above sixty miles, through an exceedingly wild and difficult region. Several routes were open to the

people. One leads up Wady Shelal, Mokatteb (the celebrated 'written valley'), and Feirân; another passes along the coast to the entrance of Wady Feirân, and goes up that great valley; a third passes along the plain nearly to the parallel of Tûr, and then up through sublime glens direct to Sinai. The passes along the first route are in places so narrow and difficult that the people would scarcely have ventured through them unless driven by necessity. The passes on the third route are



even more difficult, and, besides, in following it the people would not have gone near the place which we have endeavoured to identify as Rephidim (see, however, Sandie, *Horeb and Jerusalem*, 156, seq.) Wady Feirân affords a tolerably easy and wide approach from the plain to the heart of the mountains. It contains, besides, that copious fountain, with its streamlet and palm grove, near the old city of Feirân, which is justly called the 'desert paradise;' and in connection with this it should not be forgotten that no complaint of want of water is recorded between Sin and Rephidim. Perhaps Feirân may be identical with Dophkah or Alush. Some locate Rephidim here; but at Rephidim 'there was no water for the people to drink,' while Feirân is the best watering-place in the peninsula.

Wady esh-Sheikh falls into Feirân, after sweeping round in a semicircle to the northward from the foot of Mount Sinai. It is the most spacious valley in the peninsula, and on the whole the most fertile. It is the natural, and for such a multitude as the Israelites, the only practicable approach to 'the Mount of God' from Egypt. It, with its continuation Feirân, forms in fact the great thoroughfare of the desert.

At Rephidim the people murmured because 'there was no water for them to drink' (Exod. xvii. 1). Then 'the Lord said unto Moses, Go on before the people, and take with thee the elders of Israel; and thy rod, wherewith thou smotest the river, take in thine hand, and go. Behold, I will stand before thee there upon the rock in Horeb; and thou shalt smite the rock, and there shall come water out of it, that the people may drink. And Moses did so in the sight of the elders of Israel' (verses 5, 6). Horeb must have been at some little distance from the site of the camp at Rephidim, and yet not so far as to prevent the people going there for a supply of water.

The attack of the Amalekites appears to have followed immediately the miracle of the smitten rock; and as it was begun by an assault upon the rear of the Israelites—upon 'all that were feeble behind thee, when thou wast faint and weary' (Deut. xxv. 18)—it would seem probable it took place when the able-bodied men were gone forward with Moses and the elders to procure water. This throws new light upon the incident. On the following day the Israelitish warriors were marshalled under Joshua (Exod. xvii. 9), and the Amalekites completely routed.

It is usual to connect the Amalekites with Feirân, and to represent the battle as a brave attempt on their part to defend the paradise of their desert home (Lepsius, p. 363; Ritter, *Pal. und Syr.* i. 717, seq.; Stanley, *S. and P.* 28; Stewart, *Tent and Khan*, 97). For this there is not a shadow of evidence. The home of the Amalekites was much farther north, and it is questionable whether they had any possessions among the mountains of Sinai. It would seem that when the main body of the Israelites were approaching Rephidim, the Amalekites feared they were about to advance northward; consequently they crossed the passes of Jebel et-Tih in force, and attacked the rear of the host as above stated. It is important to observe that the roads from the desert of Et-Tih fall into Wady esh-Sheikh just at the place where we have attempted to fix the site of Rephidim.

After leaving Rephidim the camp was pitched in

front of Mount Sinai, on the plain of *Râhah* ('rest'), on the first day of the third month, and consequently just a month and a half after their departure from Rameses (Exod. xix. 1). With his usual graphic power Dean Stanley describes this last stage of the people's progress to the 'Mount of God':—'Onwards and upwards, after their long halt, exulting in their first victory, they advanced deeper and deeper into the mountain-ranges, they knew not whither. They knew only that it was for some great end, for some mighty sacrifice, for some solemn disclosure, such as they had never before witnessed. Onwards they went, and the mountains closed around them, upwards through winding valley, and under high cliff, and over rugged pass, and through gigantic forms, on which the marks of creation even now seem fresh and powerful; and at last, through all the different valleys, the whole body of the people were assembled. On their right hand and on their left rose long successions of lofty rocks, forming a vast avenue, like the approaches which they had seen leading to the Egyptian temples between colossal figures of men and of gods. At the end of this broad avenue, rising immediately out of the level plain on which they were encamped, towered the massive cliffs of Sinai, like the huge altar of some natural temple; encircled by peaks of every shape and height, the natural pyramids of the desert. In this sanctuary, secluded from all earthly things, raised high above even the wilderness itself, arrived, as it must have seemed to them, at the very end of the world—they waited for the revelation of God. . . . The outward scene might indeed prepare them for what was to come. They stood in a vast sanctuary, not made with hands—a sanctuary where every outward shape of life, animal or vegetable, such as in Egypt had attracted their wonder and admiration, was withdrawn. Bare and unclothed, the mountains rose around them; their very shapes and colours were such as were calculated to carry their thoughts back to the days of old creation' (*Lectures on the Jewish Church*, i. 147). Alone with their God, shut in by the wildest and grandest of his works, in front of his chosen mountain-altar, they now saw his glory, and received from his lips a full revelation of his will. The whole scene and circumstances were wondrously fitted to impress them with the majesty and power of Jehovah, to free them from every taint of Egyptian idolatry, and to constrain them to yield to him implicit and everlasting obedience.

The making of the golden calf by Aaron, and the offering of strange fire by his sons, before the visible presence of Jehovah on Sinai, afford the strongest possible evidence that Israel was 'a stiff-necked and rebellious people.' It is difficult to account for such blind and reckless insatiation. After the giving of the law, and the construction of the tabernacle, the most remarkable event at Sinai was the second passover. Their cattle must now have been brought together, so as to enable them to select the paschal lambs, and also to permit the shepherds to observe the feast. It was spring time, when the fountains are amply supplied by the winter rains and snow, and when all the valleys are clothed with verdure. There could have been no difficulty either in guarding the flocks, amid these mountain fastnesses, or in supplying them with requisite food and water. The numbering of the people, and the visit of Jethro to Moses,



were the only other incidents of importance during the long encampment 'before the mount.'

3. *Sinai to Kadesh*.—'On the twentieth day of the second month, in the second year, the cloud was taken up from off the tabernacle of the testimony. And the children of Israel took their journeys out of the wilderness of Sinai' (Num. x. 11). The order of march was now arranged with great precision. The exact station of every tribe and family was minutely fixed. The tabernacle and sacred vessels were carried along by the priests in solemn procession. But we must not infer that the whole body of the people were grouped together in one dense column. The flocks and herds were still scattered over the desert; and with them, as we believe, the great bulk of the men and women.

The route followed from Sinai to Kadesh it is more difficult to define, with any approach to accuracy, than that from Egypt to Sinai. Two difficulties here meet us:—The first arises from the impossibility of identifying the stations; the second from the fact that the people were twice at Kadesh (cf. Num. xii. 16; xiii. 2, 26, 33; xx. 1). The first visit took place during the second year of the journeying, and about three months after their departure from Sinai; the second, after an interval of thirty-eight years' wandering [KADESH]. But, in the general summary of the stations in Num. xxxiii., Kadesh is mentioned only once, and that in the last year of journeyings. Now, in the extended narrative of Num. x.-xii., there are but *two* stations between Sinai and Kadesh—namely, Taberah and Hazeroth. We read that 'the people removed from Hazeroth, and pitched in the wilderness of Paran' (xii. 16); that is at Kadesh, for it is said of the spies who were sent out, that 'they went and came to Moses, and to Aaron, and to all the congregation of the children of Israel, unto the wilderness of Paran, to Kadesh' (xiii. 26). Turning, however, to Num. xxxiii. 18, we find that the people went from Hazeroth to Rithmah; and between the latter and Kadesh there are no less than *seventeen* stations enumerated. The question thence arises: Were all these visited during the first journey to Kadesh, or do any of them properly belong to the second journey? The former appears more probable. In giving the summary in Num. xxxiii., the sacred writer would scarcely have omitted the first visit to Kadesh, had he been enumerating the stations as well after as before that visit. It is much more natural to suppose, that he gives a full list of the places of encampment between Sinai and Kadesh; and then, omitting all notice of the thirty-eight years' wandering, as not properly pertaining to the journey to Canaan, he takes up the narrative again at the close of the second visit.

Adopting this view, and assuming the site of Kadesh to be, as already fixed, at Ain el-Weibeh [KADESH], we shall attempt to trace the general line of march as far as the sacred record may guide.

On the breaking up of the camp at Sinai the people journeyed for three consecutive days, and finally encamped in the wilderness of Paran (Num. x. 12), at a place afterwards called Taberah (v. 33 with xi. 3). The direction must have been north-east, for Paran was the ancient name of the south-eastern section of Et-Tih. They would thus pass down Wady esh-Sheikh for some six miles, and then strike to the right across a dreary region of

rugged hills and bleak valleys; then probably through the ridge of Fera, by the wild ravine called Wady Sal, into the high sandy plain of Debbet er-Ramleh (*Handbook*, p. 37). The whole country is dreary and desolate, which may explain the murmurs and complaints of the people. The murmurers were punished by a supernatural fire, and hence arose the name *Taberah*, 'burning.' When this was stayed by the intercession of Moses, 'the mixed multitude that was among them fell a lusting: and the children of Israel also wept again, and said, Who shall give us flesh to eat?' (xi. 4). The discontent was now widespread, and Moses feared an open rebellion. But the Lord by a miraculous wind 'brought up quails from the sea, and let them fall by the camp, as it were a day's journey on this side and as it were a day's journey on the other side' (xi. 31). It was a fatal gift, for immediately on eating a plague broke out and committed terrible ravages. This gave the place still another name, *Kibroth-hattavah*, 'the graves of lust,' 'because they buried the people that lusted' (v. 33, 34).

Hazeroth was the next station, and probably not far distant from Taberah (xi. 35; xxxiii. 17). It has, with much probability, been identified with *Ain Hudhera*, a little fountain in the desert, eighteen hours' march from Sinai (*Handbook*, p. 38; Burckhardt, *Travels*, 495). The place was noted by the foolish attempt of Aaron, at the instigation of his sister Miriam, to excite rebellion against Moses, and by the terrible punishment inflicted upon Miriam (xii. 1-15). Stanley mentions three points which appear to conform the hypothesis that the Israelite route lay through this region. First, The brook of El-Ain is emphatically 'the watering-place' of the country, and must have attracted round it any nomadic settlements, such as are implied in the name *Hazeroth*, 'enclosures.' Secondly, In their murmurs before arriving at Hazeroth, 'the sea' is twice mentioned in a manner that may indicate its proximity. Thirdly, Stanley himself saw here a flight of birds—large red-legged cranes—which literally darkened the sky. A similar flight was seen by Schubert near the same spot (*S. and P.* 82). 'The determination of this spot is perhaps of more importance than would at first sight appear; for if this position be adopted for Hazeroth it settles the question as to the whole route of the Israelites between Sinai and Kadesh. It shows that they must have followed the route upon which we now are to the sea, and so along the coast to Akabah, and thence probably through the great Wady el-Arabeh to Kadesh' (Robinson, *B. R.* i. 151). As to the general line of route there can be little doubt that Dr. Robinson is right; but it seems natural that a large body of men like the Israelites would keep more to the north than Robinson did, and pass down Wady el-Ain, and its continuation Wady Wefir, to the shore of the Gulf of Akabah. This was the route followed by Laborde (*Mt. Sinai and Petra*, 227), Bartlett (*Forty Days in the Desert*, 97), and Miss Martineau (*Eastern Life*, 383). It might be supposed, on glancing at a map, that the Israelites could have travelled north and passed up the plateau of Et-Tih, and thence descended to Kadesh. This, however, was really impracticable, for the eastern side of Et-Tih is so rugged and so deeply furrowed by ravines that they must have passed round as far as Eboda ere they could have turned down to



Kadesh, and that would have led them into the centre of the Amalekites. And besides, Ezion-gaber, which lay at the head of the Gulf of Akabah (1 Kings ix. 26), was one of the stations passed.

But this theory is by no means free from difficulties. According to Num. xxxiii. 36 the people journeyed direct from Ezion-gaber to Kadesh; and the stations of Moseroth, Bene-jaakan, Hor-hagidgad, and Jotbathah, were visited in succession before reaching Ezion-gaber (30-34). These stations are unquestionably identical with Mosera, 'Beeroth of the children of Jaakan' (or Bene-jaakan), Gudgodah, and Jotbah, where they subsequently encamped when going from *Kadesh to Ezion-gaber* (cf. Deut. x. 6, 7; ii. 8; Num. xxi. 4); and they consequently lay between these places, and apparently in the valley of the Arabah. The Israelites must, therefore, have traversed the Arabah several times. In fact the thoughtful reader will observe that it was not the design of the sacred writer to give a full, connected, and consecutive narrative of the journeyings. Leading events alone are recorded, and the places in which they occurred are mentioned. Even these are not mentioned in chronological order. In the book of Deuteronomy this is especially the case. Moses is there instructing the people before his death, and he improves his solemn exhortations by lessons drawn from the most noted events of their history. Again, it will be observed from a careful examination of the narratives that the most direct line of route to the point of ultimate destination was rarely if ever followed. The people appear to have directed their course now to the right, now to the left; they even turned back, and passed and repassed the same places, in obedience, no doubt, to their divine guide. They also spent much more time than was required for the mere purposes of travel. They lingered for days, and even weeks, in some places. They were at least seven days at Hazeroth (Num. xii. 14), and they were apparently much longer at Taberah.

It will thus be seen that it would be vain to attempt to construct an exact itinerary of this part of the desert journey, nor is this of any consequence in so far as the illustration of Scripture is concerned. Two points alone are fixed with any approach to accuracy—Hazeroth and Ezion-gaber. The latter place they must have approached from the north, and after encamping at it, turned back again northward. In going from Hazeroth they probably travelled down Wady Ain and Wetr to the shore of the gulf, then along the shore northward past Ezion-gaber, and up the Arabah. Then back down the Arabah to Ezion-gaber; and finally up it again to Kadesh. To some this may seem strange and inconsistent, but it is the theory most in accordance with the physical geography of the desert and the statements of the sacred historian.

Kadesh, whose site has already been fixed and described [KADESH], was, next to Sinai, the most important of all the resting-places of the children of Israel. Its name implies a sanctity of a far earlier origin than the Exodus; but at this time it received, as it were, a fresh baptism. During the first visit to Kadesh the twelve spies were sent to view the land of promise. Their report had a most important bearing on the future history of the nation. The faithfulness of Joshua and Caleb gained for them privileges denied to all their

brethren; and the mingled falsehood and cowardice of the remaining ten roused the people to rebellion, which resulted in the thirty-eight years' wandering. When too late, the Israelites saw their sin and folly, and attempted to force their way up the passes of Et-Tih, and to enter Canaan from the south. But God was not with them, and they were driven back with disgrace and slaughter (Num. xiii. and xiv.)

The rebellion of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, afterwards sprang up, instigated perhaps by the feeling that Reuben's birthright and Levi's services in God's cause at Sinai had given to the prince of these tribes a title to rule above that of Moses and Aaron. The destruction of the whole rebel band was one of the most signal and terrible manifestations of divine wrath and power in Israelitish history (Num. xvi.) It was, perhaps, on this occasion, instigated by these solemn events, and in prospect of the long wanderings, and final desert tomb, that Moses wrote the ninetieth Psalm, in which, with deep sorrow and pathos, he exclaims, 'Who knoweth the power of thine anger? Even according to thy fear, so is thy wrath. So teach us to number our days, that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom.'

Of the thirty-eight years' wandering to which the Israelites were now condemned, and of that 'great and terrible wilderness' into which they were driven, not a single record has been preserved. The name *Et-Tih*, 'The wandering,' appears to be the only local memorial of it. History is absolutely silent until, after the lapse of that long period, another generation, but still under the same aged leaders, appears once more around the sacred fountain of Kadesh.

The second visit to Kadesh appears to have been prolonged like the first. It was signalled also by some solemn incidents. The first was the death of Moses's sister, thus simply recorded: 'And the people abode in Kadesh; and Miriam died there, and was buried there' (Num. xx. 1). Another murmuring of the congregation followed, because the supply of water failed. The sacred spring was unable to meet the wants of such a multitude. God again commanded Moses to smite one of the desert cliffs with his rod; 'And the water came out abundantly, and the congregation drank, and their beasts' (xx. 11). This last clause is important. It proves that the flocks and herds had survived the forty years' wandering, and had been brought together at Kadesh probably in the prospect of an immediate entrance into Canaan. The Israelites appear to have hoped that the Edomites would permit them to pass direct through their territory, and thus reach the eastern bank of the Jordan without a long and painful march through the great desert. In this they were disappointed. The messengers sent to the king of Edom made the fairest possible proposals, but were met with a direct refusal (Num. xx. 14).

4. *Kadesh to the Plains of Moab*.—Immediately afterwards the Israelites left Kadesh, crossed the Arabah in a south-eastern direction, and encamped on the very border of Edom, at the foot of the mountain-range near Mount Hor. This became the scene of one of their most painful bereavements—the death of Aaron. Both he and his brother had displeased God in some unexplained way, 'at the water of Meribah;' and because of this they were told that they should not enter the



Promised Land. Aaron's sentence was soon executed. His death, next to that of Moses, was one of the most solemn and imposing on record. He was an old man, but apparently still hale and vigorous. In company with his brother and son he went up by divine command into Mount Hor, 'in the sight of all the congregation : ' and Moses stripped Aaron of his garments, and put them upon Eleazar his son ; and Aaron died there on the top of the mount' (xx. 22-28), in the fortieth year of the wandering, on the first day of the fifth month (xxxiii. 38).

It seems strange that the Israelites, when at Kadesh the second time, did not enter Palestine from the south. The reason was probably this :— Their approach had attracted the attention of the warlike tribes that inhabited the southern mountains, who would naturally ally themselves with the Amalekites of the Negeb, and the Philistines. These tribes had perhaps assembled in force to defend the difficult passes of the Arabah. This view is strengthened by the fact that as soon as the Israelites turned back from Kadesh, they were attacked in the rear by king Arad the Canaanite, who was at first successful, but in the end completely destroyed (Num. xxi. 1-3 ; xxxiii. 40). In order to penetrate Palestine at a point thought to be impracticable, and thus to give the Israelites an easy victory, God led them to the eastern frontier, and opened up a way through the waters of the Jordan.

After thirty days' mourning for Aaron the Israelites set out once more on their long but final journey. Every stage in their course is now distinctly marked, and the general line is traced with ease. But even here the rate of travel was very slow. They must have lingered at places, or what is more probable they must have zigzagged through the eastern desert in search of water and pasturage. Passing down the great valley of Arabah once more, they turned eastward at Ezion-gaber (Num. xxi. 4 ; Deut. ii. 8), and sweeping round the southern border of Edom entered the desert of Arabia. Even their previous experience of desert life and travel did not prepare them for the privations and horrors of this 'great and terrible wilderness.' From the knowledge we now possess of that barren and waterless waste, we can understand the words of the sacred historian, and the bitter complaints of the suffering people :—' And the soul of the people was much discouraged because of the way. And the people spake against God, and against Moses, Wherefore have ye brought us up out of Egypt to die in the wilderness ? for there is no bread, neither is there any water' (Num. xxi. 4, 5). But their faithless rebellious murmurings only added to their calamities ; for fiery serpents were sent among them, and many died in agony. And here again the Lord mingled wondrous mercy with righteous judgment ; for the 'Brazen Serpent' was set up, which not only effected a bodily cure, but was made to the faithful Israelite the type of a far greater salvation (xxi. 7-9).

At length the territory of Edom was left behind, and the people encamped 'in Ije-Abarim, in the border of Moab' (xxi. 11 ; xxxiii. 44). Two more stages brought them to the banks of the Arnon, on crossing which they entered the territory of the Amorites. 'It was a marked epoch in their journeyings, when, after having crossed the watercourse or torrent, shaded or overgrown by willows (so the

word *Zeral* signifies), that formed the first boundary of the desert, they passed the stream of the Arnon, the first that they had seen since the Nile, which, flowing through its deep defile of sandstone rocks, parts the cultivated land of Moab from the wild mountains of Edom' (Stanley, *Lectures on Jewish Church*, i. 184). The 'wilderness' was now left behind for ever, but the 'wanderings' had not yet drawn to a close. Other difficulties beset Israel immediately on crossing the border of the land they were destined to inherit. Their eyes and hearts appear to have been fixed on Canaan proper—that country west of the Jordan through which the patriarchs had roamed. They wished to pass into it by the shortest and easiest road. They consequently asked of Sihon, king of the Amorites, what they had previously asked of Edom—a passage through his borders. It was sternly refused ; and Sihon, collecting his warriors, 'went out against Israel.' A new and unexpected struggle thus arose, and resulted in the acquisition of one of the richest and most beautiful regions of Western Asia. Sihon was defeated. The green plateau of Moab and wooded hills of Gilead, which had constituted his kingdom, were soon in the hands of the Israelites (xxi. 21-32). Og, the giant king of Bashan, was next conquered, and his great cities, most of which, deserted but not ruined, still stud the vast plain, were occupied. The settlement of the tribes now began, and the wandering drew to a close.

After the conquest of eastern Palestine the Israelites encamped on the splendid plain at the foot of the mountains of Moab, on the east bank of the Jordan. There were enacted the closing scenes of the great journey. They were sad and solemn. The numbers of the people, and their success, struck terror into the heart of the king of Moab, and he sent for Balaam the prophet to curse them ; but the Lord changed the intended curse into a blessing (Num. xxii.-xxiv.). The wily prophet, however, seeing he could not directly curse Israel, advised the Moabites and Midianites to put temptation in their way. The wicked stratagem succeeded (Num. xxxi. 16). Many thousand of the Israelites perished in consequence by pestilence and the sword ; but a still more terrible punishment was executed upon Midian, and Balaam himself fell in the general massacre (Num. xxv. xxxi.).

The eleventh month of the fortieth year of 'wandering' had now come. The wilderness was left behind, and the 'Land of Promise' before the eyes of the people on the other side of the Jordan. As if to complete his great mission, and to leave behind him a statistical record of its success, Moses numbered the people. They amounted to 601,730 males above the age of twenty, showing a decrease of only 1820 from the time the census had been taken in Sinai thirty-nine years before. And yet, among these there were but three men remaining who had been numbered on that occasion (Num. xxvi. 63-65).

Moses, after a solemn charge to the whole assembly, and a song of praise and triumph, bade the people a last farewell, and retired to the top of Nebo to die [MOSES]. He was the desert-leader, and with his death the desert-journey ended.

The literature of this subject is very extensive. The leading authorities alone are here mentioned. They with others are frequently quoted in the body



of the article. Laborde, *Commentaire Géographique sur l'Exode*; Robinson, *Bib. Res.* i.; Wilson, *Lands of Bible*, i.; Stanley, *Sin. and Pal.*; Porter, *Handbook*; Bartlett, *Forty days in the Desert*; Seetzen, *Reisen*, iii.; Burckhardt, *Trav. in Syr.* Also for peculiar views, Beke, *Origines Biblicæ*; Fullarton's *Cyc. of Bib. Geogr.* s. v. 'Exode'; *Journal of Sac. Lit.* 1860, on Sinai and Kadesh.—J. L. P.

WAR. The Hebrew nation, so long as it continued in Egyptian bondage, might be regarded as unacquainted with military affairs, since a jealous government would scarcely permit so numerous and dense a population as the pastoral families of Israel which retained their seat in Goshen certainly were to be in possession of the means of resistance to authority; but placed as this portion of the people was, with the wanderers of the wilderness to the south, and the mountain robbers of Edom to the east, some kind of defence must have been provided to protect its cattle, and in a measure to cover Lower Egypt itself from foreign inroads. Probably the labouring population, scattered as bondsmen through the Delta, were alone destitute of weapons, while the shepherds had the same kind of defensive arms which are still in use, and allowed to all classes in Eastern countries, whatever be their condition. This mixed state of their social position appears to be countenanced by the fact that, when suddenly permitted to depart, the whole organisation required for the movement of such a multitude was clearly in force; yet not a word is said about physical means to resist the pursuing Egyptians, although at a subsequent period it does not appear that they were wanting to invade Palestine, but that special causes prevented them from being immediately resorted to. The Israelites were, therefore, partly armed; they had their bows and arrows, clubs and darts, wicker or ox-hide shields, and helmets (caps) of skins, or of woven rushes, made somewhat like our bee-hives.

These inferences are borne out by the fact that the Egyptian offensive weapons were but little better, and that the materials, being readily accessible and in constant use, could be manufactured by the cattle-herds and dwellers in tents themselves. From their familiar knowledge of the Egyptian institutions, the Israelites doubtless copied their military organisation as soon as they were free from bondage, and became inured to a warlike life during their forty years' wandering in the desert; but with this remarkable difference, that while Egypt reckoned her hundred thousands of regulars, either drawn from the provinces or nomads by a kind of conscription, such as is to be seen on the monuments, or from a military caste of hereditary soldiers, the Hebrew people, having preserved the patriarchal institution of nomades, were embodied by families and tribes, as is plainly proved by the order of march which was preserved during their pilgrimage to the Land of Promise. That order likewise reveals a military circumstance which seems to attest that the distribution of the greatest and most warlike masses was not on the left of the order of movement—that is, towards their immediate enemies—but always to the front and right, as if even then the most serious opposition might be expected from the east and north-east—possibly from a reminiscence of past invasions of the giant races, and of the first conquerors, furnished with

cavalry and chariots, having come from those directions.

At the time of the departure of Israel, horses were not yet abundant in Egypt, for the pursuing army had only 600 chariots, and the shepherd people were even prohibited from breeding or possessing them. The Hebrews were enjoined to trust, under divine protection, to the energies of infantry alone, their future country being chiefly within the basin of high mountains, and the march thither over a district of Arabia where to this day horses are not in use. We may infer that the inspired lawgiver rejected horses because they were already known to be less fit for defence at home than for distant expeditions of conquest, in which it was not intended that the chosen people should engage.

Where such exact order and instruction existed, it may not be doubted that in military affairs, upon which in the first years of emancipation so much of future power and success was to depend, measures no less appropriate were taken, and that, with the Egyptian model universally known, similar institutions, or others equally efficient, were adopted by the Israelites. Great tribal ensigns they had, and thence we may infer the existence of others for subordinate divisions. Like the Egyptians, they could move in columns and form well-ordered ranks in deep fronts of battle; and they acted upon the best suggestions of human ingenuity united with physical daring, except when expressly ordered to trust to divine interposition. The force of circumstances caused in time modifications of importance to be made, where doctrine had interfered with what was felt to hinge on political necessities; but even then they were long and urgently wanted before they took place, although the people in religion were constantly disregarding the most important points, and forsaking that God who, they all knew and believed, had taken them out of bondage to make them a great nation. Thus, although from the time the tribes of Reuben and Manasseh received their allotment east of the Jordan, the possession of horses became in some measure necessary to defend their frontier, still the people persisted for ages in abstaining from them, and even in the time of David would not use them when they were actually captured; but when the policy of Solomon had made extensive conquests the injunction was set aside, because horses became all-important; and from the captivity till after the destruction of Jerusalem, the remnant of the eastern tribes were in part warlike equestrian nomades, who struck terror into the heart of the formidable Persian cavalry, won great battles, and even captured Parthian kings. When both the kingdoms of Judah and Israel were again confined to the mountains, they reduced their cavalry to a small body; because, it may be, the nature of the soil within the basin of the Libanus was, as it still is, unfavourable to breeding horses. Another instance of unwillingness to violate ancient institutions is found in the Hebrews abstaining from active war on the Sabbath until the time of the Maccabees.

There are, however, indications in their military transactions, from the time Assyrian and Persian conquerors pressed upon the Israelite states, and still more after the captivity, which show the influence of Asiatic military ideas, according to which the masses do not act with ordered unity, but trust to the more adventurous in the van to decide the



fate of battle. Later still, under the Maccabees, the systematic discipline of Macedonian importation can be observed, even though in Asia the Greek method of training, founded on mathematical principles, had never been fully complied with, or had been modified by the existence of new circumstances and new elements of destruction; such, for example, as the use of great bodies of light cavalry, showering millions of arrows upon their enemies, and fighting elephants introduced by the Ptolemies.

But all these practices became again modified in Western Asia when Roman dominion had superseded the Greek kingdoms. Even the Jews, as is evident from Josephus, modelled their military force on the imperial plan; their infantry became armed, and was manœuvred in accordance with that system which everywhere gave victory by means of the firmness and mobility which it imparted. The masses were composed of cohorts or their equivalents, consisting of centuriae and decurie, or subdivisions into hundreds, fifties, and tens, similar to modern battalions, companies, and squads; and the commanders were of like grades and numbers. Thus the people of Israel, and the nations around them, cannot be accurately considered, in a military view, without taking into account the successive changes here noticed; for they had the same influence which military innovations had in Europe between the eras of Charlemagne and the Emperor Charles V., including the use of cannon—that invention for a long time making no greater alteration in the constitution of armies, than the perfection of war machines produced upon the military institutions of antiquity.

The army of Israel was chiefly composed of infantry, as before remarked, formed into a trained body of spearmen, and, in greater numbers, of slingers and archers, with horses and chariots in small proportion, excepting during the periods when the kingdom extended over the desert to the Red Sea. The irregulars were drawn from the families and tribes, particularly Ephraim and Benjamin, but the heavy armed derived their chief strength from Judah, and were, it appears, collected by a kind of conscription, by tribes, like the earlier Roman armies; not through the instrumentality of selected officers, but by genealogists of each tribe, under the superintendence of the princes. Of those returned on the rolls, a proportion greater or less was selected, according to the exigency of the time; and the whole male population might be called out on extraordinary occasions. When kings had rendered the system of government better organised, there was an officer denominated השוטֹר, *hash-shoter*, a sort of muster-master, who had returns of the effective force, or number of soldiers ready for service, but who was subordinate to the הכֹּפֶר, *has-sopher*, or scribe, a kind of secretary of state. These officers, or the שְׁטָרִים, *shoterim*, struck out, or excused from service:—1st, Those who had built a house without having yet inhabited it; 2d, Those who had planted an olive or vineyard, and had not tasted the fruit—which gave leave of absence for five years; 3d, Those who were betrothed, or had been married less than one year; 4th, The *saint-hearted*, which may mean the constitutionally delicate, rather than the cowardly, as that quality is seldom owned without personal inconvenience, and where it is no longer a shame the rule would destroy every levy.

The levies were drilled to march in ranks (I

Chron. xii. 38), and in column by fives (חֲמִישִׁים, *Chamushim*\*) abreast (Exod. xiii. 18); hence it may be inferred that they borrowed from the Egyptian system a decimal formation, two fifties in each division making a solid square, equal in rank and file: for twice ten in rank and five in file being told off by right-hand and left-hand files, a command to the left-hand files to face about and march six or eight paces to the rear, then to front and take one step to the right, would make the hundred a solid square, with only the additional distance between the right hand or unmoved files necessary to use the shield and spear without hindrance; while the depth being again reduced to five files, they could face to the right or left, and march firmly in column, passing every kind of ground without breaking or lengthening their order. The Pentastichous† system, or arrangement of five men in depth, was effected by the simple evolution just mentioned, to its own condensation to double number, and at the same time afforded the necessary space between the standing files of spearmen or light infantry for handling their weapons without obstacle, always a primary object in every ancient system of training. Between the fifth and sixth rank there was thus space made for the ensign-bearer, who, as he then stood precisely between the companies of fifty each, had probably some additional width to enable his ensign being stationed between the four middlemost men in the square, having five men in file and five in rank before, behind, and on each side; there he was the regulator of their order, coming to the front in advancing, and to the rear in retreating; and this may explain why στίχος, a file, and the Hebrew *degheh* and *nes*, an ensign, are in many cases regarded as synonymous. Although neither the Egyptian depth of formation, if we may judge from their pictured monuments, nor the Greek phalanx, nor the Roman legion, was constructed upon decimal principles, yet the former was no doubt so in its origin, since it was the model of the Israelites; and the tetrastichal system, which afterwards succeeded, shows that it was not the original, since even in the phalanx, where the files formed, broke, and doubled by fours, eights, sixteens, and thirty-twos, there remained names of sections which indicated the first-mentioned division: such was the pentacontarchy, denoting some arrangement of fifty, while in reality it consisted of sixty-four; and the decany and decurio, though derived from a decimal order, signified an entire file or a compact line in the phalanx, without reference to number.

With centuries thus arranged in masses, both movable and solid, a front of battle could be formed in simple decimal progression to a thousand, ten thousand, and to an army at all times formidable by its depth, and by the facility it afforded for the light troops, chariots of war, and

\* If this term could be satisfactorily shown to mean fifty, it would still contain the decimal system, and equally necessitate the above formation; but no army, except for a short manœuvre before battle, could march in column with a front of fifty, though the companies were of fifty men; they must always have been doubled for simplifying every efficient manœuvre. There was thus also an officer to command the front, and another the rear.

† Taking στίχος in its confined sense of a file or row of men arranged behind each other.



cavalry, to rally behind and to issue from thence to the front. Archers and slingers could ply their missiles from the rear, which would be more certain to reach an enemy in close conflict than was to be found the case with the Greek phalanx, because from the great depth of that body missiles from behind were liable to fall among its own front ranks. These divisions were commanded, it seems, by קַטְסִינִים, *ketsinim*, officers in charge of one thousand, who, in the first ages, may have been the heads of houses, but in the time of the kings were appointed by the crown, and had a seat in the councils of war; but the commander of the host

שַׂר עַל הַצֶּבֶא, *sar ul hat-tzaba*—such as Joab, Abner, Benaiah, etc.—was either the judge, or, under the judge or king, the supreme head of the army, and one of the highest officers in the state. He, as well as the king, had an armour-bearer, whose duty was not only to bear his shield, spear, or bow, and to carry orders, but above all, to be at the chief's side in the hour of battle (Judg. ix. 54; 1 Sam. xiv. 6; xxxi. 4, 5). Beside the royal guards, there was, as early at least as the time of David, a select troop of heroes, who appear to have had an institution very similar in principle to our modern orders of knighthood, and may have originated the distinctive marks already pointed out as used by the Romans; for it seems they strewed their hair with gold dust. [ARMS.]

In military operations, such as marches in quest of, or in the presence of, an enemy, and in order of battle, the forces were formed into three divisions, each commanded by a chief captain or commander

of a corps, or third part, שְׁלִישׁ, or שְׁלִישׁוֹ, *shelish*, as was also the case with other armies of the East; these constituted the centre, and right and left wing, and during a march formed the van, centre, and rear. The great camp in the wilderness was composed of four of these triple bodies disposed in a quadrangle, each front having a tribal great central standard, and another tribal one in each wing.

The war-cry of the Hebrews was not intoned by the ensign-bearers, as in the West, but by a Levite; for priests had likewise charge of the trumpets, and the sounding of signals; and one of them, called 'the anointed for war,' who is said to have had the charge of animating the army to action by an oration, may have been appointed to utter the cry of battle (Deut. xx. 2). It was a mere shout (1 Sam. xvii. 20), or, as in later ages, *Hallelujah!* while the so-called mottoes of the central banners of the four great sides of the square, of Judah, Reuben, Ephraim, and Dan, were more likely the battle-songs which each of the fronts of the mighty army had sung on commencing the march, or advancing to do battle (Num. x. 34, 35, 36; Deut. vi. 4). These verses may have been sung even before the two books wherein they are now found were written, and indeed the sense of the text indicates a past tense. It was to these we think Jehoshaphat addressed himself when about to engage the Moabites: he ordered 'the singers before the Lord' to chant the response (2 Chron. xx. 21): 'Praise the Lord, for his mercy endureth for ever.' With regard to the pass-word, the sign of mutual recognition occurs in Judg. vii. 18, when, after the men had blown their trumpets and shown light, they cried: 'The sword of the Lord and of Gideon'—a repetition of the very words overheard by that chief while watching the hostile army.

Before an engagement the Hebrew soldiers were spared fatigue as much as possible, and food was distributed to them; their arms were enjoined to be in the best order, and they formed a line, as before described, of solid squares of hundreds, each square being ten deep, and as many in breadth, with sufficient intervals between the files to allow of facility in the movements, the management of the arms, and the passage to the front or rear of slingers and archers. These last occupied posts according to circumstances, on the flanks, or in advance, but in the heat of battle were sheltered behind the squares of spearmen; the slingers were always stationed in the rear, until they were ordered forward to cover the front, impede a hostile approach, or commence an engagement, somewhat in the manner of modern skirmishers. Meantime the king or his representative appeared, clad in holy ornaments, הוֹדֵרֵי קֹדֶשׁ, *hadri kodesh* (in our version rendered 'the beauties of holiness,' 1's. cx. 3; 2 Chron. xx. 21), and proceeded to make the final dispositions for battle, in the middle of his chosen braves, and attended by priests, who, by their exhortations, animated the ranks within hearing, while the trumpets waited to sound the signal. It was now, with the enemy at hand, we may suppose, that the slingers would be ordered to pass forward between the intervals of the line, and, opening their order, would let fly their stone or leaden missiles, until, by the gradual approach of the opposing fronts, they would be hemmed in and recalled to the rear, or ordered to take an appropriate position. Then was the time when the trumpet-bearing priests received command to sound the charge, and when the shout of battle burst forth from the ranks. The signal being given, the heavy infantry would press forward under cover of their shields, with the רֶמָּחַ (*romach*) protruded direct upon the front of the enemy: the rear ranks might then, when so armed, cast their darts; and the archers, behind them all, shoot high, so as to pitch their arrows over the lines before them, into the dense masses of the enemy beyond. If the opposing forces broke through the line, we may imagine a body of charioteers reserve, rushing from their post, and charging in among the disjointed ranks of the enemy, before they could reconstruct their order; or wheeling round a flank, fall upon the rear; or being encountered by a similar manœuvre, and perhaps repulsed, or rescued by Hebrew cavalry. The king, meanwhile, surrounded by his princes, posted close to the rear of his line of battle, and in the middle of showered missiles, would watch the enemy and strive to remedy every disorder. Thus it was that several of the sovereigns of Judah were slain (2 Chron. xviii. 33; xxxv. 23), and that such an enormous waste of human life took place; for two hostile lines of masses, at least ten in depth, advancing under the confidence of breastplate and shield, when once engaged hand to hand, had difficulties of no ordinary nature to retreat; because the hindmost ranks, not being exposed personally to the first slaughter, would not, and the foremost could not, fall back; neither could the commanders disengage the line without a certainty of being routed. The fate of the day was therefore no longer within the control of the chief, and nothing but obstinate valour was left to decide the victory. Hence, with the stubborn character of the Jews, battles fought among themselves were particularly



sanguinary; such, for example, as that in which Jeroboam king of Israel was defeated by Abijah of Judah (2 Chron. xiii. 3-17), wherein, if there be no error of copyists, there was a greater slaughter than in ten such battles as that of Leipsic, although on that occasion 350,000 combatants were engaged, for three successive days, provided with all the implements of modern destruction in full activity. Under such circumstances defeat led to irretrievable confusion, and where either party possessed superiority in cavalry and chariots of war it would be materially increased; but where the infantry alone had principally to pursue a broken enemy, that force, loaded with shields and preserving order, could overtake very few who chose to abandon their defensive armour, unless they were hemmed in by the locality. Sometimes a part of the army was posted in ambush, but this manœuvre was most commonly practised against the garrisons of cities (Josh. viii. 12; Judg. xx. 38). In the case of Abraham (Gen. xiv. 15), when he led a small body of his own people, suddenly collected, and falling upon the guard of the captives, released them, and recovered the booty, it was a surprise, not an ambush; nor is it necessary to suppose that he fell in with the main army of the enemy. At a later period there is no doubt the Hebrews formed their armies, in imitation of the Romans, into more than one line of masses, and modelled their military institutions as near as possible upon the same system.

Such were the instruments and the institutions of war, which the Hebrew people, as well as the nations which surrounded them, appear to have adopted; but in the conquest of the Promised Land, as regarded their enemies, the laws of war prescribed to them were, for purposes which we cannot now fully appreciate, more severe than in other cases. All the nations of antiquity were cruel to the vanquished, perhaps the Romans most of all: even the Egyptians, in the sculptures of their monuments, attest the same disposition—the males being very generally slaughtered, and the women and children sold for slaves. With regard to the spoil, except in the special case just referred to, the Hebrews divided it in part with those who remained at home, and with the Levites, and a portion was set apart as an oblation to the Lord (Num. xxxi. 50). This right of spoil and prey was a necessary consequence of military institutions where the army received

no pay. שָׁלַל, *shalal*, that is, the armour, clothes, money, and furniture, and מַלְכוֹת, *mal'koch*, prey, consisting of the captives and live stock, were collected into one general mass, and then distributed as stated above; or, in the time of the kings, were shared in great part by the crown, which then, no doubt, took care to subsidise the army and grant military rewards. [ARMS; ARMOUR; ENCAMPMENT; ENGINES; FORTIFICATIONS; STANDARDS].—C. H. S.

WARDLAW, RALPH, D.D., a congregationalist minister and professor of theology at Glasgow, was born at Dalkeith 22d December 1779, and died at Easterhouse, near Glasgow, 17th December 1853. Besides some highly important contributions to Systematic and Polemical Divinity, he published during his lifetime *Lectures on Ecclesiastes*, 2 vols. 8vo, 1821, 2d ed. 1838; and after his death,

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*Expositions of Proverbs, Zechariah, Romans, and James* were edited from his MSS. by his son, 8 vols. sm. 8vo, 1861-62. These volumes, besides affording admirable specimens of expository discourse, contain much careful and accurate exegesis, founded on learned investigation, as well as a thorough discussion of doctrinal and ethical questions.—W. L. A.

WARS OF THE LORD, BOOK OF THE (סֵפֶר מִלְחָמוֹת יְהוָה), a document cited Num. xxi. 14.

It was probably a collection of poems or songs celebrating the victories which had been achieved by the Israelites by the help of God. That it was an Amorite work, as Michaelis suggested, is disproved by the use of the term יְהוָה, which Michaelis vainly attempts to show is to be taken as a verb, and the passage translated:—‘As it is said in the book of the wars, it shall be.’ There is no reason to doubt that there were minstrels enough in Israel at all times of their history to record the events of that history in song, and those composed before the date of this notice might have been written in a book. What confirms this are the undoubted fragments of ancient songs in ver. 17, 18, and 27-30.

It is not clear what the passage cited means; but it seems to give a geographical notice, and probably was of some importance as indicating the ancient boundaries of the Moabitish territory (Rosenmüller, *in loc.*; Hävernick, *Einleit.* i. 2, p. 504, E. T. p. 321; Bleek, *Einl.* p. 199). Hengstenberg has a peculiar view (*Beiträge*, ii. 223), which Baumgarten (*Theolog. Commentar*, ii. 344) follows. He translates: ‘And Vaheb [took He —i.e. Jehovah] in the storm, and the brooks, the Arnon and the valley of the brooks which goes down to the dwelling of Ar, and leans on the borders of Moab.’ This is not very different from the LXX. version: διὰ τοῦτο λέγεται ἐν βίβλῳ πόλεμος τοῦ Κυρίου τῇν Ζωδβ [they probably read זֹהֵב for יְהוָה] ἐφλόγισε, καὶ τοὺς χειμάρρους Ἰαρδὲν.—W. L. A.

WASHING. [ABLUTION.]

WASHING OF FEET. The custom of washing the feet held, in ancient times, a place among the duties of hospitality, being regarded as a mark of respect to the guest, and a token of humble and affectionate attention on the part of the entertainer. It had its origin in circumstances for the most part peculiar to the East.

In general, in warm Oriental climes, cleanliness is of the highest consequence, particularly as a safeguard against the leprosy. The East knows nothing of the factitious distinctions which prevail in these countries between sanitary regulations and religious duties; but the one, as much as the other, is considered a part of that great system of obligations under which man lies towards God. What, therefore, the health demands, religion is at hand to sanction. Cleanliness is in consequence not next to godliness, but a part of godliness itself.

As in this Oriental view may be found the origin and reason of much of what the Mosaic law lays down touching clean and unclean, so the practice of feet-washing in particular, which considerations of purity and personal propriety recommended, hospitality adopted and religion sanctioned.

In temperate climes bathing is far too much neglected; but in the East the heat of the atmosphere and the dryness of the soil would render

4 A



the ablution of the body peculiarly desirable, and make foot-washing no less grateful than salutary to the weary traveller. The foot, too, was less protected than with us. In the earliest ages it probably had no covering; and the sandal worn in later times was little else than the sole of our shoe bound under the foot. Even this defence, however, was ordinarily laid aside on entering a house, in which the inmates were either barefoot or wore nothing but slippers.

The washing of the feet is among the most ancient, as well as the most obligatory, of the rites of Eastern hospitality. From Gen. xviii. 4, xix. 2, it appears to have existed as early as the days of the patriarch Abraham. In Gen. xxiv. 32 also 'Abraham's servant' is provided with water to wash his feet, and the men's feet that were with him. The same custom is mentioned in Judg. xix. 21. From 1 Sam. xxv. 41, it appears that the rite was sometimes performed by servants and sons, as their appropriate duty, regarded as of a humble character. Hence, in addition to its being a token of affectionate regard, it was a sign of humility.

The most remarkable instance is found in the 13th chapter of John's Gospel, where our Saviour is represented as washing the feet of his disciples, with whom he had taken supper. Minute particulars are given in the sacred narrative, which should be carefully studied, as presenting a true Oriental picture. From ver. 12, *seq.*, it is clear that the act was of a symbolical nature; designed to teach, *à fortiori*, brotherly humility and goodwill. If the master had performed for his scholars an act at once so lowly yet so needful, how much more were the disciples themselves bound to consider any Christian service whatever as a duty which each was to perform for the other. The principle involved in the particular act is, that love dignifies any service; that all high and proud thoughts are no less unchristian than selfish; and that the sole ground of honour in the church of Christ is meek, gentle, and self-forgetting benevolence.

It was specially customary in the days of our Lord to wash before eating (Matt. xv. 2; Luke xi. 38). This was also the practice with the ancient Greeks, as may be seen in *Iliad*, x. 577. From Martial (*Epig.* iii. 50. 3, *Deposui soleas*), we see it was usual to lay aside the shoes, lest they should soil the linen. The usage is still found among the Orientals (Niebuhr, b. 54; Shaw, p. 202). But Jesus did not pay a scrupulous regard to the practice, and hence drew blame upon himself from the Pharisees (Luke xi. 38). In this our Lord was probably influenced by the superstitious abuses and foolish misinterpretations connected with washing *before* meat. For the same reason he may purposely have postponed the act of washing his disciples' feet till *after* supper, lest, while he was teaching a new lesson of humility, he might add a sanction to current and baneful errors. [ABLUTION.]

Vessels of no great value appear to have been ordinarily kept and appropriated to the purpose. These vessels would gain nothing in estimation from the lowly, if not mean office, for which they were employed. Hence, probably, the explanation of Ps. lx. 8, 'Moab is my wash-pot.' Slaves, moreover, were commonly employed in washing the feet of guests. The passage, then, in effect, declares the Moabites to be the meanest of God's instruments.

The union of affectionate attention and lowly service is found indicated by foot-washing in 1 Tim. v. 10, where, among the signs of the widows that were to be honoured—supported, that is, at the expense of the church—this is given, if any one 'have washed the saints' feet.'

Foot-washing (*pedilavium*) became, as might be expected, a part of the observances practised in the early Christian church. The real signification, however, was soon forgotten, or overloaded by superstitious feelings and mere outward practices. Traces of the practice abound in ecclesiastical history, and remnants of the abuse are still to be found, at least in the Romish church. The reader who wishes to see an outline of these may consult Siegel, *Handbuch der ch. Alterthümer*, ii. 156, *seq.*—J. R. B.

WATCH (שָׂמַר), denoting 'to cut into,' thence 'to impress on the mind,' 'to observe,' 'to watch,' or שָׁפַח, the original meaning of which is 'to look out,' thence 'to watch,' as in English, 'to keep a look-out,' is a nautical phrase for 'to watch.' Watching must have been coeval with danger, and danger arose as soon as man became the enemy of man, or had to guard against the attacks of wild animals. Accordingly we find traces of the practice of watching in early portions of the Hebrew annals. Watching must have been carried to some degree of completeness in Egypt, for we learn from Exod. xiv. 24 that the practice had, at the time of the Exodus, caused the night to be divided into different watches or portions, mention being made of the 'morning watch.' Compare 1 Sam. xi. 11. In the days of the Judges (vii. 19) we find 'the middle watch' mentioned. See Luke xii. 38. At a later period Isaiah plainly intimates (xxi. 5, 6) that there was a watch-tower in Jerusalem, and that it was customary on extraordinary occasions to set a watchman. Watchmen were, however, even at an earlier day, customarily employed in the metropolis, and their post was at the gates (2 Sam. xviii. 24, *seq.*; 2 Kings ix. 17, *seq.*; Ps. cxxvii. 1; Prov. vii. 34), where they gave signals and information, either by their voice or with the aid of a trumpet (Jer. vi. 17; Ezek. xxxiii. 6). At night watchmen were accustomed to perambulate the city (Cant. iii. 3; v. 7). In the N. T. we find mention made of the second, the third, and the fourth watch (Luke xii. 38; Matt. xiv. 25). The space of the natural night, from the setting to the rising of the sun, the ancient Jews divided into three equal parts of four hours each. But the Romans, imitating the Greeks, divided the night into four watches (*vigiliae*), and the Jews, from the time they came under subjection to the Romans, following this Roman custom, also divided the night into four watches, each of which consisted of three hours: these four periods Mark (xiii. 35) has distinguished by the terms *ὄψις*, *μεσονύκτιον*, *ἀλεκτροφωλία*, *πρωὴ* (Buxtorf, *Lex. Talmud.*; Fischerus, *Prologus de Vitiis Lex. N. Test.*) The terms by which the old Hebrew division of the night was characterised are—1. 'The first watch,' שְׁמֵרֹת רֵאשִׁית, beginning of the watches (Lam. ii. 19); 2. 'The middle watch,' שְׁמֵרֹת הַתְּכִינָה (Judg. vii. 19); 3. 'The morning watch,' שְׁמֵרֹת הַבֹּקֶר (Deut. xiv. 24; 1 Sam. xi. 11). The first extended from sunset to our ten o'clock, the second from ten at night till two in the morning, and the



third from that hour till sunrise (Ideler, *Chronol.* i. 486).—J. R. B.

WATER. No one can read far in the sacred Scriptures without being reminded of the vast importance of water to the Hebrews in Palestine, and indeed in every country to which their history introduces us; and more particularly in the deserts in which they wandered on leaving Egypt, as well as those into which they before or afterwards sent their flocks for pasture. A subject of such importance necessarily, therefore, claims considerable attention in a Biblical Cyclopædia. The natural waters have already been disposed of in the articles PALESTINE AND RIVER; and in CISTERN and JERUSALEM notice has been taken of some artificial collections. It now remains to complete the subject, under the present head, by the addition of such details as may not have been comprehended under the articles referred to.

It has been shown that the absence of small rivers, through the want of rain in summer, renders the people of the settled country, as well as of the deserts, entirely dependent upon the water derived from wells, and that preserved in cisterns and reservoirs, during the summer and autumn; and gives an importance unknown in our humid climate to the limited supply thus secured.

With respect to reservoirs, the articles to which reference has been made will supply all the information necessary, except that we may avail ourselves of this opportunity of noticing the so-called Pools of Solomon, near Bethlehem, which being supplied from fountains furnish some characteristics which distinguish them from cisterns, and deserve attention as ancient works of probably Hebrew art. The tradition which ascribes them to Solomon seems to be founded on the passage in which the writer of Ecclesiastes (usually supposed to be Solomon) speaks of his undertakings: 'I made me gardens and orchards, and I planted in them trees of all kinds of fruits; I made me *pools of water*, to water therewith the wood that bringeth forth trees' (Eccles. ii. 5, 6). To these allusion is also supposed to be made in Canticles (iv. 12): 'A garden enclosed is my sister, my spouse; a spring shut up, a fountain sealed.' In short we have here a small secluded valley, obviously the site of an ancient garden, with reservoirs of water supplied by a 'shut up' fountain. Hence the valley itself goes among old travellers by the name of Hortus Conclusus. It is also conceived to be the spot mentioned by Josephus, who says: 'There was, about fifty furlongs from Jerusalem, a certain place called Etham, very pleasant in fine gardens, and abounding in rivulets of water, whither Solomon was wont to go forth in the morning, sitting on high in his chariot' (*Antiq.* viii. 7). Maundrell (p. 86) thinks that the pools were very probably made by Solomon; but 'for the gardens,' he says, 'one may safely affirm that if Solomon made them in the rocky ground which is now assigned for them, he demonstrated greater power and wealth in finishing his design than he did wisdom in choosing the place for it.' But Hasselquist (p. 145), a better judge, says: 'The place will well admit that Solomon might have formed a garden here, though it is not by nature an agreeable situation, being in a bottom; but perhaps this great prince might choose to improve nature by art, as many other potentates have done.' The fact is, that a valley kept always ver-

dant by the singular abundance of water, afforded peculiar advantages in this country for a pleasure-ground. Mariti remarks (*Voyage*, ii. 388): 'Nature has still preserved its original fertility to the valley of *Hortus Conclusus*. Although but little cultivated, the soil still produces a tolerable quantity of cotton and various kinds of grain. There are also seen fine plantations of fruit-trees, affording the most juicy fruits of the country. Various flowers and many fragrant plants grow there naturally at all seasons, among which are thyme, rosemary, marjoram, sage, absinthium, persil, rue, ranunculuses, and anemones.' De Breves (*Voyage*, p. 180) long bore similar testimony, though he was there in the very unfavourable month of July; he describes the valley as 'always green,' and, besides the plants just named, cultivated by nature's own kindly hand, he adds oranges, citrons, and pomegranates to the fruits which grow there. Zuallart (*Voyage*, iv. 3) says that several species of rare plants were found in the valley, and seems to insinuate the probability that they had been propagated from exotic plants which Solomon introduced into his gardens.

Of the pools a very good description is given by Dr. Wilde (*Narrative*, ii. 420): 'At the extremity of the valley we arrived at three enormous tanks, sunk in the side of a sloping ground, and which from time immemorial have been considered to be the workmanship of Solomon; and certainly they are well worthy the man to whom tradition has assigned their construction. These reservoirs are each upon a distinct level, one above the other, and are capable of holding an immense body of water. They are so constructed, both by conduits leading directly from one another, and by what may be termed anastomosing branches, that when the water in the upper one has reached to a certain height, the surplus flows off into the one below it, and so on into the third. These passages were obstructed and the whole of the cisterns were out of repair when we visited them, so that there was hardly any water in the lowest, while the upper one was nearly full of good pure water. Small aqueducts lead from each of these cisterns to a main one that conducts the water to Jerusalem. They are all lined with a thick layer of hard whitish cement, and a flight of steps leads to the bottom of each, similar to some of those in the holy city. Where the lowest cistern joins the valley of Etham it is formed by an embankment of earth, and has a sluice to draw off the water occasionally. A short distance from the upper pool I descended into a narrow stone chamber, through which the water passes from the neighbouring spring on its course to the cisterns. This likewise has a traditional tale to tell; it is said to be the sealed fountain to which allusion is made in the 4th and 5th chapters of the Canticles. From an examination of this place, it appeared to me that several springs empty themselves into these reservoirs, which are partly cut out of the solid rock, and partly built with masonry.

'Nigh to the upper part there is a large square castle, apparently of an order of architecture belonging to the Christian era; and in all probability so placed to guard these waterworks during the period of the holy war, for we know to what extremities some of the early crusaders were reduced from the different wells being poisoned by the enemy upon their approach to Jerusalem.

'These fountains having been already described



by Maundrell, Pococke, and others, I shall not dwell longer upon them, except to mention two circumstances, that it appears extraordinary they have not been adverted to by former travellers; the first is, their great similarity to the fountains assigned to Solomon at Ras-el-Ain, near Tyre; and the fact of both being natural springs, that were pent up so as to raise the water they contained to the level of its final destination. The second is, that these springs were originally collected into one stream, which must then have formed a considerable rivulet, and running through this valley, finally discharged its waters into the Asphaltine lake.

‘On our return to the city we followed the track of the aqueduct as far as Bethlehem, and afterwards crossed it in several places on the road. It is very small, but the water runs in it with considerable rapidity, as we could perceive by the open places left in it here and there. From the very tortuous

course that this conduit takes in following the different sinuosities of the ground, being sometimes above and sometimes beneath the surface, it is difficult to persuade oneself that it does not run up hill, as many have supposed. Finally, it crosses over the valley of Rephaim, on a series of arches, to the north of the lower pool of Gihon, and winding round the southern horn of Zion, is lost to view in the ruins of the city. It very probably supplied the pool of Bethesda, after having traversed a course of certainly not less than from thirteen to fifteen miles.’

To this very clear description we have only to add the measurements of Dr. Robinson (*Bibl. Researches*, ii. 165):—

*Lower Pool*.—Length, 582 feet; breadth at the east end, 207 feet; at the west end, 148 feet; depth at the east end, 50 feet, of which 6 feet water (in the month of May).



520. Solomon's Pool.

*Middle Pool*.—Distance above lower pool, 248 feet; length, 423 feet; breadth at the east end, 250 feet; at the west end, 160 feet; depth at the east end, 39 feet, of which 14 feet water.

*Upper Pool*.—Distance above middle pool, 160 feet; length, 380 feet; breadth at the east end, 236 feet; at the west end, 229 feet; depth at east end, 25 feet, of which 15 feet water.

Lord Nugent (*Lands Classical and Sacred*, ii. 11) makes the pools a few feet larger each way, but admits that Robinson's measurement may probably have been more exact than his own.

With respect to wells, their importance is very great, especially in the desert, where the means of forming them are deficient, as well as the supply of labour necessary for such undertakings, which, after all, are not always rewarded by the discovery of a supply of water. Hence in such situations, and indeed in the settled countries also, the wells

are of the utmost value, and the water in most cases is very frugally used (*Num.* xx. 17-19; *Deut.* ii. 6, 28; *Job* xxii. 7). It is, however, not merely the value of the well itself, but certain other considerations that explain the contests about wells which we find in the histories of Abraham and Isaac (*Gen.* xxi. 25-31; xxvi. 15-22). Here we see that the people of the country strenuously contested the right of the patriarchs to the wells which they digged, and even went so far as to fill up again (instead of leaving open for their own use) the wells which Abraham had opened. The fact is, however, that, at the present day, to dig a well at a station remote from a supply of water, is the most difficult and arduous operation which the chief of a tribe or clan undertakes; and the benefits of such a work are so highly appreciated, that the property in the well becomes vested in him and in his heirs for ever. While his clan is



encamped near it, no persons not belonging to it can draw water from the well without his leave. This right exists, however, only on the understanding that the well is maintained in good condition; for if it gets out of repair, or is choked up, and remains in this state for any length of time, the property in it lapses to the person or tribe by whom it is restored to a serviceable condition. This is the law of the desert; but as its application to the

scriptural questions respecting the property of wells is important, we may be allowed to introduce from the *Pictorial History of Palestine* (p. 61) a passage bearing strongly on the subject: 'Abraham had digged a well near his encampment, and of the use of this the 'servants' (probably the herdsmen) of Abimelech had violently deprived him. As men seldom act without some reason, or show of reason, which is deemed satisfactory to themselves, it may



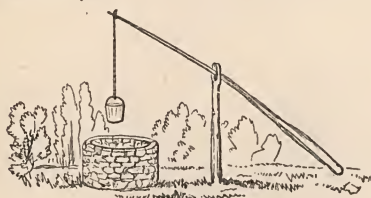
521. Fountains of Moses.

seem likely that Abimelech's people doubted the right of Abraham to apply the law of the desert to the common lands of an appropriated territory, and to claim the exclusive possession of the well he had dug in such a land. If their view had been just, however, it could only have entitled them to a share of the water, and not have justified them in assuming that exclusive possession which they denied to the party at whose expense the benefit had been secured. But taking into account some trans-

actions of rather later date, we incline to think that the cause of all the differences about wells which we read of in the history of Abraham and of Isaac lay deeper than this account supposes, and must be sought in a country more similarly circumstanced than the open deserts to that in which the patriarch was at this time sojourning. The best analogy is offered in Persia. There all waste lands—that is, all lands which are uncultivable from wanting the means of irrigation—are called 'God's



lands ;' and although the king is regarded as the general proprietor of the soil, such lands are free for any uses to which they can be applied ; and whoever procures the means of irrigation becomes the proprietor of the land which he thus renders cultivable. Now, as among the immemorially ancient usages of the East, none are more ancient than those which relate to the occupation of land, it is not too much to suppose that a similar usage to this existed in the time of Abraham ; and if so, it is easy to conclude that the anxiety of the Philistines about the wells dug by Abraham arose from the apprehension that by the formation of such wells he would be understood to create a lien on the lands in which they lay, and would acquire an indefeasible right of occupation, or rather of possession ; and it might seem to them inconvenient that so powerful a clan should acquire such a right in the soil of so small a territory as that which belonged to them. Hence their care, when Abraham afterwards left their part of the country, to fill up the wells which he had digged ; and hence also the renewed and more bitter strife with Isaac when he, on arriving there, proceeded to clear out those wells and to dig new ones himself. That Isaac also pursued cultivation to some extent in the lands for which he had thus secured the means of irrigation, is a remarkable corroboration of the view we now take, as he certainly might, in this way, but we know not how he could otherwise, acquire such a proprietary right as could alone entitle him to cultivate the soil.



522. Well and Bucket at Jaffa.

'Abimelech, in reply to the complaint of Abraham respecting the well, declared that the conduct of his servants had not been sanctioned by him, and that, indeed, this was the first time he had heard anything of the matter ; and he made no objection to the proposal of Abraham, that the recognition of his (the patriarch's) right to the well should form a part of the proposed covenant. This proposal, thus represented as the sole matter for which Abraham himself took care to provide in a solemn engagement with the king of the Philistines, is, perhaps, as striking an indication of the supreme importance of water in those Eastern countries as can anywhere be found. Both parties then swore to the covenant, the terms of which have thus been stated ; and as a memorial of the transaction, and in particular of his acknowledged right to the well, the patriarch gave it the name of Beer-sheba, *the well of the oath*. This imposition of commemorative names upon places was the principal of various methods which were resorted to in these earliest ages to perpetuate the memory of events and contracts, in the absence of those written documents which were afterwards found more suitable for such purposes.'

It appears in Scripture that the wells were sometimes owned by a number of persons in common,

and that flocks were brought to them for watering on appointed days, in an order previously arranged. A well was often covered with a great stone, which being removed, the person descended some steps to the surface of the water, and on his return poured into a trough that which he had brought up (Gen. xxiv. 11-15 ; xxix. 3-10 ; Exod. ii. 16 ; Judg. v. 11). There is, in fact, no intimation of any other way of drawing water from wells in Scripture. But as this could only be applicable in cases where the well was not deep, we must assume that they had the use of those contrivances which are still employed in the East, and some of which are known from the Egyptian monuments to have been very ancient. This conclusion is the more probable as the wells in Palestine are mostly deep (Prov. xx. 5 ; John iv. 11). Jacob's well near Shechem is said to be 120 feet deep, with only fifteen feet of water in it (Maundrell, *Journey*, March 24) ; and the labour of drawing from so deep a well probably originated the first reluctance of the woman of Samaria to draw water for Jesus : 'Sir, thou hast nothing to draw with, and the well is deep.' From this deeper kind of well the water is drawn by hand in a leathern bucket not too heavy, sometimes by a windlass, but oftener, when the water is only of moderate depth, by the *shadoof*, which is the most common and simple of all the machines used in the East for raising water, whether from wells, reservoirs, or rivers. This consists of a tapering lever unequally balanced upon an upright body variously constructed, and from the smaller end of which is suspended the bucket by a rope. This when lowered into the well, is raised full of water by the weight of the heavier end. By this contrivance the manual power is applied in lowering the bucket into the well, for it rises easily, and it is only necessary to regulate the ascent. This machine is in use under slight modifications from the Baltic to the Yellow Sea, and was so from the most remote ages to the present day. The specimen in the annexed woodcut occurs in the neighbourhood of Jaffa. The water of wells, as well as of fountains, was by the Hebrews called 'living water,' translated 'running water,' and was highly esteemed (Lev. xiv. 5 ; Num. xix. 17). It was thus distinguished from water preserved in cisterns and reservoirs.—J. K.

WATER OF SEPARATION. [UNCLEANNESS.]

WATERS OF JEALOUSY. The law of Moses (Num. v. 11-31) supposes the case of a husband on whom has fallen 'the spirit of jealousy' in regard to his wife, whom he suspects but cannot prove to have been guilty of unchaste intercourse with another man ; and it makes provision for the removal of a state of feeling entirely incompatible with domestic felicity and order, and which was a scandal in Israel not to be continued. The rule prescribed with this view was, that the man should bring his wife to the priest, by whom she should be placed before the Lord, who alone could manifest whether she was guilty or not. An offering was to be brought by the man as an offering of memorial, that is not of thanksgiving (Lev. ii. 2), but of his wife's transgression, actual or supposed (מִזְבֵּחַ עֹלָה), and hence it was to be composed not of fine meal but of barley-meal, and to be without oil or incense, to betoken the severity of the man's feel-



ing. The priest was then to take holy water (perhaps from the laver in the sanctuary, Exod. xxx. 18), and mix with it some dust from the floor of the tabernacle; and having uncovered the woman's head, and put the memorial-offering into her hands, and holding in his own the basin with the water called here 'the bitter water that brings a curse' (מֵי הַמָּוֶה הַמַּרְרִים), he was to administer to her an oath as to her innocence, at the same time assuring her that if she was guilty, and took the oath falsely, the most dreadful consequences to herself would ensue; whereas if she was guiltless this would be made manifest by her being left unharmed. Having made a record in writing of the penalty that would follow if she were guilty, the priest was then to wash this out with water from the basin; to indicate, doubtless, its power of purgation, and to encourage the woman to swallow it if conscious of innocence. The woman was then to drink the bitter water; and having thus made her appeal to God as the Omniscient, her innocence would be proved by her remaining unhurt, whilst her guilt would be proved by the water causing her belly to swell, and her thigh to rot; thus, as the Talmudists remark (*Sotah*, i. 7), making her suffer in those parts of her body concerned in her sin. This ordeal is only a special application of the general principle which pervades the whole theocratic institute, that judgment is with the Lord, and that to him must all causes be referred which baffled the skill of men (Deut. i. 17). A belief like this seems to pervade the race, and to lie at the basis of all the ordeals by which men have sought to establish the guilt or innocence of those against whom crimes were alleged which only the Deity could detect (see Grotius on ver. 27, and *Encyclop. Britan.* xvi. 701).—W. L. A.

## WAVE-OFFERING. [OFFERING.]

## WEAPONS. [ARMS.]

WEASEL. Although under the head *CHOLED* we have given *mole* as its synonym, yet such is the vagueness of Oriental denominations, and the necessity of noticing certain species which, from their importance, cannot well be supposed to have been altogether disregarded in the Bible, that in this place a few words descriptive of the species of Viverridae and Mustelidae, known to reside in and near Palestine, and supposed to be collectively designated by the term *tsigim*, may not be irrelevant. They appear both anciently and among ourselves collected into a kind of group, under an impression that they belong to the feline family; hence we, like the ancients, still use the words civet-cat, tree-cat, pole-cat, etc.; and, in reality, a considerable number of the species have partially retractile claws, the pupils of the eyes being contractile like those of cats, of which they even bear the spotted and streaked liveries. All such naturally have arboreal habits, and from their low lengthy forms are no less disposed to burrow; but many of them, chiefly in other hemispheres, are excellent swimmers. One of these species, allied to, if not the same as, *Genetta barbara*, is the *Thela Elan*, by Bochart described as having 'various colours, and as being spotted like a pard.' In Syria it is called *sephka*, in Arabia *zebeeb*, and lives by hunting birds and shaphans. There are besides, in the same region, the *nimse*, ferret or pole-cat (*Putorius vulgaris*), for these two are not specifically distinct;

*fert-el-heile*, the weasel (*Mustela vulgaris Africana*), differing from ours chiefly in its superior size and darker colours. A *paradoxurus*, identical with or nearly allied to *P. typus*, occurs in Arabia; for it seems these animals are found wherever there are Palmifere, the date-palm in particular being a favourite residence of the species. Two or three varieties, or perhaps species, of *nems* occur in Egypt solely; for the name is again generic in the Arabian dialects, and denotes the *ichneumon*. Arabia proper has several other animals, not clearly distinguished, though belonging to the families here noticed; but which of these are the *sun-*

523. *Paradoxurus typus*—the Palm-Martin.

*giab* and the *simur*, or the *alphanex* of Ibn Omar Abdulbar, quoted by Bochart, is undetermined; albeit they evidently belong to the tribes of vermin mammals of that region, excepting as regards the last mentioned, now known to be a kind of miniature fox (*Megalotis zerda*, Ham. Smith), or *fennec* of Bruce, who nevertheless confounded it with *Paradoxurus typus*, or an allied species which equally frequents palm-trees; but the *fennec* does not climb. It is equally impossible to point out the cats, tree-cats, and civet-cats noticed by the poet Nemesianus, who was of African birth; or by the Arabian Damir, who makes no further distinctive mention of them [CAT].—C. H. S.

## WEAVER (אֹרֵג, אֹרֵגָה), WEAVING (אֹרֵגָה).

Weaving of some sort must be contemporary with the use of textile fabrics, and this remounts to the earliest ages. That weaving was practised by the Israelites before they were acquainted with the Egyptians cannot be doubted; but as the Egyptians were from an early period famous for the delicacy and beauty of the products of their looms, we may suppose that the Israelites learned something from them during their residence among them.

The fabrics required by a household were probably usually manufactured in the house. Hence in the description of the virtuous woman her diligence and skill in weaving are prominently commended (Prov. xxxi. 13, 22, 24). That weaving, however, was practised as a trade, and that from a very early period there was a weavers' guild among the Israelites, appears evident from 1 Chron. iv. 21. Women also were employed in weaving as a trade (2 Kings xxiii. 7). Perhaps the commoner sorts of work were done at home, while skilled workers were employed to produce the fine byssus fabrics and highly ornamented work, resembling that for which the looms of Egypt were famous (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt*. ii. 85, ff.)



The looms of Egypt were of the most simple kind; and those of Judæa were doubtless not less so. The 'weaver's beam' (מִנּוֹר אֲרָגִים) was a piece of wood placed either perpendicularly or horizontally, to which the web (מִסְכֶּכֶת) was fastened. The other implements used were the shuttle (אָרֶג) and the יִתְרִי, which some make a pin, others a rope or cord, and which certainly was used to fasten the web to the beam (Judg. xvi. 14). Mention is also made of the דִּלְקָה, or *thrum* (Is. xxxviii. 12), and of the שֵׁתִי and the עֵרֶב (Lev. xiii. 48, ff.), which in the A. V. are rendered *warp* and *woof*. This is also the rendering of the LXX. ἐν στῆμον ἢ ἐν κρῶκι. But how could the plague be in the warp or the woof and not in both; or how could the one be burned and not the other? (ver. 52). This has led Houbigant to suggest that these terms denote different kinds of cloth, the one of a more simple, the other of a more complicated texture; and this Dathe, Rosenmüller, Baumgarten, and Knobel approve.

The fabrics produced by the loom among the Hebrews were of woollen, byssus, and cotton; also the camels-hair and goats-hair cloths used for the covering of tents and for the dress of the poor. Other more costly and artistic fabrics were also probably produced by weaving [NEEDLE-WORK].

Our Lord wore a χιτὼν ἄρραφος (John xix. 23), a garment without seam wholly woven from top to bottom. A similar garment Josephus says was worn by the high-priest (*Antiq.* iii. 7. 4); and the Brahmins of India make a point of wearing only such.—W. L. A.

WEDDING. [MARRIAGE.]

WEEK. [SABBATH.]

WEEKS, FEAST OF. [PENTECOST.]

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES. This is a subject on which our knowledge is by no means complete and satisfactory. The notices respecting it which the Bible supplies are fragmentary and scattered; and though the Jewish authorities and Josephus afford us useful aids, and though the topic has received full and very careful investigation, still difficulties remain, and there are points on which we must be content either with probable conjecture, or an approximation to the truth.

So long, indeed, as the subject was insulated from its natural connections, and Hebrew weights and measures were studied apart from those of other ancient nations, the difficulty and uncertainty might well be considerable. Of late, however, a juster method of treatment has been originated in Germany. The Roman measures came from Greece, the Grecian from Phœnicia, the Phœnician from Babylon. Accordingly each system will throw light on the other, and all may be made to contribute something to the elucidation of the Hebrew weights and measures. This method of viewing the subject, and the satisfactory lessons which have been hence deduced, are to be ascribed to Böckh (*Metrologischen Untersuchungen*, Berlin 1838), who, availing himself of the results ascertained by English, French, and German scholars, and of the peculiar facilities afforded by a residence in the midst of the profound and varied erudition

of the Prussian capital, has succeeded, by the application of his unwearied industry and superior endowments, in showing that the system of weights and measures of Babylon, Egypt, Palestine, Phœnicia, Greece, Sicily, and Italy, formed one great whole, with the most intimate relationships and connections. Our limited space permits only a very brief notice of the results which the inquiries of Böckh and his school seem to have ascertained. We will first advert to the names of the Hebrew weights or coins. 1. כֶּכֶר is derived from a root signifying 'round,' so that the word denotes a circular-shaped mass of metal. Thus, etymologically, it may be rendered 'the circle.' In 2 Kings v. 22 it is translated 'talent'; the more exact determination of its import is fixed by the addition of another noun, as 'talent of silver' (2 Kings v. 22, 23), and 'talent of gold' (1 Kings ix. 14). 2. מָנָה is a word of Shemitic origin, the Greek μνᾶ. It occurs in the Coptic N. T. in the forms *amna* and *emna*. In 1 Kings (x. 17) it is rendered 'pound.' 3.

שֶׁקֶל, weight in the abstract, the usual weight among not only the Hebrews, but the Persians also—σῆκλος. It varies in its import, and is rendered *shekel* by our translators, who have thus merely preserved the original word. 4. בֶּקַע, 'a *bekah*' (Exod. xxxviii. 26), is from a root which signifies 'to divide'; hence a moiety or half, 'half a shekel' (Gen. xxiv. 22). The word in this application is found only in the Pentateuch. 5. גֶּרַח, properly a grain, or, in particular, the bean, or St. John's bread, *carab*; hence, the smallest weight. The word is retained in the English translation; thus in Exod. xxx. 13, 'a shekel is twenty gerahs.' It is obvious that no determinate and satisfactory unit in a system of weights can be gained from a changeable object like a grain. This difficulty, however, is not peculiar to the Hebrews. We have our *grains*, and the Greeks had their *oboli*.

In order to determine the relations which the כֶּכֶר, talent, bore to the smaller weights and coins, we may have recourse to those passages which speak of the formation of the sanctuary. According to Exod. xxx. 13, every Israelite above twenty years of age had to pay the poll-tax of half a shekel as a contribution to the sanctuary. Exod. xxxviii. 26 tells us that this tax had to be paid by 603,550 men. The sum amounted to 100 talents and 1775 sacred shekels (Exod. xxxviii. 25), which are equal to 603,550 half, or 301,775 sacred shekels. Accordingly the talent contained 3000 sacred shekels; for by deducting from

301,775 shekels  
1,775 shekels

we get 300,000 shekels

to be divided among 100 talents, making each talent equal to 3000 sacred shekels.

The value of the sacred shekel in regard to the *gerah* is determined by Exod. xxx. 13; Lev. xxvii. 25; Num. iii. 47; Ezek. xlv. 12, to be twenty *gerahs*; the half-shekel, *bekah*, is equal to ten *gerahs*.

The determination of the relative value of the *maneh* is not easy, for it depends on a passage which in the Hebrew cannot be understood (Ezek. xlv. 12), 'Twenty shekels, five and twenty shekels, fifteen shekels shall be your maneh,' but which in the Sept. (*Cod. Alex.*) seems to state that a maneh was equal to fifty sacred shekels. Thus there ensues this table:—



Kikkar	I			
Maneh	60	I		
Shekel	3000	50	I	
Bekah	6000	100	2	I
Gerah	60,000	1000	20	10 I

The use of the precious metals as a medium of exchange in commerce dates back to a very early period of history. A common, recognised, and invariable standard of value, by means of which goods, instead of being exchanged in barter, might be bought and sold, is indispensable in any but a primitive state of trade. Accordingly Abraham buys a field by the intervention of silver. But this silver or gold must have an acknowledged value, else it cannot answer its purposes; there must also be a means of ascertaining easily that the professed and ostensible is the real value of any particular portion. Hence coins which bear 'the image and superscription of Cæsar,' or some token to assure traders that the piece of money is right both in quality and in quantity. In early periods these tokens would obviously be imperfect. The quantity was ascertained by weight, the quality by inspection. If now we inquire how soon the Hebrews possessed money of a fixed value, we find Abraham himself buying a field for 'four hundred shekels of silver current with the merchant,' which value was ascertained by weight. Here the shekel is a recognised ordinary unit. This, at least, is clear. The passage may also imply that the purchase-money was paid, not in silver bars, but in silver pieces, shekels; the weighing being intended to ascertain that the shekels were of the proper value, which was not guaranteed by the fixed and invariable characters of a coin. If we pass on to the time of Moses, we find pieces of money of a fixed and recognised value in circulation among the Israelites, and are led to see that the amount of the circulating medium must have been very considerable. In the historical and prophetic writings of a later period mention is made of the shekel and of other pieces of money, so that their use in commerce before the Babylonish captivity is placed beyond a doubt. To term these pieces of money coin might be to mislead, since the word coin refers the mind to the operations of a government mint; but it is clear that as pieces of money of a fixed and recognised value they must have been of a certain size, and borne some distinctive marks. Hence the only difference between those pieces of money and coin lies in the quarter whence they came—private or public—and in the sanction and authority which they accordingly carried with them. The Talmud refers coin, strictly so called, to the ante-exilian period. What the circulating medium among the Hebrews was made up of, may be inferred from what has gone before: there was the shekel; also the sacred shekel, if this latter is to be distinguished from the former; then the half-shekel, or bekah, which may be a name for the ordinary shekel; there was also a quarter-shekel, 'the fourth part of a shekel of silver' (1 Sam. ix. 8); and, finally, the smallest silver coin, namely the gerah. From the passage in Samuel just cited it appears clear that those pieces of money were used in the ordinary commerce of life, and we have previously seen that money was demanded in the service of religion. In 1 Sam. ii. 36, a word occurs (אֲנֹרִי) disguised in the E. V. under the phrase 'a piece of silver,' which may have been the current name for the coin that, from its weight,

was called a gerah. It is thus evident that there prevailed among the Hebrews, at an early period, a very considerable and much-employed metallic circulating medium.

Of these coins the shekel is worth twenty gerahs; but there are three shekels mentioned in the O.T.—the ordinary shekel, the shekel of the sanctuary (Exod. xxx. 13), and the shekel after the king's weight (2 Sam. xiv. 26). Are these three different kinds? or are they different descriptions for the same coin?—thus, is the first, shekel, the common name; the second, sacred shekel, the coin according to the ecclesiastical standard; the third, king's shekel, the same according to the regal standard, the function having passed from the priests to the monarch? No satisfactory answer to these questions presents itself, and our space forbids more discussion.

But how are we to gain a unit for estimating the worth of the ante-exilian coins, of which not one has come down to us? Let us notice one or two facts connected with the Jewish post-exilian coins. During the exile the Israelites became intimately acquainted with the money-system which prevailed in Babylon. After their return home, and during the Persian dominion, we find mention made of a Persian coin, דַרִיכָא, the *darick* (Ezra ii. 69; viii. 27; Neh. vii. 70), which is Englished by 'drachm,' in the Greek δραχμή. The coin was so named after Darius, son of Hystaspes. These coins were made according to a foot, which was nearly the same as the Attic, and the standard weight of each was 1644 Parisian grains. In the Greek period, under the Ptolemies and Seleucidae, the Jews used the coins of these princes (1 Maccab. xv. 5, 6); but when they gained a short national independence under the Maccabees, they coined many of their own, as, for instance, in the first year of Simon Maccabæus. Coins of Simon and his followers are in existence, and have been carefully studied. Confining our remarks to the coins of Simon Maccabæus, we mention the following ascertained facts: they bear the old Hebrew or Samaritan characters, and not the square letter of the modern Hebrew, which is derived from the former under the influence of tachygraphy and caligraphy. These coins are exclusively of silver. The shekels and half-shekels belong to the first and second years of Simon's reign. Doubts prevail as to the genuineness of the coins bearing date the third and fourth years of his rule, but the shekels of his third year are admitted to be genuine. The coins of the first

year bear the inscription יְרוּשָׁלַם קִדְשָׁא, 'Holy Jerusalem.' The weight of the shekel varies somewhat. The heaviest weighs 271½ Parisian grains; the greater part from 266 to 268 Parisian grains. The standard may approximately be taken at 274 Parisian grains, to which Böckh is led by comparison with other systems. Here, then, we have the weight of the shekel; though we cannot say with certainty that it remained the same in every period of the earlier history, yet this becomes very probable when the retentiveness of customs which characterises the East is taken into account. Besides, the change introduced by the Maccabees was a restoration of the old constitution under influences which would cause the past to be rigidly reproduced. The shekel in the Pentateuch and Ezekiel is found equal to twenty gerahs. What



shekel? The inscription 'Holy Jerusalem' makes it likely that it was the sacred shekel. We thus, then, arrive at these conclusions:—

Gerah	=	13.7	Par. grains.
Bekah, or common shekel	"	137	"
Sacred shekel	"	274	"
Maneh	"	13,700	"
Talent	"	822,000	"

These conclusions find corroboration by being compared with the weights of other Eastern nations, and the whole inquiry authorises the inference, that one general system prevailed in the more civilised nations, being propagated from the East, from an early period of history.

In the N. T. (Matt. xvii. 24) the temple tax is a didrachm; from other sources we know that this 'tribute' was half a shekel; and in ver. 27 the stater is payment of this tax for two persons. Now the stater—a very common silver Attic coin, the tetradrachm—weighed 328.8 Parisian grains: thus not considerably surpassing the sacred shekel (274 Parisian grains). Are we, then, to hold the stater of the N. T. for an Attic tetradrachm? If so, its agreement with the sacred shekel is striking. There is reason in the passage of Matthew and in early writers for regarding the two as the same. And the Attic tetradrachm sank from its original weight of 328.8 to 308 and 304. This approximation must have gone on increasing, for under the empire a drachm was equal to a Roman denarius, which in the time of Tiberius weighed 69.8 Parisian grains. Four denarii were equal to 279 Parisian grains; so that, if the denarius is regarded as an Attic drachm, the sacred shekel may be correctly termed a tetradrachm. With this Josephus agrees (*Antiq.* iii. 8. 2), who says that the shekel (σικλος), a Hebrew coin, contains four Attic drachms.

Names of measures of length are for the most part taken from members of the human body, which offered themselves, so to say, naturally for the purpose, and have generally been used in all times and places in instances where minute accuracy was not demanded. And though, within certain limits, these measures have approached to sameness—for the human foot, to take it as an example, may have been slightly over or somewhat under twelve inches, while it never in any generation extended to twenty-four inches—yet was there scope also for considerable latitude and diversity, and nothing like a system of normal measures can hence be gained, unless means are found for determining the average length of any one of these measures, or for fixing the length which it was intended to represent.

At the basis of the Hebrew system of measures of length lies אמה, cubit, the fore-arm, or the distance from the point of the elbow to the tip of the third finger. This is a word supplied by no Hebrew root, but derived from the Egyptian Mahe, signifying 'cubit,' which, with the same meaning, is found in the Coptic in the form Mahi, and with the prefix, Ammah.

A longer measure, applied in measuring buildings, was the קנה (Ezek. xli. 8; Apoc. xxi. 15), rendered in the common version 'reed,' more properly 'rod.' In Judg. iii. 16, Ehud's sword (not 'dagger') is said to have been in length גמר. As he wore this weapon under his mantle, the length of this measure may be approximately conjectured.

Smaller measures of length were—1. ארך, from a root meaning to expand (the hand), hence a 'span.' This word is found in the Egyptian, which seems to have borrowed it from the Shemitic. 2. אפוח, the breadth of the hand (1 Kings vii. 26; Exod. xxv. 25). 3. אצבע, the finger (Jer. lii. 21), the denomination of the smallest measure of length. Thus we have the breadth of the finger, of the hand, of the span—the length from the tip of the little finger to the point of the thumb,—and the cubit.

In order to ascertain the length of these, we take the cubit as our standard. The longer measure, reed, or rod, consists, in Ezek. xli. 8, of six great cubits, that is, of six such cubits as were a handbreadth longer than the common cubit (Ezek. xl. 5; xliii. 13). The relation of zereth, span; tepach, handbreadth; and ezba, finger, is not given in the O. T. By comparing together Exod. xxv. 10, with Josephus, *Antiq.* iii. 6. 5, we find the span equal to half a cubit, for the length which Moses terms two cubits and a half Josephus designates five spans. The relation of tepach (handbreadth) and ezba (finger) to ammah (cubit) appears from their several names and their import in other systems. The handbreadth is four fingers; the span contains three times the breadth of the hand, or twelve fingers. This is the view which the Rabbins uniformly take. We find a similar system among the Greeks, who reckoned in the cubit twenty-four fingers, six handbreadths, and two spans. The same was the case with the Egyptians.

But the ammah itself is not a fixed unit, for in Ezekiel we have found a cubit which was a handbreadth longer than the common cubit. The subject has been amply discussed, and opinions are various [CUBIT]. We may conclude that there were two cubits, the sacred of seven, the common of six handbreadths; and thus these two cubits were to each other as seven to six—that is, the sacred cubit held seven handbreadths of the ordinary cubit of six handbreadths. There is no reason, however, to think that the sacred cubit was divided into seven parts. It was the older, and would be divided according to the duodecimal method which prevails in this matter, and accordingly would contain six palms and twenty-four fingers, only that its fingers and palms were greater than those of the ordinary cubit. This is proved by the express statements of the Talmud, according to which the sacred, as well as the common cubit, contained six handbreadths.

As we have no unit of measure given us in the Scriptures, nor preserved to us in the remains of any Hebrew building, and as neither the Rabbins nor Josephus afford the information we want, we have no resource but to apply for information to the measures of length used in other countries. We go to the Egyptians. The longer Egyptian cubit contained about 234.333 Parisian lines, the shorter about 204.8. According to this the Hebrew measures of length were these:—

Sacred cubit	. 234.333	Parisian lines.
The span	. 117.166	"
The palm	. 39.055	"
The finger	. 9.7637	"
Common cubit	204.8	"
The span	. 102.4	"
The palm	. 34.133	"
The finger	. 8.533	"



The two sets of measures—one for dry, another for liquid things—rest on the same system, as appears from the equality of the standard for dry goods, namely the ephah, with that for liquids, namely bath. The difference in the names is merely accidental. **הוֹמֶר** (homer), denoting a heap, is the name for the largest measure of dry goods (Lev. xxvii. 16; Num. xi. 32; Ezek. xlv. 11). In later times the homer was replaced by the cor (Ezek. xlv. 14), which is found among the Hellenists in the form *kópos*. In Hosea iii. 2,

the **לֶחֶם**, 'half-homer,' is mentioned, which the Seventy render by *ἡμικόπος*, and the Vulgate by 'corus dimidius.' Another measure is **אֵיפָה**, which comes from an Egyptian root denoting 'to measure.' **סֵאָה**, found in the Septuagint, the N. T., and Josephus, under the form *σάρον*, is of uncertain origin. The Seventy translate it sometimes by simply *μέτρον*, 'measure' (Gen. xviii. 6), and the dual form by *διμέτρον* (2 Kings vii. 1). **עוֹמֶר**, in its derivation and meaning resembles **הוֹמֶר**, but denotes a much smaller mass. **קֶבֶץ** (cab), the hollow, the bowl, was adopted by the Greeks as *káβos*. These are measures for dry goods. We now pass on to liquid measures. **בַּת** is from a root which denotes 'to determine,' 'to measure.' It is put in relation to the homer in Ezek. xlv. 11, 14; whence we learn that the bath was applied to fluids. **הֵין** is retained by the Seventy in the forms *εἷν*, *εῖ*, *εῦ*. The word is of Egyptian origin. **לֹג** (log) is a word found only in the Mosaic law regarding the cleansing of the leper (Lev. x. 12, 'the log of oil'). It is referable to an Arabic root which denotes 'to press into,' The feminine form is found in the Syriac, with the meaning of bowl. Log had the same import as cab.

In order to determine the relations between these measures, we take the ephah and bath, which in Ezek. xlv. 11 are declared to be of one measure. They each contained the tenth part of a homer (Ezek. xlv. 11, 14); thus the relation of the homer to the bath and the ephah belongs to a decimal division (Exod. xvi. 36).

The Seah, *μέτρον*: the translation given by the Septuagint of the Hebrew in Exod. xvi. 36 is as follows:—*τὸ δὲ γομὸρ τὸ δέκατον τῶν τριῶν μέτρων ἦν*,—'the homer is the tenth part of three measures, ( $\frac{3}{10}$ ). With the Septuagint and the Targum the ephah was equal to three seahs (comp. Matt. xiii. 33, *σάρα τρία*, with Gen. xviii. 6, and Jerome on the former place). The same relation is derived from a passage in Josephus (*Antiq.* ix. 4. 5), where the contents of the seah are given as one Italian modius and a half, for the modius held sixteen sextarii, and the ephah, according to Josephus, seventy-two sextarii; a modius and a half is, therefore, the third part of the ephah. The Rabbinists entirely concur in these views. The cab, according to Josephus (*Antiq.* ix. 4. 4; comp. 2 Kings vi. 25), is equal to four xestæ, for one-fourth of a cab he translates by *ξέστης*, seventy-two of which make a *μετρητής*, a measure; eighteen cabs then make an ephah, and six a seah. In the same way the Rabbinists determine the proportion of the cab to the seah (comp. the passage in Leusden, *Phil. Mixtus*, p. 205). There remain the hin and the log. The hin, according to Josephus (*Antiq.* iii. 9. 4), is an old Hebrew mass, which contained two Attic *χόες*, of which twelve went to the Attic me-

tres; therefore the hin is the sixth part of the bath. The log, according to the Rabbinists, is the twenty-fourth part of the seah, consequently the seventy-second part of the bath, and the twelfth part of the hin (comp. Leusden, *Phil. Mixtus*, p. 207).

There are two divisional systems found in these measures: 1. A decimal; and 2. A duodecimal, thus:—

Homer . . .	1
Bath and ephah	10
Gomer . . .	100

By putting together the measures for dry and those for liquid articles, we obtain the duodecimal division:—

Ephah or Bath	1
Seah . . .	3
Hin . . .	6
Cab . . .	18
Log . . .	72

Here all the numbers are divisible either by twelve or by submultiples of twelve. Such a duodecimal arrangement is found in the cubic measures of the Greeks and Romans. Hence the three systems give and receive support.

We will now exhibit all these measures in relation to the greatest, the homer:—

Homer . . .	1
Bath and Ephah	10
Seah . . .	30
Hin . . .	60
Gomer . . .	100
Cab . . .	180
Log . . .	720

The duodecimal is the original principle, the decimal system being introduced only to bring the two methods into harmony. The homer did not at first form a part of the Hebrew system (Ezek. xlv. 11).

For the actual size of these measures we must refer to Josephus, of whom Theodoret (*In Exod.* xxix.) says: *πιστευτέον δὲ ἐν τοῖσις τῷ Ἰωσήφ ἀκριβῶς τοῦ ἔθνους τὰ μέτρα ἐπισταμένῳ*,—'follow in these things Josephus, who well understood the measures of the nation' (comp. *Antiq.* viii. 3. 8). To the homer or cor Josephus ascribes (*Antiq.* xv. 9. 2) twelve Attic medimni, where the reading should be metretæ. Bath and Ephah are the same. Josephus (*Antiq.* viii. 2. 9) determines each at seventy-two xestæ, and makes them equal to an Attic metretes. The saron is twenty-four sextarii; the hin is twelve sextarii; the gomer, the tenth part of the ephah, must hold seven and one-fifth sextarii; the cab is equal to four xestæ. On the log Josephus gives no information; as the fourth part of the cab, it held a xestes. The Attic metretes, which corresponded with the Hebrew bath and ephah, contains 739,800 Parisian grains of rain-water, which would fill a space of about 1985 Parisian cubic inches. Thus we come to the following table:—

SIZE.	WEIGHT IN WATER.
Par. cub. in.	Par. gr.
Homer 19857.7	7,398,000
Ephah 1985.77	739,800
Seah 661.92	246,600
Hin 330.96	123,300
Gomer 198.577	73,980
Cab 110.32	41,100
Log 27.58	10,275



Böckh has proved that it is in Babylon we are to look for the foundations of the metrological systems of the ancient world; for the entire system of measures, both eastern and western, must be referred to the Babylonish foot as to its basis. Here is the root of the original system, and of the individual systems which sprang from the original one. This important fact, ascertained and established by Böckh, has been investigated and confirmed by an independent inquirer of the highest authority—viz. K. O. Müller. Not only the metrological system, but with it other knowledge went westward from Babylon. This metrological system bears traces of having proceeded from the hands of Babylonian astronomers. The ancient world was dependent for its astronomy on Babylon. Herodotus (ii. 101) says that the Greeks borrowed the division of the day into twelve parts from the Babylonians, calling to mind the duodecimal division which we have spoken of. The Zodiac too is of Asiatic, Ideler holds of Babylonian origin; but recent investigations have shown a striking agreement between the astronomy of the Babylonians and the Chinese, to say nothing of other nations in the farther east (Ideler, *Über die Zeitrechnung der Chinesen*, etc., Berlin 1839; Biot, *Journal des Savans*, Dec. 1839, Jan. and May 1840; *Göttingen Gel. Anzeigen*, 1840, p. 201, seq.) Of this common knowledge several considerations concur in referring the origin, not to the Chinese, but to the Babylonians. Hence Babylon appears as the land which was the teacher of the east and the west in astronomical and mathematical knowledge, standing as it were in the middle of the ancient world, and sending forth rays of light from her two extended hands. Palestine could not be closed against these illuminations, which in their progress westward must have enlightened its inhabitants, who appear to have owed their highest earthly culture to the Babylonians and the Egyptians.

The following works may be consulted:—J. D. Michaelis, *Suppl. ad Lex. Hebr.* p. 1521; Hussey, *Essay on the Ancient Weights, Money, etc.*, Oxford 1836; F. P. Bayer, *De Nummis Hebræo-Samaritanis*, Valentie Edetanorum, 1781, written in reply to *Die Unächtheit der Jüd. Münzen*, Büttow 1779; Hupfeld, *Betrachtung dunkler Stellung der A. T. Textgeschichte, in die Studien und Kritiken*, 1830, 2d heft, pp. 247-301; G. Seyffarth, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Literatur, Kunst, Mythol. und Gesch. des alten Aegypten*; see especially Bertheau, *Zur Geschichte der Israeliten*, Göttingen 1842; Cumberland, *Essay on Weights and Measures*; Arbutnot, *Tables of Ancient Coins*; Thenius in *Studien und Kritiken* for 1846, p. 73 and p. 297, etc.—J. R. B.

WELL. [WATER.]

WELLS, EDWARD, D.D., was educated at Westminster School and at Christ Church, Oxford, where he took his degree of M.A. in 1693. He commenced D.D. in 1704. He was rector of Blechley, Buckinghamshire, and Cottesbach, Leicestershire. He died in 1724. Besides some smaller works, he published two which were long held in high esteem, and are still not without their value: *A help to the more easy and clear understanding of the Holy Scriptures*, 8 vols. 4to, being a revised translation of the Bible, with a paraphrase and annotations; and *An Historical Geography of the O. and N. T.* 1711, 4 vols 8vo; 1804, 4to;

1828, 2 vols. 12mo. He wrote also a work on the book of Daniel, Lond. 1716, 4to.—W. L. A.

WEMYSS, THOMAS, was born in 1772 in London, though his parents belonged to Scotland, and were only on a visit to the metropolis at the time of his birth. He was educated at the High School and University of Edinburgh, and was engaged there for some time in private tuition. Among those whom he taught were the Messrs. Haldane, whom he instructed in Greek. He was afterwards for some time classical tutor in the Theological Academy which they instituted. Soon after this he removed to York, and thence to Darlington, at the latter of which places he died in 1841, after many years of useful labour in the work of tuition. He is known to Biblical scholars by several works of learning and ability. 1. *Biblical Gleanings*, York, s. a.; 2. *Clavis Symbolica, or Key to the Symbolical Language of Scripture*, fol. xxvi. of the 'Biblical Cabinet'; 3. *Job and his Times, or a Picture of the Patriarchal Age*, London 1839. At his death he left in MS. a work in which he sought to do for the book of Daniel what he had done for the book of Job. The excellence of the latter makes one hope that the former may be given to the public.—W. L. A.

WESSELY, HARTWIG, or *Naphtali Herz*

*Wessel* (נפתלי הירץ וויזל, abbreviated נ"ה), one of the most distinguished Hebraists of the eighteenth century. He was born at Amsterdam in 1725, and derived his name from the fact that his ancestors came from Wesel or Wessel. His parents went to live at Copenhagen when he was quite a youth, and being pious Jews, they sent him to a Talmudic school at the age of six. So great were his natural endowments that he could translate sundry portions of the Talmud without any aid at the age of nine, and had the most perfect mastery of the Hebrew language at the age of seventeen (1742). Having also acquired the knowledge of other languages, he devoted himself at this early period to the study of the Scriptures, and made a Hebrew translation of the Book of Wisdom, accompanying it by a most elaborate commentary entitled *The Spirit of Grace* (רוח הן). This maiden production of Wessely, though not published till 1777, shows the extraordinary grasp which he had of almost all departments of literature and science. It is a pattern of Hebrew composition, resembles the classical language of the O. T., and abounds with valuable criticism on the sacred language, and especially on its synonyms. Wessely afterwards went to Amsterdam, where, though engaged in business, he devoted all his spare time to the elucidation of the Hebrew Scriptures, and the reformation of his co-religionists. As a result of his labours, he published two volumes of his gigantic work on the synonyms of the Hebrew language,

called *Lebanon* (לבנון), under the special title of

*A Closed Garden* (גן נעול), in allusion to Song of Songs iv. 12, Amsterdam 1765-6. The first volume (חדרים) consists of 10 sections (הבית הראשון), subdivided into 120 chapters, and contains a most elaborate philological and psychological disquisition on the signification and development of the root חכם, as well as a treatise on a portion of the Mosaic law. It is preceded by an extensive introduction, entitled *The Entrance into the Garden*



(מבוא הַנֵּן), in which the plan of the work is set forth, and specimens of Hebrew synonyms are given. The second volume (הַבֵּית הַשֵּׁנִי) consists of 13 sections (חֲדָרִים), subdivided into 180 chapters (חֲלוֹנוֹת), and gives in a most learned manner a philosophico-traditional explanation of all the passages of the O. T. in which either the word **הַמֶּזֶק** or its derivatives occur. It is likewise preceded by an elaborate introduction (הַנֵּן), wherein those words are explained which constitute mixed forms. The work is invaluable for its definitions of Hebrew words, especially the technical expressions, as well as for its tracing the connection between the Mosaic law and the traditional explanations thereof. A second edition of it was published in Vienna 1829, and a third in Warsaw 1838. Wessely returned to Copenhagen in 1769, and went to Berlin in 1774, where he became most intimate with Mendelssohn, the great philosopher, and reformer of modern Judaism [MENDELSSOHN]. Here he continued, amid circumstances of extreme penury, to issue his valuable contributions to Hebrew literature, and published a commentary on the important tractate of the Mishna called *The Sayings of the Fathers* (פְּרָקֵי אֲבוֹת), under the title

*The Wine of Lebanon* (יַיִן לְבָנוֹן), Berlin 1775, which not only sets forth the opinions and doctrines prevalent in the time of Christ, but contains valuable remarks on the synonyms of the Hebrew language. Here too he also published (1777) his maiden work on the Wisdom of Solomon, and a commentary on Leviticus (בְּאוֹר לְסֵפֶר וִיקְרָא), 1782, which forms part of the commentary to Mendelssohn's German translation of the Pentateuch [MENDELSSOHN]. Wessely returned to Hamburg in 1804, where he died March 23, 1805. The chief work of Wessely, however, on the Hebrew synonyms, entitled *A critico-philosophical Hebrew Lexicon*, has not as yet been published. Euchel printed an extract of it in the Hebrew *Essays and Reviews*, called הַמֵּאֲסֵפֶה, *The Gleaner*, vol. iii. appendix i. p. 3-38, reprinted in the *Bikkure Ha-Itim*, iii. pp. 70-76. A German translation of an extract from the Hebrew original by Euchel was published in the same *Essays and Reviews*, vol. ii. pp. 69-76, 85-87; comp. Meisel, *Leben und Wirken Wessely's*, Breslau 1841; Jost, *Geschichte des Judenthums*, iii. 307, ff., Leipzig 1859; Geiger, in *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. xvii. 321, ff., Leipzig 1863; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, iii. 507-509.—C. D. G.

WEST (מַעֲרָב, בּוֹא הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ, יָם, אַחֲרֵי). The Shemite, in speaking of the quarters of the heavens, etc., supposes his face turned towards the east; so that the east is before him, קֵדָם, strictly what is before, or in front; the south on his right hand, דְּרֹמָה, strictly what lies to the right; the north is on his left hand, שְׂמוֹאל, the left side; and the west behind him, אַחֲרֵי, literally the hinder side. The latter Hebrew word, though never translated 'west' in our version, means so: as in Is. ix. 12, 'the Philistines behind,' opposed to the Syrians, קֵדָם; Sept. ἀφ' ἡλίου δυσμῶν; Vulg. ab occidente; and in Job xxiii. 8. The words (Deut. xi. 24), 'the uttermost sea,' הַיָּם הַזֶּה, are rendered in Sept. ἡς τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς ἐπὶ δυσμῶν; Vulg. ad mare occidentale (comp. xxxiv. 2; Joel ii. 20). The more general use of

the word אַחֲרֵי for the west was doubtless superseded among the inhabitants of Palestine by יָם, literally 'the sea,' that is, the Mediterranean Sea, which lay to the west, and which, as a more palpable object, became to them the representative of the west generally, and chiefly associated with their ideas of it. Accordingly this word יָם, and its derivatives יָמָה, etc., are thirty-two times rendered by θάλασσα in the Sept., and only once by δυσμα: in the Vulgate, by occidentis and mare. It is used to signify a quarter of the heavens, or of the earth (Gen. xxviii. 14; Deut. xxxiii. 23; 1 Kings vii. 25; 1 Chron. ix. 24; 2 Chron. iv. 4; Is. xi. 14; xlix. 12; Ezek. xlviii. 1; Hos. xi. 10; Zech. xiv. 4). It is used adjectively in the same sense; as, west border (Num. xxxiv. 6; Josh. xv. 12; Ezek. xlv. 7); western (Num. xxxiv. 6); west quarter (Josh. xviii. 14); west side (Exod. xxvii. 12; xxxviii. 12; Num. ii. 18; xxxv. 5; Ezek. xlviii. 3-8, 23, 24); westward (Gen. xiii. 14; Num. iii. 23; Deut. iii. 27; Ezek. xlviii. 18; Dan. viii. 4); west wind (Exod. x. 19). Those words of Moses, 'Naphtali, possess thou the west and the south' (Deut. xxxiii. 23), seem to contradict the statement of Josephus, that this tribe possessed the east and the north in Upper Galilee (*Antiq.* v. i. 22); but Bochart interprets 'the south,' not with regard to the whole land of Canaan, but to the Danites, mentioned in ver. 22; and by 'the west' he understands the lake of Tiberias, or Galilee, or Gennesaret; for the portion of Naphtali extended from the south of the city called Dan or Laish, to the Sea of Tiberias, which was in this tribe. So all the Chaldee paraphrasts expound the word יָם, here translated *west*; Sept. θάλασσαν καὶ Λίβα; Vulg. mare et meridiem (*Hierozoic.* pt. i. lib. iii. c. 18). In some passages the word signifies the coasts of the Mediterranean Sea, and 'the islands of the sea' denotes the western parts of the world, or European nations. Thus, in regard to the future restoration of the Jews to their own land, it is said (Hosea xi. 10), 'when the Lord shall roar, then the children shall tremble (that is, hasten; an allusion to the motion of a bird's wings in flying) from the west' (see ver. 11, and comp. Is. xxiv. 14, 15, with Is. xi. 11, xxiv. 14). In the account given of the removal of the plague of locusts from Egypt, we are told (Exod. x. 19), 'the Lord turned a mighty strong west wind,' רוּחַ יָם, ἀνεμὸν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης. Supposing that these were the very words of Moses, or a literal rendering of his words, it follows that the Egyptians made a similar reference to the Mediterranean, since Moses, an Egyptian, would no doubt use the language of his country in describing an event which occurred in it. If his words do not refer to the Mediterranean, they must refer to the far distant Atlantic, which, however, according to Herodotus, was not known to the Egyptians till many ages afterwards. Moses also represents God as saying to Abram, *in the land*, 'Lift up thine eyes and look northward, and southward, and eastward, and westward,' יָמָה (Gen. xiii. 14). The allusion to the sea in the latter passage may be accounted for, upon the supposition that the very words of God to Abram had been preserved, and were inserted by Moses in his history. In two passages (Ps. cvii. 3; Is. xlix. 12) מֵיִם stands opposed to כִּנְצָפֹן, but ought still to be rendered 'the west;' comp. Amos viii. 12; Deut. xxxiii. 23. The



west is also indicated by the phrase ארץ מבוטא, ארץ מבוטא, de terra occasus solis. These words are translated 'the west country' in Zech. viii. 7—literally, the country of the going down of the sun, and are fully translated in Ps. l. 1; cxlii. 3; Mal. i. 11; comp. Deut. xi. 30; Josh. i. 4; xxiii. 4. Another word by which the west is denoted is מערב, from ערב, to remove, pass away, disappear as the sun does; hence the quarter of the heavens, etc., where the sun sets, the west. The same idea is conveyed in the Greek word δσμαλ, from δσω. It occurs in 1 Chron. xii. 15; Ps. lxxv. 6; ciii. 12; cvii. 3; Is. xliii. 5; xlv. 6; lix. 19; Sept. δσμαλ; Vulg. occidens. In Dan. viii. 5, Αίψ, occidens. It is used to denote the west quarter of the heavens or earth. In the Apocrypha and N. T. the word translated 'west' invariably corresponds to δσμαλ (Judith ii. 19; Matt. viii. 11; xxiv. 27; Luke xii. 54; xiii. 29; Rev. xxi. 13); Vulg. occidens, occasus. Our Lord's memorable words, 'They shall come from the east and the west,' etc. (Matt. viii. 11), to which Luke adds 'and from the north and the south' (xiii. 29), signify all the regions of the world; as in classical writers also (Xen. Cyr. i. 1. 3). Grotius thinks that this passage refers to the promise to Jacob (Gen. xxviii. 14). In our Lord's prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans (Matt. xxiv. 27)—'For as the lightning cometh out of the east and shineth even unto the west, so also shall the coming of the Son of man be'—he is supposed to have intimated the precise direction in which the Roman army conducted the invasion. His reference to the cloud, τὴν νεφέλην, rising out of the west, as the precursor of a shower (comp. 1 Kings xviii. 43-46), still corresponds to the weather in Palestine. Volney says: 'L'ouest et le soud-ouest, qui règnent (en Syrie et Palestine) de Novembre a Février, sont, pour me servir de l'expression des Arabes, les pères des pluies'—The west and south-west winds, which in Syria and Palestine prevail from November to February, are, to borrow an expression of the Arabs, the fathers of showers (Voyage en Syrie, tom. i. p. 297; Shaw's Travels, p. 329).—J. F. D.

WETSTEIN, JOH. JAC., born at Basle 5th March 1693, began his career as assistant and diakonus at the Leonhards-Kirche, Basle; but being deposed from his office in 1730, he went to Holland, where he became professor of philosophy and church history in the Remonstrant Gymnasium at Amsterdam. He rendered material help to Biblical study by his edition of the Greek N. T., 2 vols. fol., Amst. 1751-52 [CRITICISM, BIBLICAL]. The Prolegomena to this work, first published in 1730, then in a more perfect state prefixed to the work itself, were again edited separately by Semler, Hal. Sax. 1764. Wetstein died 22d March 1754.—W. L. A.

WETTE, WILH. MARTIN LEBERECHE DE, D.D., was born 12th January 1780, at Ulla, near Weimar. He was educated at Weimar and Jena; and a powerful influence on his mental habits and bent of opinion was exerted by early intercourse with Herder, Griesbach, and Paulus. In 1807 he became extraordinary professor of theology at Jena; in 1809 he was appointed ordinary professor of theology at Heidelberg; thence he went, in 1810, to Berlin. Having come under the censure of the

government for writing a letter of sympathy to the mother of Sands, the murderer of Kotzebue, he was, in 1819, dismissed from his professorship, and banished from the Prussian dominions. He betook himself to Basle, where he was appointed professor of theology in 1821; and here he remained till his death, which took place 16th June 1849. Few men have exerted a more powerful influence on modern theology in Germany than De Wette. His learning, his vigour, his acumen, his boldness, his versatility, and his unwearied assiduity, conspired to give him a powerful hold over educated men of all classes. He commenced his career as an adherent of the destructive school of criticism, and to the last he was in criticism very much of a sceptic. But along with this he was as an interpreter singularly fair as well as learned and acute, so that his exegetical works possess the highest value. The works by which he is best known are: *Lehrbuch der Einleitung in die Büch. A. und N. T.*, Berl. 1817, 2 vols., of which the 6th edition is in circulation; *Lehrbuch der Hebr. Jüd. Archäologie*, Leipz. 1814, which has also passed through several editions; *Die Heil. Schrift. des A. u. N. T. übersetzt*, Heidelb. 1831, several editions; *Commentar üb. die Psalmen*, Heidelb. 1811, 4th ed. 1836; *Kurzfass. Exegetisch. Hdbuch. zum N. T.* 1836-1848, several editions. On his merits as an expositor, see COMMENTARY.—W. L. A.

WHALE. [TANNEEN.]

WHEAT. [CHITTAH.]

WHIRLWIND. [WINDS.]

WHISTON, WILLIAM, born 1667, died 1752. He was educated at Cambridge, where he was admitted at Clare Hall in 1686, and was elected fellow in 1693. He became vicar of Lowestoff in 1698. He succeeded Sir Isaac Newton as Lucasian professor of mathematics at Cambridge, but having embraced Arian views, he was deprived of his professorship, and expelled the university. He removed to London, where he died. A man of great attainments, of vigorous intellect, and restless activity, he marred his usefulness by his eccentricity of thought, and the unsettledness of his opinions. Among his Biblical writings may be named, *A short view of the Chronology of the O. T. and of the Harmony of the Four Evangelists*, 4to Cam. 1702; *An Essay on the Revelation of St. John, so far as concerns the past and the present times*, 4to, ibid. 1706; *The Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies, being the Boyle Lecture for 1707*, ib. 1708; *An Essay towards restoring the true text of the O. T., and for vindicating the citations therein made in the N. T.* Lond. 1722, with Supplement, 1723; *The Sacred Hist. of the O. and N. T.* 6 vols. 8vo, 1745; *The Primitive N. T.* 1745.—W. L. A.

WHITBY, DANIEL, D.D., was born at Rushden or Rusden, Northamptonshire, in 1638. He was educated at Oxford, and obtained a fellowship in 1664. He became a prebendary of Salisbury in 1688, and chanter, and was also rector of St. Edmunds in that city. He died in 1726. He was a man of learning and acumen, and as an expositor is distinguished by the clearness with which his views are stated, and the precision with which he seeks to determine the sense of the passage [COMMENTARY]. His principal work is his *Paraphrase and Commentary on the N. T.*, 2 vols. fol., 1703,



often reprinted. His theological views were Arminian, with a leaning towards Arianism, which in his later years became more decided.—W. L. A.

WHITE, JOSEPH, born at Gloucester in 1746, and died at Oxford in 1814. He was educated at Oxford, where he became a fellow of Wadham College, and in 1775 was appointed professor of Arabic. He was afterwards regius professor of Hebrew, and was also canon of Christ Church, prebendary of Gloucester, and rector of Melton in Suffolk. He was one of the most eminent Oriental scholars of his day. Besides his famous *Bampton Lecture*, we owe to him an admirable edition of the *Philoxenian Syriac version of the Four Gospels* from the Ridelean MSS. in the library of New College, Oxford, with an interpretation and notes, 2 vols. 4to, 1778. He edited also an edition of the *Greek N. T.*, with the various readings approved by Griesbach, 2 vols. 8vo, Oxon. 1798; and *A Diatessaron sive integra historia D. N. Jesu Christi Græce*, ibid. 1803. A useful compendium of the critical labours of Griesbach on the N. T. was furnished in his *Criseis Griesbach. Synopsis*, Lond. 1811.—W. L. A.

WICLIF. [WYCLIFFE.]

WIDOW (יָתוּמָה, *χήρα*). Though no special provision for widows is prescribed by the Mosaic law, that law regards them with a kindly aspect. They are to share in the religious feasts (Deut. xvi. 11, 14); they are to have part with the Levite, the stranger, and the fatherless in the tithes of the increase of the land each third year (Deut. xiv. 29; xxvi. 12); and if a sheaf is by oversight left in the field in harvest, it is to be for the widow and fatherless, as are the gleanings of the olive-tree and the vineyard (Deut. xxiv. 19-21); the widow's garment is not to be taken in pledge (Deut. xxiv. 17); and in general they were to be treated with equity and generosity as under the special protection of God (Gen. xxii. 22; Deut. xxvii. 19; comp. Ps. xciv. 6; Is. i. 17; Jer. vii. 6; Ezek. xxii. 7; Zech. vii. 10; Mal. iii. 5). With regard to the law for the remarriage of a widow by the brother of her deceased husband, see MARRIAGE.

In passing from the O. T. to the N. one is struck with the fact that the number of widows in connection with the apostolic churches seems to have been disproportionately large as compared with the probable number among the Jews in former times, or with the average number in any community at any time. What makes this more remarkable is that the multiplicity of widows among the Christians was as sudden as the multiplication of disciples, and simultaneous with it (comp. Acts vi. 1). On this subject we have been favoured with the following remarks by a friend:—

'A sudden increase of ordinary poverty, along with a sudden increase of disciples, would be quite natural and explicable; but that as soon as there was a multitude of disciples there should also be a multitude of widows, before the rise of deadly persecution or famine, and before death, in the ordinary course of events, could diminish the disciples, seems strange indeed. Still stranger and more significant is the fact that this widowhood was female only, and that it appears to have been a common and customary feature of the early churches. At Joppa, about four or five years after the day of Pentecost, the excellence of Dorcas

was evinced in the clothing of widows, who wept as they showed her work to Peter, and to whom, with the saints, he presented her alive. This class of persons must have been numerous when Paul thought it necessary to couple them specifically with the unmarried in his instructions to the Corinthians respecting marriage. To this peculiarity of number and increase must be added the apostle's peculiar distinction between 'widows' and 'widows indeed,' and the relationship which he intimates between widows and a man or woman that believes (1 Tim. v. *passim*). We are not aware that any satisfactory attempt has ever been made to account for these peculiarities of early ecclesiastical widowhood. Our own attention was first drawn to it by the personal observation of facts in the mission-field, which appeared to illustrate the whole subject, and to suggest the true interpretation of Paul's language to Timothy concerning widows, as well as to solve the vexed question of the continued polygamy of converted heathens.

'We believe that by 'widows indeed' the apostle means widows by the decease of their husbands—widows in the ordinary way common to all lands and ages; and that, as distinguished from these, he intends by 'widows' (the widows of believers) to denote *the repudiated wives of converted polygamists*. Such women were in a state of widowhood, and yet they were not widows indeed, because their late husbands were still alive. When a polygamist, either Jew or Gentile, became a Christian, and found that 'one wife' was the law of Christ's house, for the sake of 'a godly seed' (Mal. ii. 15), he had to select one and put away the rest of his two or more wives. The multiplication of disciples, therefore, among Jewish or Gentile polygamists, was the multiplication of widows; and the proper treatment and care of such widows was the first perplexing question of the church, occasioning the appointment of deacons, and grew to such dimensions by the conversion of Gentile polygamists and the consequent increase of widows by divorce, that Paul found it necessary to dispose of the question for ever by his instructions to Timothy. 'Widows' simply are widows by divorce; 'widows indeed' are widows by death. In the first church in Jerusalem it was sufficient to provide for their wants by daily diaconal ministration; but in other churches, where such ministration did not obtain, it became an important question of ecclesiastical economy how such persons were to be suitably provided for. The Oriental seclusion of females, which excluded them from all sorts of business as means of support, greatly enhanced or practically created the difficulties of the question, which seldom or never occurs in the history of modern missions, because their sphere very slightly touches as yet the region of Oriental womanhood. In the destined extension, however, of the Christian religion in the East, the recurrence of the question is certain; and both to provide for it by ascertaining the apostolic canon, and to contribute to N. T. exegesis, cannot be deemed an irrelevant or trivial task.

'A 'widow indeed' (that is, by the husband's death) the apostle justly and emphatically describes as 'desolate,' as trusting in God and continuing in supplications and prayers night and day; and such he commands to be 'honoured.' Concerning 'widows' (that is, by the husband's divorce) he gives sundry instructions, which, when carefully



and critically considered, will be found coincident with widowhood by divorce, and in contradistinction to widowhood by death. Our chief concern at present for explaining the apostle's distinction of widowhood, and to account for its prevalence, is with the 16th verse: 'If any man or woman that believeth have widows, let them relieve them, and let not the church be charged; that it may relieve them that are widows indeed.' What is meant by a believing man or woman having widows, so as to be under obligation to relieve them, while the relief of 'widows indeed,' but not of 'widows,' properly devolves on the church? We found the answer to this question in the position and conduct of a converted polygamist in Jamaica, who, on his conversion, repudiated all his wives but one, and provided for the divorced ones according to his ability. 'What are all those cottages for?' was asked, pointing to a number that encircled the owner's dwelling. 'These,' said our informant, who knew the man and the neighbourhood well, 'are the dwellings which the proprietor has given to his divorced wives.' This was a flash of light on the apostle's words, and a revival of what must have often occurred, in substance at least, in apostolic times. Here was a believing man that had widows, whom he relieved according to his ability, that the church should not be charged, and that the church's funds might be expended on 'widows indeed.' The pure spirit of Christianity prohibited his plurality of wives; and its equitable and benevolent spirit would not allow him to consign to want and misery the persons with whom he had contracted a life-long relationship, or to charge their maintenance on others, and take away the support of the truly desolate and necessitous.

'When such a man died, the obligation to relieve the surviving 'widows' descended with his property, agreeably to the maxim that 'property has its duties as well as its rights.' If his wife (now a 'widow indeed') inherited, she immediately answered the apostle's description: 'If any woman that believeth have widows.' Or, if a believing daughter inherited, she also answered to this description. If a believing son inherited, he, like his father, in the matter of obligation stood forth as a believing man that had widows. And thus the whole question of providing for the divorced wives, the widows by divorce, among Christian men, was ruled and settled. They must not be neglected; they must not burden the church; they must not touch the maintenance of widows indeed; they must be provided for by the man that had undertaken to maintain them, and whose engagement for maintenance was not to be cancelled by the godly rule of one wife, or by his heirs.

'In the settlement of the question of divorced women's support is involved the previous question of continued polygamy. 'One wife' is the law of the house. Polygamy was not 'in the beginning,' and cannot be tolerated by Christ's 'perfect law.' What was 'winked at' in 'the times of ignorance' must not be practised or permitted in the times of light. Missionaries to the heathen should insist on the repudiation of every wife but one by a converted polygamist, and on the complementary process of maintaining the divorced, so long as these abstain from a second marriage and need support, and so far as the man's ability to support them extends.

'But what of divorced women in the church (for

such there might be), without any such claim on a man or woman that believeth? The men who divorced them might be unconverted and utterly regardless of equitable claims. In this case the apostle says: If they are threescore years old, and of good repute, let them be taken into the number or list of the church's recognised widows, for maintenance or employment, or both; if younger, let them marry.

'No qualification of age appears to be required for the admission of a 'widow indeed' into 'the number.' She was desolate and devout, and was entitled to 'honour,' including church maintenance, if she needed it. But if she belonged to a Christian family, she was entitled to her maintenance in it; for 'if any provide not for his own, and specially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith and is worse than an infidel.'

'It is not necessary for the purpose of this exposition to consider the position and employment of recognised or registered widows in the early churches. Macknight thinks they were 'teachers of the young.' They might also be the appointed dispensers of the church's hospitality, in an age when public places of entertainment were unknown, and when flight from persecution demanded the special sympathy and hospitality of believers. The apostle's statement of the qualifications of registered widows coincides with both these functions: 'Let not a widow be taken into the number under sixty years old, having been the wife of one husband [that is, not a divorced woman remarried]: borne witness to for good works; that she hath brought up children, that she hath lodged strangers, that she hath washed the saints' feet [as a part of hospitality], that she hath relieved the afflicted [and expressed her fitness to show kindness to Christians in their flights or journeys], that she hath diligently followed every good work.' The unfitness of younger widows for such work is also apparent. 'But the younger widows reject: for when they cannot endure Christ's rein [when they cannot endure that restraint to which they have subjected themselves for Christ's sake] they will marry; incurring condemnation because they have put away their first fidelity. And at the same time also they learn to be idle, wandering about from house to house; and not only idle but tattlers also, and meddlers, speaking things which they ought not. I command therefore young widows to marry, to bear children, to govern the house, to give no occasion to the adversary for reproach. For already some are turned aside after Satan' (Macknight's *Translation of 1 Tim. v. 9-15*).—J. G. M.'

WIFE. [MARRIAGE; WOMAN.]

WILDERNESS. [DESERT.]

WILKINS, DAVID, D.D., was successively keeper of the Episcopal library at Lambeth, rector of Mongham-Parva, and Great Chart and Hadleigh, and rector of Monk's Ely. He was also a prebendary of Canterbury and archdeacon of Suffolk. He died in 1745. He published *Paraphrasis Chald. in libb. Chronicorum, auctore R. Josepho, e MS. Cantab. descripta, ac cum vers. Lat. in lucem missa*, 4to, Amst. 1715; *Nov. Test. Egypt. vulgo Copticum e MSS. Bodleianis descript.*, Oxon. 1716. He issued also a collection of the *Concilia Magnæ Britanniae et Hiberniæ*, a A.D. 446 ad A.D. 1717, 4 vols. fol., Lond. 1721.—W. L. A.



WILLET, ANDREW, born at Ely 1562, died 1621, was educated at Cambridge, where he obtained a professorship; became a prebendary of Ely about 1598; and was also rector of Childerley and of Borley. He was a learned and laborious writer. He published commentaries on several works of Scripture, under the title of *Hexapla*, in which six translations are compared and a sixfold exposition is given. He thus issued *Hexapla on Genesis*, Lond. 1605; on *Exodus*, ib. 1608; on *Leviticus*, ib. 1631; on *Daniel*, 1610; and on *Romans*, 1620; also a *Harmony on the Books of Samuel*, on the same plan, but more abridged. All these are valuable for their erudition and copiousness of matter; but they are somewhat prolix and not always judicious. Willet wrote also an enormous work of 1300 pages folio on the Popish controversy, entitled *Synopsis Papismi*, Lond. 1634, 2d ed., 10 vols. 8vo, ib. 1852.—W. L. A.

WILLOW. [OREB; TSAPHTSAPHA.]

WILLOWS, BROOK OF THE (נַחַל הָעֲרָבִים), a stream mentioned Is. xv. 7. The versions differ in their rendering of the original; some (LXX. Syr. Arab.) making it *brook of the Arabs*; others (Vulg. Luth. A. V.) *brook of the willows* or *willow-brook*. Ewald, Hitzig, Maurer, Knobel, and others take עֲרָבִים here = עֲרֻבֹת, and render *brook of the deserts*. The legitimacy of this is doubtful, as there is no instance of the word being so used in the masc. form; but if it be admitted, we may identify the river or brook of Isaiah with the נַחַל הָעֲרָבָה, *nachal ha-arabah*, of Amos vi. 14. In this case there can be little doubt that the stream which at its upper part is called *Wady el-Ahsa* (*brook of the sandy plain*), and at its lower part *W. es-Sâfieh*, is the stream intended. This flows into the Dead Sea near its south-eastern extremity, and would form the natural division between Moab and Idumæa. This wady lies in the direction which Isaiah represents the fugitives as taking, and would be a boundary beyond which they would very naturally carry what they had been able to rescue from the invader. (See Burckhardt, *Trav. in Syria*, p. 441; Robinson, *Bib. Res.* ii. 594-600; Pusey, *Minor Proph.* p. 209).—W. L. A.

WILLS. [INHERITANCE.]

WILNA, ELIJAH, also called the *Pious* (הַחֲסִיד). This remarkable Hebraist and commentator, who endeavoured to produce a reformation among the Jews in Poland at the same time that Mendelssohn and Wessely were labouring to the same effect in Germany [MENDELSSOHN; WESSELY], was born at Wilna 1720. His natural endowments were so extraordinary that when eleven years old he was not only a thorough Hebraist, but unravelled the mysteries of the Kabbalah [KABBALAH], and was master of astronomy, geometry, grammar, etc.; and at the age of thirteen (1733) was appealed to as a great authority and teacher. In addition to his marvellous native powers he possessed a real love for learning, and great assiduity, as well as an independent fortune, and lived to be seventy-seven years of age (i.e. to 1797). It is therefore not surprising that up to the year 1760 he wrote the prodigious number of sixty volumes, in explanation of both the Scriptures and the traditional law, that he was visited by the Rabbins from far and wide as the oracle of the Jewish nation; that the year of his birth was described by the words of Malachi

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(iii. 23 Heb., iv. 5, Engl.), 'I am sending you Elijah' (שֶׁלַח לָכֶם אֵלִיהוּ)—i.e.  $\aleph + \delta + \lambda + 30 + \psi = 480$ , i.e. 1720, as the advent of Elijah, in allusion to his name; and that the year of his death was indicated by the ascension of Elijah (עֲלֹת אֵלִיהוּ)—i.e.  $16 + \eta + 5 + \iota + 10 + \lambda + 30 + \aleph + 1 + \tau + 400 + 16 + \lambda + 30 + \epsilon + 70 = 558$ , or 1797, in allusion to 2 Kings ii. 1, 11. Fifty-four of his works appeared between 1802 and 1854, and as it is beyond the limits of this notice to describe them all, we shall confine ourselves to those works which are more immediately connected with the Hebrew Scriptures and Biblical literature. These are as follows:—(1.) A commentary on the Pentateuch, entitled *The Mantle of Elijah* (אֲדָרַת אֵלִיהוּ), in allusion to 2 Kings ii. 13, and to his own name, first printed in the excellent edition of the Hebrew Pentateuch with the Great and Small Massora, the Chaldee Paraphrases, the commentaries of Rashi and Seforno, as well as with the critical apparatus of Norzi (מִנְחַת שִׁי), the commentaries on the Massora by Solomon Dobrowiner (מִנְחַת שְׁלֹמֹה), and his son Feivel Dobrowiner (מִנְחַת כְּלִיל), Dobrowina 1804, and again at Halberstadt 1859-60. The commentary on Leviticus was published separately, with the Hebrew text, Rashi's comment., etc., at Constantinople 1818. (2.) A commentary on Isaiah i.-xii., and Habakkuk, edited and supplemented by his grandson, Jacob Moses of Slonim, Wilna 1820, 2d ed. *ibid.* 1843. (3.) A commentary on Jonah, published, together with his explanations of Talmudic Agadas, Wilna 1800, and separately Prague 1803. (4.) A commentary on Proverbs, Sklov 1798, Prague 1815, and Warsaw 1838. (5.) A commentary on Job i.-vi., Warsaw 1854. (6.) A commentary on the Song of Songs, Prague 1811, Warsaw 1842. (7.) A commentary on Chronicles, Wilna 1820, *ibid.*

1843. (10.) A Hebrew Grammar (רִקְדוּק אֵלִיהוּ), Wilna 1833. (11.) A Topographical Description of Palestine, and a treatise on the Solomonic Temple (סֵפֶר צוֹרֵת הָאָרֶץ וְתַבְנִית הַבַּיִת), Sklov 1802. (12.) A commentary on the third or Ezekiel's Temple (תַּבְנִית הַבַּיִת הַשְּׁלִישִׁי), or on Ezek. xl.-xlvii., Berlin 1822 (comp. Jost, *Geschichte des Judenthums*, iii. 248, ff., Leipzig 1859; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, iii. 516-521).—C. D. G.

WIMPLE. [VEIL.]

WIND, etc. (רוּחַ; Sept. πνεῦμα, ἀνεμος; Vulg. spiritus, ventus). The Hebrew word signifies *air in motion* generally, as breath, wind, etc. Both the Sept. words occur in the following definition of wind by Aristotle (*De Mundo*, c. 4, 9): "Ἀνεμος οὐδὲν ἐστὶ πλὴν ἀπὸ πύλιν βέωος, ὅστις ἀμα καὶ πνεῦμα λέγεται—"Wind is nothing else but a large quantity of air flowing, which is also called πνεῦμα." So also Plato has μεγάλην τῶν πνεύματι for a high wind (*Phædon*, sec. 24, edit. Forster). Josephus also uses πνεῦμα βίαιον for a violent wind (*Antiq.* xiv. 2, 2), as Lucian also does, βίαιον πνεύματι (*Ver. Hist.* lib. i. tom. i. p. 714). The Vulgate word *spiritus*, from *spiro*, 'to breathe,' 'blow,' is applied in like manner in Latin, as by Virgil (*Æn.* xii. 365). The Hebrew word is used—I. For the wind as a *natural phenomenon* (Gen. iii. 8; Job

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xxi. 18; xxx. 15, 22; xxxvii. 21; Ps. i. 4; ciii. 16; Prov. xxx. 4; Eccles. i. 6; xi. 4; Is. vii. 2; xvii. 13; xl. 7; Jer. x. 13; li. 16; Amos iv. 13). It is poetically ascribed to the immediate agency of God (Ps. cxxxv. 7; cxlvii. 18; comp. Baruch vi. 61). In the N. T. it occurs in Matt. xi. 7; xiv. 24; Mark iv. 39; John iii. 8; Acts xxvii. 4; Eph. iv. 14; James i. 6; Rev. vi. 13; vii. 1. Throughout the N. T. the word is *ἀνεμος*, except in our Lord's illustration, John iii. 8. In the Apocrypha *ἀνεμος* occurs in Wisdom v. 14; xiii. 2, etc.; but *πνεῦμα* in xvii. 18; Eccclus. v. 9; xxii. 18; Song of the Children xxvii. 42. We might perhaps attribute the exclusion of the word *πνεῦμα*, for 'the wind,' from the N. T., to its having become almost entirely appropriated to 'heavenly things.' In Acts ii. 2, we have *πνοή*, translated 'wind'; Vulg. *spiritus*. It means the same in Homer (*Il.* v. 697), *πνοή* for *πνοή βορέαο*, 'the breath or blast of Boreas'; comp. Job xxxvii. 10, Sept. In Gen. iii. 8, 'the cool of the day,' or rather 'wind of the day,' indicates the evening, since in the East a refreshing breeze arises some hours before sunset; Vulg. *ad auram post meridiem*. Comp. Cant. ii. 17; iv. 6; where the words 'until the day break and the shadows flee away' should be rendered 'until the day breathe or blow' (*i.e.* till evening): Heb. *שִׁפּוֹחַ*; Sept. *διαπνεύσῃ*; Vulg. *aspiret*. The evening breeze is still called, among the Persians, 'the breeze of the day' (Chardin, *Voyage*, t. iv. p. 48). In Amos iv. 13, God is said to 'create the wind.' Although this idea is very conformable to the Hebrew theory of causation, which does not recognise second causes, but attributes every natural phenomenon immediately to the divine agency, yet the passage may perhaps be directed against the *worship* of the winds, which was common among ancient nations. Comp. Wisdom xiii. 2. Herodotus relates it of the Persians (i. 131). The words of our Saviour, 'a reed shaken with the wind' (Matt. xi. 7), are taken by some in the natural, and by others in a metaphorical sense. The former view is adopted by Grotius, Beza, Campbell, Rosenm., Schleusner, and Wetstein; and is confirmed, as Rosenmüller observes, by the antithesis of the rich man, whose magnificence all gladly survey. The comparison is adopted to reprove the fickleness of the multitude (comp. ver. 15, and Eph. iv. 14). 2. The wind occurs as the *medium of the divine interposition, or agency* (Gen. i. 2; viii. 1; Exod. xv. 10; Num. xi. 31; 1 Kings xviii. 45; xix. 11; Job i. 19; Is. xi. 5; Jonah i. 4). In the N. T. the wind was supernaturally employed at the day of Pentecost, like the 'sound' and 'fire' (Acts. ii. 3). Indeed our Lord's illustration (John iii. 8), and the identity of the Hebrew and Greek words signifying breath, wind, and spirit, lead to the inference, that the air in motion bears the nearest resemblance of any created object to divine influence, and is therefore the most appropriate medium of it [SPIRIT]. To this class of instances we refer Gen. i. 2, 'and the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.' Along with Patrick and Rosenmüller we construe the phrase, 'a wind of God,' a wind employed as the medium of divine agency. Rosenmüller compares Ps. civ. 30; cxlvii. 8; Is. xl. 7. Dr. Lee refers to 1 Kings xviii. 12; 2 Kings ii. 16; and Ps. xxxiii. 6; Is. xi. 4. In the two latter passages, he observes that the word is equivalent to *power*, etc. The commotions of the

elements, etc., through means of which the petulance of Elijah was reproved (1 Kings xix. 11), are best understood as having occurred in vision (comp. Dan. ii. 35; Zech. v. 9). 3. The wind is used *metaphorically* in the following instances: 'The wings of the wind' denote the most rapid motion, 2 Sam. xxii. 11, where the phrase may be a poetical representation also of the incident recorded 2 Sam. v. 24; Ps. civ. 3. The onomatopoeia in the two former passages, in Hebrew, is remarkable. Anything light or trifling is called wind (Job vii. 7; Is. xli. 29; Ps. lxxviii. 39; comp. Eph. iv. 14; Eccclus. v. 9). Violent yet empty speech is called 'a strong wind,' or a mere tempest of words (Job vii. 2). 'Vain knowledge' is called *דַּעַת־רוּחַ*, knowledge of wind (Job xv. 2); 'vain words,' words of wind (xvi. 3). Many expressive *phrases* are formed with this word. 'To inherit the wind,' denotes extreme disappointment (Prov. xi. 29); 'to hide the wind,' impossibility (xxvii. 16); to 'labour for the wind,' to labour in vain (Eccles. v. 16); 'to bring forth wind,' great patience and pains for no purpose (Is. xxvi. 18; comp. Hos. viii. 7; xii. 1); 'to become wind,' to result in nothingness (Jer. v. 13). The four winds denote the four quarters of the globe (Ezek. xxxvii. 9); 'to scatter to all winds,' to disperse completely (Ezek. v. 10; xii. 14; xvii. 21); 'to cause to come from all winds,' to restore completely (xxxvii. 9). 'The wind hath bound her upon her wings,' means deportation into a far country (Hos. iv. 19); 'to sow the wind and reap the whirlwind,' unwise labour and a fruitless result (viii. 7); 'to feed on the wind,' to pursue delusory schemes (xii. 1); 'to walk in wind,' to live and act in vain (Micah ii. 11); 'to observe the wind,' to be over cautious (Eccclus. xi. 4); to 'winnow with every wind,' to be credulous, apt to receive impressions (Eccles. v. 9). *Comparisons*.—Disappointment, after high promise or pretension, is 'as wind without rain' (Prov. xxv. 14); the desperate speeches of an afflicted person are compared to wind (Job vi. 26). *Symbolically*.—Empires are represented as having wings, and 'the wind in their wings,' denotes the rapidity of their conquests (Zech. v. 9). The wind is often used as the symbol or emblem of calamities (Is. xxxii. 2; xli. 16; lvii. 13; lxiv. 6); destruction by the Chaldean army (Jer. iv. 11, 12; comp. Wisd. iv. 4; v. 23; xi. 20). 'The windy storm' (Ps. lv. 8) denotes Absalom and his party. The wind is the frequent emblem of the divine chastisements (Is. xxvii. 8; Jer. xxii. 22; li. 1, etc.) *Beautiful expressions* occur, as in Is. xxvii. 8, 'He stayeth his rough wind in the day of the east wind'; that is, God doth not aggravate the misfortunes of mankind by his chastisements; to 'make a weight for the winds' (Job xxviii. 25). *Mistranslations*.—In Ps. lxxviii. 39, 'He remembered that they were but flesh, a wind that passeth away and cometh not again,' should probably be rendered, 'a spirit going away and not returning.' All the versions make the words relate to the soul of man. Homer has a very similar description of death (*Il.* ix. 408). In Eccles. i. 5, 6, the translation is faulty, and the sense further obscured by a wrong division of verses. The passage should be read: 'The sun also ariseth and the sun goeth down, and hasteth to his place where he ariseth, going to the south and circulating to the north. The wind is continually whirling about, and the wind returneth upon its whirlings.' All the ver-



sions give this rendering; our version alone mistakes the meaning. The phrase 'brought forth wind,' is understood by Michaelis as an allusion to the female disorder called emphysema, or windy inflation of the womb (*Syntagma, Comment.* vol. ii. p. 165). The Syriac translator also understood the passage in this way: 'enixi sumus ut illæ quæ ventos pariunt.' 4. The east wind, רוֹחַ קָדִים, *ánemos vótos, ánevmos kabúson, vótos, ventus urens, spiritus vehemens, ventus auster.* קָדִים, *kabúson, ardor, æstus, ventus urens.* Both forms denote the natural phenomenon (Gen. xli. 6, 23; Job xxxviii. 24; Ps. xlviii. 7; lxxviii. 26; Jonah iv. 8). Considerable indefiniteness attends the use of these words. Dr. Shaw remarks, that every wind is called by the Orientals קָדִים, an east wind, which blows from any point of the compass between the east and north, and between the east and south (*Travels*, p. 285). Accordingly the Sept. often understands this word to mean the south, as in Exod. x. 13; xiv. 21 (see Bochart, *Hieroicozon*, pt. ii. lib. i. cap. 15). If the east wind happens to blow a few days in Palestine during the months of May, June, July, and August, it occasions great destruction to the vines and harvests on the land, and also to the vessels at sea on the Mediterranean (Hos. xiii. 15; Jonah iv. 8; Job xiv. 2; xv. 2; Is. xl. 7; Gen. xli. 6, 23; Ezek. xvii. 10; xix. 12; xxvii. 26; Ps. xlviii. 7; ciii. 5). In Jonah iv. 8, the phrase occurs, קָדִים חֲרִישִׁית רוֹחַ, a still or sultry east wind. For testimonies to the destructiveness of this wind in Egypt and Arabia, see Niebuhr (*Beschreib. von Arabien*, p. 8); Thevenot (*Voyages*, pt. i. liv. ii. c. 34). It is accordingly often used to denote any pernicious wind, as in Ps. xlviii. 7, where it is rendered by Sept. πνεῦμα βλασφ, Vulg. *spiritus vehemens.* It is used metaphorically for pernicious speech, a storm of words (Job xv. 2); calamities, especially by war (Is. xxvii. 8; Jer. xviii. 17; Ezek. xvii. 10; xix. 12; xxvii. 26; Hos. xiii. 15). In this latter passage the east wind denotes Shalmaneser king of Assyria; in Ezek. xxvii. 26, it denotes the Chaldeans. Tyre is there represented under the beautiful allegory of a ship towed into deep waters, and then destroyed by an east wind. A very similar representation is given by Horace (*Carm.* i. 14). The east wind denotes divine judgment (Job xxvii. 21). *Phrases.*—'To follow the east wind,' is to pursue a delusory and fatal course (Hos. xii. 1). 5. West wind, רוֹחַ יָם, *ánemos apò thalássēs, ventus ab occidente* [WEST]. 6. North wind, רוֹחַ צָפוֹן (Prov. xxv. 23), *ánemos boréas, ventus Aquilo* [NORTH]. 7. South wind, רוֹחַ דָּרֹם (Job xxxvii. 17), תִּימָן (Ps. lxxviii. 26), *λίψ, ventus Africus* (Luke xii. 55), *vótos* (Sirocco), (Acts xxvii. 13) [SOUTH]. 8. The four winds, רוֹחֵי רוּחוֹת, *τὰ τέσσαρα πνεύματα, ol téssapes ánevmoi*, quatuor venti. The Hebrews speak only of four winds; and so Josephus (*Antiq.* viii. 3. 5). This phrase is equivalent to the four quarters of the world (Ezek. xxxvii. 9; 2 Esdras xiii. 5), the several points of the compass, as we should say (Dan. viii. 8). *Phrases.*—'Striving of the four winds,' is great political commotions (Dan. vii. 2; comp. Jer. iv. 11, 12; li. 1); 'to hold the four winds,' is by contrary to secure peace (Rev. vii. 1); 'to be divided to the four winds,' implies utter dispersion (Dan. xi. 4; Jer. xlix. 32; Ezek. v. 10, 12; xvii. 2). So also the phrase, *ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων* (Matt. xxiv. 31) means from all parts of the world (Mark xiii. 27). 9. The Hebrews, like

other ancient nations, had but few names of winds. Homer mentions only βορέας, νότος, ξέφυρος, and εὔρος. Aul. Gellius, indeed, complains of the infrequency of names of winds in ancient writers (*Noct. Att.* ii. 22). The same indefiniteness appears in Herodotus (see Larcher's notes on i. 188). In the course of time the Greeks and Romans added eight other winds to the original four, but that appearing too minute a division, they reduced the additional ones to four, thus making only eight in all. The names of these may be seen in Larcher (*ut supra*), or Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xviii. 34). Further information may be found in Coray's *Translation of Hippocrates, De Aeribus, Aquis et Locis*, Paris 1800; *Discours Préliminaire*; and see index. For a comparative table of the English, Latin, and Greek divisions of the winds, and their names, amounting to more than thirty, see Beloe's Herodotus (*Polymnia*, notes, vol. iii. p. 293, Lond. 1791). One Greek name of a wind occurs in Acts xxvii. 14, Εὐροκλύδων, *Euroclydon*, a tempestuous wind in the Mediterranean, now called a *Levanter*. The Alexandrian MS. has Εὐρακύλων; Vulg.

*Euroaquo*; Syriac אורקליון. The common reading, Εὐροκλύδων, seems derived from Εὔρος, *Eurus*, 'east wind,' and κλύδων, 'a wave,' quasi an eastern tempest. Other MSS. read Εὐρυκλύδων, *Euryclydon*, from εὐρύς, 'broad,' and κλύδων, 'a wave,' or rough wavy sea; and then the word would mean the wind which peculiarly excites the waves. Shaw defends the common reading, and describes the wind as blowing in all directions from the N.E. round by the N. to the S.E. (*Travels*, p. 330, etc., 4to; see Bowyer's conjectures, and Doddridge, *in loc.*) The Hebrews had no single terms indicating the relative velocity of the air in motion, like our words breeze, gale, etc. Such gradations they expressed by some additional word, as 'great,'

רוֹחַ-גָּדוֹל, 'a great wind' (Jonah i. 4), 'rough,' קָשָׁה, etc. Nor have we any single word indicating the destructive effects of the wind, like their verbs כָּעַר and שָׁעַר, as וַאֲסַעֲרֵם (Zech. vii. 14, etc.), and answering to the Greek word ἀνεμώφθορος (see Sept. of Gen. xli. 6, 23). Our metaphorical use of the word *storm* comes nearest. The phrase רוֹחַ סְעִירָה, 'stormy wind,' πνεῦμα καταιγίδος, *spiritus procellæ*, occurs in Ps. cvii. 25; cxlviii. 8. It is metaphorically used for the divine judgments (Ezek. xiii. 11, 13). The word סְעִירָה is usually translated 'whirlwind;' it means, however, more properly a storm (2 Kings ii. 1, 11; Job xxxviii. 1; xl. 6; Zech. ix. 14; Sept. συσσεισμός, λαίλαψ, νέφος; Vulg. *turbo*; Ecclus. xliii. 17; συστροφή πνεύματος, xlviii. 9; λαίλαπι πυρός). The Hebrew word is used metaphorically for the divine judgments (Is. xl. 24; xli. 16); and to describe them as sudden and irresistible (Jer. xxiii. 19; xxv. 32; xxx. 23). 'A whirlwind out of the north' (Ezek. i. 4) denotes the invasion from Babylon. Another word, סוּפָה, is also translated 'whirlwind,' and properly so. It occurs in Job xxxvii. 9; Is. xxi. 1. It is used as a simile for complete and sudden destruction (Prov. i. 27); and for the most rapid motion, 'wheels of war-chariots like a whirlwind' (Is. v. 28; Jer. iv. 13). Total defeat is often compared to 'chaff scattered by a whirlwind' (Is. xvii. 13). It denotes the rapidity and irresistibility of the divine judgments (Is. lxvi. 5). The phrase 'to reap the whirlwind' denotes useless labour (Hos. viii. 7); 'the day of the whirlwind,' destruction by



war (Amos. i. 14). 'The Lord hath his way in the whirlwind,' is probably an allusion to Sinai (Nah. i. 3). A beautiful comparison occurs in Prov. x. 25: 'As the whirlwind passeth, so is the wicked no more: but the righteous is an everlasting foundation.'—J. F. D.

#### WINDOW. [HOUSE.]

WINE. This subject requires to be treated in this place as a purely Biblical question, independently of all party controversies which have arisen on the 'wine question' (as it is called), in connection with total abstinence. The writer, a total abstainer for many years, is fully persuaded that the theory or practice of total abstinence has no legitimate connection with the investigation in hand.

I. WINE, denoting properly the fermented juice of the grape, is used in the A. V. as the rendering of several HEBREW and GREEK WORDS. To these our attention must, in the first place, be directed.

1. יַיִן, *yayin*, according to Gesenius, from יָן, an unused root, having the force of *ferendi*, *astuendi*; according to Fürst, from יָן, like the Arabic يَن, Aeth. ነ, Greek *Fōnos*, et sic porro ceteris in linguis, Arm. gini; Lat. Vinum; Eng. Wine; LXX. οἶνος, *oînos*, ἀσκος, γλεύκος. Others take the word to be of Indo-European extraction, from the root *we*, to weave, or *wan*, to love. The meaning of the word, therefore, is regarded by some as uncertain, but apparently without reason, as Gesenius is clearly right in his derivation of it.

This word, the most commonly employed in the O. T. Scripture for wine, occurring about 142 times, is also the most comprehensive, including, like the corresponding English word, wines of all sorts, although used also in a more restricted sense, to denote *red* wine. That *yayin* was intoxicating admits of no question. Noah planted a vineyard, and drank of the *yayin* and was *drunken* (Gen. ix. 21); Nabal drank *yayin* and was *very drunken* (1 Sam. xxv. 36, 37); the 'drunkards of Ephraim' were 'overcome with *yayin*' (Is. xxviii. 1), or rather knocked down, or, as Gill paraphrases it, 'smitten, beaten, knocked down with it as with a hammer, and laid prostrate on the ground, where they lie fixed to it, not able to rise.' Jeremiah says: 'I am like a drunken man, and like a man whom *yayin* hath overcome' (xxiii. 9).

But, although intoxicating, yet it was not only permitted to be drunk, but was also used for sacred purposes, and is spoken of as a blessing. Thus, in Jacob's blessing on Judah: 'His eyes shall be red with *yayin*, and his teeth white with milk' (Gen. xlix. 12). So in God's promise to restore his people to their own land: 'I will bring again the captivity of my people . . . and they shall plant vineyards and drink the *yayin* thereof' (Amos iv. 19). 'Drink thy *yayin*,' says the preacher, 'with a merry heart, for God now accepteth thy works' (Eccles. ix. 7). The Nazirite, at the expiration of his vow, was permitted to drink *yayin* (Num. vi. 13-20); the Israelites were permitted to drink *yayin* at their feasts (Deut. xiv. 24-26); *yayin* was used in the sacred service of Jehovah, being poured out as a drink-offering to him (Exod. xxix. 40; Lev. xxiii. 13; Num. xv. 5). Hence, it not only 'maketh glad the heart of man' (Ps. civ. 15), but also 'cheereth both God and man' (Judg. ix. 13); its cheering effects being symbolically transferred to the Divine Being.

The intoxicating quality of *yayin* Dr. Tattam confirms by Rabbinical testimony. 'The Mishna, in the treatise on the Passover, informs us that four cups of wine were poured out, and blessed, and drunk by each of the company at the eating of the Paschal Lamb; and that water was also mixed with the wine, because it was considered too strong to be drunk alone. Pesachim, cap. vii. 13; x. 1. In Hieros. Shabb. fol. xi. 1, we read, 'it is commanded that this rite be performed with red wine.'

'Babylon. Shabb. fol. lxxvii. 1: 'Sharon wine is of famous report, with which they mix two parts of water.'

'Babylon. Beracoth. fol. 1. 1: 'Their wine (יַיִן) was very strong, and not fit for drinking *without being mixed with water*.' The Gemara adds: 'The cup of blessing is not to be blessed *until it is mixed with water*.'

'The *Jerusalem Talmud* says, 'It became a man nobly to entertain his wife and children (at the Passover), that at this feast they might be merry with wine, יַיִן.'

'To meet the objection, How can intoxication be hindered? the Rabbins replied, 'Because wine between eating does not intoxicate a man.' Hieros. Talm.' (Dr. Tattam's reply to a Pamphlet by Rev. W. Ritchie on the Scripture Testimony against Intoxicating Wine, pp. 8, 9.)

2. תִּירוֹשׁ, *Tirosh*, from יָרַשׁ, to possess, 'Mustum, novum vinum ita dictum quia inebriat, cerebrum occupat' (Ges. *Thes.* 633). So Fürst, 'Mustum uvis expressum, a. v. יָרַשׁ, occupare, acquirere, comparare' (*Concord.* 525. 2). Dr. Lees, it is true, says that it is so called because it 'constituted one of the most valuable possessions of the Jews' (*Temp. Quest.* p. 114). The word occurs about 34 times in the Bible (rendered in the LXX. by three distinct terms, οἶνος, ῥάξ, μέθυσμα), sometimes in connection with *yayin*, sometimes with oil, and sometimes with words denoting the edible productions of the earth.

Does it denote an intoxicating, or a non-intoxicating beverage? The latter has been asserted; but, as would seem, without reason. The contrary appears to be the truth. Hosea says (iv. 11), 'Whoredom and wine (*yayin*), and new wine (תִּירוֹשׁ, *tirosh*), take away the heart.' Here the use of the phrase 'take away the heart' implies the tendency of *tirosh* to 'blunt the moral feelings and derange the intellect.' The testimony of the Rabbins is to the same effect. They say, 'Tirosh, תִּירוֹשׁ, is new wine; the liquor of the grapes first pressed out, which easily takes possession of the mind of man' (Sanhedr. lxxvi. 1). 'If thou abuse it thou shalt be poor; if thou rightly use it thou shalt be head' (Joma lxxvi. 2). Again, in the Gemara, 'Wherefore is it called *Tirosh*? Because all who are drawn to it shall be poor' (Tattam's *Reply*, 5). Such is the testimony of the Rabbins, 'who ought to know something of their own language.' In accordance with this, the Targumists Onkelos and Jonathan render *tirosh*, in every instance of its occurrence (except in three cases where there is no word, or the word for vineyard), by the word חֲמַר, *chamar* (Tattam, 5, 6).

That *tirosh* denotes not 'vine-fruit, the produce of the vine in the solid form of grapes, raisins,' etc., but *wine* properly, is sufficiently plain. Thus (Prov. iii. 10), 'Thy presses shall burst forth



with new wine,' *tirosk*. (Is. lxii. 8), 'The sons of the stranger shall not *drink* thy wine,' *tirosk*. (Joel ii. 24), 'The fats shall *overflow* with wine (*tirosk*) and oil.' This, according to the author of *Lo Yayin*, is an 'image of abundance'; the 'vats piled up with fruits so full, that what was put on would roll off to the ground, because they could hold no more!' (p. 54).

It is, however, argued from Micah vi. 15 that *tirosk* means grapes: 'Thou shalt tread *tirosk*, but shalt not drink the wine.' *Tirosk* is here represented as being trodden, and must therefore, it is concluded, be grapes. But in Is. xvi. 10 *yayin* is represented as being trodden: 'The treaders shall tread no יַיִן (*yayin*) in their presses.' Is *yayin* also grapes? Surely one must be very prosaic not to be capable of understanding such modes of expression. It is also argued, from the occurrence of the word along with *corn* (Gen. xxvii. 28), that *tirosk* is a solid substance. The very opposite conclusion is, however, the natural one. Corn and wine are the two principal and representative kinds of food; the former of solids, the latter of liquids. 'Bread and water' occur together very often (*ex. gr.* Ezek. iv. 17; 1 Sam. xxv. 11, etc.) Is *water*, then, a *solid*?

3. חֶמֶר, *Chemer*, from חָמַר, *astuavit, ferbuit*; Chaldee form, חֶמֶר; LXX. οἶνος, *kalós*; 'Vinum a fervendo et fermentanda dictum' (Ges. *Thes.* 493). The word occurs eight times, twice in its Hebrew, and six times in its Chaldee form. In Deut. xxxii. 14, it is (in the A. V., after the Vulg.) treated as an adjective, and rendered 'pure'—'the pure blood of the grape,' instead of 'the blood of the grape—wine,' *chemer*. The Rabbins call it 'pure or neat wine' (*i.e.* no water being mixed with the juice of the grape), 'because it disturbs the head and the brain' (Tattam). They regarded *chemer* and *tirosk* 'as equivalent terms.' This pure, powerful wine was permitted to the Israelites (Deut. xxxii. 14); and is spoken of with approbation by Isaiah: 'In that day sing ye unto him, A vineyard of red wine (חֶמֶר, *chemer*); I, the Lord, do keep it' (xxvii. 2, 3). And Cyrus and Artaxerxes commanded that *chemer* should be given to the people of Israel 'for the service of the God of heaven' (Ezra vi. 9).

4. יֵשֶׁבֶר, *Shēchar*, from יָשַׁבֵּר, *inebriavit se*; LXX. σκεπα, οἶνος, μέθυσμα, μέθη; Vulg. *Vinum*, 'temetum, an inebriating drink, whether wine prepared or distilled from barley, or from honey, or from dates' (Ges. *Thes.* 1440). So Fürst, who adds, 'or any other kind of intoxicating drink comprehended under the name τῶν σικέπων.' Jerome says: 'Sicera (יֵשֶׁבֶר) Hebræo sermone omnis potio, quæ inebriare potest, sive illa quæ frumento conficitur, sive pomorum succo, aut quum favi decoquantur in dulcem et barbaram potionem, aut palmarum fructus exprimuntur in liquorem, coticisque frugibus aqua pinguior coloratur' (*Ep. ad Nepotianum*). In the A. V. the word is rendered *strong wine*, Num. xxviii. 7; and, occurring along with *yayin*, *strong drink*, Prov. xx. 2; Is. v. 11, 22. Onkelos, on Num. xxviii. 7, calls it 'old wine'; Rabbi Solomon, Rabbi Eleasar, Aben Ezra, and others, call it 'intoxicating wine.' 'The word

means strong drink, from whatever substance made' (Tattam). It was used as a drink-offering in the service of God (Num. xxviii. 7); and was, notwithstanding its highly intoxicating property, permitted to the Israelites (Deut. xiv. 26).

A vain attempt has been made, by connecting the word etymologically with *sugar*, to prove, in the face of the clearest evidence to the contrary, that it was a sweet, *non-intoxicating* syrup (see Dr. F. Lees' Works). The word is employed in the following passages in such a manner as to show decisively that it denotes an intoxicating drink:—Lev. x. 9, where the priests are forbidden to drink wine or *shēchar* when they go into the tabernacle; 1 Sam. i. 15, where Hannah, charged with drunkenness by Eli, replies it is not so: 'I have drunk neither wine nor *shēchar*;' Ps. lxix. 13, where the Psalmist complains: 'I was the song of the drinkers of *shēchar*,' A. V. 'drunkards;' Prov. xx. 1: 'Wine is a mocker, *shēchar* is raging; and whosoever is deceived thereby is not wise;' Prov. xxxi. 4, 5: 'It is not for kings to drink wine, nor for princes *shēchar*, lest they drink and forget the law;' Is. v. 22: 'Woe unto them that are mighty to drink wine, and men of strength to mingle *shēchar*;' Is. xxviii. 7: 'They also have erred through wine, and through *shēchar* are out of the way: the priest and the prophet have erred through *shēchar*, they are swallowed up of wine, they are out of the way through *shēchar*;' Is. xxix. 9: 'They are drunken, but not with wine; they stagger, but not with *shēchar*.'

*Shēchar* may have been a sweet beverage, as sugary as Dr. Lees or any one else chooses; but it was most certainly *intoxicating*.

5. עֵסִיס, 'āsis (from עָסַס, to tread); LXX. ἄσμα, γλυκασμός, οἶνος νέος, μέθη; Targ. חֶמֶר מֵרֶת, pure wine; Vulg. dulcedo, mustum; *must*, that which is expressed from grapes by treading, or from pomegranates (Ges. *Thes.* 1054). Henderson says: 'By עֵסִיס is meant the *fresh wine*, or juice of the grape or other fruit which has just been pressed out, and is remarkable for its sweet flavour, and its freedom from intoxicating qualities' (*Com. on Joel* i. 5). Yet its intoxicating quality seems intimated in Is. xlix. 26: 'They shall be drunken with their own blood as with sweet wine' (*hasis*); Joel i. 5: 'Awake, ye drunkards, and weep . . . because of the new wine (*hasis*); for it is cut off from your mouth.' It is promised by God as a blessing, Joel iii. 17, 18; Amos ix. 13.

6. סָבָא, *sobā*, from סָבַא, *potavit*, idque intemperantius, *gurgilavit*, to drink to excess, to tope (Ges. *Thes.* 932); LXX. οἶνος; Vulg. *Vinum*. The noun occurs only in two places, but the verb and participle often; the latter to denote drunk, a drunkard, a toper. Gesenius renders the noun in Is. i. 22 *vinum*, but in Hos. iv. 18, *compotatio*, a drinking bout, a carouse; so Henderson, Dathe, etc. The LXX. must have followed a various reading in this place. *Sobā*, then, means some (or perhaps any) kind of intoxicating drink.

7. מִסְכָּה, *mesek*, from מִסַּךְ, *miscere*, to mix, to mingle; wine mixed with water or aromatics; LXX. κέρασμα; Vulg. *Mistum*. It occurs only once, Ps. lxxv. 9; but the participial noun מִמְסָךְ in Prov. xliii. 30, Is. lxv. 11, in a similar sense = wine

\* Quoted by Gesenius, *Thes. in verbo*.



highly spiced, to improve its flavour and enhance its intoxicating power. [MENI.]

8. שְׁמָרִים, *Shemārīm*, from שָׁמַר, *servavit, re-servavit, aservavit*, to keep, to preserve, to lay up; LXX. τρυγέας, φύλαγμα, δόξα; Vulg. *Fæces, Vendemia*, A. V. lees, dregs, wine on the lees. The word occurs five times, and always in the plural. It is used both of lees and of wine preserved on the lees;—of lees, Ps. lxxv. 9; Zeph. i. 12; Jer. xlviii. 11; in all which passages it is used in a figurative sense; in the second and third, the form of expression is proverbial, being used of individuals and nations—‘de iis qui desides, atque otiosi sunt, vel certe vita utuntur quæta, tranquilla, metaphora a vino petita, quod diu in cella reconditum fæcibus superjacet et intactum asservatur, quo validius fit vinum odorque fragrantior’ (Ges. *Thes.* 1444); it is used of wine, Is. xxv. 6, where the prophet foretells the rich provision of gospel blessings under the figure of ‘a feast of fat things, of wines on the lees, *Shemārīm*, well refined, כְּזֵיקִים, defecated—i.e. ‘Vinum vetus et nobilissimum a fæcibus purgatum’ (Ges.), or, ‘cum fæcibus servatum (Hefenwein), quod defecatum et clarificatum in conviviis opiparis apponitur’ (Fürst, *Concord.* 1177). The word is used of lees, according to some, ‘from their preserving the strength and flavour of wine (Alexander); according to others, as ‘Id quod ad ultimum usque reservatur et remanet—fæces, utpote quæ in imo vasis fundo subsident’ (Fürst). This ‘Vetus et nobilissimum vinum’ is spoken of approvingly in the last-cited passage.

9. אֲשִׁישָׁה, *ashîsha*, LXX. λάγανον ἀπὸ πηγάνου, πέμμα, ἀμορίτης—i.e. a cake from the frying-pan, a baked cake, a sweet cake—variation of rendering truly. The Targ. of Jonathan on Exod. xvi. 31 uses אֲשִׁישָׁה for the Heb. צִפְחִית, a flat cake. The ‘traditio Judaica’ is גִּרְבָּה דְּחִמָּה, a jar of wine. The A. V. has flagons, flagons of wine. The plural of the word occurs both in the masculine and feminine forms. Critics are pretty generally agreed that it does not denote wine or any other drink, but a *cake*; such as was ‘prepared from dried grapes, or rasins pressed or compacted into a certain form. Cakes of this kind are mentioned as delicacies with which the weary and languid are refreshed (2 Sam. vi. 19; 1 Chron. xvi. 3; Cant. ii. 5); and were offered in sacrifice to idols (Hos. iii. 1). They differed from צִפְחִית—i.e. grapes dried but not compacted into the form of cakes; and also from דְּבִלָּה—i.e. figs pressed into cakes.’ So Gesenius, who derives the word from אָשַׁשׁ to *press*, although Ginsburg would derive it from a similar form denoting to *burn*. The evidence seems in favour of a cake, especially a grape cake, in which latter sense it certainly occurs Hos. iii. 1, where however it is written more fully, or rather with the addition of עֲנָבִים, *grapes*, which fills up its meaning, אֲשִׁישֵׁי עֲנָבִים = *cakes of grapes*. Dr. Tattam, resting on the authority of Rabbins whom he quotes, seems inclined to abide by the rendering of the A. V. (see *Reply*, p. 13, 14).

Three other words may here be noticed:—חֲמִין, *chometz*; LXX. ὄξος, but in Prov. x. 26 δμφαξ,

*uva immatum*, sour grapes; so Syr. ܐܬܝܢܐ; Vulg. *acetum*; A. V. *vinegar*, rightly.\*

עֲנָבִים, *anābīm*, Hos. iii. 1; A. V. wine, but properly grapes. See above, under אֲשִׁישָׁה.

יֵקֵב, *yekeb*; A. V. wine (Deut. xvi. 13), but incorrectly, as the word denotes a *winepress*.

In the N. T. several words are employed denoting wine:—

(1.) οἶνος, comprehending every sort of wine.  
(2.) γλεύκος, sweet, or ‘new wine,’ which, as well as the former, seems, from the use made of it (Acts ii. 13), to signify wine of an intoxicating quality: ‘These men are full of new wine;’ to which charge Peter replies: ‘These men are not drunken as ye suppose’ (v. 15)—although Dr. Lees’ interpretation is fairly admissible: that the language is that of mockery, as if we should say of a drunken man: He has taken too much water. The *gleukos* was the fruit of the grape, so kept as to preserve its sweetness, ‘perhaps made of a remarkably sweet small grape, which is understood by the Jewish expositors to be meant by שֶׁרֶק, or שֶׁרֶקָה (Gen. xlix. 11; Is. v. 2), and still found in Syria and Arabia’ (Alford on Acts ii. 13). Suidas: τὸ ἀποσταλάγμα τῆς σταφύλης πρὶν πατηθῆναι.  
(3.) γέννημα, or γέννημα τῆς ἀμπέλου, fruit of the vine = wine (Luke xxii. 18).

(4.) Οἶνος ἄκρατος, pure wine (Rev. xiv. 10)—οἶνον ἄκρατον εἶναι λέγομεν, ὃ μὴ μέμικται τὸ ὕδωρ, ἢ παντράσιον ὀλίγον μέμικται (Galen in *Wetstein*, cited by Alford). Here the phrase is used figuratively.

(5.) Ὅξος, sour wine, or vinegar (Matt. xxvii. 48; Mark xv. 36, etc.)

(6.) Σίκερα, A. V. ‘strong drink;’ Heb. יֵשֶׁכַר, ‘any strong drink made of grapes’ (Robinson, Alford, etc.)

II. *Some HISTORICAL NOTICES of the use of wine in the Bible.*—The first notice we have of wine in the O. T. is in the case of Noah, who ‘planted a vineyard, and did drink of the wine (*yayin*), and was drunken’ (Gen. ix. 20, 21). The culture of the vine, no doubt, existed before, but the patriarch now resumes the occupation which had been interrupted by the flood. ‘Nowhere does the vine

\* [This, it appears, was obtained either from *yayin* or *shechar* (Num. vi. 3), and was used by those engaged in the labours of the field to soften and render more palatable the dry bread which formed the food of the reapers (Ruth ii. 14). It was also used as a beverage, probably mixed with water (Num. vi. 3), in which case it would resemble the *posca* of the Romans, which was not an intoxicating drink, and was used only by the poorer classes (Plaut. *Mil. Glor.* iii. 2. 23). In Matt. xxvii. 34 our Lord is said to have had vinegar mingled with gall offered to him to drink when on the cross; Mark (xv. 23) says it was wine mingled with myrrh; Luke that it was vinegar offered by the soldiers in mockery (xxiii. 36); and John that it was vinegar (xix. 29). Possibly these accounts refer to two separate occurrences; the one an act of cruelty on the part of the soldiers, who, in response to our Lord’s exclamation, ‘I thirst,’ offered him some of their own *posca*; the other an act of intended kindness, designed to alleviate his sufferings by an anodyne.—ED.]



grow spontaneously in such abundance and excellence as in the region of Ararat in Armenia, and the eastern Pontus; but, no doubt, the culture of the vine was of remote antiquity, invented by one nation and spread to other countries; for thus only can the remarkable circumstance be accounted for, that wine bears the same name in almost all eastern and western nations' (*Kalisch*, Gen. ix. 20, 21). 'It may be added, that the Egyptians attributed the manufacture of wine to Osiris, the Phœnicians and Greeks to Bacchus, the Romans to Saturn' (*ibid.*)

The next notice of wine is in the history of Lot, whose daughters 'made their father drink wine' (*yayin*), so that he became stupidly intoxicated (Gen. xix. 32, etc.). It next occurs in Isaac's blessing pronounced on Jacob: 'The Lord give thee . . . plenty of corn and wine' (*yayin*) (Gen. xxvii. 28). The next notice of the juice of the grape is in connection with Egypt (Gen. xl. 11), when the chief butler says: 'I took the grapes and pressed them into Pharaoh's cup.' Are we to take these words according to their strict literality? And did the kings of Egypt, at the time, drink the unfermented juice of the grape only? However that may be, and although an affirmative answer seems demanded, yet we know that the vine was cultivated in Egypt from very ancient times, representations of the process of the manufacture of wines being found on tombs belonging to the 4th dynasty; that wine was used almost universally by the rich; that it was freely drunk at the banquets of both men and women, and even excessively, as the monuments abundantly testify; that it was drunk even by the priests and offered in the temples to their gods. All this is now well ascertained, notwithstanding the contradictory statements of Herodotus on some points (see Rawlinson's *Herod.* ii. 103, 126; Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, i. 144, etc.).

In the laws of Moses, wine is frequently mentioned. It was commanded to be offered to God as a drink-offering (Num. xv. 5, 7, 10). This furnishes the key to the peculiar language of Jotham's parable: 'Wine that cheereth God and man' (Judg. ix. 13); an exposition much preferable to that which renders the words: 'The gods and men;' for wine was offered to God as the drink of the Great King, the symbol of our best spiritual things which we offer in his worship. Wine was forbidden to the priests during the performance of their sacred duties in the tabernacle (Lev. x. 9), which prohibition seems to have originated in the offence of Nadab and Abihu, who, most probably, 'transgressed through wine.' At other times the priests were at liberty to drink wine. To the Nazarites, while under their vow, not only wine but vinegar, and the fruit of the vine generally, in every form, was prohibited (Num. vi. 3, 4). The Israelites were at liberty to drink wine even at their national sacred festivals when rejoicing before the Lord (Deut. xiv. 22-26). The Rechabites are mentioned as very peculiar in their abstinence from wine, as well as their refraining to live in houses, and are commended, not for their abstinence, but for their obedience to the command of their ancestor (Jer. xxxv.)

Wine was used by the Jews in the celebration of the passover; for the account of which see PASS-OVER, and Tattam's *Reply to Ritchie*.

The Rabbins have a curious tradition, that at the great feast which shall inaugurate the coming

of the Messiah, he shall drink wine made from grapes which grew in Paradise during the six creative days, and preserved in Adam's cave for that great occasion (Othonis *Lex.*, art. 'Vinum;' Buxt. *Syr. Jud.* 460).

It appears to have been an ancient custom to give medicated or drugged wine to criminals condemned to death, to blunt their senses, and so lessen the pains of execution. To this custom there is supposed to be an allusion, Prov. xxxi. 6, 'Give strong drink unto him that is ready to perish;' and an illustration of the custom is furnished by the soldiers giving Jesus 'wine mingled with myrrh,' or, which is the same, 'vinegar'=sour wine; 'mingled with gall'=a bitter drug, without specifying the kind (Mark xv. 23; Matt. xxvii. 34). 'Omnes a synedrio ad mortem damnati potarunt *יין חי*, vino vivo (h. e. optimo, forti) ut diriperetur intellectus ejus, ad confirmandum id dicitur, Prov. xxxi. 6, etc. De perituro dicitur, id fieri, ut obliviscatur mortis, quæ est infortunium ipsius' (Schoet. *Hor. Heb.* 236). To the same custom some suppose there is a reference in Amos ii. 8, where the 'wine of the condemned' (A. V.) is spoken of. The margin reads, instead of condemned, 'fined or mulcted;' so Gesenius; Henderson, *amerced*. The wicked here described, in addition to other evil practices, imposed unjust fines upon the innocent, and spent the money thus unjustly obtained upon wine, which they quaffed in the house of their gods. As Dathe renders: 'pecunias hominibus innocentibus extortas computationibus absument in templis deorum suorum.'

Mixed wine is often spoken of in Scripture. This was of different kinds. Sometimes it was mixed with water to take it down (Is. i. 22); sometimes with milk (Songs v. 1); and sometimes, by lovers of strong drink, with spices of various kinds, to give it a richer flavour and greater potency (Is. v. 22; Ps. lxxv. 8). The 'royal

wine,' literally wine of the kingdom, *יין מלכות*

(Esther i. 7), denotes most probably the best wine, such as the king of Persia himself was accustomed to drink. 'Wine of Lebanon' is referred to in such a way as to indicate its peculiar excellence—'the scent thereof shall be as the wine of Lebanon' (Hos. xiv. 7). Hence it is thought to have been distinguished by its grateful smell. But *יֵכָר* means, as the margin renders it, *memorial*, and includes odour, flavour, and refreshing influence. And modern travellers attest the excellence of the wine of Lebanon. The 'wine of Helbon, or Chalybon,' is mentioned as one of the importations of Tyre (Ezra xxvii. 18), and was very famous.

The vine abounded in ancient, as it does in modern Palestine; and wines of various degrees of excellence were made. 'The wines of modern Palestine are represented by modern travellers as being of excellent quality. The sweet wines are particularly esteemed in the East, because they are grateful to the taste, very exhilarating; and some of them will keep for a long time. They were therefore preferred by those who were addicted to drinking, and commonly selected for the tables of kings. Their inebriating quality is alluded to by the prophet Isaiah: 'I will feed them that oppress you with their own flesh, and they shall be drunken as with sweet wine' (Is. xlix. 26).



‘The testimony of travellers respecting the spirituous nature of the wines of Palestine accords with that of the sacred writers. . . . It is observed by *Thévenot*, that the people of the Levant never mingle water with their wine at meals, but drink by itself what water they think proper for abating its strength. While the Greeks and Romans by mixed wine understood wine united and lowered with water, the Hebrews, on the contrary, meant by it wine made stronger and more inebriating by the addition of powerful ingredients. . . .

‘The wines of Palestine are generally kept in bottles made of leather, or goat-skins, sewed or pitched together. In these the process of fermentation took place, and the wine acquired its proper degree of strength.

‘In absence of anything like chemical analysis, these are the data from which we must draw our conclusions concerning the nature of the wines referred to by the sacred writers. Some of them are represented to have been sweet wines, which, if not the strongest, are known to have been very strong. The grapes from which they were produced were remarkable for their richness and excellence; the climate of the country being such as to favour the growth and development of those principles which, during fermentation, were converted into alcohol. And as the grapes of that country are now known to furnish very rich and spirituous wines, we may infer that the ancient were similar in their character; since there is abundant evidence that the climate has not suffered any material change for three thousand years.

‘I should not omit, in confirmation of this view of the spirituous nature of the wines of Palestine, to advert to the modes in which they were kept. It is now well known, that when mixtures of alcohol and water are put into bladders, the water evaporates, and leaves the alcohol in a more concentrated form. And it is asserted that wine which has been kept in bottles closed by pieces of bladder firmly tied over the mouth, in a few weeks acquire the strength and flavour which would be imparted to it only by several years’ preservation in the ordinary way. Now, it is probable that the leather bags into which these wines are put would produce a similar effect upon the liquor, which, after the process of fermentation had ceased, would soon attain its complete and appropriate alcoholic character’ (Prof. Silliman, *Amer. Jour. of Science and Arts*, 1834, quoted by Kitto on *Ps.* lxxv. 8).

‘The wine was generally contained in large ox-skins ranged round the store-room, and quite distended with liquor. The larger skins seem to have answered to casks; the smaller goat and kid skins, to barrels and kegs in the comparison, to be chiefly used in conveying to customers the smallest quantities required. Individuals rarely keep large stores of wine in their houses, but get a small supply of a goat-skin or two from the wine-store. This seems also to have been the case with the ancient Jews, for Nehemiah, although holding the rank of governor, had no store of wine, for we read he had a supply every ten days (*Neh.* v. 18). The large skins in the wine-store we have mentioned are supported above the floor on frames of wood’ (Kitto on *Job* xxxii. 19). Similar methods of storing and keeping wine were common to the Greeks and Romans.

III. Now, what is the teaching of the Scriptures in respect to the USE of wine?—They make no dis-

inction between intoxicating and non-intoxicating wines—never refer or allude to such a distinction. Yet wine, *וַיִּין*=*olivos*, is constantly spoken of in

precisely the same way that corn, and oil, and milk are spoken of—namely, as a blessing sent by God for the use of man. It was enjoined to be used in the service of God. It is employed as a symbol of the highest spiritual blessings (*Is.* lv. 1, 2). The use of it was common among the Jews, as it is among the people of all wine-producing countries. It was forbidden to the Nazarites alone, and that only while under their vow. The use of it is in one case distinctly prescribed by Paul to Timothy (1 Tim. v. 23). Jesus Christ came ‘drinking wine’ as well as ‘eating bread’ (*Luke* vii. 33, 34), and in one instance miraculously produced a supply of wine when it was needed (*John* ii.). We attach great importance, religiously and theologically, to these facts. Jesus was no ascetic. He gave no countenance to asceticism. By drinking wine—freely using the blessings of God’s providence—he testified against the error, afterwards called Gnostic and Manichean, which would attach impurity to that which enters the mouth, and vindicated the liberty of his followers to use ‘every creature of God’ as good and fit for food, and to be received with thanksgiving by them as those who ‘believe and know the truth’ (1 Tim. iv. 3, 4). But this error repelled, and this liberty asserted, none are obliged to drink wine or to eat meat if they prefer not. There is liberty on this side also. They may abstain if they choose. Paul expressed his readiness to abstain from ‘flesh’ and ‘wine’ to secure the good of a brother, or to avoid occasioning him injury (*Rom.* xiv. 21; comp. 1 Cor. viii. 13). The same liberty is ours; and if a great practical good may be attained by abstinence, Christian benevolence calls us in this direction.

But while liberty to use wine, as well as every other earthly blessing, is conceded and maintained in the Bible, yet all abuse of it is solemnly and earnestly condemned. In the book of Proverbs the warnings against such abuse are frequent and severe (*xx.* 1; *xxiii.* 29-35; *xxxi.* 4-7). It is the same in the N. T. (1 Cor. vi. 10; *Gal.* v. 21). ‘Be not drunk with wine—not given to much wine.’ Such are its precepts—precepts which would have little or no force, or even meaning, were wine not intoxicating, and were there not some peculiar danger incident to its use. If wine were not intoxicating, the apostle might as well have exhorted them against drinking too much milk or too much water. He takes for granted the right to use; he recognises the danger incident to the use; but instead of prohibiting, he cautions and exhorts against excess. Moderation in eating and drinking is the broad Christian law. Abstinence from some kinds of food may become a duty under peculiar circumstances. Self-denial, in relation to things lawful, is often imperative. Wine is good; is a gift of God. It may be used with advantage; it may be abused, but not innocently or with impunity. It may be declined in the exercise of Christian liberty; it ought to be declined, if doing so helps forward the cause of humanity, morality, and religion, and promotes the glory of God. (*Ges. Thes. Ling. Heb. et Chal.*; *Fürst’s Concord. Vet. Test. Heb. et Chal.*; *Tattam’s Reply to Ritchie*; *Otho, Lex. Rabbin. Phil.*; *Works of Dr. F. Lees*, 2 vols.; *Kitto’s Pict. Bib.*; *Smith’s Dic. of Greek and Rom.*



*Antiquities*, art. 'Vinum'; Buxtorf's *Synagoga Jud.*, cap. x. xi.; *English Cyc.*, art. 'Wine,' etc.; Denman, *The Vine and its Fruit*; Redding's *Description of Wines, Ancient and Modern*; Wilkinson's *Anc. Egyptians*, 2 vols.)—I. J.

**WINE-PRESS** or **WINE-FAT**. When the grapes were collected, which was an occasion of mirth and singing, they were conveyed to the press (כַּנֶּחֱשׁ, ληνός). This was commonly placed in the vineyard (Is. v. 2; Matt. xxi. 33), or at any rate outside the towns and villages (Zech. xiv. 10; Rev. xiv. 20). It consisted of two troughs or vats, one smaller than the other, the former to receive the grapes the latter the expressed juice. The smaller, which was properly called כַּנֶּחֱשׁ, ληνός, was placed above the larger (כַּנֶּחֱשׁ, ὑπολήνιον), and when filled with grapes was trodden by several persons; a service which, though fatiguing, was usually performed with singing and other expressions of joy (Judg. ix. 27; Is. xvi. 10; Jer. xxv. 30; xlviii. 33). The expressed juice (טֵינִי, ληνός) flowed through a hole or spout in the side of the smaller vessel (the *gath*) into the larger one (the *yekeb*). These terms are usually strictly applied (comp. Neh. xiii. 15; Is. lxiii. 2; Lam. i. 15; Joel ii. 24; iii. 13; but sometimes *yekeb* is used for the whole apparatus (Job xxiv. 11; Jer. xlviii. 33), just as ὑπολήνιον is in Matt. xxi. 33. In its proper sense it seems to be used Prov. iii. 10: 'thy presses shall abound (Ges., 'overflow' Ewald, 'redundabunt' Maurer) with must.'



524. Egyptian Wine-press.

The Egyptians usually trod the grapes, but they sometimes resorted to a process of twisting in a bag similar to that of the *Torcular* among the Romans (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt*. ii. 152). Among the Hebrews treading only seems to have been employed; and as this caused the garments to be sprinkled with the juice, which was red, and as it conveyed a representation of oppression and torture, images of war and bloodshed were taken from it (Is. xvi. 10; lxiii. 1-3; Lam. i. 15). Some such

method of relieving the fatigue of the treaders may have been resorted to as is indicated in the wood-cut, which represents an ancient Egyptian wine-press. Robinson (*Later B. R.* p. 137) describes an ancient wine-press cut in the rock.—W. L. A.

**WINER**, GEORG BENEDICT, D.D., was born at Leipsic 13th April 1789. He was educated at the gymnasium and university of his native town. In 1819 he became extraordinary, and in 1823 ordinary professor of theology at Erlangen, whence he returned to Leipsic in 1832 to fill one of the chairs of theology there. In this sphere the most of his life was spent. He died 12th May 1858. Winer was a man of extensive and exact scholarship, and his writings have been highly appreciated wherever they have been known. To him we are indebted for the best treatise extant on N. T. grammar, and his *Realwörterbuch* is a storehouse of Biblical knowledge, from which all subsequent writers on the subjects it embraces have found it their interest to draw. Very useful to theological students is his *Comparative Darstellung der Lehrbegriffs der verschiedenen Christl. Kirchenparteien*, 4to, 1824, sec. ed. 1837; as also his edition of the *Augsburg Confession*, with notes, 1825; but it was in the department of Biblical literature that he chiefly laboured. His principal Biblical works are: *Grammatik des N. T. Sprachidioms*, Leipz. 1822, translated from the 6th ed. (1855) into English, 2 vols. Edin. 1859; *Grammatik des Bibl. u. Targum. Chaldaismus*, 1824; *Chald. Lesebuch*, 1825; *Simonis Lex. Heb. et Chald. ordine etymologico descriptum*, 1828; *Beitrag zur verbesser. der N. T. Lexicographie*, 1823; *De Vers. Pentat. Samarit.* 1817; *De Onkeloso ejusd. Paraphrasi Chald.* 1820; *De Vers. Syr. N. T. usu critico*, 1823; *Bibl. Realwörterbuch*, 1820, 3d ed. 3 vols. 1847-48; *Pauli ad Galatas Epist. Latine vert. et perpet. annotat. illustr.* 1827, sec. ed. without the Lat. version, 1828. Besides these Winer wrote many programmes on points of Biblical grammar and lexicography. Of great utility also is his *Handbuch der Theolog. Literatur*, 2 vols. 3d ed. 1838; *1ste Ergänzungsheft*, 1842.—W. L. A.

**WINNOWNING**. [AGRICULTURE.]

**WINTER**. [PALESTINE.]

**WINTLE**, THOMAS, B.D., was a native of Gloucester, where he was born in 1737. He was educated at Oxford, where he became a fellow and tutor of Pembroke College. He became rector of Wittrisham, Kent, in 1767, and of Brightwell, Berks, in 1774. He died in 1814. His principal work is *Daniel; an Improved Version attempted, with a preliminary dissertation and notes*, Oxford 1792, 4to; Lond. 1836, 8vo. This belongs to the Lowth school of criticism and exegesis, and is a favourable example of the school. Wintle wrote also *A Dissertation on the vision in the second chapter of Zechariah*, Oxford 1797; and a series of discourses on the Beatitudes, under the title of *Christian Ethics*, 2 vols. 8vo, Oxford 1812.—W. L. A.

**WISDOM OF JESUS SON OF SIRACH**. [ECCLESIASTICUS.]

**WISDOM**, THE, OF SOLOMON, one of the deuterocanonical books which have come down to us by tradition as the production of the son of David.



1. *The Title and Position of the Book.*—This book is called—i. *Σοφία Σαλωμών*, or *Σαλωμώντος* (Cod. Alex., Ald. Compl.); *SOPHIA SOLOMONIS*; *SAPIENTIA SOLOMONIS* in the Sept.;

*the Wisdom of Solomon*; and *ܠܚܝܡܐ ܠܫܠܡܝܢ*, *ܠܚܝܡܐ ܠܫܠܡܝܢ*, the Great Wisdom of Solomon, in the

Syriac version, because it was anciently believed to have been written by Solomon, who therein propounds the lessons of wisdom. ii. It is denominated *πανέρπτος σοφία*, *All-Virtuous Wisdom*, an appellation which, though also given to Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus, is especially given by Athanasius and Epiphanius to this book, because it treats more extensively of wisdom than either of the other so-called Solomonic productions; iii. *ἡ θεία σοφία*, *Sapientia Dei*, by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iv. 16), and Origen (on Rom. vii. 14); and iv. In the Vulgate it is simply called *Liber Sapientia*, without the name of Solomon, because St. Jerome disputed the Solomonic authorship of it. The versions of the Reformation are divided between those appellations. Thus, in Luther's version (1536), the Genevan version (1560), the Bishops' Bible (1568), and the A. V. (1611), this book is called the *Wisdom of Solomon*, according to the Sept.; whilst the Zurich version (1531), Coverdale's Bible (1535), Matthew's Bible (1537), Cromwell's Bible (1539), and Cranmer's Bible (1540), denominate it *The Book of Wisdom*, after the Vulgate. As to the position of the book, it is placed in the Sept. and in the Vulgate after the Song of Songs, and before Ecclesiasticus, or immediately after the canonical productions of Solomon, since it was believed that it too proceeded from this monarch. Though all the translations of the Reformation followed the example of Luther's version in separating the deuterocanonical from the canonical books, yet they have deviated from their prototype in the order of the Apocrypha. Thus, whilst Luther, in his Bible, places this book between Judith and Tobit, the Zurich version, which as usual is followed by Coverdale, and he again by Cromwell's Bible, Matthew's Bible, the Bishops' Bible, and Cranmer's Bible, as well as the Geneva version and the A. V., place it between the additions to Esther and Ecclesiasticus.

2. *Design, Division, and Contents of the Book.*—The design of this book is both parnetical and apologetical. It comforts and strengthens the faithful who are distracted by the inexplicable difficulties in the moral government of the world, by showing them that whatever sufferings and taunts they have to endure, both from their apostate brethren and their heathen oppressors, and however much the wicked and the idolaters may prosper here, the elect in following the counsels of divine wisdom will be able to look forward with joy to a future state of retribution, where the righteous Judge will render to the ungodly according to their deeds, and confer upon the godly a blissful immortality.

This design is developed in three sections, into which the book is divisible, the contents of which are as follows:—

(a.) *The First Section* (i. i.–vi. 21), which contains the real problem of the book, opens with an admonition to the magnates of the earth to follow the paths of righteousness, since God only reveals himself to and abides with those who are of an up-

right heart (i. 1-6), and duly registers the deeds of the wicked, which he will most assuredly bring before the bar of a future judgment (7-16). For although the wicked deny the immortality of the soul (ii. 1-6), indulge in the pleasures of this world (7-9), and persecute the righteous, defying God to defend them (10-24); and though the case of the godly seems almost forlorn, yet God exercises a special care over his people, whom he allows to be chastised in order to purify them (iii. 1-7), and has destined his saints to judge the nations of the earth, and to abide for ever with their Lord (8, 9); whilst he has laid up condign punishment for the wicked (10-18). The wicked who have large families are therefore not to be envied, for their children only perpetuate their wickedness (iv. 1-7), whilst the righteous who are suddenly overtaken by death are not to be deplored, since honourable age is not to be measured by length of years, but by holiness of conduct, and since they are sometimes suddenly taken away to escape the snares of the wicked; thus showing that God's mercy is with his saints even in their untimely death, because they, having been perfected in their youth, though dead speak condemnation to the wicked, who shall at last in the great day of retribution be constrained to confess it (8-20). For then the righteous shall triumph, and the wicked who shall witness it will confess with anguish of soul that they have acted foolishly and wickedly, and that those whom they have derided and persecuted in this life are really the children of God, enjoy a glorious immortality, and deal out terrible punishments on the ungodly (v. 1-23). Having shown that this is the doom of the wicked, Solomon reiterates in more earnest tones the warning to the magnates of the earth with which this section commences, seeing that the righteous Judge who invested them with the powers they possess, will soon call them to the bar of his judgment, where there is no respect of persons (vi. 1-8); and tells them that the most effectual way to obey this warning is to learn divine wisdom, who is always ready to be found of those that seek her (9-14), who alone is the safest guide in this world, and leads to a union with the Creator in the world to come (15-21).

(b.) *The Second Section* (vi. 22–ix. 18) describes the nature of this wisdom, the blessings she secures, and the manner in which she is to be obtained, by the experience of Solomon, who recounts it himself in the first person. He tells us that, though an exalted monarch, he realised his mortality, and therefore prayed for wisdom (vi. 22–vii. 7). With this precious gift, which he preferred above thrones, riches, health, and beauty, come all other earthly blessings of which she is the mother (8-12). Through her he became the friend of God, whose she is, and who bestows her as a gift (13-16). By her aid he fathomed the mysteries of the changing seasons, of the heavenly bodies, and of the animal and vegetable kingdoms, as she herself is the maker of all things, and pervades all creation. She alone unites us to God with ties of friendship, and no vice can prevail against her (17-30). She, too, confers all earthly blessings, all intellectual and moral powers, as well as the ability to govern nations, and she can only be obtained from God in answer to prayer (viii. 1-21). Solomon then recites the prayer in answer to which he received this divine gift (ix. 1-18).

(c.) *The Third Section* (x. 1–xix. 22) describes the



blessings which wisdom secured to the people of God, and the sore calamities which befell the ungodly who rejected her teaching, from the history of mankind, beginning with Adam and ending with the conquest of the promised land. Thus it shows how wisdom guided and protected the pious from Adam to Moses (x. 1-xi. 4); how the wicked who despised her counsels and afflicted the righteous were punished, as seen in the case of the Egyptians (xi. 5-xii. 1) and the Canaanites (xii. 2-27). As the chief sin of the Canaanites was idolatry, Solomon takes occasion to describe the origin, folly, and the abominations of idolatry (xiii. 1-xv. 19), and then returns to describe the plagues of Egypt, which constitute an essential part of the history in question, thus showing the awful doom of the wicked and the great deliverance of the righteous (xvi. 1-xix. 22).

3. *Unity and Integrity of the Book.*—From the above analysis of its contents it will be seen that the book forms a complete and harmonious whole; the grand problem discussed in the first section being illustrated in the second section by the experience of Solomon, and in the third section by the experience of God's people, detailed in chronological order. Indeed the unity and integrity of the book were never questioned till the middle of the last century, when Houbigant (*Prolegomena in Not. Crit. in omnes V. T. libros*, i. pp. ccxvi. and ccxxi.) maintained that it consists of two parts, the first (i.-ix.) being written by Solomon in Hebrew, and the second (x.-xix.) being most probably an addition of the Greek translator of the first part. Eichhorn submits (*Einleitung in d. Apokry.* p. 142, ff.) that the two parts, which belong to different authors, are i.-xi. 1, and xi. 2-xix., or if proceeding from the same author, that he must have written the second part in his younger years, before he divested himself of his national prejudices and before his notions were enlarged by Greek philosophy. Bretschneider again (*De libri Sap. parte priore*) will have it that it consists of four different documents, the first of which (i. 1-vi. 8) is a fragment of a larger work originally written in Hebrew by a Palestinian Jew connected with the court of Antiochus Epiphanes; the second (vi. 9-x.) was written in Greek at the time of Christ, by an Alexandrian Jew, who put sentiments of Greek philosophy into the mouth of Solomon in order to vindicate for the Jews the honour of having possessed all philosophic systems and sciences prior to every one else. The third (xii.-xix.) was also written, at the time of Christ, by a common Jew, who possessed the crudest notions; whilst the fourth piece (xi. 1-26) was added by the compiler of the book to connect the second and third parts. These must suffice as specimens of the opinions entertained by some respecting the unity of this book. They are most ably and elaborately refuted by Grimm (*Comment.* p. 9-15).

The integrity of the book is not only impugned by those who dispute its unity, but by some who admit that it has a regularly developed plan. Thus Grotius will have it that it is imperfect and unfinished, having been mutilated by some accident of time; whilst Calmet, who also maintains that the book is unfinished, hesitates to decide whether the end was lost by accident or through the unfavourable circumstances of the times, or whether it was designedly omitted by the author himself. But a conclusion more apposite and more in harmony

with the design of the book can hardly be imagined than xix. 22, in which the just reflection and moral lesson are enunciated as deduced from the whole treatise, that the righteous are under God's special care, and that he 'assists them in every time and place.' Equally untenable is the assertion that the book contains interpolations by a Christian hand. This assertion was first made by Grotius (*Christiana quædam commodis locis addidit, Præf. in Libram Sapientie*), who in his *Comment.* specifies iv. 7, where he remarks 'Sed hæc, ut dixi, Evangelium magis redolent.' Graetz (*Geschichte der Juden*, iii. 443, ff., 2d ed., Leipzig 1863), who advocates the same opinion, adduces ii. 24; iii. 13; iv. 1; xiv. 7. But all these passages, when fairly interpreted, are perfectly consistent with Jewish sentiments; and we are almost sure that if the erudite Dr. Graetz had consulted Grimm's masterly commentary on the passages in question when preparing the second edition of the third volume of his History, he would not have reprinted so literally the remarks from the first edition on this subject.

4. *Philosophical and Doctrinal Character of the Book.*—Though there are Platonic and Stoical sentiments in this book, yet it is not to be supposed that the author propounds therein a philosophical view of Judaism. The Book of Wisdom contains no greater admixture of Greek elements than the post-Babylonian canonical writings contain of Persian element. It is essentially based upon the truths embodied in the O. T., whose spirit it breathes and whose doctrines it sets forth as paramount, whilst the Greek sentiments are very subordinate, and are such as would almost enter spontaneously into the mind of any educated Jew residing in such a place as Alexandria. The doctrines of divine and human wisdom, or *objective* and *subjective* wisdom, as it is termed, propounded in this book, are simply amplifications and bolder personifications of what is to be found in Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus. This may be seen in the conception of *divine wisdom* being an emanation from, or the Spirit of God present with, the Deity before and during the creation of the world, and brooding over the elements of the unformed world (Wisdom vii. 22, 25, ix. 9, 17; with Prov. iii. 19, viii. 22-26, Job xxxiii. 4, Ecclus. xxiv. 3); in the view that human wisdom proceeds from the primordial divine wisdom which permeates all finite and pure spirits (Wisdom vii. 25; with Job xxxii. 8, Prov. ii. 6, Ecclus. i. 1), for which reason the two not unfrequently merge into one another (Wisdom vii. 12, viii. 6, x., with Prov. iii. 13-20, viii.); that she is '*the universitas litterarum*,' she teaches us all arts and sciences—cosmology, chronology, meteorology, astronomy, zoology, pneumatology, psychology, botany, pharmacy, politics, philosophy of history, parables, and enigmas (Wisdom vii. 17-21, viii. 8; with Exod. xxxi. 3, 1 Kings iii. 12, iv. 29-34); and the whole range of morals and spiritual virtues (Wisdom i. 1-18; x. 1-15; Prov. i. 7; iii.) Not only does the author of this book derive his leading thoughts from the canonical Scriptures of the O. T., but, as an orthodox Jew, he even espouses the traditions of his fathers. Thus in harmony with these traditions, which tell us that models of both the tabernacle and the temple were shown by God to Moses and Solomon, he speaks of the temple in Jerusalem as having been made after the model of the temple in heaven (comp. *μνημα σκηνης ἀγίας ἣν ποροποιήσας ἀπ' ἀρχῆς*, Wisd. ix. 8, with *בית*



המקדש שלמטה מכן כנגד בית המקדש שלמעלה, *Menachoth*, 29; Rashi on Exod. xxv. 9, 40; Heb. viii. 5). Cap. x. 19 b, which has occasioned great difficulty to interpreters, and which the Vulgate, Luther, the Zurich Bible, Coverdale's Version, Matthew's Bible, Cromwell's Bible, Cranmer's Bible, the Geneva Version, the Bishops' Bible, Grotius, Calmet, etc., take as antithetical to ver. 19 a, referring it to the Israelites whom wisdom brought forth from the depth of the sea—thus violating both its connection with the following verse, as indicated by *διὰ τοῦτο* and the sense of *ἀναβράζειν*, which is not to bring out, but to spit out, to cast out—is based upon a tradition which tells us that the sea spit out the corpses of the Egyptians when the Jews despoiled them of their weapons. This tradition is given in the *Mechilta*, the so-called *Chaldee paraphrases of Jerusalem*, and Jonathan b. Uziel on Exod. xv. 12, and *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer*, sect. xlii.\* and is at the basis of the account in Josephus (*Antiq.* ii. 16. 6). Our author also follows tradition in his remark that it was not the turning to the brazen serpent, as stated in Num. xxi. 9, but to God, which saved the Israelites (Wisdom xvi. 7 with *Rosh Ha-Shana*, 26; *Ferusalem Targum*; and Rashi on Num. xxi. 9); that the manna (Num. xi. 8) had all manner of pleasant tastes (Wisdom xvi. 20, 21, with *Toma*, 75); that prayers must be offered to God before the sun rises (Wisdom xvi. 28 with *Mishna Berachoth*, i. 2); that Sodom was destroyed because its inhabitants were inhospitable to strangers (Wisdom xix. 17, 18, with *Sanhedrim*, 109), etc. etc. With these facts before us we entirely differ from Gfrörer (*Philo*, ii. 207, etc.), Dähne (*Alex. Jüd. Religionsphilos.* ii. 153, etc.), and others, who maintain that the author of this book derived his leading tenets from Alexandrian, and more especially from Platonic philosophy, and fully concur with Ewald (iv. 549), who remarks 'that no one who is intimately acquainted with the O. T., as well as with our author, will say that he derived the doctrine of immortality from the above-named source. The specification of the *σωφροσύνη, φρόνησις, δικαιοσύνη, and ἀνδρεία*, as the four cardinal virtues, both here (Wisdom viii. 7) and by Philo (ii. 455, etc.; 4 Maccab. i. 18, etc.; v. 22, etc. (where *εὐσέβεια* is put for *φρόνησις*); xv. 7, where there is a similar change), is indeed real Platonic, and is derived entirely from

the Platonic school. But even these four virtues appear in viii. 7 as merely secondary, and in the whole connection of the treatment of the book as accidental.' Welte (*Einleitung*, 163, ff.), indeed, who does not dispute the agreement of the Book of Wisdom with Alexandrian philosophy, goes so far as to say that it only refers to such things as are also more or less clearly expressed in the canonical books of the Hebrew Scriptures.

In its religious doctrines the book of Wisdom is one of the most important and interesting contributions to the literature of the Jewish theology before the advent of Christ. It shows how the tenets of the Jews were preparing them for the teachings of the N. T. Thus it tells us that God is not the author of death, but made both man and all creatures in the image of his own eternity, and delighted in the whole of his creation (i. 13, 14; xi. 24), which he made for perpetual duration (i. 14 with Rom. viii. 20, 21). Death entered into the world through the envy of the devil (ii. 24). We have here the first instance on record where the serpent which tempted the protoplasts in Paradise is identified with the devil (ii. 24), thus confirming the explanation given of Gen. iii. 1-15 in John viii. 44; Rev. xii. 9; xx. 2. Graetz (iii. 443, ff.), who cannot brook so striking a confirmation on the part of the Jews before Christ to the correctness of the teachings of the N. T., will have it that this is one of the passages interpolated by a Christian hand. But there is very little doubt that the Jews believed in the identity of the serpent and Satan long before the advent of Christ (comp. Ginsburg, *The Kabbalah*, p. 29, Longman 1865), and that this notion has even passed over into the Persic religion (comp. Hengstenberg, *Christology*, i. 7, etc., English translation). The book of Wisdom, moreover, shows that the doctrine of immortality and a future judgment was most emphatically believed and was generally current among the Jews (i. 15; iii. 4; vi. 18, 19; viii. 17); that the Israelites believed that the wicked attract death by their sinful deeds (i. 16); that the saints, who are the children of God (ii. 13, 16, 18), will ultimately judge the world and rule over the nations thereof (iii. 8 with Matt. xix. 28; 1 Cor. vi. 2; Rev. ii. 26; iii. 21; xx. 4-6). The author of this book also propounds the doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul (viii. 20). This, however, he did not derive direct from Platonism, both because the manner in which he enunciates it is different from the mode in which it is represented by Plato and Philo, and because this doctrine was held by the Essenes in Palestine and is to be found in the Talmud (comp. Josephus, *De Bell. Jüd.* ii. 8. 11; *Chagiga*, 12 b; *Sebamoth*, 62; *Aboda Sara*, 5; Ginsburg, *The Kabbalah*, p. 31, etc.) The body is regarded as the seat of sin (i. 4; viii. 20) and as a mere hindrance and prison of the soul (Wisdom ix. 15 with 2 Cor. v. 1-4; Joseph. *De Bell. Jüd.* ii. 8. 11). No trace, however, is to be found in this book of a resurrection of the body or of a personal Messiah.

5. *Author and date of the Book.*—As the book itself ascribes the words therein contained to Solomon, and represents him as narrating his personal experience (vii.-xix.), the book of Wisdom has come down to us by tradition as the production of this great monarch. Thus it is not only expressly described as the work of this wise king in the inscriptions of the most ancient versions (viz. Sept. Syriac, Arabic, etc.), but it is quoted as such by the most

\* This tradition explains the Chaldee paraphrases which have copied it. We shall give it in its oldest poetical form, from the *Mechilta*. It is as follows:—'The sea cast out the dead on the earth, whilst the earth cast them back into the sea. The earth said, When I only received the blood of one person, Abel, it was said to me, Cursed art thou (Gen. iv. 11); how can I now receive the blood of such a multitude of slain ones? Whereupon the Holy One, blessed be he, swore by his right hand that he will not bring the earth into judgment for it.' Etheridge (*The Targums on the Pentateuch*, vol. i. p. 493-4) mistranslates קָבַל קְטִילֵינוּ and קָבַל קְטִילֵינוּ, by receive thy murderers, in defiance of the form of the word and the original tradition. A knowledge of the latter would have preserved him from similar mistakes, which are not unfrequently to be met with in his translation of the Chaldee paraphrases.



συνοδεύσω, vi. 22; ἀδελῶς—ἀφδόνως, vii. 13; ἀργὰ—ἐργα, xiv. 5; ἀδικα—δικη, i. 8; ἰδίας ἰδιότητος, ii. 23; ἀτραπὸν τρόπιος, v. 10; δυνατοὶ δὲ δυνατῶς, vi. 6; ὁσίων τὰ ὅσια ὁσιωθήσονται, vi. 10, κ. τ. λ. see Grimm, p. 7)—showing beyond doubt that the book was originally written in Greek. As to the Hebrew colouring of the language, the lexical Hebraisms (ex. gr. ἀπλότης καρδίας, i. 1; μερὶς, κλήρος, ii. 9; τρέβοι, ii. 15; λογίζεσθαι εἰς τι, ii. 16; πληροῦν χρόνον, iv. 13; ὅσιοι τοῦ Θεοῦ, iv. 15), the numerous Hebrew parallelisms, etc. etc., these are to be expected from so thorough an Israelite as the writer of this book manifestly was, especially when it is borne in mind that the author breathes throughout the whole of his work the spirit of the O. T.; that the book of Wisdom is an Hellenistic version of the same tradition wherein Solomon is represented as having philosophically refuted scepticism and tyranny, of which the book of Ecclesiastes is a Palestinian version [ECCLESIASTES], and that the author took the ancient Hebrew poetry for his model.

The style of the book is very uneven. Some portions of it are truly sublime, and will bear comparison with any passages in the best classics; as, for instance, the delineation of the sensualist (ii. 1, etc.), the picture of future judgment (v. 15, etc.), and the description of wisdom (vii. 22–viii. 1); whilst in other passages the author, as Bishop Lowth remarks, 'is often pompous and turgid as well as tedious and diffuse, and abounds in epithets, directly contrary to the practice of the Hebrews' (*Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews*, Prælect. xxiv.).

7. *Canonicity and Authority of the Book.*—Though the book of Wisdom, like the other deuterocanonical books, was never included in the canon of the synagogue, as is evident from the list of the Hebrew Scriptures given in the Talmud (*Baba Bathra*, 14); and though it is not found in the catalogues of Origen, Jerome, Epiphanius, Athanasius, Cyril, etc.; yet there can be but little doubt that it was held in great respect among the Jews, and that the apostle Paul was familiar with its language, as may be seen from the striking parallels in Rom. ix. 21 to Wisd. xv. 7; in Rom. ix. 22 to Wisd. xii. 20; in Eph. vi. 13–17 to Wisd. v. 17–19. The next allusion to it, though also not by name, is to be found in the epistle of St. Clement to the Corinthians (i. 27 with Wisd. xi. 22; xii. 12); and Eusebius tells us (*Hist. Eccl.* v. 26) that Irenæus made use of it in a lost book. Clement of Alexandria quotes it as the inspired work of Solomon, with the introductory phrase ἡ θεία σοφία λέγει (*Strom.* iv. 16, p. 609, ed. Potter). It is also quoted as such by Origen (*Contra Celsum*, iii. 72), Tertullian (*Advers. Valent.* c. ii.), Cyprian (*Exhortat. Martyr.* 12), Cyril (*Catech.* ix. p. 127), etc. etc. Hence it was declared as canonical by the third council of Carthage (A.D. 397), in the councils of Sardis (A.D. 347), Constantinople in Trullo (A.D. 692), Toledo (A.D. 575), Florence (A.D. 1438), and in the fourth session of the council of Trent (1546). With other deuterocanonical writings it remained in the canon till the time of the Reformation, when Luther first separated it and put it together with the rest of the Apocrypha at the end of the O. T. Still Luther spoke of it with great respect (*Vorrede auf die Weisheit Salomonis* in his translation of the Bible, ed. 1534). In the Anglican Church the book of

Wisdom is looked upon with still greater favour. Thus chapters xiii. xiv. are quoted in the *Homilies* as the writing of Solomon (*Sermon against Peril of Idolatry*, part iii.); vii. 11, 16; ix. 13; xiii. 1; xvi. 8, are cited as the work of the same wise man (*Sermons for Rogation Week*, part i.-iii.); iii. 1, xiii.-xv. are quoted as Scripture (*Sermon against the fear of Death*, part iii.; *Against Idolatries*, part i. and iii.); and cap. v. is referred to as *Holy Scripture* (*Against Wilful Rebellion*, part vi.).

8. *Literature.*—Rainold, *Censura Librorum Apocryph.* 1618, especially Prall. xvii.-xxiii.; Arnald, *The Book of Wisdom*, in Patrick, Lowth, Whitby, and Lowman's *Critical Commentary*; Wessely, *Hebrew Commentary on Wisdom*, Berlin 1780; Gutmann, *Die Apokryphen des Alten Testaments*, p. 3, ff., Altona 1841; Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, iv. 548, ff., Gottingen 1852; Schmid, *Das Buch der Weisheit übersetzt und erklärt*, Vienna 1858; and especially Grimm, *Das Buch der Weisheit erklärt*, part vi. of the *Kurzegefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apokryphen d. A. T.* Leipzig 1860. See also Grætz, *Geschichte der Juden*, iii. pp. 292 ff., 242 ff., 2d edition, Leipzig 1863; and the *Introductions to the O. T.* by Bertholdt (v. 225, ff., Erlangen 1815); De Wette (section 312-315); Keil (section 244-246, Erlangen 1859); and Davidson (iii. 396-410, London 1863).—C. D. G.

WITCH. The fem. מְכַשֶּׁפָּה (a sorceress), is found in Exod. xxii. 18; Sept. φαρμακός; Vulg. *malefica*; the mas. מְכַשֵּׁף (a sorcerer or magician), in Exod. vii. 11; Deut. xviii. 10; Dan. ii. 2; Mal. iii. 5; Sept. φαρμακός; Vulg. *maleficus*; and בְּשַׁף in Jer. xxvii. 9. In the N. T. 'sorcerer,' φαρμακός; Vulg. *maleficus*, occurs in Rev. xxi. 8; xxii. 15.

WITCHCRAFT בְּשִׁפָּה, pl. בְּשִׁפִּים occurs in 2 Kings ix. 22; Is. xlvii. 9, 12; Mic. v. 12; Nah. iii. 4; Sept. φαρμακεία, φάρμακα; Vulg. *veneficium*, *maleficium*. In the Apocrypha 'witchcraft,' 'sorcery,' φαρμακεία; *veneficium*, Wisd. xii. 4; xviii. 13; and in the N. T. Gal. v. 20; Rev. ix. 21; xviii. 23. As a verb בִּשְׁפָה, 'he used witchcraft,' occurs in 2 Chron. xxxiii. 6; ἐφαρμακεύετο, *maleficus artibus inserviebat*. This verb, in Arabic, signifies 'to reveal' or 'discover,' in Syriac *eth-paal*, according to Gesenius, 'to pray,' but this word, he observes, like many other sacred terms of the Syrians, as כְּמֹרִים בעל, etc., is restricted by the Hebrews to idolatrous services: hence כִּשְׁף means 'to practise magic,' literally 'to pronounce or mutter spells.' The word φαρμακός is derived from φαρμακεύω, to administer or apply medicines as remedies or poisons; to use magical herbs, drugs, or substances, supposed to derive their efficacy from magical spells; and thence to use spells, conjurations, or enchantments; hence φαρμακός means, in the classical writers, a preparer of drugs, but generally of poisons, or drugs that operate by the force of magical charms; and thence a magician, an enchanter of either sex. It occurs in the latter sense in Josephus (*Antiq.* xvii. 4. 1), and is applied by him to a female, τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ φαρμακὸν καὶ πόρνην ἀποκαλεῖσαι (*Antiq.* ix. 6. 3). This word also answers in the Sept. to חֲרָטְמִים, 'magicians' (Exod. ix. 11), φαρμακοί, *malefici*. The received text of Rev. xxi. 8 reads φαρμακεύς;



but the Alexandrian, and sixteen later MSS., with several printed editions, have *φαρμακός*, a reading embraced by Wetstein, and by Griesbach received into the text. *Φαρμακός* occurs in the same sense as *φαρμακός*, in Lucian (*Dial. Deor.* xiii. 1; Joseph. *Vita*, sec. 31). The word *φαρμακεία* is used of *Circe* by Aristophanes (*Plut.* 302), and in the same sense of enchantment, etc., by Polybius (vi. 13. 4; xl. 3. 7). It corresponds in the Sept. to לְהַטִּים, 'enchantments' (Exod. vii. 11, 22). The verb *φαρμακεύω* is employed in the sense of using enchantments by Herodotus (vii. 114), where, after saying that when Xerxes came to the river Strymon, the magi sacrificed white horses to it, he adds: *φαρμακεύσαντες δὲ ταῦτα ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ πρὸς τοῦτοις*,—'and having used these enchantments and many others to the river,' etc. The precise idea, if any, now associated with the word 'witch'—but, however, devoutly entertained by nearly the whole nation in the time of our translators—is that of a female, who, by the agency of Satan, or rather, of a familiar spirit or gnome appointed by Satan to attend on her, performs operations beyond the powers of humanity, in consequence of her compact with Satan, written in her own blood, by which she resigns herself to him for ever. The belief in the existence of such persons cannot be traced higher than the middle ages, and was probably derived from the wild and gloomy mythology of the northern nations, amongst whom the Fatal Sisters, and other impersonations of destructive agency in a female form, were prominent articles of the popular creed. A very different idea was conveyed by the Hebrew word, which probably denotes a sorceress or magician, who pretended to discover, and even to direct the effects ascribed to the operation of the elements, conjunctions of the stars, the influence of lucky and unlucky days, the power of invisible spirits, and of the inferior deities (Graves's *Lectures on the Pentateuch*, pp. 109, 110, Dublin 1829). Sir Walter Scott well observes, that 'the sorcery or witchcraft of the O. T. resolves itself into a trafficking with idols and asking counsel of false deities, or, in other words, into idolatry' (*Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft*, London 1830, Let. 2). Accordingly, sorcery is in Scripture uniformly associated with idolatry (Deut. xviii. 9-14; 2 Kings ix. 22; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 5, 6, etc.; Gal. v. 20; Rev. xxi. 8). The modern idea of witchcraft, as involving the assistance of Satan, is inconsistent with Scripture, where, as in the instance of Job, Satan is represented as powerless till God gave him a limited commission; and when 'Satan desired to sift Peter as wheat,' no reference is made to the intervention of a witch. Nor do the actual references to magic in Scripture involve its reality. The mischiefs resulting from the *pretension*, under the theocracy, to an art which involved idolatry, justified the statute which denounced it with death;

though instead of the unexampled phrase לֹא תַחִיָּה, 'thou shalt not suffer to live,' Michaelis conjec-

tures לֹא תַחִיָּה, 'shall not be' (Exod. xxii. 18), which also better suits the parallel, 'There shall not be found among you, etc., a witch' (Deut. xviii. 10). Indeed, as 'we know that an idol is nothing in the world, and that there is none other God but one' (1 Cor. viii. 4), we must believe all pretensions to traffic with the one, or ask counsel

of the other, to be equally vain. Upon the same principle of suppressing idolatry, however, the prophets of Baal also were destroyed, and not because Baal had any real existence, or because they could avail anything by their invocations. It is highly probable that the more intelligent portion of the Jewish community, especially in later times, understood the emptiness of pretensions to magic (see Is. xlv. 25; xlvii. 11-15; Jer. xiv. 14; Jonah ii. 8). Plato evidently considered the mischief of magic to consist in the tendency of the pretension to it, and not in the reality (*De Leg.* lib. 11). Divination of all kinds had fallen into contempt in the time of Cicero: 'Dubium non est quin hæc disciplina et ars augurum evanuerit jam et vetustate et negligentia' (*De Legibus*, ii. 13). Josephus declares that he laughed at the very idea of witchcraft (*Vita*, sec. 31). For the very early writers who maintained that the wonders of the magicians were not supernatural, see *Universal Hist.* (vol. iii. p. 374, 8vo ed.) It seems safe to conclude from the Septuagint renderings, and their identity with the terms used by classical writers, that the pretended exercise of this art in ancient times was accompanied with the use of drugs, or fumigations made of them. No doubt the skilful use of certain chemicals, if restricted to the knowledge of a few persons, might, in ages unenlightened by science, along with other resources of natural magic, be made the means of extensive imposture. The natural gases, exhalations, etc., would contribute their share, as appears from the ancient account of the origin of the oracle at Delphi. The real mischiefs ever effected by the professors of magic on mankind, etc., may be safely ascribed to the actual administration of poison. Josephus states a case of poisoning under the form of a philtre or love potion, and says that the Arabian women were reported to be skilful in making such potions (*Antiq.* xvii. 4. 1). Such means doubtless constitute the real perniciousness of the African species of witchcraft called *Obi*, the similarity of which word to the Hebrew בִּזְיוֹן, *inflation*, is remarkable. Among the Sandwich Islanders, some, who had professed witchcraft, confessed, after their conversion to Christianity, that they had poisoned their victims. The death of Sir Thomas Overbury is cited as an instance in this country, by Sir Walter Scott (*ut supra*). There was, indeed, a wide scope for the production of very fantastic effects, short of death, by such means. The story of 'the witch of Endor,' as she is commonly but improperly called, is, under the article SAUL, referred to witchcraft. She indeed belongs to another class of pretenders to supernatural powers [DIVINATION]. She was a necromancer, or one of those persons who pretended to call up the spirits of the dead to converse with the living (see Is. viii. 19; xxix. 4; lxx. 3). A full account is given of such persons by Lucan (vi. 591, etc.) and by Tibullus (i. 2; v. 45), where the pretensions of the sorceress are thus described:

Hæc cantu finditque solum, Manesque sepulchris  
Elicit, et tepido devocat ossa rogò.

Of much the same character is the Sibyl in the 6th book of Virgil's *Æneid*. It is related as the last and crowning act of Saul's rebellion against God, that he consulted 'a woman who had a familiar spirit' (1 Sam. xxviii. 7), literally 'a mistress of the *Obi*,'—an act forbidden by the divine law (Lev. xx. 6), which sentenced the pretenders to



such a power to death (ver. 27), and which law Saul himself had recently enforced (1 Sam. xxviii. 3, 9), because, it is supposed, they had freely predicted his approaching ruin; although, after the well-known prophecies of Samuel to that effect, the disasters Saul had already encountered, and the growing influence of David, there 'needed no ghost to come from the grave to tell them this.' Various explanations of this story have been offered. It has been attempted to resolve the whole into *imposture and collusion*. Saul, who was naturally a weak and excitable man, had become, through a long series of vexations and anxieties, absolutely 'delirious,' as Patrick observes. 'He was afraid and his heart greatly trembled,' says the sacred writer. In this state of mind, and upon the very eve of his last battle, he commissions his *own servants* to seek him a woman that had a familiar spirit, and attended by two of them, he comes to her 'by night,' the most favourable time for imposition. He converses with her alone, his two attendants, whether his secret enemies or real friends, being absent, *somewhere*, yet, however, close at hand. Might not one of these, or some one else, have agreed with the woman to personate Samuel in another room?—for it appears that Saul, though he spoke with, did not *see* the ghost (ver. 13, 14); who, it should be observed, told him nothing but what his own attendants could have told him, with the exception of those words, 'to-morrow shall thou and thy sons be with me' (ver. 19); to which, however, it is replied, that Saul's death did not occur upon the morrow, and that the word so translated is sufficiently ambiguous, for though מחר means 'to-morrow' in some passages, it means the future indefinitely in others (Exod. xiii. 14, and see the margin; Josh. iv. 6, 21; comp. Matt. vi. 34). It is further urged, that her 'crying with a loud voice,' and her telling Saul, at the same time, that she knew him, were the well-timed arts of the sorceress, intended to magnify her pretended skill. It is, however, objected against this, or any other hypothesis of collusion, that the sacred writer not only represents the Pythoness as affirming, but also himself affirms, that she saw Samuel, and that Samuel spoke to Saul, nor does he drop the least hint that it was not the real Samuel of whom he was speaking. The same objections apply equally to the theory of ventriloquism, which has been grounded upon the word used by the Sept., ἐγγασ-τρίμυθος. Others have given a *literal interpretation* of the story, and have maintained that Samuel actually appeared to Saul. Justin Martyr maintains this theory, and in his dialogue with Trypho the Jew, urges this incident in proof of the immortality of the soul (p. 333). The same view is taken in the additions to the Sept. in 1 Chron. x. 13, καὶ ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῷ Σαμουὴλ ὁ προφήτης; and in Ecclus. xvi. 9, 20, it is said, 'and after his death Samuel prophesied, and showed the king his end,' etc. Such also is the view Josephus takes (*Antiq.* vi. 14. 3. 4), where he bestows a laboured eulogium upon the woman. It is, however, objected that the actual appearance of Samuel is inconsistent with all we are taught by revelation concerning the state of the dead; involves the possibility of a spirit or soul assuming a corporeal shape, conversing audibly, etc.; and further, that it is incredible that God would submit the departed souls of his servants to be summoned back to

earth, by rites either utterly futile, or else deriving their efficacy from the co-operation of Satan. So Tertullian argues (*De Animâ*, cap. lvii.), and many other of the ancients. Others have supposed that the woman induced Satan or some evil spirit to personate Samuel. But this theory, beside other difficulties, attributes nothing less than miraculous power to the devil; for it supposes the apparition of a spiritual and incorporeal being, and that Satan can assume the appearance of any one he pleases. Again, the historian

(ver. 14) calls this appearance to Saul, שמואל, 'Samuel himself' (the latter word is entirely omitted by our translators); which he could not with truth have done if it was no other than the devil; who, besides, is here represented as the severe reprover of Saul's impiety and wickedness. The admission that Satan or an evil spirit could thus personate an individual at pleasure, would endanger the strongest evidences of Christianity. Others have maintained another interpretation, which appears to us at once tenable and countenanced by similar narratives in Scripture—namely, that the whole account is the narrative of a miracle, a *divine representation or impression*, partly upon the senses of Saul and partly upon those of the woman, and intended for the rebuke and punishment of Saul. It is urged, from the air of the narrative in ver. 11, 12, that Samuel appeared before the woman had any time for jugglery, fumigations, etc.; for although the word 'when' (ver. 12) is speciously printed in Roman characters, it has nothing to answer to it in the original, which reads simply thus, beginning at ver. 11: 'Then said the woman, Whom shall I bring up unto thee? And he said, Bring me up Samuel. And the woman saw Samuel, and cried with a loud voice.' No sooner then had Saul said, 'Bring me up Samuel,' than Samuel himself was presented to her mind—an event so contrary to her expectation, that she cried out with terror. At the same time, and by the same miraculous means, she was made aware of the royal dignity of her visitant. The vision then continues in the mind of Saul, who thereby receives his last reproof from heaven, and hears the sentence of his approaching doom. Thus God interposed with a miracle previously to the use of any magical formulæ, as he did when the king of Moab had recourse to sorceries to overrule the mind of Balaam, so that he was compelled to bless those whom Balak wanted him to curse (Num. xxiii.); and as God also interposed when Ahaziah sent to consult Baal-zebub, his god, about his recovery, when by his prophet Elijah he stopped the messengers, reproved their master, and denounced his death (2 Kings i. 2, 16). It may also be observed that Saul was on this occasion simply sentenced to the death he had justly incurred by having recourse to those means which he knew to be unlawful. Of the same nature of divine representation or vision, we think, was the reproof administered to Elijah, at Mount Horeb, when 'a great and strong wind rent the mountains, and brake in pieces the rocks before the Lord,' and was succeeded by 'an earthquake,' etc. (1 Kings xix. 11, etc.) Of the same nature, also, was the Temptation of our Lord (see the article, and other instances of divine vision not expressly specified as such, in Bishop Law's *Theory of Religion*, pp. 85, 86, London 1820). Farmer is of opinion that the suppression of the word 'himself'



(ver. 14), and the introduction of the word 'when' (ver. 12), are to be ascribed to the prejudices of our translators. If they do not betray a bias on their minds, these instances support the general remark of Bishop Lowth upon the English translation, 'that in respect of the sense, and accuracy of interpretation, the improvements of which it is capable are great and numberless' (*Preliminary Dissertation to Isaiah*, ad finem). Some other *mistranslations* occur in reference to this subject. In 1 Sam. xv. 23, 'rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft,' should be of 'divination.' In Deut. xviii. 10, the word *חֹשֶׁב* does not mean 'witch,' but, being masculine, 'a sorcerer.' In Acts viii. 9, the translation is exceedingly apt to mislead the mere English reader: 'Simon used sorcery, and bewitched the people of Samaria'—*Σίμων προῦπηρ-χεν ἐν τῇ πόλει μαγείων καὶ ἐξιστῶν τὸ ἔθνος τῆς Σαμαρείας*—i.e. 'Simon had been pursuing magic, and perplexing (or astonishing) the people,' etc. See also ver. 11, and comp. the use of the word *ἐξιστῆμι*, Matt. xii. 23. In Gal. iii. 1, 'Foolish Galatians,' *τὸς ἡυᾶς ἐβόσκατε*, 'who hath fascinated you?' (For the use of the words *βακάνια* and *χαρμακία* in magic, among the Greeks, see Potter's *Archæologia Græca*, vol. i. chap. xviii. p. 356, etc., Lond. 1775.) It is considered by some that the word 'witchcraft' is used metaphorically for the allurements of pleasure (Nah. iii. 4; Rev. xviii. 23), and that the 'sorcerers' mentioned in ch. xxi. 8 may mean sophisticians of the truth. The kindred word *φαρμάσσω* is used by metonymy, as signifying 'to charm,' 'to persuade by flattery,' etc. (Plato, *Sympos.* sec. 17), 'to give a temper to metals' (*Odys.* ix. 393). The last-named theory concerning the narrative of Samuel's appearance to Saul is maintained with much learning and ingenuity by Hugh Farmer (*Dissertation on Miracles*, p. 472, etc., Lond. 1771). It is adopted by Dr. Waterland (*Sermons*, vol. ii. p. 267), and Dr. Delaney in his *Life of David*; but is combated by Dr. Chandler with objections, which are, however, answered or obviated by Farmer. On the general subject, see Michaelis's *Laws of Moses*, by Dr. A. Smith, London 1814, vol. iv. pp. 83-93; Banier's *History of Mythology*, lib. iv.; Winer's *Biblisches Real-Wörterbuch*, art. 'Zauberei.'—J. F. D.

WITNESS (ῥῦ; Sept. *μάρτυς* or *μάρτυρ*; Vulg. *testis*). It is intended in the present article to notice some of the leading and peculiar senses of this voluminous word. It occurs, 1st, in the sense of a *person* who deposes to the occurrence of any fact, a witness of any event. The Hebrew word is derived from *רָאָה*, to repeat. The Greek is usually derived from *μεῖρω*, to 'divide,' 'decide,' etc., because a witness decides controversies (Heb. vi. 16); but Damm (*Lex. Hom.* col. 1495) derives it from the old word *μάρη*, 'the hand,' because witnesses anciently held up their hands in giving evidence. This custom among the ancient Hebrews is referred to in Gen. xiv. 22; among the heathens, by Homer (*Il.* x. 321), and by Virgil (*Æn.* xii. 196). God himself is represented as swearing in this manner (Deut. xxxii. 40; Ezek. xx. 5, 6, 15; comp. Num. xiv. 30). So also the heathen gods (Pindar, *Olymp.* vii. 119, 120). These Hebrew and Greek words, with their various derivations, pervade the entire subject. They are applied to a *judicial witness* in Exod. xxiii. 1;

Lev. v. 1; Num. v. 13; xxxv. 30 (comp. Deut. xvii. 6; xix. 15; Matt. xviii. 16; 2 Cor. xiii. 1); Prov. xiv. 5; xxiv. 28; Matt. xxvi. 65; Acts vi. 13; 1 Tim. v. 19; Heb. x. 28. They are applied, *generally*, to a person who certifies, or is able to certify, to any fact which has come under his cognisance (Josh. xxiv. 22; Is. viii. 2; Luke xxiv. 48; Acts i. 8, 22; 1 Thes. ii. 10; 1 Tim. vi. 12; 2 Tim. ii. 2; 1 Pet. i. 5). So in allusion to those who witness the public games (Heb. xii. 1). They are also applied to any one who testifies to the world what God reveals through him (Rev. xi. 3). In the latter sense the Greek word is applied to our Lord (Rev. i. 5; iii. 14). It is further used in the ecclesiastical sense of *martyr* [MARTYR]. Both the Hebrew and Greek words are also applied to *God* (Gen. xxxi. 50; 1 Sam. xii. 5; Jer. xlii. 5; Rom. i. 9; Phil. i. 8; 1 Thes. ii. 5); to *inanimate things* (Gen. xxxi. 52; Ps. lxxxix. 37). The supernatural means whereby the deficiency of witnesses was compensated under the theocracy have been already considered under the articles ADULTERY, TRIAL OF; URIM AND THUMMIM. For the punishment of false witness and the suppression of evidence, see PUNISHMENT. For the forms of adjuration (2 Chron. xviii. 15), see ADJURATION. Opinions differ as to what is meant by 'the faithful witness in heaven' (Ps. lxxxix. 37). Some suppose it to mean the moon (comp. Ps. lxxii. 5, 7; Jer. xxxi. 35, 36; xxxiii. 20, 21; Eccles. xliii. 6); others, the rainbow (Gen. ix. 12-17).—2. The witness or *testimony* itself borne to any fact is expressed by *ῥῦ*; *μαρτυρία*; *testimonium*. They are used of *judicial testimony* (Prov. xxv. 18; Mark xiv. 56, 59). In ver. 55, Schleusner takes the word *μαρτυρία* for *μάρτυρ*, the abstract for the concrete (Luke xxii. 71; John viii. 17; Joseph. *Antiq.* iv. 8. 15). It denotes the testimony to the truth of anything *generally* (John i. 7, 19; xix. 35); that of a poet (Tit. i. 13). It occurs in Josephus (*Cont. Apion.* i. 21). In John iii. 11, 32, Schleusner understands the *doctrine*, the thing professed; in v. 32, 36, the *proofs* given by God of our Saviour's mission; comp. v. 9. In viii. 13, 14, both he and Bretschneider assign to the word the sense of *praise*. In Acts xxii. 18, the former translates it *teaching* or *instruction*. In Rev. i. 9 it denotes the *constant profession* of Christianity, or testimony to the truth of the gospel (comp. i. 2; vi. 9). In 1 Tim. iii. 7 *μαρτυρίαν καλὴν* means a *good character* (comp. 3 John 12; Eccles. xxxi. 34; Joseph. *Antiq.* vi. 10. 1). In Ps. xix. 7, 'The testimony of the Lord is sure,' probably signifies the *ordinances, institutions*, etc. (comp. cxix. 22, 24, etc.) Those ambiguous words, 'He that believeth in the Son of God hath the witness in himself' (1 John v. 10), which have given rise to a variety of fanatical meanings, are easily understood, by explaining the word *ἔχει*, 'receives,' 'retains,' etc.—i.e. the foregoing testimony which God hath given of his Son, whereas the unbeliever rejects it. The whole passage is obscured in the English translation by neglecting the uniformity of the Greek, and introducing the word 'record,' contrary to the profession of our translators in their *Preface to the Reader* (ad finem). The Hebrew word, with *μαρτύριον*, occurs in the sense of *monument, evidence*, etc. (Gen. xxi. 30; xxxi. 44; Deut. iv. 45; xxxi. 26; Josh. xxii. 27; Ruth iv. 7; Matt. viii. 4; Mark vi. 11; Luke xxi. 13; James v. 3). In 2 Cor. i. 12, Schleusner explains *μαρτύριον*, com-



mendation. In Prov. xxix. 14 and Amos i. 11, לעד is pointed to mean *perpetually, for ever*, but the Sept. gives εἰς μαρτύριον; Aquila εἰς ἔτι; Symmachus εἰς αἰ; Vulg. *in aeternum*. In Acts vii. 44 and Rev. xv. 5, we find ἡ σκηνή τοῦ μαρτυρίου,

and this is the Sept. rendering for מועד אהל (which really means 'the tabernacle of the congregation') in Exod. xxix. 42, 44; xl. 22, 24—deriving מועד from עוּד, 'to testify,' instead of from עוֹד, 'to assemble.' On 1 Tim. ii. 6, see Bowyer's *Conjectures*. In Heb. iii. 5, Schleusner interprets εἰς μαρτύριον τῶν λαληθησομένων, 'the promulgation of those things about to be delivered to the Jews.'—3. *To be or become a witness*, by testifying the truth of what one knows. Thus the Sept. translates העיד (Gen. xliii. 3), μαρτυρέω, *to bear witness*, and Amos iii. 13: see also 1 Kings xxi. 10, 13. In John i. 7; xv. 26; xviii. 23, Schleusner gives as its meaning, *to teach or explain*; in John iv. 44; vii. 7; 1 Tim vi. 13, *to declare*; in Acts x. 43; Rom. iii. 21, *to declare prophetically*. With a dative case following, the word sometimes means *to approve* (Luke iv. 22). So Schleusner understands Luke xi. 48, 'ye approve the deeds of your fathers,' and he gives this sense also to Rom. x. 2. In like manner the passive μαρτυρούμαι, 'to be approved,' 'beloved,' 'have a good character,' etc. (Acts vi. 3; 1 Tim. v. 10; comp. 3 John 6, 12). 'The witness of the Spirit,' alluded to by St. Paul (Rom. viii. 16), is explained by Macknight and all the best commentators as the extraordinary operations of the Holy Spirit concurring with the filial dispositions of converted Gentiles, 'to prove that they are 'the children of God,' as well as the Jews.—4. 'To call or take to witness,' to invoke as witness, μαρτύρομαι (Acts xx. 26; Gal. v. 3; Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* iii. 8. 3). A still stronger word is διαμαρτύρομαι, which corresponds to העיד (Deut. iv. 26). It means 'to admonish solemnly,' 'to charge earnestly,' 'to urge upon' (Ps. lxxxi. 8; Neh. ix. 26; Luke xvi. 28; Acts ii. 40). In other passages the same words mean to 'teach earnestly.' In Job xxix. 11, a beautiful phrase occurs, 'When the eye saw me it gave witness to me.' The admiring expression of the eye upon beholding a man of eminent virtue and benevolence, is here admirably illustrated. The description of the mischief occasioned by a false witness, in Prov. xxv. 18, deserves notice; 'a man that beareth false witness against his neighbour, is a maul, and a sword, and a sharp arrow.' Few words afford more exercise to discrimination, in consequence of the various shades of meaning in which the context requires they should be understood.—J. F. D.

WITSIUS, HERMANN, D.D., was born at Euchuysen, in Friesland, 12th February 1636. After officiating as pastor in different places, he was appointed to a theological chair at Utrecht, from which he passed to the same at Franeker, and ultimately to the professorship of theology at Leyden, where he died 22d October 1708. He was a learned and pious divine, and orthodox according to the Cocceian type. His most important works, besides his system of theology, entitled *De Economia fœderum*, in which he gives the best exposition extant of the federal theology, are his *Miscellanea Sacra*, of which the best edition is that published at Leyden 1736, 2 vols. 4to; his *Ægyptiaca sive de Ægyptior. sacrar. cum Hebr. collatione*,

4to, Amst. 1683, Bas. 1739; and his *Meletemata Leidensia quibus continentur prælectiones de vita et rebus gestis Pauli, necnon dissertt. exeget. duodecas denique Comment. in Ep. Judæ*, 4to, Leyd. 1703. Translations into English have appeared of his *Æconomia*, of his *Dissertations on the Creed* (by Donald Frazer, D.D., 2 vols. 8vo), and of his *Dissertations on the Lord's Prayer* (by William Pringle, in 'Edin. Bib. Cab.' No. 24).—W. L. A.

#### WIZARD. [DIVINATION.]

WOIDE, CHARLES GODFREY, D.D., a native of Germany, was born in 1725, and was educated at Frankfort-on-the-Oder and at Leyden. After being some time pastor at Lissa, he came over to be preacher at the German Chapel Royal, London. In 1782 he became assistant-librarian in the British Museum. Whilst in this office he made use of his learning and opportunities to transcribe with his own hand the N. T. portion of the *Codex Alexandrinus*, which forms one of the special treasures of that institution, and this he afterwards published in *facsimile* in 1 vol. fol., Lond. 1786 [MANUSCRIPTS]. The preface and the various readings of this splendid work were republished by Spohn under the title *Notitia Codicis Alex. cum var. ejus lectt. omnibus*, Lips. 1790, with notes by Spohn. At the time of his death, which took place 10th May 1790, Woide was engaged in preparing *Fragmenta N. T. a vers. Ægyptica Dialecti Thebaid. Sahidic. seu superioris Ægypti*. This was completed by Dr. Ford, and appeared in 1 vol. fol., Oxon. 1799.—W. L. A.

#### WOLF. [ZEEB.]

WOLF, JOHANN CHRISTOPH, was born at Wernigerode 21st February 1683. He was educated at Wittenberg, and when he had finished his studies there he spent some time in travelling through Holland and England, chiefly with a view of exploring the public libraries of these countries. In 1710 he was appointed professor of philosophy at Wittenberg; in 1712, professor of Oriental languages at Hamburg; in 1715, pastor of the Domkirche in that city; and in 1719, pastor of St. Catherine's there. He died 25th July 1739. He was a man of learning and indefatigable labour, and we are indebted to him for several works of standard value in the department to which they belong. These are—*Historia Lexicor. Heb.*, Wittenb. 1705; *Bibliotheca Hebræa sive notitia auct. Heb.*, 4 vols. 4to, Hamb. 1715-33; *Cura Philologica in N. T.* (1725-35), best edition, 5 vols. 4to, Basil 1741; *Epitaphia Judaica Heb. et Lat.* in Ugolino Thesaur. xxxiii.; *Anecdota Græca Sacra et Profana ex MSS. cruta*, 4 vols. 8vo, Hamb. 1722-24; *Notitia Karaeorum hausta ex tract. Mardochai*, etc., 4to, Hamb. 1721.—W. L. A.

WOLFSSOHN (= *b. Seeb Wolf*), AARON, also called Aaron Halle (אהרן האללי), was born 1736, and died in Fürth, March 20, 1835, in the seventy-ninth year of his age. He was a distinguished disciple of Mendelssohn, professor in King William School at Breslau, and worked in the department of Biblical exegesis and Hebrew literature in conjunction with Joel Löwe, G. Solomon, etc. etc. Of his numerous writings, the following relate to the elucidation of the Scriptures and the Hebrew language:—(1.) A German translation of Lamentations, with an elaborate Hebrew introduction and commentary by



Löwe, Berlin 1788. (2.) A translation of Esther, with a Hebrew introduction and commentary by Löwe, Berlin 1788. (3.) A translation of Ruth, with a Hebrew introduction and commentary by Löwe, Berlin 1788. (4.) A Hebrew commentary on the Song of Solomon, written conjointly with Löwe, accompanying Mendelssohn's translation of this book, Berlin 1789. (5.) The Book of Job, with a German translation and Hebrew commentary, Prague 1791; Vienna 1806. (6.) The First Book of Kings, with a German translation and Hebrew commentary, Breslau 1809. (7.) Critical and exegetical annotations on the vision of Habakkuk, Breslau 1806. (8.) A German translation of the first two chapters of Habakkuk, published in the periodical entitled *Jedidja*, vol. ii. p. 107, ff. (9.) A German translation and Hebrew exposition of the Sabbatic and Festival Lessons [HAPHTAROTH], in conjunction with Löwe, the two Euchels, Theodor, and Friedländer, Berlin 1790. And (10.) A Hebrew primer, entitled *Ab-taljon* (אַבְטַלְיוֹן), with an introduction by Friedländer, Berlin 1790; Breslau 1799; Vienna 1800; Prague 1806; Vienna 1814. He also wrote a number of essays and reviews on sundry Biblical subjects, which are enumerated by Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, col. 2732-2734; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, iii. 553, etc.—C. D. G.

WOMAN, in Hebrew אִשָּׁה, which is the feminine form of אִישׁ, as among the ancient Romans *vira* (found still in *virago*) from *vir*; and in Greek ἀνδρῖς from ἀνῖρ: like our own term woman, the Hebrew is used of married and unmarried females. The derivation of the word thus shows that according to the conception of the ancient Israelites woman was man in a modified form—one of the same race, the same genus, as man; a kind of female man. How slightly modified that form is, how little in original structure woman differs from man, physiology has made abundantly clear. Different in make as man and woman are, they differ still more in character; and yet the great features of their hearts and minds so closely resemble each other, that it requires no depth of vision to see that these twain are one! This most important fact is characteristically set forth in the Bible in the account given of the formation of woman out of one of Adam's ribs: a representation to which currency may have the more easily been given, from the apparent space there is between the lowest rib and the bones on which the trunk is supported. 'And Adam said, This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of man.' An immediate and natural inference is forthwith made touching the intimacy of the marriage-bond: 'Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and they shall be one flesh' (Gen. ii. 21-24). Those who have been pleased to make free with this simple narrative, may well be required to show how a rude age could more effectually have been taught the essential unity of man and woman—a unity of nature which demands, and is perfected only in, a unity of soul. The conception of the Biblical writer goes beyond even this, but does not extend farther than science and experience unite to justify. There was solid reason why it was not good for Adam 'to be alone.'

Without an help-meet he would have been an imperfect being. The genus homo consists of man and woman. Both are necessary to the idea of man. The one supplements the qualities of the other. They are not two, but one flesh, and as one body so one soul.

The entire aim, then, of the narrative in Genesis was, by setting forth certain great physical facts, to show the essential unity of man and woman, yet the dependence of the latter on the former; and so to encourage and foster the tenderest and most considerate love between the two, founded on the peculiar qualities of each—pre-eminence, strength, intellectual power, and wisdom on the one side; reliance, softness, grace, and beauty on the other,—at the same time that the one set of excellences lose all their worth unless as existing in the possession of the other.

It will at once be seen that under the influence of a religion, at the bottom of which lay those ideas concerning the relations of the sexes one to another, slavery on the part of the woman was impossible. This fact is the more noticeable, and it speaks the more loudly in favour of the divine origin of the religion of the Bible, because the East has in all times, down to the present day, kept woman everywhere, save in those places in which Judaism and Christianity have prevailed, in a state of low, even in some cases gilded, bondage, making her the mere toy, plaything, and instrument of man. Nothing can be more painful to contemplate than the humiliating condition in which Islamism still holds its so-called free women—a condition of perpetual childhood—childhood of mind, while the passions receive constant incense; leaving the fine endowments of woman's soul undeveloped and inert, or crushing them when in any case they may happen to germinate; and converting man into a self-willed haughty idol, for whose will and pleasure the other sex lives and suffers.

It will assist the reader in forming a just conception of Hebrew women in the Biblical periods, if we add a few details respecting the actual condition of women in Syria. Mr. Bartlett (*Walks about Jerusalem*, p. 191, seq.) visited the house of a rich Jew in the metropolis of the holy land. We give the substance of his observations: 'On entering his dwelling we found him seated on the low divan, fondling his youngest child; and on our expressing a wish to draw the costume of the female members of his family, he commanded their attendance, but it was some time before they would come forward; when however they did present themselves, it was with no sort of reserve whatever. Their costume is chastely elegant. The prominent figure in the room was the married daughter, whose little husband, a boy of fourteen or fifteen as he seemed, wanted nearly a head of the stature of his wife, but was already chargeable with the onerous duties of a father. An oval head-dress of peculiar shape, from which was slung a long veil of embroidered muslin, admirably set off the brow and eyes; the neck was ornamented with bracelets, and the bosom with a profusion of gold coins, partly concealed by folds of muslin; a graceful robe of striped silk, with long open sleeves, half-laced under the bosom, invested the whole person, over which is worn a jacket of green silk with short sleeves, leaving the white arm and braceleted hand at liberty. An elderly person sat



on the sofa, the mother, whose dress was more grave, her turban less oval, and of blue shawl, and the breast covered entirely to the neck, with a kind of ornamented gold tissue ; and over all was seen a jacket of fur : she was engaged in knitting, while her younger daughter bent over her in conversation ; her dress was similar to that of her sister, but with no gold coins, or light muslin folds, and instead of large ear-rings, the vermillion blossom of the pomegranate formed an exquisite pendant, reflecting its glow upon the dazzling whiteness of her skin. We were surprised at the fairness and delicacy of their complexion, and the vivacity of their manner. Unlike the wives of Oriental Christians, who respectfully attend at a distance till invited to approach, these pretty Jewesses seemed on a perfect footing of equality, and chatted and laughed away without intermission. Many of the daughters of Judah, here and at Hebron, are remarkable for their attractions. Mr. Wolff describes one of them with enthusiasm, and no small unconscious poetry—'the beautiful Sarah,' whom his lady met at a 'wedding-feast.' 'She was scarcely seated when she felt a hand upon hers, and heard a kind greeting. She turned to the voice and saw a most beautiful Jewess, whom I also afterwards saw, and I never beheld a more beautiful and well-behaved lady in my life, except the beautiful girl in the valley of Cashmere ; she looked like a queen in Israel. A lovely lady she was ; tall, of a fair complexion and blue eyes, and around her forehead and cheeks she wore several roses. No queen had a finer deportment than that Jewess had.'



525. Syro-Arabian costume. Indoor dress.

Mr. Bartlett was also admitted into the abode of a Christian family in Jerusalem, of whom he thus speaks (pp. 195-6) :—'The interior of their houses is similar to those of the Jews. In our intercourse with them we were received with more ceremony than among the former. The mistress of the family is in attendance with her children and servants, and besides pipes and coffee, the guest is presented with saucers of sweetmeats and small glasses of aniseed ; which, when done with, are taken from him by his fair hostess or her servant, who kiss his hand as they receive them. They are more reserved, often standing during the visit. Their dress is more gorgeous than that of the Jewish women, but not so chastely elegant ; it suits well with the languor of their air, their dusky complexion, and large black eyes. The head-dress has

a fantastic air, like that of a May-day queen in England, and the bust is a little in the style of

'Beauties by Sir Peter Lely,  
Whose drapery hints we may admire freely.'

A heavy shawl is gracefully wreathed round the figure, and the dress, when open, displays long loose trousers of muslin and small slippers. The ensemble, it must be admitted, is very fascinating, when its wearer is young and lovely.'



526. Garden dress.

We now pass to the peasantry, and take from Lamartine a sketch of the Syrian women as seen by him at the foot of Lebanon, on a Sunday, after having with their families attended divine service, when the families 'return to their houses to enjoy a repast somewhat more sumptuous than on ordinary days : the women and girls, adorned in their richest clothes, their hair plaited, and all strewn with orange-flowers, scarlet wall-flowers, and carnations, seat themselves on mats before the doors of their dwellings, with their friends and neighbours. It is impossible to describe with the pen the groups, so redolent of the picturesque, from the richness of their costume and their beauty, which these females then compose in the landscape. I see amongst them daily such countenances as Raphael had not beheld, even in his dreams as an artist. It is more than the Italian or Greek beauty ; there is the nicety of shape, the delicacy of outline, in a word, all that Greek and Roman art has left us as the most finished model ; but it is rendered more bewitching still, by a primitive artlessness of expression, by a serene and voluptuous languor, by a heavenly clearness, which the glances from the blue eyes, fringed with black eyelids, cast over the features, and by a smiling archness, a harmony of proportions, a rich whiteness of skin, an indescribable transparency of tint, a metallic gloss upon the hair, a gracefulness of movement, a novelty in the attitudes, and a vibrating silvery tone of voice, which render the young Syrian girl the very houri of the visual paradise. Such admirable and varied beauty is also very common ; I never go into the country for an hour without meeting several such females going to the fountains or returning, with their Etruscan urns upon their shoulders, and their naked legs clasped with rings of silver.'

The ordinary dress of the women of Palestine is not perhaps much fitted to enhance their natural charms, and yet it admits of ease and dignity in the carriage. Dr. Olin thus describes the custo-

mary appearance of both male and female: 'The people wear neither hats, bonnets, nor stockings; both sexes appear in loose flowing dresses, and red or yellow slippers; the men wear red caps with or without turbans, the women are concealed by white veils, with the exception of the eyes' (vol. ii. p. 437).

The singular beauty of the Hebrew women, and the natural warmth of their affections, have conspired to throw gems of domestic loveliness over the pages of the Bible. In no history can there be found an equal number of charming female portraits. From Hagar down to Mary and Martha, the Bible presents pictures of womanly beauty that are unsurpassed and rarely paralleled. But we should very imperfectly represent in these general remarks the formative influence of the female character as seen in the Bible, did not we refer these amiable traits of character to the original conceptions of which we have spoken, and to the pure and lofty religious ideas which the Biblical books in general present. If woman there appears as the companion and friend of man, if she rises above the condition of being a bearer of children to that noble position which is held by the mother of a family, she owes her elevation in the main to the religion of Moses and to that of Jesus. The first system—as a preparatory one—did not and could not complete the emancipation of woman.



527. Young lady in full dress.

The Oriental influence modified the religious so materially, as to keep women generally in some considerable subjection. Yet the placing of the fondest desires and the glowing hopes of the nation on some child that was to be born, some son that was to be given, as it made every matron's heart beat high with expectation, raised the tone of self-respect among the women of Israel, and caused them to be regarded by the other sex with lively interest, deep regard, and a sentiment which was akin to reverence. There was, however, needed the finishing touch which the Great Teacher put to the Mosaic view of the relations between the sexes. Recognising the fundamental truths which were as old as the creation of man, Jesus proceeded to restrain the much-abused facility of divorce, leaving only one cause why the marriage-bond should be broken, and at the same time teaching that as the origin of wedlock was divine, so its severance ought not to be the work of man. Still further—

bringing to bear on the domestic ties his own doctrine of immortality, he made the bond co-existent with the undying soul, only teaching that the connection would be refined with the refinement of our affections and our liberation from these tenelements of clay in which we now dwell (Matt. v. 32; xix. 3, *seq.*; xxii. 23, *seq.*) With views so elevated as these, and with affections of the tenderest benignity, the Saviour may well have won the warm and gentle hearts of Jewish women. Accordingly, the purest and richest human light that lies on the pages of the N. T. comes from the band of high-minded, faithful, and affectionate women, who are found in connection with Christ from his cradle to his cross, his tomb, and his resurrection. These ennobling influences have operated on society with equal benefit and power. Woman, in the better portions of society, is now a new being. And yet her angelic career is only just begun. She sees what she may, and what under the gospel she ought to be; and ere very long, we trust, a way will be found to employ in purposes of good, energies of the finest nature which now waste away from want of scope, in the ease and refinements of affluence, if not in the degradations of luxury—a most precious offering made to the Moloch of fashion, but which ought to be consecrated to the service of that God who gave these endowments, and of that Saviour who has brought to light the rich capabilities, and exhibited the high and holy vocation, of the female sex.—J. R. B.

ADDENDUM.—Women appear to have enjoyed considerably more freedom among the Jews than is now allowed them in western Asia, although in other respects their condition and employments seem to have been not dissimilar. At present, women of all ranks are much confined to their own houses, and never see the men who visit their husbands or fathers; and in towns they never go abroad without their persons and faces being completely shrouded: they also take their meals apart from the males, even of their own family. But in the rural districts they enjoy more freedom, and often go about unveiled. Among the Jews, women were somewhat less restrained in their intercourse with men, and did not generally conceal their faces when they went abroad. Only one instance occurs in Scripture of women eating with men (Ruth ii. 14); but that was at a simple refectory, and only illustrates the greater freedom of rural manners.

The employments of the women were very various, and sufficiently engrossing. In the earlier, or patriarchal state of society, the daughters of men of substance tended their fathers' flocks (Gen. xxix. 9; Exod. ii. 16). In ordinary circumstances, the first labour of the day was to grind corn and bake bread, as already noticed. The other cares of the family occupied the rest of the day. The women of the peasantry and of the poor consumed much time in collecting fuel, and in going to the wells for water. The wells were usually outside the towns, and the labour of drawing water from them was by no means confined to poor women. This was usually, but not always, the labour of the evening; and the water was carried in earthen vessels borne upon the shoulder (Gen. xxiv. 15-20; John iv. 7, 28). Working with the needle also occupied much of their time, as it would seem that not only their own clothes but those of the men



were made by the women. Some of the needle-work was very fine, and much valued (Exod. xxvi. 36; xxviii. 39; Judg. v. 30; Ps. xlv. 14). The women appear to have spun the yarn for all the cloth that was in use (Exod. xxxv. 25; Prov. xxxi. 19); and much of the weaving seems also to have been executed by them (Judg. xvi. 13, 14; Prov. xxxi. 22). The tapestries for bed-coverings, mentioned in the last-cited text, were probably produced in the loom, and appear to have been much valued (Prov. vii. 16).

We have no certain information regarding the dress of the women among the poorer classes; but it was probably coarse and simple, and not materially different from that which we now see among the Bedouin women, and the female peasantry of Syria. This consists of drawers, and a long and



528. Matron in full dress.

loose gown of coarse blue linen, with some ornamental bordering wrought with the needle, in another colour, about the neck and bosom. The head is covered with a kind of turban, connected with which, behind, is a veil, which covers the neck, back, and bosom [VEIL]. We may presume, with still greater certainty, that women of superior condition wore over their inner dress a frock or tunic like that of the men, but more closely fitting the person, with a girdle formed by an unfolded kerchief. Their head-dress was a kind of turban, with different sorts of veils and wrappers used under various circumstances. The hair was worn long, and, as now, was braided into numerous tresses, with trinkets and ribands (1 Cor. xi. 15; 1 Tim. ii. 9; 1 Pet. iii. 3). With the head-dress the principal ornaments appear to have been connected, such as a jewel for the forehead, and rows of pearls (Sol. Song i. 10; Ezek. xvi. 12). Ear-rings were also worn (Is. iii. 20; Ezek. xvi. 12), as well as a nose-jewel, consisting, no doubt, as now, either of a ring inserted in the cartilage of the nose, or an ornament like a button attached to it. The nose-jewel was of gold or silver, and sometimes set with jewels (Gen. xxiv. 47; Is. iii. 21). Bracelets were also generally worn (Is. iii. 19; Ezek. xvi. 11), and anklets, which, as now, were probably more like fetters than ornaments (Is. iii. 16, 20). The Jewish women possessed the art of staining their eyelids black, for effect and expression (2 Kings ix. 30; Jer. iv. 30; Ezek. xxiii. 40); and it is more than

probable that they had the present practice of staining the nails, and the palms of their hands and soles of their feet, of an iron-rust colour, by means of a paste made from the plant called *henna* (*Larsonia inermis*). This plant appears to be mentioned in Sol. Song i. 14, and its present use is probably referred to in Deut. xxi. 12; 2 Sam. xix. 24.



529. Nose-jewel.

The customs concerning marriage, and the circumstances which the relation of wife and mother involved, have been described in the article MARRIAGE.

The Israelites eagerly desired children, and especially sons. Hence the messenger who first brought to the father the news that a son was born, was well rewarded (Job iii. 3; Jer. xx. 15). The event was celebrated with music; and the father, when the child was presented to him, pressed it to his bosom, by which act he was understood to acknowledge it as his own (Gen. i. 23; Job iii. 12; Ps. xxii. 10). On the eighth day from the birth the child was circumcised (Gen. xvii. 10); at which time also a name was given to it (Luke i. 59). The first-born son was highly esteemed, and had many distinguishing privileges. He had a double portion of the estate (Deut. xxi. 17); he exercised a sort of parental authority over his younger brothers (Gen. xxv. 23, etc.; xxvii. 29; Exod. xii. 29; 2 Chron. xxi. 3); and before the institution of the Levitical priesthood he acted as the priest of the family (Num. iii. 12, 13; viii. 18). The patriarchs exercised the power of taking these privileges from the first-born, and giving them to any other son, or of distributing them among different sons; but this practice was overruled by the Mosaic law (Deut. xxi. 15-17).

The child continued about three years at the breast of the mother, and a great festival was given at the weaning (Gen. xxi. 8; 1 Sam. i. 22-24; 2 Chron. xxxi. 6; Matt. xxi. 16). He remained two years longer in charge of the women; after which he was taken under the especial care of the father, with a view to his proper training (Deut. vi. 20-25;



xi. 19). It appears that those who wished for their sons better instruction than they were themselves able or willing to give, employed a private teacher, or else sent them to a priest or Levite, who had perhaps several others under his care. The principal object was, that they should be well acquainted with the law of Moses; and reading and writing were taught in subservience to this leading object.

The authority of a father was very great among the Israelites, and extended not only to his sons, but to his grandsons—indeed to all who were descended from him. His power had no recognised limit, and even if he put his son or grandson to death, there was, at first, no law by which he could be brought to account (Gen. xxi. 14; xxxviii. 24). But Moses circumscribed this power, by ordering that when a father judged his son worthy of death, he should bring him before the public tribunals. If, however, he had struck or cursed his father or mother, or was refractory or disobedient, he was still liable to capital punishment (Exod. xxi. 15, 17; Lev. xx. 9; Deut. xxi. 18-21).—J. K.

WOOD-CARRYING, THE FEAST OF (קרבן העצים), one of the annual festivals instituted after the Babylonish captivity.

1. *Name of the Festival and its significance.*—The name קרבן עצים or קרבן העצים, which literally denotes *the wood-offering*, ξυλοφóρια, *Xylo-*

*phoria*, or its fuller phrase, יום טוב של קרבן עצים, *the feast of wood-offering*, ἡ τῶν ξυλοφορίων ἑορτή (Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 17. 6), by which this festival is designated, is derived from Neh. x. 35; xiii. 31. It obtained its name from the fact that on the day in which it was celebrated all the people, without any distinction of tribe or grade, brought wood to the temple, being the last day in the year whereon wood could be felled for the burning of the sacrifices and the perpetual fire on the altar. It is also denominated זמן

לכהניא, *the time of wood for the priests* (*Megillath Taanith*, v.), because on this festival the priests too, like the rest of the people, offered wood.

2. *The day, and manner of its celebration.*—The day on which this festival was annually celebrated was the 15th of *Ab* (אב=August). This is distinctly attested by the unanimous voice of the most ancient and most trustworthy records (comp. *Mishna Taanith*, iv. 8; *Babylon Gemara*, *ibid.* 30 a; *Baba Bathra*, 121 a; *Megillath Taanith*, v.; *Midrash Rabba* on Lamentations, cap. lvii.) The remark in Josephus, that this festival was celebrated on the 14th (τῇ δὲ εἰς τῶν ξυλοφορίων ἑορτῆς οὕσης—ἐν ᾗ πᾶσιν ἔθος ἔλθην τῷ βωμῷ προσφέρειν, *Bell. Jud.* ii. 17. 6; and τῇ δὲ εἰς πεντεκαίδεκάτῃ δὲ ἡν Λάου μηνός, κ.τ.λ., *ibid.* ii. 17. 7), must therefore be regarded as the error of a copyist (comp. Herzfeld, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, i. 144; Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, iii. 478, 2d ed.) The nine days in the year appointed for the delivery of wood by the respective families were as follows:—On the 20th of *Ab*, when the descendants of Pachat Moab b. Jehudah furnished the wood; the 20th of *Elul*, the family of Adeen b. Jehudah; the 1st of *Tebet*, the family of Parosh; the 1st of *Nisan*, the family of Arah b. Jehudah; the 20th of *Tamuz*, the family of David b. Jehudah; the 5th of *Ab*, the family of Parosh b. Jehudah; the 7th of *Ab*, the family of Jondab b. Rechab; the 10th of *Ab*, the family of Senaa b. Benjamin; and on the 15th

of *Ab*, the family of Saltu b. Jehudah, with the priests, Levites, and all those who did not know from what they descended, as well as the families of Gonbei Ali and Kozai Keziath (*Mishna Taanith*, iv. 3). So general was the delivery of wood on this day (*i.e.* the 15th of *Ab*), that even proselytes, slaves, Nethinim, and bastards brought fuel (*Megillath Taanith*, v.) Hence the remark of Josephus, that on this day all the people brought wood, from which circumstance it derived its name (*Bell. Jud.* ii. 17. 6).

On this day, when all the people were thus congregated together, discarding all distinction of tribe, of rich and poor, of Israelite and proselyte, of master and slave, the maidens of Jerusalem met together for singing joyful and religious songs and for dancing. Dressed in white garments, which they borrowed in order not to shame those who had none of their own, these damsels assembled together in an open place in the vineyards. They sang strophic songs in the sacred language, and danced in the presence of the congregation. It was on this occasion that the happy choice of partners in life frequently took place, since it was one of the two annual opportunities afforded to the young people of making their attractions known without violating feminine modesty (*Mishna Megilla*, iv. 8) [MARRIAGE]. Cessation from manual labour on this day was, however, not enjoined; but fasting, penitential prayers, and mourning for the dead were forbidden (*Megillath Taanith*, v.; *Maimonides*, *Jud. Ha-Chezaka Hilchoth K'lei Ha-Mikdash*, vi.)

3. *Origin and date of this Festival.*—The origin of this festival is involved in great obscurity, as the ancient Talmudic authorities which describe its celebration differ materially in their opinions about the occasion which gave rise to its institution. From Neh. x. 35; xiii. 31, we learn that this statesman, in order to supply the necessary fuel for the burning of the sacrifices and the keeping up of the perpetual fire on the altar, ordained that each family in rotation is to furnish wood for the temple at a certain period of the year, and that the order and time of delivery are to be settled by casting lots. The result obtained by the casting of lots is not mentioned in the canonical Scriptures; but the post-canonical documents, which describe the temple-service, furnish us with a minute account of both the names of the respective families upon whom it devolved to supply the wood, and the periods of the year in which they delivered it. This account is given in the preceding section of this article. It is, therefore, only natural to conclude that the different families who are thus recorded to have offered the wood at appointed times did so in accordance with the results obtained by the casting of lots. Now, the reason why the 15th of *Ab* was kept as a special festival, and why all the nation at large took part in the offering of wood on this day, is, according to some authorities in the Talmud, that on it the people ceased to fell wood for the temple, because, according to R. Eliezer the Great, the heat of the sun begins to diminish on this day, and the wood which was cut after this date did not become sufficiently dry. Hence the 15th of *Ab* was designated 'the day on which the axe is broken.' As it was also believed that the wood cut down after the 15th of *Ab* is sapless (*Rosh Ha-Shana*, 2 a, 14 a), Herzfeld (i. 145) ingeniously conjectures that the trees were regarded as dead after this date, and the



wood of such trees was considered as unfit for the altar. The other ancient opinion about the origin of this festival is, that the furnishing of wood for the temple by the pious, which existed from time immemorial, and which Nehemiah reinstituted after the return from Babylon, was prohibited by some wicked sovereign, and that this interdict was abolished on the 15th of *Ab*. Hence this day was constituted a festival, and the families who jeopardised their lives in stealthily supplying wood for the temple during the time of the prohibition are those named above, who as a privilege continued to bring some wood on this festival, whether the fuel was wanted or not. There is, however, a difference of opinion as to who this wicked monarch was. The Jerusalem Talmud will have it that it was Jeroboam who placed guards on the roads leading to the temple in order to prevent the people from taking to the sanctuary the first-fruits and the wood, and the families of Gonbei Ali and Kozie Keziath, mentioned in the *Mishna*, were those who encountered the danger in clandestinely supplying

the wood (מהו נוכבי עלי ובני קוציע קציעות בשעה)

שהושיב ירבעם בן נבט פרסמאות על הדרכים ולא

הושיבו מלכי (Jerusalem Taanith, iv. 6). The *Megillath Taanith* (cap. v.) again has it that this interdict proceeded from 'the kings of

Greece' (והושיבו מלכי יון פרוסמאות על הדרכים), who imitated the conduct of Jeroboam; whilst the *Babylonian Talmud* omits the dynasty altogether, and simply remarks that the prohibition emanated from some government (*Taanith*, 28 a). As the reference to Jeroboam on the part of the *Jerusalem Talmud* is simply to make this monarch the author of all the wicked deeds in connection with the Jews, and as, moreover, the ascription of this deed in the *Megillath Taanith* to Greek rulers is unhistorical—since Antiochus Epiphanes, to whom alone it could refer, totally abolished the temple-service, which rendered it useless to smuggle the first-fruits and wood—Graetz concludes that this prohibition could only proceed from Alexander Jannai, who forbade the offering of wood out of hatred to the Pharisees, and that then the above-named pious families clandestinely furnished the fuel. When this interdict ceased with the reign of Alexander, and the ancient custom of wood-offering was resumed, the concluding day for the delivery of it (comp. *Taanith*, 31 a) obtained a higher significance, and was elevated into a national festival (Graetz, iii. 477). It will be seen from the account of the nature of this festival that the custom for all the people to bring large supplies of firewood for the sacrifices of the year could not possibly have been designed to relieve the *Nethinim*, and that these *Nethinim* did not bear a conspicuous part in it, as is supposed by the learned Plumptre (Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, s. v. 'Nethinim').

4. *Literature*.—*Mishna Taanith*, iv. 5, 8; the *Jerusalem and Babylon Gemaras* on this *Mishna*; *Megillath Taanith*, cap. v. p. 32-39, ed. Meyer, Amsterdam 1724; Maimonides, *Fad Ha-Chezaka Hilchoth K'lei Ha-Mikdash*, vi.; Herzfeld, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. i. pp. 67, ff.; 144, ff.; Nordhausen 1855; Jost, *Geschichte des Judenthums*, vol. i. 169, Leipzig 1857; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, pp. 122, 477, ff., 2d edition, Leipzig 1863.—C. D. G.

WOOL (צֶמֶר). The fleece of the sheep, as such, was properly called גֶּזַי or גֶּזַיָּה, while the material of which it was composed was called צֶמֶר; hence גֶּזַי הַצֶּמֶר, a fleece of wool (Judg. vi. 37).

Wool was used by the Hebrews from an early period extensively for clothing (Lev. xiii. 47; Deut. xxii. 11; Job xxxi. 20; Prov. xxxi. 13; Ezek. xxxiv. 3; Hos. ii. 5). In the law the mixing of woollen and flax (*Tsemer* and *Pishtim*) in a garment was forbidden (Lev. xix. 19; Deut. xxii. 11). Such a mixture was called *Sha'atnez* (שַׂעֲטָנֶז), a word of obscure signification, rendered by the LXX. κίβδηλος, adulterated, and by Aquila ἀντιδιακείμενον, varied; it is probably of Egyptian origin, and may be, as Joblonski suggests, the Coptic *Shontnes*—i.e. *byssus fimbriatus*, or a compound of two Coptic words, *saht*, *textura*, and *noij*, *falsus*. These etymologies, however, are uncertain. The prohibition itself stands in connection with other laws forbidding the mixing of different things; all of which rest apparently on the idea that a thing in its simple natural state as it comes from God is pure, but when mixed by man's art with something else, thereby loses its proper character, and is defiled (see Winer *R. W. B.* under 'Saat' and 'Verschiedenartiges' for different views of the design of the law). Josephus says (*Antiq.* iv. 8. 11) that the garments of the priests were composed of woollen and linen interwoven, and this the Talmudists also aver (*Mishna, Kilaim*, ix. 1); but it is impossible to reconcile this with such passages as those above noted compared with Ezek. xlv. 17, ff.—W. L. A.

WORLD is the English term by which our translators have rendered four Hebrew words: 1.

חֵלֶךְ, comes from a root which signifies 'to rest,' to 'discontinue,' and hence 'to cease from life,' 'to be at rest,' and as a noun, 'the place of rest,' 'the grave.' The word occurs in the complaint uttered by Hezekiah when in prospect of dissolution, and when he contemplates his state among the inhabitants, not of the upper, but the lower world (Is. xxxviii. 11); thus combining with many other passages to show that the Hebrews, probably borrowing the idea from the Egyptian tombs, had a vague conception of some shadowy state where the manes of their departed friends lay at rest in their ashes, retaining only an indefinite personality in a land of darkness and 'the shadow of death' (Job x. 21, 22). 2. חָלָה means 'to conceal,' and derivatively 'any hidden thing,' hence 'age,' 'antiquity,' 'remote and hidden ages'; also 'the world,' as the hidden or unknown thing (Ps. xlix.

1); in a similar manner, 3. עוֹלָם (in the N. T. αἰών), the root-signification of which is 'to hide,' denotes a very remote, indefinite, and therefore unknown period in time past or time to come, which metaphysicians call eternity *à parte ante*, and eternity *à parte post*. In Ps. lxxiii. 12 it is rendered 'world'; but in this and in the previous instance it may be questioned whether the natural creation is really meant, and not rather 'the world' in our metaphorical use of the term, as denoting the intelligent world, the rational inhabitants of the earth, and still more specifically that portion of them with which we are immediately concerned.



4. תִּלָּל comes from a radix that signifies 'to flow'; and as water is the unfailing cause of fertility in the East, it denotes 'to be productive,' 'to bear fruit'; and as a noun, 'the fruit-bearer,' that is, the earth. This word is frequently rendered 'world' in the common version, but if more was intended than the earth on which we dwell, it may be doubted if the passages in which it occurs will justify the translators.

In truth, the Hebrews had no word which comprised the entire visible universe. When they wanted to speak comprehensively of God's creation, they joined two words together and used the phrase 'heaven and earth' (Gen. i. 1). We have already seen that they had an idea of an under world; the meaning of their ordinary term for earth, אֲרֶץ, which signifies the 'lower,' shows that they also regarded the earth as beneath the sun; while the term for heaven, שָׁמַיִם, denoting 'what is elevated,' indicates that their view was that the heavens, or the heights, were above. Above, below, and under—these three relations of space comprehend their conception of the world.—J. K.

WORM (תוֹלַעַת, רֶמָּה; Sept. σκώληξ, σαπρία, σῆψις; Vulg. *vermis*, *putredo*, *tinea*). No distinction is observed in the use of the Hebrew words. For instance, רֶמָּה is applied to the creature bred in the manna (Exod. xvi. 24); to that which preys on human flesh (Job vii. 5; xvii. 14; xxi. 26; xxiv. 20; Is. xiv. 11); and תוֹלַעַת, to the creature bred in the manna (Exod. xvi. 20); to that which preys on human flesh (Is. xiv. 11; lxvi. 24); on vegetables, as on the gourd of Jonah (iv. 7); and on vines (Deut. xxviii. 39). The ancient Hebrews applied these words as indifferently as the common people now do the words 'worm,' 'fly,' etc. The only distinction occurring in the Bible is שֶׁנִּי

תוֹלַעַת, the insect which furnished the crimson dye [COLOURS]. Similar indeterminateness attends the Septuagint and Vulgate renderings. Aristotle also applies the word σκώληξ to the larva of any insect—τίκει δὲ πάντα σκώληκα, 'all insects produce a worm' (*Hist. Nat.* v. 19). The insect which the manna is said to have 'bred, when kept till the morning'—רֶמָּה, תוֹלַעַת, σκώληξ, *vermis* (Exod. xvi. 20, 24)—whatever it was, must be considered as miraculously produced as a punishment for disobedience, since the substance now understood to be the same keeps good for weeks and months, nor did the specimen laid up in the ark breed worms [MANNA]. An insect is alluded to as injuring vines and grapes (Deut. xxviii. 39); תוֹלַעַת, σκώληξ, *vermis*. The Greeks had a distinct name for this insect, and probably as early as the Septuagint translation of Exodus was made, ver. εῖψ and εἴξ (Theophrastus, *De Causis*, iii. 27). It was called by the Latins involvulus, convolvulus, and volvox (Plautus, *Cistell.* Act iv. Sc. 2; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xvii. 28). Rosenmüller thinks it to have been the *Scarabeus hirtellus*, or the *Scarabeus muticus hirtus testaceo-nigricans* of Linnæus (*Syst. Nat.* tom. i. pt. iv. p. 1577). Forskal calls it the *Pyralis vitana*, or *Pyralis fasciana*. A species of beetle, *Lehrus cephalotes*, is injurious to the vines of Hungary; other species of beetles do similar mischief (*rynchites*, *bacchus*, *eumolpus*). Vine-leaves in France are frequently destroyed by the larva of a moth,

*Tortrix vitana*. In Germany another species does great injury to the young branches, preventing their expansion by the webs in which it involves them; and a third species, *Tortrix fasciana*, makes the grapes themselves its food (Kirby and Spence, *Introduction to Entomology*, vol. i. p. 205, London 1828). It may serve as an illustration of the looseness of popular diction respecting insects, to remark that what the farmers call 'the fly' in the turnip, is in reality a small species of jumping beetle, for which *turnip-fly* would be a more appropriate name. In Job vii. 5 the patriarch complains that his 'flesh is clothed with worms and clods of dust,' רֶמָּה, σαπρία σκώληκων; and in 2 Maccab. ix. 9, it is stated to be the fate of Antiochus, that while he lived 'worms' (σκώληκας) 'rose up out of his body'; and St. Luke records this disorder to have been inflicted on Herod (Acts xii. 23, σκώληκός-βρωτος: comp. Joseph. *Antiq.* xix. 8. 2; xvii. 6. 5; *De Bell. Jud.* i. 33. 5). It has been attempted to explain all these instances as cases of phthiriasis, or the lousy disease; but the conjecture is inconsistent with the words employed in the several narratives; and since they are instances of persons being devoured by worms while alive, contrary to the order of nature, we are compelled to ascribe the phenomenon to divine agency. For the account of insects infesting the human frame, from disease, see Kirby and Spence (*Introduction to Entomology*, vol. i. p. 84). Allusion is made in various passages to 'worms' preying upon the dead. Thus Job, in the anticipation of death, says, 'I have said to the worm, Thou art my mother, and my sister' (Job xvii. 14; comp. xxi. 26; xxiv. 20; Is. xiv. 11; lxvi. 24; Eccles. x. 11; xix. 3; 1 Maccab. ii. 62). In one apparent instance of this nature (Job xix. 26), 'though after my skin worms destroy this body,' the word 'worms' is supplied by our translators. These passages, and especially the latter, have contributed to the popular impression in this country, that the human body, when buried in the grave, is consumed by worms. The Oriental method of burial in wrappers, and of depositing the corpse in caves, etc., would no doubt often afford the spectacle of the human body devoured by the larvæ of different insects; but the allusions in Scripture to such sights do not apply to burial in this country, except where the body, as was the case in London till lately, is buried in a wooden coffin only, in vaults which have communications with the external air, when, even in the centre of the metropolis, the writer has found swarms of a species of fly, of a cimex aspect, which insinuates itself between the lid and lower part of the coffin, and whose larvæ battened in the corpse within, while the adult insect sported in the lurid atmosphere of the vault. The 'gourd' of Jonah is said to have been destroyed

by 'a worm' (Jon. iv. 7); תוֹלַעַת, σκώληξ, *vermis*. The identity of the gourd with the *Ricinus communis* seems to be well established [KIKAYON]; and Rumphius (*Herbar. Ambonens.* tom. iv. p. 95) testifies to the ravages of a species of black caterpillar upon it. These are produced, he says, in great quantities in the summer time, during a gentle rain, and eat up the leaves of the Palma Christi, and gnaw its branches to the pith in a single night (Michaelis, *Suppl. ad Lexic. Hebraic.* p. 2187). Allusions to the worm in wood occur in the Septuagint of Prov. xii. 4, and xxv. 20; ἐν ὕλῳ σκώληξ; Vulg. *vermis ligno*; which words have



nothing corresponding to them in the present Hebrew Text (see Vulgate of 2 Kings xxiii. 8). The word 'worm' occurs metaphorically (Job xxv. 6), 'how much less man that is a worm' (רֶמֶס, *sampla*, *putredo*), 'and the son of man which is a worm'; תולע, *σκώληξ*, *vermis* (Ps. xxii. 6; Is. xli. 14). Homer also compares a man of inferior consequence to a worm, ὥστε σκώληξ ἐπὶ γαλῆ κείτο *tabels* (Il. xiii. 654). It is possible that the

word תולע was also given as a proper name; thus 'Tola' occurs among the descendants of Issachar (Gen. xli. 13), and was also the name of a person of the same tribe (Judg. x. 1). Bochart conjectures that the name was given to these children by their parents because the tribe of Issachar was one of the meanest, and they were themselves in needy circumstances, or that these were very sickly children when born. He remarks, however, that the first Tola became a great man, the head of the Tolaites (Num. xxvi. 23), who, in the days of David, amounted to 22,600 (1 Chron. vii. 2); and that the latter judged Israel twenty years (Judg. x. 1, 2). 'Worm' occurs in the N. T. in a figurative sense only (Mark ix. 44, 46, 48): 'Their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched'; words borrowed from Is. lxvi. 24, which originally relate to a *temporal* state of things, but which had also become, in our Lord's time, the popular representation of future punishment (Judith xvi. 17; Ecclus. vii. 17) [SOUL; TOPHET]. Origen here understands 'worm' in a metaphorical sense, as denoting the accusation of conscience; but Austin, Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, Theophylact, etc., contend that the word should be understood literally. Several mistranslations occur. In Is. li. 8, 'and the worm shall eat them like wool,' the word דם means a species of moth [MOTH]. In Mic. vii.

17, the words 'like worms of the earth, כוחלי, literally, 'creepers in the dust,' 'serpents'; Vulg. *reptilia terræ* (comp. Deut. xxxii. 24). In 1 Maccab. ii. 62, 'Fear not the words of a sinful man, for his glory shall be dung and worms'; instead of κοπρία, 'dung,' should be read *sampla*, 'rotteness,' as in the Sept. of Job vii. 5; xxv. 6. So also in Ecclus. xix. 3, 'Moths and worms shall have him that cleaveth to harlots'; instead of σήτες, 'moths,' read σήπη, 'rotteness.' Bochart (*Hierozoicon*, ed. Rosenmüller, Lips. 1793-1796, vol. iii.; *De Vermibus*).—J. F. D.

WORMWOOD. [ABSINTHIUM.]

WRESTLING. [GAMES.]

WRITING is an art by which facts or ideas are communicated from one person to another by means of given signs, such as symbols or letters. It has been a generally received and popular opinion that writing was first used and imparted to mankind when God wrote the Ten Commandments on the tables of stone; but the silence of Scripture upon the subject would rather suggest that so necessary an art had been known long before that time, or otherwise the sacred historian would probably have added this extraordinary and divine revelation to the other parts of his information respecting the transactions on Mount Sinai.

After the gift of language (which was indispensable to rational creatures), it would seem that *writing* was the most highly beneficial and important boon which could be conferred on men pos-

sessed of intellect and understanding, who from their circumstances must divide and spread over the whole earth, and yet be forced from various necessities to maintain intercourse with each other.

In the earliest times families must have separated: the pastoral life required much room for flocks and herds; and as the wealth of each household increased, the space between them must have become greater, and every year would compel more distant migrations from these unfailling causes (Gen. xiii.)

But even in the first ages of the world it would be requisite not only to preserve unimpaired the knowledge of God, but it would be desirable to have some method of transmitting and receiving intelligence from the scattered communities, of a more certain nature than verbal messages ever can be; nor is it probable that events which were destined to act upon all time should be left to float upon the uncertain stream of tradition, when by the art of writing they might be accurately conveyed without addition or diminution to the latest posterity. It is scarcely possible that the wondrous gift of writing was withheld until the world had been twice re peopled, and 2513 years had rolled by.

The working in iron and the construction of musical instruments are recorded in Gen. iv. 21, 22; whilst neither before nor after that period is the origin or discovery of *writing* any more alluded to than is the origin of language itself. Is it then too much to believe that God by revelation immediately imparted to mankind the power of writing? For it does not appear that any person ever invented an alphabet who had not previously heard of or seen one; and every nation which possessed the art always professed to have derived its knowledge from a god. Without writing, no information could have been conveyed to remote nations with accuracy. Few persons repeat a thing in the precise words in which a detail was given to them, and the most trifling change in an expression may throw the whole into error and confusion, or entirely destroy the sense. But such cannot be the case if writing be the means of communication, for whatever is thus definitely stated may be equally well understood by those to whom it is addressed as by those who write it. God never works unnecessary miracles; but that must have been the case if, for upwards of two thousand years, the memory and speech of various men were *alone* the depositaries of his dealings with mankind.

It was a matter of the utmost consequence that the most exact accounts should have been preserved of the creation, the fall of man, and many prophecies of deepest interest to unborn generations. The ages and genealogies of the patriarchs; the measures of the ark; the first kingly government in Assyria; the history of Abraham and his descendants for 430 years, including minute circumstances, changes, and conversations, in many different countries; could scarcely have been perfectly preserved by *oral* descent for twenty centuries, unless the antediluvians and their immediate posterity did not partake of the failings of Christians in the defects of forgetfulness and exaggeration; but allowing the art of *writing* to have been *given with language*, there is no difficulty, and it becomes obvious that each transaction would be recorded and kept exactly as it was either revealed or happened.

It is not a vain thing to suppose that the history



of creation, and all following events, as briefly related by Moses, were taken from ancient documents in the possession of the Israelites: this opinion is maintained by Calmet (*Commentaire Littéral*, vol. i. part i. p. 13). The gifts of inspiration, like those of nature, are never superfluous. When God had once revealed to the Patriarchs what was 'in the beginning,' there was no further need for a new revelation; and the Hebrew historian might compile from previous records what was sufficient for mankind to know respecting the origin of 'things which are seen.'

In the fifth chapter of Genesis it is said, 'This is the *book* of the generations.' If there had been merely a traditionary recollection of 'the generations of Adam,' preserved only by transmission from one memory to another for more than a thousand years, the term *book* would have been most inapplicable, and could not have been used; and to suppose that a written document had been referred to cannot be deemed as forcing the construction of the word in this instance, more than when it is also believed that 'the *book* of the generation of Jesus Christ' (Matt. i. 1) was likewise copied from a national register, and not given by a new revelation or old tradition, for the genealogies in the N. T. were not of less importance than those of the sons of Shem (Gen. xi.), and yet the former were taken from public records. Why, then, should a miracle have been wrought to preserve the latter?

The Book of Job is considered to be the most ancient written document extant, and is deemed an authentic narrative and not an imaginative poem (James v. 11). By some persons it is thought to be the work of Moses (see Mason Good's *Diss. to Translation of Job*); but this is denied by Bishop Lowth (*Lectures on Hebrew Poetry*). Lightfoot and others think Elihu was the author. This is the more credible opinion; for it is scarcely possible to believe that long conversations between several persons in the land of Uz should have been orally preserved for perhaps several centuries, and then recorded with minute accuracy by an individual who spoke a different language, and who received it from the lips of strangers and foreigners.

Hales asserts that Job lived at most two hundred years before the Exode. Our version of the Scriptures fixes the time of Job at B.C. 1520, which allows but twenty-nine years between his era and that of the departure of the Israelites from Egypt. Be that as it may, the declarations of Job prove that *letters* and *books* were known to him and his countrymen, who were a people quite distinct from the Hebrews.

In the nineteenth chapter of Job (ver. 23, 24) it is said, 'Oh, that my words were now written! Oh, that they were printed in a *book*! that they were graven with an iron *pen*!' Also Job xxxi. 35, 'mine adversary had *written* a *book*.' Such expressions could not have been used, and would have had no meaning, if the art of writing had been unknown; nor could there have been such terms as *book* and *pen*, if the things themselves had not existed.

If, then, it be granted that the Book of Job was *written*, and such expressions were current before the Exode, it becomes evident from sacred history that writing was not only in use before the law was given on Mount Sinai, but that it was also known amongst other patriarchal tribes than the children

of Israel. The supposed writer, Elihu, the son of Barachel the Buzite (Job xxxii. 2), was a descendant of Nahor, the brother of Abraham (Gen. xxii. 20, 21), and might thus be possessed of whatever arts the family of Terah had inherited from Noah. Another singular phrase is found in Job: 'My days are swifter than a post' (ix. 25). This would imply the regular transmission of intelligence by appointed messengers from place to place; and although it does not follow as a necessary consequence that such a person on all occasions carried *letters*, it is more than probable that such a mode of conveying important communications was established in civilised countries, where *books*, *pens*, and *writing* were known.

Before the law was given by God to Moses, he had been commanded to write the important transactions which occurred during the progress of the Israelites from Egypt to Canaan; for in Exod. xvii. 14, it is recorded, 'And the Lord said unto Moses, Write this for a memorial in a *book*.' An account of the discomfiture of the Amalekites is the first thing said to have been written by Moses. This battle was fought ere the people left Rephidim (Exod. xvii. 13), from whence they departed into the wilderness of Sinai (Exod. xix. 2); and, therefore, that writing was drawn up before the events on the mount took place. The law was 'written by the finger of God' (Exod. xxxi. 18), B.C. 1491, and since that time there is no question as to the existence of the art of writing. The commandments were written on two tables of stone (Exod. xxxiv. 1); but immediately afterwards, when Moses was interceding with God for the sinning idolaters, he says, 'Blot me out of thy *book* which thou hast written' (Exod. xxxii. 32). If writing in alphabetical characters had been seen by Moses for the first time on the 'tables of stone,' he could not from these have had the faintest conception of a *book*, which is a thing composed of leaves or rolls, and of which the stones or slates could have given him no idea.

Forty years after the law was written, the Israelites took possession of the land of Canaan, where the 'cities were walled and very great' (Num. xiii. 28). Amongst other places which were conquered was one called by them Debir, but whose original name was Kirjath-sepher, or the City of Books, or Kirjath-sannah, the City of Letters (Josh. xv. 49; Judg. i. 11). The Canaanites could not have gained their knowledge of letters or of books from the Hebrews, with whom they were entirely unacquainted or at war, and must, therefore, have derived them from other sources. The Canaanites being the descendants of Canaan, a son of Ham, had probably preserved and cultivated the same arts and sciences which Misraim, another son of Ham, carried into Egypt (Gen. x. 6).

'The Book of Jasher' (Josh. x. 13) is mentioned by Joshua, but whether as a chronicle of the past or present is uncertain.

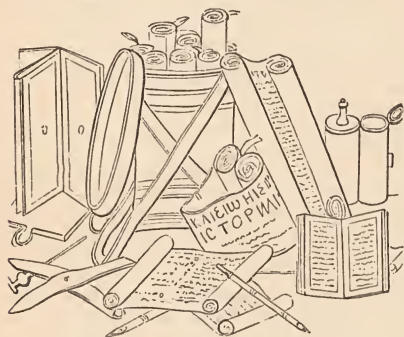
Books and writing must have been familiar to Moses, 'who was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians' (Acts vii. 22), for at the time of his birth that people had arrived at a high pitch of civilisation. Since the penetration of Dr. Young discovered the key by which the hitherto mysterious hieroglyphics can be deciphered, it has been found that from the earliest era Egypt possessed a knowledge of writing. Without crediting the very distant period given by some chronologists, which



fixes the beginning of the first regal dynasty there 5867 years B.C., or as M. Prisse, the learned hieroglyphist says in his private accounts, 'unnumbered ages before the erection of the pyramids,' it is not presuming too much to think that the chronology adopted by Ussher is too short to include many Scriptural transactions. Chronology is a matter of *opinion*, founded on data supplied by various sources of information, and not an article of *faith*: it may therefore be altered and improved in conformity with well-ascertained facts and legitimate evidence.

Hales, agreeing with Josephus, says that Menes, the first king of the first Egyptian dynasty, began his reign B.C. 2412 years [CHRONOLOGY]; but previous to his assuming the royal dignity, Egypt had been long ruled by a succession of priests, and in their theocracy Thoth or Hermes, a *god*, was considered by them to be the inventor of letters (the Egyptians never acknowledged *demi-gods*); and in no instance is the discovery of the art of writing ever attributed to men (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* v. 2).

There were three kinds of writing practised in Egypt:—1st, The hieroglyphical, or sacred sculptured characters; 2d, The hieratic, or sacerdotal, which was abbreviated; 3d, The demotic, or enchorial, which became the hand in general use. Lepsius, in *The Annals of Archaeological Correspondence*, Rome 1837, maintains that the Egyptians had two colloquial dialects in use, which were very distinct; the classical or sacerdotal, and the popular. The sacred, or hieroglyphic writing, as well as the hieratic of all ages, presents the former,



530. Ancient Writing Materials.

whilst the demotic presents the common dialect. Wilkinson thinks the hieroglyphical was the sole mode of writing in the more ancient times, yet allows the hieratic to have been employed in remote ages; but if M. Prisse's discovery be true, of a papyrus said to be written in the reign of a hitherto unknown king in the first Memphite dynasty, and in the hieratic character, its extreme antiquity will be found coeval with the hieroglyphical.

If there be no enchorial writing found (for monuments or tombs which were sacred could not have common characters upon them) until about B.C. 600, that circumstance does not prove that such a mode of writing was unknown in the earliest times; for from the account of the burial of Jacob (Gen. l. 9), and from the *Song of Moses* (Exod. xv. 1, and xiv. 26), it is clear that horsemen were a

part of the Egyptian army, and yet there is but one solitary specimen of a man on horseback amongst the infinite variety of sculptured representations of their manners and customs (Wilkinson, vol. i. p. 289). The priestly rulers of Egypt had continued, like the framers of caste in India, to bind down by certain definite and established laws (even to the meagre delineation of the human body in painting) every mode of action, and from that circumstance it may be inferred that the manner in which trials before the judges were carried on was not an innovation of later times. There were royal and priestly scribes, but there must have been a different grade, employed by other classes, as in their law-courts the complainant always stated his case in writing, and the defendant also replied in writing; from which circumstance (were there none other) it may be inferred that there was some common popular writing for such purposes, besides that of the sacred hieroglyphics, or sacerdotal mode. In the paintings which represent the judgment after death, Thoth, who is called the 'Secretary of Justice,' is always portrayed with his tablet and style, just beginning to write.

The Memnonium is said to have been built about the time of Moses (B.C. 1571); over the entrance gateway to the library was inscribed, 'Remedy, or Balsam for Souls.' Over the mouldering door which led to the bibliothetical repository, Champollion read, written over the heads of Thoth and Sakh (who were the male and female deities of arts, sciences, and literature), the remarkably appropriate titles of 'President of the Library,' and 'Lady of Letters.' In the Sanctuary at Luxor, erected 200 years before the birth of Moses, there is an inscription over Thoth, which begins, 'Discourse of the Lord of the Divine Writings.' The number of works ascribed to Thoth is stated to have been 36,525.

The great Pyramid is supposed to have been erected at least 2123 years B.C.; in A.D. 1837, Col. Howard Vyse found in the low chamber the name of Suphis (Cheops) scored in red ochre on the rough stones behind the front facing of the room (see *Ancient Egypt*, by G. R. Gliddon, vice-consul at Cairo; Boston, U.S. 1844).

'In Egypt nothing was done without writing. Scribes were employed on all occasions, whether to settle public or private questions, and no bargain of any consequence was made without the voucher of a written document' (Wilkinson, vol. i. p. 183). On a tomb said to have been built about the time the Pyramids were erected, is seen the representation of a steward giving an account of the number of his master's flocks and herds (vol. iv. p. 131). The scribes and stewards, who were employed in domestic suits, conveyancing, and farming, could not have used the *sacred* characters for their affairs, nor could they have been understood by the people generally if they had; it may therefore be concluded that the enchorial writing was that in popular practice.

Pliny is in error in saying that papyrus was not used for paper before the time of Alexander the Great, for papyri of the most remote Pharaonic period are found with the same mode of writing as that of the age of Cheops (Wilkinson, vol. iii. p. 150). A papyrus now in Europe, of the date of Cheops, establishes the early use of written documents, and the antiquity of paper made of the byblus, long before the time of Abraham (*Ancient Egypt*.



p. 13). As papyrus was expensive, few documents of that material are found, and these are generally rituals, sales of estates, and official papers (papyrus was used until about the 7th century of our era). A soldier's leave of absence has been discovered written upon a piece of broken earthenware.

No one can dispute the extreme antiquity of Egypt as a nation, nor that, at the time of Moses, its inhabitants were in a state of advanced civilisation. From the researches of travellers and hieroglyphists in late years, it is proved beyond doubt that many of the hieroglyphical inscriptions were written before the exodus of the Hebrews, and that writing must therefore have been in use at or before that period; but it yet remains to be said from whence the art was derived.

'The earliest and surest data' (respecting alphabetical language) 'are found in the genuine paleogeographical monuments of the Phœnicians.' 'Amongst the most ancient coins yet known is one supposed to be B.C. 394' [ALPHABET]; but these ancient specimens of engraving or writing prove nothing as to the *origin* of the thing itself. It is possible that written characters can be traced no higher than from a Phœnician stock, for they were the immediate posterity of Noah's family. The argument here stated, as to the credible supposition that writing was given with language, is not at all invalidated by gems or coins which exhibit the oldest or most primitive form of written characters known.

The Hindoos and Chinese profess to have had amongst them the art of writing from time immemorial; but although they cannot establish the truth of their endless chronologies, yet it is highly probable that they have been acquainted with that mode of communicating and transmitting ideas from remote ages. Eight Chinese bottles have been found in different tombs at Thebes; on five of them is written the same inscription, 'The flower opens, and lo! another year.' In China writing is still symbolical, there being 80,000 characters, to which there are 214 radical keys.

Letters are generally allowed to have been introduced into Europe from Phœnicia, and to have been brought from thence by Cadmus into Greece, about fifteen centuries before Christ, which time coincides with the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty; but whilst none may deny such to have been the origin of European alphabetical characters, it does not prove the Phœnicians to have been the inventors of writing. That people occupied Phœnicia in very early times after the Deluge, and if the patriarch and his sons possessed the knowledge of letters, their posterity would doubtless preserve the remembrance and practice of such an invaluable bequest, which would be conveyed by their colonists into Greece and Africa. In the New World it was found that the Peruvians had no system of writing, whilst the Mexicans had made great advances in hieroglyphical paintings.

The Aztecs, who preceded the Mexicans, had attained much proficiency in the art, such as was adequate to the wants of a people in an imperfect state of civilisation. 'By means of it were recorded all their laws, and even their regulations for domestic economy; their tribute rolls, specifying the imposts of the various towns; their mythology, rituals, and calendars, and their political annals carried back to a period long before the foundation of the city. They digested a complete system of

chronology, and could specify with accuracy the dates of the most important events in their history, the year being inscribed on the margin against the particular circumstances recorded' (Prescott's *Conquest of Mexico*, i. 88).

A Mexican MS. usually looks like a collection of pictures, each forming a separate study. Their materials for writing were various. Cotton cloth, or prepared skins, were used, but generally a fine fabric made from the leaves of the aloe (*Agave Americana*), from which a sort of paper was prepared, somewhat resembling Egyptian papyrus, which could be made more soft and beautiful than parchment. When written, the documents were either made up into rolls or else into volumes, in which the paper was shut up like a folding screen, which gave the appearance of a book. When the Spaniards arrived in Mexico, great quantities of these MSS. were in the country; but the first Christian archbishop, Zumarraga, caused them to be collected from every part of the country, and had the whole burnt! (Prescott).

In later times there have been two instances in which persons in semi-barbarous countries have constructed an alphabet, from having heard that by such means ideas were communicated in many lands. A man of the Greybo tribe, on the African coast, and a Cherokee, are said to have formed a series of letters adapted to their respective languages; but in neither case was it the result of *intuitive* genius (Gliddon, p. 17).

Various have been the materials and implements used for writing. As was before observed, paper made from the papyrus is now in existence which was fabricated 2000 years B.C. Moses hewed out of the rock two tables of *stone* on which the commandments were written (Exod. xxxiv. 1). After that time the Jews used rolls of *skins* for their sacred writings. They also engraved writing upon gems or gold plates (Exod. xxxix. 30).

Before the discovery of paper the Chinese wrote upon thin boards with a sharp tool. Reeds and canes are still used as writing implements amongst the Tartars; and the Persians and other Orientals write for temporary purposes on leaves, or smooth sand, or the bark of trees. The Arabs in ancient times wrote their poetry upon the shoulder-blades of sheep.

The Greeks occasionally engraved their laws on tables of brass. Even before the days of Homer table-books were used, made of wood, cut in thin slices, which were painted and polished, and the pen was an iron instrument called a *style*. In later times these surfaces were waxed over, that the writing might be obliterated for further use. Table-books were not discontinued till the 14th century of the Christian era.

At length the superior preparations of paper, parchment, and vellum, became general, and superseded other materials in many, and all entirely civilised, nations.


The European mode of writing, with its perfect and complete apparatus of pen, ink, and paper, is too well known to need description in these pages, and would be irrelevant in an article like the present.—S. P.

WYCLIFFE, JOHN DE, was born in 1324, at the village of Wycliffe in Yorkshire. In 1340 he entered Queen's College, Oxford, but soon afterwards removed to Merton. In 1361 he was pre-



sented to the living of Fylingham; soon after he became warden of Baliol College, and ere long of Canterbury Hall. At this time he was involved in a keen controversy with the mendicant friars, and the zeal he had shown against them and in favour of ecclesiastical reform generally, led to an attempt to deprive him of his office of warden. A long suit followed, which ended in the papal court deciding against Wycliffe in 1370. In 1372 he took his degree of D.D., and proceeded to read divinity lectures in the university. In 1374 he was sent to Bruges as a member of the commission appointed to treat with the pope regarding certain encroachments on the English church which he had perpetrated, a duty which detained him abroad for two years. In his absence he was presented by the crown to the rectory of Lutterworth. Meanwhile the hostility of the party opposed to him in the church had been becoming more determined and bitter; and in 1377 he was cited to appear before parliament to answer to the charge of holding and publishing heretical opinions. From this time he was involved in almost constant conflict with the hierarchy, and but for the protection of powerful patrons his name would probably have been added to the long roll of martyrs for the truth. He maintained his cause with fearless courage and consummate ability; but the toils and trials to which he was exposed brought on an attack of paralysis. In 1382 he was summoned before a commission at Oxford, to answer certain charges against him of holding heretical doctrines. Here he boldly defended the views he had advanced, especially on the subject of transubstantiation. The result was the dissolution of his connection with Oxford, on which he retired to Lutterworth, where the remainder of his days was spent. He died 31st Dec. 1384. He wrote many treatises, but his great work was his translation of the Scriptures into the English of his day—a monument of his learning, piety, and zeal, which happily remains [ENGLISH VERSIONS].—W. L. A.

## X

XANTHICUS (Ξανθικός), the sixth month of the Macedonian year (2 Maccab. xi. 30, 33). Josephus says (*Antiq.* i. 3. 3; x. 3) that it corresponded to the Heb. Nisan; and the Syr. version has  here.—W. L. A.

XIMENES, DE CISNEROS FRANCISCO. This distinguished cardinal and primate of Spain, to whom Biblical literature is indebted for the first Polyglott, was born in 1436 at the little town of Tordelaguna, of an ancient but decayed Castilian family, who originally lived at Cisneros, whence the cardinal derived the name *de Cisneros*. Being in straitened circumstances his parents destined him for the church from his very youth, and accordingly gave him an excellent rudimentary education in the ancient languages at Alcalá. At the age of fourteen (1450) he was sent to the university of Salamanca, where he devoted himself most assiduously to the study of the civil and canon law, and received in 1456 the degree of bachelor in both these departments. Three years after he left the university (1460) he went to Rome, where he practised the law for six years, and from which place

he was suddenly called to his native country (1467) by the death of his father. Before his return, however, he obtained a papal bull or *expectative*, preferring him to the first benefice of a specified value which should become vacant in the see of Toledo. For this he had to wait several years, and when a vacancy at last offered itself, at the death of the arch-priest of Uzeda (1473), and Ximenes took possession of it, Archbishop Carrillo threw him into prison, where he was detained six years. When restored to freedom and placed in possession of his benefice, he effected an exchange for the chaplainship of Sigüenza (1480), in order to escape the jurisdiction of the vindictive archbishop. In this new position he prosecuted with the utmost diligence the study of theology, as well as of the Hebrew and Chaldee languages, which afterwards proved of the greatest service to him when editing the Polyglott. His extraordinary qualities had now become so famous that Mendoza, who was at that time bishop of Sigüenza, appointed him vicar. In the midst of his brilliant career he entered (1483) the novitiate to the Observantines of the Franciscan order in the convent of San Juan de los Reyes at Toledo, when he exchanged his baptismal name *Gonzalo* for Francisco. After a few years sojourn in it, he quitted this convent to become a hermit in the convent of Our Lady of Castañar, so called from a deep forest of chestnuts in which it was embosomed. In the midst of these dark mountain solitudes he built with his own hands a little hermitage, in which he passed three years in prayer and meditation, and which he only left because his superiors appointed him guardian of the convent of Salzeda. Upon the recommendation of Mendoza, now cardinal and archbishop of Toledo, he was appointed confessor to Queen Isabella in 1492; in 1494 he was elected provincial of his order in Castile; and in 1495, on the death of Mendoza, was promoted to the archbishopric of Toledo, and with it became High Chancellor of Castile. Passing by his political adventures and martial exploits as foreign to the scope of the biographical notices in this Cyclopædia, we shall only detail Ximenes' efforts to promote Biblical studies and sacred literature. As the most praiseworthy undertaking in this department, which ultimately led to the publication of the celebrated Complutensian Polyglott, is his founding the university at Alcalá de Henares = the Roman *Complutum*, whence the Polyglott derives the appellation *Complutensian*. The site for this abode of learning he selected himself in 1498, and in 1500 he laid the foundation-stone of the college of San Ildefonso. Adjoining to this principal college he had erected nine other colleges, as well as a hospital for the sick of the university, and the whole pile of buildings was completed in 1508 under his own superintendence. With the aid of his learned friends he appointed forty-two professors, and the first lecture was delivered in the university in August 1508. He assigned for its support 14,000 ducats a-year. Having thus completed his scheme for the education of the people at large, Ximenes now applied himself to carrying into effect his projected Polyglott, which was to supply the spiritual guides of the people with the originals of the sacred Scriptures, being the source whence these teachers derive the instruction they impart to those intrusted to their care. To this end he began to collect materials for the Polyglott in 1502, shortly after laying the



foundation-stone of the other projected structure of learning, and the work was completed in 1517. The stupendous character of this magnificent Bible may be seen from the following analysis of the contents of the six splendid volumes.

(a.) *The first volume* contains the Pentateuch in Hebrew, Chaldee, Greek, and Latin. The Hebrew text, which has the vowel-points but not the accents, occupies the outside of the three columns, the Sept. with an interlineary Latin translation occupies the inside column, and the Vulg. occupies the middle column, indicating that just as Christ was crucified between two thieves so the Roman Church, represented by St. Jerome's version, is crucified between the synagogue represented by the Hebrew text, and the Eastern Church, denoted by the Greek version. At the lower part of the page are two smaller columns, one containing the Chaldee paraphrase and the other a Latin translation of it. This volume is preceded by—*i.* St Jerome's Preface to the Pentateuch. *ii.* The Bull of Leo X. permitting the circulation of the work. *iii.* Addresses to the reader by Francis, bishop of Abyla, and Francis of Mendoza, archdeacon of Pedroche. *iv.* The dedicatory epistle of Cardinal Ximenes to Leo X. *v.* An address to the reader about the language of the O. T. *vi.* A treatise on finding the roots of the Hebrew words. *vii.* An introduction to the N. T. *viii.* An introduction to the Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon and Hebrew Grammar, as well as to the interpretation of proper names. *ix.* On the manner of studying the sacred Scriptures. *x.* Epistle of St. Jerome to Paul the Presbyter about the history of the sacred books. At the end of the volume are two leaves of errata.

(b.) *The second volume* contains Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, and the Prayers of Manasseh. It is preceded by—*i.* The dedicatory epistle to Leo X. *ii.* Address to the reader as in the first volume, and at the end of the volume are two leaves of errata. In this volume, as well as in the remaining two volumes, which embrace the O. T., the two columns containing the Chaldee paraphrase and the Latin translation of it are omitted. The cardinal tells us that he has only given the Chaldee version of the Pentateuch, and omitted the Targum on the Prophets and Hagiographa, because he looked upon it as corrupt, interspersed with Talmudic fables, and as unworthy to be bound up with the Holy Scriptures.

(c.) *The third volume* contains Ezra, Nehemiah, Tobit, Judith, Esther, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus. It is preceded by the same dedicatory epistle and address to the reader as given in the previous volumes, and the end has two leaves of errata. It is to be observed that the Sept. on the Psalms, instead of having the new interlineary Latin translation, which is the case in all the other books of the O. T., has the old Latin version occupying this interlineary position.

(d.) *The fourth volume* contains Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Baruch, Ezekiel, Daniel with the additions, the Minor Prophets, and the three Maccabees. Like the other volumes it begins with the dedicatory epistle and ends with two leaves of errata. At the end of this volume is the date July 10, 1517.

(e.) *The fifth volume* contains the whole N. T. in Greek and Latin (Vulgate) in two columns. A letter of reference connects the Greek and Latin

texts verbally together, as will be seen from the following specimen of Matt. xxvi. 1 :—

<p>Καὶ ὁ ἐγένετο ὁ ὅτε ἔτελεσεν ὁ ἰησοῦς πάντας τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ.</p>	<p>Et factum est cum consummasset Jesus, sermones hos omnes.</p>
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When there is anything in the one to which there is nothing in the other to correspond, a hyphen or circles are used to fill up the vacant space, in order that the student may easily see whether the Latin translation has always corresponding words to the Greek original.

The volume is preceded by—*i.* A Greek address to the reader with a Latin translation. *ii.* A Greek epistle of Eusebius. *iii.* St. Jerome's Prologue on the four Evangelists addressed to Pope Damasus. At the end of the volume is the date January 10, 1514, and on the next leaf are some Greek and Latin verses in commendation of the book. The editors of this volume were Ælius Antonius Nebrissensis, Demetrius Cretensis, Ferdinandus Pitianus, and especially Lepoz de Stunica, who prepared the Greek text.

(f.) *The sixth volume* contains—*i.* A Hebrew and Chaldee vocabulary of the O. T., dated March 17, 1515. *ii.* An explanation of the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Greek proper names of the O. and N. T. in alphabetical order, whereunto is added a list of names according to the various readings. *iii.* An introduction to the Hebrew Grammar, dated May 1515. *iv.* An alphabetical Index of the Latin words which occur in the work. *v.* A Greek and Latin Lexicon. *vi.* An introduction to the Greek Grammar. *vii.* An explanation of the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Greek names which occur in the N. T. This volume is almost entirely the work of Zamora. [ZAMORA.]

When with the aid of the most learned converted Jews and Christians that Spain could produce, the last sheet of this magnificent Polyglott was finished, in 1517, after spending over it fifteen years of incessant labour and fifty thousand ducats, John Broccario, the son of the printer, then a child, was dressed in his best attire and went with a copy to the cardinal. The latter, as he took it up, raised his eyes to heaven, and devoutly offered up his thanks to the Saviour for being spared to see the completion of this good work, which had cost him so much labour and anxiety. Then turning to those who surrounded him, Ximenes said, that 'of all the acts which distinguished his administration, there was none, however arduous, better entitled to their congratulation than this!' It does indeed seem that Providence had just spared Ximenes to complete this grand work, for he died a few months after it, November 8, 1517, aged 81. His death, however, delayed its immediate circulation. For although completed in 1517, the Polyglott did not receive the sanction of Pope Leo X. for its publication until March 22, 1520, and the copies were not circulated and vended till 1522. As there were only 600 copies printed, the Polyglott became very scarce so early as the latter part of the 16th century.

As for the MSS. used in compiling the texts of the Hebrew Scriptures—the so-called Chaldee Paraphrase of Onkelos on the Pentateuch, the Sept., the Greek of the N. T., and the Vulg.—these have as yet eluded the research of critics. The Hebrew text of the O. T. and the Chaldee of the Pen-



tateuch had already been published several times, both in parts and as a whole, before the appearance of the Polyglott. Thus, the Hebrew Pentateuch with the Chaldee of Onkelos appeared in Bologna 1432; *ibid.* 1490; Lisbon 1491; Naples 1491; Brescia 1492; *ibid.* 1493; and Constantinople 1505. The text of the Earlier Prophets was published at Soncino 1485; and Leiria 1494; of the Latter Prophets, *circa* 1485; and Pessaro 1515; of the Hagiographa, Naples 1486-7, *ibid.* 1490; and Salonica 1513; and of the entire Bible, Soncino 1488, and Brescia 1494. It was therefore not likely that the editors would resort much to MSS., though it is stated that they used seven MSS., which the cardinal secured at the cost of 4000 ducats without saying what they were. Besides the Hebrew and Chaldee texts of the Complutensian Polyglott, with the exception of a few variations, agree with those of former and later editions, which shows that the editors depended upon the printed texts. The same is the case with the text of the Vulg. which had repeatedly been published before—viz. at Mayence 1450-5; Bamberg 1462; Strasburg 1469; *ibid.* 1470; *ibid.* 1468; Cologne 1470; Rome 1471; Mayence 1472; Cologne 1474; Basle 1475; Placenza 1475; Nuremberg 1475; Venice 1475; Paris 1475; Venice 1476; Naples 1476; Nuremberg 1476; Basle 1477; Venice 1478; Lyons 1479; Col. 1480; Venice 1480; *ibid.* 1481; *ibid.* 1483; *ibid.* 1484; *ibid.* 1487; Basle 1491; Venice 1495; Paris 1504; Lyons 1514; and a number of other places. It is the texts of the Sept. and of the Greek N. T. which appeared for the first time in this Polyglott, and for which of course MSS. had to be used. And indeed, though the editors, in accordance with the custom of that time, do not describe the MSS., they distinctly declare that 'ordinary copies were not the archetypes for this impression, but very ancient and correct ones; and of such antiquity that it would be utterly wrong not to own their authority; which the supreme pontiff Leo X., our most holy father in Christ, and lord, desiring to favour this undertaking, sent from the apostolical library to the most reverend lord the Cardinal of Spain, by whose authority and commandment we have had this work printed' (*Preface to the N. T.*) The same declaration is made by Cardinal Ximenes himself, who says in his dedication to Pope Leo X.: 'For Greek copies indeed, we are indebted to your Holiness, who sent us most kindly from the apostolical library very ancient codices both of the O. and the N. T., which have aided us very much in this undertaking.' That Greek MSS. both of the O. and the N. T. were furnished from the Vatican library is moreover corroborated by the fact that though all the MSS. which formerly belonged to Cardinal Ximenes, and which comprised almost all the MS. materials used in the Polyglott, are still safely preserved in the library at Madrid, to which place they have been transferred from Alcalá,\* yet no MSS. exist in this collection of the Sept. on the Pentateuch, or of the Greek N. T., thus showing that they did not belong to the cardinal, and that they were restored again to the Vatican when the

work was completed. Indeed the two Greek MSS. of the Sept. which Ximenes got from Leo are now ascertained, as has been shown by Fr. Vercellone in his Preface to Card. Mai's edition of Codex B. Vercellone also mentions the fact that Codex B is missing in catalogues of the Vatican library made in 1518, which seems to favour the supposition that the editors of the Polyglott had it.

A most remarkable testimony to the interest which Pope Leo X. took in securing a correct text of the N. T., and to the nature of the MSS. he procured for this purpose, is to be found in the celebrated *Massoreth Ha-Massoreth* of Elias Levita. As we have not seen the passage noticed anywhere, we subjoin it entire in an English version: 'When I was at Rome I saw three Chaldeans who arrived from the country of Prester John (פֶּרֶסְטֵר יוֹהָן), having been sent for by Pope Leo X. They were masters of the Syriac language and literature, though their vernacular language was Hebrew. The special language however they employed in writing books, as well as that of the N. T. of the Christians which they had brought with them, was Syriac, which is also called Aramæan, Babylonian, Assyrian, Chaldaic, Tursai or Targum, being denominated by these seven names. Pope Leo X. had sent for them in order to correct by their codices his exemplar of the N. T., which was written in Latin. I then saw in their hands a Psalter written in Syriac characters as well as translated into Syriac; that is to say the Hebrew text was written with Syriac letters' (*Massoreth Ha-Massoreth, Introduction*, iii. 11 a, ed. Sulzbach 1771).

It only remains to be added that the Greek text of this Polyglott has been reprinted in the Antwerp or Royal Polyglott (1569-72), the Heidelberg Polyglott edited by Bertram (1586), the Hamburg Polyglott edited by Wolder (1596), and the Paris Polyglott edited by Le Jay (1645).

*Literature.*—For the life of Ximenes, see Prescott's *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella*, part ii. cap. v. etc., and for the description and the critical value of his great Biblical work, see Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, ii. 338-341; Le Long, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, i. 332-339, ed. Masch.; Rosenmüller, *Handbuch für die Literatur der biblischen Kritik und Exegese*, iii. 279-296, Göttingen 1799; Pettigrew, *Bibliotheca Sussexiana*, vol. i. part ii. pp. 3-28, London 1827; Tregelles, *An account of the Printed Text of the Greek N. T.* pp. 1-18, London 1854, where will also be found reprinted Dr. Thomson's catalogue of the MSS. used in preparing the Polyglott; Horne, *Introduction to the Holy Scriptures*, vol. iv. pp. 119-122, ed. Tregelles, London 1856.—C. D. G.

## Y

YACHMUR (יַחְמֹר), Deut. xiv. 5; 1 Kings iv. 23) is not, as in the A. V., 'the fallow-deer,' but the *Oryx leucoryx* of the moderns, the true Oryx of

\* The whimsical story which the Danish professor Moldenhawer brought from Spain in 1784, that the MSS. had all been sold by an illiterate librarian about the year 1749, as *useless parchments*, to a rocket-maker, who soon worked them up in the regular way of his vocation—and which was VOL. III.

believed through Europe for about sixty years—is now relinquished by scholars as fabulous. It is greatly to be regretted that so indefatigable a scholar as Prescott should still have incorporated it in his excellent *History of Ferdinand and Isabella*, part ii. cap. xxi.

the ancients, and of Niebuhr, who quotes R. Jona, and points out the Chaldaic *yachmura*, and Persian *kutzakohi* (probably a mistake for *maskandos*), and describes it as a great goat. The eastern Arabs still use the name *yazmur*.



531. The Yachmur. *Oryx leucoryx*.

The *Leucoryx*, as the name implies, is white, having a black mark down the nose, black cheeks and jowl, the legs, from the elbow and heel to the pastern joints, black, and the lower half of the thighs usually, and often the lower flank, bright rufous; hence the Heb. name from *הָמַר* (*rubere*, to redden). The species now resides in pairs, in small families, and not unfrequently singly, on the mountain-ranges along the sandy districts, in the desert of eastern Arabia, and on the banks of the Lower Euphrates; and may extend as far eastward as the west bank of the Indus, feeding on shrubby acacias, such as *tortilis* and *Ehrenbergi*. It was, no doubt, formerly, if not at present, found in Arabia Petrea, and in the eastern territories of the people of Israel.—C. H. S.

YAËL (יָעַל), a species of wild goat; supposed by some to be the *Ibex*, but probably a species peculiar to Syria and Arabia the *Capra Sinaitica*



532. Wild Goat of Sinai.

of Ehrenberg. The male is considerably taller and more robust than the larger he-goats, the horns forming regular curves backwards, and with from fifteen to twenty-four transverse elevated cross

ridges, being sometimes near three feet long, and exceedingly ponderous: there is a beard under the chin, and the fur is dark brown; but the limbs are white, with regular black marks down the front of the legs, with rings of the same colour above the knees and on the pasterns. The females are smaller than the males, more slenderly made, brighter rufous, and with the white and black markings on the legs not so distinctly visible. This species live in troops of fifteen or twenty, and plunge down precipices with the same fearless impetuosity which distinguishes the ibex. Their horns are sold by the Arabs for knife handles, etc.—C. H. S.

YAËN (יָעֵן) and fem. YAANAH (יָעָנָה), always coupled with *בֵּית*; the latter is the form most frequently used. This term designates the ostrich (LXX. *στρουθιον*; Vulg. *struthio*), and is derived by some from an obsolete root יָעַן, to be greedy; whilst others, with greater probability, regard the word as onomatopoeitic from the harsh cry of the bird. References to this bird are frequent in the O. T. (Lev. xi. 19; Deut. xiv. 15; Job xxx. 29; xxxix. 13; Is. xlii. 21; xxxiv. 13; xliii. 20; Jer. l. 39; Lam. iv. 3; Micah i. 8); in most of which passages the A. V. has the mistaken rendering of *owls*. In Job xxxix. 13 female ostriches are called רִנְנִים, from their wailing tremulous cry.

There are two varieties of ostrich, the one having a glossy black plumage, and often attaining ten feet in height; the other covered with grey and dingy feathers, and never reaching seven feet. They are gregarious, associating sometimes in troops of near a hundred. They are birds of great voracity, and perhaps on this account were included among unclean birds in the law.—W. L. A.

YAHALOM (יְהָלֹם), a species of gem, deriving its name from its hardness (from *הָלַם*, to hammer or beat). The older versions make it the *oryx*; Ibn Ezra and other of the Jewish commentators make it the *diamond*, which is the rendering given in the A. V. (Exod. xxviii. 18; xxxix. 11; Ezek. xxviii. 11), and approved by Braun (*De vest. Sacerd.* ii. 13). It is doubtful, however, if the art of cutting the diamond was known at that early period; and, besides, the Heb. name *Shamir* seems to have been appropriated to the diamond [SHAMIR]. The probability therefore is in favour of the Yahalom being an onyx, which is a species of chalcedony of the flint family of minerals.—W. L. A.

YANSHUPH (יָנֶשֶׁף); Lev. ii. 17; Deut. xiv. 16; Is. xxxiv. 11). In the Septuagint and Vulgate it is translated 'Ibis,' but in our version 'Owl'; which last Bochart supports, deriving the name from *נֶשֶׁף* *nesheph*, 'twilight.' It may be remarked that 'ibis' in Europe, and even in mediæval and modern Egypt, was a very indefinite name, until Bruce first pointed out, and Cuvier afterwards proved, what we are to understand by that denomination. The Ibis is probably the *Abou-hannes* of Bruce, and certainly the *Ibis religiosa* of Cuvier, who discovered specimens in the mummy state, such as are now not uncommon in museums, and, by comparison, proved them to be identical with his sacred ibis. The species is nowhere abundant; it occurs, in the season, on the Upper Nile, a few in company, seldom coming down into Lower Egypt, but extending over cen-



tral Africa to the Senegal. A bird so rare about Memphis, and totally unknown in Palestine, could not be the Yanshuph of the Pentateuch, nor could the black ibis which appears about Damietta, nor any species, strictly tenants of hot and watery regions, be well taken for it. Bochart and others, who refer the name to a species of owl, appear to disregard two other names ascribed to owls in the 16th verse of the same chapter of Leviticus. If, therefore, an owl was here again intended, it would have been placed in the former verse, or near to it. In this difficulty, considering that the Seventy were not entirely without some grounds for referring the Hebrew Yanshuph to a wader; that the older commentators took it for a species of ardea; and that the root of the name may refer to twi-



533. Night Heron of Arabia.

light, indicating a crepuscular bird; we are inclined to select the night heron as the only one that unites these several qualities. It is a bird smaller than the common heron, distinguished by two or three white plumes hanging out of the black-capped nape of the male. In habit it is partially nocturnal. The Arabian Abou-onk (?), if not the identical bird, is a close congener of the species, found in every portion of the temperate and warmer climates of the earth: it is an inhabitant of Syria, and altogether is free from the principal objections made to the ibis and the owl. The Linnaean single *Ardea nycticorax* is now typical of a genus of that name, and includes several species of night herons. They fly abroad at dusk, frequent the sea-shore, marshes, and rivers, feeding on mollusca, crustacea, and worms, and have a cry of a most disagreeable nature. This bird has been confounded with the night hawk, which is a goat-sucker (caprimulgus), not a hawk.—C. H. S.

YARN. This is the rendering in the A. V. of a word which appears first in the form יָרֵן (1 Kings x. 28), and then in the form יָרֵן (2 Chron. i. 16). The LXX. in the former passage gives ἐκ Θεκουῆ (Alex. Θεκουεῖν), from Tekoa, in the latter it omits the word; the Vulg. has *de Coa, from Coa*, in both places. The word is probably a local designation; and Coa is most likely the place intended.—W. L. A.

YASHPH (יָשָׁפֶת), a precious stone which nearly all are agreed in regarding as the *jasper*

(LXX. ἰάσμις), a conclusion which the name itself (carried probably abroad by the Phœnicians) guarantees. The jasper is of the flint family; its prevailing colour is dark red, frequently with cloudy or flammeous shades; but specimens of yellow, red, brown, and green are found. That kind which is commonly known as the *blood-stone*, which has bright red spots on a dark green ground, is the most esteemed (Rosenmüller, *Biblical Mineralogy*, p. 41).—W. L. A.

YEAR (שָׁנָה). The Hebrew year consisted of twelve unequal months, which, previously to the exile, were lunar, as may be seen from the names of the moon, חֹדֶשׁ and יָרֵךְ, which signify respectively a month (so with us moon from month, German *mond*); though Credner, relying too much on hypothesis, especially on the assumption of the late origin of the Pentateuch, has endeavoured to show that, until the 8th century before Christ, the Israelites reckoned by solar years. The twelve solar months made up only 354 days, constituting a year too short by no fewer than eleven days. This deficiency would have soon inverted the year, and could not have existed even for a short period of time without occasioning derangements and serious inconvenience to the Hebrews, whose year was so full of festivals. At an early day, then, we may well believe a remedy was provided for this evil. The course which the ancients pursued is unknown, but Ideler (*Chronol.* i. 490) may be consulted for an ingenious conjecture on the subject. The later Jews intercalated a month every two, or every three years, taking care, however, to avoid making the seventh an intercalated year. The supplementary month was added at the termination of the sacred year, the twelfth month (February and March), and as this month bore the name of Adar, so the interposed month was called Veadar (וְאָדָר), or Adar the Second. The year, as appears from the ordinary reckoning of the months (Lev. xxiii. 34; xxv. 9; Num. ix. 11; 2 Kings xxv. 8; Jer. xxxix. 2; comp. 1 Maccab. iv. 52; x. 21), began with the month Nisan (Esther iii. 7), agreeably to an express direction given by Moses (Exod. xii. 2; Num. xi. 1). This commencement is generally thought to be that of merely the ecclesiastical year; and most Jewish, and many Christian authorities, hold that the civil year originally began, as now, with the month Tisri; the Rabbins conjecturally assigning as the reason that this was the month in which the creation took place. Josephus' statement is as follows: 'Moses appointed that Nisan should be the first month for their festivals, because he brought them (the Israelites) out of Egypt in that month; so that this month began the year, as to all the solemnities they observed to the honour of God, although he preserved the original order of the months as to selling and buying and other ordinary affairs (*Antiq.* i. 3. 3). Winer, however, is of opinion that the commencement of the year with Tisri, together with the beginning of the sacred year in Nisan, is probably a post-exilic arrangement, designed to commemorate the first step of the return to the native soil of Palestine (Esther iii. 1; Neh. vii. 73; viii. 1, *seq.*); an idea, however, to which they only can give assent who hold that the changes introduced on the return from Babylon were of a constructive rather than a restoratory nature—a class of authorities with which the writer has few

bonds of connection. The reader should consult Exod. xxiii. 16; xxxiv. 22. But the commencement of the civil year with Tisri, at whatever period it originated, had after the exile this advantage,—that it accorded with the era of the Seleucidæ, which began in October. The ancient Hebrews possessed no such thing as a formal and recognised era. Their year and their months were determined and regulated, not by any systematic rules of astronomy, but by the first view or appearance of the moon. In a similar manner they dated from great national events, as the departure from Egypt (Exod. xix. 1; Num. xxxiii. 38; 1 Kings vi. 1); from the ascension of monarchs, as in the books of Kings and Chronicles; or from the erection of Solomon's temple (1 Kings viii. 1; ix. 10); and at a later period, from the commencement of the Babylonish captivity (Ezek. xxxiii. 21; xl. 1). When they became subjects of the Græco-Syrian empire they adopted the Seleucid era, which began with the year B.C. 312, when Seleucus conquered Babylon.—J. R. B.

**YELEK** (יֶלֶק). This term is variously rendered (Ps. cv. 34, βροῦχος, *bruchus*, caterpillar; Jer. li. 14, 27, ἀκρίς, *brucus*, caterpillar; and in the latter passage the Vulg. reads *brucus aculeatus*, and some copies *horripilantes*; Joel i. 4, ii. 25, βροῦχος, *bruchus*, cankerworm; Nah. iii. 15, 16, ἀκρίς and βροῦχος, cankerworm). Assuming that the Psalmist means to say that the יֶלֶק was really another species employed in the plague on Egypt, the English word caterpillar in the common acceptation cannot be correct, for we can hardly imagine that the larvæ of the Papilionidæ tribe of insects could be carried by 'winds.' Cankerworm means *any worm* that preys on fruit. βροῦχος could hardly be understood by the Sept. translators of the minor prophets as an unfledged locust; for in Nah. iii. 16 they give βροῦχος ὠμῆρες καὶ ἐξενερδσθη, *the βροῦχος flies away*. The Arabic يَلَق, *to be white*, is offered; hence the white locust, or the chafer-worm which is white (Michaelis, *Recueil de Quest.* p. 64; *Sup.*

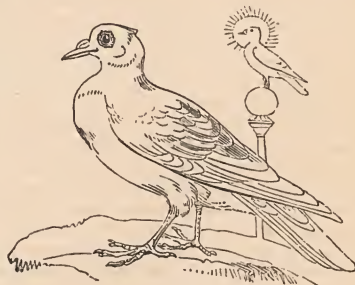
*ad Lex. Heb.* p. 1080). Others give לֶקֶק, *to lick off*, as Gesenius, who refers to Num. xxii. 4, where this root is applied to the ox 'licking' up his pasturage, and which, as descriptive of celerity in eating, is supposed to apply to the יֶלֶק. Others suggest the Arabic وَلَق, *to hasten*, alluding to the quick motions of locusts. The passage in Jer. li. 27 is the only instance where an epithet is applied

to the locust, and there we find כְּמִנְיֹת יֶלֶק, 'rough caterpillars.' As a noun the word means 'nails,' 'sharp-pointed spikes.' Hence Michaelis refers it to the rough sharp-pointed feet of some species of chafer (*ut supra*). Oedman takes it for the *G. cristatus* of Linn. Tychsen, with more probability, refers it to some rough or bristly species of locust, as the *G. hamatopus* of Linn., whose thighs are ciliated with hairs. Many grylli are furnished with spines and bristles; the whole species *acheta*, also the *pupa* species of Linn., called by Degeer *Locusta pupa spinosa*, which is thus described:—Thorax ciliated with spines, abdomen tuberculous and spinous, posterior thighs armed beneath with four spines or teeth; inhabits Ethiopia. The allusion in Jer. is to the ancient accoutrement of war-horses, bristling with sheaves of arrows.—J. F. D.

**YEMIM** (יְמִיִּם). This ἀπαξ λεγόμενον occurs Gen. xxxvi. 24, where it is rendered in the A. V. by 'mules.' This is the meaning given to the word by some of the Rabbins, and it is adopted in the Zürich Bible, to which the A. V. is so much indebted, by Diodati and others. Luther, however, follows Jerome, who gives *aque calide* as the proper rendering, and this is now generally adopted. There are warm springs in the vicinity of the Dead Sea, and some of these probably Anah found when feeding his father's asses in the Arabah. The Cod. Samar. reads הַיְמִיִּם, *The Emin*, and this the Targumists follow; but this is evidently a mistake.—W. L. A.

#### YOKE. [AGRICULTURE.]

**YONAH** (יוֹנָה, *olvas*, *περιστέρα*). There are probably several species of doves or pigeons included in the Hebrew name *yonah*. It may contain all those that inhabit Palestine, exclusive of the turtle-doves properly so called. Thus generalised, the dove is figuratively, next to man, the most exalted of animals, symbolising the Holy Spirit, the meekness, purity, and splendour of righteousness. Next, it is by some considered (though in an obscure passage) as an early national standard (Ps. lxxviii. 13), being likewise held in pagan Syria and Phœnicia to be an ensign and a divinity, resplendent with silver and gold; and so venerated as to be regarded as holy, and forbidden as an article of food. By the Hebrew law, however, doves and turtle-doves were the only birds that could be offered in sacrifice, and they were usually selected for that purpose by the less wealthy (Gen. xv. 9; Lev. v. 7; xii. 6; Luke ii. 24); and to supply the demand for them, dealers in these birds sat about the precincts of the Temple (Matt. xxi. 12, etc.) The dove is the harbinger of reconciliation with God (Gen. viii. 8, 10, etc.) As to the supposed use of doves' dung for food, see **DOVES' DUNG**.



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With regard to the dove as a national ensign, it may be remarked that we have two figures where the symbol occurs: one from a Phœnician coin, where the dove stands on a globe instead of the usual pedestal of ancient signa, with wings closed, and a glory of sunbeams round the head; the other, from a defaced bas-relief observed in the Hauran, where the bird, with wings displayed, is seated also on a globe, and the sunbeams, spreading behind the whole, terminate in a circle of stars; probably representing Assyria, Syria, or perhaps Semiramis (compare several passages in Jeremiah). The brown wood-dove is said to be intended by the



Hebrew name; but all the sacred birds, unless expressly mentioned, were pure white, or with some roseate feathers about the wing coverts, such as are still frequently bred from the carrier-pigeon of Scanderoon. It is this kind which Tibullus notices, 'Alba Palestino sancta Columba Syro.'

The carrier-birds are represented in Egyptian bas-reliefs, where priests are shown letting them fly on a message; and to them also may be referred the black-doves, which typified or gave their name to an order of Gentile priests, both in Egypt and, it would seem, in early Greece, who, under this character, were, in the mysteries, restorers of light. This may have had reference to the return of the dove which caused Noah to uncover the ark. All pigeons in their true wild plumage have iridescent colours about the neck, and often reflected flashes of the same colours on the shoulders, which are the source of the silver and gold feathers ascribed to them in poetical diction; and thence the epithet of purple bestowed upon them all, though most applicable to the vinous and slaty-coloured species. The coasts and territory of Syria are noted for the great number of doves frequenting them, though they are not so abundant there as in the Coh-i-Suleiman chain near the Indus, which in Sanscrit is named Arga varta, or, as it is interpreted, the 'dove.' Syria possesses several species of pigeon: the *Columbaenas*, or stock-dove, *C. palumbus*, or ring-dove, *C. domestica*, *Livia*, the common pigeon in several varieties, such as the Barbary, Turkish or Persian carrier, crisp, and shaker. These are still watched in their flight in the same manner as anciently their number, gyrations, and other manoeuvres were observed by soothsayers. The wild species, as well as the turtle-doves, migrate from Palestine to the south; but stock and ring doves are not long absent.

We figure above (No. 534) the more rare species of white and pink carrier, and the Phœnician sacred ensign of the dove.—C. H. S.

## Z

ZAANAIM, PLAIN OF (אֵלֹן בְּעֵנַיִם); more correctly 'Oak of Zaanaim'; δρὺς πλεονεκτούστων; Alex. δρὺς ἀναπανομένων; *Vallis quæ vocatur Senaim*), a place mentioned only in Judg. iv. 11, where, in relating the story of Barak's victory, and Jael's terrible act of loyalty, the sacred historian states that Heber the Kenite, Jael's husband, had separated from his brethren, 'and pitched his tent unto the plain (or oak) of Zaanaim, which is by Kedesh.' The locality is thus indicated. The 'oak' was probably some noted tree, perhaps a patriarch in a sacred grove, beneath or around which nomad shepherds of those days were accustomed to pitch their tents, as Abraham pitched his by the oak of Mamre. The green pastures which abound around the ruins of Kedesh are studded to this day with large oak trees; and the writer has seen, at more than one place, the black tents of the nomad Turkman pitched beneath them. The name *Zaanaim*, which appears to signify 'removings' (as if a camping-ground), has passed away, at least no trace of it has yet been discovered (*Handbook*, p. 444; Van de Velde, *Travels*, ii. 418).

It is generally supposed that the *Zaananim* of

Josh. xix. 33 is only another form of Zaanaim; and there can be little doubt that such is the case. The rendering of the A. V. is incorrect. 'And their coast was from Heleph, from Allon to Zaananim.' The Hebrew is כְּאֵלֶן בְּעֵנַיִם, and can only signify, 'from the oak of (or 'in') Zaananim' (see Keil, *ad loc.*; Reland, *Pal.* p. 717; Keil and Delitzsch on *Judg.* iv. 11; Stanley, *Jewish Church*, i. 324; Porter, *Giant Cities of Bashan*, p. 268).—J. L. P.

## ZAANAN. [ZENAN.]

ZABAD (זָבָד, *God-given*; Sept. Ζαβέδ). 1. A person of the tribe of Judah, mentioned in 1 Chron. ii. 36, among the descendants of Sheshan, by the marriage of his daughter with an Egyptian servant [JARHA; SHESHAN].

2. A grandson of Ephraim, who, with others of the family, was killed during the lifetime of Ephraim, by the men of Gath, in an attempt which the Hebrews seem to have made to drive off their cattle (1 Chron. vii. 21). [See EPHRAIM.]

3. Son of an Ammonitess named Shimeath, who, in conjunction with Jehozabad, the son of a Moabitess, slew king Joash, to whom they were both household officers, in his bed (2 Kings xii. 21; 2 Chron. xxiv. 25, 26). In the first of these texts he is called Jozachar. The sacred historian does not appear to record the mongrel parentage of these men as suggesting a reason for their being more easily led to this act, but as indicating the sense which was entertained of the enormity of Joash's conduct, that even they, though servants to the king, and though only half Jews by birth, were led to conspire against him 'for the blood of the sons of Jehoiada the priest.' It would seem that their murderous act was not abhorred by the people; for Amaziah, the son of Joash, did not venture to call them to account till he felt himself well established on the throne, when they were both put to death (2 Kings xiv. 5, 6; 2 Chron. xxv. 3, 4).

4. One of the persons who, at the instance of Ezra, after the return from captivity, put away the foreign wives they had taken (Ezra x. 27).—J. K.

ZABUD (זָבֻד, *bestowed*; Sept. Ζαβούθ), a son of Nathan the prophet, who held under Solomon the important place of 'king's friend,' or favourite (1 Kings iv. 5), which Hushai had held under David (1 Chron. xxvii. 33), and which a person named Elkanah held under Ahaz (2 Chron. xxviii. 7). Azariah, another son of Nathan, was 'over all the (household) officers' of king Solomon; and their advancement may doubtless be ascribed not only to the young king's respect for the venerable prophet, who had been his instructor, but to the friendship he had contracted with his sons during the course of education. The office, or rather honour, of 'friend of the king,' we find in all the despotic governments of the East. It gives high power, without the public responsibility which the holding of a regular office in the state necessarily imposes. It implies the possession of the utmost confidence of, and familiar intercourse with, the monarch, to whose person 'the friend' at all times has access, and whose influence is therefore often far greater, even in matters of state, than that of the recognised ministers of government.

## ZABULUN. [ZEBULUN.]



ZACCHEUS (Ζακχαῖος, צַכִּי, *justus*?), a superintendent of taxes at Jericho. Having heard of the Redeemer, he felt a great desire to see him as he drew near that place; for which purpose he climbed up into a sycamore-tree, because he was little of stature. Jesus, pleased with this manifestation of his eagerness, and knowing that it proceeded from a heart not far from the kingdom of God, saw fit to honour Zaccheus by becoming his guest. This offended the self-righteous Jews, who objected that 'he was gone to be a guest with a man that is a sinner.' This offensive imputation was met by Zaccheus in the spirit of the Mosaic conception of goodness—'The half of my goods I give to the poor; and if I have taken anything from any man by false accusation, I restore him fourfold.' He that knew the heart of man knew, not only the truth of this statement, but that the good works of Zaccheus emanated from right motives, and therefore terminated the conversation with the words, 'This day is salvation come to this house, forsomuch as he also is a son of Abraham'—a declaration which, whether Zaccheus was by birth a Jew or not, signifies that he had the same principle of faith which was imputed to Abraham, the father of the faithful, for righteousness (Luke xix. 2, *seq.*)

Tradition represents Zaccheus as the first Christian bishop of Caesarea.—J. R. B.

ZACHARIAH. [ZECHARIAH.]

ZACHARIAS. [ZECHARIAH.]

ZADOK, derived from the root צָדַק, corresponding with the Latin *justus*. There are several men of this name mentioned in the O. T.

1. In the reign of David, ZADOK (the son of Ahitub and father of Ahimaaz, 1 Chron. vi. 8) and Ahimelech, were the priests (2 Sam. viii. 17). ZADOK and the Levites were with David when, after the middle of the 11th century B.C., he fled from Absalom; but the king ordered Zadok to carry back the ark of God into the city (2 Sam. xv. 24, 25, 27, 29, 35, 36; xviii. 19, 22, 27). The king, also, considering Zadok a seer, commanded him to return to the city, stating that he would wait in the plain of the wilderness until he should receive such information from him and his son Ahimaaz, and also from the son of Abiathar, as might induce him to remove farther away. On hearing that Ahithophel had joined Absalom, David requested Hushai, his friend, to feign himself to be also one of the conspirators, and to inform Zadok and Abiathar of the counsels adopted by Absalom and his rebellious confederates. The request of David was complied with, and the plans of the rebels made known to David by the instrumentality of Zadok and the others.

After Absalom was vanquished, David sent to Zadok and Abiathar, the priests, saying, 'Speak unto the elders of Judah, Why are ye the last to bring the king back to his house?' etc. (2 Sam. xix. 11; xx. 25). When Adonijah attempted to succeed to the throne, Abiathar countenanced him, but Zadok was not called to the feast at which the conspirators assembled. King David sent for Zadok and Nathan the prophet to anoint Solomon king (1 Kings i. 32-45).

2. In 1 Chron. vi. 12, and Neh. xi. 11, another ZADOK is mentioned, the father of whom was also called Ahitub, and who begat Shallum. This

Zadok descended from Zadok the priest in the days of David and Solomon, and was the ancestor of Ezra the scribe (Ezra vii. 2). We learn from Ezek. xl. 46; xliii. 19; xlv. 15; xlviii. 11, that the sons of Zadok were a pre-eminent sacerdotal family.

3. ZADOK was also the name of the father-in-law of Uzziah and the grandfather of King Jotham, who reigned about the middle of the 8th century before Christ (2 Kings xv. 33; 2 Chron. xxvii. 1).

4 and 5. Two priests of the name of ZADOK are mentioned in Neh. iii. 4-29, as having assisted in rebuilding the wall of Jerusalem about B. C. 445.

The Zadok mentioned in Neh. x. 22 as having sealed the covenant, and Zadok the scribe named in Neh. xiii. 13, are probably the same who helped to build the wall.—C. H. F. B.

ZAHAB (זָהָב), the general name for *gold* in Hebrew. Besides this other words are used to indicate the metal in different states, or of different qualities, viz.—1. **זָהָב**, *native gold*, produced in a pure state, and without mixture with any other metal (Job xxviii. 17; Ps. xxi. 4; cxix. 127; Song v. 15; etc.) The word is derived apparently from **פָּנָה**, *to separate or purify*; in 2 Chron. ix. 17 **טָהוֹר**, *pure gold*, is used instead of **זָהָב** of 1 Kings x. 18. 2. **בָּצֵר**, *gold-dust or ore* (Job xxii. 24, 25).

[BETZER.] 3. **חֲרִיץ**, from **חָרַץ**, *to shine, glister*, denotes gold with reference to its colour (Ps. lxxviii. 14; Prov. iii. 14; viii. 10; xvi. 16; Zech. ix. 3); it is used chiefly in connection with silver. 4. **כֶּתֶם**, from **כָּתַם**, *to dig out ore*, used poetically for gold (Job xxi. 34; Prov. xxv. 12; Lam. iv. 1, etc.); it is sometimes coupled with **אֹפִיר** (Job xxviii. 16; Ps. xlv. 10; Is. xiii. 12), once **אֹפֶן** (Dan. x. 5).

*Zahab* is sometimes joined with **סָגוֹר**, signifying *concealed, shut up, treasured*, to describe *treasured gold* (1 Kings vi. 20, 21; vii. 49, 50; x. 21; 1 Chron. iv. 20). In 1 Kings x. 16, 17, and 2 Chron. ix. 15, 16, mention is made of **זָהָב שְׁחֵט**, of which Solomon caused two hundred shields to be made. Gesenius renders this *mixed or alloyed gold*; but the rendering of the LXX., χρυσά ἐλατά, gold beaten out by the hammer into plates, seems preferable.

The Hebrews got their gold from Arabia, chiefly from Ophir. Mention is also made of Uphaz and Parvaim as places whence gold was brought; but great uncertainty exists as to the places so named [PARVAIM; UPHAZ]. Gold was known at a very early period (Gen. ii. 11), and was used from remote antiquity for articles of personal ornament (Gen. xxiv. 22; xli. 42). It constituted part of Abraham's wealth (Gen. xiii. 2). It was extensively employed for the utensils of the tabernacle and in the temple (Exod. xxv. 35; 1 Kings vi. 22). The first notice we have of its being used as money is in the age of David (1 Chron. xxi. 25). In early times silver seems to have been the usual medium of exchange, and hence in Hebrew as in other tongues silver often means money (Gen. xxiii. 9, etc.)—W. L. A.

ZAIR (זַעִיר, 'little'; Σείρα; *Seira*). In the expedition of king Joram against Edom this place



is mentioned. It is said he 'went over to *Zair*, and all the chariots with him; and he rose by night and smote the Edomites which compassed him about' (2 Kings viii. 21). There is no other reference to it in Scripture. It was evidently situated on, if not within the border of Edom, and consequently somewhere in the great valley of Arabah. There Joram would have favourable ground for the operations of his chariots. As no place of this name has been found on the borders of Moab, several theories have been advanced regarding it.

1. Some identify it with Zoar; but the latter was situated too far northward (Movers, *Krit. Unters.* 218). 2. Some suppose it to be an erroneous reading for זָרִי, 'his princes,' which is found in its place in the parallel passage (2 Chron. xxi. 9); but for this there is no manuscript authority (Dahler, *Paralip.* p. 107). 3. Others think that the correct reading ought to be שְׂעִיר, *Seir*, the ancient name of Edom. Such conjectures are purely gratuitous. The critical scholar must admit the authenticity of the text unless he can bring forward some trustworthy evidence of corruption (see Keil and Bertheau, *ad loc.*)—J. L. P.

ZAÏT, or SAIT (זַיִת), is universally acknowledged to be the Olive-tree. The Latin author Ammianus Marcellinus, as quoted by Celsius (vol. ii. p. 331), was acquainted with it, for he says of a place in Mesopotamia, '*Zaitam* venimus locum, qui *Olea* arbor interpretatur.' *Zaitoon* is the Arabic name by which the olive is known from Syria to Caubul, and described in the works of both Arabic and Persian authors. No tree is more frequently mentioned by ancient authors, nor was any one more highly honoured by ancient nations.

The olive-tree is of slow growth, but remarkable for the great age it attains. It never, however, becomes a very large tree, though sometimes two or three stems rise from the same root, and reach from twenty to thirty feet high. The leaves are in pairs, lanceolate in shape, of a dull green on the upper, and hoary on the under surface. Hence in countries where the olive is extensively cultivated, the scenery is of a dull character from this colour of the foliage. The fruit is an elliptical drupe, with a hard stony kernel, and remarkable from the outer fleshy part being that in which much oil is lodged, and not, as is usual, in the almond of the seed. It ripens from August to September.

Of the olive-tree two varieties are particularly distinguished; the long-leaved, which is cultivated in the south of France and in Italy, and the broad-leaved in Spain, which has also its fruit much larger than that of the former kind. The wild olive-tree, as well as the practice of grafting, has been noticed in the article AGRILEIA. The great age to which the olive attains is well attested. Chateaubriand says: 'Those in the garden of Olivet (or Gethsemane) are at least of the times of the Eastern empire, as is demonstrated by the following circumstance. In Turkey every olive-tree found standing by the Musselmans, when they conquered Asia, pays one *medina* to the Treasury, while each of those planted since the conquest is taxed half its produce. The eight olives of which we are speaking are charged only eight *medinas*.' By some, especially by Dr. Martin, it is supposed that these olive-trees may have been in existence even in the time of our Saviour. Dr. Wilde describes the largest of them as being twenty-four

feet in girth above the roots, though its topmost branch is not thirty feet from the ground; Bové, who travelled as a naturalist, asserts that the largest are at least six yards in circumference, and nine or ten yards high; so large, indeed, that he calculates their age at 2000 years.

The olive is one of the earliest of the plants specifically mentioned in the Bible, the fig being the first (Gen. viii. 11). It is always enumerated among the valued trees of Palestine; which Moses describes (Deut. vi. 11; viii. 8) as 'a land of oil-olive and honey' (so in xxviii. 40, etc.); and (2 Chron. ii. 10) Solomon gave to the labourers sent him by Hiram, king of Tyre, 20,000 baths of oil. Besides this, immense quantities must have been required for home consumption, as it was extensively used as an article of diet, for burning in lamps, and for the ritual service. The olive still continues one of the most extensively cultivated of plants. Mr. Kitto mentions that in a list he had made of references to all the notices of plants by the different travellers in Palestine, those of the presence of the olive exceed one hundred and fifty, and are more numerous by far than to any other tree or plant. The references to vines, fig-trees, mulberries, and oaks, rank next in frequency. Something of this must, however, depend upon the knowledge of plants of the several travellers. Botanists, even from Europe, neglect forms with which they are unacquainted, as, for instance, some of the tropical forms they meet with. Not only the olive-oil, but the branches of the tree were employed at the Feast of Tabernacles. The wood also was used (1 Kings vi. 23) by Solomon for making the cherubim (vers. 31, 32), and for doors and posts 'for the entering of the oracle,' the former of which were carved with cherubim, and palm-trees, and open flowers. The olive being an evergreen was adduced as an emblem of prosperity (Ps. lii. 8), and it has continued, from the earliest ages, to be an emblem of peace among all civilised nations. The different passages of Scripture are elucidated by Celsius (*Hierobot.* ii. p. 330), to whom we have been much indebted in most of the botanical articles treated of in this work, from the care and learning which he has brought to bear on the subject.—J. F. R.

ZALMON (זַלְמוֹן; Sept. Σελμών), a mountain in Samaria near to Shechem (Judg. ix. 48). [SALMON.]

ZALMONAH (זַלְמוֹנָה; Σελμωνά), a station of the Israelites in the desert [WANDERING, WILDERNESS OF].

ZALMUNNA. [ZEBAH AND ZALMUNNA.]

ZAMZUMMIMS (זַמְזֻמִּים; Sept. Ζοχομμιν), a race of giants dwelling anciently in the territory afterwards occupied by the Ammonites, but extinct before the time of Moses (Deut. ii. 20) [UZUM; GIANTS.]

ZANOAH (זָנוּחַ, *marsh, bog*). 1. (Sept. Τανώ; Alex. Ζανώ), one of the towns of Judah 'in the valley or Shephelah' (Josh. xv. 34); which Jerome identifies with a village called in his time Zanua, on the borders of Eleutheropolis, on the road to Jerusalem (*Onomast.* s. v. 'Zanohua'). The name of Zanu'a is still connected with a site on the slope



of a low hill not far east of Ain Shems (Beth-shemesh).

2. (Zakanaḥ; Alex. *Zawakelu*; formed by combining זנח and the following word (הקין), a town in the hill country of Judah (Josh. xv. 56), founded probably by Jehuthiel the son of Mered by his Jewish wife (1 Chron. iv. 18). Robinson mentions a place *Za'natah* about ten miles south of Hebron (*B. R.* ii. 626; Van de Velde, *Memoir*, p. 354).

ZAPHNATH-PAANEAH (צִפְנַת פְּעֵנָה; Sept.

Ψονθοφανήχ), an Egyptian name given by Pharaoh to Joseph in reference to his public office. The genuine Egyptian form of the word is supposed to have been more nearly preserved by the Sept. translator, as above; in which both Jablonsky (*Opusc.* c. 207-216) and Rosellini (*Mon. Storici*, i. 185) recognise the Egyptian PSOTMFENEH, 'the salvation,' or 'saviour of the age;' which corresponds nearly enough with Jerome's interpretation, 'Salvator mundi.' Gesenius and others incline, however, rather to regard its Egyptian form as PSONTMFENEH, 'sustainer of the age,' which certainly is a better meaning. This, in Hebrew letters, would probably be represented by צִפְנַת פְּעֵנָה, Paznath-Paaneah; but in the name as it now stands the letters פֶּנַּל are transposed, in order to bring it nearer to the Hebrew analogy. Concerning the Egyptian root SNT, *sustentare, tueri*, see Champollion, *Gramm.* p. 380; Pezron, *Lex. Copt.* p. 207. [Bunsen, adopting the LXX. form, says, 'In the former part of the word lies the old Egyptian root *sut* = *sout*, to ground, to secure, and the latter is to be resolved into *p ankḥ*, life, a term in which many of the old Egyptian names terminate' (*Bibelwerk*, in loc.) The name given to Joseph would thus mean *Life-sustainer*.]

ZAPHON (צָפוֹן, 'the north;,' *Σαφών*; *Saphon*), a city of Gad, situated in 'the valley,' or *Arabah*, on the east bank of the Jordan, and grouped with Succoth. It is only mentioned in Josh. xiii. 27. It probably lay near the northern end of the valley, and hence its name. No trace of it has been discovered. It would appear to be this city which is mentioned in Judg. xii. 1, 'The Ephraimites gathered themselves together and passed over to *Zaphon*' (צִפְוֹנָה). This is generally regarded as an appellative, and rendered 'northward;' but the construction shows it to be a proper name, and so it is represented in the Alexandrine MS. of the Septuagint. According to a statement of the Gemara it was identical with *Amatha* (Reland, *Pal.* p. 308; Keil and Delitzsch on *Judg.* ad loc.); but *Amatha* lay among the mountains.—J. L. P.

ZARED. [ZERED.]

ZAREPHATH. [SAREPTA.]

ZARETAN, ZARTHAN, and ZARTANAH (צָרְתָּנָה and צָרְתָּנָה; *Σαρπά* in 1 Kings vii. 46; *Σαρθάν* in 1 Kings iv. 12; *Sarthan* and *Sarthana*) are different forms of the same name. The two first are identical in Hebrew (Josh. iii. 16; 1 Kings vii. 46); and the third has a feminine termination (1 Kings iv. 12). The name is first mentioned in connection with the miraculous passage of the Jordan by the Israelites:—'The waters rose up upon an heap far from the city Adam, that is beside *Zaretan*.' Its position is more definitely pointed out in 1 Kings iv. 12 as near Bethshean.

In the only other passage where the name occurs it is used to describe the place where the brazen vessels of the temple were cast—'in the clay-ground between Succoth and Zarthan' (vii. 46). It must thus have been a well-known place on the bank of the Jordan, and not far distant from Bethshean. Van de Velde says: 'The name seems to have been preserved in that of *Surtabah*, the peculiar mountain group in the Ghor south of Wady-el-Ferrah' (*Memoir*, 354). This, however, is much too far south, being at least thirty miles from Bethshean (see, however, Keil and Delitzsch on Josh. iii. 16); and the resemblance in name is more fanciful than real.—J. L. P.

ZARETH-SHAHAR (צָרֶת הַשָּׂהָר; *Σαραθὰ καὶ Σάων*; Alex. *Σαρθ Σάωρ*; *Sarath-asar*), a town in the territory allotted to the tribe of Reuben, and described as being 'upon a mount of the valley' (בְּהָר הַעֵמֶק), that is, of the Jordan valley. It is only mentioned in Josh. xiii. 19, and the notice is so indefinite that its site cannot be fixed farther than that it was somewhere within the territory of Reuben, and in the Jordan valley. It must consequently have been near the north-eastern shore of the Dead Sea. Even the recent minute researches of De Saulcy in this region have failed to discover any trace of it. Seetzen's conjecture that it is identical with *Sara* in Wady Zurka Main, cannot be received (*Reisen*, ii. 369; see Keil and Delitzsch on *Joshua*, ad loc.)—J. L. P.

ZARHITES, THE (הַזְרִיתִּים; *ὁ Ζαράι*; Alex. *ὁ Ζαραετ*), the descendants of Zerah the son of Judah (*Num.* xxvi. 13, 20).

ZEALOTS. The followers of Judas the Gaulonite or Galilean [JUDAS]. Josephus speaks of them as forming the 'fourth sect of Jewish philosophy,' and as distinguished from the Pharisees chiefly by a quenchless love of liberty and a contempt of death. Their leading tenet was the unlawfulness of paying tribute to the Romans, as being a violation of the theocratic constitution. This principle, which they maintained by force of arms against the Roman government, was soon converted into a pretext for deeds of violence against their own countrymen; and during the last days of the Jewish polity, the Zealots were lawless brigands or guerrillas, the pest and terror of the land. After the death of Judas, and of his two sons, Jacob and Simon (who suffered crucifixion), they were headed by Eleazar, one of his descendants, and were often denominated *Sicarii*, from the use of a weapon resembling the Roman Sica (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 1; *De Bell. Jud.* iv. 1-6; vii. 8; Lardner's *Credibility*, pt. i. b. i. ch. 6, 9; Kitto's *Palestine*, pp. 741, 751).—J. E. R.

ZEBAH AND ZALMUNNA, chiefs of the Midianites, whom Gideon defeated and slew. [GIDEON.]

ZEBAIM (הַצְבִּיִּים). This term is appended to the name of Pochereth, the chief of a family numbered among Solomon's servants (Ezra ii. 57; Neh. vii. 59). It has been supposed by some to be the name of a place, but it is more probably the pl. of צִבִּי, *an antelope or gazelle*; 'Pochereth of the antelopes' having probably received that name from being a mighty hunter of these animals.—W. L. A.



ZEBEDEE (*Zēbedaios*; in Hebrew זְבִדִּי, *Zabdi*, זְבִדִּיָּה, *Jehovah's gift*), husband of Salome, and father of the apostles James and John (Matt. x. 2; xx. 20; xxvi. 37; xxvii. 56; Mark iii. 17; x. 35; John xxi. 2). He was the owner of a fishing-boat on the lake of Gennesaret, and, with his sons, followed the business of a fisherman. He was present, mending the nets with them, when Jesus called James and John to follow him (Matt. iv. 21; Mark i. 19; Luke v. 10); and as he offered no obstacle to their obedience, but remained alone without murmuring in the vessel, it is supposed that he had been previously a disciple of John the Baptist, and, as such, knew Jesus to be the Messiah. At any rate, he must have known this from his sons, who were certainly disciples of the Baptist. It is very doubtful whether Zebedee and his sons were of that very abject condition of life which is usually ascribed to them. They seem to have been in good circumstances, and were certainly not poor. Zebedee was the owner of a 'ship,' or fishing-smack, as we should call it—and, perhaps, of more than one; he had labourers under him (Mark i. 20); his wife was one of those pious women whom the Lord allowed 'to minister unto him of their substance;' and the fact that Jesus recommended his mother to the care of John, implies that he had the means of providing for her; whilst a still further proof that Zebedee's family was not altogether mean may be found, perhaps, in the fact, that John was personally known to the high-priest (John xviii. 16).

ZEBOIM (זְבוֹיִם, but in Hos. xi. 8, זְבוֹיִם; Ζεβωίμ; Ζεβωεῖμ; Ζεβοειμ; *Seboim*), a city situated apparently in that part of the Jordan valley which was anciently called 'The Vale of Siddim' (Gen. xiv. 3), and generally grouped with Sodom and Gomorrah (x. 19; Deut. xxix. 23; Hos. xi. 8). It has been already shown that, in all probability, the site of the Pentapolis, after having been burned by fire from heaven, was overflowed, and now forms the southern section of the Dead Sea [SODOM; SEA]. This being the case, all attempts to discover any traces of Zeboim must necessarily be vain (see, however, De Saulcy, *Journey round the Dead Sea*, i. 416).—J. L. P.

ZEBOIM, THE VALLEY OF (נֵי הַזְבוֹיִם; *Tal nei Zebaim*; *Vallis Seboim*), is only mentioned in 1 Sam. xiii. 18, where it is said that one of the bands of Philistine spoilers went out from Michmash 'the way of the border that looketh to the Valley of Zeboim.' This must not be confounded with the city of Zeboim. Though the names are the same in English, they are radically different in the Hebrew. 'The Valley of Zeboim' signifies the 'valley of hyænas,' and was apparently given to one of those wild ravines which run down the eastern slopes of Benjamin into the Jordan plain.—J. L. P.

ZEBUL (*זְבֻל*, a dwelling; Sept. Ζεβούλ), an officer whom Abimelech left in command at Shechem in his own absence; and who discharged with fidelity and discretion the difficult trust confided to him (Judg. ix. 29-41). See the particulars in ABIMELECH.

ZEBULUN, TRIBE AND POSSESSIONS OF (זְבֻלֻן, also זְבֻלָּן; Ζαβουλών; *Zabulon*). Zebulun was the sixth and last son of Leah, and the tenth born to Jacob (Gen. xxx. 20; xxxv. 23). In the order of birth he followed his brother Issachar, with whom, in the history of the tribes, and in their allotted territories in Canaan, he was closely connected (Deut. xxxiii. 18). His personal history does not appear to have contained a single incident worthy of record; and his name is not once mentioned except in the genealogical lists. At the time of the descent of Jacob into Egypt, Zebulun had three sons, Sered, Elon, and Jahleel (Gen. xli. 14), who became the founders of the three great families into which the tribe was divided (Num. xxvi. 26). Though the first generation was so small, this tribe ranked fourth in numbers among the twelve, when the census was taken at Mount Sinai, in the year of the exodus; Judah, Dan, and Simeon being more numerous. During the wilderness-journey it increased from 57,400 males to 60,500; but it held just the same relative place among the twelve—Judah, Dan, and Issachar being before it when the census was made on the plains of Moab (Num. xxvi. 27).

History is almost as silent regarding the acts of the tribe during the long period of Egyptian bondage, and the desert journey, as it is regarding the patriarch Zebulun himself. It does not appear to have been signalised in any way. A quiet steady demeanour seems to have been the chief characteristic of the people. The only point worthy of note previous to its settlement in Palestine is the fact that, on the solemn proclamation of the law, Zebulun was among the six tribes stationed on Mount Ebal to pronounce the curses (Deut. xxvii. 13).

The position and physical character of Zebulun's destined territory in the Land of Promise had been sketched in the prophetic blessings of Jacob and Moses. Looking down into a far distant age, Jacob exclaimed, as his son stood by his bedside: 'Zebulun shall dwell on the coast of seas; and he shall be for a shore of ships; and his side will be to Zidon!' (Gen. xlix. 13). Though Issachar was an elder brother, Jacob seems to have already noticed and acknowledged the political superiority of Zebulun, by placing him first in order. This superiority was afterwards more fully displayed in the blessing of Moses, which, though embracing both tribes, appears as if addressed to Zebulun alone—'And of Zebulun he said: Rejoice, Zebulun, in thy going out; and, Issachar, in thy tents. They shall call the people unto the mountain; there they shall offer sacrifices of righteousness; for they shall suck of the abundance of the seas, and of treasures hid in the sand' (Deut. xxxiii. 18, 19). Zebulun's territory was one of the richest and most beautiful sections of western Palestine. Joshua defines its borders with his usual minuteness, though, in consequence of the disappearance of many old cities, it cannot now be entirely identified. Its position, however, and general extent are clear enough. Asher and Naphtali bounded it on the north, and Issachar on the south. It stretched across the country from the Sea of Galilee on the east, to the maritime plain of Phœnicia on the west; embracing a large strip of Esdraelon, a portion of the plain of Akka, the whole of the rich upland plain



of Battauf, with the fertile table-land between it and the great basin of the Sea of Galilee. The beautiful wooded hills and ridges extending from Tabor, by Nazareth and Sefuriyeh, to the plain of Akka, were also in Zebulun. It touched Carmel on the south-west; and though it did not actually reach to the shore of the Mediterranean, its sides joined the narrow maritime territory of Phœnicia, to which Jacob, according to common eastern custom, gives the name of its chief city, Zidon—'And his side will be to Zidon.' Its opposite extremity resting on the shore of the sea of Galilee, the words of Jacob were fulfilled: 'Zebulun shall dwell on the coast of seas.' His fishermen on the Sea of Galilee, and his merchants navigating the Mediterranean, in company with their Phœnician neighbours, illustrate remarkably the other blessings: 'He shall be for a shore of ships;' 'he shall rejoice in his goings out.' Possessing thus a rich agricultural country, abundance of wood, and an outlet for commercial enterprise both in the Mediterranean and in the Sea of Galilee, the future state and history of Zebulun were influenced and moulded by external circumstances. The four northern tribes, Zebulun, Issachar, Asher, and Naphtali, were in a great measure isolated from their brethren. The plain of Esdraelon, almost unceasingly swept by the incursions of hostile nations, separated them from Ephraim and Judah; while the deep Jordan valley formed a barrier on the east. Isolation from their brethren, and their peculiar position, threw them into closer intercourse with their Gentile neighbours—the old mountaineers whom they were never able entirely to expel (Judg. i. 30), and especially the commercial Phœnicians. Their national exclusiveness was thus considerably modified; their manners and customs were changed; their language gradually assumed a foreign tone and accent (Matt. xxvi. 73); and even their religion lost much of its original purity (2 Chron. xxx. 10, 18). 'Galilee of the Gentiles' and its degenerate inhabitants came at length to be regarded with distrust and scorn by the haughty people of Judah (Is. ix. 1; Matt. iv. 15; xxvi. 73).

The four northern tribes formed as it were a state by themselves (Stanley, *Jewish Church*, i. 266); and among them Zebulun became distinguished for warlike spirit and devotion. In the great campaign and victory of Barak it bore a prominent part (Judg. iv. 6, 10). Deborah in her triumphal ode, says: 'Zebulun and Naphtali were a people that jeopardied their lives unto the death in the high places of the field' (v. 18). It would appear besides that their commercial enterprise led them to a closer and fuller study of the arts and sciences than their brethren. 'They thus at an early period acquired the reputation of literary accomplishment; and the poet sang of them: 'From Zebulun are the men who handle the pen of the scribe' (Judg. v. 14; Kalisch on *Genesis*, p. 753). This combination of warlike spirit with scientific skill seems to be referred to once again in a more extended field of action. The sacred historian mentions that in David's army there were, 'of Zebulun, such as went forth to battle, expert in war, with all instruments of war, fifty thousand which could keep rank; not of double heart' (1 Chron. xii. 33). They were generous also and liberal, as well as brave and loyal; for they contributed abundantly of the rich products of their

country—meal, figs, raisins, wine, oil, oxen, and sheep—to the wants of the army (ver. 40).

The tribe of Zebulun, though not mentioned, appears to have shared the fate of the other northern tribes at the invasion of the country by Tiglath-pileser (2 Kings xvii. 18, 24, *seq.*) From this time the history of distinct tribes ceases. With the exception of the Levites, the whole were amalgamated into one nation, and on the return from exile were called Jews. The land of Zebulun, however, occupied a distinguished place in N. T. times. It formed the chief scene of our Lord's life and labours. Nazareth and Cana were in it; and it embraced a section of the shore of the Sea of Galilee, where so many of the miracles of Christ were performed, and so many of his discourses and parables spoken. Then was fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah: 'The land Zabulon, and the land Nephthalim, the way of the sea, beyond Jordan, Galilee of the Gentiles; the people which sat in darkness saw great light; and to them which sat in the region and shadow of death, light is sprung up' (Is. ix. 1, 2; Matt. iv. 15, 16).—J. L. P.

ZECHARIAH (זְכַרְיָה), whom *Jehovah remembers*; Sept. and N. T. *Zaxaplas*), a very common name among the Jews, borne by the following persons mentioned in Scripture.

1. ZECHARIAH, son of Jeroboam II., and fourteenth king of Israel. He ascended the throne in B.C. 772, and reigned six months. It has been shown in the article ISRAEL, that from undue deference to a probably corrupted number, which ascribes 41 years to the reign of Jeroboam II., chronologers have found it necessary to *suppose* anarchy or an interregnum of 11 years, during which his son Zechariah was kept from the throne. But there is no appearance of this in the sacred narrative, and it was not likely to follow a reign so prosperous as Jeroboam's. The few months of Zechariah's reign just sufficed to evince his inclination to follow the bad course of his predecessors; and he was then slain by Shallum, who usurped the crown. With his life ended the dynasty of Jehu (2 Kings xiv. 29; xv. 8-12).

2. ZECHARIAH, high-priest in the time of Joash, king of Judah. He was son, or perhaps grandson, of Jehoiada and Jehosheba; the latter was the aunt of the king, who owed to her his crown, as he did his education and throne to her husband [JOASH]. Zechariah could not bear to see the evil courses into which the monarch eventually fell, and by which the return of the people to their old idolatries was facilitated, if not encouraged. Therefore, when the people were assembled at one of the solemn festivals, he took the opportunity of lifting up his voice against the growing corruptions. This was in the presence of the king, in the court of the temple. The people were enraged at his honest boldness, and with the connivance of the king, if not by a direct intimation from him, they seized the pontiff and stoned him to death, even in that holy spot, 'between the temple and the altar.' His dying cry was not that of the first Christian martyr, 'Lord, lay not this sin to their charge' (Acts vii. 60), but 'The Lord look upon it, and require it' (2 Chron. xxiv. 20-22). It is to this dreadful affair that our Lord alludes in Matt. xxiii. 35; Luke xi. 51. At least this is the opinion of the best interpreters, and that which has most probability in its favour. The only difficulty arises from his being



called the son of Barachias, and not of Jehoiada; but this admits of two explanations—either that Zechariah, though called the ‘son’ of Jehoiada in the O. T., was really his grandson, and son of Barachias, who perhaps died before his father; or else that, as was not uncommon among the Jews, Jehoiada had two names, and Jesus called him by that by which he was usually distinguished in his time, when the Jews had acquired a reluctance to pronounce those names which, like that of Jehoiada, contained the sacred name of Jehovah. See Doddridge, Le Clerc, Kuinoel, Wetstein, and others, on Matt. xxiii. 35.

3. ZECHARIAH, described as one ‘who had understanding in the visions of God’ (2 Chron. xxvi. 7). It is doubtful whether this eulogium indicates a prophet, or simply describes one eminent for his piety and faith. During his lifetime Uziah, king of Judah, was guided by his counsels, and prospered; but went wrong when death had deprived him of his wise guidance. Nothing is known of this Zechariah’s history. It is possible that he may be the same whose daughter became the wife of Ahaz, and mother of Hezekiah (2 Kings xvi. 1, 2; 2 Chron. xxix. 1).

4. ZECHARIAH, son of Jeberechiah, a person whom, together with Urijah the high-priest, Isaiah took as a legal witness of his marriage with ‘the prophetess’ (Is. viii. 2). This was in the reign of Ahaz, and the choice of the prophet shows that Zechariah was a person of consequence. Some confound him with the preceding; but the distance of time will not admit their identity. He may, however, have been the descendant of Asaph named in 2 Chron. xxix. 13.—J. K.

5. ZECHARIAH (זְכַרְיָה; Ζαχαρίας), the eleventh in order of the minor prophets, was ‘the son of Berechiah, the son of Iddo the prophet.’ The meaning of בְּרַעְיָה has been disputed, some affirming that Iddo was not the *grandfather*, as the formula seems to indicate, but the *father* of Zechariah, and thus rendering the clause with Jerome, ‘filium Barachiae, filium Addo,’ or with the Septuagint, *τὸν Παπαχίου, υἱὸν Ἀδδώ*. Jerome likewise refers to his peculiar rendering in his notes. Others of the fathers adopted it, such as Cyril of Alexandria, who attempts to solve the difficulty created by it by maintaining that the one was the natural, the other the spiritual parent, of the prophet—Berechiah being his father *κατὰ τὴν σάρκα*, and Iddo the prophet, *κατὰ τὸ πνεῦμα*. Others have justified this translation by assigning both names to Zechariah’s father, as if he had worn them successively at different periods of his life, or as if one of them had been a cognomen. But the version of Jerome and the Seventy is a false one. Analogy declares against it, and its origin is to be traced to Ezra v. 1, and vi. 14, where the prophet is named only ‘Zechariah the son of Iddo.’ The words בְּרַעְיָה denote merely ‘grandson of Iddo’ (Gesenius, *Thesaur.* p. 216), and the paternal name may have been omitted because of its comparative obscurity, while the grand-paternal name is inserted, because of its national popularity. It was a very strange mistake of Jerome to confound the Iddo named in connection with this prophet as his ancestor with Iddo the seer, who flourished some centuries before under Jeroboam, first king of Israel (Hieronym. *Comment. ad Zach.*) The term זְכַרְיָה in the first verse belongs, not to Iddo, but to Zechariah, as

the Septuagint and Vulgate properly render it. The probability is, that Iddo is the person mentioned in Neh. xii. 4 as one of the sacerdotal prophets who had returned with Joshua and Zerubbabel. Berechiah, son of Iddo, and father of Zechariah, seems to have died young, for in Neh. xii. 16, Zechariah is said to be Iddo’s successor, under Joiakim, son of Joshua. Thus the prophet’s descent is, in Ezra, traced at once from his grandfather. Compare Gen. xxix. 5, and xxxi. 28-55. Should this theory be correct, Zechariah exercised the priestly as well as the prophetic office. In the second year of Darius Hystaspis, and the eighteenth year of the return, he was a young man, when he entered on his work (זְכַרְיָה, ii. 4), so that

he was born in Babylon, and must have come back with the first band of exiles. As a prophet he was somewhat later than Haggai, but the mission of both coincided. The pseudo-Epiphanius is wholly in error, therefore, when he speaks of Zechariah as coming from Babylon *ἥδη προβεβηκώς* (*De Vita Prophet.* xxi.), and so is Dorotheus, who says that he returned *etate profecta*. But the argument from the use of זְכַרְיָה, ii. 4, admitted by Hengstenberg, Knobel, and Kimchi, is precarious; and is denied by Ewald, Maurer, and Hitzig, who refer the זְכַרְיָה, not to the prophet, but to ‘the man with the measuring line.’ The name Zechariah was a very common one among the Jews, three others bearing it seem also to have been prophets.

The mission of Zechariah had especial reference to the affairs of the nation that had been restored to its territory. The second edict, granting permission to rebuild the temple, had been issued, but the work had paused during the reign of Cambyzes and the Magian usurper; and the office of Zechariah was to incite the flagging zeal of the people, in order that the auspicious period might be a season of religious revival as well as of ecclesiastical reorganisation, and that the theocratic spirit might resume its former sway in the breasts of all who were engaged in the work of restoring the ‘holy and beautiful house.’ The prophet assures them of success in the work of re-erecting the sacred edifice, despite of every combination against them; for Zerubbabel ‘should bring forth the head-stone with shouting, Grace, grace unto it’—comforts them with a solemn pledge that, amidst fearful revolutions and conquests by which other nations were to be swept away, they should remain uninjured; for, says Jehovah, ‘He that toucheth you toucheth the apple of mine eye.’ The pseudo-Epiphanius records some prodigies wrought by Zechariah in the land of Chaldaea, and some wondrous oracles which he delivered; and he and Dorotheus both agree in declaring that the prophet died in Judea in a good old age, and was buried beside his colleague Haggai.

*Book.*—The book of Zechariah consists of four general divisions.

I. The introduction or inaugural discourse (ch. i. 1-16).

II. A series of nine visions, extending onwards to ch. vii., communicated to the prophet in the third month after his installation. These visions were—

1. A rider on a roan horse among the myrtle-trees, with his equestrian attendants who report to him the peace of the world—symbolising the fitness of the time for the fulfilment of the promises of God, his people’s protector.



2. Four horns, symbols of the oppressive enemies by which Judah had been on all sides surrounded; and four carpenters, by whom these horns are broken—emblems of the destruction of these anti-theocratic powers.

3. A man with a measuring-line describing a wider circumference for the site of Jerusalem, as its population was to receive a vast increase—fore-showing that many more Jews would return from Babylon and join their countrymen, and indicating also the conversion of heathen nations under the Messiah.

4. The high-priest Joshua before the angel of the Lord, with Satan at his right hand to oppose him. The sacerdotal representative of the people, clad in the filthy garments in which he had returned from captivity, seems to be a type of the guilt and degradation of his country; while forgiveness and restoration are the blessings which the pontiff symbolically receives from Jehovah, when he is reclad in holy apparel and crowned with a spotless turban, the vision at the same time stretching into far futurity, and including the advent of Jehovah's servant the BRANCH.

5. A golden lamp-stand fed from two olive-trees, one growing on each side of it—an image of the value and divine glory of the theocracy as now seen in the restored Jewish church, supported, not 'by might nor by power, but by the Spirit of Jehovah,' and of the spiritual development of the old theocracy in the Christian church, which enlightens the world through the continuous influences of the Holy Ghost.

6. A flying roll, containing on its one side curses against the ungodly, and on its other, anathemas against the immoral—denoting that the head of the theocracy would from his place punish those who violated either the first or the second table of his law—the command in the middle of each table being selected as an example.

7. A woman pressed down into an ephah by a sheet of lead laid over its mouth, borne along in the air by two female figures with storks' wings, representing the sin and punishment of the nation. The Fury, whose name is WICKEDNESS, is repressed, and transported to the land of Shinar;—i.e. idolatry, in the persons of the captive Jews, was for ever removed at that period from the Holy Land, and, as it were, taken to Babylon, the home of image-worship. (For another meaning, see Jahn's *Introduction*, Turner's translation, p. 428.)

8. Four chariots issuing from two copper mountains, and drawn respectively by red, black, white, and spotted horses, the vehicles of the four winds of heaven—a hieroglyph of the swiftness and extent of divine judgments against the former oppressors of the covenant-people.

9. The last scene is not properly a vision, but an oracle in connection with the preceding visions, and in reference to a future symbolical act to be performed by the prophet. In presence of a deputation of Jews from Babylon, the prophet was charged to place a crown on the head of Joshua the high-priest, a symbol which, whatever was its immediate signification, was designed to prefigure the royal and sacerdotal dignity of the man whose name is 'Branch,' who should sit as 'a priest upon his throne.'

The meaning of all the preceding varied images and scenes is explained more or less fully to the prophet by an attendant *angelus interpretis*.

III. A collection of four oracles delivered at various times in the fourth year of Darius, and partly occasioned by a request of the nation to be divinely informed, whether, now on their happy return to their fatherland, the month of Jerusalem's overthrow should be registered in their sacred calendar as a season of fasting and humiliation. The prophet declares that these times should in future ages be observed as festive solemnities.

IV. The 9th, 10th, and 11th chapters contain a variety of prophecies unfolding the fortunes of the people, their safety in the midst of Alexander's expedition, and their victories under the Maccabean chieftains, including the fate of many of the surrounding nations, Hadrach, Damascus, Tyre, and Philistia (see Hengstenberg's *Christologie*).

V. The remaining three chapters graphically portray the future condition of the people, especially in Messianic times, and contain allusions to a siege of the city, the means of escape by the cleaving of the Mount of Olives on the descent of Jehovah, with a symbol of twilight breaking into day, and living waters issuing from Jerusalem, and concluding with a blissful vision of the enlarged prosperity and holiness of the theocratic metropolis, when upon the bells of the horses shall be inscribed 'holiness unto the Lord.'

*Integrity.*—The genuineness of the latter portion of Zechariah, from ch. ix. to xiv., has been disputed. Among the first to suggest doubt on this subject was Joseph Mede, who referred chaps. ix. x. and xi. to an earlier date, and ascribed them to Jeremiah. Remark on Matt. xxvii. 9, 10, he says: 'It may seem the evangelist would inform us that those latter chapters ascribed to Zachary—namely, the ninth, tenth, eleventh, etc.—are indeed the prophecies of Jeremy, and that the Jews had not rightly attributed them. Certainly, if a man weigh the contents of some of them, they should in likelihood be of an elder date than the time of Zachary—namely, before the captivity; for the subjects of some of them were scarce in being after that time. . . . As for their being joined to the prophecies of Zachary, that proves no more they are his than the like adjoining of Agur's proverbs to Solomon's proves that they are therefore Solomon's, or that all the psalms are David's because joined in one volume with David's psalms' (*Epist.* xxxi.) His opinion was adopted in England by Hammond, Kidder, Bridge, Newcome, Whiston, and Secker, by Pye Smith and Davidson, and has been followed, with variations, on the continent by Flügel (*Die Weissagung. Zach. übersetzt*, etc., 1784); by Bertholdt (*Einleit.* p. 1701); by Rosenmüller in his *Scholia*, though in the first edition he defended the genuineness of these chapters; by Eichhorn (*Einleit.* sec. 605); Corrodi (*Beleuchtung des Bibelcanons*, i. 107); De Wette, in the earlier editions of his *Einleitung*; Credner (*Foel*, 67); Knobel (*Der Prophetismus*, etc., Th. ii. s. 284); Forberg (*Comment. in Zach. Vaticin.*, pars i.); as also by Maurer, Hitzig, Ewald, Ortenberg (*Die Bestandteile des B. Sacharja*); Bleek (*Einleit.* p. 553); Herzfeld (*Gesch.* i. p. 286); Bunsen (*Gott in der Gesch.* i. p. 449, etc.); and E. Meier (*Gesch. d. poet. Lit. der Hebräer*, p. 306).

On the other hand, the integrity of this portion of Zechariah has been defended by Jahn (*Introduction*, pt. ii. sec. 161), Carpzov (*Critica Sacra*, p. 848), Beckhaus (*Integrität d. Proph. Schriften*, p.



337), Koester (*Meletemata Crit. et Exeget. in Zach. part. post.* p. 10), Hengstenberg (*d. Integrität d. Sacharjah*, in his *Beiträge*, i. 361), Burger (*Etudes Exég. et crit. sur le Proph. Zach.* p. 118), Thenius, Herbot, Schegg, Hofmann, Kliefoth, Ebrard, Hävernich, Henderson, De Wette, Keil (*Einleit.* sec. 103), Stähelin (*Specielle Einleit.* p. 321, etc.), Moore (*Prophets of the Restoration*, p. 209, New York 1856), Neumann (*Die Weissag. d. Sacharjah ausged.* 1860), and Köhler (*d. Weissag. Sacharjahs erkl.* 1863). The theory of Mede was suggested by the difficulty arising from the quotation in Matthew, and, rejecting other hypotheses, he says: 'It is certain that Jeremiah's prophecies are digested in no order, but only as it seems they came to light in the scribes' hands. Hence sometimes all is ended with Zedekiah, then we are brought back to Jehoiakim, then to Zedekiah again, etc. Whereby it seems they came not to light to be enrolled *secundum ordinem temporis*, nor all together, but as it happened in so distracted a time. And why might not some not be found till the return from captivity, and be approved by Zechariah, and so put to his volume according to the time of their finding and approbation by him, and after that some other prophecies yet added to his?' (*Epist.* li.) The others who deny the genuineness of these chapters are by no means agreed as to the real authorship of them. Eichhorn ascribes one portion to the time of Alexander, and the other sections to a period before the exile; while Corrodi places the fourteenth chapter as low as the age of Antiochus Epiphanes. Bertholdt, Gesenius, Maurer, and Knobel suppose the ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters to be the production of Zechariah, the son of Jeberechiah, referred to in Is. viii. 2, and the remaining three to be the composition of an anonymous author who lived under Josiah, and of course before the captivity. Rosenmüller is of opinion that the whole second part is the work of one author who lived under Uzziah. Flügge arbitrarily divides it into no less than nine sections, referring them to different times and authors, but yet ascribing the ninth chapter to the Zechariah spoken of in 2 Chron. xxvi. 5. Ewald adds xiii. 7-9 to the first section—ix.-xi. Bunsen ascribes the second section—xii.-xiv.—to 'Urijah, the son of Shemaiah of Kirjath-jearim' (Jer. xxvi. 20). Newcome places the first three chapters, as to date of authorship, before the overthrow of Israel, and the last three before the captivity of Judah. Hitzig and Credner carry back the period of their authorship to the age of Ahaz, or before it.

This question of genuineness is one of some difficulty, and the arguments on either side are not of preponderant influence. It may certainly be asked in favour of the genuineness, How came these chapters to be connected with the acknowledged writings of Zechariah, especially as the addition must have been made within a brief period of the prophet's death? No satisfactory answer can be given, and the suppositions that ix.-xiv. was anonymous, or, being current under the name of Zechariah, son of Berechiah, was appended to the previous oracles, have no historical support whatever. Uriah is called a priest, but Zechariah is not called a prophet (Is. viii. 2). Many of the arguments against the genuineness of this latter portion of Zechariah rest on peculiar interpretations of his language, making it refer to events that happened prior to the time when he flourished. But this exegesis may not

in all points be correct. Ephraim is indeed spoken of, though that kingdom was overthrown 186 years before the return of the Jews from Babylon; and it is inferred that the author of such oracles must have lived when Ephraim was an independent sovereignty. It may be said, in reply, that vast numbers of the ten tribes returned with their brethren of Judah from captivity; and we find (ch. xii. 1) Israel used as a name for all the tribes. In Malachi, too, we find Israel used after the captivity in contrast to Jerusalem. Zechariah never characterises Ephraim as a separate political confederation; nor, as Henderson remarks, 'is there anything, but the contrary, to induce the conclusion that a king reigned in Judah in the days of the author.' The predictions in this latter part, supposed by some to refer to past events, are by others interpreted to refer to the Egyptian expedition of Alexander, the sufferings of the Messiah, and the final overthrow of Jerusalem. As the prophets before the Babylonian captivity threatened a deportation to Babylon, so Zechariah, living after that event, menaces a Roman invasion and slavery. The exile is supposed to be past in ix. 12, x. 6. The mention of Persia, Egypt, Greece, Gaza, and Ashdod, harmonises with the state of parties in the prophet's age, or after the exile. No seer could have spoken of Jerusalem shortly before the captivity as Zechariah does—predicting for it a striking deliverance and the crowding of strangers to worship in it. Yet there are some difficult points. How could the brotherhood of Israel and Judah be described as broken by the prophet? But to lay stress on this would carry the composition greatly beyond the time which the opponents of the integrity contend for—would carry it beyond the division of the kingdoms. How could he say, 'the pride of Assyria shall be brought down' (x. 11), if he lived a century after the overthrow of Nineveh and soon after the Persian capture of Babylon? Perhaps Assyria and Egypt mean not the kingdoms, but only the territories in which many Jews still dwelt. De Wette supposes that the parts which seem to belong to an earlier period were written in reference to the future and in prophetic form. Little stress can be placed on any argument based on imagined difference of style in the former and latter chapters of this prophecy. The introductory notices to the separate oracles in the early portion of the book, as 'the word of the Lord came,' or 'thus saith the Lord of hosts' which occurs forty-one times, or 'I lifted up mine eyes and saw,' are either not found in the last section, or are very different in form (comp. i. 1-7, iv. 8, vi. 9 with ix. 1, xi. 4). The writer also in the earlier part mentions his own name and gives dates, but there is a total omission of those characteristics in the second part. The repetition of עֹר in successive clauses, as four times in i. 17, does not occur in the second part. 'Lord of the whole earth' is found in iv. 14, vi. 5, but not in the concluding chapters. Rulers are called 'shepherds' and the people 'the flock' only in the second part, nor does there occur in it that form of mysterious visionary representation which gives peculiar colour and style to the first part. In the second part, too, are recurring formulæ, as often 'It shall come to pass' (וְהָיָה), xii. 9; xiii. 2, 3, 4, 8; xiv. 6, 8, 13, 16; 'saith the Lord' (נְאֻם יְהוָה), xii. 1, 4; xiii. 2, 7, 8; and the phrase, בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא, 'in that day,' is



used six times in the twelfth chapter, thrice in the thirteenth chapter, and five times in the fourteenth chapter. The phrase is found rarely in the former part, ii. 15; iii. 10; vi. 10. But we are too ignorant of many circumstances in the prophet's history to speculate on the causes of such change; or if we are unable to discover any æsthetical or religious reasons for such alterations, it is surely rash to come on such grounds to a decision of diversity of authorship. Introductory formulæ as different as those in Zechariah occur in other books whose sameness of style is admitted as proof of identity of authorship, as in Amos, where the application of the same principles of criticism would 'dismember it,' and assign its composition to three different authors. Nor perhaps is the difference of style of the former and latter portions of Zechariah greater than the different topics treated would lead us to expect. It may also be replied that there are terms and phrases common to both parts of the book, as the peculiar use of the word 'eye,' iii. 9; iv. 10; ix. 1-8; the occurrence of the hophel הַעֲבִיר, with the signification to remove, iii. 4; xiii. 2; and the striking idiom מַעֲבִיר וּמְשִׁיב, vii. 14; ix. 8 (Keil, *Einleit.* sec. 163). Similar theocratic promise is found in ii. 10; ix. 12; xi. 14; and ix. 9. Comp. also ii. 4 with xiv. 10; viii. 20 with xiv. 16. Stähelin (p. 323) insists too on the close similarity which Zechariah presents to the prophets of his own period in those disputed last chapters. Thus he resembles Jeremiah, Zephaniah, and Ezekiel. Compare Zech. xi. 1-3 with Jer. xxv. 34-36 and xii. 5; Zech. xiv. 8 with Ezek. xlvii. 1-12; Zech. ix. 12 with xvi. 8; Zech. ix. 2 with Ezek. xxviii. 3; Zech. ix. 5 with Zeph. ii. 4; Zech. x. 3 with Ezek. xxxiv. 17; Zech. xiv. 10 with Jer. xxxi. 38, etc. etc. Not a few of the passages of this kind usually quoted are found on close examination to be merely accidental coincidences; and such, as a whole, are the resemblances which Hitzig and others find between this latter part of Zechariah and some of the older prophets. Comp. ix. 8 with Joel iii. 17; ix. 13 with Joel iii. 6; xii. 2 with Joel iii. 11; xii. 16 with Amos viii. 10; xiii. 5 with Amos vii. 14. That Zechariah should manifest acquaintance with the earlier prophets need occasion no surprise. Yet the resemblance is not very close between viii. 20-23 and Is. ii. 3 and Mic. iv. 2. The name 'Branch,' iii. 8, is found in Jer. xxiii. 5; xxxiii. 15. Allusion is also made to his prophetic predecessors before the fall of Jerusalem, vii. 7. No great stress can be laid on peculiar words occurring in the later part. הָיִךְ is written in full form, but the same spelling is found in Hosea and Amos. אֶלְנָה is used of Jewish chiefs, as in Jer. xiii. 21. While much may be said in favour of the integrity of the book, there are still, as we have seen, some features of difference that are not easily explained: alteration of allusions and formula; occasional glimpses into the condition of the country which appear to want consistency; different phases of the Messianic reign, and different standpoints from which it is viewed; and a change of style from the visions and flatter prose of the first part to the richer and more poetical style of the concluding chapters. The chief argument against the genuineness of these chapters is that expressed by Mede on Matt. xxvii. 9: 'There is no Scripture saith they are Zechariah's, but there is Scripture saith they

are Jeremiah's' (*Works*, p. 786). The quotation in Matthew varies in several points from the present Hebrew text. The evangelist, to serve his immediate object, changes the first person into the third, and for the words, 'I threw it' (the money), he has, 'And they gave them.' The Hebrew אֶל הַיֹּצֵר, 'to the potter,' are in the Sept. rendered εἰς τὸ χυευντήριον, 'into the crucible;' and in Matt. εἰς τὸν ἀγρόν τοῦ κεραμέως. Ewald, Gesenius, and Fürst, following the Targum, and Kimchi, propose to read אֶל הַיֹּצֵר, 'to the treasury;' but the word does not occur with this meaning in Scripture. Döpke (*Hermeneutik*, p. 212) and Kuinoel (*Comm.* in loc.) suppose that Matthew quoted some unpublished apocryphal Jeremiah, perhaps such a one as that to which Jerome refers, as having found it among the Nazarenes, and of which a portion containing analogous language is yet extant in a Sahidic lectionary in the *Codex Huntingtonianus*, 5, in the Bodleian Library, and in the Coptic language in a MS. in the library of St. Germain in Paris. This passage, as given by Dr. Henderson, at once betrays itself to be a clumsy imitation, designed to solve the very difficulty on which we are writing. Ewald thinks that the Evangelist quoted a portion of Jeremiah now lost. Augustine, Meyer, and Alford generally hold, as Fritzsche does, that the discrepancy arose on the part of the Evangelist, 'per memorie errorem' (*Comment. in Matt.* p. 801). Nor is there any extrication from the difficulty in supposing, with Elsner, that the reference of the Evangelist is to the transaction recorded in Jer. xxxii. 8, or in hinting, with Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* x. 4), that the oracle cited has been falsified by the Jews. It is another conjecture without warrant that the name Jeremiah was the technical appellation of the third great division of the Hebrew Scriptures, so that any quotation from the minor prophets may be referred to him, not as its author, but as the title of that collection, from one of the books of which it is taken (Lightfoot's *Works*, by Pitman, vol. xi. p. 344). That there is a difference of reading was a fact early known. Perhaps the proper name was omitted altogether, or rather not inserted at all by the evangelist, and he wrote only διὰ τοῦ προφήτου. Augustine testifies that MSS. were found in his days wanting the word Ἰερεμίου. It is not found either in the most ancient and faithful version, the Syriac, nor in the Verona and Vercelli Latin MSS. It is wanting also in MSS. 33, 157, and in the Polyglott Persic, in the modern Greek, and in a Latin MS. of Luc. Brug. Other codices and versions read Ζαχαρίου, such as MS. 22, and the Philoxenian Syriac in the margin—a reading which was approved of by Origen and Eusebius. Morus, Le Moine, Griesbach, Henderson, and others, believing that Matthew wrote in Hebrew or Syro-Chaldaic, think the original was simply בִּיר הַנְּבִיא, 'by the prophet,' and that the Greek translator, mistaking the בִּיר for בִּיר, read בִּיר, and thinking it a contraction for בִּירְמָהוּ, rendered it διὰ Ἰερεμίου τοῦ προφήτου. If the authority of MSS. be now in favour of Ἰερεμίου, then the error may have arisen on the part of some early copyist meeting with the contracted form Ζριου, and mistaking it for Ἰριου. The various opinions of the fathers, and the different lections in MSS. and versions, seem to point to some such change and error in the course of early transcription. Hengstenberg



imagines that Matthew names Jeremiah, and not Zechariah, on purpose to turn the attention of his readers to the fact that Zechariah's prophecy was but a reiteration of a fearful oracle in Jer. xviii. xix.; a curse pronounced of old by Jeremiah, and once fulfilled in the Babylonian siege; a curse reiterated by Zechariah, and again to be verified in the Roman desolation. This theory, adopted by M'Caul, is at least preferable to that of such critics as Glassius and Frischmuth, and virtually of Hofmann (*Weisag. und Erfül.* ii. p. 128), who hold that the quotation in Matthew is made up of a mixture of oracles from Jeremiah and Zechariah, while Jeremiah only is named as the earlier and more illustrious of the two—the *primarius auctor*. Theophylact's explanation is clumsy, for he proposes to insert *kal*—'by Jeremiah and the prophet, to wit Zechariah.' The notion of Wordsworth is peculiar, as he holds that the oracle had in the first instance been delivered by Jeremiah, and that though it is now in Zechariah, it is quoted as Jeremiah's, because the spirit intends to 'teach us not to regard the prophets as the authors of their prophecies,' they being only 'channels,' not sources (*New Test.* in loc.) Calvin says, as to the introduction of the name Jeremiah, *ne nescire fatore nec anxie laboro*. Our space is so limited that we have only found room to indicate the various points of discussion, and on this account we need not enter into the hypercritical question as to the different authorships of chaps. ix. x. xi. and of chaps. xii. xiii. xiv. This division, with various proposed subdivisions, rests to a great extent on subjective grounds, which are easily shifted or variously moulded.

*Style.*—The language of Zechariah has not the purity and freshness of a former age, yet probably it is purer than the style of Ezekiel and Jeremiah. A slight tinge of Chaldaism pervades it. We have the particle אֵת at the commencement of incomplete sentences (vii. 7; viii. 17), and a peculiar use of אֲשֶׁר (i. 15; vi. 10), the occurrence of ה before the *status const.* (iv. 7-10), omission of כִּי (vii. 23), the unusual phrase כָּבַת עֵין (ii. 12) (כָּבַת) being derived by Gesenius and Fürst from a root כָּבַב, 'to hollow out,' and meaning the gate of the eye), the unwonted construction of אֶחָד as אֶחָד (ii. 12), etc. Ewald does not join in that depreciation of his style which Knobel and De Wette indulge in. Yet from the strange symbols introduced by him—swift dramatic transitions and abrupt and rapid explanations—his oracles are difficult of comprehension, so that Jerome says: *Obscurissimus liber inter duodecim et longissimus—ab obscuris ad obscuriora transivimus* (*Comment. in Zach.* lib. i. lib. ii. p. 779, 825; *Opera*, vol. vi. ed. Vallar). The symbols with which he abounds are obscure, and their prosaic structure is diffuse and unvaried. The rhythm of his poetry is unequal, and its parallelisms are inharmonious and disjointed. He is also peculiar in his introduction of spiritual beings into his prophetic scenes.

*Commentaries.*—*Der Proph. Zach. Ausgelegt* durch Mart. Luther, Vitemberg, 1528; Phil. Melanchthonis *Comment. in Proph. Zach.* 1553; J. J. Grynæi *Comment. in Zach.* Genève 1581; J. H. Ursini *Comment. in Proph. Zach.* 1652; S. Bohlius, *Analys. et Exeg. Proph. Zach.* Rost. 1711; C. Vitringa, *Comment. ad lib. Proph. Zach.*

1734; B. G. Flügel, *Die Weissagungen welche bey den Schrift. des Proph. Zach. beygebogen sind, etc.*, 1788; F. Venema, *Sermones Academ. in lib. Proph. Zach.* 1789; Koester, *Meletemata Crit. etc.*, 1818; Forberg, *Comm. Crit. et Exeg. in Zach.* 1824; Rosenmülleri, *Scholia*, pars sept. 1828; Hengstenberg's *Christologie*; B. Blayney, *New Translation of Zach.* Oxf. 1797; W. Newcome, *Minor Prophets*, 1785; *Comment. on the Vision of Zechariah the Proph.*, by John Stonard, D.D., 1824; Rabbi David Kimchi, *Comment. on the Proph. of Zach.*, translated, with Notes, etc., by A. M'Caul, A.M., 1837; Ewald, *Die Propheten*, vol. ii. Stuttgart 1841; Henderson, *On the Minor Prophets*, 1845; Umbreit, *Commentar über die kl. Proph.* Hamburg 1846; Baumgarten, *Die Nachtgesichte Zacharia's, ein Prophetenstimme aus die Gegenwart*, Braunschweig 1854-55; T. Y. Moore, *Prophets of the Restoration*, a new translation, with Notes, New York 1856; Neumann, *Die Weissag. d. Sakharjah*, Stuttgart 1860; Kliefoth, *De Proph. Sacharjah übers. u. ausg.*, Schwerin 1862; Köhler, *Die Nachexilisch. Proph. erklärt.* ii. iii. Abth., Erlangen 1864.—J. E.

6. ZECHARIAH, the father of John the Baptist [JOHN THE BAPTIST.]

ZEDAD (זֶדָד; Σαπαδάκ; Alex. Σαδαδάκ; *Sedada*), a city which formed one of the landmarks on the north-east border of the Promised Land, as described by Moses (Num. xxxiv. 8) and Ezekiel (xlvii. 15). The line of that border has already been fully defined [PALESTINE, p. 384]; and just in the position which appears to be indicated by the sacred writers stands the modern village of *Sudud*, whose name in Arabic (سدد) corresponds exactly to the Hebrew *Zedad*. The fact of its being grouped with 'the entrance of Hamath,' and the cities of Hamath and Riblah, shows that Zedad must have been situated in that region; and the identity of name establishes identity of site (Robinson, *B. R.* ii. 507; Knobel on Num. xxxiv. 8; Wetzstein, *Reisebericht über Hauran*, 88). Zedad lies eight hours east of Hums, the ancient Emesa, across an open desolate plain. It is a large, thriving village, surrounded by gardens and fields. Some fragments of columns built up in the walls of the houses, and some large hewn stones in the streets and lanes, bear evidence to its antiquity. Sudud is now the head-quarters of the Jacobite church in Syria. The inhabitants all belong to the one sect, and they are brave, spirited, and industrious. Though hated by their fellow-christians, encompassed by plundering Arabs, and oppressed by the government, they still prosper (Porter, *Handbook*, pp. 550, 580; *Giant Cities of Bashan*, 317).—J. L. P.

ZEDEKIAH (זְדַכְיָהוּ; זְדַקְיָהוּ; *Zedekia, Zedekias*). 1. Son of Josiah, the twentieth and last king of Judah, was, in place of his brother Jehoiakim, set on the throne by Nebuchadnezzar, who changed his name from Mattaniah to that by which he is ordinarily spoken of. As the vassal of the Babylonian monarch, he was compelled to take an oath of allegiance to him, which, however, he observed only till an opportunity offered for throwing off his yoke. Success in such an undertaking was not likely to attend his efforts. His heart was not right before God, and therefore



was he left without divine succour. Corrupt and weak, he gave himself up into the hands of his nobles, and lent an ear to false prophets; while the faithful lessons of Jeremiah were unwelcome, and repaid by incarceration. Like all of his class, he was unable to follow good, and became the slave of wicked men, afraid alike of his own nobility and of his foreign enemies. By his folly and wickedness he brought the state to the brink of ruin. Yet the danger did not open his eyes. Instead of looking to Jehovah, he threw himself for support on Egypt when the Chaldean came into the land and laid siege to his capital. The siege was begun on the tenth day of the tenth month in the ninth year of his reign. For a year and a half did Jerusalem effectually withstand Nebuchadnezzar. At the end of that time, however, the city was stormed and taken (B.C. 588), when Zedekiah, who had fled, was captured on the road to Jericho. Judgment was speedily executed; his sons were slain before his eyes, and he himself was deprived of sight and sent in chains to Babylon, where he died in prison (2 Kings xxiv. 17, *seq.*; xxv. 1, *seq.*; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10, *seq.*; Jer. xxviii. xxxiv. xxxvii. xxxviii. xxxix. lii.; Ezek. xvii. 15). —J. R. B.

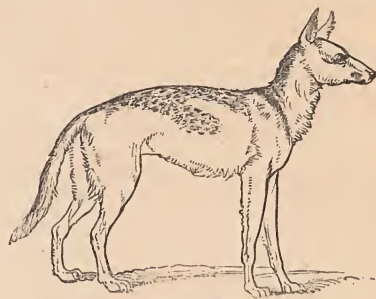
2. A false prophet who, when Micaiah the prophet of Jehovah was, in compliance with the request of Jehoshaphat, summoned to advise whether he and Ahab should go against Ramoth-Gilead to battle, set himself to oppose Micaiah. In the vehemence of his rage he even struck the prophet on the cheek, probably as Josephus (*Antiq.* viii. 15. 3) states, in bravado as a challenge to him to inflict, if he could, some such judgment on him as Iddo inflicted on Jeroboam for a similar insult. Micaiah contented himself with obscurely intimating that on some season of approaching danger he should be compelled to hide himself, and then should see the falsehood of those declarations by which he was misleading the kings (1 Kings xxii. 11-24; 2 Chron. xvii. 10-24).

3. The son of Maaseiah, a false prophet denounced by Jeremiah, and who was taken captive to Babylon along with Jeconiah. Jeremiah declared that he should be burnt to death by order of Nebuchadnezzar, and that under circumstances which should make his name and fate a proverb (Jer. xxix. 21, 22).

4. The son of Hananiah (Jer. xxxvi. 12.—W. L. A.

ZĒĒB (זֶבֶב), the name of a fierce rapacious animal (Gen. xlix. 27; Is. xi. 6; lxv. 25; Jer. v. 6, etc.; λύκος, Matt. vii. 15; x. 16; Luke x. 3; John x. 12; Acts xx. 29; Ecclus. xiii. 17). By this term there is no doubt the *wolf* is intended, though the identity of the species in Palestine is by no means established, for no professed zoologist has obtained the animal in Syria, while other travellers only pretend to have seen it. Unquestionably a true wolf, or a wild canine with very similar manners, was not infrequent in that country during the earlier ages of the world, and even down to the commencement of our era. The prophets, as well as the Messiah, allude to it in explicit language. At this day the true wolf is still abundant in Asia Minor, as well as in the gorges of Cilicia, and from the travelling disposition of the species, wolves may be expected to reside in the forests of Libanus; yet, except we rely on mere rumours,

wild and contradictory assertions, or decided mistakes as to the species, none are at present found in the Holy Land. Hemprich and Ehrenberg, the most explicit of the naturalists who have visited that region, notice the *dib* or *zeb* ذيب, under the denomination of *Canis lupaster*, and also, it seems, of *Lupus Syriacus*: they describe it as resembling the wolf, but smaller, with a white tip on the tail, etc.; and give for its synonym *Canis anthus*, and the wolf of Egypt, that is the λύκος of Aristotle, and *Thos anthus* of Ham. Smith. This species, found in the mummy state at Lycopolis, though high in proportion to its bulk, measures only eighteen inches at the shoulder, and in weight is scarcely more than one-third of that of a true wolf,



535. Egyptian Wolf.

whose stature rises to thirty and thirty-two inches. It is not gregarious, does not howl, cannot carry off a lamb or sheep, nor kill men, nor make the shepherd flee; in short, it is not the true wolf of Europe or Asia Minor, and is not possessed of the qualities ascribed to the species in the Bible. The next in Hemprich and Ehrenberg's description bears the same Arabic name; it is scientifically called *Canis sacer*, and is the *piseouch* of the Copts. This species is, however, still smaller, and thus cannot be the wolf in question. It may be, as there are no forests to the south of Libanus, that these ravenous beasts, who never willingly range at a distance from cover, have forsaken the more open country; or else, that the *derbonn*, now only indistinctly known as a species of black wolf in Arabia and southern Syria, is the species or variety which anciently represented the wolf in Syria: an appellation fully deserved, if it be the same as the black species of the Pyrenees, which, though surmised to be a wild dog, is even more fierce than the common wolf, and is equally powerful. The Arabs are said to eat the *derbonn* as game, though it must be rare, since no European traveller has described a specimen from personal observation. Therefore, either the true wolf, or the *derbonn*, was anciently more abundant in Palestine, or the ravenous powers of those animals, equally belonging to the hyena and to a great wild dog, caused several species to be included in the name [KELEB].—C. H. S.

ZĒEB. [OREB AND ZĒEB.]

ZELAH (זֶלָח; *Sela*), a city of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 28), containing the family tomb of Kish, the father of Saul (2 Sam. xxi. 14). It was probably also the native-place of Israel's first king. Its geographical position is not described by the sacred historian, nor does it appear to have been known



to ancient geographers (Reland, *Pal.* p. 1058); but from the way in which it is grouped with other places it could not have been very far distant from Jerusalem. Some would identify Zelah with Zelzah, and both with the modern village of Beit Jala, near Bethlehem (Wilson, *Lands of Bible*, i. 401; Van de Velde, *Memoir*, 355); for this, however, there is no evidence, and the names *Zelah* and *Zelzah* (זֶלְזָח) are radically different. The site of Zelah is unknown.—J. L. P.

**ZELOPHEHAD**, son of Hephher, a descendant of Joseph, who had no sons, but five daughters. These came to Moses and Eleazar, when now at the edge of the Promised Land, to lay their case before them for adjudication. Their father had died in the wilderness, leaving no male child. The daughters thought themselves entitled to take their father's share of the land. Moses on this brought their cause before Jehovah, who ordered that they should receive their father's inheritance, taking occasion to establish the general rule: 'If a man die, and have no son, then ye shall cause his inheritance to pass unto his daughter,' and failing daughters, to his next of kin (Num. xxvi. 33; xxvii. 1, *seq.* Compare Josh. xvii. 3, *seq.*)—J. R. B.

**ZELZAH** (זֶלְזָח; ἀλλομένους μεγάλη; *in meridie*), a place in the border of Benjamin, mentioned by Samuel when sending Saul home from Ramah: 'Thou shalt find two men by Rachel's sepulchre, in the border of Benjamin, at Zelzah' (1 Sam. x. 2). It is not again named in Scripture. Rachel's sepulchre is well known. It stands on the side of the road leading from Bethlehem to Jerusalem, about a mile distant from the former. Westward of the sepulchre, in full view across the valley, and not much over half-a-mile distant, is the village of Beit Jala, which may probably be identical with Zelzah. The names bear some slight resemblance to each other, and the position agrees with the sacred narrative (Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, i. 401). The Sept. rendering of *Zelzah* is remarkable. It makes it an expression of joy on the part of the men who announced the finding of the asses—'Thou shalt meet two men *leaping violently*.' But Dean Stanley's remark on this is surely a rash criticism, that the Hebrew text 'cannot be relied upon' (*Sin. and Pal.* 222).—J. L. P.

**ZEMARAIM** (זְמַרַּיִם; Σαρὰ; Alex. Σεμρῖν; *Semaraim*), one of the ancient towns in the territory allotted to Benjamin. It is only once mentioned, and is grouped between Beth-Arabah and Bethel (Josh. xviii. 22); and it would therefore appear to have been situated either in the Jordan valley (Arabah), or on the mountain declivities between it and Bethel. About five miles north of Jericho, in the valley of the Jordan, are the ruins of a small town or village, strewn over a low hill, and called *Khurbet es-Sumrah*, 'the ruins of Sumrah.' The name (زمره) is radically identical

with Zemaraim; and as the site corresponds to the Scripture notice of that town it may be regarded as the modern representative of the old town of Benjamin (Robinson, *B. R.* i. 569; iii. 292, note; Van de Velde, *Memoir*, 355).

2. A *mountain* of this name is mentioned in 2 Chron. xiii. 4:—'And Abijah stood up upon Mount Zemaraim, which is in Mount Ephraim, VOL. III.

and said, Hear me, thou Jeroboam, and all Israel.' (Though the Hebrew word is the same, the LXX. has here Σομορών, and the Vulg. *Semeron*). Its geographical position is not farther defined. Reland and others (*Pal.* p. 1058) suppose that it stood near the town of Zemaraim, and took its name from it. This, however, is impossible, if Zemaraim be identified with es-Sumrah, because Mount Zemaraim was situated in the mountainous region of Ephraim, whereas es-Sumrah is in the Jordan valley. Others would identify Mount Zemaraim with the hill on which Samaria was built, and which is called *Shimron* in the Hebrew (שִׁמְרוֹן). The names, however, are different; and the conference between Abijah and Jeroboam, before the great battle, was evidently at some place much farther south than Samaria (see Reland, *Pal.* 344), and probably not far distant from the borders of the two kingdoms at Bethel (Keil and Bertheau, *ad loc.*)—J. L. P.

**ZEMARITE**, THE. [HAM.]

**ZEMER**. In our version of Deut. xiv. 5 זֶמֶר, *zemer*, is rendered Chamois; Sept. Καμηλοπάρδαλις; Vulg. *Camelopardalus*; Luther, in his German translation, adopts *Elend*, or 'Elk;' and the old Spanish version, from the Hebrew, has 'Cabra montes.'\* All, however, understand *zemer* to be a clean ruminant; but it is plain that the Mosaic enumeration of clean animals would not include such as were totally out of the reach of the Hebrew people, and at best only known to them from specimens seen in Egypt, consisting of presents sent from Nubia, or in pictures on the walls of temples. The *Camelopardalis* or *Giraffe* is exclusively an inhabitant of Southern Africa, and therefore could not come in the way of the people of Israel. The same objection applies to the Elk, because that species of deer never appears further to the south than northern Germany and Poland; and with regard to the Chamois, which has been adopted in our version, though it did exist in the mountains of Greece, and is still found in Central Asia, there is no vestige of its having at any time frequented Libanus or any other part of Syria. We may, therefore, with more propriety refer to the ruminants indigenous in the regions which were in the contemplation of the sacred legislator, and we may commence by observing that זֶמֶר, *zemer*, is a term which, in the slightly altered form of *zammer*, is still used in Persia and India for any large species of ruminants, particularly those of the stag kind, which are commonly denominated *Rusa*, a subgenus of deer established in Griffith's translation of Cuvier's *Animal Kingdom*. In the sacred text, however, the word *zemer* is not generic, but strictly specific. *Ail*, or 'stag,' is mentioned at the same time, and, as well as several *Antilopidae*, in the same verse; we must, therefore, look for an animal not hitherto noticed, and withal sufficiently important to merit being named in so important an ordinance.

The only species that seems to answer to the conditions required is a wild sheep, still not uncommon in the Mokattam rocks near Cairo, found in Sinai, and eastward in the broken ridges of

\* Biblia en lengua Española traducida palabra por palabra da la verdad Hebrayca por muy excelentes letrados, fol. No date.



Stony Arabia, where it is known under the name of Kesch, a slight mutation of the old Hebrew כֶּשֶׁב, *Cheshb*, or rather כֶּבֶשׂ *Chebes*, which is applied indeed to a domestic sheep, one that grazed; while *Zemer* appears to be derived from a root denoting 'to crop' or 'feed on shrubs.'



536. Kesch. *Ovis tragelaphus*.

This animal is frequently represented and hieroglyphically named on Egyptian monuments, but we question if the denomination itself be phonetically legible. The figures in colour leave no doubt that it is the same as the Kesch of the modern Arabs, and a species or a variety of *Ovis tragelaphus*, or bearded sheep, lately formed into a separate group by Mr. Blyth under the name of *Ammotragus barbatulus*. The Spanish version of the Hebrew text, before quoted, appears alone to be admissible, for although the species is not strictly a goat, it is intermediate between that genus and the sheep. It is a fearless climber, and secure on its feet, among the sharpest and most elevated ridges. In stature the animal exceeds a large domestic sheep, though it is not more bulky of body. Instead of wool, it is covered with close fine rufous hair: from the throat to the breast, and on the upper arms above the knees there is abundance of long loose reddish hair, forming a compact protection to the knees and brisket, and indicating that the habits of the species require extraordinary defence while sporting among the most rugged cliffs; thus making the name *Zemer*, 'one that springeth,' if that interpretation be trustworthy, remarkably correct. The head and face are perfectly ovine, the eyes are bluish, and the horns, of a yellowish colour, are set on as in sheep; they rise obliquely, and are directed backwards and outwards, with the points bending downwards. The tail, about nine inches long, is heavy and round. It is the *Mouflon d'Afrique* and *Mouflon à Manchettes* of French writers, probably identical with the *Tragelaphus* of Caius, whose specimen came from Barbary. See bearded Argali in Griffith's *Animal Kingdom of Cuvier*. We figure a specimen in the Paris Museum and one in Wilkinson's *Egypt*, vol. iii. p. 19.—C. H. S.

ZENAN (זֵנָן; *Sevá*; Alex. *Sevámu*; *Sanan*), a town of Judah, situated in the Shephelah, or plain of Philistia, and apparently near the western coast, since it is grouped with Migdalgaḏ (Josh.

xv. 37). The latter has been identified with *Mejdel*, and a few miles south of it is a small village called *Fenin*, which may perhaps be the modern representative of Zenan. It is generally supposed that Zenan is the same place which the prophet Micah calls *Zanaan* (i. 11; זָנָן; see Reland, p. 1058; Keil and Delitzsch, on *Josh.* xv. 37), and which Knobel supposes to be identical with the ruin of *es-Senat*, near Beit Jibrín (Tobler, *Dritte Wanderung*, p. 124). The two places perhaps were the same; but the theory of Knobel has nothing to support it.—J. L. P.

ZENAS (Ζηνᾶς), a disciple who visited Crete with Apollos, bearing seemingly the epistle to Titus, in which Paul recommends the two to his attentions (Tit. iii. 13). He is called 'the lawyer;' and as his name is Greek, it seems doubtful whether he is so called as being, or having been, a doctor of the Jewish law, or as being a pleader at the Roman tribunals. The most probable opinion is, perhaps, that which makes him a Hellenistic Jew, and a doctor of the Mosaic law.—J. K.

ZEPHANIAH (זְפַנְיָה; Sept. *Σοφονίας*, taken from a participial form according to Bleek), the ninth in order of the minor prophets, both in the Hebrew and Greek copies of the Scriptures (Hieronym. *Prolog. ad Paul. et Eustoch.*)

*Author.*—The name of this prophet has been variously explained. Disputes upon it arose as early as the time of Jerome, for in his Commentary on this book he says, 'Nomen Sophoniæ alii speculam, alii arcanum Dei, transtulerunt.' The word was thus derived either from זָפַן, *he saw beyond*, or זָפַן, *he hid*, with the common affix יָה. The old father made it a matter of indifference which etymon he adopted, as both, according to him, give virtually the same sense,—the commission of a prophet being virtually that of a watchman or seer, and the burden of his message, some secret revealed to him by God. Abarbanel (*Pref. in Ezek.*) adheres to the latter mode of derivation, and the pseudo-Dorotheus, following the former, translates the prophet's name by the Greek participle σκοπεῖων. Hiller, taking the term from זָפַן, renders it 'abscondidit se—i.e. delituit Jehovah' (*Onomast. sub voce*), but Simonis (*Onomast. V. T.*) gives the true signification, one sanctioned by Gesenius—'abscondidit—i.e. custodivit Jehovah,' *Jehovah hath guarded*, the verb זָפַן being used of divine protection in Ps. xxvii. 5; and lxxxiii. 4. The name seems to have been a common one among the Jews. Contrary to usual custom the pedigree of the prophet is traced back for four generations—'the son of Cushi, the son of Gedaliah, the son of Amariah, the son of Hizkiah.' This formal record of his lineage has led many to suppose that Zephaniah had sprung from a noble stock (Cyril, *Pref. ad Zeph.*), and the occurrence of the highest name in the list, which in the Hebrew text is spelled and pointed in the same way as that rendered Hezekiah in the books of Kings and Chronicles, has induced some to identify it with that of the good king, and to pronounce the prophet a cadet of the royal house of Judah. Kimchi is very cautious in his opinion, and leaves the point undecided; but Aben-Ezra concludes that Zephaniah was descended from Hezekiah; and his opinion has been followed by Huet (*Demonstrat. Evangel.* Propos. iv. 303), and by Eichhorn, Hengstenberg.



Hävernick, Keil, Hitzig, Bleek, and Strauss. The conjecture has little else to recommend it than the mere occurrence of the royal name. But it was not a name confined to royalty; and had it been the name of the pious monarch to which Zephaniah's genealogy is traced, his official designation, 'king of Judah,' might have been subjoined, in order to prevent mistake. Such an addition is found in connection with his name in Prov. xxv. 1 and Is. xxxviii. 9. It forms no objection to affirm that the phrase 'king of Judah' is added to Josiah, and to avoid repetition may have been omitted after Hizkiah, for such regard to euphony, such finical delicacy, is no feature of Hebrew composition. On the other hand the argument of Carpozov (*Introd.* p. 414), copied by Rosenmüller (*Proœmium in Zeph.*), against the supposed connection of the prophet with the blood royal, is of no great weight. These critics say that from Hezekiah to Josiah, in whose reign Zephaniah flourished, are only three generations, while from Hezekiah to Zephaniah four are reckoned in the first verse of the prophecy. But as Hezekiah reigned twenty-nine years, and his successor sat on the throne no less than fifty-five years, there is room enough in so long a period for the four specified descents; and Amariah, though not heir to the crown, may have been older than his youthful brother Manasseh, who was crowned at the age of twelve. As there was at least another Zephaniah, a conspicuous personage at the time of the captivity, the parentage of the prophet may have been recounted so minutely to prevent any reader from confounding the two individuals. The Jews absurdly reckon that here, as in other superscriptions, the persons recorded as a prophet's ancestors were themselves endowed with the prophetic spirit. The so-called Epiphanius (*De Vitis Prophet.* cap. xix.) asserts that Zephaniah was of the tribe of Simeon, of the hill Sarabatha, ἀπὸ ὄρους Σαραβᾶθᾶ. The existence of the prophet is known only from his oracles, and these contain no biographical sketch; so that our knowledge of this man of God comprises only the fact and results of his inspiration. It may be safely inferred, however, that he laboured with Josiah in the pious work of re-establishing the worship of Jehovah in the land.

*Age.*—It is recorded (ch. i.) that the word of the Lord came to him 'in the days of Josiah, the son of Amon, king of Judah.' We have reason for supposing that he flourished during the earlier portion of Josiah's reign. In the second chapter (vers. 13-15) he foretells the doom of Nineveh, and the fall of that ancient city happened 625 B.C. (Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, ii. 523). In the commencement of his oracles also, he denounces various forms of idolatry, and specially the remnant of Baal. The reformation of Josiah began in the twelfth, and was completed in the eighteenth year of his reign. So thorough was his extirpation of the idolatrous rites and hierarchy which defiled his kingdom, that he burnt the groves, dismissed the priesthood, threw down the altars, and made dust of the images of Baalim. Zephaniah may have prophesied prior to this religious revolution, and prepared the way for it though some remains of Baal were yet secreted in the land, or between the twelfth and eighteenth years of the royal reformer. So Hitzig, Jahn, Keil, Knobel, Ewald, De Wette, Umbreit, Strauss, Bunsen, and Movers (*Chronik.* p. 234) place him; while Eichhorn, Bertholdt,

Jaeger, Delitzsch, Stähelin, Kimchi, and Abarbanel, incline to give him a somewhat later date. The 'king's children' (i. 8) could not be sons of Josiah, who was but eight years old when he began to reign, nor does the name necessarily imply it; they may have been brothers, or princes of the blood royal, or princes living at the time when the oracle should be fulfilled. At all events, he flourished between the years B.C. 642 and B.C. 611; and the portion of his prophecy which refers to the destruction of the Assyrian empire must have been delivered prior to the year B.C. 625. The publication of these oracles was, therefore, contemporary with a portion of those of Jeremiah, for the word of the Lord came to him in the thirteenth year of the reign of Josiah. Indeed, the Jewish tradition is, that Zephaniah had for his colleagues Jeremiah and the prophetess Huldah, the former fixing his sphere of labour in the thoroughfares and market-places, the latter exercising her honourable vocation in the college in Jerusalem (Carpozov, *Introd.* p. 415). Koester (*Die Propheten*, iii.) endeavours to prove that Zephaniah was posterior to Habakkuk. His arguments from similarity of diction are trivial, and the more so when we reflect that all circumstances combine in inducing us to fix the period of Habakkuk in the reign of Jehoiakim [HABAKKUK], or immediately before the Chaldean invasion.

*Contents.*—The book consists of only three chapters, which form one whole, and are not to be separated as by Bertholdt, Eichhorn, and Knobel, into three parts, or by De Wette and Strauss into two parts. In the first, the sins of the nation are severely reprimanded, and a day of fearful retribution is menaced. The circuit of reference is wider in the second chapter, and the ungodly and persecuting states in the neighbourhood of Judæa are also doomed; but in the third section, while the prophet inveighs bitterly against Jerusalem and her magnates, he concludes with the cheering prospect of her ultimate settlement and blissful theocratic enjoyment. It has been disputed what the enemies are with whose desolating inroads he threatens Judah. The ordinary opinion is, that the foes whose period of invasion was 'a day of the trumpet and alarm against the fenced cities and against the high towers' (ch. i. 16), were the Chaldeans. Hitzig, Cramer, Eichhorn, Movers, Ewald, E. Meier, and Umbreit suppose the prophet to refer to a Scythian invasion, the history of which has been preserved by Herodotus (i. 105). The general style of the oracle, and the sweeping vengeance which it menaces against Assyria, Philistia, Ammon, and Cush, as well as against Judah, by some great and unnamed power, seem to point to the Chaldean expedition which, under Nebuchadnezzar, laid Jerusalem waste, and carried to Babylon its enslaved population. But there may be in the prophetic grouping allusions also to the Scythian raid which poured itself through so many countries, overflowed Media as the Huns of a later day did Italy, swept into Syria and Palestine, till it was arrested by the policy of Psammetichus, who was laying siege at the time to Ashdod. This invasion happened in the reign of the last Assyrian king, and in the period of Cyaxares and Nabopolassar (Rawlinson's *Monarchies*, ii. p. 508). The nations around, from Media and Babylon down to Egypt, were in commotion; war and revolution were impending; and amidst such restless upheavings Judah could



not escape (Stark's *Gaza*, p. 209, Jena 1852). The contemporary prophecies of Jeremiah seem to contemplate the musterings, onset, and devastations of the same victorious hosts. The first part of Zephaniah's prediction is 'a day of clouds and of thick darkness,' but the closing section is full of light and joy: 'The King of Israel, the Lord, is in the midst of thee; He will rejoice over thee with joy; He will rest in his love.'

*Style.*—We cannot by any means ascribe so low a character to Zephaniah's style as is done by De Wette (*Einleit.* sec. 245), who brands it as being often heavy and tedious. It has not the sustained majesty of Isaiah, or the originality and force of Joel: it has no prominent feature of distinction; yet its delineations are graphic, and many of its touches are bold and striking. For example, in the first chapter the prophet groups together in his descriptions of the national idolatry several characteristic exhibitions of its forms and worship. He seizes on the more strange peculiarities of the heathen worship—uttering denunciations on the remnant of Baal, the worshippers of Chemarim, the star-adorsers, the devotees of Malcham, the fanatics who clad themselves in strange apparel, and those who in some superstitious mummery leapt upon the threshold (Bochart, *Hier.* cap. 36). A few paronomasie occur (i. 15 and ii. 1-4); and occasionally there is a peculiar repetition of a leading word in the formation of a climax (ii. 15). Zephaniah has borrowed to a considerable extent from the earlier prophets, especially from Isaiah; as Is. xxxiv. 11 to Zeph. ii. 14, or Is. xlvii. 8 to Zeph. ii. 15, or Is. xviii. 1 to Zeph. iii. 10, or Is. xvi. 6 to Zeph. ii. 8. Coincidences of expression have also been noted between Zephaniah and some of his contemporaries, particularly Jeremiah (Eichh. *Einleit.* sec. 595; Rosenm. *Proem.* vi.; Strauss, p. 28). In Zeph. i. 5 and Jer. viii. 2, the same superstitious custom is referred to, and the phrase, 'settled on the lees,' is found Zeph. i. 12, and Jer. xlviii. 11. It was altogether groundless, therefore, in some of the older critics, such as Isidore and Schmidius (*Prolegom.* in *Sophon.*), to style Zephaniah the abbreviator of Jeremiah. Resemblances have also been traced between Zephaniah and Amos, and between him and his successor Ezekiel. The language of Zephaniah is pure: it has not indeed the ease and dignity of the earlier compositions, but it wants the degenerate feebleness and Aramaic corruption of the succeeding era. Zephaniah is not expressly quoted in the N. T.; but clauses and expressions occur which seem to have been formed from his prophecy (Zeph. iii. 9; Rom. xv. 6, etc.)

*Commentaries.*—Martini *Lutheri Comment. in Sophon. Prophet.* Opera Latina, t. iv.; Mart. Bucer *Sophonia Explicatio*, 1528; Nolteneii *Dissertatio Exeget. Prelim. in Proph. Zeph.* 1719; Cramer, *Scythische Denkmäler in Palestina*, 1777, it contains a Comment on Zephaniah; D. von Coelln, *Spicileg. Observat. Exeget. Critic. ad Zeph. Vaticinia*, 1818; P. Ewald, *Zeph. ubersetzt*, Erlangen 1827; Maurer, *Comment. Grammat. Hist. Crit. in Prophetas Minores*, p. 373, 1840; *Exeget. Handbuch z. A. T.*; die 12 kleinen Prophet. erklärt, von F. Hitzig, 1838; Rosenmülleri *Scholia in Proph. Min.* vol. iv.; Dr. E. Henderson *On the Twelve Minor Prophets*, 1845; F. Ad. Strauss, *Vaticin. Zeph. Commentariis illustrat.* Berlin 1843; Umbreit *die klein. Proph.* ii. Th. 1846, Hamburg.—J. E.

ZEPHATH (צפת; Sept. Σεφέθ), a Canaanitish city, afterwards called Hormah (Judg. i. 17). The ancient designation is perhaps retained in the modern *es-Sufah*, the name of a difficult pass leading up from the Arabah to the south of Judah (Robinson, *Bib. Res.* ii. 592-616). Another identification has been proposed—viz. with *Sebâta*, a place on the road to Suez, half an hour north of Rôhébeh (Williams, *Holy City*, i. 464).

ZEPHATHAH, THE VALLEY OF (נִינָה צַפְתָּה; ἐν τῇ φάραγγι κατὰ βορρᾶν; in valle *Sephata*). When Zerah, the Ethiopian, invaded Palestine with his vast army, the sacred historian says that 'Asa went out against him, and they set the battle in array in the valley of Zephathah, at Mareshah' (2 Chron. xiv. 10). The name is not elsewhere mentioned; but the site of Mareshah is known [MARESHAH]; and there is a deep valley which runs past it down to Beit Jibrin, and thence into the plain of Philistia. This perhaps may be the valley of Zephathah (*Handbook*, p. 258). Dr. Robinson's theory that the name is preserved in *Tell es-Sâfieh* cannot be admitted, because it would locate it too far from Mareshah (*Bib. Res.* ii. 31).—J. L. P.

ZERAH (זֶרַח, a rising; Sept. Ζαρά). 1. Son of Judah and Tamar, and younger but twin brother of Pharez (Gen. xxxviii. 30; Matt. i. 3). Geddes, in his *Critical Remarks* (pp. 126, 127), has some interesting medical testimony in illustration of the remarkable circumstances attending the birth of the twins.

2. Son of Reuel and grandson of Esau (Gen. xxxvi. 13, 17).

3. Son of Simeon and founder of a family in Israel (Num. xxvi. 13). He is called Zohar in Gen. xlii. 10: his descendants are called Zarhites in Num. xxvi. 13, 20.

4. The Cushite king or leader who invaded Judah in the tenth year of king Asa (B.C. 941), with an army of 'a thousand thousands' (i.e. very many thousands) of men, and three hundred chariots. Asa defeated them in the valley of Zephathah at Mareshah, utterly routed them, pursued them to Gerar, and carried back much plunder from that neighbourhood. We are left uncertain as to the country from which Zerah came. The term Cushite or Ethiopian may imply that he was of Arabian Cush; the principal objection to which is, that history affords no indication that Arabia had at that epoch, or from its system of government could well have, any king so powerful as Zerah. That he was of Abyssinia or African Ethiopia is another conjecture, which is resisted by the difficulty of seeing how this 'huge host' could have obtained a passage through Egypt, as it must have done to reach Judæa. If we could suppose, with Champollion (*Précis*, p. 257), whom Coquerel follows (*Biog. Sacr.* s.v.), that Zerah the Cushite was the then king of Egypt, of an Ethiopian dynasty, this difficulty would be satisfactorily met. In fact it is now often stated that he was the same with Osorkon I. (of whom there is a statue in the British Museum, No. 8), the son and successor of the Shishak who invaded Judæa twenty-five years before, in the time of Rehoboam. This is a tempting explanation, but cannot be received without question, and it is not deemed satisfactory by Ro-



sellini, Wilkinson, Sharpe, and others. Jahn hazards an ingenious conjecture, that Zerah was king of Cush on *both* sides of the Red Sea—that is, of both the Arabian and African Ethiopia; and thus provides him a sufficient power without subjecting him to the necessity of passing through Egypt. This also is not without serious difficulties. In fact, no conclusion that can be relied upon has yet been exhibited.—J. K.

**ZERED** (זֶרֶד; *Zapéd*; Alex. *Zapé* and *Zapér*; *Zared*). A valley on the south-eastern border of Moab, where the Israelites encamped before crossing the Arnon (Num. xxi. 12). In the A. V. of Deut. ii. 13, it is called a 'brook'; but the Hebrew word is the same as in Numbers (נַחַל, 'a torrent-bed' or 'valley'). The name Zered seems to have disappeared; but as the wady was the southern border of Moab, Dr. Robinson says, 'the features of the country seem to show that this was probably the Wady el-Ahsey, which now separates the district of Kerak from Jebâl, and indeed forms a natural division between the country on the north and on the south. Taking its rise near the castle of el-Ahsey on the route of the Syrian Hâj, upon the high eastern desert, it breaks down through the whole chain of mountains to near the south-east corner of the Dead Sea, forming for a part of the way a deep chasm. The Israelites doubtless passed Wady el-Ahsey near its upper end, where it would present no difficulty' (*B. R.* ii. 157; Burckhardt, *Travels*, 400).—J. L. P.

**ZEREDA** (הַצֶּרֶדָה; Sept. ἡ *Zapirâ*; Alex. ἡ *Zapirâ*), a town on Mount Ephraim, the birth-place of Jeroboam the son of Nebat (1 Kings xi. 26). In an addition made by the LXX. to ch. xii. Sarira is said to have been built by Jeroboam for Solomon, and it is stated that to it Jeroboam returned when he came out of Egypt. It was probably a fastness or keep erected to protect or overawe the surrounding district, which took from it its name. Some would identify it with Zererath, Zarthan, and Zaredatha, but there is a difficulty in the way of this arising from the fact that this was on a hill, whilst these seem to have been in the plain.—W. L. A.

**ZEREDATHA.** [ZERERATH.]

**ZERERATH** (צֶרֶרֶת, with ה local, properly צֶרֶה, *Zererah*; Ταγαπαγαδά; Alex. καὶ στυή-γαγε), a place mentioned in connection with the flight of the Midianites after their defeat by Gideon in the valley of Jezreel:—'And the host fled to Beth-shittah in (to) Zererath, and to the border of Abel-meholah, unto Tabbath' (Judg. vii. 22). The reading of this word is not satisfactorily established in the Hebrew text. Some MSS., with the Syriac and Arabic versions read *Zeredath*, or *Zeredathah*, which is mentioned in 2 Chron. iv. 17. There can be little doubt that the places are identical, and the difference in name has arisen from an accidental mistake of a ז for a ד. It may also be the same place which is called *Zereda* in the A. V. (צֶרֶדָה, 1 Kings xi. 26), and which was the birth-place of Jeroboam the first king of Israel. But by comparing 2 Chron. iv. 17 with 1 Kings vii. 46, it would appear that Zeredatha was called *Zarthan*. A close con-

nection seems thus to be established between Zererath, Zeredathah, Zereda, and Zarthan. Three of them at least were situated in the valley of the Jordan, and not far distant from Bethshean. The probability is that they were all various forms of the same name. Examples of this are common in Syria at the present day (Keil and Delitzsch on *Judges*, ad loc.; Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, s. v. [ZAR-TENAH]).—J. L. P.

**ZERESH** (זֶרֶשׁ; Pers. *gold*; Sept. Ζωσάρα), the wife of Haman (Esth. v. 10; vi. 13), and well worthy of him, if we may judge from the advice she gave him to prepare a gibbet and ask the king's leave to hang Mordecai thereon [HAMAN; MORDECAI].—J. K.

**ZERUAH** (צֶרְוָה, *leprous*; Sept. Ζαριπά), the widowed mother of Jeroboam (1 Kings xi. 26).

**ZERUBBABEL** (זְרُبָבֶל, *sown in Babylon*; Sept. Ζωροβάβελ), called also 'Sheshbazzar, prince of Judah' (Ezra i. 8), son (comp. 1 Chron. iii. 17) of Shealtiel, of the royal house of David (1 Chron. iii.), was the leader of the first colony of Jews that returned from captivity to their native land under the permission of Cyrus, carrying with them the precious vessels belonging to the service of God. With the aid of Joshua and his body of priests, Zerubbabel proceeded, on his arrival in Palestine, to rebuild the fallen city, beginning with the altar of burnt-offerings, in order that the daily services might be restored. The Samaritans, however, having been offended at being expressly excluded from a share in the land, did all they could to hinder the work, and even procured from the Persian court an order that it should be stopped. Accordingly, everything remained suspended till the second year of Darius Hystaspis (A.C. 521), when the restoration was resumed and carried to completion, according to Josephus, owing to the influence of Zerubbabel with the Persian monarch (*Antiq.* xi. 3; Ezra; Haggai i. 1-14; ii. 1).—J. R. B. [The name Sheshbazzar was the Chaldee or Persic name which he had after the analogy of Belteshazzar, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego.]

**ZERUIAH** (צֶרְוִיָּה, *wounded*; Sept. Ζαρούια), daughter of Jesse, sister of David (1 Chron. ii. 16), and mother of Joab, Abishai, and Ashael (2 Sam. ii. 18; iii. 39; viii. 16; xvi. 9).

**ZIBA** (צִיבָא, *statue*; Sept. Ζιβά), a servant of the house of Saul, of whom David inquired if there was any one left of the house of Saul to whom the monarch might show favour. Mephibosheth was in consequence found, and having been certified of David's friendship, Ziba, who was at the head of a large family, having fifteen sons and twenty slaves, was appointed to till the land for the prince, and generally to constitute his household and do him service (2 Sam. ix. 2-10). This position Ziba employed for his master's harm. When David had to fly from Jerusalem in consequence of the rebellion of Absalom, Ziba met the king with a large and acceptable present:—'But where is Mephibosheth?' asked the fugitive monarch; 'In Jerusalem,' was the answer; 'for he said, To-day shall the house of Israel restore me the kingdom of my father.' Enraged at this, which looked like



ingratitude as well as treachery, David thereupon gave to the faithless Ziba all the property of Mephibosheth (2 Sam. xvi. 1, *seq.*) On David's return to his metropolis an explanation took place, when Mephibosheth accused Ziba of having slandered him; and David, apparently not being perfectly satisfied with the defence, gave his final award, that the land should be divided between the master and his servant (2 Sam. xix. 24, *seq.*) —J. R. B.

ZIBEON (זִבְעוֹן, *dyed*; Sept. Σεβεργών), a son of Seir, phylarch or head of the Hivites (Gen. xxxvi. 2, 20, 24, 29).

ZICHRI (זִכְרִי, *renowned*; Sept. Ζεφρι), an Ephraimite, probably one of the chiefs of the tribe, and one of the generals of Pekah king of Israel. It has been supposed that he took advantage of the victory of this monarch over the army of Judah to penetrate into Jerusalem, where he slew one of the sons of Ahaz, the governor of the palace, and the king's chief minister or favourite. It is difficult without this supposition to explain 2 Chron. xxviii. 7. There is some probability in the conjecture that he was the 'Tabael's son' whom Pekah and Rezin designed to set upon the throne of Judah [TABAE]. —J. K.

ZIDDIM (זִידִים), a place belonging to Naphthali (Josh. xix. 35). It has not been identified. Knobel suggests that the name may be preserved in *es-Saudah*, a place to the west of the southern extremity of the Lake of Tiberias; but this would place it in a territory beyond that of Naphthali, and in that of Issachar. There is more probability in the suggestion that it is to be identified with the *Kefr-Hattin*, a village a few miles west of the Lake Tiberias, and within the allotment of Naphthali. Lightfoot cites the Jerusalem Talmud (*Megillah*, fol. 70. 1) as identifying Ziddim with Caphar Hit-taint, near to Tiberias (*Cent. Chorog. Matthaeo praemiss.* c. 78). —W. L. A.

ZIDON, SIDON (Phœn. צִידֹן; Heb. צִידֹן, *Zidon*; Gr. Σιδών; the present صَيْدَا, *Saida*), the name of a Phœnician city, probably derived from צוּד, *to hunt, to fish*, and bestowed upon it for the abundance of the fish found in its neighbourhood (Urbs . . . quam a piscium ubertate Sidona appellaverunt: nam piscem [?] piscatum] Phœnices Sidon [cf.

Syr. ܥܝܕܢ vocant, Just. 18. 3), situated in a narrow plain between the Lebanon and the Mediterranean, in 33° 34' 05" N. L., 200 stadia from Tyre, 400 from Berytus (Strabo). The term 'first-born of Canaan,' bestowed upon it in the genealogical table of Gen. x. 15, can only be understood in the sense of its having early reached the highest place among the cities and tribes of Phœnicia; for the existence of other Phœnician cities before Zidon seems sufficiently proved from the circumstance Berytus and Byblos being mentioned much earlier by Sanchuniathon than Zidon; and further, from the priority and position of the local deities of the two former places in the colonies. Thus the worship of the Cabiri, the tutelary deities Berytus, and of Aphrodite, of Byblus, was nowhere found as a national cultus in Zidonian or Tyrian colonies, while long before historical

times they flourished in Cyprus, and had reached the most distant coast of the Mediterranean. That pre-historic period of a preponderance of northern Phœnicia, however, had passed away when we first meet Zidon in the Bible and Homer. There it appears already in the full zenith of its wealth and power: —'צִידֹן רַבָּה,' Zidon the Great, or Zidon the Metropolis, scil. of Zidonía. This district appears to have embraced the states of Zidon, Tyre, and Aradus, and its inhabitants are always distinguished from the inhabitants of the city itself (called 'Dwellers, יוֹשְׁבֵי, of Zidon) as צִידוֹנִים, 'Zidonians,' or dwellers in the districts; and it seems in those early times to have extended northwards to the Gibletes, southwards to the Carmel (Zebulun's border, Gen. xlix. 13). At a later period the boundaries south were determined by the fluctuating issue of the struggle for the hegemony between Zidon and Tyre, while northwards the river Tamyrus divided it from the State of Berytus. To the east, where it never had extended very far (Dan, a Zidonian colony, being described as being 'far from the Zidonians,' Judg. xviii. 7) in early days, it touched, at a later period, the territory of Damascus. The assumption, however, drawn by some writers from the inexact way in which the appellation Zidonian is used by ancient writers—viz. that this name stood for 'Phœnician,' and Zidonía itself for the whole of Phœnicia, an important part of which it only formed—is incorrect. Tyre, of later origin than Zidon, if not indeed founded by it, in the same way styles itself on coins אֶם צִידֹן, 'Metropolis of Zidonía,' in the sense of its momentary hegemony over Zidon only, possibly also with a secondary reference to the nationality of its inhabitants, mostly immigrants from Zidon.

The frequent allusions to the skilfulness of the Zidonians in arts and manufactures, the extent of their commerce, their nautical information and prowess, in ancient writers, are well known. Thus Homer, who never seems to have heard of Tyre, speaks of a large silver bowl cunningly wrought by Zidonians, which Achilles bestows as a prize upon the swiftest runner at the games in honour of Patroclus (*Il.* ψ 741). Menelaos gives Telemachus a similar bowl of silver, gold-edged, a gift to him from the king of the Zidonians (*Od.* δ 618). Sidonian women had worked the garment which Hecuba offers to Minerva (*Il.* ζ 290), etc. Of the trade of the 'Zidonian merchants' (*Is.* xxiii.), both by land and sea, we hear in Diod. Sic. (16, 41, 45); of their glass, linen, and other manufactories in Pliny, Virgil, Strabo, and other classical writers. As we have already spoken on this subject of their trade under PHœNICIA, it will suffice here to remind our readers of the terms πολύχαλος applied to Zidonía, and πολυδαίδαλοι to its inhabitants, by Homer, to show what was the renown both of the metal-produce of the country and of the skill of its sons and daughters in the early days of Greece.

The History of Zidon or Zidonía has likewise been touched upon briefly in the articles on PHœNICIA and TYRE. Although allotted to Asher (Josh. xix. 28), it yet never seems to have been really conquered by the Israelites. On the contrary, it would appear as if the Zidonians had, for a time at least, ruled over them. But very soon after that period its splendour and power began to pale before Tyre, which existed already at the time of Joshua, but as



a dependency from Zidon. After the memorable defeat which the Zidonians suffered in the war with the king of Askalon (13th century B.C.), reported by Justin, when the Zidonians are said to have 'retired to their ships and to have founded [? re-founded] Tyre,' Zidon almost disappears from history for a time,—so utterly enfeebled and insignificant had it become through the sudden and brilliant rise of its own daughter and rival, to whom all the noblest and most skilful of her children had fled. Its fate was almost the same as was that of Tyre herself when Dido-Elissa had founded Carthage, and drew all the most important elements from the old city to the 'New Town'—which, it must not be forgotten, had originally been a Zidonian settlement under the name of Kakkabe.

Although Zidon had retained her own kings, yet, at the time of David and Solomon, Tyre is found manning its fleets with Zidonian sailors, and Hiram furnishes Zidonian workmen for the building of Solomon's temple. Gradually the kings of Tyre even assumed the title of 'king of Zidon.' And, although the foundation of Carthage, and the consequent weakening of Tyre, allowed Zidon to breathe somewhat more freely, yet, a very short time after that event, the same internal political dissensions and party-struggles caused a similar emigration as that which had taken place in Tyre, or which had peopled Tyre itself with Zidonians. This emigration founded Aradus, and thus gave rise to the confederation of the three states of Tyre, Zidon, and Aradus, the supreme council (or Synedrium) of which had its seat at Tripolis. Yet this confederation did not last long. When Shalmanassar (707-701 B.C.) marched against Phœnicia, Zidon, out of her ancient rancour against her successful rival, joined, together with other cities, the conqueror, assisting him with sixty vessels manned with 800 rowers. Nothing is heard of Zidon for a century afterwards; but Tyre having emerged victoriously from the contest with Shalmanassar, it is to be presumed that it ruled its treacherous confederate with a heavy hand. When Chaldeans, Egyptians, Scythic hordes, overflowed the whole country during the 7th and part of the 6th century B.C., the power of both Tyre and Zidon was finally broken so completely that, notwithstanding their kings and their fleets, they almost without resistance fell into the hands of Persia under Cyrus and Cambyses (526 B.C.) As tributary provinces, they had now to aid their conquerors with their ships, both against the Greeks and the Egyptians. Yet no sooner had the Achæmenidian rulers restored peace, than these Phœnician cities began to gather wealth and strength anew, and in the year 351 Zidon dared Artaxerxes Ochus in open rebellion. Goaded to despair by the insolence of the Persian satraps and generals who had taken up their abode in their city, the inhabitants resolved to shake off the galling yoke, and persuaded their Phœnician kinsmen to join them in their resistance. Nectanebo, the king of Egypt, sent them 3000 Greek soldiers, who, together with their armed men and ships, bade fair to carry the day. After committing a few excesses in the royal palace itself, and taking some of their insolent visitors captive, they marched against the royal troops sent from Babylon to quell the rebellion, and, under the Zidonian general Tennes, routed them. Whereupon the king himself appeared before the city, and Tennes treacherously handed it over to the besieging enemy. The Zidonians

having burnt their ships, and seeing all further resistance impossible, shut themselves up in their houses, with their wives and children, and fired the whole place. No less than 40,000 people are said to have perished in the flames, together with the most colossal wealth. The king, indeed, sold the ruins, on account of the vast amount of molten gold and silver found beneath them, for many talents. Rebuilt again, it became a provincial town without importance, and gladly opened its gates to Alexander the Great—happy to get rid of the Persian yoke at any price. Under his Syrian successors it again rose in population and importance; so much so that Antiochus III. preferred to pass it by without attacking it (216 B.C.) At the time of Cæsar it appears to have possessed a kind of autonomy. In the middle of the 1st century A.D. it is again called 'Opulenta Sidon . . . maritimarum urbium maxima' (Pomp. Mela, i. 12); a circumstance due chiefly to its exceptionally favourable harbour or harbours—one for summer and one for winter. Greek coins style her *Ναυαρχίς*, Roman coins Colonia Augusta, and Metropolis. In the N. T. we find it mentioned in Matthew (xv. 21) and Mark (vii. 24, 31). Paul finds there also a Christian friend (Acts xxvii. 3). The first bishop of Zidon mentioned is Theodorus, who appeared at the Nicean council. Eusebius and Jerome call it 'Urbs Phœnices insignis,' while Antoninus Martyr (600) finds it in decay, and calls its inhabitants 'wicked people.'

From that time forth, however, little is heard of it until the time of the Crusades. Still called Sidona in the Itineraries, we meet it again as Saïda in Edrisi; and, by a further corruption of this name, as Sageta or Sagitta in later writers. Edrisi speaks of it as an important place, the four districts of which mount up to the Lebanon, and within the precincts of whose territory no less than 600 villages were situated. There can be no doubt about the importance of Saïda at the time of the Crusades. Although its surrounding districts yielded welcome plunder in cattle and other provisions to the invading army of the Crusaders, yet they dared not attack the city itself at first in 1099. Eight years later mighty preparations for a siege were made, but the inhabitants bought it off at a high price. The place was taken, nevertheless, in 1111, after a six weeks' defence. From that time forth it remained in the hands of the Christians for seventy-six years, when, after the battle of Hattin, Sultan Saladin seized it and destroyed its fortifications. Ten years later it again fell into the hands of the pilgrims (1197), who are said to have used the cedar-planks taken from its houses for stabling and fuel.

In 1253 Lewis IX. rebuilt it, and fortified it with high walls and towers, and afterwards sold it to the Templars, who very soon had to relinquish it to the Mongols. Destroyed by the latter, it was taken possession of by Sultan Ashraf in 1291. In 1321—at the time of Abulfeda—it had, in consequence of all these troubles and successive destructions, lost almost all vestiges of its former grandeur, and was hardly deemed worthy of mention. In the middle of the 15th century it reappears again as a port of Damascus. A new era dated for this city from the time of the Emir Fachr Ad-dîn, who for nearly half a century took up his abode there, and besides restoring it to somewhat of its pristine splendour, also made it the



link between Europe and Asia, its commerce and ideas. For here it was that Europeans, to whom the Emir was particularly favourable, first established themselves after the failing of the Crusaders' expeditions, and thence spread over the whole of the East. Of the gorgeous buildings erected by European architects whom he drew to his court, nothing but ruins now remain, but some bridges over the river at Beirut and Saida, constructed by Tuscan masters (Fagni and Cioli), exist to this day.

Factories and khans (campi) of magnificent proportions aided the reawakened trade and industry not a little, and European merchants, especially French and Italian, again crowded the streets and markets of ancient Zidon. After Fachr Ad-din's sudden downfall the commerce began to wane; but such was its importance still, that the French trade alone brought an annual revenue of 200,000 crowns into the Turkish treasury. In the constant warfare between the Druses and the Turks that ensued,



537. Zidon.

Saida suffered terribly; yet up to the end of the 18th century it remained the central point for export and import, which chiefly consisted of cotton, silk, rice, drugs, spices, cloth, etc. When, however, Jezzâr Pasha was appointed Pasha of Saida (1775), he at once assumed the attitude of a rebel towards the Porte, held the whole of Syria for a quarter of a century in a state of abject terror, and finally turned against the French merchants, who offered a

spirited resistance to his cruel and ruinous decrees. He expelled the French consulate in 1790, and ended by driving the French merchants themselves from the country.

Ever since Saida has lost all and everything, and has once more become a poor miserable place, without trade or manufactures worthy of the name. To add to its desolation, an earthquake, which took place in 1837, destroyed about one hundred of its



The third inscription we mentioned was discovered a few years ago by Consul Moore on another locality near Salda. It is found on a block 69 centimetres in height, 38 in length, which evidently was once used for building purposes. It is now in the possession of Comte de Vogue. The inscription reads as follows:—

2 ԵՐԵՐՈՒԹԱՆ . . .  
 ԸՆԿԵ  
 9 Գ ԶԱՆԱԼԱՆԻՇԱԿԸ ԼԱՆՈՒՆԸ ԸՆԿԵ . . .  
 ԸՆԿԵ  
 9 ՆԿԵՐԵՐԵԼԱՆԱԼԱՆԸ ԸՆԿԵՆԸ . . . . .  
 Դ ԸՆԿԵՐԵՐԵԿ [Ը] ԸՆԿԵՆԱՆԱԼԱՆԸ . . . ԸԸԸ  
 8 ԸՆԿԵՆԱՆԱԼԱՆԸ ԸՆԿԵՐԵԿ . . . ՆԿԵՐԸ  
 7 ԶԱՆԱԼԱՆԸ ԸՆԿԵՐԵԿ . . . ՆԿԵՐԸ . .  
 1 ԸՆԿԵՐԵԿ ԸՆԿԵՆԱՆԱԼԱՆ . . . ԸԸԸ

—contains 7 lines, as follows: —  
 among the living under the sun . . .  
 The shorter inscription—round the king's neck  
 contains 7 lines, as follows: —

ביר . . מ . . בשת ||  
 ימלכדבעשתרתמלך  
 צדנסכנבדעשתרת  
 מלכדנמאיתשנאר . .  
 ללעשתרת . . . . .

The fragmentary nature of this inscription allows of little certainty in its deciphering, save with respect to a few proper names.

The coins of Zidon in its Greek (Seleucidian, from Antiochus IV.) and Roman times are by no means rare. The most common emblem is a ship, in allusion to the maritime importance of the city.

Is it necessary that we, in conclusion, once more urge the infallible certainty of the most precious archaeological and palaeographical treasures awaiting the spade of the excavator, on this as on many another spot of ancient Canaan? [PHENICIA; TYRE; SEMITIC LANGUAGES, etc.]-E. D.

ZIF (זִיף, *bloom-month*), an ante-exilian name of the second Hebrew month (1 Kings vi. 1-37), corresponding with our April and May. This, the second month of the sacred, was the eighth of the civil year. The second month bore also the name Iyar.—J. R. B.

ZIKLAG (צִיקְלָג; Sept. Σεκελάκ), a city belonging to the tribe of Simeon (Josh. xv. 31; xix. 5), but at times subject to the Philistines of Gath, whose king, Achish, bestowed it upon David for a residence; after which it pertained to Judah (1 Sam. xxvii. 6; xxx. 1, 14, 26; 2 Sam. i. 1; 1 Chron. iv. 30; Neh. xi. 28).

While David was absent with his men to join Achish, Ziklag was burned and plundered by the Amalekites; and on his return, after receiving the spoil from them, he remained here till called to assume the crown after the death of Saul. It was during his stay in this place that he was joined by many considerable and valiant persons, whose adhesion to his cause was of much importance to him, and who were ever after held in high esteem in his court and army.—J. K.

ZILLAH (צִלָּה, *shade*; Sept. Σελλά), one of the wives of Lamech, and mother of Tubal-cain (Gen. iv. 19. [LAMECH].)

ZILPAH (זִלְפָּה, *a dropping*; Sept. Ζελφά), a female servant of Laban, whom he gave to Leah on her marriage with Jacob (Gen. xxix. 24), and whom Leah eventually induced him to take as a concubine-wife; in which capacity she became the mother of Gad and Asher (Gen. xxx. 9-13; xxxv. 26; xxxvii. 2; xli. 18).—J. K.

ZIMRAN (זִמְרָן, *sung*, i.e. *celebrated in song*; Sept. Ζομβρᾶν), a son of Abraham by Keturah, and the name of an Arabian tribe descended from him (Gen. xxv. 2; 1 Chron. i. 32). This name may perhaps be connected with the Zabram mentioned by Ptolemy as a city with a king, situated between Mecca and Medina.—J. K.

ZIMRI (זִמְרִי), a proper name in the O. T., which is derived from the root זָמַר, *carpere*, especially *carpere vites* = *putare vites*, 'to prune;' and also *carpere fides* = *pulsare, cantare*, 'to play,' 'sing.'

It is very remarkable that the Greek ψάλλειν also occurs in both these acceptations, which appear at first sight to be so very heterogeneous—to *scrape*, *pull*, *pluck*, and *to sing*. Compare the Latin *carpere*, which is etymologically connected, as well with the Greek ἄρπη, *sickle*, as with the English *harp*; and the English colloquial and vulgar expressions, 'to scrape the violin,' 'to pull away at the piano,' and 'to pull out a note.' If we consider the striking coincidence of the Greek with the Hebrew, we are led to suppose that the link of the ideas is as we have stated, and cease to be surprised that Fürst translates the name זִמְרִי by the German *Winzer* = *vine-dresser*, but Gesenius by *carmine celebratus*—i.e. a man celebrated by song, or a man of celebrity in general.

The Septuagint imitates the Hebrew sound by Ζαμβρᾶ, and Josephus (Antiq. viii. 12. 5) by Ζαμβρῆς.

Four men are called Zimri in the O. T. :—

1. A son of Zerah, who was a son of Judah by Tamar (1 Chron. ii. 6).

2. The name of the Israelite slain, together with the Midianitish woman, in Shittim, by Phinehas, was ZIMRI, the son of Salu, a prince of a chief house among the Simeonites (Num. xxv. 14).

3. King Saul begat Jonathan, who begat Merib-baal, who begat Micah, who begat Ahaz, who begat Jehoahaz, whose sons were Alemeth, Azmaveth, and ZIMRI. Zimri begat Moza, etc. (1 Chron. viii. 36; ix. 42).

4. In the twenty-sixth year of Asa, king of Judah, Elah, the son of Baasha, began to reign over Israel in Tirzah. After he had reigned two years, ZIMRI, the captain of half his chariots, conspired against him when he was in Tirzah, drunk, in the house of his steward. Zimri went in and smote and killed him, and reigned in his stead, about B.C. 928; and he slew all the house of Baasha, so that no male was left. Zimri reigned only seven days at Tirzah. The people who were encamped at Gibbethon, which belonged to the Philistines, heard that Zimri had slain the king. They made Omri, the captain of the host, king over Israel in the camp. Omri besieged Tirzah and took it. Zimri, seeing that the city was taken, went into the king's palace, set it on fire, and perished in it for his sins in walking in the way of Jeroboam, and for making Israel to sin (1 Kings xvi. 1-20; 2 Kings ix. 31).

5. The kings of ZIMRI, mentioned in Jer. xxv. 25, seem to have been the kings of the Zimranites, the descendants of Zimran, son of Abraham by Keturah (Gen. xxv. 2; 1 Chron. i. 32). It seems that in Jer. xxv. 25, זִמְרִי is a contraction for זִמְרָנִי. The town Zabram, mentioned by Ptolemy as situated between Mecca and Medina, perhaps had its name from the tribe of Zimran.—C. H. F. B.

ZIN (צִן; Sept. Σιν), a desert on the south of Palestine, and westward from Idumæa, in which was situated the city of Kadesh-barnea (Num. xiii. 21; xx. 1; xxvii. 14). Its locality is therefore fixed by the considerations which determine the site of Kadesh to the western part of the Arabah south of the Dead Sea.

ZINNIM (צִנִּימִים) and ZENINIM (צִנְיָנִים) occur in several passages of Scripture, as in Num. xxxiii. 55; Josh. xiii. 13, where they are mentioned along with SIKKIM; also in Job v. 5, and Prov.



xxii. 5. The Septuagint has *τρίβολος* in Prov. xxii. 5, and *βολίδες* in Num. xxxiii. 55, and Josh. xxiii. 13. It has been supposed that *zinnim* might be the *Rhamnus paliurus*, but nothing more precise has been ascertained respecting it, than of so many other of these thorny plants; and we may therefore, with Michaelis, say, 'Nullum simile nomen habent reliquæ linguæ Orientales; ergo fas est sapienti, Celsio quoque, fas sit et mihi, aliquid ignorare. Ignorantiæ professio via ad inveniendum verum, si quis in Oriente quæsierit.'—J. F. R.

#### ZION. [JERUSALEM.]

ZIPH (זִיפּ; Sept. *Zif*), the name of a city in the tribe of Judah (Josh. xv. 55; 2 Chron. xi. 8), and of a desert in its vicinity (1 Sam. xxiii. 14, 15). It is mentioned by Jerôme (*Onomast.* s. v.), but had not been since noticed till Dr. Robinson found the name in the Tell Zif (Hill of Zif), which occurs about four miles and a half S. by E. from Hebron, and is a round eminence about a hundred feet high, situated in a plain. A site also called Zif lies about ten minutes east of this, upon a low hill or ridge between two small wadys, which commence here and run towards the Dead Sea. There is now little to be seen besides broken walls and foundations mostly of unhewn stones, but indicative of solidity.—J. K.

ZIPHON (זִפְרוֹן; Sept. *Δεφρωνά*; Alex. *Ζεφρωνά*, the final *a* being the Heb. local ה), a place on the northern border of the land of Canaan as described by Moses (Num. xxxiv. 9). This has been identified with extensive ruins bearing the name of *Zifran* (زفران), fourteen hours to the N. E. of Damascus (Wetzstein, *Reisebericht über Hauran*, p. 88). If Ziphron is the same as the Sibraim of Ezek. xlvii. 16, it lay on the border of the Damascene and Hamath district, and this accords well with the above identification.—W. L. A.

ZIPPOR (זִפּוֹר or זִפּוֹרָה), the father of Balak king of Moab (Num. xxii. 2, etc.; xxiii. 18; Josh. xxiv. 9; Judg. xi. 25). Whether he was ever himself king of Moab is unknown, as he is never mentioned save in connection with Balak; indeed it may even be doubted whether any such person ever existed, as *Ben-Isippor* (Sparrow-son) may have been merely an appellation of Balak. As the feminine Zipporah, however, was used as a proper name, it is probable that Zippor was so also. He may have been the former king of Moab referred to Num. xxi. 26.—W. L. A.

ZIPPORAH (זִפּוֹרָה, *little bird*; Sept. *Ζεφώρα*), one of the seven daughters of Reuel (comp. Exod. xviii.), priest of Midian, who, in consequence of aid rendered to the young women when, on their going to procure water for their father's flocks, they were set on by a party of Bedouins, was given to Moses in marriage (Exod. ii. 16, *seq.*) A son, the fruit of this union, remained for some time after his birth uncircumcised; but an illness into which Moses fell in a khan when on his way to Pharaoh, being accounted a token of the divine displeasure, led to the circumcision of the child, when Zipporah, having, it appears, reluctantly yielded to the ceremony, exclaimed, 'Surely a bloody husband thou art to me' (Exod. iv. 26).

This event seems to have caused some alienation of feeling, for Moses sent his wife back to her father, by whom she is again brought to her husband while in the desert, when a reconciliation took place, which was ratified by religious rites (Exod. xviii. 1, *seq.*)—J. R. B.

ZIZ (זִיז; Sept. *Ἰσσεῖς*), a cliff or pass leading up from the Dead Sea towards Jerusalem, by which the bands of the Moabites and Ammonites advanced against Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. xx. 16). They seem to have come round the south end of the Dead Sea, and along the western shore as far as Engedi, where there is a pass which leads out northward towards Tekoa (Robinson, *Bibl. Res.* ii. 215). This is the route which is taken by the Arabs in their marauding expeditions at the present day.—J. K.

ZIZANION (Ζιζάνιον). This word occurs in Matt. xiii. 25, and several of the following verses, and is translated *weeds* by Luther, and *tares* in the A. V.; among Greek authors it is found only in the *Geoponica*. It is therefore supposed that, as the Gospel of Matthew was (as some think) first written in Syro-Chaldaic, the vernacular name of some particular plant was adopted, and thus introduced



538. *Lolium temulentum*.

into the Greek version. This seems to be confirmed by the existence of a plant which is suitable to the above passage, and of which the Arabic name is very similar to *zizanon*. Thus, in the parable of the man who sowed good seed in his field, it is said: 'But while men slept, his enemy came and sowed *tares* among the wheat: when the blade sprung up and brought forth fruit, then appeared the *tares* also.' From this it is evident that the wheat and the *zizanon* must have had considerable resemblance to each other in the herbageous parts, which could hardly be the case unless they were both of the family of the grasses. That such, however, is the case, is evident from what Volney says, that the peasants of Palestine and Syria do not cleanse away the seeds of weeds from their corn, but even leave that called *Sivan* by the

Arabs, which stuns people and makes them giddy, as he himself experienced. This no doubt is the

زوان; *Zawan*, or *Ziwan*, of Avicenna, and which Buxtorf, in his *Rabbinical Lexicon*, says was by the later Hebrews called זוןין *Zonin*. Avicenna describes two kinds of *Ziwan*; one 'quidpiam tritico non absimile,' of which bread is made; the other 'res ebrietatem inducens, pravæ naturæ, atque inter fruges provenit.' The *Ziwan* of the Arabs is concluded to be our Darnel, the *ivraie* of the French, the *Lolium temulentum* of botanists, and is well suited to the palate. It is a grass often found in corn-fields, resembling the wheat until both are in ear, and remarkable as one of the very few of the numerous family of grasses possessed of deleterious properties. These have long been known, and it is to this plant that Virgil alludes (*Georg.* i. 154):—

'Interque nitentia culta  
Infelix *lolium* et steriles dominantur avenæ,'  
J. K.

ZOAN (זון; Sept. *Távis*), an ancient city of Lower Egypt, situated on the eastern side of the Tanitic branch of the Nile, called in Egyptian **𓂏𓂏𓂏** or **𓂏𓂏𓂏**, *Ganē* or *Gani*—i.e. 'low region'—whence both the Hebrew name Zoan, and the Greek Tanis, are derived; as is also the Arabic San, by which name the site is still known. Zoan is of considerable Scriptural interest. It was one of the oldest cities in Egypt, having been built seven years after Hebron, which already existed in the time of Abraham (*Num.* xiii. 22; comp. *Gen.* xxii. 2). It seems also to have been one of the principal capitals, or royal abodes, of the Pharaohs (*Is.* xix. 11, 13; xxx. 4): and accordingly 'the field of Zoan,' or the fine alluvial plain around the city, is described as the scene of the marvellous works which God wrought in the time of Moses (*Ps.* lxxviii. 12, 33). The destruction predicted in *Ezek.* xxx. 14 has long since befallen Zoan. The 'field' is now a barren waste; a canal passes through it without being able to fertilise the soil; 'fire has been set in Zoan,' and the royal city is now the habitation of fishermen, the resort of wild beasts, and infested by reptiles and malignant fevers. The locality is covered with mounds of unusual height and extent, full of the fragments of pottery which such sites usually exhibit. These extend for about a mile from north to south, by about three-quarters of a mile. The area in which the sacred enclosure of the temple stood, is about 1500 feet by 1250, surrounded by the mounds of fallen houses, as at Bubastis [PI-BESETH], whose increased elevation above the site of the temple is doubtless attributable to the same cause—the frequent change in the level of the houses to protect them from the inundation, and the unaltered position of the sacred buildings. There is a gateway of granite and fine gritstone to the enclosure of this temple, bearing the name of Rameses the Great. Though in a very ruinous condition, the fragments of walls, columns, and fallen obelisks, sufficiently attest the former splendour of the building to which they belonged. The obelisks are all of the time of Rameses the Great (B. C. 1355), and their number, evidently ten, if not twelve, is unparalleled in any Egyptian temple. The name of this king most frequently occurs; but the ovals of his successor

Pthamen, of Osirtasen III., and of Tirhakah, have also been found. The time of Osirtasen III. ascends nearly to that of Joseph, and his name, therefore, corroborates the Scriptural account of the antiquity of the town. Two black statues, and a granite sphinx, with blocks of hewn and occasionally sculptured granite, are among the objects which engage the attention of the few travellers who visit this desolate place. The modern village of San consists of mere huts, with the exception of a ruined kasr of modern date (Wilkinson's *Modern Egypt*, i. 449-452; *Narrative of the Scottish Deputation*, pp. 72-76).—J. K.

ZOAR (זוער, also זער, 'smallness'; *Zōryopa*; *Σηγώρ*; *Segor*), one of the cities of the Pentapolis, and apparently, from the way in which it is mentioned, the most distant from the western highlands of Palestine (*Gen.* xiii. 10). Its original name was Bela (*xiv.* 2, 8), and the change is thus explained in the narrative of Lot's escape from Sodom. When urged by the angel to flee to the mountain, he pointed to Bela, and said: 'This city is near to flee unto, and it is a *little one* (זעער) : Oh, let me escape thither (is it not a *little one*?) and my soul shall live.' The angel consented; and the incident proved a new baptism to the place—'Therefore the name of the city was called *Zoar*,' that is, 'little' (*v.* 22). This incident further tends to fix its site, at least relatively to Sodom. It must have been nearer than the mountains, and yet outside the boundary of the plain or vale of Siddim, which was destroyed during the conflagration. It would seem from *ver.* 30 that it lay at the foot of the mountain into which Lot subsequently went up, and where he dwelt. That mountain was most probably the western declivity of Moab, overlooking the Dead Sea. In *Deut.* xxiv. 3 there is another slight indication of the position of Zoar. From the top of Pisgah Moses obtained his view of the Promised Land. The east, the north, and the west he viewed, and lastly 'the south, and the plain of the valley of Jericho, unto Zoar.' This is not quite definite; but considering the scope of the passage it may be safely concluded that the whole basin of the Dead Sea is meant, and that Zoar was at its southern end. Isaiah reckons Zoar among the cities of Moab, but does not describe its position. It would seem, however, from the way in which it is mentioned, that it must have been on the utmost border (*Is.* xv. 5). Jeremiah is the only other sacred writer who mentions it, and his words are less definite than those of Isaiah (*Jer.* xlviii. 34).

The site of Zoar must be determined in a great measure by that of Sodom. It has been shown that Sodom lay in that low valley which now forms the southern section of the Dead Sea [SODOM; DEAD SEA]; and as Zoar was in Moab, it follows that it must have stood near the base of the mountain-range at the south-eastern angle of the sea.

The notices of Zoar in later writers sustain this view. Josephus places it in Arabia—that is, east of the Dead Sea (*Bell. Jud.* iv. 8. 4). Jerome mentions it incidentally in various ways, all of which tend to indicate a site near the Dead Sea in the southern border of Moab (*Onomast.* s.v. 'Luith,' 'Nemrim,' 'Fenon'). Regarding itself directly he says: 'Ipsa est quæ hodie Syro nomine vocatur *Zoora*, Hebræo *Segor*, utroque *parvula* . . . vectes quoque pro terminis, et robore intellige, eo



*quod Segor in finibus Moabitorum sita sit, dividens ab eis terram Philistinim* (Comment. in Isai. xv. 5). Eusebius also describes the Salt Sea as lying between Jericho and Zoar (*Onomast.* s. v. 'Mare Salinarum'). Ptolemy assigns Zoar to Arabia Petraea (*Geogr.* v. 17). It was still a large town with a Roman garrison in the early centuries of the Christian era; and it became the seat of a bishop in the province of *Palästina Tertia* (Reland, *Pal.* pp. 272, 451, 463). The Crusaders mention the name, and passed through it on an expedition round the south end of the Dead Sea (*Gesta Dei*, p. 781); and the Arab historian Abulfeda says that Zoar, or Zoghar, lay near the Dead Sea and the Ghor (*Tab. Syr.* ed. Köh. p. 8).

It may be safely concluded from the foregoing data that the ancient city of Zoar lay at or near the south-east shore of the Dead Sea. At the mouth of Wady Kerak, where it opens on the little fertile plain at the neck of the peninsula of Lisân, are some ancient ruins, first described by Irby and Mangles (*Travels*, p. 448), and afterwards by De Saulcy (*Journey*, i. 307). There is a streamlet near it called *Der'a*, or *Zer'a*, which seems to be a vestige of the ancient name (Irby and Mangles, p. 447). Here we may, with considerable confidence, locate the ancient Zoar.

For the different views held regarding the site of Zoar, the student may consult Robinson, *B. R.* ii. 517; Reland, *Pal.* p. 1064; De Saulcy, *Travels*, i. 481; Tristram, *Land of Israel*, 360; Smith's *Dict. of Bib.* s. v.—J. L. P.

ZOBABH (צֹבָחַ and צֹבָה; *Σουβά*; *Soba*), one of the ancient kingdoms of Syria, first mentioned as having been conquered by Saul after his elevation to the throne of Israel (1 Sam. xiv. 47). King David also turned his victorious arms against 'Hadadezer, the son of Rehob, king of Zobah, as he went to recover his border at the river Euphrates' (2 Sam. viii. 3, 5, 12). From the sacred narrative we learn that it was one of the great provinces or kingdoms of Aram; that its people were rich and warlike; and that it embraced that section of northern Syria which lies between Hamath and the Euphrates (cf. 1 Chron. xviii. 3-9; xix. 6). It was so closely connected with Hamath, that that great city was sometimes distinguished as Hamath-Zobah (2 Chron. viii. 3). The people of Zobah were among the most troublesome and determined enemies of Israel during the reigns of David and Solomon. They seem to have lost no opportunity of joining confederacies to restrain the rising power of the Jewish nation. Solomon was especially harassed by the intrigues of Rezon, a refugee from Zobah, who collected a band of followers, seized the city of Damascus, and became for a time its real or virtual monarch. It is emphatically said of him, 'He was an adversary to Israel all the days of Solomon . . . and he abhorred Israel and reigned over Syria' (1 Kings xi. 23-25).

The Syriac interpreters take Zobah to be *Nisibis*, in Mesopotamia, and they have been followed by Michaelis' (Gesenius, s. v.). Others would identify it with the classic Chalcis. These, however, are mere conjectures. There are no data to fix definitely the site of the city. The kingdom manifestly lay north of Damascus, and east of Hamath. It was a wide arid plain intersected by several ranges of bleak white mountains; but having also a few fertile valleys. The inhabitants were pro-

bably semi-nomads, and chiefly shepherds. Like the modern Bedawîn of that region they were rich in horses (Ritter, *Pal. und Syr.* iv. 1700; *Handbook*, 614).—J. L. P.

ZOHAR (צָהָר, *whiteness*; *Zadp*). 1. A son of Simeon [ZERAH].

2. The father of Ephron the Hittite (Gen. xxiii. 8; xxv. 9).

3. (In Keri; in Chetib צֶהָר, *Jezoar*), a descendant of Judah (1 Chron. iv. 7).

#### ZOOLOGY, BIBLICAL. [BEASTS.]

ZOPHAR (צֹפֶר, *sparrow?* Sept. *Σωφάρι*), one of Job's three friends and opponents in argument (Job ii. 11; xi. 1; xx. 1; xlii. 9). He is called a Naamathite, or inhabitant of Naamah, a place whose situation is unknown, as it could not be the Naamah mentioned in Josh. xv. 41. Wemyss, in his *Job and his Times* (p. 111), well characterises this interlocutor:—'Zophar exceeds the other two, if possible, in severity of censure; he is the most inveterate of the accusers, and speaks without feeling or pity. He does little more than repeat and exaggerate the arguments of Bildad. He unfeelingly alludes (chap. xi. 15) to the effects of Job's disease as appearing in his countenance. This is cruel and invidious. Yet in the same discourse how nobly does he treat of the divine attributes, showing that any inquiry into them is far beyond the grasp of the human mind! And though the hortatory part of the first discourse bears some resemblance to that of Eliphaz, yet it is diversified by the fine imagery which he employs. He seems to have had a full conviction of the providence of God, as regulating and controlling the actions of men; but he limits all his reasonings to a present life, and makes no reference to a future world. This circumstance alone accounts for the weakness and fallacy of these men's judgments. In his second discourse there is much poetical beauty in the selection of images, and the general doctrine is founded in truth; its fallacy lies in its application to Job's peculiar case. The whole indicates great warmth of temper, and inflamed by misapprehension of its object, and by mistaken zeal.'

It is to be observed that Zophar has but two speeches, whereas the others have three each. When Job had replied (ch. xxvi.-xxxi.) to the short address of Bildad (ch. xxv.), a rejoinder might have been expected from Zophar; but he said nothing, the three friends, by common consent, then giving up the contest in despair (ch. xxxii. 1) [JOB].—J. K.

ZOPHIM, THE FIELD OF (צִפְרִים; *eis ἀγροῦ σκοπιδών*; *in locum sublimem*). When Balak desired Balaam to curse Israel, he took him to the most favourable spot for seeing the whole camp, then spread out on the plain on the east side of the Jordan, opposite Jericho: so 'he brought him unto the field of Zophim, to the top of Pisgah' (Num. xxiii. 14). Zophim was probably a district surrounding Pisgah; and the word 'field,' which must signify 'a cultivated field,' indicates doubtless the fertile nature of the territory. Mount Nebo, or Pisgah, is now undoubtedly identified [NEBO]. De Saulcy appears to have even heard the ancient name given to it by the Bedawîn (*Voyage en Terre*

*Sainte*, i. 289). Along its eastern side, and reaching from the ruins of Maan to Heshbon, is a plateau of arable land, still cultivated in part by the Arabs. There can be little doubt that this is 'the cultivated field of Zophim' (*Handbook*, p. 300).—J. L. P.

ZORAH (צֶרְעָה, *hornets' town*; Sept. Σαρά, a town reckoned as in the plain of Judah (Josh. xv. 33), but inhabited by Danites (xix. 41), not far from Eshtaul, and chiefly celebrated as the birth-place of Samson (Judg. xiii. 2, 25; xviii. 2, 8, 11; comp. 2 Chron. xi. 12; Neh. xi. 29). The site may still be recognised under the name of Surah, situated upon a spur of the mountains running into the plain north of Beth-shemesh (Robinson, ii. 339; iii. 18).—J. K.

ZUPH (צִיפָה; Σελφ; Alex. Σελφ; *Suph*), a district visited by Saul when in search of his father's asses (1 Sam. ix. 5). The way in which it is mentioned would seem to imply that it lay to the south of Benjamin. Saul first traversed Mount Ephraim on the north; then, after visiting Shalisha and Shalim, he passed through 'the land of the Benjamites,' and finally reached 'the land of Zuph,' where he turned back. His course was from north to south. It appears also that Ramah of Samuel

was in that region, and on going back home from it, after his interview with the prophet, his way led by Rachel's sepulchre (x. 2). The word *Zophim* (צופים) attached to Ramah is evidently a plural form of *Zuph*, and shows the connection between the land and the city. [RAMATHAIM-ZOPHIM.] 'The land of Zuph' was thus unquestionably to the south of the territory of Benjamin; but its exact locality has not yet been ascertained.—J. L. P.

ZURIEL (צִירְיָאֵל, *God is my rock*; Sept. Ζωρύριαν), son of Abihail, and family chief or genesarch of the Merarites at the organisation of the Levitical establishment (Num. iii. 35). It does not appear to which of the two great divisions of the Merarites he belonged.—J. K.

ZUZIMS (זִזִּים; Ἰζυμῖς *laxupa*; *Zuzim*), the name given in Gen. xiv. 5 to an ancient race of people who appear to have been the aboriginal inhabitants of the country afterwards possessed by the Ammonites. The eastern invaders first attacked the Rephaim in Bashan, apparently in Jebel Haurân, then marching southward they smote 'the Zuzims in Ham.' The Zuzims were evidently the same who in Deut. ii. 20 are said to have been giants, and to whom the Ammonites gave the name Zumzummims. They appear to have been allied by blood to the Rephaim, and other gigantic races who originally possessed Palestine; and probably a remnant of them, or at least a respect for their memory, may have lingered in Rabbath-Ammon down to the period of the Exodus; and the singular fact of the preservation of Og's 'bedstead' in that city may thus be accounted for. The name Zuzim has been variously interpreted (Gesenius, *Thes.* s. v.); but none of the interpretations are satisfactory, and they throw no light either on the people or their country.—J. L. P.

\* A statement in Smith's *Dict. of Bib.* s. v. 'Zophim,' requires a word of explanation. The writer of that article, Mr. Grove, says that Mr. Porter identifies *Attâris* with Pisgah. This may seem strange to the readers of the articles NEBO and PISGAH in this *Cyclopædia*. But on turning to the *Handbook for Syr. and Pal.* pp. 299, 300, it will be seen that Mr. Porter never expressed any such opinion. Mr. Grove has strangely mistaken his meaning.



# APPENDIX.

## ARTICLES OMITTED.

### ADAM

ADAM, THOMAS, a Puritan divine of the 17th century. He was (probably as vicar) at Wingrave, in Buckinghamshire, from 1614; in 1618 he held the preachship of St. Gregory's, under St. Paul's Cathedral, and was chaplain to Sir H. Montague, Lord Chief-Justice of England; in 1630 he was vicar of St. Bennet's, Paul's Wharf, London; and in 1653 he was 'passing a necessitous and decrepit old age' in London, having been sequestered from his living. He died some time before the Restoration. He was the author of several works, of which his *Commentary on the Second Epistle of St. Peter* is the one entitling him to mention here. This work, first published in 1633, has been twice republished in our own day, edited by the Rev. J. Sherman, Lond. 1839; Edin. 1862. It is one of the richest specimens of Puritan exposition extant, copious to a fault, but full of the happiest thoughts, redolent of learning, and breathing throughout the spirit of a lofty piety.—W. L. A.

BA'SHA (בִּשָּׁא). This term occurs Job xxxi. 40, where it is rendered by *cockle* in the A. V. It was a noxious weed of some kind, but of what kind is very uncertain. Some have thought it may be the *ζιζάνιον* of the N. T., but that was probably a product resembling wheat [ZIZANION], whereas the Ba'sha, from its name, from שָׂשָׁב, *to stink*, was more probably a weed of a herbaceous kind emitting a disagreeable odour.—W. L. A.

BLEEK, FRIEDRICH, was born at Ahrensbock in Holstein, 4th July 1793. He received his education at Lübeck, Kiel, and Berlin. In 1817 he commenced his career as a theological teacher in the university of Berlin, and in 1823 became one of the professors. In 1829 he removed to Bonn, where the rest of his life was spent, and where he died 27th Feb. 1859. Bleek was distinguished for his exact and copious scholarship, his power of lucid exposition, and the calm impartiality of his judgments. These qualities give value to his writings, the chief of which are *Der Brief an die Hebräer erläutert*, 3 parts, Berl. 1828-40; *Einleit. in d. A. T.* Berl. 1860; *Einleit. in d. N. T.* 1862; *Synoptische Erklärung der drei ersten Evangelien*, Leipz. 1862; *Vorlesungen üb. d. Apocalypse*, Berl. 1862; *Vorles. über die Briefe an d. Epheser, Colosser, und Philemon*, Berl. 1866; all except the first posthumous publications. Bleek wrote besides

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numerous articles for journals, and several academic programmes.—W. L. A.

DESHÈ (דֶּשֶׁה), young tender grass, as distinguished from *chatzir*, ripe grass ready for mowing (Prov. xxvii. 25). It is described as springing up after rain (Deut. xxxii. 2; 2 Sam. xxiii. 4); and is mentioned as provender relished by cattle (Job vi. 5). It is also used as a figure of transitoriness (Ps. xxxvii. 2).—W. L. A.

EKDACH (אֶקְדַּח), a kind of precious stone of which the gates of the New Jerusalem are poetically represented as being composed (Is. liv. 12). The A. V. translates it 'carbuncles;' but all that can be said is, that it was probably a stone of a red colour and fiery lustre, the name being derived from a root, קָדַח, to kindle; Ar. *قَدَح*, *gadach*, to strike fire.—W. L. A.

GAIUS (Γάιος), the Grecised form of the Latin Caius, the name of several persons mentioned in the N. T.

1. A Macedonian who had accompanied St. Paul to Ephesus, and who was seized by the mob when the uproar was made by Demetrius (Acts xix. 29). Nothing more is known of him.

2. A native of Derbe who, along with Timothy and others, accompanied St. Paul from Asia on the occasion of his second visit to Europe (Acts xx. 4). This Gaius is often confounded with the former; but the one is expressly called a Macedonian, the other was from Derbe (see Meyer's or Alford's note on Acts xx. 4).

3. A Christian famed for his hospitality, resident in Corinth (Rom. xvi. 23; 1 Cor. i. 15).

4. A Christian to whom St. John's third epistle is addressed, also noted for his hospitality to the Christians. Whether he was identical with any of the above is uncertain. Lücke thinks he was the same as No. 2, but for this he assigns no reason. Wolf identifies him with No. 3. According to the *Apostolic Constitutions* (vii. 46), he was made bishop of Pergamos by St. John.—W. L. A.

JUDICATURE. In the patriarchal times the office of judge was naturally vested in the head of the house; and in his hands was the power even of capital punishment (Gen. xxxviii. 24-26). When the people of Israel became an organised nation

the judicial power rested with the chief of the state, and was by him delegated to inferior officers. Thus Moses at first had this duty exclusively on his own shoulders, but by the advice of his father-in-law, both for his own relief and for the expediting of justice, he afterwards selected certain upright, wise, and skilful men, whom he appointed to act as judges under him. The number of these was seventy-two, and they were set over the larger and the smaller divisions of the people, so as probably to form a gradation of courts in which an appeal lay from the lower to the higher. Moses reserved in his own hands the adjudication of the weightier cases (Exod. xviii. 13-26; Deut. i. 9-18).

When Israel was settled in Canaan an arrangement took effect for which provision had been made in the law. In all places large enough to have walls and gates judges were appointed, who were to judge the people with just judgment and decide impartially between man and man. The persons selected were doubtless from among the elders of the place (Deut. xix. 12; xxi. 19; xxii. 18; Job xxix. 7-17), and with them were associated, probably for advice, some members of the Levitical order. Above these local judges stood a supreme judge, to whom difficult cases or disputed decisions were to be referred. Failing him, or at the option of the parties, the matter might be decided by the high-priest, with probably other priests as his assessors, forming a college of justice (Deut. xvii. 8-13). Of these supreme judges a series of thirteen ruled Israel between the time of Joshua and that of Saul. [JUDGES.] Under the monarchy the king was supreme judge (1 Sam. viii. 5; 2 Sam. xv. 2-4; 1 Kings iii. 16, etc.); but it would appear that he too had the aid of a company of assessors (Ps. cxxii. 5). In the reign of Jehoshaphat a more systematic and complete organisation of the judicial order seems to have been instituted; judges were placed in all the walled towns of Judah, and a central court of appeal, and for the adjudication of the weightier matters, was established at Jerusalem, composed of persons selected from among the priests, the Levites, and the chiefs of the families of Israel (2 Chron. xix. 5-11). This scheme, which had been disturbed by the captivity, was restored by Ezra (Ezra vii. 25). An appeal probably lay from the central court to the high-priest, but this is not quite certain. At a later date arose the court of the Sanhedrim, mentioned for the first time under Hyrcanus II. (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 9. 3), which became the supreme tribunal of the Jews. Two lesser councils (*synedria*) are said by the Talmudical writers to have existed at Jerusalem, and in every town of 120 inhabitants one similar to these was found (Otho, *Lex. Rabbin. Philolog.* p. 723). It is probably to these lesser courts that our Lord alludes when he speaks of the *judgment* as distinguished from and subordinate to the *council* (Matt. v. 22). They were also intended in Matt. x. 17; Mark xiii. 9. [SANHEDRIM.]

The place where justice was administered was in the earlier times the gate of the town, by which publicity was secured (comp. Gen. xxiii. 10; Ruth iv. 1; 2 Kings vii. 3, etc.); hence the specification of 'gates' in Deut. xvi. 18. It would appear that it was usual to hear cases in the morning (Jer. xxi. 12); according to the Talmud, capital causes could not be heard during the night, they must be begun and ended within the day, nor could sentence be executed on the same day on which it was pro-

nounced (*Mishna, Tr. Sanhedrim*, iv. 1). The Talmud also says that a capital trial could not be conducted on the eve of the Sabbath or of a feast-day, because in case of its ending with the condemnation of the accused the sentence could not be executed next day without violating the Sabbath, nor could it be deferred, מפני עניני הדין, *propter afflictionem* (i.e. suspensionem) *judicii* (*Gemara* quoted by Cocceius, *Duo Tituli Thalmud. Sanhedrim et Maccoth*, etc., p. 36). In the early times judicial procedure was usually summary; each person pleaded his own cause (comp. Deut. i. 16; xxv. 1; 1 Kings iii. 16-28); the judge decided after hearing witnesses examined on oath [WITNESS; OATH]; and the sentence was usually carried into execution forthwith (Deut. xxv. 2; Josh. vii. 19-25), save when by appeal the case might be carried to a superior court.

The judge was bound by the most solemn sanctions to do equal justice between man and man, and to administer the law without respect of persons (Deut. i. 16, 17; xvi. 19; xxvii. 19, etc.). He was forbidden to receive gifts, to show favour to the rich, or pervert justice through pity for the poor, and to allow the opinion or will of the multitude to sway his decision (Deut. xvi. 19; Lev. xix. 15; Exod. xxiii. 2). As acting for God and under his authority, judges were to have regard only to what was right and just before Him (Deut. i. 17; xix. 17; 2 Chron. xix. 6). [See ADULTERY, TRIAL OF; ADVOCATE; DEPOSIT; LOAN; MOSES, LAWS OF; PROPERTY; PUNISHMENT, etc.]-W. L. A.

NAPIER, JOHN, Baron of Merchiston and the celebrated inventor of logarithms, 1550-1617. The exposition of the Revelation by this author is entitled, *A plain discovery of the whole of the Revelation of St. John, set down in two treatises; the one searching and proving the interpretation thereof; the other applying the same paraphrastically and historicallie to the text*, 1593. The work secured fame for Napier before his discovery of logarithms, which was announced in 1614. Before 1627, his exposition had been translated into French, and Dutch, and German, and more than one edition of it had been published in these foreign languages. It was entitled to this honour for its undoubted learning and research, though some of its calculations were so far from the mark as to fix the latter day between 1688 and 1700!-W. H. G.

PAR (פַּר), a term used principally of young bullocks, though sometimes also of the full-grown animal (Judg. vi. 25; Ps. lxxix. 32). It often appears with the adjunct בֶּקָרָה (Exod. xxix. 1; Lev. iv. 3, 14; Num. vii. 15, 17). It is almost always used of animals destined for sacrifice. From this may be explained Hos. xiv. 3: 'So will we pay bullocks our lips'-i.e. we will present our lips (= our thanksgivings) as sacrifices (see Pusey, *Minor Prophets*, in loc.). The LXX., however, seem to have used פַּר here, for they render by κατὰ, which undoubtedly gives a better meaning. As the bull was the emblem of strength *Par* is used metaphorically for a strong assailant (Ps. xxii. 12). In Jer. l. 27 *Parim* is supposed by some to denote *chiefs, princes*; by others it is taken to mean *the young men, the forces*= 'the chosen young men' of xlvi. 15. The form פַּרְהָ, a *heifer*, is used of a cow giving milk (Job xxi. 10; xviii. 6, 7),



and employed for purposes of draught (Hos. iv. 16). The 'heifers [A. V. kine] of Bashan' is an expression used of the women of Samaria to indicate their unrestrained habits and consequent lawlessness.—W. L. A.

PAR'OSH (פרעש, A. V. Flea, *Pulex irritans*, Class *aptera*, Linn.; *siphonaptera*, Latr.; *aphanaptera*, Kirby) occurs only 1 Sam. xxiv. 14; xxvi. 20, where David thus addresses his persecutor Saul at the cave of Adullam: 'After whom is the king of Israel come out? after whom dost thou pursue?—after a flea!'; 'The king of Israel is come out to seek a flea!' In both these passages our translation omits the force of the word פֶּרֶשׁ, which is found in the Hebrew of each: thus, 'to pursue after, to seek one or a single flea.' In the former passage the Septuagint preserves it—ψύλλον ἐνός; in the latter it omits all mention of the flea, and reads καθὼς καταδιώκει ὁ νυκτικῶραξ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι, 'as the owl hunteth on the mountains.' But another Greek version in the *Hexapla* reads ψύλλον ἔνα. The Vulgate preserves the word in both passages, *pulicem unum*. David's allusion to the flea displays great address. It is an appeal founded upon the immense disparity between Saul as the king of Israel, and himself as the poor contemptible object of the monarch's laborious pursuit. Hunting a flea is a comparison, in other ancient writings, for much labour expended to secure a worthless result.

The agility of the flea places it at the head of all the leaping insects, when its strength is considered in relation to its size, it being able to leap, unaided by wings, 200 times its own length. It was certainly with misplaced wit that Aristophanes (*Nub.* 145) endeavoured to ridicule Socrates for having measured ψύλλαν ὅπως ἄλλοιτο τοὺς αὐτῆς πόδας, 'how many of its own lengths, at one spring, a flea can hop.' Such is the happy change in the state of science that philosophers have since done this with impunity: they have also traced the interesting career of this insect from the round smooth egg deposited on the creatures that can afford food to the larva, falling down through the hair to the skin; the shining pearl-coloured active larva, feeding on the scurfy surface of the cuticle, rolling itself into a ball when disturbed; the cocoon or silken bag which it spins around itself; and its re-appearance as a perfect insect. It is more than likely that the flea, besides participating in the happiness of all animated nature, and supplying a link in the universal chain of being, as well as serving the incidental use of chastising uncleanness, may also, along with many other tribes of insects, serve the purpose of the scavenger, in clearing away some source of disease (see Cuvier's *Animal Kingdom*, Lond. 1834, art. 'Pulex'). Linnæus has assigned a personal service to mankind to some other insects, with which popular associations are even less pleasing, but which unerringly appear where the habits of mankind render their presence needful. Owing to the habits of the lower orders, fleas abound so profusely in Syria, especially during the spring, in the streets and dusty bazaars, that persons of condition always change their long dresses upon returning home. There is a popular saying in Palestine that 'the king of the fleas keeps his court at Tiberias'; though many other places in that region might dispute the distinction with that town (Kitto's *Physical History of Palestine*, p. 421).—J. F. D.

VOL. III.

PATHROS (פתרוס), a proper name always grouped by the sacred writers with Egypt. In the Sept. and Vulg. versions the word is not always rendered in the same way. In Is. xi. 11 the LXX. read Βαβυλωνίας, and the Vulg. *Phetros*. In Jer. xlv. 1 and 15, Παθούρης; *Phatures*. In Ezek. xxix. 14 and xxx. 14, Φαθούρης; Alex. παθούρης; *Phatures*. The plural of Pathros is *Pathrusim*, which occurs in Gen. x. 14 and 1 Chron. i. 12 as the name of a Mizraite tribe (פתרוסים; Πατροσωνιεμ; *Phetrusim*). The origin of the name is here indicated. The Mizraim were the descendants of Masor (מצור), dual (מצורים), a son of Ham (Gen. x. 6); and the Pathrusim were descendants of Pathros son of Masor (13, 14). The name Pathros was given to the country colonised by the tribe, and may perhaps have been, like some other names of patriarchs, descriptive of the country where they settled. Gesenius derives the word from the Egyptian Π-ΕΤ-ΡHC, *quod meridie est*; it is allied to the modern Coptic ⲡⲉⲣⲏⲥ, and the Arabic ميسريس, the name given in Egypt to the south wind (Freitag, *Lex. Arab.*). The Egyptians also use the form ΠΑΤΟΥΡHC, or ΠΑΘΟΥΡHC, in the same sense; and hence one of the provinces of Thebais was called *Phaturites* (Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, p. 1141). This is identical with the word παθούρης by which the translators of the Sept. render Pathros; and it thus affords a clue to the position of that country. Gesenius' etymology of the word has recently been questioned by Mr. Poole (Smith's *Dict. of Bible*, s. v.), but his arguments do not appear convincing.

Various theories have been advanced regarding the country here called Pathros. Some would identify it with Parthia (Calvin); some with Arabia Petrea (Forerius, *Comm. in Jesai.*); some with Pharuris in Ethiopia (Grotius). It is necessary, therefore, critically to examine those passages in Scripture in which the name occurs. Mizraim the son of Ham colonised Egypt and gave it a name which it retains to the present day in the Arabic form *Misr* [EGYPT; MIZRAIM]. Isaiah appears to distinguish Pathros from Mizraim (*l. c.*); but Jeremiah evidently includes it in the latter:—'All the people that dwelt in the land of Mizraim, in Pathros,' etc. (xlv. 15); while from the words of Ezekiel it might be inferred that Pathros was only another name for Mizraim: 'I will bring again the captivity of Egypt (Mizraim), and I will cause them to return into the land of Pathros, into the land of their birth' xxix. 14). Jerome translates this passage as follows: 'Et reducam captivitatem Ægypti, et collocabo eos in terra Phatures, in terra natiuitatis sue;' and comments upon it thus: 'Reducetur in antiquum solum universa captivitas, et collocabitur in urbe metropoli, quæ appellatur Phatures, ubi orta est et unde profecta est.' Jerome thus appears to have thought that Pathros was the earliest seat of the Egyptian nation. Herodotus also says that in ancient times 'Thebais bore the name of Egypt' (ii. 15); and existing monuments show that Upper Egypt, or Thebais, was inhabited at an earlier period than Lower Egypt. Now from all this it may be inferred that Mizraim was the general or collective name of a



great Hamitic nation, and was given to the whole country colonised by them; and that Pathros was a section or province of that country occupied by the subtribe of Pathrusim.

It is not directly stated however in what part of Mizraim Pathros was situated, and ancient writers differ widely upon this point. The Jerusalem Targum renders Pathrusim by *Pelusai*—that is, Lower Egypt. Hiller derives the word from פֶּלֶאֶת רֶם, *angulus vorationis*, and says the Delta is meant (Michaelis, *Spicileg. Geogr. Hebr.* p. 272). The Targum of pseudo-Jonathan reads נְסִינְתָּי, which, according to Bochart, also signifies the Delta (*Opera*, i. 274). But none of these theories agree with the Scripture notices, nor with the meaning of the name. The most probable opinion is that of Bochart, who affirms that Pathros is identical with the province of Thebais, which is sometimes spoken of as being in Egypt, and sometimes as distinct from it (Pliny, xviii. 18; Cassian. i. 3); just as in one part of Scripture Pathros appears to be located in Egypt, while in another it is distinguished from it (*l. c.*) Bochart suggests that as the name Mizraim is a dual form it was intended to indicate a twofold country—namely Lower Egypt, which is Mizraim proper; and Upper Egypt, or Thebais. This seems highly probable; for though Mizraim is sometimes used to denote one of the divisions only (as in Is. *l. c.*); yet it is more frequently given to the whole country. Ptolemy mentions an inland town, near Thebes, called *Pathyris* (sometimes written *Tathyris*), which seems to be the same as Pathros (iv. 5, 69); and Pliny says: 'The upper part of Egypt, which borders on Æthiopia, is called Thebais. The region is divided into prefectures of towns, usually termed nomes;' and among these he mentions *Phaturitis*, which corresponds to πα-θοῦρης, the LXX. rendering of Pathros (*Hist. Nat.* v. 9). The incidental notices of the sacred writers tend to confirm this view. In general, when giving lists of places, they group them in geographical order; and so Isaiah has 'Mizraim, Pathros, Cush' (Ethiopia)—advancing from north to south. Jeremiah observes a similar order (xlv. 1).

It may be safely concluded, therefore, that Pathros was that country which by classic geographers is usually called Thebais. Though sometimes included under the more general name Masor, because it was colonised by a tribe of the Mizraim, yet its magnitude and independence caused it to be generally spoken of as a distinct country; and hence the apparent discrepancy in the notices of the sacred writers. It would seem also, from traditional records and existing monuments, that Thebais was the first part of Egypt colonised, and that it was the birth-place of power, and civilisation, and art, in that country; and hence the prophet Ezekiel refers to Pathros as the origin of the Egyptian nation. Thebais was a strip of fertile valley forming the basin of the Nile; shut in on the east and west by deserts, and extending from the Delta on the north to Philæ on the south. The prophet Isaiah, therefore, appropriately places Pathros between Mizraim and Cush, or Lower Egypt and Ethiopia' (Kalisch on *Gen.* x.) See for fuller information Michaelis, *Spicileg.* i. 271-74; Jablonski, *Opuscula*, i. 198, ii. 122; Roediger, *Encyc. Germ.* xiii. 312; and art. EGYPT.—J. L. P.

PERSIAN VERSIONS. The Bible seems to have been translated at an early period into the

Persian language. Both Chrysostom (*Second Hom. on John*) and Theodoret (*De curand. Græc. Affect.*) speak of a Persian translation; and, according to Maimonides, the Pentateuch was translated many centuries before Mohammed into this language (Zunz's *Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge*, p. 9, note a). A Persian version of the Pentateuch was first printed at Constantinople, in Hebrew characters, A. D. 1546, as part of a Polyglott Pentateuch, and afterwards inserted by Walton in the London Polyglott, in the proper Persian character. It was made after the time of the false prophet, and must have been later than the 8th century. The text follows the Hebrew very closely, according to the Masoretic recension, retaining many of the original terms, from the translator's inability to render them into Persian. Both Onkelos's and Saadia's versions appear to have been consulted by the author.

If credit is to be given to the inscriptions, it was made by Jacob, the son of Joseph Tawus, for the use of the Persian Jews. Critics are not agreed about the meaning of Tus or Tawus. Rosenmüller (*De Vers. Pentat. Pers.* Lips. 1813, 4to) assigns it to the 9th century; Lorsbach (*Jena Allgem. Lit. Zeit.* 1816, No. 58), with less probability, brings it down to the 16th. Walton, in his *Prolegomena* (ed. Dathe, p. 694), speaks of two MS. copies of Psalms which he had; but both were very recent, and taken from the Vulgate, not the Hebrew. Hassler discovered an immediate version of Solomon's writings existing in Parisian MSS. (*Studien und Kritiken* for 1829, p. 469, et seq.)

There are two Persian versions of the Gospels, one of which is printed in the London Polyglott, from a MS. belonging to Pococke, written in the year of our Lord 1341. Its source is the *Peshito*, as internal evidence abundantly shows. The other version was made from the original Greek. Wheloc, professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge, began to print it with a Latin translation. After his death it was edited by Pierson, London, 1652-57. The editors made use of the Syro-Persian MS. of the Gospels from which that in the Polyglott was printed. In consequence of the confusion arising from their procedure, the version is of little use either in the criticism or interpretation of the text.—S. D.

PESARO, AARON DE, was born about the middle of the 16th century at Pesaro in Italy, whence he derived his name. He immortalised his name by the compilation of an elaborate work entitled תְּלִדֹת אַהֲרֹן, *the Generations of Aaron*, after Num. iii. 11, which is an index of all the passages of the Hebrew Bible cited and explained in the Babylonian Talmud, giving the treatises, chapters, pages, and columns wherein these quotations are to be found. This stupendous work, which is indispensable to those who are desirous to see what principles of interpretation obtained in the days of Christ, and how the Hebrew Scriptures were explained in the ancient Jewish church, was first published in Freiburg 1583-84. The part which treats on the Pentateuch and the five Megilloth has frequently been printed with the Hebrew Pentateuch and the Rabbinic commentaries, and is given in the excellent edition of the Pentateuch with Chaldee paraphrases, the commentaries of Rashi, Nachmanides, Ibn Ezra, Rashbam, Seforno, Baal Ha-Turim, etc. etc., 5 vols. Vienna 1859. Comp. Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in*



*Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, col. 725; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, iii. 79.—C. D. G.

STONES, PRECIOUS (אֲבֹן יָקָר, called also אֲבֹן חַיִּים, stone of grace or beauty, and אֲבֹן נֶחֱמֶה, stone of delight or elegance, sometimes simply אֲבֹן = stone, κατ' ἐξοχήν; LXX. λίθος χρηστός, λ. ἐκλεκτός). The precious stones mentioned in the Bible bear the names—Odem, Pitdah, Bareqeth, Nophech, Saphir, Yahalom, Leshem, Shebo, Achlamah, Tarshish, Shoham, Yashpeh, Kadkod, Shamir, Ekdach, Chrysoprasus, Chalcedony, Sardonyx. [See the articles on these in their proper places in this work.]

These gems must have been imported by the Hebrews from other countries, for Palestine is not known to contain any precious stones. They were brought from Arabia, Ethiopia, and India (1 Kings x. 2, 10; Ezek. xxvii. 22), probably by Phœnician traders. The cutting, setting, and engraving of gems was practised as an art among the Hebrews, and held in honour (Exod. xxxv. 33); that they owed their skill in this to their residence in Egypt is probable, but that it was known among them before this is evident from Gen. xxxviii. 18). By the Jews, as by all Asiatic peoples, jewels were much desired and esteemed. They formed a necessary ornament of kings, priests, and eminent persons (2 Sam. xii. 30; Ezek. xxviii. 13; Exod. xxviii. 17, ff.; xxxix. 10). They were used also for rings (Song v. 14), and for the decoration of sacred edifices (1 Chron. xxix. 2), and of furniture (Judith x. 21). The Targumist (Esther i.), to exalt the glory of Ahasuerus, says that he produced at his feast the treasures of gold, pearls, beryls, and emeralds which Cyrus had found when he captured Babylon, as many as 680 chestsful. From the esteem in which they were held, and their native qualities, precious stones came to be symbolical of beauty, grace, worth, and durability, and so they are spoken of in the Bible (Song v. 14; Is. liv. 11, 12; Lam. iv. 7; Rev. iv. 3, xxi. 10-21).

(Joseph. *Antiq.* iii. 7. 6; *De Bell. Jud.* v. 5. 7; Epiphian. *περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἁγίων τῶν ὄντων ἐν τοῖς στομάχοις τοῦ Ἀδάμ*, in *Opp.* ii. 225, ed. Petav., edited separately by Hiller in *Synagma Hermeneut.* p. 83, ff.; Braun, *De Vest. Sacerd. Hebr.* ii. 497, ff.; Bellermann, *Urim und Thummim*, p. 32, ff.; Rosenmüller, *Alterthumsk.* iv. 1. p. 28, ff. [*Edinb. Bib. Cab.* xxvii. p. 26, ff.]; Eichhorn, *De Gem. Sculpt. Hebr. in Comment. Soc. Gottingens. Rec.* ii.; Winer, *Real-W. B.* s. v. 'Edelstein.')—W. L. A.

ZAMORA, ALFONSO DE (אַלְפֹנְסוֹ דִּי צִמּוֹרָה), the celebrated coadjutor in the Complutensian Polyglott, was born of Jewish parents, circa 1460, at Zamora, whence he derived his name. His profound knowledge of Hebrew and extensive learning in other departments of literature raised him to the dignity of Rabbi of the Jewish community in his native place. This office he exercised in 1492, when, upon the ignominious expulsion of the Jews from Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella, he embraced Christianity. Both his previous position and great learning attracted the notice of Cardinal Ximenes, who appointed Zamora professor of Hebrew in his newly-founded university of Alcalá de Henares, and afterwards selected him as one of the editors of the Polyglott. To this work he contributed—(1.) A vocabulary of the

Hebrew and Chaldee roots of the O. T., entitled *Vocabularium omnium primitivorum Hebraicorum et Chaldaicorum*; to which is added an *Index vocum Latinarum*, or index of the Latin words whereby the Hebrew and Chaldee words in the foregoing vocabulary are rendered. (2.) *Interpretatio Hebraicorum, Chaldaicorum, et Græcorum Nominum V. et N. Testamenti*. (3.) *Catalogus eorum, quæ in utroque Testamento aliter scripta sunt vitio scriptorum, quam in Hebræo et Græco, in quibusdam Bibliis antiquis*. (4.) *Introductiones Grammaticæ Hebraicæ*. These works are comprised in the sixth volume of the Polyglott. He also supplied (5.) The Latin translation of the so-called Chaldee paraphrase of Onkelos given in the first volume of this Polyglott. This Latin version, which has been reprinted at Antwerp 1535, is inserted with some emendations by Arias Montanus in the Antwerp Polyglott 1572, and is adapted with some emendations by Samuel Clerk in Walton's Polyglott [ONKELOS]. Besides these contributions to the Complutensian Bible, he wrote (6.) *Artis Grammaticæ Hebraicæ Introductio*, being a concise and lucid Hebrew Grammar, dedicated to Alfonso de Fonseca, Bishop of Toledo, Alcalá 1526. (7.) *Tractatus de vera Orthographia Hebraica*, Alcalá 1526. (8.) *Vocabulorum brevis omnium primitivorum Hebraicorum*, Alcalá 1526. (9.) A Latin translation of the Chaldee paraphrase of the Prophets, which is printed with emendations by Arias Montanus in the Antwerp Polyglott 1572. (10.) A Latin translation of the Chaldee paraphrase of Job, Proverbs, Song of Songs, and Lamentations, also inserted in the same Polyglott, with emendations by Montanus; and (11.) A Latin version of the Chaldee paraphrase of Ecclesiastes, printed in Pineda's elaborate commentary on this book, Antwerp 1620 [ECCLESIASTES.] Zamora died in 1531. Comp. Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebræa*, i. 193; iii. 125; Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, 733; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, iii. 542.—C. D. G.

ZEMACH, i. b. PALTOI, also called MAR ZEMACH, was Gaon or rector of the celebrated college at Pumbedita (from A.D. 872 to 890), where the successors of the ancient Scribes or the Doctors of the Law were trained [SCRIBES]. He has the honour of being the first who compiled an Aramaic Lexicon entitled *Aruch* (עֲרֻךְ) = *Arrangement*—i. e. of words in alphabetical order. This Lexicon was unknown to R. Nathan b. Jehiel, the immortal author of the celebrated Aramaic Lexicon which is now used by almost all students of the Talmud, Midrashim, and the Chaldee paraphrases of the Bible, and which is likewise called *Aruch*. [NATHAN.] The first who mentioned and made considerable use of Zemach's Lexicon was R. Saccuto, the author of the famous chronicle entitled *Zuchassin*, or the *Book of Genealogies* (סֵפֶר יְהוֹסִיָּן) [SACCUTO], who also compiled a similar work. Zemach's Lexicon, however, has not as yet come to light. The excerpts from Zemach's Lexicon made by R. Saccuto in his chronicle were collected by Rapoport, and published in note 11 to his biography of R. Nathan in *The Hebrew Essays and Reviews*, called *Bikkure Ha-Itim*, vol. xi. p. 81, etc., Vienna 1830. Other excerpts made by Saccuto in his unpublished Aramaic Lexicon have been published by Geiger in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. xii. p. 144,



Leipzig 1858. Zemach is also supposed to be the author of the chronological account of the *Tanaim*, Teachers of the Law, or the Elders (*πρεσβύτεροι*), who began with Antigonus of Soho, B.C. 200, and terminated with Gamaliel III. b. Jehudah I, A.D. 200; as well as the *Amoraim* or later Doctors of the Law [*SCRIBES*], entitled

*the Order of the Tanaim and Amoraim* (סדר תנאים ואמוראים). This work has been edited by Luzzato in *The Hebrew Essays and Reviews*, entitled *Kerem Chemed*, vol. iv. p. 184, etc., Prague 1839. Comp. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, v. 278, etc., Magdeburg 1860; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, iii. 549.—C. D. G.

## ADDITIONS TO ARTICLES.

### CRITICISM, BIBLICAL (vol. i. p. 588).

Tischendorf has commenced to issue the eighth edition of his *Greek Testament* on the same plan as the seventh, and in the same form. Only two parts are issued as yet. Compared with its immediate predecessor, it is much improved.

### MANUSCRIPTS, BIBLICAL (vol. iii. p. 57, col. 1, l. 16).

Neubauer has printed the result of his examination—*Aus der Petersburger Bibliothek. Beiträge und Dokumente zur Geschichte des Karäerthums und der Karäischen Literature*, 1866. Only a small portion of the little volume is about Bible MSS.; and that has relation merely to the inscriptions respecting their dates. It does not appear that he collated any. The oldest is a roll containing Deuteronomy, No. 6, A.D. 489. Other rolls are dated 639 (No. 8), 764 (No. 9), 781 (13), 789 (14), 798 (15), 908 (12), 939 (7), 940 (10). Other MSS. are dated 888 (No. 55) and 923 (77), each containing Leviticus. No. 59 contains the last prophets, dated 921; No. 72, containing the Psalms and Job, is dated 929; while No. 89, containing the first prophets, is dated 933. No. 81, containing the Chronicles, is dated 957; No. 86, having the end of the Pentateuch, dates 959; No. 52, containing the last prophets, dates 1102; and No. 110, containing the Pentateuch, dates 1038. In addition to these notices, a few others relating to the dates of the same St. Petersburg MSS. are contained in Chwolson's *Achtzehn Hebräische Grabschriften aus der Krim*, printed in the *Memoires de l'Academie imperiale des sciences de St. Petersburg*, 1865. The object of the latter scholar was not the examination of MSS. It is disappointing to the critic to perceive the slender publication just issued by Neubauer, and his incompetency to the task of proper collation. Most of the Karaite MSS. are synagogue rolls, and therefore without vowels or accents.

In the year 1839, in consequence of a letter addressed by the governor-general of Odessa, Prince Woronzoff, to the governor of Sympheropol, respecting the Karaite Jews, Abraham Firkowitsch repaired to Tschufutkale, the seat of a very old Karaite community, as well as to other places, and found fifty-one Bible MSS., which, together with fifty-nine copies of inscriptions on gravestones, he brought to Odessa. It was impossible to doubt the genuineness of these documents, especially as

the character of the man who collected them was above suspicion. But there was an idea in some minds that the copies he made might have been incorrect, because the dates were more ancient than any hitherto known. In consequence of this, Dr. Stern was despatched by the Odessa Archaeological Society to the places visited by Firkowitsch, in order to verify the copies and subject the collection, as far as he could, to a careful examination. The result of his investigation went to confirm the general accuracy of the copies. Stern added to the collection some very old MSS., and discovered seven other ancient inscriptions on gravestones in the Jewish cemetery at Tschufutkale. Encouraged by this fresh addition, Firkowitsch, with his nephew Gabriel, undertook repeated journeys through those parts of the Crimea where Karaite communities and old cemeteries existed, gathering up whatever he could find in the shape of ancient MSS., and copying gravestones in Solchat, Kassa, Mangup, and Eupatoria. The industry of the travellers may be judged of by the fact, that when they went to St. Petersburg in 1853 they had about 700 copies of inscriptions on old graves, and 150 notices of dates contained in old Bible MSS. which they had discovered.

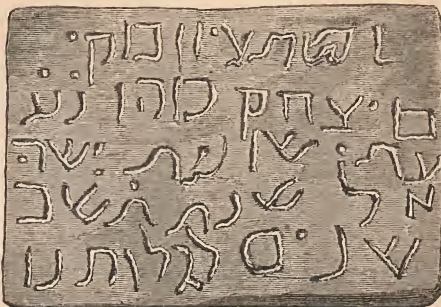
In 1856, when about to set forth on a similar mission, they were advised by several learned men to make facsimiles in paper of the most important inscriptions on tombstones, as a guarantee for the existence of the originals, in the interest of palæography. Following this advice, they returned with 100 facsimiles of inscriptions on graves belonging to different centuries. The nature and contents of these put the idea of falsification out of the question. It would have required fine tact, and an amount of historical, geographical, and palæographical knowledge which no Crimean Karaite could possess, to commit such forgeries. The acute Geiger has not ventured to impugn their genuineness; and Chwolson, who has all along watched the progress of these discoveries with interest, maintains that they cannot be forged. Indeed the difficulties in the way of such an hypothesis are insuperable. The latter scholar has just published a dissertation upon them, bringing out results which are new, important, and suggestive. If firmly established, they will enlarge, modify, and correct many opinions which have hitherto passed among scholars unchallenged.

The eighteen inscriptions on tombs given by Chwolson are all dated, and belong to the follow-



ing years of our era :—6, 30, 89, 179, 197, 262, 305, 369, 625, 670, 678, 719, 807, 834, 898, 937, 958, and 960. It is remarkable to see no less than three belonging to the first century. In the first eight, as they stand in Chwolson's list, three eras are mentioned—*after the exile, after the creation, and the era of the Matararchians*; most of them with only one of the dates, some with two. How then are the dates to be read? After giving the explanation of the three eras in question proposed by Firkowitsch, he examines them in a different method, and arrives at the same result, which is, that *the era of the exile* is 696 B.C.—*i.e.* the exile of the ten tribes; not 586 B.C. when Jerusalem was taken by Nebuchadnezzar; nor 69, when Jerusalem was taken by Titus. The era of the Matararchians (*i.e.* the Jews of Tamataarcha, now called Taman, near the ancient Phanagoria) corresponds to the date now usual among the Jews *after the creation*, to which 240 should be added to correspond to the Christian year; while the era *after the creation*, in these inscriptions, differs from the latter by 151 years, so that only 89 should be added to it to find the Christian year. These conclusions seem to us to be settled on solid grounds by Professor Chwolson; and they are confirmed by the dates on several old Karaite MSS., as he is careful to show.

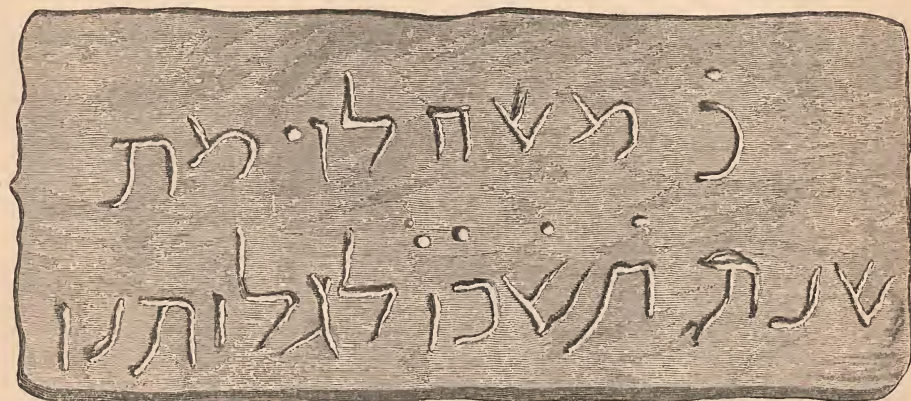
The following are the three oldest :—



No. 1.

זאת ציון בוקי  
בן יצחק כהן נע  
עת ישועת ישראל  
אל שנת תשבו  
שנים לגלותנו

'This is the grave of Bûki, son of Isaac, the priest; may his rest be in Paradise! [died] at the time of the deliverance of Israel, in the year 702 after our captivity' (*i.e.* A.D. 6).



No. 2.

ז' משה לו' מת  
שנת תשבו לגלותנו

'Rabbi Moses Levi died in the year 726 after our exile' (A.D. 30).



No. 3.

זדוק הלוי בן משה  
מת דא ליציה  
תשפה לגלותנו

'Zadok the Levite, son of Moses, died 4000 after the creation, 785 after our exile' (89 A.D.)

Dots over letters are marks of abbreviation or of numerals. In No. 1 נע is for נוחו ערך, or נפשו ערך, or נשמתו ערך. The word ישראל is divided between two lines; and ציון means *grave* (see Zunz's *Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, p. 393).

No. 2. ז' is for רב or רבי.

No. 3. א is for אלפים; ליציה for ליציה.

The era 'after our exile' occurs four times in grave-inscriptions, and twelve times in the inscriptions of MSS.; first on the old tombstone which dates A.D. 6, and last in the inscription of No. 87, belonging to the year 1059 A.D. The localities in which the era was used are, besides the tomb-inscriptions in Tschufutkale, the following :—*Matararcha*, in the year 489 A.D.; *Kol-Kat*, in the inscription of a fragmentary Pentateuch-roll, 585 A.D.; *Shemacha*, in Shirwan, A.D. 604, in two inscriptions; *Tschufutkale*, according to two inscriptions of 639 and 764 A.D. respectively; *Kerim*,



according to an inscription of 789; *Kaffa*, after an inscription of 798 A.D.; a locality on the Kur, in Caucasus, according to two inscriptions of 848 A.D.; *Kertsch*, according to a document of Abraham Ben Simchah, of 986 A.D.; *Sarkel* (perhaps) in an inscription of 1004 A.D.; *Jehud-Kal*, near Derbend, A.D. 1059. In some of these MS. inscriptions, the old Crimean, the Matarchian, or the Selucidian era, occurs in addition. The enumeration given shows that the era of *the exile* was used not only in the Crimea, but also in the Caucasus, and perhaps at the mouth of the Don.

Various interesting questions arise in connection with these Crimean discoveries of old MSS. and tomb-inscriptions.

*First*, The inquiry about the locality of the ten tribes seems to be brought very near its settlement. Caucasian and Crimean Jews, even the inhabitants of Sarkel at the mouth of the Don, dated 'after our banishment.' Hence the posterity of the exiles who were carried away at the breaking up of the kingdom of Israel inhabited those regions. Nor is it difficult to conjecture how they came there. They spread out of the lands of their first settlement at different times, and from various causes, into the regions of the East: from Armenia, probably, to the Caucasus; thence to the Crimea and to other south-eastern parts of European Russia. Thus the existing remnant of the ten tribes should not be looked for in one place. They are scattered over various countries of the East. It may be also that some are in the West, having come thither over Asia Minor. The Karaite Jews now in the Crimea are genuine descendants of the ten tribes, who have not intermingled with neighbouring non-Semitic peoples so as to lose their identity.

*Secondly*, We see that the modern square Hebrew character was in use among the Jews a considerable time before Christ. Whether it was current *several centuries* before then, as Chwolson asserts, may be doubted, though Nöldeke puts it before the Maccabean period. The origin, development, and age of this character have been recently discussed by De Vogüé and De Saulcy on the basis of tomb-inscriptions found at Jerusalem; but the views of the latter must be modified by these Karaite inscriptions. There can be no doubt that the square character was common in many countries at the time of Christ. The letter *yod* is a simple dot, explaining the reference of Christ, 'one *tot* or *tittle*.'

*Thirdly*, The Crimean Jews were in almost perpetual intercourse with the Jews of other lands, and were never without opportunities of knowing the ideas and doctrines prevalent in the central seats of Judaism.

*Fourthly*, It was not uncommon for these ante-Karaite Jews to put words and phrases on the tombs of the dead which imply a belief in the immortality of the soul. Thus *יְיָ*, in an abridged form, is not unusual, meaning, 'May his rest (or his soul) be in Paradise.' The expression occurs even in the inscription A.D. 6. The belief must, therefore, have been general among the Jews of the day. If so, it was current in Palestine at an earlier period, and existed at least in the Maccabean time, if it did not then originate. We cannot follow Chwolson in putting it so far back as from four to five centuries before Christ; nor do we agree with him in the conclusion he draws from the book of

Ecclesiastes respecting it. But he has some pertinent and just remarks on Renan, who has not scrupled to assert that the doctrine came from the Indo-European race to the Jews.

*Fifthly*, If the conclusion of Chwolson be well founded as to the era of the captivity—namely 696 B.C.—an important date is gained for Assyrian and Babylonian chronology, as well as the Egyptian. It has also a bearing upon the usual Hebrew chronology and the numbers in the Bible. From the old Crimean era being already used A.D. 89, we see that the Bible MSS. of that early period had the numbers of the present Hebrew text, not those of the Septuagint. And if the descendants of the ten tribes had the same era from the creation of the world as the Masoretic copies at that early period, there is a strong presumption in favour of the antiquity of the present text. It is not likely that the Palestinian Jews would have curtailed the numbers, in the first century, in order to differ from the LXX. Nor indeed did the time suffice for such falsification. The long chronology of Josephus and the Septuagint rests on a feeble basis than that of the Masoretic text.

*Sixthly*, Some objections to the date of these inscriptions may be anticipated from Rabbinical Jews. Indeed we know that one at least has been made by that eminent scholar Zunz, to whom several of them were shown by Dr. Mandelstamm in Berlin. The titles *rabbi* and *priest* occur; consequently, as Zunz asserts, they cannot be earlier than the eighth century of the Christian era. But surely such reasoning is one-sided. It may be that *rabbi* or *priest* is not found on tombstones among the Rabbinical Jews prior to the eighth century; but that is hardly a valid argument against another usage among ante-Karaite Jews. Is it logical to argue from what is already known to what has been hitherto unknown, and to conclude that the subject admits of no new or additional light? The title *rabbi* was in use in the time of Christ. What prevented the Jews from putting it on gravestones from that onward? It is also said that the names Moses and Levi could not have been on tombstones there in the first century; to which the answer is best put as an interrogation, Why?

The important contribution of Chwolson suggests the idea that, after all our expectations, important Karaite variations from the Masoretic text need not be expected. The Karaites were in contact with Jews from Judæa at a pretty early period. Numbers of the latter found their way into the Crimea from time to time. It is now known that three teachers, whom Fürst calls 'the three fathers of the Karaites,' were sent as missionaries by the Jews in Jerusalem to preach Rabbinical doctrines in the Crimea, which they did with success. This was about 957 A.D. These Rabbinical missionaries—Ephraim, Elisha, and Chanukah—punctuated Bible MSS. in the Crimea, spread their doctrines in Kertsch, Onchat, Solchat, and Kaffa; and converted two hundred families to Rabbanism in those places. Such facts seem to lead to the inference that the Karaite MSS. may have been conformed to the Rabbinical type. Happily, however, a number of these Bible MSS. are of a date prior to the 10th century. One of them is even as old as A.D. 489. Were they not rolls, which they generally are, we might have a larger basis for a critical knowledge of that peculiar punctuation and accentuation called the Assyrian and Babylonian, in con-



tradistinction to the Masoretic, about which Pinsker, Olshausen, and others have written. See *Achtzehn Hebräische Grabschriften aus der Krim*, von Dr. Chwolson, with nine plates, folio, St. Petersburg 1865; and the *Saturday Review* for May 5, 1866.

The little volume of Neubauer (*Aus der Petersburger Bibliothek. Beiträge und Dokumente zur Geschichte des Karaerthums und der Karaischer Literatur*, 1866) is disappointing. The author did not collate the Karaite MSS. in St. Petersburg. We rejoice to learn, however, that Chwolson is cataloguing these documents. If he would collate them properly, he would confer a permanent boon on the literary world, for we fear that nothing need be expected from Neubauer or Pinner.—S. D.

TALMUD (vol. iii. p. 944, col. 2, l. 13.)

The latest edition is that of A. Salomon, Berlin 1863, 1864, in thin volumes imperial 8vo, of which eight have appeared. Great activity in relation to the Talmud is observable at the present time, since five editions of it are in the press.

(Vol. iii. p. 944, col. 2, l. 34, after mention of Buxtorf's Lexicon.)

A new edition of this work has commenced, with additions and corrections, by Fischer and Gelbe, Leipzig 1866, small folio, to be issued in 25 parts, each containing 40 pages. One fasciculus has appeared.

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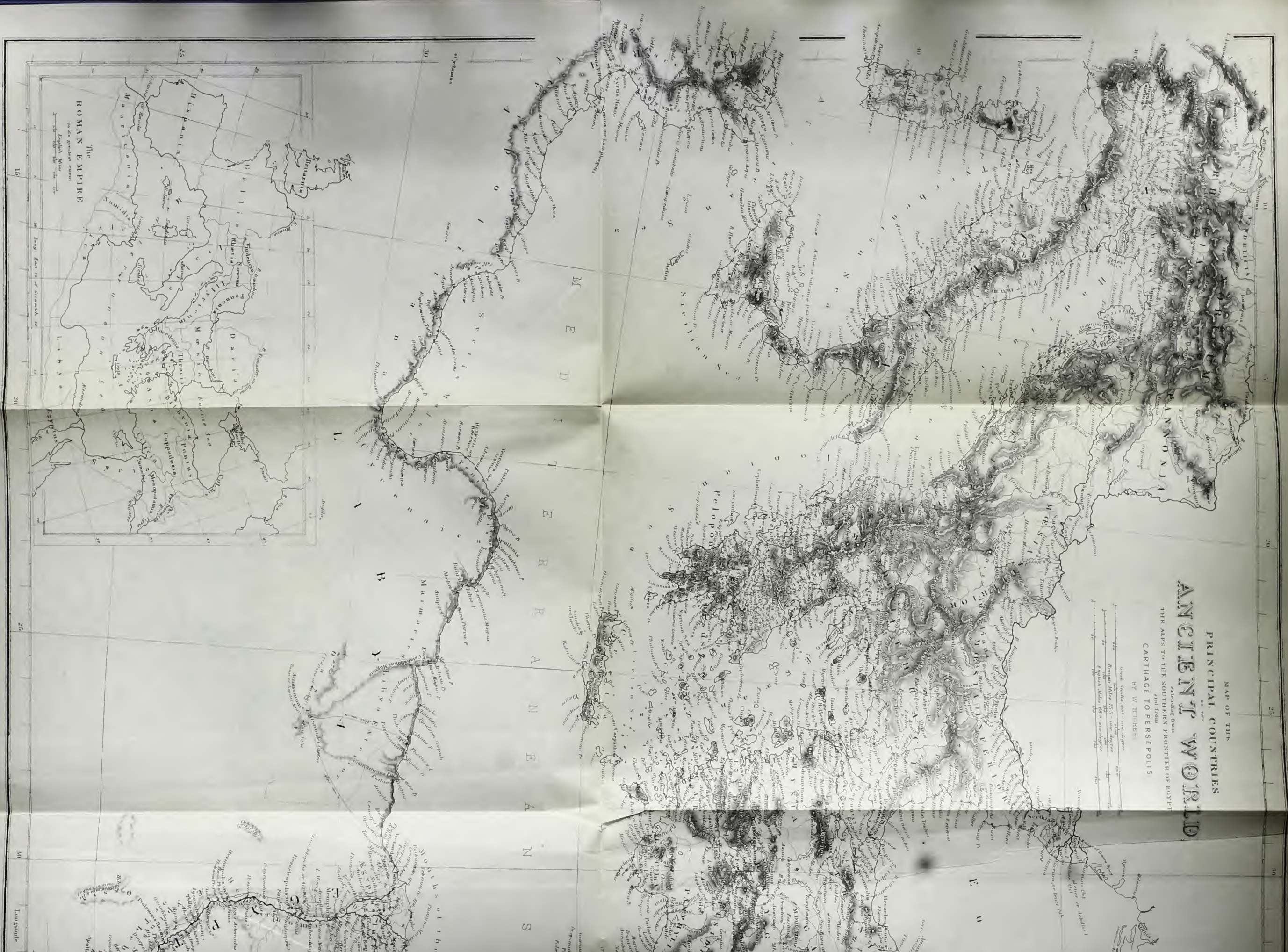
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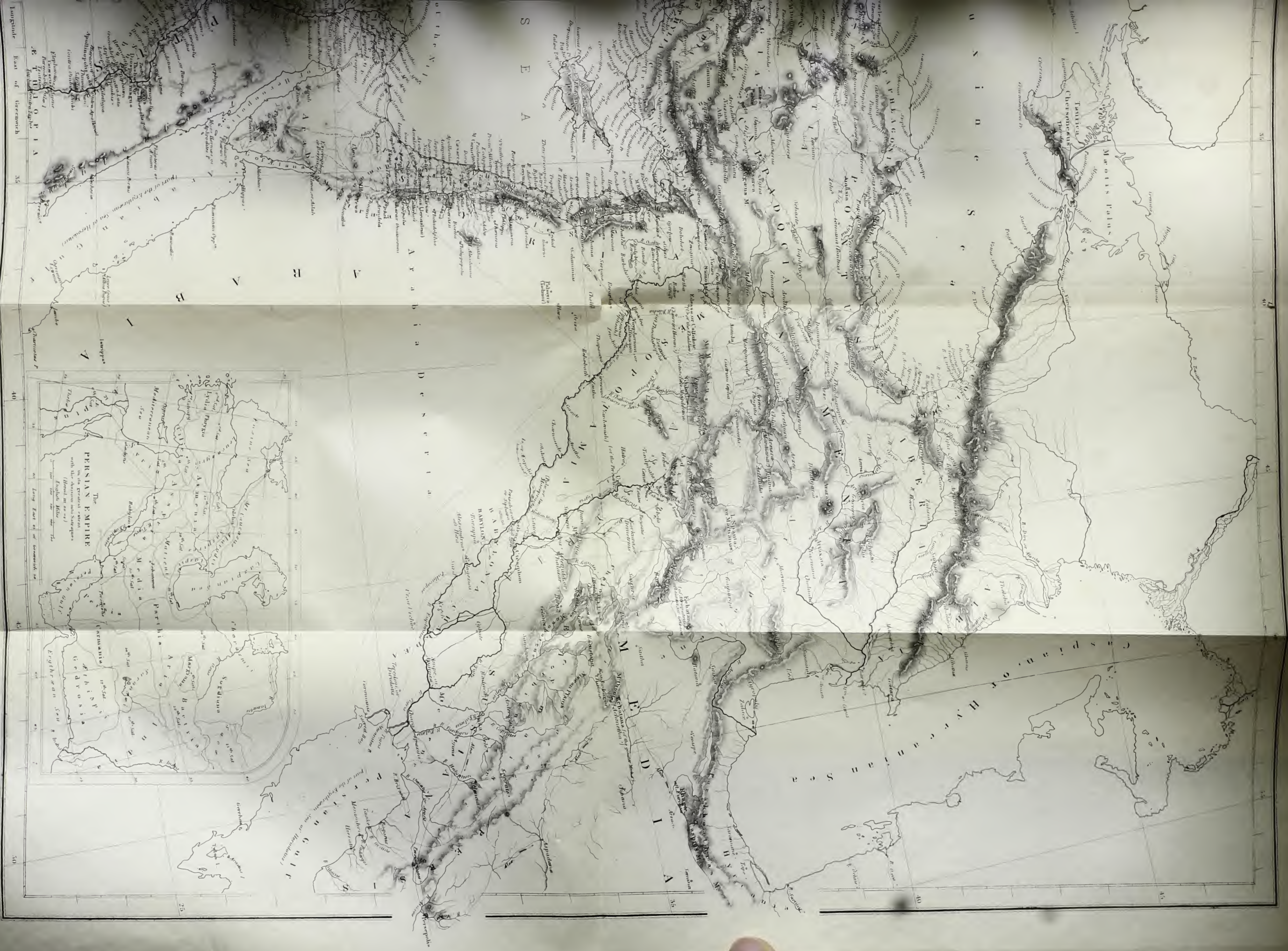
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OF THE  
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extending from  
THE ALPS TO THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER OF EGYPT  
and from  
CARTHAGE TO PERSEPOLIS  
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Scale: Statute Miles - one degree  
Roman Miles 2 1/2 - one degree  
English Miles 6 2/3 - one degree



The  
ROMAN EMPIRE  
in its greatest extent  
English Miles





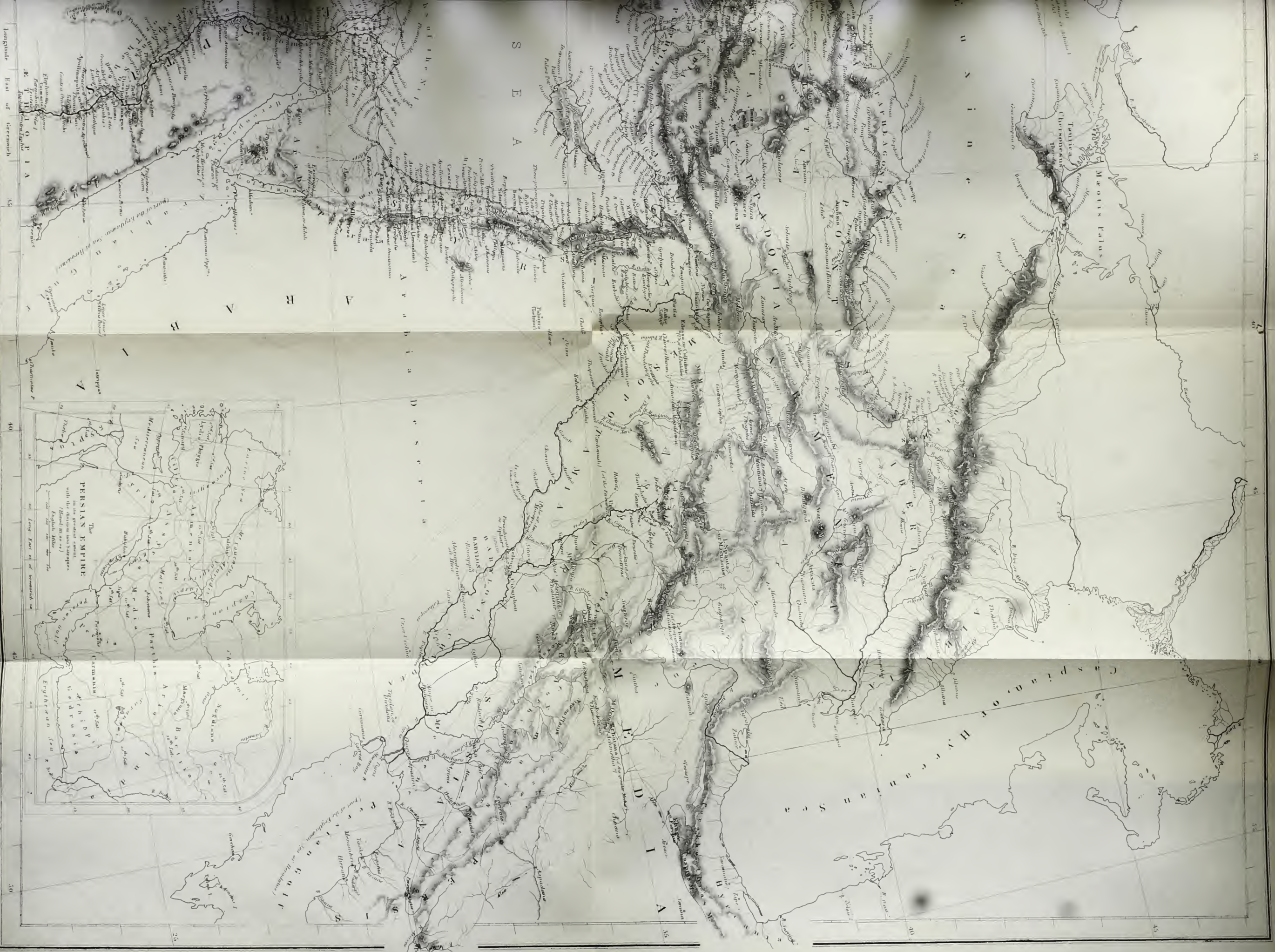
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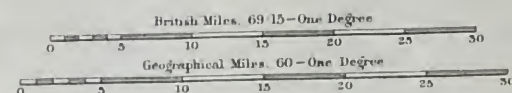
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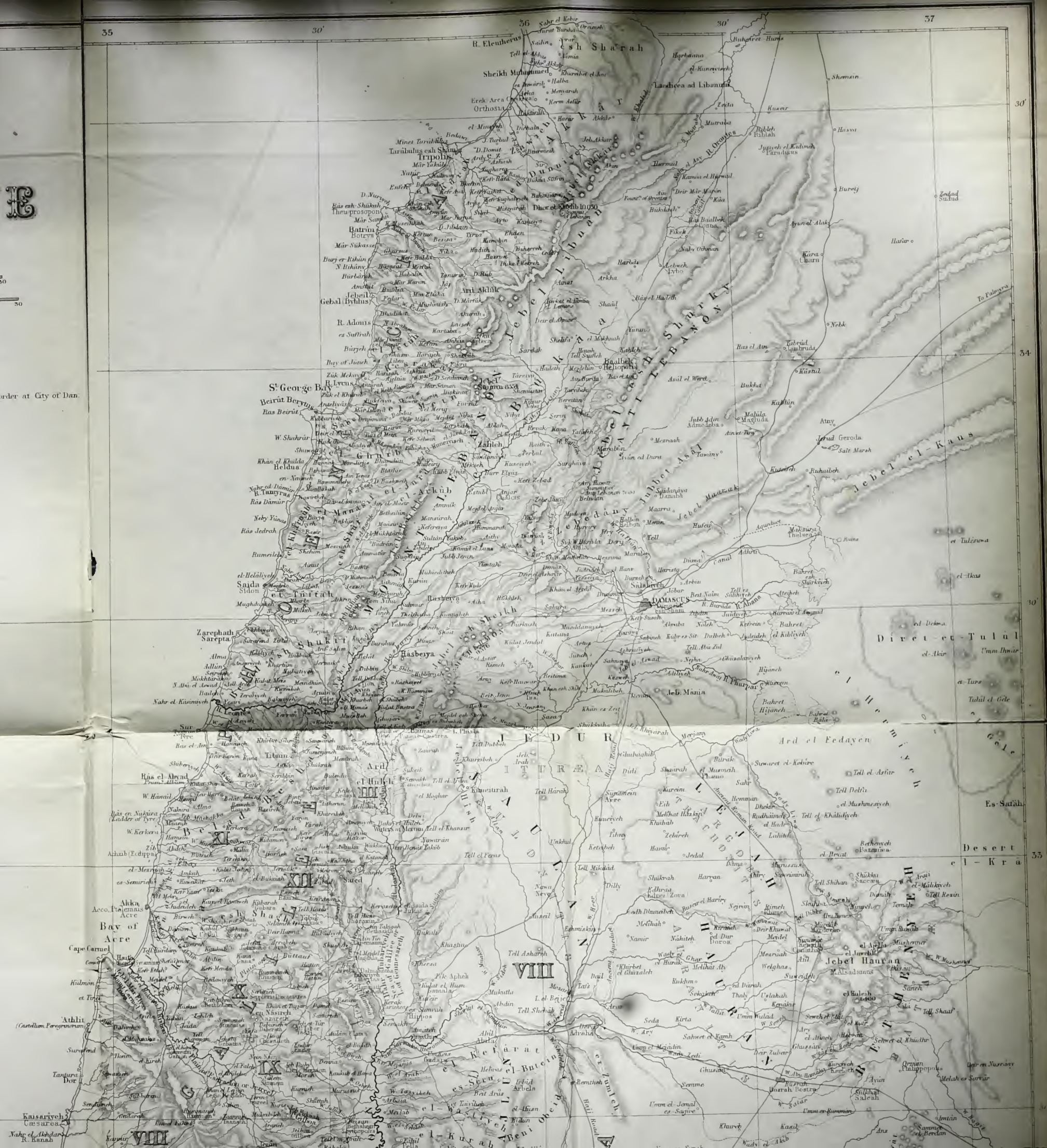
# PALESTINE

BY J. BARTHOLOMEW, F.R.G.S.



## REFERENCE TO THE TRIBES.

- I JUDAH
- II SIMEON Within the Territory of Judah in the South
- III DAN Part of the Tribe within Judah - A part also on Northern Border at City of Dan
- IV BENJAMIN
- V REUBEN
- VI GAD
- VII EPHRAIM
- VIII MANASSEH Half on the W. Half on the E. of the Jordan.
- IX ISSACHAR
- X ZEBULUN
- XI ASHER
- XII NAPHTALI







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# MODERN JERUSALEM

with indications of Ancient Sites  
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Scale  
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